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**The astral revolt: A study of its reflexes in Canaanite and
Hebrew literature**

Page, Hugh Rowland, Jr., Ph.D.

Harvard University, 1990

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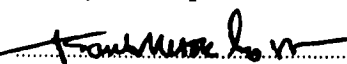
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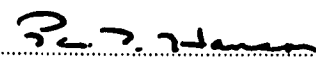
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Typed name Frank Moore Cross

Signature 
Typed name Paul D. Hanson

Signature 
Typed name John Huehnergard

Date August 7, 1990

**The Astral Revolt : A Study of its Reflexes
in Canaanite and Hebrew Literature**

A thesis presented

by

Hugh Rowland Page, Jr.

to

**The Department of Near Eastern Languages and
Civilizations**

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

August 1990

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Abstract

Among the more enigmatic passages in the Hebrew Bible are those which appear to describe a rebellion against Yahweh, god of Israel, by one or more members of his celestial court. These include Genesis 6:1-4, Isaiah 14:4b-20a, Ezekiel 28:1-10, 11-19, Psalm 82, and Daniel 11:21-45. It has been the belief of a number of scholars that behind this biblical material existed one or more prototypes, Canaanite in origin, which told of a revolt against the high god El. The mythological background of these passages has been documented by interpreters, but to date consensus has not been reached on the nature of the Israelite myth's supposed progenitor.

One of the most compelling suggestions made as to the myth's origin is that 'Athtar mythology (as it is reflected in CTA 2.3.12-24; CTA 6.1.42-6; CTA 23.8-9, 57; CTA 24.24-30) might provide the background against which the biblical material should be understood. However, a synthetic treatment of the pertinent biblical texts which examines 'Athtar mythology and attempts a reconstruction of the myth, based *primarily* on Ugaritic and Hebrew data, has not yet been undertaken. This dissertation has attempted such a synthesis.

Two specific objectives for this study have been established: first, to provide a close reading of the texts involved with attention being given to their function and meaning in context (i.e. the manner in which the revolt against Yahweh/El and the exploits of 'Athtar have been presented, and the agenda of the author(s)/redactor(s) in so doing), and as possible constituent parts of the revolt myth; second, to reconstruct the myth to the extent possible. The methodology employed is exegetical. Attention has been drawn to prosodic structure and important literary features when these have augmented the results of philological, historical, and comparative research.

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To Michelle
For Her Love, Support, and Belief

hinnāk yāpā ra'yāū
hinnāk yāpā 'ēnayik yōnīm

'ānī lə-dôdī
wə-dôdī lī

(Song of Songs 1:15; 6:3)

Abbreviations

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| AHw ²⁻³ | W. von Soden. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, Band II & Band III.</i> |
| ANEP | J. Pritchard, ed. <i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures.</i> |
| ANET | J. Pritchard, ed. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 3rd. Ed. with Supplement.</i> |
| AOAT | <i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament.</i> |
| AOS | <i>American Oriental Series.</i> |
| BASOR | <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</i> |
| BDB | F. Brown, S.R. Driver, C.A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon.</i> |
| CAD ⁴ , 10(II) | I.J. Gelb, et al. <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Vols. 4 & 10 (Part II)</i> |
| CTA | A. Herdner. <i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques.</i> |
| GKC | E. Kautzsch, A.E. Cowley. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.</i> |
| HALAT | <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i> |
| HSM | <i>Harvard Semitic Monographs.</i> |
| HTR | <i>Harvard Theological Review.</i> |
| IOS | <i>Israel Oriental Studies</i> |
| JANES | <i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University (New York).</i> |
| JAOS | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i> |
| JBL | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature.</i> |
| JFSR | <i>Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion.</i> |
| JNES | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i> |
| JSOT | <i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i> |

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| KAI | H. Donner and W. Röllig. <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.</i> |
| KTU | M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit.</i> |
| LSJ | H. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Jones, R. McKenzie. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon.</i> |
| PRU | Ch. Vroilleaud. <i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit (II, III, IV, V, VI).</i> |
| RHR | <i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.</i> |
| RSV | <i>The Bible (Revised Standard Version).</i> |
| TSSI ¹⁻³ | J.C.L. Gibson. <i>Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions (Vols I-III)</i> |
| UF | <i>Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas.</i> |
| UV | John Huehnergard. <i>Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription.</i> |
| UT | C.H. Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Textbook.</i> |
| YOSR | <i>Yale Oriental Series, Researches.</i> |
| ZAW | <i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i> |

Introduction

Among the more enigmatic passages in the Hebrew Bible are those which appear to describe a rebellion against Yahweh, god of Israel, by one or more members of his celestial court. These include Genesis 6:1-4, Isaiah 14:4b-20a, Ezekiel 28:1-10, 11-19, Psalm 82, and Daniel 11:21-45. It has been the belief of a number of scholars, beginning with Morgenstern (1939), that behind this biblical material existed one or more prototypes, Canaanite in origin, which told of a revolt against the high god El. The mythological background of these passages has been documented by interpreters, among whom we should note Gunkel (1895), Cobb (1896), Morgenstern (1939), Grelot (1956), Kapelrud (1952), Pope (1955), Caquot (1958), Albright (1968), Oldenburg (1969), Cassuto (1971), Clifford (1972), Hanson (1977), Mullen (1980), and Wilson (1987), but to date consensus has not been reached on the nature of the Israelite myth's supposed progenitor.

Some (e.g. Kapelrud 1952, Oldenburg 1969, Cassuto 1951, and Wilson 1987) have followed Pope's suggestion that the only revolt to be found in the Canaanite lore known from Ugarit involves El's dethronement by Ba^{ʿl}. For Pope, Ezekiel 28:1-10, 11-19, and Isaiah 14:4b-20a, for example, refer to El's attempt to regain control of the cosmos from Ba^{ʿl}, an act which resulted in his being exiled to a watery abyss beneath the earth. Pope's interpretation of this text and his view of El as *deus otiosus* have been questioned because the testimony of the mythological corpus from Ugarit taken as a whole supports a view of El as an active cosmic deity.¹

¹According to Mullen (1980:93), the following data have been cited in support of Pope's position:

-
1. Ba'1's position, both as fertility god and as a deity supportive of kingship, would lead quite naturally to his ascent as head of the pantheon.
 2. Because El is depicted in the Ugaritic corpus as an inactive deity, the conflict resulting in his deposition by Ba'1 must have taken place early in the history of Ugarit.
 3. Biblical accounts recording that Ba'1 rather than El had the more active cultus in Syria-Palestine by the time of the Judges (cf. Judg. 3:7; 6:25) indicate the eclipse of El.
 4. Hittite and Greek mythologies record the triumph of the storm god over the high god in combat. This results in the overthrow of the latter by the former.
 5. The proclamation by El that Yamm is King and the resulting battle between Ba'1 and Yamm demonstrate that the relationship between El and Ba'1 was adversarial.

Mullen (1980:93-110) concludes that there are fundamental weaknesses in each of these, and cites substantial evidence in support of the position that El is a vital god actively involved in the administration of the cosmos. As transitional figure between the old theogonic deities and their younger, more active cosmogonic counterparts, El acts as cosmic creator, administrator in matters of kingship, and arbiter in the council. He is removed from the conflicts engaged in by younger cosmogonic deities (Ba'1, Yamm, Mot) who vie for the right to bring order to that which El has created. Theirs was not a challenge to El's position as high god. El's vitality is attested to in the liturgical text describing the birth of the Beautiful and Gracious Gods (CTA 23), and in the power of his decree (which determines, for example, the institution of temple and cultus, as in the case of Ba'1, and the establishment of kingship, as in the case of Ba'1, Yamm, Mot, and 'Athtar).

By contrast, others (e.g. Grelot 1956, Caquot 1958, Albright 1968, Clifford 1972, and Mullen) have suggested that 'Athtar mythology might provide the background against which the biblical material should be understood. However, a synthetic treatment of the biblical passages in question which examines 'Athtar mythology and attempts a total reconstruction of the myth, based primarily on Ugaritic and Hebrew data, has not yet been undertaken. We have adopted this as our task, and have set two specific objectives for this study: first, to provide a close reading of the texts involved with attention being given to their function and meaning in context, and as possible constituent parts of the revolt myth; second, to reconstruct the myth to the extent possible.

Method

An exegetical study of the following eleven texts has been undertaken:

| | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| Job 38:1-38 | Isaiah 14:1-20 |
| Ezekiel 28:1-10 | Psalms 82 |
| Ezekiel 28:11-19 | Genesis 6:1-4 |
| Daniel 11:21, 36-39 | CTA 2.3.12-24 |
| 45, 12:1 | |
| CTA 6.1.42-6 | CTA 23.8-9, 57 |
| CTA 24.24-30 | |

For each of the biblical sources an eclectic text has been reconstructed. For Ugaritic texts, the edition of Herdner (1963) has been used. Her readings have been compared to those of Dietrich and Loretz (1976). For all texts, account has been taken of prosodic structure, and significant literary features have been cited when these have augmented the results of philological, historical, and comparative research.² Particular emphasis has been placed on the manner in which the revolt against

²Since this is not a study devoted exclusively to matters of Hebrew verse, the description of prosodic structure has been kept to a minimum. Ordinarily attention would be called to significant grammatical, lexical, morphological, semantic, and thematic features of the text, the goal being to establish the extent to which all levels of language are operational in the determination of meaning. However, because the primary focus of this study is on the analysis of the reflexes of the astral revolt, this aspect of the study has been limited to scanning the number of syllables present in each constituent poetic colon and the assignation of the length of the colon. The opinions of Cross (1983b, 1983c) regarding the composition of Hebrew verse have been adopted, particularly with regard to the basic building blocks of Hebrew meter. In summary, it is his belief that basic components in the construction of Hebrew verse are the short metrical foot (consisting of between 4-6 syllables, corresponding to the

two-stress colon in the more traditional stress-counting method) and the long metrical foot (consisting of 7 or more syllables, corresponding to the three-stress colon in the more traditional stress-counting method). Cross has adopted the practice of labelling the long foot as *l(ongum)* and the short foot as *b(reve)* in his scansion of Hebrew poetry. He is not of the opinion that Hebrew poets counted syllables in the oral or written composition of verse. He believes, rather, that the syllable counting method affords a more accurate view of the overall cyclic structure in evidence in Hebrew versification. Inspiration for this method has been drawn from a number of earlier scholars, among whom is Roman Jacobsen, whose article on grammatical parallelism (1966) has had profound influence on the work of both Cross and his students. Jacobsen states that:

on every level of language the essence of poetic artifice consists in recurrent returns. Phonemic features and sequences, both morphologic and lexical, syntactic and phraseological units, when occurring in metrically or strophically corresponding positions, are necessarily subject to the conscious or unconscious questions whether, how far, and in what respect the positionally corresponding entities are mutually similar. (Jakobson 1966:399)

The following terminology has been used in describing Hebrew versification and prosody: *colon* - a single line of poetry; *bicolon* - a poetic unit composed of two cola; *tricolon* - poetic unit composed of three cola; *quatrain* - poetic unit composed of four cola; *sestet* - poetic unit composed of six cola. In certain instances cola of six syllables may be labelled *l(ongum)* when they stand in parallel relationship to a colon of five or fewer syllables. A seven syllable colon may at times be considered *b(reve)* when standing in relationship to a colon of eight or more syllables. There are rare occasions when two cola of equal length will compose a bicolon, and in such an instance poetic license must be invoked in assigning relative values to either. These rules become particularly important when working with Qina meter which is regularly 1b, or 3:2 in traditional stress notation (cf. Isaiah 14:1-20).

Yahweh/El and the exploits of 'Athtar have been presented, and the agenda of the author(s)/redactor(s) in so doing.

The criticism could be raised that the reconstruction of a myth is a tenuous exercise at best. It must be said in response, however, that such endeavors lie at the heart of what Orientalists have done traditionally. Theoretical constructs and experimental paradigms are necessary for the organization of philological, historical, and other cultural data.

As both the quantity and the quality of this type of information have increased, theories and paradigms have been modified to allow for the integration of new primary materials. The influx of new epigraphic data, the recognition of the cultural interdependence of Syro-Palestinian and Mesopotamian peoples from the mid-second millennium onward, and the availability to historians of the Near East of new research tools originating in sociology, anthropology, and other social sciences, have made a reexamination of the principal attestations of this myth necessary and desirable.

It is hoped that this study will help to broaden the background against which the languages and cultures of the ancient world are interpreted. An understanding of the revolt may also help to clarify the function of Satan in early Christian theology.³ While we have not focussed our attention on possible parallels to the myth beyond Syria-Palestine, it is

³For a study of the Satan in Israel see Day (1988). Luke 10:19-20, John 12:31, Revelation 12:7-12, Ephesians 6:12, 2Thessalonians 2:3-12 deserve special consideration. It is possible that each has retained archaic material of some value in reconstructing the myth we are considering.

hoped that we will be able to lay the groundwork necessary to facilitate such research in the future.

On The Vocalization of Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Other Semitic Languages

A close reading of any text involves analysis of all features which have direct impact on its primary meaning, setting, and subsequent place within a given mythological, historical, epic, or interpretive context. All information upon which assumptions have been made must be noted, so that the research design and methodological considerations central to the work are clear to readers. In order to appreciate the artistry used by ancient poets and bards to convey meaning, it is necessary to *vocalize* Ugaritic and Hebrew texts which bear witness to their collective genius. This study proceeds from the assumption that in any exegetical work, not only must the original text, setting, and meaning of a work be established, but the rules governing the language in which the text was composed must be noted as well. While this task should be adjusted to fit the specific requirements of particular lines of inquiry (whether philological, literary, comparative, historical, religious, social or political), one should attempt to convey as accurate a sense as possible of the languages involved. This should include attention to the actual pronunciation of the language. Only then may one consider the exegetical process complete.

It has been the practice of some researchers to give an increased measure of precision to their work by reconstructing the pronunciation of those Semitic languages which have been preserved in written form without vowels (as is the case with early Hebrew, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Ammonite, Moabite, early Aramaic, etc.); there are those who extend this practice to Biblical Hebrew, in an attempt to reach beyond the Masoretic system of

vocalization for a more historically accurate sense of classical Hebrew pronunciation in its various stages of development. This process is imprecise at best, yet it is necessary when analyzing elevated speech/poetry. In such instances, one may not rely solely upon the Masoretic vocalization which is several centuries removed from even the latest Hebrew texts. Some seek to circumvent this problem by using transliterated/consonantal (non-normalized) texts, leaving it up to the reader to decode an author's assumptions about the phonology, morphology, grammar, and syntax of the language encountered. While it is an accepted convention in some circles to normalize Ugaritic texts, it is far less the norm to reconstruct historical vocalizations for those found in the Hebrew Bible.⁴ Since material written in Ugaritic, Hebrew, and several other epigraphic Semitic languages has been drawn upon in this study, much of it being poetry and/or elevated prose, it has seemed prudent to adopt a uniform practice for the presentation of all texts. All have, therefore, been vocalized based on the author's understanding of each language. The information given below is meant in no way to supplant that found in the grammars; it is given strictly for ease of reference, and to make less mysterious the actual grammatical and syntactic structure of each text as understood by the present writer.

⁴This is also the case with many critical editions of epigraphic Hebrew and other Northwest Semitic dialects (see KAI for example). One recent editor has recognized that this is a problem and has an introduction for each of his three volumes, describing briefly the phonological rules for Hebrew, Aramaic, and Phoenician respectively, which were operative/not operative during the period of time spanned by the texts in each volume (see TSSI¹⁻³). Numerous lexical items are normalized, but texts themselves are not. Cross (1973:21, with note 50) has adopted the practice of vocalizing Ugaritic and other Semitic languages based on comparative data. Pardee (1982) has vocalized epigraphic Hebrew according to Masoretic Hebrew.

Hebrew

The following phonological changes are assumed to have taken place during the period covered:

1. ā → ō
2. The monophthongization of final triphthongs
3. The loss of most final short vowels (those remaining being anceps [ǝ])
4. unbound -at > ā in unbound feminine nouns and 3rd, feminine, singular verbs
5. Stress has moved to the ultima in nominal forms and finite verbs with pronominal suffixes; stress is penultimate if an anceps vowel is present; construct forms are proclitic.
6. *i → a / 'vC(C)_G# (where G is a guttural consonant)
7. aw → ō (When diphthongs are unstressed)⁵
 ay → ê

Tonic lengthening of vowels in singly-closed syllables has occurred in nouns and in verbs with suffixes in exilic and later material (a > ā, i > ē, u > ō). Other developments, such as the resolution of final consonant clusters by anaptyxis, the weakening of laryngeals and the glottal stop and the resulting loss of doubling and the development of hateph (echo) vowels, vowel reduction, and vowel lengthening in tonic and pretonic syllables, are assumed to be late developments which do not apply to the corpus under examination (Harris 1939:79-80; Lambdin and Huehnergard 1985:8-14).

Ugaritic

The vocalization of Ugaritic, like that of any language written in an alphabetic script with limited attestation of vowels, is a speculative

⁵ay regularly collapses to ê in all environments in Northern Hebrew.

undertaking. Assumptions must be made about its relationship to other members of its language family, and its place in the historical development of those languages from a common progenitor. Gordon's Ugaritic grammar (1965) remains the standard, though now we must add that of Segert (1984). Both rely heavily on comparative data from other Semitic languages (particularly Arabic) in their treatments of morphology and syntax. In addition to the aforementioned, the unpublished notes of Huehnergard (1986) along with his recent study on Ugaritic Vocabulary (1987), and several works by Cross (1974b, 1973) in which he vocalizes selected epic and mythological texts from Ugarit, have been used to supplement data found in Gordon and Segert.

The following list contains the more important conventions adopted in the vocalization of Ugaritic in this study:

1. It is assumed that Ugaritic contained three short vowels (a, i, u) and three long vowels (ā, ī, ū).
2. The diphthongs -aw and -ay have contracted, yielding -ô and -ê respectively.
3. Prefixed prepositions b- and l- are vocalized bi- and li- (Huehnergard 1987:53).
4. The negative particle whose graphic representation is identical to that of the prefixed preposition l- is vocalized lā-.

Review of Scholarship

Helel, Satan, and Psalm 82

In his study of the mythological background of Psalm 82 (1939:86-126), Morgenstern established the existence of three independent myths which are reflected in biblical, pseudepigraphic, rabbinic, and early Christian sources. The first is attested in Genesis 6:1-4; Jubilees 5:1; The Antiquities of Josephus I, 3, 1; 1 Enoch 6-16; 19; 39:1; 64; 69; Wisdom of Solomon 14:6; Judith 16:7; 3 Macc. 2:4; 1 Baruch 3:26ff; Testament of Reuben 5:6-7; Testament of Naphtali 3:5; 2 Enoch 7; Ephesians 6:12; 2 Peter 2:4; Jude 6; 86:1-6; and 2 Baruch 56:12-15; and in a number of the Church Fathers. In it, a number of sinful angels descended of their own volition from heaven to earth and cohabited with mortal women. The offspring of their sexual union were giants. The deity was angered at this activity and condemned them to give up their divine nature and forced them to live on earth as mortals with their chosen consorts. The essentials of this myth are found in Genesis 6:1-4. Later sources contain forms of the myth which have been considerably embellished (1939:86-94). The second and third myths are alluded to in Genesis 6:4a; 1 Enoch 86:1; 88; 90:20-21; 2 Enoch 18:1-6; 29:4-5; Luke 10:18; 2 Corinthians 11:14; Hebrews 1:6; Revelation 12:7-9; 20:1-7; Job 4:18; 15:15; 28:5; Isaiah 14:12-14; 24:21-23; Ezekiel 28:11-28; Sirach 16:7; Life of Adam and Eve 13:1-16:1; and Psalm 82. The second myth involves Satan, a rebellious angel who enjoyed special favor in the court of God, and his expulsion from heaven for his refusal to pay homage to Adam, the primordial human created in the divine image. The third myth involves Satan and his angelic contingent who were cast from heaven because of their rebellion against God, and for Satan's attempt to establish himself as cosmic ruler in God's stead. At the conclusion of the

former, the criminal, Satan, was either sentenced to fly continuously through the air or condemned to an abyss. In the latter, he and his rebellious followers were cast to earth where they lived from that point on. The latter of these Morgenstern considered to be the more primitive of the two. The two were not originally linked. A composite form consisting of the two myths is found in Life of Adam and Eve 13:1-16:1. The second is reflected independently in Hebrews 6:1, while the third is found in Isaiah 14:12-14; Rev. 12:7-9 and 2 Enoch 18:1-6 (1939:94-105). The *npylm* of Genesis 6:4a Morgenstern identified with Satan and his rebels who had been exiled to earth. He did not consider it an integral part of the information outlined in Genesis 6:1-3, but treated it as an editorial gloss intended to link the myth of the cohabitation of the sons of the gods with the daughters of men with that of the fallen angels (1939:107).

Morgenstern believed that the antiquity of the myth of the fallen angels in Israel was proven by the fact that Isaiah 14:12-14, which describes the fall of Helel ben Šahar, alludes to both versions of the myth, the one describing the criminal's being cast to earth, the other describing his being condemned to the abyss, and by the fact that Ezekiel 28:11-28 referred to this myth also (1939:110-111). Thus, for Morgenstern, the myth of the fall of Satan and his followers (to earth or the abyss), in its earlier and later forms, and that of Helel ben Šahar reflect a single myth which had been present in Israel for a considerable length of time (1939:109). The myth was not Israelite in origin. The indication that a Tyrian king was protagonist in Ezekiel 28, the location of this divine being's abode on Mt. Casius (home of the gods), the use of the divine names El and Elyon, and the name Helel ben Šahar found in Isaiah 14:12 point to a North Semitic origin (1939:111-112). A similar point of origin is posited for the myth of

the sons of the gods and their sexual exploits with mortal women (1939:113). Morgenstern believed that North Semitic mythology and cultic practices entered Israel through the mediation of the Galilean community which enjoyed close contact with its Phoenician neighbors. Galilean festival pilgrims brought these elements to Jerusalem perhaps as early as the end of the 6th century B.C.E. (1939:80).⁶

We are in almost complete agreement with Morgenstern's reconstruction of these three myths, and also concur with his summation of the elements contained in that of the fall of Satan and his angels. We question only two aspects of his treatment. The first of these has to do with items not included in his study. There is a paucity of comparative material from Ugarit used by Morgenstern. Of particular concern is the exclusion of 'Athtar material. 'Athtar's exploits atop Šapon in CTA 6.43-67 certainly have some relationship to the North Semitic myth of heavenly rebellion which Morgenstern discusses. He also leaves out Ezekiel 28:1-10, which seems to share at least some of the same elements found in vss. 11-19 and Isaiah 14:12-24. The second problematic aspect has to do with Morgenstern's methodology. He relies heavily on pseudepigraphic, Rabbinic, and Christian sources for details about the earliest form of the rebellion

⁶This speaks to two problems. The first has to do with the possible repositories of Canaanite mythological material which emerges in the proto-apocalyptic literature of sixth-century Israel. The second concerns the origin of North Semitic (by which Morgenstern appears to mean Phoenician) influence on the literature of early Christianity. Both are important in accounting for the generation, transmission, and diffusion of cultural elements common to several Mediterranean cultures. For a discussion of speculative thought during the 6th century in cross-cultural perspective, see Davison (1980:197-221).

myth. One could argue that his interpretation of earlier texts, Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28 for example, are colored by his understanding of these later texts. He does not give evidence of having dealt critically with these later sources, leaving open important questions regarding the transmission history and background of each of the texts which he cites. As a result, Psalm 82, which is the focus of his study, is given a thorough exegesis and the earliest form of this poem is reconstructed. The texts cited for comparison, with the exception of Genesis 6:1-4, do not receive the same attention. Hence, one is left to rely on Morgenstern's generalizations about each of these without the benefit of critical editions, philological notes, and commentary on each text. To his credit, Morgenstern has isolated the critical issues for future study. Extra-biblical literature does attest to the myths he has reconstructed, and elements within the reflexes thereof (biblical and extra-biblical) point to a non-Israelite origin for each of them. He has also pointed to an important problem for future scholars. This has to do with the location and time of origin of the original myth. This question must be addressed, at least hypothetically, in order to place the reconstruction of their early form and content within a socio-cultural context.

Ba'1 versus El at Ugarit

Pope, in his monograph on the god El (1955), has addressed the nature and location of El's abode and his status and significance in the Ugaritic texts. Both issues are central to our study. He has concluded that El resides in a watery abyss in the underworld. He has used the following evidence in reaching this conclusion (1955:61-81):⁷

⁷Pope uses the text numeration found in PRU. These sigla have been retained in our summary of Pope's position for the purpose of maintaining continuity with the material in his article. For a concordance of the system in PRU with that in CTA see Herdner

1. The expressions *mbk nhrm* and *apq thmtm*, which suggest that El's home is subterranean and aqueous (in I AB I 4-10; II AB IV-V 20-24; III AB C 4-6; V AB E 13-16; II D VI 46-51)
2. The use of the root *®gly* (the proposed meaning of which is "to penetrate" a secret subterranean chamber), based on its use in II K VI 3-5 and on its general OT usage in connection with the uncovering of secret things and hidden places, and specific usage in reference to underworld regions as in 2 Sam. 22:16=Psalm 18:16; Job 12:22; and 38:16-17)
3. II AB VIII 1-9 and AB V 11-16, which indicate that access to the netherworld must be gained by the lifting of mountains
4. The meaning of *šd* and *qrš*, which Pope has tentatively translated "domain" and "pavilion" respectively, but which he suggests, "with the utmost reserve" (1955:67) may have to do with coolness and, if so, would prove valuable (as an ancient counterpart) in understanding the history of the "refrigerium" (state of bliss experienced by the deceased)
5. III AB B 19-20 in which El's location is said to be *tk ḡr* II⁸ "in the midst of Mt. Lil(?)," to which Mt. Lalapaduwa in the Hurrian *Song of Ullikummi* myth (which appears to have some connection with divine rule) and *ikunta luli* (a place name meaning "cool pond," where Kumarbi had a sexual encounter with a huge rock), in the *Kingship in Heaven* myth⁹ may be compared
6. VI AB II 23 and VI AB III 21-25 which mention *ḫršn*, an underworld cosmic mountain next to sources of cosmic

(1963:xix-xxxiv). The following more important sigla should be noted at this point for ease of reference: I AB = CTA 6; II AB = CTA 4; III AB = CTA 2; IV AB = CTA 10; V AB = CTA 3; VI AB = CTA 1; BH = CTA 12; I D = CTA 19; II D = CTA 17; III D = CTA 18; I K = CTA 14; II K = CTA 16; III K = CTA 15.

⁸Pope has identified this Mt. Lil with Mt. Šapān in Isaiah 14:13-15, the OT designation (as received from Canaanite-Phoenician mythology) for the meeting place of the divine council

⁹For Hittite mythology we have referred to the translations of Goetze in ANET (120-126).

waters similar in essence to that found in Akkadian mythology

The earthly locus of the cosmic abode of El, Pope has identified with *Khirbet Afqa* in Syria which is roughly twenty-three miles northeast of Beirut. It is situated at the source of the *Nahr Ibrāhīm*, several miles away from lake *Birket el Yammūneh*. Pope believed that the geographical setting fit most closely the description of El's abode. He also cited the tradition found in late classical mythology that associated Afqa with Adonis and Aphrodite, and late Phoenician mythology which associated lake el Yammūneh with the amorous pursuit of Astarte by Tryphon. He also suggested that the lake el Yammūneh may be the site of the *hieros gamos* in the Ugaritic text SS (CTA 23), and that it was the prototype of the myths and rites which were associated with Afqa well into the Common Era.

Pope has suggested that El's exalted status is titular and that he is either in the process of being displaced, or has already been displaced from his position as head of the pantheon; he has cited the following evidence in support of this contention (1955:80-94):

1. Text BH, in which El sets in motion a plot to rid himself of Ba^l, and laughs as the plot is initiated
2. III AB A, the battle between Ba^l and Yamm, in which the appearance of an indirect conflict between El and Ba^l is given
3. III AB B, in which El is willing to hand over Ba^l to Yamm, an indication that no firm alliance exists between Ba^l and El
4. VI AB IV 24, in which El seems to commission Yamm to drive Ba^l from his throne, a plot similar to that found in the Hittite *Kingship in Heaven* and *Song of Ullikummi* texts.
5. VI AB V, which seem to indicate violence taking place between El and Ba^l (may be the episode mentioned by Cassuto¹⁰ in which El is deposed by Ba^l)

¹⁰See Cassuto (1951:55).

The testimony of the Hurrian mythology (*Kingship in Heaven*, *Song of Ullikummi*), in which Kumarbi was deposed by the storm-god, and that of Phoenician mythology in which Ouranos was deposed and castrated by Kronos (El) and Kronos was defeated (and castrated in some versions) by his son Zeus (Baʿl-Hadad) provided for Pope added evidence of the motif in the ancient Near East. He suspected that the episode was actually found in VI AB V, but the fragmentary state of the text prevented him from proving this decisively. He remained, however, untroubled by his adoption of the suggestion of Cassuto and Kapelrud that such an account should be reflected in the Ugaritic texts, and has concluded that the demise of El at the hands of Baʿl provided the background against which El's status as reflected in most of the AB episodes should be understood. Pope also surmised that prior to his banishment, El ruled from "supernal regions, on his holy mountain" (1955:95), as indicated in III AB B 19-31 and in I AB VI 24-25.

Pope adopted Morgenstern's conclusion that a single myth was the source of the mythology of deposed gods in the Greek myth of the Titans, OT, NT, the Book of Enoch, Isaiah 14:12-14, Psalm 82, Ezekiel 28:2-10, 12-19, the *Kingship in Heaven* text and *Song of Ullikummi* extant in Hittite, and the evidence of El's fallen state in Ugaritic mythology. However, for him, the myth, pre-Israelite in origin, involved not a revolt against El, but a revolt by him to regain sovereignty from Baʿl who had deposed him (1955:96-97). Pope suggested that El used Yamm to fight against Baʿl in the same manner that Kronos used the Titans to battle Zeus on his behalf, and in the same way that Ullikummi was used by Kumarbi to battle the

storm god. El's plot, like the others, failed, and he remained in the underworld. The two poems found in Ezekiel 28:2-10, 12-19 respectively have been taken by Pope to refer to the myth of El's failed attempt to regain his throne (1955:97-100). In addition, he has described Isaiah 14:12-14 as "a theomachy or Titanomachy" (1955:103) similar to the versions in Hurrian and Greek, and deriving ultimately from the same background as the poems in Ezekiel 28, in which El and his champion Yamm are exiled to the underworld after their defeat by Ba'l.

Wilson (1987:211-218) has taken on the task of clarifying obscurities in Ezekiel 28 which Pope's mythologically-based analysis left unresolved. He has supported, in principle, Pope's interpretation of the El material at Ugarit, and found his treatment of Ezekiel 28 on firmer ground than attempts made by other scholars whose conclusions are based on reconstructed mythological evidence.¹¹ Pope's interpretation of Ezekiel 28 is a more acceptable one for him because it is based on a myth which, if not actual, can at least be plausibly reconstructed from Ugaritic sources (1987:214). While having admitted undeniable mythological influence on the oracles in Ezekiel 28, he has found, nonetheless, that no single approach is satisfactory in addressing all of the text's interpretive problems. Of these, the so-called editorial additions have proved to be the most vexing for him, and he has posited that by understanding these secondary additions as essentially Israelite in origin (alluding to events best understood in an Israelite context) a more satisfactory solution may be found to many of the interpretive cruxes in the text. Among these secondary additions he has listed 28:3-5, 28:13 (the list of gems), 28:16, 18a (references to trade as the source of the

¹¹He has cited a number of these studies on p. 213, nn. 10 and 11.

ruler's sin), 28:19 (the king as the defiler of his own sanctuaries, and the fire of judgement), 28:12, 17 (wisdom insertions similar in tone and originating from the hand which inserted 28:3-5). Wilson has concluded that 28:1-10 and 28:11-19 originally had different functions. 28:1-10 was initially an oracle against a Tyrian prince whose pride led him to suppose that he was a god. The wisdom addition of vss. 3-5 modified the intent of the oracle, making it appropriate for an Israelite setting, reminding the leaders of Israel that their kings were not immune to such inappropriate presumption. He also concluded that 28:11-19 need not be treated as a composition laced with secondary additions. Most of these can be treated as an integral part of its original form. The dirge, whose original form is largely preserved by MT, dealt largely with the Israelite High Priest thinly veiled as the Tyrian king. The priesthood is charged, therein, with defiling the temple and thereby drawing Yahweh's wrath on both the priesthood (which was exiled) and the temple (which was destroyed). It did not occupy its present location in the Ezekielian corpus. The dualistic thrust of the original dirge was lost in the process of transmission and later editors saw only its obvious connection with a Tyrian king. They attached it, therefore, to an authentic oracle against another Tyrian leader. Secondary editorial work may have then taken place to make the two compositions more compatible in their new literary environment.

Cross (1974a:245-253) differs markedly with Pope's interpretation of El's status in the lore of Ugarit, and we find his characterization of El as the lusty patriarch of the divine council convincing.¹² His study raises serious doubt about Pope's characterization of El as a forcibly retired god.

¹²See note 1 for Mullen's summary of the basic weaknesses in Pope's treatment of El

We also question Pope's contention that a revolt by El to regain his sovereign prerogatives from Ba'al, found perhaps in VI AB (CTA 1), provides the mythological background against which Isaiah 14, Psalm 82, Isaiah 14, and Ezekiel 28 should be understood. More will be said regarding specific points at which we disagree with Pope in our exegesis of these texts.¹³ Our fundamental problem with Pope's reconstruction is, however, of a kind similar to that which we had with Morgenstern. Whereas Morgenstern relied heavily on pseudepigraphic material in his reconstruction of the myth of Satan's revolt, Pope seems to have based both his reconstruction of the myth of El's dethronement and his understanding of El's status at Ugarit largely on the Hurrian Kumarbi mythology and Greek Kronos mythology.

We also disagree with Wilson's conclusion that 28:1-10 and 28:11-19 had different functions originally. In form and function, both are concerned with the usurpation of prerogative which rightfully belongs to the most powerful of the gods. There is also no reason to suppose that 28:3-5 is a wisdom addition, the intention of which is to make the oracle palatable to an Israelite audience. El's wisdom is well known from Ugaritic. Furthermore, the oracle, with or without vss. 3-5, would convey to any socially aware, literate, and urbane sixth-century individual or group thereof, that no ruler is immune from divine judgement should such ruler be found guilty of abrogating divine rights. While we agree with Wilson that 28:11-19 need not be treated as a composition laced with secondary additions, we

¹³ It should also be noted that the myth of El's dethronement as reconstructed by Pope is at variance with Morgenstern's reconstruction of the ancient prototype of the Satan myth.

disagree with his suggestion that the main character in the dirge is the Israelite High Priest, veiled thinly as the King of Tyre. We find no substantial evidence to support this contention.

The Revolt-in-Heaven Pattern

Hanson (1977:195-233) has proposed that there exists an ancient mythic revolt pattern discernible in a number of ancient Near Eastern myths. He has focussed his treatment on 1 Enoch 6-11, which he has suggested is an expository narrative. In it, Genesis 6:1-4 (and 4-10 more broadly) have been interpreted from an eschatological apocalyptic perspective. The hermeneutical principle at work, in his opinion, was fundamentally typological. Primordial judgement and fall mentioned in scriptural references have been seen to describe events which are to take place at the eschaton when the elect will be saved and the unrighteous (angels and humans) punished.

According to Hanson, the mythic pattern has assumed the following structure in the Šemihazah narrative of 1 Enoch 6-11(1977:197):

- A. Plot of rebellion instigated by astral deities in heaven (6:2b-3)
- B. Commingling of mortals and immortals, birth of giants, devastation by giants, plea by earth (7:1-6; 8:4 [minus 7:1de])
- C. Intercession (angelic) before the Most High, Noah's deliverance, punishment of rebels and their offspring who are bound and cast to earth, ultimate punishment to be suffered in the abyss of fire (9:1-10:15 [minus 9:6, 8c, and 10:4-10])
- D. Restoration of cosmic harmony and the kingship of the Most High (10:16-11:2)

It is Hanson's contention that the narrative has revived a pattern in mythopoeic thought concerned with explaining the polarities at work in the most fundamental of human experiences. Within the crucible of post-exilic trauma accompanying the loss of national independence in Israel, a

disenfranchised band of visionaries reached back for archaic elements once transformed in an early period (presumably having undergone a primary transformation of some sort which rendered them accessible for use by these visionaries) and put them into a Yahwistic interpretive framework. These archaic elements have, as a result, been re-enlivened, given a second birth. The line separating primordial reality from the linear perception of events in so-called "real-time" has, thereby, been shattered, allowing a full flowering of mythopoeic piety. Hanson has accounted for this resurgence by proposing that an uninterrupted stream of mythopoeic thought concerning the disruption of cosmic equilibrium by the rebellion of a select number of gods in the pantheon existed in the ancient Near East, hailing ultimately from mythic development in the second millennium B.C.E. It was this theme that re-emerged in the sectarian circles which produced the Šemihazah cycle (1977:202-203).

Hanson has also attempted to isolate the origin of the concept that the forces of chaos in the cosmos originated in the rebellion of members of the divine council. Since this strain of thought is common in the ancient world, he has used the structure of the revolt pattern found in 1 Enoch 6-11 as an analytical control in the assessment of comparable ancient Near Eastern mythological sources. He has made his starting point the corpus of Hurrian myths extant in Hittite translation, and has acknowledged agreement with those specialists who see this Hittite material as one of the sources influencing Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. He has also noted that Hesiod, in turn, was one of the sources behind the myths of titanic rebels (including Prometheus) in Greek and Hellenistic sources. This, he has argued, provided sufficient ground to consider a possible ancient Near Eastern origin for the aforementioned myths and their reflexes in second-

temple-period Jewish sectarian literature. Hanson has found evidence of the rebellion-in-heaven pattern in the Hurrian Kumarbi mythology (*Kingship in Heaven*), the *Song of Ullikummi*, the older version of the *Myth of Illuyanka*, the myth of 'Athtar's abortive attempt to secure Ba'l's throne, the Helel ben Šahar episode in Isaiah 14:5-21, Isaiah 24:21-23, the apparent rebellion against El alluded to in CTA 23, Anat's defeat of the rebel dragon in PRU II.3.8-10, *Enūma Eliš*, Ezekiel 26:19-21, Ezekiel 28:1-10, Ezekiel 28:11-19, Ezekiel 32, Genesis 6:1-4 (a fragment), and Psalm 82. In Isaiah and Ezekiel, the rebellion in Heaven pattern has been historicized, the major referents being Israel's concrete enemies. Hanson has suggested further that illicit procreation caused by the mixing of divine and human seed violated established bounds set in primordial times. Unauthorized activity of this sort was considered rebellion against the divine council (1977:204-218).

Hanson has concluded that the Ugaritic texts and *Enūma Eliš* reflect the astralization and adaptation of the myth of heavenly rebellion which is later reflected in the Šemihazah narrative. Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic allomorphs of the myth have been reflected in the Isaiah and Ezekiel passages. The myth's function in the latter setting, which is directly related to the genre in which the references are found (chiefly oracles, taunts and judgements against foreign rulers), seems not to have involved ritual reenactment or other cultic functions which were part and parcel of the original *Sitz im Leben* of the archaic material involved. The four-part pattern, is, nonetheless, observable in Isaiah 14:5-21; 24:21-23; Ezekiel 26:19-21; 28:1-10; 28:11-19; 32; and Genesis 6:1-4. Elaborations on the theme of the place of punishment (the pit, where the fallen gods of antiquity dwell) and the agent who punishes the rebels (Ezek. 28:16; *Song of Ullikummi*) point in the direction of 1 Enoch 6-11. Genesis 6:1-4 specifies the mode of birth of

the rebels found in 1 Enoch. For Hanson, the implication of the ubiquity of the rebellion-in-heaven pattern in ancient Near Eastern literature is that there seems to have been a continuous line of influence from archaic mythological traditions through biblical sources (pre- and post-exilic) and on into the 3rd century B.C.E. Šemihazah narrative (1977:218).

We agree with several of Hanson's major points. It is clear that one or more revolt myths are characteristic of ancient Near Eastern mythology. It is equally clear that the rebellion theme runs through biblical sources of various periods. We are not, however, convinced of the merit of using as highly developed a form of the myth as that of the Šemihazah narrative as a control for earlier reflexes of the revolt. Undoubtedly, several streams of mythological tradition have converged in this narrative, accounting for the full development of the pattern. From a methodological standpoint, we would recommend shifting the locus of any set of analytical controls to an earlier period, preferably in the first or second millennium B.C.E. We would also suggest narrowing the sample of possible reflexes, preferably limiting it to those whose authorship, date, and provenance can be controlled with a reasonably high degree of certainty. We also question the interpretation of the commingling of divine and human species as rebellion. This idea is expressed clearly in 1 Enoch 6-11 but less so in Genesis 6:1-4. The motif of divine/human sexual relations is absent from Isaiah 14, Ezekiel 28:1-10, 28:11-19, and Psalm 82. We find evidence in each text of a motif involving the overstepping of bounds, and punishment by means of a radical reversal of fates, but find the full embodiment of the revolt-in-heaven pattern only in 1 Enoch 6-11. We also take zoomorphic, astral, and anthropomorphic allusions in these texts not as actual alloforms of one myth, but as contextual redefinitions or elucidations of the content of a single myth. In

other words, we would argue for the existence of a single myth with a more or less fixed form, portions of which have been used by biblical writers for particular programmatic aims.¹⁴ We also suggest that for the most part the poet allowed the archaic material to speak for itself and limited the editorial task largely to the recounting of the pertinent part of the myth and setting it within an historical context. Historicization of the mythic references seems to have been achieved through the intentionally engineered coalescence of cyclic and linear time. By allowing the archaic material to convey its meaning directly, the poet made it possible for those who heard the oracles and taunts against kings, nations, and foreign enemies to be reminded, we believe, of the primordial conflict raging continually between the forces of order and the powers of chaos. The socio-political environment for Israelites before and after the exile contributed to the formation of such a conceptualization. The Yahweh Speeches in Job, for example, reflect such a setting. Unjust suffering and misfortune on the earthly plane must have been taken as evidence that cosmogonic conflict continued steadily, there being some manifestations of disorder that Yahweh himself was powerless to tame (Cross 1973:344-345). As audiences listened, for example, to

¹⁴The distinction between mythic alloform and contextual redefinition is an important one. We consider the former to be any one of two or more distinct forms of a single myth. We use as an analogy the definition of "allomorph" in Webster (1986:72): "one of two or more forms of a morpheme." The contextual redefinition of a myth is that which results from the interpretation or retelling of all or part of a single myth. It does not involve a modification in the form of the original myth. Contextual redefinition is the provenance of the artist, in this case the poet or bard, who takes an existing body of tradition and uses it in constructing new literary forms (oral and written) which reflect the artist's unique agenda (political, theological, philosophical, etc.).

Ezekiel's oracle against the Tyrian prince in 28:1-10, we believe that they may have known of the mythological battle between the highest of all gods (Yahweh or El) and a usurper god vying for his throne (as well as understanding that Yahweh was an El figure), and made the historical connection between the outcome of the mythological story, the timeless truth which it communicated about challenges to authority, and, perhaps, the implicit dangers of the institution of kingship (all kings, foreign and Israelite, being subject to excesses in the exercise of power). The performance was a participatory reenactment of the myth's central themes, in much the same way that the reading of any poem requires those who hear it to enter the poet's symbolic universe themselves. Its function, therefore, was not totally unlike that of the original myth. The only difference is that archaic material is given an historical context for the purpose of illustrating timeless principles which effect gods and humans.

No Revolt Exists

In his treatment of Genesis 6:1-4 (1987b:13-26), one of Hendel's most pressing problems has been the determination of the text's origin. He has disagreed with Wellhausen and Gunkel, who believed it to be erratic and fragmentary in its present setting. He has also doubted those who suggest that the Yahwist has suppressed more extensive mythological material than that which has been included. He has concluded that the inclusion of Genesis 6:1-4 in the Primeval Cycle of Genesis 2-11 indicates that the Yahwist did not find the material objectionable, and that the myth itself originated in Israel. From internal evidence he has been led to believe that the story has a purpose which extends beyond that of a simple etiology of the *npylym*. More important, he has also been highly critical of attempts like those of Hanson (1977) and Speiser (1964) to follow the lead of

Pseudepigraphic sources in deriving a rebellion-in-heaven pattern into which Genesis 6:1-4 may be placed. He has suggested that the discovery of the Hurrian Kumarbi cycle (*Kingship in Heaven, Song of Ullikummi, Myth of Illuyanka*) has encouraged this kind of interpretation, and has found two problems with the method. First, the Sons of God have not been conceptualized as rebels in Genesis 6:1-4. Second, there has been no clear condemnation of the sexual commingling of the gods and mortal women within the text. Furthermore, the gods themselves have received no punishment for this supposed crime; this has been reserved for humanity. Therefore, the connection of Genesis 6:1-4 to the revolt-in-heaven pattern has, for Hendel, been based on unconvincing conjecture. In his opinion, it was originally attached to the flood story, where it served as motivation for the flood. The Yahwist removed it from its original place in order to give the flood a motive rooted in moral theology (anger at humanity's evil) (1987b:13-17).

Hendel has also suggested that, somewhere in the continuum between Babylon and Greece, a myth originated which involved a connection between the birth of demigods and a deluge which currently survives only in fragments. He has cited the Atrahasis myth, the Greek tradition of the Trojan War, particularly that of Hesiodic origin (Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 204 M-W), the sacrifice of Prometheus and the birth of Pandora (*Works and Days* 53-105; *Theogony* 570-616), and the myth of five ages (*Works and Days* 53-105), in support of this thesis. The word *hēmitheoi* "demigods" occurs in Hesiod (myth of five ages and fr. 204 M-W) and in Homer (*Iliad* 12.17-33, esp. 23). In the latter instance it occurs in a passage describing the destruction of the Achaean wall by flood. Hendel has concluded from all of this that the Trojan War functions

similarly to the Semitic tradition of the flood, and may have come to Greece by way of oral tradition from a Semitic provenance (1987b:17-20).

As far as the Nephilim (and related Rephaim and Anaqim) are concerned, Hendel has submitted that their function in biblical tradition (Genesis 6:1-4, Num. 13:33, Deut. 2:11; 2:12; 20-33; 3:11, Joshua 11:21-22, 12:4-6; 13:12; 15:14, Judges 1:20, 2 Samuel 21:18-22=1 Chr. 20:4-8, and 1 Sam. 17) is to be destroyed by Israel's heroic figures and god. They are similar, in this regard, to heroes in the Greek tradition. Ezek. 32:27, a text of comparable tone describing the Nephilim as fallen warriors has been cited by Hendel in support of the proposal that the function of the Nephilim is to die. He has concluded that the original motive for the flood was the destruction of the Nephilim. He has also cited the Late Bronze Age as the period most likely to have witnessed the oral diffusion of this myth to Greece (1987b:20-23).

The major thrust of the flood tradition in Israelite thought according to Hendel was the elimination of hybrid life forms and the restoration of cosmic balance (hybrid forms threatening the equilibrium of the cosmos). He has followed Mary Douglas, who has proposed that ancient Israel was preoccupied with dietary laws and kinship regulation, and that this excessive concern functioned to maintain categories established at the point of creation. Hendel has proposed that a similar concern is in evidence in Genesis 6:1-4, and has concluded that the Yahwist displaced Genesis 6:1-4 (and added the punishment of mankind in v.3) so as to highlight human culpability in the deluge account. This fits the overall pattern of boundary transgression found elsewhere in the Primeval Cycle (human and divine mixing in the tale of Adam and Eve, the human desire to be gods in Gen. 3:5, 22, the human desire to penetrate the heavens in Gen. 11:4, possible primordial violation of

the incest taboo in Gen. 2:3, and the confusion of roles and overstepping of bounds evident in the the Cain and Abel story), a pattern which he has interpreted as dialectical in nature. Oppositions are generated and resolved in the midst of the evolution of human cognition and culture from the world of myth to that of the author's present context (1987b:23-26).

We believe that Hendel is correct in noting the continuity of flood tradition throughout the ancient Near East and in Greece. We also find convincing his identification of the overstepping of boundaries as an operational motif in the Primeval Cycle and his characterization of the Yahwist as a literary artist of considerable merit. He is, however, much too harsh in his criticism of the revolt-in-heaven hypothesis of Hanson (1977). The mythological construct which he proposes is just as conjectural as the ones he has criticized. Regardless of what one believes about Genesis 6:1-4, one thing remains troublesome for the interpreter: its brevity. A convincing hypothesis of any sort cannot rely on this passage as its focal point. Too much is left open to question, and there is insufficient internal information to draw literary comparisons with Akkadian, Hurrian, Hebrew, or Greek sources simply because the basis of comparison in Genesis 6:1-4 is limited to four verses. As balanced as Hendel's treatment is, therefore, its conclusions in no way supersede those of Hanson. Both are conjectural. In fact, Hanson's approach is the more convincing of the two because it has established at least one control for comparison of a number of sources. Although we disagree with Hanson's use of a highly advanced form of the myth as a control, his approach is legitimate nonetheless because a discernible pattern is present in his control text. Hendel, in contrast, reconstructs an original, and then compares related traditions to it. This is troubling because much of his argument rests on the presence of demigods

as motivation for the flood. In the overall cycle of events dealing with the flood, the issue of demigods is confined to their brief mention in Gen. 6:1-4. The basic problem here is that Hendel relies heavily on the reconstruction of an Israelite reflex of a mythic pattern more completely attested elsewhere in the Mediterranean cultural continuum as the basis for his argument. This method argues strongly against an Israelite origin rather than in favor of one. With regard to the diffusion of this mythological material in the larger Mediterranean world, Hendel's suggestion that the origin of the myth of the demigods' destruction by flood possibly originated in Semitic tradition and spread during the international era of the Late Bronze Age is compelling. However, it is equally possible that what this era witnessed amounted to a subsequent rather than an initial diffusion of this mythological material. The existence of strikingly similar threads of tradition concerning creation, the divine council, rebellion-in-heaven, and the deluge found throughout the region suggests that some of these may have been transmitted earlier than the Late Bronze Age. Our point is that a more comprehensive discussion of diffusion than that offered by Hendel is necessitated by the data he has presented. This is not a categorical rejection of the work of those scholars who have compared the cultural traits of one or more ethnic and/or national groups in the ancient Near East. It is, instead, a caution against excess.

'Athtar, Helel, and Phaeton

Grelot (1956:18-48) sought to identify 'Athtar and to describe his relationship to the mythological program of Isaiah 14:12-15. He examined Greek, Hebrew, and Ugaritic texts in attempting to solve some of the more vexing problems surrounding this god. In so doing he attempted to move beyond the inconclusive findings of Gunkel, Gray (who believes that Helel ben Šaḥar in Isaiah 14 is the hero of an astral myth with whom the Tyrant

of Babylon is partially compared and identified), Skinner (who sees evidence in it of a Babylonian astral myth), and others (1956:18-19). Grelot concluded that the Ugaritic texts reflect a Canaanite prototype of the 'Athtar myth found at Ugarit which has also spread to Greece and Israel. His examination of the Greek material (*Odyssey* 23:246 and Hesiod's *Theogony* 986ff.) led him to suggest that Helel ben Šahar is the same personage as Phaeton, son of Eos. Both reflect the deification of morning star, Venus. The translation of the divine name in the Old Greek translation of Isaiah 14:12 (*heosphoros*), the Vulgate (*Lucifer*), and the paraphrase of the Targum support this identification (1956:30). As for the prototype of the myth, he has proposed that it was transmitted (from Phoenicia) to the Greek world where it splintered, developing several alloforms, and was imitated by the biblical writers (cf. Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28) (1956:32).

Grelot also suggested that at Ugarit, the exploits of 'Athtar occupy but a minor part in the overall mythological scheme. In addition, there is no evidence whatsoever of his fall, though it is attested in Isaiah 14. Evidence of his ambition and his excess, however, have been preserved (1956:42). Grelot concluded that the biblical writers' attitude to this mythological material was critical and selective in that they rejected elements at variance with Israel's faith as they perceived it, and accepted elements which were not contradictory to Israelite faith as they understood it. As a result, the moral lesson of the Phaeton and Helel myths is identical. In both, hubris has assumed tragic proportions. With regard to the relationship between 'Athtar and Satan, Grelot proposed that at some point in the history of religion, 'Athtar/Helel ben Šahar became the poetic prototype of the fallen angel who carried the name Lucifer in Christian tradition (1949:48).

We find Grelot's 'Athtar/Helel identification compelling, but we are less convinced about the relationship of the two to Phaeton. As we have suggested in our critique of Hendel's work, more research is needed to corroborate reflexes outside of the immediate Syro-Palestinian area before conclusions of this sort may be drawn. We are not completely convinced by Grelot's assertion that *hll* in CTA 24 is not to be identified with the Helel ben Šaḥar of Isaiah 14.¹⁵ Finally, Grelot argued convincingly for an 'Athtar/Helel identification and attempted to establish a mythological prototype regarding his fall from early sources. However, if one is ever to recover the Semitic prototype of this myth, the majority of primary data used in the reconstructive process must come from a Semitic provenance.

Another intriguing proposal was made by McKay (1970:463-464). He accepted Grelot's conclusion that there existed a connection between Helel and Phaeton because a close similarity could be noted between Šaḥar, the parent of Helel, and Eos, parent of Phaeton (1970:20). He rejected, however, the possibility of any connection between 'Athtar and Athirat and Helel and Šaḥar, although he agreed that they may have had similar aspects (1970:463). He suggested that the Greek Phaeton Myth entered Israel through the mediation of Phoenicia, and proposed a five-part solution to the problem. First, in pre-classical Greece, Phaeton son of Eos and Cephalus

¹⁵It is quite possible that this *hll* is to be identified with both the *hyll* of Is. 14:12 and 'Athtar of Ugarit. If so, this text could represent one of two stages in the historical development of 'Athtar theology. It could represent either a point in time when the names 'Athtar and *hll* were used interchangeably, or a point in time when the name *hll* became an independent hypostasis with its own integrity. We suspect that the former is more likely the case than the latter. Unfortunately we lack additional primary evidence to establish this hypothesis as fact.

became confounded with Heosphoros (the morning star) son of Eos and Astraios. He also became confused with the solar child who attempted to drive the chariot of his father across the sky. Second, in the Heroic Age, the Phaeton myth entered Syria-Palestine, where the myth of 'Athtar son of Athirat and his failure to occupy Ba'al's throne already existed. Third, because of similarities between Phaeton and 'Athtar, the two myths became confused, and Phaeton's attempt to scale the heavens was translated in terms of an attempt to occupy the throne of the chief deity. Fourth, the names Phaeton and Eos were never modified; instead they were simply translated "because they corresponded so well with the astral phenomenon of Venus as the dawn star which never reaches the summit of heaven but is always compelled to return to earth as a 'weaking above the nations,' eventually descending below the horizon into Sheol" (1970:463). Finally, the goddess Šaḥar became firmly established in Hebrew mythology, after *šḥr* came to be used as a masculine noun signifying "dawn." The myth of her son being remembered, she retained some features of Greek Eos, but in Biblical Hebrew, only the masculine noun for "dawn" remained and the image as dawn goddess was only a poetic symbol representing no active cultus. The exact reason for this is not known. It is possible that the noun enjoyed wider usage. This process has resulted in the alteration of the Greek myth so that it assumed its present form in Isaiah 14:12-15.

Craigie (1973:223-225) sought moderation in his approach. He argued in favor of Greek borrowing from the ancient Near East, seeing this as more likely than the reverse. He was also of the opinion that we should see a Greek and Hebrew adaptation of an earlier 'Athtar myth, differences in regional renditions being the result of poetic license.

We find McKay's solution unconvincing. His suggestion of a confusion between Phaeton and 'Athtar mythology is at variance with what we know of the transmission process of cycles of tradition. To propose that the guardians of tradition could make such a major mistake would be to question their sophistication and competence. We also question the choice of pre-classical Greece as a starting point for his investigation. As for Craigie's proposal, we find it more compelling than McKay's, but we are not prepared to see poetic license as a major force in the regional adaptation of 'Athtar mythology. We are more inclined to attribute such modification to programmatic aims of considerable gravity.

The Astral Revolt and Canaanite Myth

Several scholars have made mention of the revolt against El in their studies of mythological motifs in Canaanite thought. Of these, Albright (1968), Clifford (1972), LHeureux (1979), and Mullen (1980) have made contributions which must be mentioned.

Albright (1946:83-84, 86; 1968:232) noted the relationship between Ugaritic 'Athtar mythology and Isaiah 14. He considered Isaiah 14 to be a 6th- or 7th-century Canaanite mythological dirge which recalled 'Athtar's unsuccessful attempt to usurp Ba'l's throne, as described in CTA 6. He also proposed that the conflict between Ba'l and 'Athtar was indicative of tension between votaries of the two gods before the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. Albright identified the 'Athtar of Ugarit with South Arabian *Dhū-šamāwi*, who is 'Athtar/Venus in his manifestation as morning-star, with the *Aštar-Kamos* of the Mesha Inscription, *Kemos*, god of Moab (in 2 Kings 3:26f. and Amos 2:1), and Canaanite *Ba 'l šamēm*

(whose cult he believed to have assumed dominance in Phoenicia in the 10th century B.C.E.) (1968:228, 239).¹⁶

Clifford (1972:160-173) has dealt with Isaiah 14:4b-21, Ezekiel 28, CTA 6:1, and CTA 23 in his treatment of the cosmic mountain in the ancient Near East. He has stated that these passages (and Genesis 2-3) provide a glimpse of an attempted revolt against the divine head of the pantheon, the full extent of which is now impossible to recover. He has suggested that Isaiah 14 is a description of an unsuccessful attempt by Helel ben Šaḥar against the authority of El, and that the epithet "Conqueror of the nations" is either a misunderstood 'Athtar epithet or a reference to the god Šalim in CTA 23. He has compared CTA 6.1.39-65 to Isaiah 14 and has suggested the possibility that it is a variant of the same myth, but has noted that in spite of 'Athtar's presumed violent nature, the focus of the version is on Ba'1 and Mot, with 'Athtar being little more than a pawn on the side of Athirat and Mot. 'Athtar's attempt to take kingship belonging rightfully to Ba'1 failed nonetheless. Clifford has followed Gray in treating Šaḥar and Šalim in CTA 23 as hypostases of 'Athtar/Venus and has considered the content of this text as indicative of the single myth underlying CTA 6, Isaiah 14, and CTA 23, and its extant variants (Šaḥar being father of Helel in Isaiah 14). He has postulated that in CTA 23, El's two newborn sons, when their ravenous appetites lead them to seek entry into El's field, are to be considered as rebels against El. He takes Šaḥar as an alternate name for

¹⁶Cross has suggested that Ba '1 Šamêm is not an 'Athtar epithet, but is instead one properly belonging to Haddu (personal communication). Note should also be taken of the fact that Albright believed 'Athtar to be originally androgynous. He also made clear that Ugaritic 'Athtar was to be identified with Helel-ben-Šaḥar in Isaiah 14:12 (1946:83-84).

‘Athtar, who breaks into El’s paradise. As for Ezekiel 28:1-10, Clifford has noted that the Tyrian prince has laid claim to El’s office and his home. For him, *blb ymym* (which he has equated with Ugaritic *grb ’pq thmtm*) may allude at once to the dwelling of El and to the geographical location of Tyre. The prophet who authored the poem saw *’ēl* as meaning simply "god," but the original reference was to the Canaanite God El. The stress on wisdom has suggested to Clifford that El and his abode are being referred to. He has found Ezekiel 28:11-19 to be less direct. It describes a rebellion against El by a being to whom is ascribed wisdom. The rebel’s home was the mountain of El, equated here with El’s garden, where he lived as a member of the divine council until palace intrigue, perhaps, led to his expulsion. Clifford has suggested the possibility that the "stones of fire" are the equivalent of "the stars of El" in Isaiah 14:15 and the *banū ’ili* (members of El’s council) cast as astral beings. He has concluded that Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28 tell of conflicts against El in his garden, on his mountain and has suggested that they may be related to Hesiodic and Hittite theomachies as well as that found in Sanchuniathon.

We are in agreement with some of Clifford’s observations, but find others less convincing. It seems clear to us that Isaiah 14, Ezekiel 28:1-10, and 28:11-19 have some relationship to a revolt against the chief god of the pantheon or to those involved in such a revolt. We support the contention that Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28:11-19 indicate that the chief protagonist is an astral god (a "Shining One"), and find Clifford correct in seeing ‘Athtar’s failure on Šapon as secondary in importance to the conflict between Ba‘l and Mot in CTA 6.1. Equally convincing is his analysis of Canaanite and astral allusions in Ezekiel 28:1-10 and 11-20. Both of these texts, in our estimation, refer to an attempted coup against El by a god who is a member

of the council, an astral god, and one to whom wisdom has been ascribed. We do not, on the other hand, believe that the prophet understood 'ēl as "god." The density of Canaanite mythological allusions in both compositions decreases the likelihood that the poet would adopt such usage. Instead, we believe that the poet knew well the mythological content which he employed, and assumed the same of the intended audience. We suspect that the poet possessed confidence enough to allow the tales to convey their truth without extensive editorial interference, and knew that his hearers would draw connections with their own life-situation and its unique Yahwistic theological underpinnings. We are also unconvinced by Clifford's assertion that "Conqueror of the nations" in Isaiah 14 may be a reference to Šalim. We do not find the activity of the two newborn gods in CTA 23 to be rebellious, at least not to the extent that their activity would be interpreted as an attack against El. They are hungry and hyperactive, possessing all of the energy associated with youngsters. Their activity could in no way be construed to be as serious as that narrated in Isaiah 14 or Ezekiel 28. We also find the Šaḥar/Šalim/‘Athtar equation unsatisfactory. It is preferable to see Dawn and Dusk as deities themselves, with ‘Athtar and ‘Athtart being separate gods whose manifestation during the early morning and evening hours makes them identifiable as the offspring of the aforementioned.

Mullen's treatment of the astral revolt (1980:35-39, 227-245), part of an exegetical analysis of Psalm 82, has been incorporated into his study of the divine council in Canaanite and Hebrew literature. Biblical reflexes of the revolt have been cited (Isaiah 14, Ezekiel 28) along with biblical passages which make use of a similar motif (Genesis 6:1-4; Genesis 2:4b-

3:24) and post-biblical references to fallen stars (1 Enoch 86:1-6; 64-69; 3 Macc. 2:4; 2 Enoch 18:1-6) and gods in revolt (1 Enoch 6:7; 8:3-4; 69:2).

One of Mullen's concerns has been the etymology of Ugaritic *šr*. He has followed F.M. Cross in deriving it from the root *√šrr* (Proto-Semitic *√šrr*) "to shine, be brilliant." which is attested in Arabic and Akkadian (in *šarūru* "radiance"). The meaning of *šr* is critical for him because a being called *mōtu wa šarru* ("Mot and Shining One") is described in CTA 23.8-9, and in CTA 23.57 the *šarrū puḫri* "Shining Ones of the Council" are mentioned. Mullen has treated the former reference as parallel to Hebrew *hēlāl* in Isaiah 14:12, and has considered the latter as referring to the cosmic forces of chaos and death. He has acknowledged that little is known of the "Shining One" and "Shining Ones" but has noted that the similarity between *šr* and *hēlāl* is striking, particularly since Isaiah 14:12ff. describes the fall of this being and his fate in Sheol. Mullen has mentioned, with caution, two possible references to "Shining Ones" in the biblical corpus. These may be found in Psalm 89:15 and 58:1b. Of these, the former seems to be a much stronger candidate for him than the latter.

Mullen's major interest in this study was the use of the astral revolt in Psalm 82. He has concluded that this psalm uses the astral revolt myth to illustrate the coming fate of the gods who have been condemned by Yahweh in the council for their failure to maintain the foundation of the cosmos through the proper administration of justice. For Mullen, the rebellions described in Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28 are similar, the targets of the revolt being El and his authority. This has put him at odds with Pope and others who have contended that the scenes in Ezekiel 28 describe El's attempt to regain control of his own dominion. He has not, however, followed Morgenstern's interpretation of the cause for the fall of the gods in

Psalm 82. He has found no compelling evidence to justify taking vss. 2-5ab as an insertion to avoid mention of the actual reason for the condemnation (the intermingling of gods with mortal women described in Genesis 6:1-4 according to Morgenstern). He has agreed that the aforementioned activity provided substantial justification for the condemnation. However, according to his interpretation, the failure of the gods to exercise their powers responsibly was also sufficient justification for the sentence which they received. He has concluded that Psalm 82 is a unit which is complete in itself. Reference is made to the primordial revolt which led to rebel gods being cast into the underworld. Adam, the first human rebel, is also mentioned. These two rebellions set the tone for the judgement of inept and corrupt members of the divine council.

We find most of Mullen's arguments persuasive, and take issue with him on only two points. First, we agree that the double name *mt w šr* is enigmatic, but find that the translation "Death and Shining One" raises at least as many questions as it answers. Indeed, the "Shining One," if identified with 'Athtar, could be assumed to have been an astral and chthonic deity with warlike characteristics. However, one is left wondering what other shared aspects would make the relationship between Mot and 'Athtar so strong. One also wonders whether another interpretation might render the name more understandable in its context. The second point concerns Mullen's interpretation of the background of Psalm 82. While vss. 2-5ab are understandable within a larger Hebrew-Canaanite framework involving the responsibility of government (earthly and divine) toward the community, we suspect that these failures may be explained within a broader complex of thought which focuses on Canaanite El as the consummate ruler. The condemned gods have failed because by nature they

have proved less than worthy of their status. Vss. 2-5ab have symbolic and literal importance. Failure to exercise divine duties suggests that their time must have been spent in other, less productive, pursuits. Morgenstern was probably correct in his assumption that the Psalm has undergone considerable reworking, though we are not convinced by his connection of Psalm 82 with Genesis 6:1-4. We do suspect that a pre-Yahwistic setting is more strongly represented in the psalm than Mullen has allowed for. We agree with him that the rebellion of the *šrym* and that of 'dm in vs. 7 serve as background for the judgement of the unjust gods in Psalm 82. However, we wonder whether the condemnation of the gods might be related sequentially to the fall of the "Shining Ones" to which it is compared.

Summary: Review of Scholarship

The foregoing review of scholarship has demonstrated the importance of several key concepts which should be discussed. The first of these concerns the relationship between the exegetical and synthetic processes. Ideally, these two tasks should be conducted independently, with exegesis preceding synthesis sequentially. In practice, however, pre-existing organizational frameworks which facilitate synthesis at times influence the conclusions of the exegete, thereby biasing his/her findings. This has taken place to some extent in the research of Morgenstern (1939), Pope (1955), Hendel (1987), Grelot (1949), and McKay (1970). However, one might argue that when working with a paucity of textual data, emphasis should not be placed solely on available sources. Instead, synthetic paradigms should be built from comparable material into which these fragmentary data can be placed and interpreted. This idea seems to have been operational in the studies just mentioned. We find this position to be less than satisfactory,

and have, therefore, focussed our study on a discrete body of textual evidence.

The second key concept involves the importance of establishing a set of controls when doing comparative cultural, literary, or mythological research. Wilson (1987) has accomplished this by limiting his discussion to the so-called secondary additions in Ezekiel 28 and Hanson (1977), whose analysis of 1 Enoch 6-11 is more directly related to our interests than that of Wilson, has done likewise by isolating a developed mythological pattern with a definable spatio-temporal focus which can be used in assessing related materials of early or late date. Without a set of controls, interpretation, comparison, and reconstruction become highly speculative. For this reason, our research agenda has been centered around two questions: first, what does internal evidence suggest about the authorship, date, setting, and function of the texts under consideration; and second, does 'Athtar material from Ugarit, Mesopotamia, and South Arabia assist us in the exegetical process, particularly as it relates to the understanding of mythological allusions found in each text?

The third concept concerns the use of caution in cross-cultural comparison. Craigie (1973) sought a *via media* in the debate concerning the point of origin of 'Athtar mythology and proposed a solution which would account for the uniqueness of alloforms in Greece, Ugarit, and Israel. Albright (1968), Clifford (1972), and Mullen (1980) have made careful use of Canaanite parallels in the interpretation of the biblical passages in question, and in the reconstruction of the myth of the revolt against Yahweh/El. Until more is known about localized manifestations of this myth (i.e. those found in Greek, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Hebrew sources respectively), it will be difficult to justify anything more than tentative

movement from simple comparison to the type of synthesis attempted by Craigie. This is due, in large part, to our incomplete knowledge of the dynamics of cultural exchange between Israel and its Mediterranean neighbors. In the meantime, studies like those of Albright, Clifford, and Mullen, which help to define Israel's place within its more immediate Canaanite environment, should be undertaken to continue the dialogue about the shape the myth may have assumed in Israel and Canaan respectively. For this reason, we have not attempted a grand synthesis of the disparate related materials in Greek, Rabbinic, pseudepigraphic, and early Christian sources. Instead, we have confined our study to the Ugaritic and Hebrew corpora. We have limited our selection of data from Ugarit to those texts involving the god 'Athtar. We have restricted our Hebrew text corpus to Genesis 6:1-4, Isaiah 14:4b-20a, Ezekiel 28:1-10, Ezekiel 28:11-19, Job 38:1-38, Psalm 82, and Daniel 11:21, 36-39, 45; 12:1-3. These have been selected for one or more of the following reasons: they have been noted in prior studies as possible reflexes of the myth in question; they make reference to characters found in the myth; or they mention events associated with the myth.

CTA 23.8-11, 52-56, 61-64

The combination of liturgical rubrics, repetitiveness, unusual mythological references, and shifting scenes found in CTA 23 has contributed to the longstanding debate about its purpose and meaning. The most convincing interpretive framework involves seeing it as "the libretto to a cultic drama" (Cross 1974a:246; Gaster 1950:225).¹⁷ The mythological sections describe El's seduction of his two wives and the birth of his two children Dawn and Dusk. These offspring are variously called, *ilm n'mm*, "beautiful gods" (CTA 23.1, 23, 58, 60), *agzrym bn ym*, "ravenous"¹⁸ sons of the day" (CTA 23.23, 58-59, 61), *ynqm bap zd aθrt*, "those who suck on the teats of the Lady's breasts" (CTA 23.24, 59, 61), and *bn šrm*, "sons of the shining ones" (CTA 23.2, 22). Gray (1949:72-73, 83; 1965:169-174) has suggested that the gods Šahar and Šalim are hypostases of 'Athtar, the planet Venus who was manifest as morning and evening star, that worship of the god Šalim was centered at Jerusalem at least from the time of the Egyptian Execration Texts which give the name of the city as *Uruslmm*,

¹⁷The original setting of the festival cannot be determined with specificity. Gaster himself proposed two dates. In an early article he associated this text with the Tammuz rites of the autumnal equinox (1941:294). In a later study, he proposed that the text was the order of service for the Canaanite feast of firstfruits held in the spring which was itself the prototype for the Israelite feast of Weeks (1950:227). Internal evidence supports neither contention strongly. Cross has proposed that the setting of the liturgy was a summer wine festival (personal communication).

¹⁸Cross has based the translation "ravenous" on line 63 of this text *wndd gZR kgZR*, "and they wandered/moved back and forth, bite to bite." He cites *ygZR 'l ymyn wr 'b* "He ravens on the right and is hungry," in Is. 9:19, *ygZR* being derived from *√gZR* "to cut, divide" (BDB:160), which he believes should be translated "to raven" in this particular context (personal communication).

and that during the period of the Israelite monarchy, this god was also worshipped under the names 'Athtar, Milkom (in Ammon), and Kemoš (in Moab) (1965:171, 173). Gray has based his findings on the presumed absence of 'Athtar in Ugaritic offering lists and his minor role in Ugaritic mythology (1969:170).¹⁹ What Gray has not mentioned is that 'Athtar appears as a theophoric element in personal names at Ugarit, along with Šaḥar and Šalim.²⁰ For Gray's thesis to be correct, we would have to allow for the assimilation of 'Athtar to Šaḥar and Šalim in god lists and hypostatization in onomastica. This seems highly unlikely. Furthermore, Old Akkadian personal names attest to the presence of 'Athtar and Šalim in the earliest Semitic pantheon (Roberts 1972:36, 51, 57). Therefore 'Athtar, Šaḥar, and Šalim are best treated as independent entities, with the latter two taken as the deification of first light (early morning) and evening (just after the setting of the sun). Evidence does not suggest that they represent the morning and evening stars.

Three passages require consideration: lines 8-11 which introduce the travails of the god *mt w šr*, 51-59 announcing both the birth of the gracious gods and preparation for the arrival of Šapš and the *kḫkḫm knm* "Fixed Stars," and 61-64 which tell briefly of the characteristics of these new born gods.

¹⁹We now have attestations of Athtar in so called Ugaritic "pantheon lists." Cf. KTU 1.118:17 (|| KTU 1.47:[17] broken), Ugaritica 5 n. 18:17 [missing in || Ugaritica 5 no. 170] and Ugaritica 5 no. 137 iv b 6. We thank J. Huehnergard for pointing out these references (personal communication).

²⁰Gordon lists the following names in his glossary: 'θtrab, 'θtry, 'θtrn, iḫḫr, šlm, šlmy, šlmn, iḫšlm, b 'ḫlm, sdqšlm, ṣṭqšlm (UT:508-519).

8-11

| | | |
|---|------|---|
| m(ô/u)tu wa-šarru yašibu | 8 1 | Death and Shining One ²¹ sits |
| badi-hu ḥaṭṭu šakāli | 8 1 | In one hand, the scepter of bereavement |
| badi-hu ḥaṭṭu 'ulmāni | 8 1 | In the other, the staff of widowhood |
| yazabbirū-na-nnū zabarī-mi gapni | 12 1 | Let them prune him with the prunings of the vine |
| yašammidū-na-nnū šamadi-mi gapni | 12 1 | Let them bind him with the bindings of the vine |
| yašqilū ²² šadīmati-ha ²³ kamā gapni | 7 1 | Let them cast (him) to the terraces like a vine |

The identification of the main character, *mt w šr*, is in question. Gaster (1950:241) has translated this line "as lord and master sate he enthroned," has identified this figure as a dionysiac spirit,²⁴ and has suggested that the viticultural imagery of lines 8-11 lends itself to sexual interpretation. Therefore, pruning=emasculatation, the vine stalk=the membrum virile, and the pruned vine=slain god. Gibson has suggested the translation "Mot and Šar sat down," and has proposed that the ensuing scene should be interpreted as the destruction of the god of death (1976:28, 123). He

²¹Alternately "The Resplendent Warrior." On *mt* as "husband; man, warrior" see CAD10(II):313-314. These meanings are attested in Old Babylonian texts, Amarna correspondence, and later Akkadian literature. Cf. Biblical Hebrew [*nat*] nm. "male, man" found only in the plural and in the personal names *mātûšā' ēl* and *mātûšelaḥ* (BDB:607) as well as Ethiopic *māt* (pl. 'amtār) "husband" (Leslau 1987:371).

²²This is a Š form of the root *√qyl*.

²³This may perhaps be vocalized *šadīmati-h*.

²⁴Gaster has compared Ugaritic *mt* with Akkadian *mutu*.

has also cited Driver's proposed reading, "Death and Dissolution,"²⁵ and that of Tsumura, "Death and Evil"²⁶ (1976:28, n. 1). Mullen (1980:239-240, esp. n. 208) has proposed "Mot and Shining One." He has compared Ugaritic *šr* with Akkadian *šarāru* meaning "to shine" and with Arabic *šarrār* meaning "sparkling."²⁷ Regrettably, this is the only known occurrence of this double name in the corpus of divine names from Ugarit, though others are attested.²⁸

Miller (1987:58), in his discussion on Ugaritic religion, has suggested that originally, the process of combining patterns in the "X and Y" pattern involved linking deities who shared obvious relationships (*b' l wdgnš špš wyrhš ' nt w' šrt*), while at the same time each god retained its own individuality. Later on in the historical process, particular combinations became more or less fixed so that they came to be treated as single gods (*kšr whss, mt w šr, nkl wib; qdš wamrr*). These were capable of being broken up and placed in parallel cola of poetry and the copula could be dropped, an indication of the fact that it had lost its functional significance.

²⁵He has derived *šr* from *šry*.

²⁶Tsumura has derived *šr* from Arabic *šarru*.

²⁷On p. 239, n. 208, he has credited F.M. Cross with first pointing out to him the "the concept of Ugaritic *šr* as 'Shining One' and its parallels with biblical reflections of unsuccessful revolts against the high god." Note also that the verb *šarāru* does not exist in Akkadian. However, the root *šrr* is reflected in the Akkadian adj. *šarūru* (AHw³:1193-1194).

²⁸Gordon has cited some eight of these in addition to *mt w šr*, and J.C. De Moor has proposed more than thirty of these combinations (UT:521-522; De Moor 1970:187-228).

Miller has suggested that this resulted in the identification of a single name. He has cited Atargatis of late Syro-Phoenician religion as an example in which this process has resulted in the formation of a single divine name.

We agree with Miller that the name *mt w šr* refers to a single deity. Unfortunately we can say little else. The implements which this god is said to be holding indicate that we are dealing with a figure associated with death. The binding and pruning seem to fit the picture presented by Gaster of the ritual reenactment of this god's slaughter.

We have adopted provisionally Mullen's vocalization *mōtu wa šarru* for Ugaritic *mt w šr* and his translation "Death and Shining One." We also share his belief that the parallel between *šr* here and *Hll bn šhr* who was cast into the underworld in Isaiah 14:12 is obvious (1980:241). However, a number of questions remain unresolved. If, as Mullen has suggested, the connection between the "Shining One" and Mot is explained, in terms of known mythological references, by the former having been cast into the latter's domain, what now are the characteristics of this new independent god? Of what significance is his ritual slaughter? Is an astral god or a chthonic god envisioned here? The god Ešmun, a chthonic deity, is also called *šr* "Shining One" in KAI 14, line 17, further complicating matters.²⁹ There seems to be some ambiguity, therefore, in determining the character of *mt w šr*. It is conceivable that the daily cycle of the old celestial triad (Sun, Moon, and Venus) may have contributed to the belief that these deities traversed the underworld. This would make them both astral and chthonic, and hence, fittingly called "Shining Ones" for at least a part of their regular

²⁹We owe this observation to Professor F.M. Cross (personal communication). On the relationship between Šaḥar and Ešmun see Albright 1946:79, 196 n. 25.

cycle of manifestation.³⁰ If, as Mullen has suggested (1980:238-239),³¹ there is in fact a connection between *mt w šr*, *Hyll bn šhr*, and 'Athtar, then an alternative vocalization presents itself which makes the identification of this god with Helel son of Šaḥar and 'Athtar more apparent, and answers some of the questions raised above.

If we vocalize *mt* as *mutu*, "man, husband" (UT:439) and suppose here a contextualized meaning similar to that found in Isaiah 3:25,³² the

³⁰According to Roberts (1972:57), astral deities occupied an important place in the Old Semitic pantheon as is attested by their popularity as theophoric elements in Mesopotamian personal names prior to Ur III. These included *Šamaš*, *Su'en*, *Eštar*, *Ay(y)a*, *Šalim*, *Umum*, and *Ištaran* (perhaps). Of these, *Šamaš*, *Su'en*, and *Eštar* (Sun, Moon, and Venus) compose a triad of particular importance in the early Semitic period. This is demonstrated by the fact that each of the three occur in other Semitic languages and by the fact that they represent three of the four deities (*Ay(y)a*, god of fresh water springs is the fourth) who appear most often as theophoric elements in Old Akkadian personal names. Roberts has suggested, in accord with Jacobsen (1968), Nielsen (1942), and Gray (1949), who have proposed that astral veneration is typical of semi-nomadic herdsmen and shepherds, that astral worship must have been of great importance in the early Semitic period, particularly if a semi-nomadic background is assumed for the early Semites.

³¹Interestingly enough, Mullen never clearly acknowledges a belief in the 'Athtar/*Hyll* /*mt w šr* equation. However, by acknowledging the persuasiveness of Grelot's (1956) *Hyll* /Venus/'Athtar identification, and by noting that Ugaritic *šr* forms a perfect parallel to BH *hyll*, his tacit approval of the 'Athtar/*Hyll* /*mt w šr* identification is implied. He discusses the likely characteristics of the two individual gods whose name make up part of the double name *mt w šr*, but does not develop a personality profile for the god as an independent entity.

³²*Mtyk bḥrb yplw // wgbwrtk bmlḥmh* "your warriors shall fall by the sword and your mighty men in battle."

dual name would then connote one who was an astral combatant. The imagery in lines 8-11 is similar to that found in Isaiah 14:5-6.

šbr yhw h mth rš'ym
šbt mšlym
mkh 'mym b'brh
mkt bly srh

Yahweh has broken the criminal staff,
the rod of dominance,
him who arrogantly cut down peoples,
with repeated blows,

An unnamed tyrant, identified only as the king of Babylon (14:4a) is addressed and vss. 5-6 begin the description of his demise which is accompanied by rejoicing in the fabric of the cosmos. His fall is hailed by the cedars and cypresses of Lebanon, and causes a stirring of activity in Sheol. Thus, the demise of the king is accompanied by a positive response from the created order. This is not unlike what we find illustrated in CTA 23. There is also striking similarity between the implements held by *mt w šr* and the *mth rš'ym* and *šbt mšlym* in Isaiah 14:4. While the heaviest concentration of mythological material is to be found in 14:12-15, it must be remembered that historical and mythic references have been blended so as to form a unified historico-mythological piece extending from vss. 4b-20a. As a result, the Helel myth in vss. 12-15 is crucial to understanding the king's crimes in vss. 5-6, and 16-17, the response of nature in 7-8, the tumult in Sheol described in vss. 9-11, and the king's fate in vss. 16-20a. There is an implied relationship between Helel's behavior and that of the king. We would interpret, therefore, the *mth rš'ym* and *šbt mšlym* of Isaiah 14:4 as symbols of chaos and disorder whose import is both earthly and cosmic, the destruction of which restored political order and cosmic equilibrium. The symbols of authority held in the hands of *mt w šr* might be similarly

identified. That chaos is to be associated with the rule of a divine usurper should not surprise. The granting of divine kingship is a prerogative belonging to El (cf. CTA 6.1.45-46). The process of binding, pruning, and throwing *mt w šr* to the ground (lines 8-11) could symbolize the wresting of power from his hands and the crushing of his hegemony. If this reading were to be adopted, the slaughter of this warrior would juxtapose nicely with the *hieros gamos* and the birth of Dawn and Dusk (lines 30-61). The reenactment of his death would symbolize the restoration of cosmic order and the return of fecundity to the universe through the elimination of the forces of chaos. This would seem to be the case even without vocalizing *mt* as *mūtu*. The location of this scene before El's seduction scene and the birth of his sons suggests that this god's destruction was necessary before Šaḥar and Šalim could be conceived and born. The single drawback to this proposal is the account of Mot's death at Anat's hands in CTA 6.2.30-37, which lines 8-11 may echo. If *mt w šr* is 'Athtar, we would then need to establish a reason for his ritualized slaughter.

52-56

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|
| rigmu la-'ili yubala | 8 l | A message was carried to El |
| 'aṯṯatā-yyū 'ili yalattā | 9 l | El's two wives have given birth |
| maha yalattā | 5 b | What did they bear? |
| yaldē-yyū šaḥra wa-šalima | 9 l | His two sons, Šaḥar and Šalim |
| ša'u 'udubū li-šapsi rabbati | 11 l | Raise up, prepare for Lady Šapsi |
| wa-li-kabkabima k(ā/i)nima | 9 l | And the fixed stars |
| yahburu šaptē-humā yaššiqu | 10 l | He bows, he kisses their lips |
| hinna šaptēhumā matuqatā-mi | 11 l | Behold, their lips are sweet |
| bimā našāqi wa-ḥarū ³³ | 9 l | In kissing their was conceiving |
| bi-ḥabāqi wa-ḥumḥumtu | 9 l | In embracing, passion |

³³See UV:288, n. 93 for this form.

The birth of El's sons is announced and a command is given to prepare for the arrival of Šapš and the "Fixed Stars." Presumably these are other members of the astral contingent who are to witness the birth of Dawn and Dusk. Their relationship to the *šr pbr* "shining ones of the assembly" in line 57 is not known. Mullen (1980:240) has suggested that they may represent the forces of chaos and death who were organized into their own assembly, similar to that of Kingu and the olden gods in *Enūma Eliš* (I. 151-155; II. 39-42; III. 42-46, 101-104). While we find no evidence to support the characterization of this assembly as one associated with chaos, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of the astral gods either had their own assembly or were accorded special status.³⁴

Rummel (1981:431-441) has cited the following parallel references to assemblies of stars and/or astral gods in Ugaritic and biblical literature:

pbr kkbm (CTA 10.1.4)

kwkby 'l (Isaiah 14:13)³⁵
kwkby bqr (Job 38:7)
hkkbm 'l KAI 277:10-11

šbu špš (CTA 35.47)

šb' hšmym (1 Kings 22:19),
šb' hmrwm (Isaiah 24:21)

mlk šbu špš (CTA 35.53)

šr šb' hšmym (Joshua 5:14-15)

We believe that these are, in fact, valid parallels. The nature of the phenomena represented is clear. This is the retinue of El, present to witness

³⁴The preponderance of Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic personal names in Mesopotamia which have *Šmaš*, *Su'en*, and *Eštar* as theophoric elements may be an indication of the special status enjoyed by these gods (Roberts 1972:57).

³⁵We follow the interpretation of Cross (1973:45) that *kwkby 'l* is a "frozen, archaic expression" which originated in the mythic language of Canaan, and that the phrase refers to the circumpolar stars of the north. Albright noted that these are the stars which never set (1968:232, n. 69).

the momentous occasion of the nativity of Dawn and Dusk.³⁶ There is no clear connection in this text between the *kbkbm knm*, *šr pbr*, and *mt w šr*, but one suspects that there is some relationship between the latter two, the nature of which is not made explicit by the text. Šaḥar and Šalim are called *bn šrm* "sons of the Shining Ones" (lines 2 and 22), a designation which we believe indicates their genus (i.e. as astral gods). As for the role of the *kbkbm knm* here, our most conservative estimate is that their function is similar to that played by the *kwkby bqr* and *bnv 'lhm* in Job 38:7 who, as members of the divine council, rejoiced during the creation of the cosmos.

61-64

| | | |
|--------------------------------|------|---|
| šaptu li-'arši šaptu li-šamēma | 11 l | One lip to earth, the other to heaven |
| wa-'arābu bi-pī-humā | 8 l | and there entered into their mouths |
| 'uṣṣurū šamīma | 6 b | the birds of the heavens |
| wa-daggū bi-yammi | 6 b | and the fish of the sea, |
| wa-nadādu gazru li-gazri | 9 l | and they wandered back and forth bite to bite |
| ya'dubā 'ô yamīna 'ô šam'āla | 11 l | They placed both the right and the left (hands?) |
| bi-pī-humā wa-lā-mi tišba'āni | 11 l | into their mouths, yet they were not sated. |

The newborn gods are described as having enormous mouths and ravenous appetites. Gaster (1950:234, 254-255) has interpreted this insatiable hunger as a sign of the divine origin of the newborn gods and has made the comparison between their appetites and that of the offspring of the sacred marriage rite in Thracian and Macedonian carnival plays. Gibson

³⁶On the celestial contingent and its functional importance in Canaan and Israel see particularly Albright (1948:380-381) and Cross (1948:200, n 13, 201, n 19; 1953:274, n 1).

(1976:30) has suggested that if the interpretation of the end of CTA 23 by Caquot and Szymer³⁷ is adopted, the possibility that Šahar and Šalim might have been the first-born (perhaps because they represent the division of day from night) of many gods reported in the text becomes more probable. The implication from the end of the text (lines 64-76) would be that the gods require humanity for sustenance in the form of sacrifice in order to survive, their hunger being unsated by the provision of the created order.

Gaster's suggestion (1950:228) that Dawn and Dusk are the counterpart of the Dioscuri in Classical literature who are themselves identical to the morning and evening star places greater emphasis on the appetites of the young gods than it does on their size. This minimalist interpretation of lines 61-64 would have us overlook the gaping orifice created when their lips are stretched, an expanse which encompasses the whole of the horizon. All that the eye can see becomes subject to their feeding frenzy. What better picture could one have of the full expanse of the human field of vision. The cosmos in its entirety is their feeding ground, and though they partake in quantity of its plenty, they remain unsatiated. The poet has conjured a powerful image of infinity (spatial as well as temporal) and of the limitlessness which one beholds at sunrise and sunset. These gods are the embodiment of the events which mark the

³⁷Gibson does not mention the date or title of the source, so we have presumed that the reference is to their study of 1974 since this is the only source by these two scholars listed in his bibliographic section. We must mention that the idea that Šahar and Šalim are first-born gods overlooks the fact that El copulates with his daughters (who have, of course, been born prior to Dawn and Dusk), making it impossible for Šahar and Šalim to be El's first-born. From elsewhere in Canaanite mythology we know that it is Mot who is in fact El's first-born.

initiation and termination of a single day. Hence, both their appetite and their feeding times are without limit. It seems clear that this is not an image of a single celestial body (eg. Venus) visible in the skies during morning or evening. It is, instead, a picture of a far greater manifestation, that of the heavens themselves, illuminated in the hours of morning and evening.

Summary-CIA 23

Regrettably *mt w šr* is an isolated epithet in Ugaritic literature. In its present setting, the ritual reenactment of his death is given importance because it precedes the events leading to the birth of Dawn and Dusk. The identification of this god, his relationship to the *šr pḥr* mentioned in line 57, and his connection to *hyll bn šḥr* of Is. 14:12, have been established by the semantic correspondence between *hyll* and *šr*.³⁸ Lines 52-56 indicate that the birth of El's children is to be attended by the sun goddess and other astral deities, and the description of the newborn gods in lines 61-64 makes clear that they are not hypostases of the morning and evening star, but represent the deification of first light and early evening.

³⁸Note should also be taken of the fact that there is a break in line 57 before *šr*. Gaster's proposed restoration (1950:451), noted in Herdner (1963:100, n. 10) is [*l'*] *šr pḥr*.

CTA 24.23-33

This is an extremely difficult text which has produced little scholarly consensus concerning its genre and meaning.³⁹ There have also been questions raised regarding the identification of some of the characters mentioned in it.⁴⁰ Major studies have included those of Virolleaud (1936), Gordon (1937), Gaster (1938), Ginsberg (1938; 1939), Goetze (1941), Tsevat (1952), and Hermann (1968). Even at this point in time, the interpretation of the piece must proceed along very conservative lines. The poem is divided into two parts, these sections being separated by a horizontal line drawn on the tablet. There is also a horizontal line drawn

³⁹Goetze (1941:353-354) has suggested that lines 40-50 have no connection with the Nikkal poem and has excluded them from his study. Gaster (1938:81-82) has proposed a threefold structure for the poem which consists of a Prologue, Mythos, and Epilogue, similar to Homeric Hymns. He has set the poem within the ritual context of a secular marriage rite and has reasoned that a full set of ritual acts and ceremonial were an integral part of its performance. Gordon has characterized the poem as an *hieros gamos*, and has suggested that the ceremony reflected within it no doubt reflected contemporary counterparts in the human sphere (1937:30-31). Gibson has characterized the text as some type of prayer or incantation (1976:31).

⁴⁰These have included *Nkl wib*, *Hrhb*, the *kört*, and *Prbht*. See, for example, Ginsberg's interpretation of the *kört* as human female singers (1938:13), Gordon's contention that *Nkl* is a goddess (1937:30), Goetze's refusal to accept Ginsberg's identification of *Nkl wib* as a double-name (1941:354-357), and the difference of opinion between Gaster, who has suggested the *Hrhb* was a spirit of spring and patron of lovers (1938:83), and Goetze (1941:358-359), who has proposed that the name may consist of Hurrian *Hirihi* (a divine name probably identical to Mt. *Hirihi* north of Assyria) with suffixed *-bi* (used to form adjectives of appurtenance). He has suggested that the name meant "the one of Mt. *Hirihi*" Cross has suggested that the *kört* are to be understood as divine midwives (personal communication). For other proposals cf. Margolis (1972a:53-61; 1972b:113-117), and Lichtenstein (1972:97-111).

after line 50. The first section of the poem extends from line 1- 39 while the second consists of lines 40-50. The first section is a hymn to *Nkl wib* (*Nikkal wa-'ibb*)⁴¹ and *Hrbb* (*Harhab, Hirhibi*, or the like). The poem begins with a hymnic salutation (lines 1-3) similar to that in CTA 23.1-2, proceeds with a description of the successful consummation of the marriage of *Nkl* and *Yrb* (lines 4-5), and an announcement to the *krt* that a son is to be born to the divine newlyweds (lines 6-14). The text continues with the story of the successful courtship of the goddess *Nikkal* and the moon-god *Yrb* (*Yarib*) in which *Hrbb* served as marriage broker (lines 15-37), and concludes with the bard's pronouncement of blessing in *Yrb*'s name on those hearing the poem (lines 38-39).

The second part consists of a hymn to the *krt* (lines 40-43), and what seems to be a petition to *El*, the *krt*, or both on behalf of *Prbbt* (lines 44-50). Gibson has suggested that lines 44-50 give away the purpose of the entire composition, which is intended as an incantation to secure a blissful marriage, fruitful union, and safe birth, events echoed in lines 1-38 (1976:31). The structure and content of the composition indicate that this may well have been the case.

Our major interest in the text concerns the brief mention of the god 'Athtar and what may or may not be implied about his character from it.

⁴¹Tsevat (1952:61-62) has demonstrated conclusively that this is the correct reading of the name. He has derived the etymology of Ugaritic *ib*, the second element in the double name *nkl wib*, from Akkadian *enbu*, "fruit," an epithet of the Mesopotamian moon god, *Sin*. This requires taking *ib* as a loanword (against West-Semitic 'Enab). See also pp. 74-78 in Blau (1972:57-82).

23-33

| | | |
|--|------|---|
| wa-ya'ni ḥarḥab malku qēzi | 9 l | And Ḥarḥab king of summer fruit answered: |
| la-nu'mānu ⁴² 'ili-mi | 7 l | "O beloved of El, |
| la-ḥata[nu]-mi ba'li | 7 l | O son-in-law of Ba'l, |
| tarriḥa pidrayya bi[ṭta-hu] | 9 l | Pay a bride price for his daughter Pidray, |
| 'aḡarribu-ka 'abā-ha ba'la | 10 l | I will bring you to her father Ba'l. |
| yig'tār ⁴³ 'aṯtaru | 6 b | Let 'Athtar sink |
| tarriḥa li-ka yṽbṽrdṽmayya ⁴⁴ | 10 l | Acquire Ybrdmy for yourself, |
| bi[ṭta 'a]bī-ha ⁴⁵ | 5 b | (prized?) daughter of her father |

⁴²Goetze (1941:368-369) has suggested that *ln 'mn* may be an adverbial construction in which nunnation has survived, similar in formation to Canaanite *'unnam (in which mimination has survived). He has treated *ln 'mn 'lm lḥtnm* as a syntactic unit meaning "Well so El himself is to become father-in law." Note should also be taken of Goetze's analysis of *lḥtnm*, which he has treated as a noun with prefixed *lamedh* functioning as Akkadian *lū* (1941:367). We have treated *ln 'mn* as a noun with a prefixed vocative *lamedh*.

⁴³KTU has confirmed the reading *yḡ'tr*, proposed by Herdner (1963:103). Gibson (1976:129, 155) has adopted this reading and has analyzed the form as the Gt preterite of *yḡ'wr*, "to be jealous," and has cited Arabic *ḡāra* as cognate. The literal meaning of the Arabic cognate, however, is "to sink, be low." This "sinking" could, in our opinion, be a reference to 'Athtar's mental and emotional state of being, in which case the lexical meaning of the root would have to be extended. It could also refer to 'Athtar's regular cycle of manifestation in the heavens (ie. rising temporarily only to "sink" inevitably). A final alternative involves treating this as a reference to 'Athtar's resulting eclipse in status should Yariḥ succeed in his attempt to wed Nikkal. If such were the case, then 'Athtar's "sinking" would be representative of his demotion. Cross suggests a different alternative (personal communication). He compares Hebrew *y'ṭr* "to intercede."

⁴⁴Vocalization and meaning are uncertain here. It is possible that this is the name of a goddess (Gordon 1965:408).

⁴⁵We have followed the proposed reconstruction of KTU.

| | | |
|--|------|--|
| labi'u ⁴⁶ yu'ārār ⁴⁷ | 6 b | let 'The Lion' be aroused." |
| wa-ya'ni yariḥu nāyiru šamīma | 12 l | Then Yariḥ, light of the heavens, answered, |
| wan- ⁴⁸ a[nā] 'immana | | |
| nikkala ḥatani ⁴⁹ | 9 l | indeed he did answer: "My marriage (will be) with Nikkal." |
| 'aḥra nikkala yariḥu yutarriḥ | 11 l | Afterwards, Yariḥ paid the bride price for Nikkal. |

We agree with Gibson that Ḥarḥab's role is that of "a typical eastern marriage broker" (1976:31). Ḥarḥab tries unsuccessfully to persuade Yariḥ to marry Ba'l's daughter Pidray, *Ybrdmy* being either an alternate name or an epithet of hers, offering to help negotiate the contract. He is told that 'Athtar, later referred to as the "lion" who will be roused, will "sink." The exact meaning is unclear, but context suggests one of three possible meanings: jealousy (Gibson 1976:129,155), 'Athtar's regular cycle of heavenly manifestation, or a reduction in status caused by Yariḥ's success in wedding Nikkal. Of these possibilities, the second and third are based on more firm linguistic evidence than the first. Yariḥ is unmoved by the

⁴⁶KTU and Gordon (1965:183) read *lb' u*, while Herdner (1963:103, and n. 13) has proposed either *lb' u* or *lbb* in CTA. Of these, *labi' u*, "lion," makes better sense in this instance. While *libbu*, "heart" is possible, the form *lbb*, as Herdner has noted (1963:103, n. 13), is not in keeping with standard orthographic practice found at Ugarit. The expected form is *lb*. Huehnergard has called our attention to the fact that Ugaritic *lbb* would correspond to Hebrew *lēbāb* (personal communication).

⁴⁷We have vocalized the form as an L passive imperfect of *√'yr* III, "to arouse" (Gordon 1965:456, 461).

⁴⁸We have treated this form as a *waw* with suffixed *-n*, used for intensification (Gordon 1965:110).

⁴⁹We have analyzed this form as a masculine noun with 1cs suffix.

prodding and announces that Nikkal is his mate of choice. He proceeds at that point to pay the bride price to secure her.

‘Athtar’s role is a small one. Harḥab, in our opinion, comes across as something of a trickster. His plot to wed Pidray and Yariḥ seems to be aimed at making ‘Athtar envious. We are not told specifically that ‘Athtar has a romantic interest in Pidray, but this is implied from the response which Harḥab expects from ‘Athtar. *Labi’u* "lion" is an epithet of ‘Athtar (who is called *‘ariḥu*, "awesome" in CTA 6.1.54-56, 61) possibly attested also in CTA 2.3.20.

Summary-CTA 24

Even though we are given no direct information about ‘Athtar’s role in the astral revolt, we see him here as the potential loser in marital negotiations in which he is not a direct participant. Should Yariḥ wed Pidray, ‘Athtar, the "lion," it is said, will do little but roar. He seems, in short, anything but, "awesome." The commentary is, thus, brief but biting. This may provide one important clue in understanding the range of sentiment about ‘Athtar in Canaanite myth. It is our belief that anti-‘Athtar sentiment, in this instance quite mild and virtually imperceptible, was prevalent at Ugarit, and that this is reflected in its mythological lore. In light of this, our current episode is rather banal on one level, but on another, one is reminded that the sharpest criticism can often be veiled in terse sarcasm.

CTA 6.1.43-67

It has been suggested that in the Baʿl epic we are dealing with an allegory describing the cycle of nature and the establishment of cosmic political order (Gibson 1976:6; Gaster 1950:125-126). Gaster has said the following of ʿAthtar:

It is apparent that Ashtar is a god of inferior status who aspires to dominion over both the earth and the waters but who is regarded in each case as not fully qualified to wield it (1950:126).

This characterization, based in part on his interpretation of the Baʿl myth itself, and in part on his assessment of ʿAthtar's encounter with Yamm in III AB, C (CTA 2.3.12-24), and his failure as Baʿl's replacement, supports our contention that there is anti-ʿAthtar sentiment reflected in the mythology of Ugarit. Our aim in the following analysis is to determine the nature and extent of this polemic as reflected in ʿAthtar's failure on Mt. Sapon.

43-46

gām⁵⁰ yaṣiḥ ʾilu li-rabbati⁵¹

⁵⁰BH *gam* in Psalm 137:1, which some translate "loudly" (UT:378), should be compared. BDB cites the Arabic root *√gmm* meaning "to become much or abundant," and translates BH *gam* "also, moreover." (BDB:168) Segert (1984:182) suggests the vocalization *gū/gā/gī* for Ugaritic *gū*, meaning "voice." One is led to conclude that the final *mēm* is either enclitic or adverbial. Any of the following vocalizations seems reasonable: *gam*, *gūm*, or *gām*.

⁵¹Compare the root *√rbb* in Hebrew meaning "to be/become many, much" (BDB:912-913), and the Aramaic adj *rb* "great" (BDB:1112). See also UV:176 for vocalization.

| | | |
|--|------------------|--|
| 'aširati yammi | EM ⁵² | El cried aloud to Lady Athirat of the Sea: |
| šama'ī li-rabbatu 'aširatu yammi ⁵³ | 13 1 | "Hear O Lady Athirat of the Sea, |
| tinī 'aḥada bi-banīka 'amallikannu ⁵⁴ | 14 1 | Give one of your sons that I may make him king." |

With Ba'1 the conqueror dead, a power vacuum exists in the divine assembly and equilibrium is upset on earth. The gods are without a champion and nature is without one to bestow fertility. El mourns, Anat is distraught. All wonder what will become of creation without the god of the storm, and thoughts of self-sacrifice surface as those who dwell eternally contemplate life without him. With the assistance of Šapš, Anat recovers Ba'1's body and buries it atop Šapon. After sacrifice for the fallen warrior, she reports his death to El and Asherah. Opportunity exists now for Asherah to name another son to replace Ba'1 as Šapon's ruler, and El asks her advice in choosing a successor to reign as king.

⁵²EM = Extra Metrical Line

⁵³Cross has described this as a sentence name from a cultic formula or litany, the divine name (frequently a verbal element) being the first part thereof. These evolve like other hypocoristic names, often leaving only the first verbal element. Other examples of this type of name include 'al'iyu *qarrādīma* > 'al'iyānu [once 'al'iyu ba 'l] 'I prevail over the heroes," *yadi' yilhan*, "he knows, he understands," and *rākīb/rakub 'arapāti*, "cloud rider" (1973:66-67).

⁵⁴Akkadian *malāku* "to counsel, to advise" (AHw2:593) could be compared, but lacks the semantic range necessary in this context. Hebrew *√mlk* (*mālak*) "to be/become king" (BDB:573-574) is more appropriate in this instance..

47-54

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| wa-ta'ni rabbatu 'aṣiratu yammi | EM | And Lady Athirat of the Sea answered: |
| bal ⁵⁵ namallika yadi' yilhan ⁵⁶ | 9 l | "Surely, let us make Yadi Yilhan king." |

⁵⁵In Hebrew poetic and prophetic style, *bal* is equivalent to *lō' .* Its root is possibly *√blh*, meaning "to waste away." Note also Hebrew *bālī*, *bélet* (> *bilfī*), which were originally substantives (GKC:481; BDB:115). In Ugaritic, *bl(t)* is at times positive, but Gordon believes that in such instances the nuance is that of a rhetorical question with negative *bl(t)* (UT:372). He would translate *bal* here with a negative force, and *bilfī* in line 54 with a positive force. One would have to assume unusual subtlety on the poet's part if Athirat begins her conversation with El by suggesting the elimination of the first candidate named. We may also suppose that this god's inappropriateness as successor to Ba'1 is so well known that the mention of his name causes El to recall his deficiencies in detail (which he does in lines 50-52). Athirat would, in this instance, be deflecting El's potential dissatisfaction with 'Athtar by suggesting the name of an inferior replacement first. This subtlety is not lost if the first *bal* is positive. Athirat's motive would then be to suggest *yadi' yilhan* enthusiastically, knowing beforehand that this would meet with El's disapproval and put her in a position to recommend 'Athtar. In either case, we are assuming that 'Athtar is Athirat's first choice and that she is positioning herself to present his case in the most effective manner possible. It is also possible to treat *bl* and *bil* as particles introducing the question "Shall we not" (Cross:personal communication).

⁵⁶Cross translates "he knows, he understands" (1973:66-67). For other sentence names see the note on 'aṣiratu yammi above. (See also Cross 1973:67, note 84 for reference to the use of *yilhn* in the Amman Citadel Inscription.) Aistleitner translates *bl nmlk yd' yilhn* "bestellen wir zum König den, der versteht unterwürfig zu sein" (1974:170). Gordon cites Elephantine Aramaic *lhn* "servitor" and suggests "to serve" as the meaning of the root *√lhn*. He also notes the Arabic meaning of the root, "to be intelligent."

daqqu⁵⁹ 'ānīma⁶⁰ lā yarūzu⁶¹
'imma ba'li

13 l "(One so) minute in
 strength cannot race
 with Ba'l

lā ya'dubu⁶² murḥa⁶³'imma

⁵⁹The root *ʾdqq* is attested in Arabic, Ethiopic, Akkadian, Aramaic, and Biblical Hebrew with the meaning "to crush, pulverize, thresh." Note should be taken also of the additional Arabic and Akkadian nuance "to be/become thin, minute" (BDB:200). In Biblical Hebrew one finds the adjective *daq*, "small, fine, thin" (BDB:201), in Arabic *diqq* which Aistleitner translates "zart, dünn," and in Ethiopic *daqīq*, "zerstossen, klein" (1974:81). J. Huehnergard has brought to our attention the fact that Ethiopic *daqiq* normally means "small" and is the usual word for "child." Note also that in the Ugaritic polyglot vocabulary *daqqu* is the equivalent of Akkadian *ṣeḥru* (UV:119).

⁶⁰Compare Biblical Hebrew *ʾʾwn* II, "be at ease, rest, enjoy a life of plenty," and *ʾôn*, "vigor, wealth; strength" (BDB:20).

⁶¹For the final *z* of *yrz*, compare the Biblical Hebrew root *ʾrws* meaning "to run" (BDB:930).

⁶²Gordon proposes the meaning "to prepare, make, set," for the root *ʾdb*. The masculine noun *ʾdb* in UT 2029:19 he translates as "agent (to whom a land grant is assigned for management)," and the feminine noun *ʾdbt* he thinks might be a general word like "arrangement" which has multiple nuances (UT:454). Hebrew *ʾzb* II (BDB:737) should also be compared. In the present context, one should expect a verb detailing what is done with a *murḥu* "spear." Perhaps "to throw" or "to handle" (with a wider meaning reflecting all of the things one might do with a spear (for example warfare, competition, etc.); here, the idea might be that Yadi' Yilḥan is not as good a spear handler as Ba'l).

⁶³Biblical Hebrew *rōmah* "spear, lance" is to be compared (BDB:942). Gordon cites North Egyptian *mrḥ*. It is generally believed that this form in Egyptian was borrowed from a Northwest-Semitic dialect like Ugaritic, and that *mrḥ*,

| | | |
|--|------|--|
| bini dagani | 10 l | He cannot handle the spear with Dagan's Son |
| kī tammassā-mi ⁶⁴ | 5 b | when they test one another" |
| wa-ʿanū rabbatu ʿaṣiratu yammi | EM | And Lady Athirat of the Sea answered: |
| baltū namallika ʿaṣtara ʿarīza ⁶⁵ | 7 l | "Nay, (then) let us surely make ʿAṣtar the terrible king." |

Athirat is shrewd, she knows that ʿAṣtar is not likely to meet with El's approval, particularly if he is recommended as the initial candidate. She puts forward the name of Yadiʿ Yilhan, a god who is dismissed immediately as a poor replacement for Baʿl. His intelligence is not questioned, surprisingly enough, given that his name means "He knows, He

wherever it occurs, is a metathesized form of *rmh*. Other reflexes are Arabic *rumh*, Ethiopic *ramh*, and Coptic *marah* (BDB:942; UT:437-438).

⁶⁴This is a difficult line. Gibson reads *kmsm* "when the time is right," in agreement with Caquot and Sznycer (1976:75), taking *msm* as a noun (?) meaning "opportune moment" from Arabic *mawṣimu* which has the same meaning (1976:151). The major problem with this is that Herdner reads *ktmsm* (CTA 3.1.52). We agree with Mullen's interpretation of *k* in *ktmsm* as adverbial *kī* (1980:37, note 64). We are also in agreement with him that the form should be derived from the root \sqrt{mss} , and that the final *m* is to be treated as an enclitic *-mi*. He compares the meaning of this verb to Arabic *massa*, "to feel, touch, hit, befall" This reading preserves the imagery of the contest initiated in line 50. We have followed a suggestion made by Cross (personal communication) and vocalized *tmsm* as an N 3rd masc. dual verb.

⁶⁵We have followed Mullen's suggestion of comparing the epithet ʿarīzu to Biblical Hebrew *na ʿāraṣ* used of Yahweh in Psalm 89:8 (Mullen 1980:36-37, note 63). BH ʿārīṣ (as in Ezekiel 28:7 below) "awe-inspiring, terror-striking" should also be compared (BDB:792).

understands." El's rejection of him suggests that Ba'l's throne is not for one who is astute, but for one skilled in conflict, familiar with competition, and unmatched in power. El judges him to be lacking the skills for one who would rule in place of the assembly's mighty warrior. Knowing that this would be the result, Athirat is in position to recommend her primary choice, 'Athtar the terrible.

55-61a

| | | |
|--|------|---|
| yumallak 'aStaru 'arīzu | 9 l | 'Athtar the terrible was made king. |
| 'appūnaka 'aStaru 'arīzu | 10 l | Then 'Athtar the terrible |
| ya'li bi-ṣarūrāti ṣapāni ⁶⁶ | 10 l | went up to the far reaches of Ṣapon. |

⁶⁶BH has the root *ṣrrr* I meaning "to bind, tie up, be restricted" (BDB:864). Gordon mentions a personal communication from J. Finkel which identifies *ṣrrt ṣpn* with *ṣrwr 'wn 'prym ṣpwnh ḥt 'tw* in Hos. 3:12. He also proposes that its original meaning might have been "the recesses of the hiding place." In his text 1111:9 he notes the noun *mṣrrt* from the same root, the meaning of which suggests some manner of "wrap" (UT:476). Gordon wants one to assume that the noun *ṣrrt* refers to the upper reaches of a mountain, hidden by by cloud cover. BH *yarkētē ṣāpôn*, "far reaches of the north/Ṣapon," may be compared here. It is found in Is. 14:13; Ezek 38:6, 15; 39:2; and Psalm 48:3. In some instances, the meaning of Ṣapon is mythological, referring to the location of the cosmic mountain, the place of the divine assembly's meeting (Is. 14:13), in others it indicates a geographical location far removed, from whence menacing foes originate (Ezek 38:6, 15; 39:2, the Gog/Magog material), and in one instance (Psalm 48:3) Zion is said to be in the "far reaches of the north." Though there is certainly more than a distant relationship between CTA 6.1.43-67 and Isaiah 14:4b-20a, Ugaritic *bi-ṣarūrāti ṣapāni* and BH *yarkētē ṣāpôn* refer to disparate locales, the former to the summit of Mt. Ṣapon, mountain of Ba'l, the latter to the Amanus region, supposed location of El's mountain (Cross 1976:38-39).

| | | |
|---|------|-------------------------------------|
| yaṭib li-kaḥṭi ⁶⁷ 'al'iyāni ba'li | 10 l | He sat in Aliyan Ba'l's throne. |
| pa'nāhu lā-tamgiyāni ⁶⁸ huduma ⁶⁹ | 11 l | His feet would not reach the stool, |
| ra'suhu lā-yamgiyu 'apsahu | 10 l | His head would not reach its top. |

'Athtar assumed the kingly mantle, and ascended to the heights of Šapon. He took his place on the throne of Aliyan Ba'l, but found himself to be a poor substitute. His feet would not reach Ba'l's footstool and he was not tall enough for his head to reach the top of the throne. He proves, in fact, to be as poor a candidate as Yadi' Yilhan. 'Athtar has no chance to exercise the privileges of his position. We hear nothing of his strength and never learn whether he can handle the spear or compete with Ba'l. His diminutive size makes clear, instead, that he never met the criteria to be king. He failed before his tenure began.

⁶⁷Gordon cites the Canaanite Amarna gloss ka-aḥ-šū, and Friedrich AfO 14 (1944):329-331, who identifies it with Hurrian kešhi, "chair." (UT:418).

⁶⁸The root *√mgy*, "to reach, come, arrive," is from the Proto-Semitic root **√mgy*. This is one of several Ugaritic words in which the reflex for Proto-Semitic *θ* is written with a sign otherwise used exclusively for the reflex of Proto-Semitic *ḡ*: *ḡr* "mountain," *√ḡm* "to be thirsty," *√nḡr* "to guard/protect," *√yqḡ* "to be alert," and *√mgy* "to arrive." See Gordon UT:27-28, par. 5.8.

⁶⁹Mullen (1980:36) and Gibson (1976:76, 145) translate "footstool" BH *hāḏōm* (BDB:213) should be compared.

61b-67

| | | |
|--|------|--|
| wa-ya'ni 'aṣṭaru 'arīzu | EM | And 'Athtar the terrible answered: |
| lā-'amluku bi-ṣarūrāti ṣapāni | 12 1 | "I will not rule from atop Ṣapon." |
| yarid 'aṣṭaru 'arīzu | 8 1 | 'Athtar the terrible came down |
| li-kaḥṣi 'al'iyāni ba'li | 9 1 | from the throne of Aliyan Ba'l, |
| wa-yamluku bi-'arṣi 'ilu kulliha ⁷⁰ | 12 1 | And he (currently) rules over Earth, god of all of it. |

⁷⁰Gibson translates "the earth of El, all of it," and cites *ḥqkpt il klh* (CTA 3.6.13-14) "Memphis of El, all of it" or "all of broad Memphis," *ḡry il ṣpn* (CTA 3.3.26) "my rock El Ṣapon," in support of his reading (1976:76, note 2). We do not agree with his interpretation. We believe that the purpose of this episode is to convey 'Athtar's new role as god of Earth. The implication is that his dominion over earth is similar in function to that of El. Whether or not Earth refers to the underworld is open to debate (Mullen 1980:37, note 65). Cross has suggested the reading 'arṣi 'ili, which he would translate "El's land" or "land of the shade" (Personal Communication). It is his belief that 'Athtar's alternation between heaven and the underworld is the cause of his failure to rule. Since he is a god who rises and sets, he is incapable of assuming kingship. As compelling as this suggestion is, we are troubled by two matters. First, the abrupt ending of the text leaves many questions about 'Athtar's ultimate destination unanswered. Second, one would expect an assault on El's mountain, rather than on Ba'l's, to result in 'Athtar's exile to the land of the shades. We believe, therefore, that a more conservative interpretation is called for. Consequently, in this instance, we suspect that Earth represents, simply, the spatial antithesis of Ṣapon. If this were the underworld, one would expect a clearer reference to Mot or to his dwelling. While it is possible that such a reference was contained in the lines now lost at the end of the text, we are not convinced that the author's intention was to relegate 'Athtar to the underworld. We suspect that the purpose of the episode was to establish Ba'l's incomparability. If this were the case, then 'Athtar's ultimate destination would have been of secondary importance. It has also been suggested, based on data concerning 'Athtar's function in South Arabian and Mesopotamian religion, that his role is that of divine

[...] ḥš 'abanūma⁷¹
 [...]n 'abanūma

4 ? [...] .. stones
 4 ? [...] . stones

'Athtar's abdication is not decreed by El. It is voluntary. He decides not to reign from atop Šapon, but to exercise authority over Arš, where his rule continues. The idea that self-recognition of shortcomings is somehow virtuous may be operative here. If so, 'Athtar is heroic in that he relinquished his power before it was taken from him forcibly. On the other hand, the author may be conveying a straight-forward tale of divine failure with no hint of redemption being intimated for 'Athtar. Whatever the original intention may have been, the result is that 'Athtar's failure sets the stage for Ba'l's return. Against the background of all of the major characters in the Ba'l cycle, 'Athtar is the least memorable. He is certainly not of El's stature, he is incapable of providing earth with fertility (Ba'l's role), he proves no match for Yamm, and one could hardly envision him as a fitting opponent for Mot, whom Ba'l himself fights to a draw. 'Athtar is a foil for Ba'l, proof positive that the god of the storm is without peer.

Summary-CTA 6

Gibson has described this episode as a symbolic of the period of dryness in the summer when rain clouds vanish from Šapon's peaks, and

patron of artificial irrigation, his contribution to the life-cycle being confined to humanly engineered means of supplying water rather than that originating in the heavens (Gaster 1950:126, 196; Jacobsen 1976:140-141). An assessment of these and other claims concerning the nature of 'Athtar must be reserved until additional data is available about the god for analysis.

⁷¹We follow here the reading of KTU. A liturgical rite could be implied. The narrative may have continued with a description of 'Athtar's exploits as ruler of earth, with an emphasis on additional failures which increased the need for Ba'l's return.

affirms that 'Athtar is either a desert god (with Gray) or the god of artificial irrigation (1976:19). Albright has suggested that this episode is indicative of an intense rivalry between Ba'l and 'Athtar votaries which existed considerably before the middle of the second millennium B.C.E. (1969:231-232). On the surface, 'Athtar appears to be portrayed as a failure, unable to secure his own position in Ba'l's absence. At a deeper level one also discerns an apologetic tone, as though the myth is explaining the establishment and legitimacy of 'Athtar's cult. We would need to know more of what followed his descent to earth in order to say anything more about this, so this suggestion is made with the greatest caution. From what we do have, 'Athtar is a pitiful figure. This episode represents the zenith and the nadir of his role in the Ugaritic mythology available to us at present. It is the best preserved and most extensive account of his activity, as well as the one which casts him in the least favorable light.

One suspects that this deprecation of 'Athtar is intentional. No other god, not even Mot, is cast in such an unfavorable light. Yamm, Ba'l, and Mot are allowed to assume active and combative roles in the cosmic drama, falling in battle and competing for cosmic dominance. Goddesses like Anat and Asherah are also allowed to give vent to emotions and exercise their influence over El and others in the pantheon. Šapš, a second astral deity, has a mediatory role which assures perception of her as an active divine force, and Yarih too is permitted a place of note in the pantheon. By contrast, 'Athtar is little more than a fool who rants against the injustice of being denied kingship (CTA 2.3.1-24), and is not successful when given the opportunity to exercise it. In short, one senses that Canaanite theologians have systematically made him impotent. Unlike other gods who have the

wherewithal to vie for power, 'Athtar does not have the ability to enter the contest.

It is clear that the episode at Šapon is not a direct reference to a revolt. It is concerned with the irreplaceability of Ba'l. 'Athtar's failure is important, but only in that it serves to elevate the status of Ba'l. With no storm god to provide rain and fertility, the balance of nature is threatened; drought and infertility loom large in his absence. Consequently, the way is prepared for Anat's confrontation with Mot and Ba'l's triumphant return from the underworld to reclaim his place as king. 'Athtar is neither terrible nor of kingly stature. If the story can be said to convey a moral, it might be that one's aspirations should be tempered by an understanding of personal limitations. Our major difficulty lies in identifying the audience for which this message was intended. We suspect that it was directed to 'Athtar votaries and that its intention was religious and political. From a religious standpoint, the devaluation of a god in the canonical literature of a culture could indicate that the prestige, cultus, and functionaries of the debased god are of lesser rank than those who receive more favorable treatment. The prominence of Ba'l at Ugarit and elsewhere in Canaan is well known. On the political level, a god's voluntary abdication of power in primordial reality could be taken as a divine mandate for uncompelled submission to central authority by a specified segment of the populace, in particular that segment most closely associated with 'Athtar. While we know little about the worship of 'Athtar at Ugarit, we do know that he belongs to the earliest stratum of Semitic gods and probably had an active cult from early antiquity. Therefore we are relatively safe in assuming that 'Athtar had an active cult at Ugarit. Unfortunately, we have little information from which to reconstruct the socio-political background of the 'Athtar cult. From what we

know of the social function of myth, there is often a correlation between the composition of primordial reality and that of the world of humans. This suggests the likelihood that 'Ahtar's abdication had social ramifications, the nature and extent of which may only be speculated about.

CIA 2.3.1-24⁷²

Their poor state of preservation has made the interpretation of these lines extremely difficult. Gaster (1950:115, 133-134), de Moor 1971:36-37, 121), Pope (1955:102), and Gibson (1976:3-4), for example, have been conservative in the assessment of their content.

It is virtually impossible to determine the setting of lines 1-3. Herdner's reconstruction suggests that reference is being made to the homeland of Kothar-wa-Hasis and to that of El. (lines 3-5). It is possible that the beginning of the text, now lost, told of El's summons to the divine craftsman, whose skills were needed for the construction of Yamm's palace. Once the scene shifts to El's abode (line 4), an unidentified figure does homage to the chief god (lines 5-6). Context suggests that the unnamed figure is Kothar himself. It is to Kothar that El's comments are directed in line 7, and the command to begin construction of a palace for Yamm, which is the provenance of Kothar, occupies all of lines 5-12. 'Athtar registers displeasure at this and prepares to engage Yamm in conflict (lines

⁷²The reconstruction of Herdner (1963:9-11) has been followed unless otherwise indicated. The fragmentary nature of the text and the large number of reconstructions have made the counting of syllables virtually impossible. For this reason only the text itself along with a vocalization have been presented. 'Athtar's role in this text is an important one. Regrettably, its poor state of preservation has made its reconstruction both difficult and speculative. The exegete is left, therefore, with two possible courses of action. The first of these is to avoid discussion of the text because of its fragmentary nature. The second involves reconstructing the text to the extent possible from comparative evidence elsewhere in the Ba'l cycle, and proceeding with a cautious assessment of the data. We have chosen the latter course. To do otherwise would be to leave undiscussed an important, though fragmentary, episode in the cycle of stories about 'Athtar.

12-14). Šapš warns against this (lines 15-18) and reminds 'Athtar of El's possible response to this action. 'Athtar is not deterred. He proclaims his disdain at having no house like the other gods (lines 18-22). Šapš, the voice of moderation, replies that he ('Athtar) has no wife like the other gods, and is, at least by implication, not deserving of the benefits which accrue to kingship (lines 22-24). Here the text ends abruptly.

The fragmentary state of the lines 1-24, the absence of background due to the loss of the opening lines of the column, and the abrupt ending of the text make it virtually impossible to establish where the events narrated therein fit in relationship to others described in the Ba'1 epic. Nonetheless, the major thrust of the text appears to be with the construction of Yamm's palace, and the impact that this has upon at least one member of the divine council, 'Athtar. Beyond this, we are limited in what we can say about where this episode should fit in the Ba'1 cycle. Herdner has suggested that the texts making up the Ba'1 cycle follow the arrangement of the texts in her edition (1963:xi), while deMoor (1971:42) prefers the order CTA 3, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6. Gibson has proposed yet a third possible arrangement (CTA 2.3; 1.4; 2.1; 2.4; 3; 4; 5; 6) (1976:37-81). A full discussion of this issue can be passed over safely, at least for now, given our present concern which centers on 'Athtar's place in this text. We are particularly interested in his status (i.e. is he king?) and in his relationship to Yamm and Šapš. It must be emphasized, however, that our exegetical enterprise is based on a text which is almost totally reconstructed. As a result, our conclusions are quite tentative, and must be treated as such.

1-3

| | |
|--|---|
| [] (b d) []n | |
| [li-kaptā]ri ⁷³ li-ra[ḥuqi 'ili-mi ḥakpati] | To Kaphtor, to the remote god of Hakpati |
| [li-raḥuqi 'ilānīma] | To the distant (one) of the gods |
| [ḥinē maṣpadē]mi ⁷⁴ ta[ḥta 'ênāti 'arši] | Two layers beneath the springs of earth, |
| [ḥalāṣa mat(a)ḥa ḡayarīma ⁷⁵] | Three stretches of the swamps |

If Herdner's reconstruction is accurate, reference is made here to the home of Kothar-wa-Ḥasis, the divine craftsman, whose home is Crete (Kaphtor).⁷⁶ He is not a central figure in the exploits of the younger gods in the Ugaritic pantheon, neither does he figure as a contender for Baʿl's throne. He assists and is subject to the decrees of El. He is an ally of El and Baʿl. His skills are necessary for the construction of temples, and thus the institution of the cult, and for success in battle (as in the case of Yamm's defeat). We treat *li-raḥuqi 'ilānīma* as spatially and metaphorically significant. Kothar-wa-Ḥasis is the most enigmatic of gods because of his special talents and because his home is removed from the contiguous areas of Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia.

⁷³Herdner reconstructs [-----kpt]r. Lines 1-3 have been reconstructed from CTA 1.3.18-21 and CTA 3.D.78-80, and CTA 3.F.14-15 (1963:9, and note 1).

⁷⁴"Layer" (Aistleitner 1974:341).

⁷⁵"Ground water"; cf. Arabic *ḡawr*-, "ground depression," and *ḡāra*-, "to seep out" (water) (Aistleitner 1974:247).

⁷⁶See Gaster (1950:154-155) for a discussion of the role of Kothar-wa-Ḥasis in Ugaritic mythology.

4-14

[ʔiddaka] la-yattin pānīma ʿimma [ʔi]li
mabbukē [naharēmi qirba ʔappiqē tihāmatēmi]

yaglū ḏada ʔi[li]
wa-yibāʔu [qa]rša malki [ʔabī šanīma]

li-paʿnē ʔili [yahburu] wa-yaqūlu
[ya]štahwi[yu] wa-yakabbi[du-nahu]

[ʔah]ra ya[ʿni Ṣōru ʔilu ʔabū-hu]⁷⁷

[šamaʿ la-kô]Ṣaru wa-ḥa[sīsu]
[ta]baʿ bi[nī] bahaṭī-mi yammi

r[āmi]ma hēkalla Ṣāpiṭi naha[ri]

(h/ʔi)m wa- []tabaʿ kô[Ṣ]aru wa-ḥa[sīsu]

[(?)] binī bahaṭī-mi zubūli yammi

[rāmi]ma⁷⁸ hēka[lla Ṣāpiṭi nahari]

bi-tôki []šap[šī]⁷⁹]

[ḥuš baha]ṭī(ma/hu) tabnū[-nnu]⁸⁰

Then he set face toward
El,
At the sources of the two
rivers, in the midst of the
springs of the two
deeps.

He reaches the tent of El.
He enters the tent of the
King, the Father of
Years.

At the feet of El he bows
and falls.

He bows down and he
honors him.

Afterwards, Bull, El his
father answers:

"Hear O Kothar wa-Ḥasis
Depart, build houses (for)
Yamm

Raise a temple for Judge
River

and,....depart O Kothar
wa-Ḥasis

Build houses (for) Prince
Yamm

Raise a temple for Judge
River

In the midst...Šapš

Hurry, let them build him
a house/houses

⁷⁷Herdner's proposed restoration for the end of line 6 and the beginning of line 7 has been adopted (1963:9, note 4).

⁷⁸The reconstruction of Herdner, *[(?)rm]m* has not been adopted (1963:10).

⁷⁹This is a tentative reconstruction.

⁸⁰We have taken this to be a G, 3rd. pl masc. jussive form with 3rd masc. sing. suffix from *yḏny* "to build" (UT:373).

[ḥu]š tarām[imū-nnu⁸¹ hēkall(īma/uhu)]
bēta

Hurry, let them raise for
him a
palace/palaces...a
house

[]k mnḥ[]š bš[]t
[]galmu lšdt []yāmīma
[]bi-yammi yammu y[] yš[]n

.....a lad.....days
in the seas,
Yamm....."

ʾappika ʿaštaru dū mu[lki]⁸² []
[]ḥṽrhṽrātu-mi⁸⁴ wa(l/ʾu/d)[]n[]
ʾiš[]h []ʾišātu
[]y yābīlūma-mi ʾu[]k
yarid[]ʾi[]n binu

Then ʿAhtar the king⁸³...
...torches.....fire
...bearers.....he
descended...son

Kothar sets out toward the home of El, at the base of the cosmic mountain in the far reaches of the north. Upon entering the tent of El, he pays him homage, symbolic of the fact that in spite of Kothar's liminality, he remains subject to El's authority. Kothar receives his orders. He is to construct a temple for Yamm. This sets the stage for the conflict with Baʿl which takes place later. With a temple, Yamm will have the accoutrements of kingship before his rival Baʿl. The place of Šapš is unclear at this point. Later she will be the voice of moderation which stays the rash hand of ʿAhtar.

⁸¹We take this as an L 3rd plural jussive with 3rd masc. sing. suffix from *ṽrwṽm* "to be high" (UT:483).

⁸²Reading *d . m[lk]* with Gibson (1976:37).

⁸³Literally, "the one of (ie. possessing) kingship."

⁸⁴We follow Gibson (1976:146) who suggests the meaning "torch, brand" for *ḥṽrhṽt*, deriving it from *ṽḥrr* II "to scorch" (UT:399). We vocalize it as a *qṽtqṽt* (reduplicated) feminine plural form with enclitic *-mi*.

If Gibson's reconstruction (which is highly speculative and adopted by the present author with great caution) is correct, attention should be paid to the fact that 'Athtar is the only character called *dū mulki* "possessor of kingship." It should also be noted that he holds this title in spite of the fact that he is without a temple. Yamm, by contrast, will be granted permission to build a house, but there is no indication that this will bring with it the title *dū mulki*.⁸⁵

Since he is the sole authority in the distribution of kingship, one must assume that El is responsible for elevating 'Athtar to the status he enjoys at the beginning of the Ba'al cycle. If this is not the case, then one must suppose either that 'Athtar became king through sedition, or that his title has a specialized meaning. Three possibilities present themselves. First, as an astral deity, *dū mulki* could be a reference to 'Athtar's authority over the assembly of celestial gods (the *šarrū puḫri* "shining ones of the council" of CTA 23.57). A second possibility arises from our interpretation of CTA 6 and CTA 24. 'Athtar is confirmed as king in CTA 6.1.46-67, but his regency is short lived. In CTA 24.24-32, as we have seen above, Harhab tries to convince Yariḫ to marry 'Athtar's betrothed, Pidray, the apparent implication being either that 'Athtar would "sink" or that he would prove to be no threat should Yariḫ desire to steal his mate. The picture here is at variance with one that would conceive of 'Athtar as one possessing regal

⁸⁵Once again the reader is cautioned that *d m[lk]* is a reconstructed reading. Herdner's readings for lines 12 and 18, in which this title is found, are as follows:

12. *d(t/m) [--]*

18. *d(t/m) [-]k[?]*

Gibson's proposed reconstruction is not, therefore, without considerable merit based on the textual evidence available. Nonetheless, caution is advised.

status. With this as background, *dū mulki* could be a mocking title, a label of derision. A final possibility is that the appellation is an historical remnant from an earlier stratum in 'Athtar theology which has been adopted at Ugarit, but retains little of its original meaning. On some level, all of these may have been true at Ugarit.⁸⁶

15-18a

[]nn nīratu 'ilima šapšu tišša'u
gā-ha wa-ta[šihu]

...light of the gods, Šapš
lifts her her voice and
cries out:

[šama]'a m'[[?] [?yaθ]'iru⁸⁷
θōru 'ilu 'abū-ka [.]

"Hear!...Bull El your
father will exact blood
guilt
Before Prince Yamm
Before Judge River
How, indeed, shall Bull
El your father hear
you?

li-pani zubūli yammi
li-pani [θā]piṭi [n]ahari
['ēka 'a]l yišma'u-ka θōru ['i]lu 'abū-ka

Surely, he will pull up
the support of your
throne platform
Surely, he shall upset the
throne of your
kingship
Surely, he will shatter the
scepter of your
authority"

la-yišša'u ['ā]lata⁸⁸ [θibti-ka]

[la-ya]hpuku [kussi'a] mulki-ka

la-yaθabbiru ḥatta maθpati-ka

⁸⁶We agree with Cross (personal communication) that the reading *d mlk* is, in fact, a most precarious one, and that its appearance here is strange and unparalleled elsewhere in the lore of Ugarit. Nonetheless, it is precisely its strangeness and difficulty that commend it as a possible reading and necessitate some reflection on its possible meaning.

⁸⁷Cf. Arabic *ḥa'ara* "to engage in a blood feud" (Aistleitner 1974:330).

⁸⁸"A part of a building, strong support, column"; cf. Arabic *'ālat* "instrument, device, organ" (Aistleitner 1974:23).

Šapš warns 'Athtar (?) against resisting El's will. Perhaps the fragmentary remains of lines 13-14 once made explicit reference to 'Athtar's plan to attack and destroy Yamm, and how this plot might go unnoticed by El. Resistance to the plan to construct a temple for Yamm, Šapš reminds 'Athtar, will result in the exaction of blood guilt and the overturning of his throne platform (lines 16-17). If Herdner's reconstruction is correct, this would be peculiar considering that in line 19 'Athtar complains of having no temple. Lines 17-18 indicate that 'Athtar is in fact in possession of some kind of authority, that is unless the words of Šapš are to be taken as meaningless formulae.

18b-22a

wa-ya'ni ['aštaru] dū mu[l]ki⁸⁹[?]

[] bi-ya šōru 'ilu 'abī

'anāku 'ēna bētu [li-]ya [kamā] 'ilīma

[wa-]haziru [ka-banī qud]šī

labi'u⁹¹ < 'anāku >⁹²

And 'Athtar the king
answered:

"Is Bull El my father
with me?

As for me, there is no
house for me like the
gods

or a court like the sons
of Holiness⁹⁰

I am the Lion

⁸⁹Reading *d m[l]k* with Gibson (1976:38).

⁹⁰This is Athirat's title.

⁹¹We are following the reading of Virolleaud and Gordon cited by Herdner (1963:10, note 17).

⁹²This restoration supposes that the scribe has omitted the 1cs personal pronoun. It (or some other addition) is needed to render the line sensible.

'aridu bi-napšê-nīyā⁹³

tirḥaṣūna kôṣarūma []d

bi-[bahatū]⁹⁴ [zubūli] yammi

bi-hēkalli ṣāpiṭi naha[ri]

yaṣ'ir Ṣôru 'ilu 'abū-hu

li-panī zubū[li] ya[mmi]

[li-panī Ṣāp]iṭi [nahari]

malaktu [](p/h)m lā-malaktu

I shall descend into the
two graves of both of
us.

The Kotharim shall
wash (me?)

in the houses of Prince
Yamm,

in the palace of Judge
River?

Let Bull El his father
seek blood-guilt

before Prince Yamm

before Judge River

Am I king...am I not
king?"

The complaint which 'Athtar registers is similar to that made to El
by Athirat on Ba'l's behalf (CTA 4.4.50-52).

'ēna bētu li-ba'li kamā 'ilīma
wa-ḥaṣīru ka-banī 'aṣīrati
môṢabu 'ili maḥlīlu bini-hu
môṢabu rabbati 'aṣīrati yammi

There is no house for Ba'l like the gods,
and no court like the sons of Athirat.
The dwelling of El is the shelter of his son,
the dwelling of Lady Athirat of the Sea

This plea does not go unanswered. El grants permission for the construction
of the temple, and Kothar-wa-Ḥasis is summoned by Ba'l and given
instructions. From what we have here, neither 'Athtar nor any other
spokesperson presents a request to El. 'Athtar, obviously angered by
Yamm's good fortune and favor before El, takes matters into his own hands
and challenges him. He reminds Ṣapš of his position, boasting of his title,
and defying the powers of death.

⁹³The reference here is to the domain of Yamm and possibly that of Mot.

⁹⁴Reading with Herdner (1963:10, note 19).

He tells Šapš that he plans to descend into the underworld in pursuit of Yamm.⁹⁵ As a sojourner through the underworld he is, at least in theory, in regular contact with both Sea and Death.⁹⁶ He could, as a consequence, claim an advantage in any anticipated battle because he is partially chthonic. His regular access to the underworld could make it possible for him to catch his foe Yamm unaware.

⁹⁵This may be an important issue in understanding the role that astral deities played in the ancient Near East. It is possible that they are partially independent because they span two realms, the heavens and the underworld. This may be particularly true of the old triad of Sun, Moon, and Venus/'Athtar. Together, these, along with others, may have been given the title *šarrū puhri*, "shining ones of the assembly." This partial independence may also be at the root of astral revolt myth. Limited autonomy of a select number of the divine council's members as an operational concept in the speculative thought of the ancient world could easily have spawned tales of uprisings and attempts to wrest control from the central authority controlling the pantheon. The socio-political background for the development of such a concept is not difficult to envision. The lesson inherent in this is the problem of extending political control over peripheral areas. The successful growth of relatively autonomous Canaanite city-states in the absence of strong Egyptian political control illustrates this well, and the object lesson could not have been unnoticed by an observant poet or social critic. Additionally, the fact that astral deities function according to more regular and cyclic patterns than natural, zoomorphic, or social gods must have also contributed to the gradual development of semi-independent characteristics as these gods evolved.

⁹⁶We assume here that such a descent, similar to that of Šapš, is at least hypothetically possible. The sun regularly sets in the west, hence it is quite realistic to suppose that Šapš enters Yamm's domain at sunset (from the perspective of one living on the coast of the Mediterranean). Such a course could be assumed for other astral deities visible in the early morning and in the evening (Moon and Venus for example). Huehnergard has called to our attention the fact that the Egyptian sun-god *R'* enters the domain of the underworld each night to do battle (personal communication).

22b-24

wan <ta'ni šapšu >⁹⁷
'êna 'aṯṯatu [li-]ka ka[mā 'ilīma]

[wa-ḡalmatu ka-banī qudšī]

wa-ya[] zubūlu yammu ya'[] Ṣāpiṭu naharu

[]yislahūna
wa-ya'ni 'aṯtaru [?]

And Šapš answered:
"There is no wife for you
like the gods
or a young maid like the
sons of Holiness"
and.....Prince
Yamm.....Judge
River

.....they sent
And 'Athtar answered:

It is unfortunate that the text breaks off so abruptly. We know nothing of the resolution of the conflict. It is possible that the conclusion was similar to that in CTA 6.5.30-32 where Mot ceases his battle with Ba'1 after being warned by Šapš of El's retribution. Perhaps 'Athtar, fearing El's reprisal, halted his assault on Yamm. Nothing conclusive can be said about this. It is important to note that 'Athtar's unsuitability for kingship is mentioned. His lack of a spouse appears to be the chief hindrance here. In CTA 6.1.59-61 his size disqualifies him from assuming Ba'1's throne. These two references present a picture of a god whose powers are quite limited regardless of the strength implied by the epithets *labi'u*, *dū mulki*, and *'arīzu*.

Summary-CTA 2

Once again 'Athtar is cast as a lesser light in the divine assembly. He has some measure of authority among the gods, the extent of which is not known. It is apparent that whatever his prerogatives are, he has no small degree of difficulty in exercising them. Here, he is a god in possession of a title, but lacking a major possession associated with it (a

⁹⁷Speakers have changed here. Perhaps this is Šapš speaking. A line marking the transition could have been omitted in the process of transmission.

house). Furthermore, Šapš reminds him that he is lacking an important qualification to possess the title *dū mulki*: He has no wife (line 22).

The statement *malaktu (p/h)m lā-malaktu* "Am I king...am I not king?" could indicate that the poets of Ugarit recognized the ambiguity of 'Athtar's status in much the same way that they illustrated his limitations atop Šapon (CTA 6.1.61-62). If we had the benefit of other corroborating evidence, these would be strong indicators that 'Athtar, in spite of his epithets, his conflict against Yamm, and his brief stay atop Ba'l's mountain, was conceived as a god whose descent is inevitable. From the fragments we have, he is never implicated in acts of sedition or rebellion. He is instead a god who understands that he lacks the strength to vie with El, Yamm, Mot, and Ba'l for dominance in the cosmos.

'Athtar at Ugarit: Summary and Review

Our analysis of Ugaritic mythological texts has yielded modest but important results. In addition to the information cited above, the personal names 'štr ab (UT 1046:12; 1055:1) 'štry (UT301:I:4; 1146:1), 'štm (UT 322:II:4) indicate that the worship of 'Athtar had taken root in popular piety, and his presence in the polyglot god list (Ug. 5 137 iv b 16) indicates that his cultus was active at Ugarit (UV:164).⁹⁸ Since only a small portion of the 'Athtar cycle remains, we must be cautious and conservative in drawing conclusions about his role in Canaanite myth. We believe that only the following may be said of 'Athtar with any degree of certainty:

1. In spite of the title *d mlk* which is attributed to him in CTA 2, 'Athtar is rival to neither Ba'l nor El.
2. His role in the Ugaritic pantheon is minor.
3. At no point does he conspire to overthrow El.
4. As temporary replacement for Ba'l in CTA 6.1.43-67, he is made king by El. This process *does not* involve conflict.
5. His abdication of and descent from Ba'l's throne are voluntary. He is not forcibly removed from this office.
6. There is *no clear indication* that 'Athtar assumes kingship over Sheol/The Underworld after his descent from Šapon. It seems more likely that his descent to earth represents the antithesis of his rise to power atop Ba'l's mountain.
7. His stature (CTA 6) and maturity (CTA 2) are cited as obstacles to his possession of kingship.
8. His epithets "awesome," "lion," and "possessor of kingship," are at odds with his actual accomplishments.

⁹⁸For an analysis of these and other personal names at Ugarit cf. Gröndahl (1967:83, 113-114).

These findings must be taken into consideration when analyzing possible references to 'Athtar and his exploits beyond the confines of this corpus.

Job 38:1-38

Attitudes about the transmission history, authorship, and purpose of the book of Job have had a profound influence on the translation of many of its more problematic pericopes (cf. Driver and Gray 1921, Driver 1956, Pope 1965, Guillaume 1968, Gordis 1978, and Jantzen 1985). The goal of objective presentation notwithstanding, the true value of an integrative commentary lies in the synthesis of data and its incorporation into an organizational framework which renders the original text sensible. Unfortunately, even the most balanced of approaches could not hope to overcome some of the more notorious difficulties presented by the text, language, and mythological references in Job. The impossibility of escape from perspectival relativism is clearly illustrated in scholarship on Job. Pope's is the most recent attempt to unlock the book's remaining mysteries, particularly those involving its stock of Ancient Near Eastern motifs, but his represents but one of several alternative approaches. To date, most translations of the more troublesome sections of Job have been conservative. It is our belief that this has obscured the meaning of the theogonic and cosmogonic references contained in the Yahweh Speeches and 38:1-38 particularly. There is a decided preference for interpreting this text as little more than a litany of meteorological and/or astronomical phenomena in the commentaries. This renders its meaning and function more opaque and ambiguous than it should be. The translation here attempts to clarify some of the ambiguity by making the mythological references contained therein more apparent. We have also adopted a sixth-century date of authorship for Job proposed by Cross (1973:343-345).

1-3

way- ya'n⁹⁹ yahwe [] 'iyyōb
min[] sa'arā¹⁰⁰

EM And Yahweh answered Job
from the cloud

⁹⁹OG reads *meta de to pausasthai Elioun tēs lexeōs eipen ho kyrios*. I have taken this as an explicating expansion which the translator has inserted (perhaps as an artistic device) to end the Elihu speeches and introduce the Yahweh speeches.

¹⁰⁰OG reads *dia lailapos kai nephōn*, a problematic reading. *Lailaps* appears for BH *sûpā* in 21:8 and 27:20, while it has no Hebrew equivalent here. By comparison, the reading for BH *sə' ārā* in 40:6 is *nephous*. The matter is complicated further by the use of *nephos* to translate:

| | |
|-------|--|
| 'ānān | 38:9; 37:11, 16; 26:8, 9; 7:9 |
| 'āb | 38:34; 30:15; 22:14; 20:6 |
| šahaq | 38:37; 37:21(?Greek equivalent uncertain); 36:28; 35:5 |

One is left with the choice of either taking *sûpā* as an ancient variant (marginal or otherwise) in the Vorlage of OG, which has somehow dropped out of MT, and emending it to the text, or treating *lailaps* as an addition of the Greek translator (included perhaps for increased clarity, or as a literary device). The translator seems at times unconcerned with precision. In 40:1, for example, *yahwe* is translated *kyrios ho theos* (which one would expect for *yahwe* ' *lōhim*, which is not used as a divine designation in Job). By comparison, for *yahwe* in 42:9 OG has *ho kyrios*. Emendations based upon OG readings must therefore be made with great caution. I have treated *lailaps* as a Greek addition (taking *nephos* here and in 40:6 as the equivalent of BH *s'rh*, omitting the definite article before it in agreement with MT 40:6 and (with less certainty) on the strength of the Greek which records no definite article before *lailapos* or *nephōn*.

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|---|
| mī ze maḥṣīk ¹⁰¹ ʿiṣā | 6 b | "Who is this cloaking sound counsel, |
| ba- millīn balī daʿt ¹⁰² | 6 b | with senseless words? |
| ʾizur-naʾ ka-gabr ḥalaṣaykā | 9 l | Gird your loins as a warrior, |
| wa- ʾiṣʾalkā wa- ḥōdīʿenī | 9 l | so that I may ask you; furthermore, tell me: |

Verse Type: Quatrain

Meter: b:b::l:l

Job is asked to prepare himself. He is held accountable for earlier charges (cf. 3:1-26; 6:1-7:21; 9:1-10:22; 12:1-14:22; 16:1-17:16; 19:1-29; 21:1-34; 23:1-24:17; 26:1-4 (5-14?); 27:1-12; 29:1-31:40). Confronted by the deity, he is commanded to prepare for conflict. Here, it takes the shape of a catechetical exercise. One gets the sense that the author believes the protagonist to have behaved inappropriately, even unwisely. This should be considered an important part of the overall response which the poet has constructed in the following verses.

¹⁰¹OG reads *ho kryptōn*, retaining the definite article, and inserts *me* before the Greek equivalent of MT *ʿiṣā*. There is no compelling reason to prefer either of these readings over MT.

¹⁰²Little help is provided by OG. *Ho synechōn* was inserted, perhaps, for added clarity; there may have been some confusion as to the meaning and syntactical function of MT *maḥṣīk* function. *En kardia* is no doubt an explicating plus, and *baʿlī daʿt* may have seemed to the translator a reference to some activity attempted with Yahweh being unaware (hence, without *his* knowledge), *eme de oietai kryptein*, "...and tries to conceal (it) from me," conveying in his opinion a general sense of this idea. Masculine plural forms of *millā* ending in *-îm* (10 times) and *-în* (Aramaic masculine plural form, 13 times) are found only in Job (see BD⁵576). Here note the absence of dagesh forte in *lamed* (which I have taken as a modern typographical error and restored).

4-7

| | | |
|--|-----|---|
| 'êpō hayītā ba-yusdī 'arṣ | 9 l | Where were you when I founded Earth? |
| haggid ¹⁰³ 'im yada'tā bīnā | 8 l | Speak (of it) if you know the story! |
| mī šam mimnaddayhā kī tida' | 9 l | Who set her measurements, if you know, |
| 'ō mī naṭā 'alayhā qaww ¹⁰⁴ | 8 l | or who extended the line over her? |

Verse Type: Quatrain

Meter: 1:l::l:l

| | | |
|--|------|---|
| 'al mā 'adanayhā ¹⁰⁵ huṭba'ū ¹⁰⁶ | 9 l | How were her foundations sunk, |
| 'ō mī yarā 'abn pinnatāh ¹⁰⁷ | 8 l | or who established her cornerstone, |
| ba-runn ¹⁰⁸ yaḥd kōkabê buqr ¹⁰⁹ | 7 l | when the Stars of Dawn rejoiced together, |
| way-yarī'ū kull banê 'ilōhīm ¹¹⁰ | 10 l | and all the divine council shouted joyfully? |

¹⁰³OG, reflecting the text of LXX^S, reads *apaggeilon de*, "and report!" LXX^A and LXX^V have *anaggeilon*, "announce!", omitting the copula. I am not convinced that the OG reflects an original Hebrew reading.

¹⁰⁴OG *spartion*, "small cord."

¹⁰⁵OG *krikoī* LXX^{A,V} *styloi*, "columns."

¹⁰⁶OG *pepēgasin*, "have been fixed."

¹⁰⁷OG *lithon gōnaion*, "mill stone."

¹⁰⁸OG *egenēthēsan*, "(they) were created"; LXX^A *egenēthē*, "(it) was created."

¹⁰⁹OG *astra*, "stars," represents an interpretive translation.

¹¹⁰OG *ēnesan me phōnē megalē pantes aggeloi mou*, "all my angels praised me with a loud voice." LXX^{A,V} read *ēnesan me en phōnē megalē pantes*

Verse Type: Quatrain
Meter: 1:1::1:1

Pope's interpretation of vss. 4-6 suggests that the author had in mind a conception of earth as a building set on foundations and constructed according to a fixed design (1965:250). The language used here unquestionably casts the creator-god as architect. However in v. 13, Earth is brought to life as one who has given shelter to evildoers. The poet has mixed images of earth as the product of divine engineering and Earth as olden god, for artistic effect.

The tone of the events in vss. 4-6 is reminiscent of that found in *Enūma Eliš* (Tablet IV.130ff.)¹¹¹ Once Tiamat had been slain, attention shifted to the marvels that Marduk was to work with her corpse. As the artist/creator who fashioned the cosmos, his acumen received greater attention than the medium (Tiamat's body) through which he worked. Both texts focus attention on the power of the creator rather than on that which is created. That Marduk was working with the body of a slain god had been established before his creative activities began. In Job 38:4-6, the creator-god's skill is also highlighted, but the poet makes no mention of the characteristics or prior history of what is being created, though the author of Job 38 certainly realized that the earth which was created was imbued with life. However, in v. 13 the personification of Earth suggests that reference

aggeloi mou kai ymnēsan, "all my angels praised me with a loud voice and they sang hymns."

¹¹¹See especially the translations of these lines by Speiser (ANET:67ff.) and Heidel (1951:42ff.). Speiser's numeration of the poem's lines follows that of Labat (1935) (ANET:60).

is being made to the old god Earth. The poet has chosen to draw attention to the force operational in the creation of Earth in the former, and on the culpability of the old god in the latter. The overall purpose of the poet here and elsewhere in the text has been to establish the identity of the god addressing Job. The implied answer is that this is the god who creates the living habitat for humanity and has the power to stand in judgement against even the olden gods.

Though the opening rubric states that it is Yahweh answering Job from the whirlwind, the use of divine names poses a vexing problem in the criticism of the book. In the Prologue and Epilogue, the name *Yhwh* appears frequently; otherwise it occurs only in 12:9 as a possible quotation from Isaiah 41:20 (Gordis 1978:442), and in the Yahweh Speeches (38:1, 40:1, 40:6). It is missing from the interchange between Job and his friends, and from the speeches of Elihu. *'dny* is found in 28:28 only (and here too its use is suspect), while *'lhym* appears in 28:23, 5:8, and 20:29. Far more frequent are the names *šdy* and *'l* which together number more than ninety occurrences. This is not without significance. It has been suggested that the preference for these names is a result of a shift in the character of Yahwism (Cross 1973:59-60).¹¹² In the sixth century Yahweh is seen less as national deity and more as cosmic creator and controller. Old prophetic forms of discourse are transformed and given new meaning. A new movement is born (which may be designated as a proto-Apocalyptic

¹¹²See esp. 59, nn 57 and 58, where he discusses the distribution of these names in archaic Hebrew poetry and in the sixth century. N. 60, p. 60 should also be consulted for a discussion of the use of *El* as a designation for Yahweh in later Hebrew literature and the reasons accounting for it.

movement rather than a late prophetic movement) in which the language and symbolic system of an earlier period in Israel's life resurface and are given new meaning.

As an example of the transformation of forms, we may cite Deutero-Isaiah, in which Yahweh becomes the eschatological divine warrior whose battles will result in a restored Israel (e.g. Is. 34-35 for example). It is he who inspires Cyrus (Is. 45), brings down the gods of Babylon (Is. 46) and the city itself (Is. 47), and leads the captives in a new Exodus. In Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, and Ezekiel, the Canaanite mythological threads woven into the fabric of Israel's early religious history resurface and begin to flower (e.g. Is. 64, Ezek. 28-29). In most of the corpus of Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah, the balance between the historical and the eschatological is maintained; there are constraints governing the use of a cyclic (mythic) time frame (Cross 1973:346). The same may be said of Ezekiel. This may represent either a speculative strain of a period in the sixth century after the compilation of Job, or an alternative philosophical/theological school whose dates are coeval with that of the final editors of Job. However in Job, as Cross has suggested (1973:343-345), the balance is lost, and the contextualization of history gives way to the recurring cycle of myth. The crucible of exilic life, the tragedy of national dissolution, together with the perplexing questions to which these events gave birth, left the author of Job standing not before the god envisioned by the wisdom teachers, the prophets, or the Deuteronomist; he stood before El and Ba¹.¹¹³

¹¹³For an assessment of speculative thought in the ancient Near East during the sixth century B.C.E. see Thomas (1961) and Davison (1980).

Cross believes that Job stands at the crossroads of Israelite religion. Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and others carry the theological strain of the book forward and assemble a new form of faith incorporating myth, history, wisdom, and the prophetic heritage. Only in the brief period of the Chronicler would an attempt be made to revive the old faith (1973:344, n. 2). He believes that this transformation is characterized by three traits: an eschatologizing and democratizing of old prophetic forms and themes, the emergence of a doctrine of two ages (one of "old things," and one of "new things"), and a return to the use of creation myths to frame and give transcendence to history. Israel is prophet, and Yahweh is the supreme ruler (1973:346). In Job 38:1-38, however, wise and compassionate El speaks; Ba'1, lord, of the storm, thunders; Job merely stands in awe.

Rejoicing accompanies the creation (v. 7). It is clear that *kwkby bqr* and *bny 'lhy* are references to the divine council. In v. 7 they have been cast as astral deities. Gordis (1978:443) shares this opinion and has also suggested that older myths (eg. Gen. 6:4) have possibly become the foundation for a new astral mythology. We believe that the mythology referred to here is archaic and at home in Canaan and Israel. There is, therefore, no need to suppose that the poet has created a new mythology.

8-11

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|------------------------------|
| way-yassik ba-dalataym yamm | 8 l | And (who) fenced in |
| ba-gīhō mir-raḥm yiṣi ¹¹⁴ | 7 l | Yamm/Sea with doors, |
| | | when he burst from the womb, |

¹¹⁴OG *hote emiamassen ek koilias mētros autēs ekporeuomenē*, "when it rushed out eagerly, going froth from its mother's womb." LXXA,^V read *hote emaiouto kai ek koilias mētros autēs exeporeueto*, "when it was delivered, and went forth from its mother's womb."

| | | |
|--|------|---|
| ba-šūmī 'anān lubūšō | 8 1 | when I made a cloud his garment, |
| wa-'arapill ḥatullatō ¹¹⁵ | 7 1 | yea, a heavy cloud as his swaddling band, |
| Verse Type: Quatrain | | |
| Meter: 1:1::1:1 | | |
| wa-ʾiṣbur ¹¹⁶ 'alayw ḥuqqī | 7 1 | and broke my boundary for him, |
| wa-ʾašīm birḥ wa-dalataym ¹¹⁷ | 9 1 | then placed bars and doors, |
| wa-ʾōmar 'ad pō tabō' [] | | |
| lō' tōsīp | 10 1 | and said, 'come here but no farther, |
| wa-pō' yašīt ba-ga'ōn | | |
| gallaykā ¹¹⁸ | 9 1 | so therefore let (a limit?) be placed on the pride of your waves' |

Verse Type: Quatrain
Meter: 1:1::1:1

The reference to the birth of the sea god is not attested elsewhere in Hebrew or Canaanite myth, though there does seem to be reference to it here. It is also possible to treat vss. 8-11 as an allusion to Yamm's battle with Ba'1 (CTA 2). V. 8b could be translated, "when he burst forth (in battle?) (as though) from the womb," the image being one of a youthful warrior charging recklessly into combat, but we would need to treat this as an example in which a complex syntactic relationship is indicated without

¹¹⁵OG reads, *ethemēn de autē nephos amphiasin omichlē de autēn esparganōsa*, "and I made for it a cloud as a garment and I swathed it with mist."

¹¹⁶Cross has proposed reading 'škn "I established" for 'šbr "I broke" (personal communication).

¹¹⁷OG reads, *ethemēn de autē horia peritheis kleithra kai pylas*, "and I established borders for it, having placed around (it) bars and gates."

¹¹⁸OG, *all en se autē syntribēsetai sou ta kymata*, "but within yourself shall your waves be shattered."

particles or prefixed prepositions. The rules of Hebrew syntax would have to be extended considerably to allow for such a construction. A more banal reading is more appropriate. It is also possible to translate v. 10a "and I violated my statute for him." One could infer from this that the creator-god broke an agreement or overstepped established bounds on behalf of the Sea. Unfortunately, each of these proposals stretches credulity. The creation motif initiated in vss. 4-6 and continued in vss. 7-8 suggest that we are on more solid ground taking vss. 8-11 simply as a reference to Yamm's birth. If the suggestion of Cross is followed and *w'sbr 'lyw ḥqy* is emended to read *w'sym 'lyw ḥqy*, then we would have a clear continuation of the story of Yamm's birth, with reference being made to the establishment of bounds to delimit his sphere of influence.

12-15

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| ha-miy-yamaykā šiwwītā buqr | 9 l | Have you ever commanded |
| yidda'tā [] ¹¹⁹ šahr maqōmō ¹²⁰ | 7 l | Morning, |
| la-ʾihuz ¹²¹ ba-kanapōt []'arš | 8 l | directed Dawn to his place, |
| wa-yinna'irū ¹²² raša'im ¹²³ | | indeed, seized the extremities of Earth |

¹¹⁹Reading with the *Kethib* rather than with the *Qere*.

¹²⁰OG, *ē epi sou synetacha pheggos prōinon, heōsphoros de eiden tēn heautou taxin*, "did I order the morning light in your presence, and did the morning light see his station for himself?"

¹²¹OG *epilabesthai* (aor., mid., infin.), "to lay hold of."

¹²²OG reads *ektinaxai* (aor., act., infin.), "to shake out." Note the absence of the copula before the verb (against the reading of MT). LXXA, V retain the copula (perhaps reflecting corrections to bring their readings into agreement with MT).

¹²³Cross prefers reading *šrym* rather than *rš 'ym* here (personal communication).

mimminnā

10 l so that the rebels were
shaken from her.

Verse Type: Quatrain

Meter: 1:1::1:1

| | | |
|--|------|--|
| tiḥappik ka-ḥumr ḥōtām ¹²⁴ | 7 l | She transforms herself like sealing clay, |
| wa-yityaṣṣibū kamō lubūš ¹²⁵ | 9 l | and they stand forth as a garment |
| wa-yimmana ^c mir-raša ^c im ʾōrām | 10 l | but the Light of the rebels is removed, |
| wa-zirō ^c rāmā tiššabir | 8 l | indeed, the upraised arm is broken. |

Verse Type: Quatrain

Meter: 1:1::1:1

Boqer/Šaḥar represent the deified dawn. The Ugaritic text describing the birth of Dawn and his twin god Dusk (*šalim*) (CTA 23) makes no mention of their needing to be directed to their proper station. This does not mean that the reference has originated in the mind of the Hebrew poet, however. Once again we have a reference to material either at home in

¹²⁴OG, "Did you, taking earth (*gēn*) clay (*pēlon*), mould a living creature?" One could treat *gēn pēlon* as a hendiadys, "earthen clay," or, "clay from the earth." The Greek translator has either failed to understand *ḥōtām*, exercised authorial prerogative in order to advance a theological agenda, or both. A reference to the creation of humanity is not an integral theme within the first thirty-eight verses of this chapter. The focus is, instead, on cosmogonic and theogonic events.

¹²⁵OG, "and endowed with speech (*laḥēton*, neut., accus., sing.) place (*ethou*, 2sg., aor., mid., indic.) him upon earth" LXXA, S have been corrected by an editorial hand to read *auto* (neut., accus., sing.) rather than *auton* (masc., accus., sing.). OG departs radically from MT here as in the previous line. We have followed the reading of MT.

popular myth, or from a Canaanite/Hebrew source of which we know nothing.¹²⁶

Here, *Ars* "Earth" does not refer to the underworld, the pit, Sheol.¹²⁷ Instead, it is the "olden god," Earth. Heaven and Earth are a theogonic tandem, similar in type to other pairs attested throughout the literature of the Ancient Near East. These are usually linked in binary combinations. They are not active gods, and receive no regular offerings (Cross 1976:330). Frequently they are cited as witnesses to treaties between nations, and in the Covenant Lawsuit in Israel, they are called to witness to Israel's treaty violations against Yahweh (Is. 1:2-3) and to hear his case against the nations (34:1-2).

In CTA 6, CTA 23, Is. 14:9-11 and 15, Ezekiel 28:8, and Ezekiel 29:18, mythological beings descend or are thrown "earthward" for a various reasons. In CTA 6 *ʾAthtar* descends voluntarily to assume kingship over earth. In CTA 23, *mt w šr* is pruned, bound, and cast to the ground. In Is. 14, *hyll bn šhr* and the king of Babylon (whose identities are so intertwined as to be almost indistinguishable) are exiled to Sheol. In Ezekiel 28:8 the prince of Tyre is to be slain and thrown into the pit (Sheol), and in 29:19 the king of Tyre is to be consumed by fire and his ashes are to be spread on the ground. What we find in v. 13 does not fit into this pattern. Here, a mythology of the old god Earth is hinted at. She is guilty

¹²⁶Cross has suggested that in vss. 12-15 *bqr/šhr* and the *rš ʾym* are put in their place (i.e. defeated), their light being taken from them (cf. Isa. 34:2-4) (personal communication).

¹²⁷Sumerian *KI* and Akkadian *eršetu* are frequently used to denote the underworld (CAD⁴:310-311, *eršetu* 2).

of harboring the *rš'ym* either within her womb or beneath her garments. Is it possible that, early in Canaanite myth, it assumed the character of protector? What seems clear is that the *rš'ym* mentioned here have made Earth their refuge. There is also little doubt that these "rebels" are not human transgressors, but divine criminals.

Vs. 14 is difficult. Whatever transformation is described, it is such that the *rš'ym* are no longer concealed, but stand forth visibly. Their leader is called "their light." This may indicate that he was an astral god or "shining one" similar to Helel-ben-Šaḥar in Isaiah 14:12. The "upraised arm" we treat as a reference to the act of rebellion which caused them to seek Earth's protection. Unfortunately, we are given no hint as to who the *rš'ym* and "their light" are.

The *rš'ym* are a long-standing *crux interpretationis* in the Hebrew Bible. The lexical meaning of the adjective *rš'* (BH *rāšā'*) is "wicked, criminal." It occurs frequently as a substantive whose range of meaning encompasses one guilty of a crime (opposite of *šdyq*) (Ex. 2:13), an individual guilty of hostility against God or God's people (Is. 26:10), one guilty of death (Prov. 28:15), or one guilty of sin against humanity or God (Num. 16:26). (BDB:957) Several of the Biblical references cited in BDB in support of this semantic range show strong mythological overtones. The implication is that violation of divine statute or action against Yahweh is understood as rebellion, the offending parties being identified as *rš'ym* "rebels" (or "traitors"). We believe that when reference to them is made in these instances, a symbolic universe grounded in cosmogonic conflict is being drawn upon. Either primordial combat is referred to in which the *rš'ym* battle opposing divine forces, or an earthly confrontation between righteous powers and evil ones is illustrated. In either case, the

vindication/victory of those who oppose the *rš'ym* is assumed to have cosmic implications. Yahweh is portrayed unambiguously as vindicator in the earthly setting of those being attacked by the *rš'ym*. This is partially the case in the cosmic setting. At times Yahweh himself seems to be under attack by the "rebels." There are also instances where the temporal and spatial foci of the conflict are blurred; frequently it is unclear just where the conflict is taking place. This could indicate that earthly battle against human "rebels" of various and sundry sorts mirrored that which raged or continues to rage in the cosmos, the defeat of the *rš'ym* never being final (in much the same way that Ba'al's cosmogonic battle against Mot produced no clear victor). It is possible that a mythology of divine transgression informed the development of the concept of the righteous (*šdyq*) and the wicked (*rš'*) which receives full expression in the Psalms and Wisdom Literature, and contributed to their eventual application to human criminal activity against society and/or Yahweh.¹²⁸ Several texts seem to reflect a cosmic locus for the activity of the *rš'ym*. These include the Song of Hannah, Psalms 9 and 11, and Isaiah 13.

16-18

| | | |
|---|-----|---|
| ha-ba'tā 'ad nibakē yamm | 8 1 | Have you been to the springs of the Sea, |
| wa-ba-ḥiqr tihōm hithalliktā | 9 1 | or traversed the recesses of the Abyss? |
| ha-niglū la-kā ¹²⁹ ša'arē mawt | 9 1 | Were the gates of Death shown to you, |

¹²⁸We believe that this is a far more reasonable approach than that of Birkeland (1955:93), for example, who believes that evildoers in the Psalms are gentiles in all cases when they (the evildoers) are defined as a collective group. He even extends this so as to include those instances when evildoers are spoken of generally.

¹²⁹OG adds *phobōi*, "for/in fear," an explicating plus.

| | | |
|---|-----|---|
| wa-šō'irē šalmawt ūr'e ¹³⁰ | 8 1 | or did you see the netherworld's porters? |
| hitbōnantā 'ad raḥabē 'arš ¹³¹ | 9 1 | Have you considered the expanses of the underworld; |
| haggid 'im yada'tā kullā ¹³² | 8 1 | Tell me if you know (about) all of it! |

Verse Type: Sestet
Meter: 1:1::1:1:1:1

What we have here amounts to a quiz on cosmic geography, and Job is asked to display his erudition. Only those who have been to the base of the cosmic mountain, traversed the ocean's depths, or descended into the underworld may provide satisfactory answers to these queries. Only the gods could say that they have been to *nbky ym* and traversed the *hqr thwm*. We follow Pope in seeing these as parallel to Ugaritic *mbk nhrm* and *apq thmtm* (1955:61-62). Only the dead, astral deities, and chthonic deities may be said to have seen the gates of Death, encountered the porters of the

¹³⁰OG, "...and did the porters (*pylōrai*) of hell cower (*eptēxan*, 1aor., 3pl indic., act.) seeing you?" We follow the reading of OG and vocalize *s'qiref šalmawt*, "netherworld's porters."

¹³¹OG, "...have you been advised (*nenouthetēsai*, 2sg., perf., passive, indic.) concerning the breadth of that which is below heaven?" This is an elliptical translation of a Hebrew text not unlike that represented by MT.

¹³²OG, "tell me indeed how great something (*tis*) is!" The Greek gives greater specificity to the Hebrew command, asking for facts about anything under heaven. MT asks for a demonstration of total knowledge of the expanses (nature?) of Earth (the olden god), the 3f.s. suffix *-ā* referring to Earth. Similarly, OG *tis* refers to *tes hyp ouranon* 'arš feminine and seldom masculine (BDB:75). In OG MT's mythological reference to deified Earth has been muted.

netherworld, and calculated the expanse of the underworld/Sheol. Job fits into none of these categories. Unlike vss. 4-6 which focus on earth as the home of humanity and vss. 13-14 which refer to Earth as olden god, v. 17-18 refer directly to 'rš as the underworld. In the *The Descent of Ištar* (lines 12-62), the goddess Ištar passes through a series of seven gates with the aid of a gate-keeper on her way to the netherworld.¹³³ This makes the rebuke of Job more pointed. He is neither dead nor a god. He has no access to the world beyond the grave, therefore he is unqualified to question his creator.

19-21

| | | |
|---|-----|---|
| 'ê ze had-dark yiškan 'ôr | 7 l | Which is the way to where Light dwells, |
| wa-ḥušk 'ê ze maqōmō ¹³⁴ | 7 l | and which is the place of Darkness; |
| kī tiqqahinnū 'il gubūlō ¹³⁵ | 9 l | that you may take him to his location, |
| wa-kī tabīn naṭbōt bêtō ¹³⁶ | 9 l | that you may know the ways to his house? |

¹³³We have followed the edition of Borger (1979:95-104). Cf. also the translation of Speiser in ANET (106-109).

¹³⁴OG reads *to phōs*, with *skotous*, "darkness." MT 'r is taken as the original reading.

¹³⁵OG *horia auton*, "their country."

¹³⁶*Tribous auton*, "their tracks," is the reading of OG against *naṭbōt bêtō*, "tracks to/of his house," which one finds in MT. Of these alternatives, MT represents the more difficult reading and has been preferred.

| | | |
|---|-----|--|
| yada'tā kī 'az tiwwalid ¹³⁷ | 8 1 | You know because you were born then, |
| wa-mispar yamaykā ¹³⁸ rabbīm | 8 1 | and the number of your days is great. |

Verse Type: Sestet
Meter: 1:1::1:1::1:1

The cosmic quiz continues. Light and Darkness refer either to deified Dawn and Dusk, the Šaḥar and Šalim of CTA 23, or to deified Day and Night.¹³⁹ The meaning of lines 3-4 of this sestet is perhaps better expressed in the following manner:

that you may take the former to his location,
that you may understand the ways/paths to the
latter's house?

Job is on the receiving end of the creator-god's sarcasm. Asked yet again for evidence of his wisdom, the deity asserts that Job must certainly know these things because he was present at their inception. He is, therefore, compared sarcastically to deified wisdom, who is said in some myths to have been present with Yahweh at creation (cf. Wisdom of Solomon 9:9).

22-24

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----|---|
| ha-ba'tā 'il 'ōṣarōt šalḡ | 8 1 | Have you been to the stores of Snow, |
|---------------------------|-----|---|

¹³⁷It is doubtful that OG *oida*, "I know," represents an original reading different from that found in MT. *yd't* could have been construed as a defective spelling for the 1cs form *yada'tl*.

¹³⁸*Arithmos de etōn sou*, "and (the) number of your years," in OG is best taken as the translator's interpretation of the idiomatic use of Hebrew *yôm*.

¹³⁹Cross suggests that Light and Darkness refer to the deification of Day and Night. He compares the list of witnesses in the Sefireh Treaty (e.g. Heaven and Earth, Abyss and Sources, Night and Day (personal communication).

| | | |
|--|-----|---|
| wa-ʾōṣarōt barād tīrʾe ¹⁴⁰ | 8 1 | or seen the stores of Hail, |
| [] ¹⁴¹ ḥaśakū laʿitt šarr | 6 1 | which I withhold for time of distress, |
| la-yôm qarāb wa-milḥamā | 8 1 | for a day of battle and war? |
| ʾê ze had-dark yihḥaliq ʾôr ¹⁴² | 8 1 | Where is the way where Light is divided, |

¹⁴⁰The punctuation of OG shows that the translator has overlooked or misunderstood the *he* interrogative in *ha-ba'tā*. Otherwise, the reading of MT does not differ from the Hebrew text underlying OG. *Thēsauros* (accus. pl.) for MT *ʾōṣarōt* (pl) does not present a major problem.

¹⁴¹MT *ʾašr* has been taken as a prosaizing addition, and therefore not an original reading. OG has *de*, "and," rather than the expected relative pronoun.

¹⁴²The Greek translator has perhaps misunderstood 24a, been placed at the mercy of a mangled manuscript, decided to exercise license in translation, or retained a reading not preserved in MT. *Pothen de ekporeuetai pachēn*, "whence proceeds (the) hoarfrost," is but remotely related to MT, but there is internal evidence indicating this translator's tendency to paraphrase when Hebrew *ʾê ze had-dark* is encountered. In v. 19, OG reads *poia de gē*, "what type of land...", which is an exact equivalent of neither MT nor the Hebrew Vorlage of OG. In both instances the Hebrew idiom has posed a problem for the translator; the solution for each has been the circumlocution of the original text by creative means. *Yihḥaliq ʾôr* is more difficult. Of the two, MT represents the more difficult reading and is to be preferred. *√hlq* (BDB:323) is found four times in Job with the following Greek equivalents (the letters in parentheses indicate the conjugation of the Hebrew root translated):

- | | | |
|----------|-----|---|
| 1. 27:17 | (G) | <i>katechein</i> , "hold back, withhold" (LSJ:926) |
| 2. 39:17 | (G) | <i>epimerizein</i> , "impart, give a portion" (LSJ:518) |
| 3. 38:24 | (N) | <i>ekporeuesthai</i> , "make to go out" (LSJ:518) |
| 4. 21:17 | (D) | <i>echein</i> , "have, hold" (LSJ:749) |

It is clear from this list that the translator is either unsure of the meaning of *√hlq*, or believes that it has a semantic range as broad as the four verbs used to convey its meaning in Greek. The latter choice is improbable.

yapiš qadīm 'alē 'arš

7 l

(where) the East Wind is
dispersed over the earth?

Verse Type: Sestet

Meter: 1:1::1:1::1:1

We treat Snow and Hail as a divine pair. One is reminded of deities of other instances in which a god is accompanied by at least two divine attendants. For example, Šullat and Haniš accompany the storm god in Gilgamesh XI:97-100:

ilāmna ištu išid šamē urpatum šalimtum
dAdad ina libbiša irammamma
dŠullat u dHaniš illakū ina mahri
illakū guzalē šadū u mātum

A black cloud went up from the foundation of the
heavens,
Adad roars in its midst.
Shullat and Hanish go in front,
The throne bearers go upon the mountains and land

In the theophany described in Habakkuk 3:5, Yahweh is accompanied by the divine diad of Plague and Pestilence:

la-panayw yilik dabr
wa-yiṣi' rašp la-ragalayw

Before him went Plague,
yea Pestilence followed closely.

Lines 5-6 of this sestet are troublesome. The "Light" mentioned here might be Šapš, the sun goddess. The reference may be to her dispensing of justice, but a specialized meaning for *vhlg* would need to be defended. Line 4 may concern the point of origin of the deified East Wind.

25-27

mī pillag la[]-šarp t(i/a)'alā

8 l

Who opened a watercourse for
the Rainflood,

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| wa-dark la-ḥvzīz [] ¹⁴³ | 5 b | and a way for Thunder, |
| la-ḥamṭūr 'al 'ars lō' 'iš | 7 l | to bring rain upon uninhabited land, |
| madbār lō' 'adam bō | 6 b | an uninhabited desert; |
| la-ḥasbī' šō'ā wa-mišō'ā | 9 l | to satiate an utterly desolate place, |
| wa-la-ḥaṣmīḥ mōṣa' daš' ¹⁴⁴ | 7 l | and to cause an issuing forth of grass. |

Verse Type: Sestet
Meter: 1:1::1:1::1:1

Here we have reference made to the devastating result of torrential rains or violent storms, perhaps to be understood in a manner similar to

¹⁴³OG has no equivalent for *la-ḥvzīz*. It seems that two ancient variants have been retained by MT which may be reconstructed as follows:

1. *wa-dark qōlōt*
2. *wa-dark la-ḥvzīz*

OG retains the first (1) as the basis for its reading, *hodon de kydoimōn*, "and a way of/for tumults/uproars." MT has conflated the variants. *Wa-dark la-ḥvzīz* has been taken as the original reading (against OG). Note the grammatical parallelism between *la-ḥvzīz* and *la-ṣatp* (both being masculine singular substantives with identical prefixed prepositions). While this alone provides insufficient basis for a decision regarding the originality of one or the other of these two variants, one must also consider *la-ḥvzīz* as the more difficult of the two variants; the strength of the combined evidence favors this reading more strongly than does the agreement of MT and OG.

¹⁴⁴Vss. 26-27 of OG are marked with the asterisk in the Hexapla, and are of little use in reconstructing an original Hebrew text. Origen drew from Theodotion when filling gaps in his Greek text (Orlinsky 1946:55). One is forced to rely exclusively on MT for these two verses. Given that Theodotion modified an existing Greek text (Proto-Theodotion) so as to bring it into agreement with a Hebrew text current in his day (belonging to the textual family of MT), his recension would tend to confirm the readings of MT. True to form, the lines supplied from Theodotion do not reflect a Hebrew Vorlage at odds with MT.

Akkadian *abūbu* which may designate both the flood and the god of the flood. The duty of providing rain and fertility belong to Ba¹.

28-30

| | | |
|---|-----|---|
| ha-yiṣ la[]-maṭār ʾāb | 6 l | Does Rain have a father, |
| ʾō mī hōlīd ʾigalē ṭall ¹⁴⁵ | 7 l | or who brought forth drops of dew, |
| mīb-baṭm mī yaṣaʾ [] qarḥ ¹⁴⁶ | 6 l | From whose womb did Frost go forth? |
| wa-kupōr šamaym mī yaladō | 9 l | and who birthed the hoar frost of heaven, |
| ka[]-ʾabn maym yiṭḥabbaʾū ¹⁴⁷ | 7 l | (when) the waters hid like a stone, |
| wa-panē tihōm ¹⁴⁸ yidakkadū ¹⁴⁹ | 9 l | and the face of the Abyss congealed? |

¹⁴⁵OG *tis de estin ho tetokōs bōlous drosou*, "and who is the one having engendered the lumps of dew."

¹⁴⁶Reading with LXXA,^S against OG and MT. One is dealing in the original composition with mythological material containing deified natural phenomena rather than with demythologized lists of meteorological phenomena, and therefore the definite article is not necessary; it is no doubt a part of the editorializing tendency to expunge or modify overtly mythological references, a tendency shared by some later Hebrew redactors and editors (see particularly Psalm 82), and to a greater extent by some Greek translators.

¹⁴⁷OG reads *hē katabainei hōsper hydōr reon*, "which descends like running water," a total misreading of the translator's Hebrew text if it resembled what one finds in MT.

¹⁴⁸Manuscript evidence supports reading *asebous* (< *asebēs*, "ungodly, unholy"). Rahlfs has adopted an emendation to *abyssou* (< *abyssos*, "bottomless, unfathomed") which he proposes as the original OG reading. Transposition of letters in copying could account easily for the reading *asebou*, therefore Rahlfs' reading restores what is most likely the original reading.

¹⁴⁹LXXB *eptexen* (< *ptēssō*, "to scare, alarm"); LXXS,A *etexen* (< *tēkō*, "to melt, melt down"). Rahlfs adopts a reading proposed by Grabe, *epexen* (< *pegnūmi*, "stick, fix in,"

Verse Type: Sestet
Meter: 1:1::1:1::1:1

Lines 1-3 read like a litany of the members of the storm god's coterie, though partially demythologized. In CTA 3.3.2-5, one finds three daughters of the storm god Baʿl mentioned by name: Arṣay ("muddy"), Pidray ("misty"), and Ṭallay ("dewy").¹⁵⁰

li-dôdi ʾalʾiyāni baʿli
yadi pidrayyi bitti ʾāri
ʾahabati ṭallayyi bitti rabbi
dôdi ʾarṣayyi bitti yaʿabdiri

For the love of Baʿl the Conqueror,
the hand of Pidray, daughter of light,
the desire of Tallay, daughter of rain,
the love of Arṣay, daughter of floods.¹⁵¹

In this sestet we have shifted from cosmic geography to important figures in the pantheon and, we suspect, associated meteorological phenomena. Rain, drops of Dew, Frost, hoar frost, and the Abyss are mentioned. To what extent we are dealing here with deified forces is a matter for debate. Rain

LSJ:1399). The translator apparently had little knowledge of the meaning of \sqrt{lkd} in the Dt, which occurs here and in 41:9. The OG of 41:9 is lacking (the reading having been supplied from Theodotion and marked with an asterisk), so no comparative data exist for the translation of this root in the Dt in Job. MT is likely the original reading, the problematic nature of the root giving birth to a number of attempts to render its meaning clearly.

¹⁵⁰In CTA 3.1.22-25 Pidray and Ṭallay are called Baʿl's daughters; though Arṣay is not mentioned there, she is known to be Baʿl's daughter from other references. See CTA 3.4.1-6, CTA 4.1.13-19, and CTA 4.4.50-57.

¹⁵¹We follow Coogan's translation of $y \text{ ʾ } bdr$ (1978:91).

(mṭr), Dew (ṭl) and Abyss (thwm) are etymologically related to deified forces elsewhere in the Ancient Near East, while frost (qrḥ), hoarfrost (kpwr), and waters (mym) are without a comparable referent. However, the language used in vss. 28-30 is anthropomorphic. One is given the sense that sentient beings rather than meteorological phenomena are being spoken of. 'gly ṭl is somewhat problematic since in our reconstructed text, it is the only entity which is not listed simply as a proper noun. It is possible that an early attempt at demythologization may have led, at some point in the transmission process, to the insertion of 'gly. While we suspect that all of the forces mentioned in these verses are deified, we feel that there is firm evidence in support of only three of them (Rain, Dew, and Abyss). These three appear to be juxtaposed with non-deified phenomena.

| <u>Line</u> | <u>Element</u> | <u>Deified/Natural</u> |
|-------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | Rain (mṭr) | Deified |
| 2 | drops of dew ('gly ṭl) | Deified |
| 3 | frost (qrḥ) | Deified?/Natural? |
| 4 | hoar frost (kpwr) | Deified?/Natural? |
| 5 | waters (mym) | Deified?/Natural? |
| 6 | Abyss (thwm) | Deified |

Pope's suggestion that yṭḥb'w be treated as a dialectal form of yṭḥm'w (38:10) meaning "harden" is unconvincing (1965:254). Our translation of vs. 30, which renders the Hebrew verbatim, is difficult to interpret. It could be that the birth of hoarfrost caused the face of the Abyss to congeal, but the reason for this would remain unanswered. This verse must remain an unresolved *crux criticorum*.

31-33

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| ha-raqaššir ¹⁵² ma'dannōt kīmā | 8 l | Have you bound the Pleiades with fetters, |
| 'ō mōšikōt kisl tupattih ¹⁵³ | 9 l | or loosed the cords of Orion? |
| ha-tōšī' mazzarōt ba-'itt<ān> ¹⁵⁴ | 9 l | Can you release the constellations at their time, |
| wa-'ays 'al banayhā tanhim ¹⁵⁵ | 8 l | or lead the Bear to her children? |
| ha-yada'tā huqqōt šamaym | 8 l | Do you know the statutes of Heavens; |
| 'im tašim maštarō ba-[] 'arš ¹⁵⁶ | 8 l | can you establish his ¹⁵⁷ rule over Earth? |

Verse Type: Sestet

Meter: 1:1::1:1::1:1

We have treated *mzrw*t as a dialectal variant of *mzlw*t "constellations" (BDB:561; Pope 1965:255). The first four lines of the unit refer to deified celestial bodies. The poet contrasts the power of the one who sets in place

¹⁵²OG *synēkas* (<*syniēmi*>) "bring or set together," metaph, "to understand" (LSJ:1718). LXXA,V place *synēkas* at the end of the preceding line and read *desmon de pl(e)iados egnōs*, "and did you know the band of Pleiades?" This is a further corruption of what must have been the original reading.

¹⁵³OG, "Did you understand the band of Pleiades and did you open the fencing of Orion?"

¹⁵⁴We have corrected MT 'tw to 'tn. We believe that this was the original reading of the text, with 'tw being an editorial correction prompted by *mzrw*t which was likely interpreted as a singular form.

¹⁵⁵OG for v. 32 is missing, the reading being supplied from Theodotion and marked with the asterisk in Origen's Hexapla. Theodotion's reading is in agreement with MT.

¹⁵⁶OG paraphrases, reading, "and did you know the turnings/changes of heaven, or the things transpiring together under heaven?"

¹⁵⁷The antecedent here is unclear. We suspect that it is Heavens, but this would necessitate a plural pronominal suffix.

the heavenly bodies with the human limitations of Job whose role as a mortal, one assumes, is limited to the observation of the heavens. Lines 5 and 6 are most enigmatic. The meanings of *ḥqwt šnym* and *mšrw* are obscure. These may refer to the diviner's ability to interpret the meaning of the stars and to shape human behavior in accordance with the fates which have been decreed. It may also refer to ancient theogonic material involving the subjugation of the old god Earth to the rule of the old god Heaven.¹⁵⁸ A third possibility, suggested by Cross (personal communication), is that these references are to rules which govern heaven and earth (applicable only indirectly to divinity), the major issue at stake being Job's knowledge. We suspect that it is also plausible that these rules could involve familiarity with the diviner's art, though no firm evidence is present in support of this, save the mention of the *mzrw*. We are in agreement with Cross and would add only that once again Job's finite power is measured against a superior divine force.

34-38

| | | |
|--|-----|---|
| ha-tarīm la-ʿāb qōl-kā ¹⁵⁹ | 7 l | Can you raise your voice to/in the clouds, |
| wa-šipʿat maym ¹⁶⁰ tukasse-kā | 8 l | and make abundant water cover you? |

¹⁵⁸The major problem with this suggestion is that we have no testimony from Canaanite or Hebrew lore concerning dominance of Heaven over Earth.

¹⁵⁹OG *phonē*, "with/by voice," omitting the 2ms suffixed pronoun found in MT.

¹⁶⁰OG *kai tromō hydatos labrō*, "and/that with a furious trembling/quaking of water...." The connotation is that of a violent rain storm accompanied by thunder. LXX^S reads *tromō labro hydatos*, LXX^B has *tromō hydatos labrō*, and the remaining manuscripts record *tromō hydatos labrou*, leading one to take *tromō labrō*, "with a furious trembling," as original, with *hydatos* as a later addition in the transmission history of

| | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|------|-------------------------------|
| ha-tušallah ¹⁶¹ | baraqīm wa-yilikū | 11 1 | Can you command lightning |
| | | | bolts so that they come, |
| wa-yō(?)marū | la-kā hinninū ¹⁶² | 9 1 | and say to you, "We're here." |

Verse Type: Quatrain

Meter: 1:1::1:1

| | | | |
|---|---------|-----|------------------------------|
| mī šat baṭ-ṭuḥḥōt ¹⁶³ | ḥukmā | 7 1 | Who placed wisdom in Thoth, |
| ʾô mī natan la-[]šikwī bīnā ¹⁶⁴ | | 9 1 | or gave Sikwi understanding? |
| mī ¹⁶⁵ yasappir | šaḥaqīm | | |

the Greek text. Alternatively, one might take *tromō hydator* as an ancient Greek variant which has been retained and conflated in OG. These variants may have arisen as attempts to render Hebrew *šip* 'at maym, an abundant downpour capable of being seen as an event in and of itself, or as a feature attendant to a thunder storm. For *tromō*, LXXA,V read *dromō*, "with a course,..." being perhaps the result of auditory confusion in oral transmission.

¹⁶¹OG adds *de*, "and."

¹⁶²OG *ti estin* for Hebrew *hinninū* poses no problem; it does not reflect a Hebrew text different from that of MT.

¹⁶³OG *gynaixin hyphasmatos*, "women of the woven robe/weaving women." If the translator has a reading similar to that of MT, it is both obvious and understandable that he should have encountered difficulty in rendering Hebrew *baṭ-ṭuḥḥōt*; it continues to generate debate among modern translators as well.

¹⁶⁴OG *ē poikiltikēn epistēmēn*, "or embroidering skill." The translator's Hebrew text is in all probability similar to that of MT, the translator being challenged however to find a suitable Greek equivalent for Hebrew *šikwī* (the definite article preceding the DN having been excised as a late interpretive development resulting when *šikwī* was no longer recognized as the name of a god). It is also possible that the ultimate source of the translation preserved here and in the previous line is an interpretive tradition current within Egyptian circles at the time of translation.

¹⁶⁵OG adds *de*, "and."

| | | |
|---|------|--|
| ba-ḥukmā | 10 1 | Who numbered the clouds with wisdom, |
| wa-nabalē šamaym mī yaškīb ¹⁶⁶ | 9 1 | and tipped the water jars of the heavens, |
| ba-ṣiqt 'apār la[]-mūṣāq ¹⁶⁷ | 7 1 | |
| wa-ragabīm yudubbaqū ¹⁶⁸ | 8 1 | ¹⁶⁹ |

Verse Type: Quatrain

Meter: 1:1::1:1::1:1

Presumably, only Ba'1 or one who can exercise the power of the storm god can do those things outlined in the first quatrain. Here, the deity seems to ask, "Do you think that you are the storm god?" This query contrasts once again Job's limitations with the limitlessness of the god who

¹⁶⁶OG *ouranon de eis gēn eklinen*, "and (who) inclined heaven toward earth?" The reading of MT is superior to that of OG.

¹⁶⁷The syntax of OG *kechytai de hōsper gē konia* is difficult. Both *gē* and *konia* are nom. sing. fem. substantives. One might translate the line, "It has been spread out as dust covered/sandy earth," or *gē* might be corrected to *gēs* (following LXXA,V) with the line being translated, "dust/sand has been spread out as earth." In either case, the Greek presents a text which neither departs from nor is superior to MT. Rahlfs (1939:336, n. 38¹) notes that Grabe proposes the reading *chōneia* ("to/for a melting/casting of metal) for *konia* in v. 38. Auditory confusion in transmission could account for confusion between *konia* and *chōneia*. Nevertheless, *konia* is the more difficult reading and must be preferred, even though *choneia* is in agreement with MT *mūṣāq*. The definite article (realized through junctural doubling) preceding *mūṣāq* has been taken as a secondary development not a part of the original poem. No specific "casting" as such is implied by context; the line is possibly an idiomatic reference to primordial reality similar to MT *tôhū wa-bōhū* in Gen. 1:2.

¹⁶⁸OG *kekollēka de auton hōsper lithō kybon*, "and I have glued it as a cube to a stone," is an expansionist and interpretive translation of a Hebrew text similar to MT.

¹⁶⁹Job 38:38 is hopelessly beyond translation. We have, therefore, elected not to attempt a translation.

speaks to him. However, one cannot help but see a distant allusion here to 'Athtar's brief tenure as storm god. It is possible that the poet intended the audience to draw a connection between Job and 'Athtar. Both have been placed in untenable positions. Job's suffering and 'Athtar's kingship were decreed by the controlling voice within the divine council. In some sense, neither of them were deserving of the fates decreed for them. In the case of the former, a righteous person has been condemned to suffer. In the latter, an unworthy candidate has been placed on the throne of Ba'l. As a mortal, Job certainly could not hope to fill the storm god's throne. Since ill-fortune has been decreed for him, his vitality as a human is further reduced, making him in some sense the least of humans. In this weakened state he can vie with neither man nor god, let alone presume to act in Ba'l's capacity. He reflects in the human realm the condition of 'Athtar in the land of the gods. As we have already mentioned, 'Athtar's stature makes him an unsuitable king in CTA 6. His marital status disqualifies him as a candidate for this same office in CTA 2. His status as a god is far below the likes of Ba'l, Yamm, and Mot. Like Job, he is an unsuitable replacement for Ba'l. Neither can compete for cosmic dominance, neither is able to raise his voice in the clouds or command lightning, yet the failure shared by both is due to the nature which the gods decreed to them at birth.

We agree with Pope (who follows J.G.E. Hoffman) that *ṯḥwt* in v. 36 refers to Thoth, the Egyptian god of wisdom.¹⁷⁰ We also agree with his

¹⁷⁰Against Albright (1968:244-248) who sees the Phoenician hierophant Taauth mentioned by Sanchuniathon lying behind biblical references in the Psalms (51:8) and Job to *ṯūḥōt*, rather than his Egyptian prototype Thoth, the ibis-headed god of wisdom.

adoption of Hoffman's connection of *škw* with the Coptic name for the planet Mercury, *souchi* (Pope 1965:256).¹⁷¹

The references made to wisdom deserve special mention. One is left to assume that the creative acts described in vss. 36-37 require a god characterized as a wise god. V. 37b may reflect old mythological material regarding El and his battle with Šamaym (Heaven) his father; it is El who, in a sense, ended¹⁷² the folly of his father (i.e. if one takes the references in Sanchuniathon as credible witnesses to Phoenician mythology, and if one considers Šamaym's behavior as tantamount to folly), and seized control of the pantheon by emasculating the old god.¹⁷³ Unfortunately, one would need substantially more information than these verses provide to establish a convincing argument in favor of this reading. Further, the semantic range of *škb* would have to be extended to make this interpretation viable. Neither of these prerequisites can be met, hence, we must be satisfied with a more banal reading involving the creator-god's ability to provide fertility in the

¹⁷¹We do not agree with Albright's reading *škw* rather than *škw* (1968:246). It is his belief that the name means "mariner, navigator" and is of similar type to Ugaritic *daggayyu*, "fisherman," (> *daggu*, "fish"), and etymologically related Ugaritic *θkr* "bark" (Heb. pl. *šekiyōt*). We do not find his identification of this creature with the Galilaean cock (which was given the title "sailor" because of its identification as the fisherman's alarm clock) a convincing one. We do not think that the poet has yet shifted his thematic agenda away from the divine world to that of pseudo-deities (hierophants) and animals with special powers (the cock).

¹⁷²We have taken the causative of *škb* to mean, "to cause to (be in a state of) reclination."

¹⁷³See Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel*, Book I, Chapter X.

form of rain to the parched earth. We take, therefore, *nabalê* as "water jars" and translate line 3, "Who tilts (causes to recline) the water jars of heaven," the implication being that this takes place when the ground is dry and cracked (Pope 1965:256).

We have no solution to the vexing mystery of v. 38. One possibility involves taking *ba-* in *ba-sigt* to mean, "from (the time) when" (hence "before"). This would then make lines 5-6 reflect pre-human cosmic reality (in other words, that time before "dust was poured into a casting and clods of dust cleaved together" to form the first earthly creatures). However, we have no comparative data from ancient Near Eastern mythological sources to substantiate this proposal, our solution being based solely on the internal witness of v. 38 itself. It is, in short, best to leave this verse untranslated, and this is what we have elected to do above. Our tentative reading above is offered merely as an indication of what a conservative translation of the text itself might yield. The author's intention in vs. 37 is clear, however. His query is intended to indicate to Job that he has the power neither of the one who numbered the clouds (El?), nor of the one who waters the earth (Ba'1).

Summary-Job 38

The poet has constructed a divine reply to the queries of Job. It presents a vision of theogonic and cosmogonic events that shaped the world in which both Job and the poet find themselves. The poet speaks of the old gods Heaven and Earth, of Sea's birth, of Dawn, and a host of other divine figures from the lore of Canaan and Egypt. He also describes the *rs'ym* who sought protection from Earth but were shaken out by the creator-god. Throughout the poem the language of Canaanite myth pervades. The theophany from the storm cloud is itself highly reminiscent of Ba'1,

while the allusions to wisdom call to mind El, the wise patriarch. With the exception of 38:1, there is no trace of Yahweh, the god who guides the destiny of Israel and no attestation of courtly protocol and practical advice which are generally found in wisdom sources. Instead the creator-god orders the cosmos, gives a guided tour of the recesses of the universe, outlines pivotal events, and introduces a cast of characters at home in primordial reality. Of these, the figure referred to as the light of the *rs'ym* (vs. 15) is crucial. That which he and the *rs'ym* represent serves as the interpretive and moral paradigm for vss. 1-38. Just as the *rs'ym* are discovered, and just as the "upraised arm," which we have taken as a symbol of defiance against the creator-god, is broken, so too is there futility in attempting to fathom divine will. In this respect Gordis is correct in seeing Job's error as presuming to judge divine actions from a limited vantage point (1978:559). Questioning unjust suffering in life is not fruitless, it is unwise and ignorant. One is tempted to go so far as to say that such action is rebellious, but this is far too strong. To challenge divine wisdom is as inappropriate as the attempt of the *rs'ym* to flee to Earth for protection from the creator. Insofar as the cosmos is created and ordered by a wise god, it is understandable through wisdom. Yet, like eternal life, supreme wisdom belongs exclusively to the gods, as does authority to exercise it.¹⁷⁴

While there is no obvious connection between 38:15 and events involving 'Athtar at Ugarit, one factor suggests that a connection is possible

¹⁷⁴See the following references to El's wisdom: CTA 3.5.38-39, CTA 4.4.41-43, CTA 4.5.65-67, and CTA 16.4.3-4.

between the figure called *'wrm* "their light" (i.e. that of the *rs'ym*) in 38:15, *mt w šr* in CTA 23.8, and the *šr pbr* in CTA 23.57.

It is clear that the *rs'ym* in 38:13, 15 are not human evildoers. Their activity takes place in a primordial setting and this suggests that they are divine criminals. They are exposed when Earth is seized by the skirts and shaken, after which they are "deprived of their light." Without "their light" the "upraised arm" is broken. Context implies that a crime against the creator-god has been committed by the rebels since it is he who pursues and exposes them. It also implies that the "light" is crucial in order for the rebels to function. Thus, "the light" is conceptualized as the leader, guiding principle, or motivating force that enables the rebels to commit their crimes. The first of these seems most likely.¹⁷⁵ Throughout the poem individual characters of mythological import are mentioned. We are, therefore, justified in taking *'wrm* as a reference to a particular being rather than as a reference to an ideal or unifying power that undergirds the rebels. The poet ascribes no other attributes to this unnamed divine being. As a result, emphasis shifts to *'wr* itself. We suspect that the poet is describing an astral god, akin, perhaps, to the *kwkby bqr* mentioned in 38:7. If we are correct, Hebrew *'wr* in this instance would fall within the same semantic range as Ugaritic *šr*. This would allow it to be used in describing a celestial god (e.g. planet or star). Therefore, it is possible that reference to 'Athtar or some other astral god could lie behind *'wrm*. The "upraised arm," symbolic

¹⁷⁵Cross believes that "their light" is a reference to what gives all of the *rs'ym* their glory. It is removed when they set (i.e. disappear into the underworld). All of the *rs'ym* are, therefore, astral gods. They are deprived of their light when they hide in the underworld (personal communication).

of defiance and conflict, we have treated as a euphemism for this crime. We are not able to determine what the crime involved, but it was of sufficient gravity to merit an escape of the "rebels" and "their light" to Earth.

The allusion to the flight to Earth seems, on the surface, to be a faint echo of CTA 6.1.43-67. A closer examination, however, reveals that 'Athtar's descent to earth after his abdication on Šapon bears no similarity to what is said in 38:13-15. In the former, a god who has been made king by the proper authority in the pantheon voluntarily steps down as ruler and assumes kingship of earth. In the latter, divine criminals flee to Earth, the old god, for protection. They are discovered and the creator-god shakes Earth by her garments, revealing them. Since neither CTA 6, nor any of the other 'Athtar material from Ugarit, suggest that 'Athtar was a criminal, we can find no literary correlation between Ugaritic 'Athtar mythology, and the "rebels" and "their light" of Job 38:15. However, the fact that the apparent leader of these cosmic rebels is called 'wrm leads us to believe that this god might be an astral deity, and might have some connection to Ugaritic 'Athtar who is himself an astral deity.

Von Rad (1966:281-91) is probably correct in seeing a connection between Job 38 and onomastica like that of the Egyptian Amenemope. He believes that its author has reworked an onomasticon and made a poetic composition - a common practice for wisdom teachers.¹⁷⁶ The questioning pattern characteristic of Job 38 corresponds, in his opinion, to the ironical questions found in *Papyrus Anastasi I*, which hails from the catechetical

¹⁷⁶If an onomasticon has not been used, one would have to suppose that the poet has constructed a literary montage of haphazardly selected themes and characters drawn from Canaanite and Egyptian mythology.

exercises in Egyptian scribal schools. In either case, for him, onomastica underlie both the poetic compositions made by wisdom teachers for didactic purposes (Ben Sira 44-49; Psalm 148; Song of the Three Children vss. 35-68), and the method of inquiry (questions) used to test students. Demands to prepare to be quizzed are at home in wisdom circles, and in Von Rad's opinion serve as a fitting background for understanding 38:1-4. The only drawback to Von Rad's thesis is that he does not address the problem of mythological allusions in the poem. The argument for an Egyptian background for its form is intriguing, but content leads one to suggest a Canaanite background. Job 38:1-38 is a cosmological exercise. Job's knowledge of the fabric of the cosmos and the extent of his power (i.e. in contrast to that of the gods) are tested. If an onomasticon was used by the author of Job 38:1-38, the original would need to have contained a list of gods and/or divine epithets. Gordis believes that if an onomasticon was used, it was used selectively so as to inspire awe and wonder in the phenomena described rather than to inform (1978:562-563). This presupposes that the poet is unconcerned with teaching. Such, in our opinion, was not the case. Poets inspire and inform. The cosmological content of the poem is as important as the emotion which the theophany creates; wisdom is experiential and speculative. The author has taken an established form and with the addition of archaic mythological material allowed god to speak. From the rubric beginning the speech we are told that it is Yahweh; in content and theme we suspect strongly that the poet envisioned Job standing before El and/or Ba'al. The storm is Ba'al's mode of theophany. References to knowledge/understanding and the aura of command

which the structure of the poem lend to the divine voice speak of El, whose knowledge of creation is vast because he is the creator of everything.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷Cross is also of the opinion that the materials in Job 38 are, by and large, from Canaanite myth. He also believes that Thoth and Sekwi came to Israel through Phoenician mediation. He does not believe that Egyptian cosmology or cosmography have any bearing at all on this text. He concedes that lists may have been used by the author of Job 38, but notes that lists in the 6th century are everywhere (e.g. Ionia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt) and no doubt in Phoenicia and Israel as well (personal communication).

Isaiah 14:4b-20

Driver (1914:229) cites 14:4b-20 as one of several sections in Is. 1-39 which are not from the prophet's hand (others are 13:1-14:4a; 14:21-23; Chs. 24-27, 34-35, 40-66). Through the years, expositors have attempted to delimit further those passages which are later additions to the corpus, but as of yet consensus has not been reached.

The poem has generated much debate and rather than offering a patchwork of secondary opinions regarding date, setting, authorship, and purpose, new readings have been proposed and an interpretation given which attempts a new synthesis in light of the mythological allusions which we believe to be central to its proper understanding.

4-5

| | | |
|--|-----|--------------------------------|
| 'ayk šabat ¹⁷⁸ nōgēs | 5 b | Ah, how the tyrant has ceased, |
| šabatā ¹⁷⁹ ma< >hiba ¹⁸⁰ | 6 l | the fury calmed |

¹⁷⁸In 1QIsa^a *sb/t* (restore *ṭaw* where there is stitching in the scroll) is found, the long form 'ykh is used, and *ngś* is preceded by a conjunction. We have adopted the short form 'yk and the reading *ngś* of MT.

¹⁷⁹OG inserts a conjunction before this line which we have not adopted in our reconstruction. Though it is not unusual to find a conjunction in the second colon of a bicolon such as this, the readings of MT and 1QIs^a along with the idiosyncratic nature of the OG of Isaiah caution against its inclusion as an original reading.

¹⁸⁰1QIsa^a reads *mrhbb* against MT *mdhbb*. Confusion between *dalet* and *reš* is not uncommon in the history of textual transmission (on the similarity between these two consonants in the Aramaic script of the late Persian Empire, and third and fourth century formal Jewish scripts, see Cross 1961:142,147) therefore the reading of 1QIsa^a has been preferred. Either *mrhbb* or *mdhbb* would be a difficult reading. In this instance, however, *mrhbb* is a more sensible reading given that in 3:5 *rbb* and *ngś* stand in semantic and grammatical relationship in parallel cola (both of these forms

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|
| šabar yahwe matte raša'im | 8 l | Yahweh has broken the staff of |
| šibṭ mōšilīm | 4 b | the rebels |
| | | the rod of the rulers |

Verse Type: Quatrain

Meter: b:l::l:b

The poem begins after the manner of other laments, with the interrogative adverb 'yk (2 Sam. 1:19) or 'ykh (Lam. 1:1; 2:1; 4:1; Isa. 1:21; Jer. 48:17). The tyrant is said to have ceased, as has his fury. Ngś is also found in Isa. 3:12 referring to youth(s) as rulers in Judah and Jerusalem, in 9:3 in possible reference to a foreign tyrant, and in 60:17 pertaining to righteousness as ruler in Zion's future state. His dominion has been broken. There may be an intentional echo of 'dmh l 'lywn in v. 14 if one is to understand in v. 5 √msl III, "to rule" (BDB:605), and √msl I, "to represent, be like" (BDB:605). The rod, representing royal authority, would then be understood not only as the symbol of the one who ruled, but also the one which presumed to make itself like that of Elyon. One senses here the beginning of a polemic against government which seeks to supply all human need, in essence supplanting the god(s) as rulers of the human sphere.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------|
| 6 | | |
| makke 'ammim ba- 'ibrā | 7 l | Him who arrogantly cut down |
| | | peoples, |
| makkat biltū sarā ¹⁸¹ | 6 b | with repeated blows, |

being finite verbs in verse initial position, the general range of meaning within that context having to do with arrogant behavior and human oppression, though these roots may by no means be construed as synonymous]. The translator of OG saw *mrhbh* as being in the same semantic range as *ngś* and there is no reason to suppose some other Hebrew equivalent for OG *epispoudastēs* "one who presses on a work" (LSJ:658).

¹⁸¹1QIsa^a presents no major variants. OG reads singular ethnos for both 'mym and gwym of MT, though two manuscripts (26, 410) read *ethnē*. Thymos appears forty five

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| rōde ba- 'app gōyīm | 6 b | the one who ruled nations angrily; |
| muraddip balī ḥasāk ¹⁸² | 7 l | an unrelenting persecutor. |

times in the Greek of Isaiah, twice for 'brh and twelve times for 'p. *Plēgē* is found eleven times in the OG of Isaiah, four times it renders *makkā* "blow, wound" (BDB:646). OG *plēgē* as a translation of MT *makkat* is acceptable. The Hebrew equivalent of *plēgēn thymou*, however, is questionable. *Aniatos* occurs twice in the OG of Isaiah, once as representative of 'k zry, and here as a translation of *blty srh*. The Hebrew equivalent of *paiōn* is problematic. In twenty of its twenty five occurrences in Isaiah it translates the verbal root *√nkh*. The root *√rdh* is infrequently used in Isaiah (three times) and it is understandable that the translator would have difficulty finding a Greek counterpart for it. It is reasonable to suppose that OG *pataxas ethnos thymō plēgē aniatō* represents MT *mkh 'mym b 'brh mkt blty srh*.

¹⁸²OG reads *paiōn ethnos plēgēn thymou*. It is possible that *plēgēn* is an explicating plus intended to differentiate *thymos* used in this instance from its earlier appearance. Another solution involves supposing that OG had the following as its Vorlage:

[mkh]bngp 'p gwym
[rdh]

In Isaiah 9:12 *plēgē* translates the root *√ngp* "to strike" (BDB:619). *Thymos* would then be translating 'p as it does on eleven other occasions. *Bngp* should be vocalized as a Qal infinitive absolute. *Mkh* and *rdh* are understood as alternative readings. *Bngp* could have been lost by parablepsis, the trigger being the *pe* which concludes both morphemes. The major problem with this solution is that this phrase is not found elsewhere in Isaiah or in the biblical corpus. An alternate suggestion is to see the OG Vorlage as:

rdh gwym b 'p mrdp bly ḥśk

In this case, *thymou* would need to be understood as the Greek equivalent of *mrdp*, and *plēgē* would need to be treated as the equivalent of 'p. The major problem with this solution is that *plēgē* never translates 'p in Isaiah. Nevertheless this is about the only way to avoid having no Greek equivalent for *mrdp*. Our vocalization of *mrdp* as a Piel participle adds more symmetry to the second bicolon than does the masculine

Verse Type: Quatrain
Meter: l:b::b:l

That which smites the peoples is the dominion of the tyrant identified in v. 5. It is relentless. It rules with anger and pursues without restraint. 'brh is used of proud Moab in Is. 16:6, and is best translated "arrogance." (BDB:720) In Is. 9:18; 10:6; 13:9, 13; it means "fury/rag" (BDB:720), and always refers to Yahweh's wrath. This may represent a usurpation of divine prerogative, the expression of 'brh belonging in divine rule over humanity rather than in the mechanisms of government established by humanity. Thus far, the poet has been less specific about the object of his ridicule, yet clues have been given regarding the nature of the tyrant's crime. The dual sense of šbt mšlym ("the rod which dominates"/"the rod which imitates") does not become clear until v. 14, but 'brh gives a more direct indication of the tyrant's character. His rule is disproportionate, his

singular noun, translated simply "persecution." Thomas has suggested reading *bly ḥšk* (BHS:695). The root *ḥšk* occurs three times in Isaiah (14:6; 54:2; and 58:1). If the MT reading is accepted, one must contend with the rare usage of *bly* with a finite verb (BDB:115). If Thomas' reading is adopted, then the prefixed form of the verb must be explained. It would be the first encountered in the text to this point. As an alternative, he suggests vocalizing *ḥšk* as an imperative or as an infinitive construct. If it is the latter, then we may suppose that a nominal usage is intended. Hence, *mkt bly srh* and *mrdp bly ḥšk* would be parallel epithets similar to Akkadian *qabal la maḥār* used of *Ḫuwawa* in the Old Babylonian version of *Gilgameš* (see col iii, lines 19-24 of the Yale Tablet in YOSR IV 3: 87-101):

pīšū girrāma
napīssu mūtum
ammīnim taḥšīl
anniam epēšam
qabal la maḥār
šupat Ḫuwawa

His mouth is fire,
 his breath is death
 Why do you desire
 to do this?
 A battle not to be faced
 is the onslaught of *Ḫuwawa*.

behavior not in keeping with the norms established by Yahweh for earthly kings.

7-8

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| nahā šaqaṭā [] []'arš ¹⁸³ | 6 l | Earth is at rest, quiet. |
| <paṣaḥā> ¹⁸⁴ rinnā | 5 b | She breaks forth with a shout. |
| gam burōšim šamahū lakā | 9 l | Even the junipers rejoice at you, |
| 'arazē libanōn | 6 b | the cedars of Lebanon: |
| me''az šakabtā lō' ya'le | 8 l | "Since you've laid down, there ascends not, |
| []kōrit ¹⁸⁵ 'alēnū | 5 b | a cutter against us." |

Verse Type: Sestet

Meter: l:b::l:b::b:l

The scene has changed dramatically. Ancient Earth is pictured at rest and quiet. Cosmic harmony is envisioned. The Qal of *√šqt* meaning "to be

¹⁸³1QIsa^a shows no major textual variants with the exception of *hlbnwn* for MT *lbnwn*, and *š[k]ḏth wlw'* for MT *škbt l'*. OG seems to read *šqth* as a Qal passive participle, feminine singular. It also reads *kl h'rs* as the subject of *pšhw*. The definite article has been removed from *'rs*. 1QIsa^a and OG retain the article here and before *lbnwn*. OG *pasa hē gē* could reflect *kl'rs* or *kl h'rs*, just as *hē kedros tou libanou* could represent *'rzy lbnwn*, *'rzy hlbnwn*, or *h'rzr hlbnwn*. The article retained before *lbnwn* in 1QIsa^a suggests that in at least some instances, the definite article has been added in the process of transmission. We have taken *kl* as a late addition to the text that resulted when Earth was no longer understood as an active deity. An editor made this insertion and changed *pšhh* to *pšhw* in order to focus attention on the actual inhabitants of earth as those who rejoice.

¹⁸⁴Our emendation of MT *pšhw* to *pšhh* is based on the belief that originally the old god Earth was pictured here as the subject of the sentence.

¹⁸⁵The definite article before *krt* has also been eliminated from our reconstruction. While it is retained in 1QIsa^a and OG, it is believed that this is one of many instances in which scribes have levelled through usage of the article in either OG, MT, or 1QIsa^a.

quiet, undisturbed" (BDB:1052) is found in Is. 18:4 and 62:1, both times referring to Yahweh. In these instances a sense of divine inactivity is conveyed, and such seems to be the case here. The image of a quiet Earth may be an indication that the author believed this to be the normative state of affairs for this olden god, no longer an active member of the pantheon.¹⁸⁶ Her arousal is precipitated, however, by this great event. A joyful shout ensues. The root *ʾpsh* "to cause to burst forth" (BDB:822), is found but once in Isaiah, but five times in Deutero-Isaiah. In four of these instances (44:13; 49:23 [Qere]; 54:1; and 55:12) the verb appears together with *mh* "ringing cry" (BDB:943). In 44:23 the mountains are commanded to burst forth with a ringing cry, after the olden gods *Arṣ* and *Šamayim* are commanded to sing for joy and shout aloud. A similar context is encountered in 49:13. The noun *mh* is found in 14:7 and seven times in Deutero-Isaiah (35:10; 44:23; 48:20; 49:13; 51:11; 54:11; 55:12). If we translate *ʾmrt blbbk hšmym ʾʾlh* (14:13) "you said in your heart 'O Heavens I will ascend,'" then we have the olden gods *Arṣ* and *Šamayim* paired in this text. Hence, it may be suggested that the offense of the tyrant is that he acted against Yahweh, and the olden gods were present to witness his boast and downfall (in much the same way that they function as treaty and covenantal witnesses in Israel and elsewhere in the ancient Near East). The cedars of Lebanon rejoice, and even say (in what may or may not be a taunting tone) that since the tyrant's demise, no one ascends to fell

¹⁸⁶See Cross (1976:331, 333) for a description of the olden gods and their place in creation myths of the ancient Near East.

them.¹⁸⁷ Yet the crime's implications extend beyond the mundane realm of human experience; it assumes cosmic importance. Its impact is manifest in the fabric of reality in much the same manner that violation of treaty or covenant is assumed to have a deleterious effect on the created order. Since kingship on earth requires prior approval by the council of the gods (in Mesopotamia and Canaan) or by Yahweh (in Israel), to exercise it improperly could only engender a forceful response from the gods. Political and natural order are restored when the tyrant is brought low. As a result, this re-establishment of harmony leads Arš herself to rejoice and empowers Lebanon's cedars to taunt their powerless oppressor.

The noun *brwš* appears twice in Isaiah (14:8; 37:24), two times in Deutero-Isaiah (41:19; 55:13), and once in Trito-Isaiah (60:13). 'rz is found three other times in Isaiah: 2:13; 9:9; 37:24 (the latter resembles closely vss. 13-15 of this poem), and twice in Deutero-Isaiah (41:19; 44:14). 'rz and *brwš* are used as a word pair in parallel cola in 37:24 and 41:19.

9

| | | |
|--|-----|---|
| ša'ōl ¹⁸⁸ mittaht ragazā lakā | 9 l | Sheol below stirs before you, |
| la-qira't bō'kā | 5 b | to meet your arrival, |
| 'ōrir lakā rapa'im | 7 l | rousing the Rephaim before you, |
| kull 'attūde 'arš | 5 b | all the he-goats ¹⁸⁹ of the Earth, |
| haqēm ¹⁹⁰ mik-kissi'ōtam | 7 l | She raises from their thrones, |

¹⁸⁷It is well known that cedars were valued as a building material in Mesopotamia and Israel. Are the cedars themselves lamenting a decline in importance as a result of the fall of a monarch who no longer values them, or are they taunting one whose normal practice was to ravage them?

¹⁸⁸The vocalization here is uncertain. A second possibility is šə 'ōl.

¹⁸⁹Cross translates "heroes / lords of the earth" (personal communication).

¹⁹⁰We have vocalized as an infinitive absolute and have rejected both MT and 1QIsa^a.

kull malakê gōyīm

6 b all the kings of the nations.

Verse Type: Sestet

Meter: 1:b::1:b::1:b

Sheol, here pictured as the master of the underworld, is agitated at the tyrant's arrival. She rouses the shades (in this instance, the former rulers of earth) from their thrones to meet him. Here, *rp'ym* refers to the chthonic deities who form the council of underworld, and *'tdy 'rs* seems to be an epithet of theirs. These are roused along with the former kings of earthly nations, enjoying their retirement in the land of heroes. Sheol seems less the monstrous lord of this domain and more the royal page.¹⁹¹ This is the only instance in Isaiah in which *'twd* is used figuratively of leaders (cf. 1:11 and 34:6).¹⁹² The *rp'ym* appear elsewhere in Isaiah only in the Isaiah Apocalypse (26:14, 19). The Hiphil perfect, 3rd., masc., sg. form *hgy'm* is impossible since Sheol is the subject (and is feminine in gender). We have vocalized it as an infinitive absolute.¹⁹³ A dual understanding of *√rgz* is possible. Is Sheol "roused" (in other words, does Sheol rouse herself) at the arrival of the tyrant (a usage similar to that in 28:21 of Yahweh), or does Sheol "quake" in terror at his arrival (similar to the usage in 32:10,

¹⁹¹Cross (1983c:160) has addressed the problem posed by the mingling of images of the realm of the dead, particular reference being given to the Psalm of Jonah.

¹⁹²The names of male animals were used in Old Hebrew and Ugaritic to apply to important individuals (heroes, etc.) (Cross 1973:4, note 6).

¹⁹³On the use of the infinitive absolute as a substitute for the finite verb see GKC:Par. 113y, gg. The context may fit what Gesenius calls a "hurried or otherwise excited style" (GKC:Par. 113y).

11)? Either seems possible.¹⁹⁴ The latter would be most appropriate if an ironic or sarcastic tone is intended (Sheol cowering upon the arrival of a deposed and powerless tyrant in her own realm). The scene conjured thereby would be of a terrified Sheol running about notifying her fellow gods and heroes of the presence of a new arrival. The purpose of such a device would be to mock a ruler who was less than terrifying in his own lifetime, or to underscore the condemnation, by the kings at least, of one who did not make the grade as a ruler. The kings do not, as a result, direct their brother to the nearest throne. Instead, the *rp'ym* and the kings point him to a seat less treasured. The impression left is that the crime of this individual is somehow worse than that of his counterparts and will be reflected in his status of the underworld. The impact of his crimes haunts him beyond death's veil; even in the domain of Mot he will be dishonored. Such punishment suggests an earthly offense of great magnitude. The tyrant's fall results in the jubilant exultation of nature, but in the underworld, the activity is a prelude to the monarch's eternal dishonor.

10-11a

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|--|
| kullām ya'nū wa-yō'mirū 'ilaykā | EM | All of them answer and say |
| gam 'attā ḥullaytā kamōnū | 9 l | to you, Yea, you are become weak like |
| 'ilaynū nimšaltā | 6 b | us, you have become similar to us. |
| hūrad ša'ōl ¹⁹⁵ ga'ōnkā | 8 l | Your arrogance was brought |
| himyat nabala<ta>kā | 7 b | down to Sheol, |
| taḥtaykā yuṣṣa' rimmā | 7 b | the din of your folly. |
| wa-mukassaykā tōli'ā | 8 l | Beneath you is spread the |
| | | maggot, |
| | | your covering is the worm. |

¹⁹⁴Here, we must note that Cross prefers to see a sleepy Sheol rousing herself in excitement (personal communication).

¹⁹⁵An alternate vocalization is *šə 'ōl*.

Verse Type: Sestet
Meter: 1:b::1:b::b:l

The *rp'ym* and the former kings condemn the fallen tyrant, telling him that he has been made weak like they are, and is now in a state similar to theirs. The root *√hlh* "to be weak, sick" (BDB:317) is used of physical infirmity (with moral depravity given a causal connection) in Isaiah 33:24, and of Hezekiah's illness in 38:1, 9; 39:1. In 57:10 it seems to connote weariness due to physical and emotional exhaustion. The Niphal form of *√msl* occurs at no other point in Isaiah. In Pss. 28:1 and 143:7 it refers to the poet's being "made like" one who goes down to the pit. In Ps. 49:13, 21 its use is in connection with those who trust in themselves, and those having riches but no faculty for comprehension. These are said to be "like the beasts of the field." It is interesting that in each of these cases, reference is made to the deterioration of the psychological and physical well-being of humanity. Hence, the tyrant is something other than he used to be. He is weakened, made of similar essence to the *rp'ym* and his previously fallen brethren.

His "exultation/majesty" has accompanied him. In Is. 2:10, 19, 21 majesty is attributed to Yahweh, and in 4:2 to the *smh yhw* "branch of Yahweh." In 13:19 Babylon is called the "glory of the Chaldeans." In 13:11 and 16:6 the connotation is negative (it stands parallel to *g'wt* and is best translated "arrogance"). In 23:9 (the lament against Tyre) Yahweh plans, through the humiliation of Tyre, to humble the *g'wn kl 'rs* "the exalted of all the earth" (which stands parallel to *kl nkbdy 'rs* "all the honored of the land").

Hebrew *hmyh* is a *hapax legomenon* meaning "sound, music" (BDB:242). This definition is conditioned by the reading of *nbl* as "musical

| | | |
|--|-----|---------------------------------------|
| hēlīl ¹⁹⁸ bin šaḥr | 5 b | Helel son of Šaḥar. |
| <ayk> ¹⁹⁹ nigda‘tā ²⁰⁰ la-’arṣ | 6 l | How you are crushed to the ground, |
| hōlīš ‘al gōyīm | 5 b | Weakling over the Nations. |

Verse Type: Quatrain
Meter: l:b::l:b

Hyll bn šhr has fallen.²⁰¹ This statement begins that section of the poem most heavily influenced by Canaanite mythology. Albright (1968:232) has called this a Canaanite mythological dirge. Gowan (1975:50-67) has cited parallels to Mesopotamian lore, Oldenburg (1970:206-208) has drawn on South Arabian parallels, and McKay (1970:455, 463) has contrasted the

¹⁹⁸OG reads *ho heōsphoros*. We have treated *hyll* as a divine name whose actual meaning is "shining one" (BDB:237). We have elected to transliterate the Hebrew name because context suggests this as a more appropriate choice than translating "Shining One, son of Dawn." It should be noted that an alternate vocalization is proposed by Koehler-Baumgartner (HALAT:235, 238) for *hyll* (*hēlāl* "Mondsichel") based on comparative evidence from Arabic (*hilāl* "Neumondsichel") and Ethiopic (*həlāl* "new moon," cf. Leslau 1987:217).

¹⁹⁹We have restored 'yk here for metrical purposes.

²⁰⁰OG reads 3rd. singular *synetribē*.

²⁰¹We have adopted the meaning "to shine" for the root \sqrt{hll} proposed by Brown, Driver, and Briggs (BDB:237). Note should also be taken of the meaning "am Horizont erscheinen" proposed by Koehler-Baumgartner (HALAT:238) based on comparative evidence from Arabic (*halla* "begin to shine") and Ethiopic (*halala* "shine, be bright," a denominative verb according to Leslau 1987:217). In our opinion, evidence from Arabic and Ethiopic supports the reading of BDB rather than that of HALAT. We suspect that the root \sqrt{hll} is primary in Semitic and has the meaning "to shine." Huehnergard (personal communication) has suggested this is more plausible than taking *hyll* as primary with the root \sqrt{hll} being denominative because there are few verbs derived from divine names, etc. in Semitic languages.

Greek Phaeton myth. Gunkel (1895:132-134) proposed a nature myth as its origin, and Childs (1960:69) reconstructed an outline of the myth based on evidence within the poem itself.

Though vss. 4-11a speak of earthly events accompanied by manifestations in the cosmic realm, the focus is on an earthly hegemon whose fall has an impact on the cosmos. By contrast, the frame of reference shifts in vss. 11bff., the focus continuing to be a dual one, but with greater emphasis being placed on the primordial rebel whose fall is compared to that of the earthly monarch. The result is that in the fabric of the poem itself, cyclical and linear time coalesce and the historical and mythological are held in check. The poet has accomplished this by allowing the mythological tradition which he mediates to convey its message without authorial interference. The poet edits very little. Only by way of the rubric in v. 4a do we know who the *msl* is directed toward. From content alone, we know only of a foolish king and a cosmic usurper whose failures are woven into the poem in such a way that their identities are virtually indistinguishable from one another.

A political event has been mythologized and a mythological event has been politicized. One possible solution to the vexing problem of the poem's origin is proposed by Childs (1960:69-70), who believes that the poet has drawn on a familiar pattern in mythologizing a political happening, making concern over factual events associated with a given king irrelevant, the poem itself being the product of the poet's imaginative thinking. We do not share Childs' opinion. We suspect that the poet has made use of mythological material that was originally an outgrowth of a political and religious conflict. This made it particularly appropriate to the author of Is.

14, who was himself looking for such tradition in illustrating his anti-monarchical position.

The creative construct which the poet employed allowed the name *Hyll bn šḥr* to be treated as an allusion to the despot whose fall is recounted in vss. 4b-11a. We believe that it also retained its force in the minds of the poet's audience as either a divine name or epithet for the god who attempted a similar coup in the divine council. The way in which this myth was perceived in Israel is a matter of debate, and we believe that a *via media* must be attained that avoids the minimalist position that would have Israel totally disregarding the conception of a pantheon presided over by an administrative deity and totally embracing monotheism, and the opposite extreme which would allow no unique theological perception in Israel. Our proposition is that with the combination of Canaanite elements and those of the old clan deity in Yahwism, the tension between the historical and the mythological is never fully resolved, one or the other asserting itself as different traditions and schools attempted to define the parameters of Israelite faith in relation to the problems that confront all of humanity and in light of a succession of national crises. As an illustrative allusion to the excess of the despot, *hyll bn šḥr* and his fall contribute to the formation of a scenario of a ruler with grandiose dreams. Having little facility for reconstructing the course of political history from verses with such high mythic density, we are safer in concluding that the tyrant's delusions of grandeur are a reflection of *hyll bn šḥr* and his desire for kingship.

13-15

| | | |
|--|------|-----------------------------|
| [] ²⁰² 'amartā ba-libabakā | 10 l | You said in your heart, |
| haš-šamaym 'a'le | 5 b | "I will ascend O Heavens, |
| mim-ma' l la-kōkabē 'il | 7 l | above El's stars, |
| 'arim kissi'i | 5 b | I will establish my throne, |

Verse Type: Quatrain

Meter: l:b:l:l:b

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|
| wa-'išib ba-harr-mō'id | 7 l | and I will sit on the Assembly Mount, |
| ba-yarkatē šapōn ²⁰³ | 6 b | in the far reaches of the north. |
| 'a'le 'al bamōtē 'ab | 7 l | I will mount the backs of clouds, |
| 'iddamme la-'ilyōn | 6 b | I will make myself like Elyon." |
| 'ak 'il ša'ōl tūrad | 6 l | But you are brought down to Sheol, |
| 'il yarkatē bōr | 5 b | to the far reaches of the Pit. |

Verse Type: Sestet

Meter: l:b:l:b:l:b

Helel announces to the heavens that he will ascend to the holy mount where Elyon sits, and place his throne above the circumpolar stars. These may in fact be similar to the *kwkby šmym* in 13:10 who will not give forth their light on the day when cosmic upheaval accompanies the destruction of Babylon. Further, he has said that he will sit on the mountain where the divine council meets, in the far reaches of the north. Psalm 48:3 can be compared, in which Zion is said to be the holy mount located in the far reaches of the north. The image is of El's abode in the Amanus (Cross 1973:38-39).

²⁰²The conjunction has been omitted here as a late addition in the transmission process.

²⁰³OG reads *kathiō en orei hypsēlō epi ta orē ta hypsēla ta pros borran*. There is no reason to suppose that OG has a Vorlage different from the reading of MT. This is simply an example of translational eccentricity or interpolation triggered by *mw 'd* (which the translator has rendered as *sōteriōn* in 33:20 and *heortē* in 1:14).

'lh 'l bmt' 'b, in our opinion, is best taken as referring to Helel's intention to assume a position similar to that of Ba'l. We see in this an allusion to the Ba'l epithet *rkb 'xpt* "cloud rider." The inclusion of this boast seems to suggest strongly that we are dealing with a fusion of two separate events, the first being echoed at Ugarit ('Athtar's failure on Šapon in CTA 6.1.43-67), the second with its clearest attestations here and in Ezekiel (an attack against El himself). The author's intention may have been to develop a unified primordial archetype of cosmic failure.

The rebel says that he will make himself like Elyon; the only way to accomplish this would be to ouster the present holder of that title, El himself.²⁰⁴ A systematic and cohesive plan is in evidence. 'lywn is positioned climactically as the final element of the rebel's speech. After his boast to the Heavens he reveals his scheme to ascend above the circumpolar stars (astral deities over whom he would also exercise dominion), announces his intent to sit atop the mount of assembly in the far north, makes known his plan to challenge Ba'l, the cloud rider, and concludes by boasting of his eventual assault against El himself. The picture created is that of a deranged mind, free associating, contemplating ever higher degrees of power. From what is known of 'Athtar at Ugarit, this assessment is consistent with the picture we have of him there.

16-17

rō'aykā 'ilaykā yašgihū
'ilaykā yitbōnanū

9 l Those who see you gaze at you,
7 b they consider you intently.

²⁰⁴On Elyon as a Yahweh epithet see Cross (1973:71).

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| ha-ze ha'-iś margīz []'arš ²⁰⁵ | 7 l | Is this the one who made Earth |
| mar'iś mamlakōt | 5 b | quake, |
| šam tēbil ka-madbar | 6 l | he who rocked kingdoms, |
| wa-'arayw haras | 5 b | who made Earth a desert, |
| [] ²⁰⁷ | | tore down his own ²⁰⁶ cities, |

Verse Type: Sestet

Meter: l:b::l:b::l:b

The discourse of the *rp'ym* having ended, the poet resumes the narration. Those who see Helel (in the immediate context-those in Sheol) will gaze at him intently and consider him carefully.²⁰⁸ *√šgh* "to gaze" (BDB:993) occurs a single time in Isaiah. In Psalm 33:14 it is used of Yahweh watching humankind from the heavens, and in the Song of Songs 2:9 it refers to the lover's act of peering from afar (at his beloved?). The *Hitpo'el* of *√byn* "to consider diligently, show oneself attentive" (BDB:106-

²⁰⁵In 1QIsa^a the definite article is supralineal. We have excluded it from our reconstruction as a secondary editorial addition.

²⁰⁶Cross (personal communication) and BDB:385 note that in this instance *tbl* is apparently masculine. This helps in resolving the problem posed by the reference to a tyrant tearing down his own cities. We suspect that *tbl* remains feminine in this instance, and believe that one of the reasons that the tyrant is despised is precisely because he did tear down his own cities. This could be interpreted as symbolic of disastrous foreign and domestic policy, squandering of public funds, or the neglect of responsibilities which resulted in a decline in the quality of life of those governed.

²⁰⁷'sryw l'pṭh bytw has been omitted as an ancient variant for the preceeding line which OG, MT, and 1QIsa^a have preserved. Vss. 20ff. have suffered corruption in the transmission process. Our reconstruction seeks to restore the integrity of the sestet as a literary unit.

²⁰⁸We disagree with Kissane who viewed these individuals as the people who saw the earthly tyrant in his days of glory (1941:173).

107) is found in Isa. 1:3 paralleling *vyd'* concerning Israel's failure to know Yahweh. In 43:18 it is used in conjunction with *vzkr* regarding the imperative not to call to mind former things in light of Yahweh's new actions, and in 52:18 it augments *vr'h* in a passage addressing the recognition of the suffering servant by nations and kings. Here, those watching look at first from afar, then closely. These ask if this is the one who makes earth quake, rocks kingdoms, made the world a desert, and "tore down" (BDB:294) his cities. *vr's* is used of the shaking of the earth in Isa. 13:13 and 24:18, initiated by Yahweh. In Isa. 22:19 *vhws* refers to what Yahweh will do to the steward Shebna, and in 49:17 (Piel usage) it refers to those who laid Zion waste. *'syryw l' pth* has been taken as a variant of *w'ryw hrs*. This latter part of the poem (vss, 17-20a) has suffered corruption early in the history of transmission. As a result, any reconstruction is difficult. *'ryw* may indicate that we have shifted focus from the primordial to the earthly venue. It may to the earthly tyrant's enslaving or oppression of the general populace (particularly since the despot is accused of tearing down his own cities, ruining his land, and slaying people. An alternative would be to treat this as a reference to Helel's having neglected his responsibilities as tutelary deity of a league, city, region, or nation. This abandonment could have been seen as the contributing factor to natural or political catastrophe. Not releasing prisoners could refer to his failure to secure freedom for his faithful in their time of need. The picture which we gain from this reading is of a god who has done the opposite of what is expected of a clan or national deity. This would provide an excellent primordial reflex of a human monarch who acted in like manner.

What causes those in Sheol to stare in disbelief? Is it Helel's condition after his fall, his general appearance, or is he far different from what they expected? Van Leeuwen (1980:183) finds several similarities between Isa. 14 and the Gilgamesh epic. While we are in agreement with him that Isa. 14 and Gilgamesh share certain similarities, we do not agree with his interpretation of Isa. 14:12 and its relationship to Gilg. XI, 5-7. We disagree strongly with his proposal that Utnapishtim is in a weakened state (similar to that of those in Sheol described in Isa. 14:12) when Gilgamesh encounters him, almost lamenting the fact that he must dwell at the mouth of the two rivers. Instead, we believe that Gilgamesh is amazed that Utnapishtim is, in stature, just as he is.

gummurka libbī ana epēš tuquntī
 [x(x)]x aḥi nadattā elu sērīka
 [qibā iyāšī] kī tazazma ina puḥur ilāni
 balāta tašū

My heart conceived you perfect for doing battle
 ...side. You are cast down upon your back.²⁰⁹
 Tell me, how did you stand here in the midst of the gods?
 How did you find life?

Utnapishtim's proportions are those of Gilgamesh. He is no greater. After Gilgamesh's travels this is a great disappointment. Can a similar claim be made of Isa. 14:16-17? After what Helel has said and done, those who see him are amazed at his stature; he is obviously not awe-inspiring. His boasts seem, therefore, to have been inappropriate, his aspirations unbefitting his genus. He is without honor.

18-20a

²⁰⁹We see this as a posture of leisure rather than one of sickness or infirmity.

[]malakē²¹⁰gōyīm šakabū
ba-kabōd

ʾiš ba-bētō
wa-ʾattā hušlaktā miq-qibrakā

ka-niṣr nitʿab

Verse Type: Quatrain
Meter: l:b::l:b

lubūš harūgīm mutuʿanē ḥarb

yōridē ʾil ʾabanē bōr

ka-pagr mūbas

lōʾ tūhad ʾittam ba-qubūrā²¹²

kī ʾarṣakā²¹³ šihḥattā

ʿammakā²¹⁴ haragtā

Verse Type: Sestet
Meter: l:b::b:l::l:b

11 l The kings of the nations

sleep²¹¹ in glory,

4 b each in his house.

10 l But you are cast from your
grave,

4 b like an abhored sprout,

10 l clothed with the slain, those

pierced by the sword,

8 b the ones who go down to the
stones of the pit,

4 b like a trampled corpse.

9 l You will not be joined with
them in the grave,

7 l For you ruined your land,

6 b your own people you slew.

Here, at the conclusion of the poem, we encounter a recombination of cyclical and linear foci; both the earthly tyrant whose exploits are highlighted in vss. 1-11 and Helel, the divine rebel, whose crimes have

²¹⁰It is difficult to establish the original text of vss. 17-18 with certainty. MT is clearly corrupt. *Klm* in vs. 18 is absent from OG. Our reconstruction is based on the belief that neither *kl* nor *klm* were original readings.

²¹¹This is the translation of Cross (personal communication), who treats *ṣkb* here as meaning "to lie in state (dead), to sleep."

²¹²OG adds *hon tropon himation en aimati pephyrmenon ouk estai katharon, outos oude su esē katharos*. Its origin is a mystery.

²¹³OG reads *tēn gēn mou* "my land."

²¹⁴OG reads *kai ton laon mou* "and my people."

been described from v. 12 to this point, have now coalesced.²¹⁵ In vs. 18 reference is made to divine and human kings. In vss. 19ff., while attention is shifted to the fate of the earthly tyrant, one suspects that the poet intended that a comparable fate be imagined for Helel. Two groups of individuals are mentioned in addition to Helel and the Tyrant: kings (foreign presumably) and those slain in battle. A juxtaposition has been created between the former and the latter. The purpose is to contrast the fates of those who act honorably and those who do not. The poet establishes the implications of this theme for the divine rebel and his human counterpart.

Helel will be relegated to a status below that of other gods. *mlky gwym* has a dual meaning here. It refers on the one hand to actual earthly rulers, and on the other to the gods who decree the fates and guide the destinies of those nations (cf. Dt. 32:8-9). Unlike other gods who are established firmly in their temples ("houses"), Helel is to be cast from his.²¹⁶ He is to suffer dishonor because he has abandoned those who put their trust in him. The tyrant is denied an honorable end. He is cast from

²¹⁵It is also *remotely* possible that the focus remains on Helel and that what is described is the destruction of the image associated with his cult. This would shift the attention of the audience to historical time to witness the desecration of a physical representation of the god, an act which mirrored primordial reality.

²¹⁶We believe that the poet has mixed imagery in the first quatrain by allowing *byt* "his house" to parallel *qbrk* "your grave." The effect is dramatic. We begin with an image of Helel being expelled from his temple (either an actual occurrence or an allusion to his being deposed) and shift to that of the tyrant being deprived of an honorable burial. Cross takes *byt* as a reference to the resting place of the glorious dead (i.e. the grave / tomb), and notes a contrast in fates between the dead who rest in honor and the king of Babylon who is thrown from his grave (personal communication).

his place of burial and will be treated like common victims of battle whose corpses are walked upon and which receive no special pre-mortuary treatment. He receives this treatment because he has brought his land to ruin and caused the death of his subjects. One suspects that from the poet's perspective, the tyrant is dead, but his grave has been or is presently being disturbed. This desecration of the tyrant's grave demonstrates the hatred which those who suffered as a result of his hubris had for him, and might also serve as a ritual reenactment of Helel's defeat and disempowerment. The fall of unworthy monarchs was, for the poet, symbolic of the fall of the rebel Helel, who sought power like that of El. Like him, those who sought the equivalent of this status on earth would suffer a similar fate. Just as Helel was cast from his place of authority, they would lose their power in addition to being denied the honor accorded to warriors and others of stature in death. They would be denied honor in the eternal place where heroes dwell.

Summary-Isaiah 14

The poet has commented on the quest for power and its implications. Van Leeuwen in finding so many parallels between Isa. 14 and the epic of Gilgamesh has raised an important issue. He says that in Gilgamesh the "quest for divinity is a subsidiary motif correlate to the basic theme of the pursuit of life in both the intensive and extensive senses of the word" (1980:181). Such is not an exclusive concern of people of privilege. It is a general human concern. Citing Amos 5 as an example, Eissfeldt speaks of how the prophet himself is shattered by the terror of seeing fallen Israel in spite of viewing merely a victory for Israel's god (1965:96). In the case of foreign entities, he sees the prophet as having no sympathy or terror, "only the bitterest scorn and satisfaction" (1965:96). Such a distinction is not

convincing. Certainly, emotional release comes from the alleviation of suffering, yet his description disallows any feeling of remorse over the decline of foreign cities and kings. Opinion regarding Babylon and its institutions (particularly kingship) was far from monolithic, and there were certainly those who lamented its fall. The fact that kings, gods, and cities, foreign and domestic, engender verse must imply a more complex and creative process than Eissfeldt allows for. Can we reduce our understanding of ancient Near Eastern socio-political institutions as conceived in Israelite speculative thought to: Israel's are good, all others are not? Certainly Isa. 47 taunts Babylon, but the images used to describe its fall engender sorrow for the once great city left alone without suitors. After suffering the loss of his own city or king, can a bard contemplate that of another without having this experience strike a common chord. It is our belief, therefore, that this poem describes not just the fall of a rebel god or human tyrant, but also illustrates the tragedy of government gone mad. At the same time it makes the consequences of the human quest for divinity clear by relating the myth of the fall of the primordial rebel who thought himself to be Elyon. The moral is that divine and human excess are punished by the ineffable power which rules the cosmos, Yahweh.

We suspect that the most likely candidate for the historical personage alluded to here is Nabonidus, the last of the Babylonian monarchs from the Sealand dynasty. This identification is not crucial to our interpretation, however, because the demise of Helel and the tyrant, whoever he may be, is symbolic of the decline of kingship. The criminal activity of the corrupt leader has ceased, his dominion declined. To this the cosmos responds. Ancient Earth rejoices, the firs and cedars celebrate. They taunt his failure to ascend the mountain

regions to cut them. Sheol rouses itself at his arrival. Kings and the *ap'ym* greet him. They rise from their seats and announce that though he is like them, he will enjoy a status beneath theirs. They occupy thrones. He is directed to a bed of worms. The tale of Helel, the rebel who would be king, is recounted; it is a fitting symbol of the tyrant's fall. He wanted to occupy El's place in the far reaches of the north. Moreover, he desired to be like the "cloud rider" himself, Ba'1. He fails, and is cast to the pit also. Neither will be held in esteem. Helel will be expelled from his house, and the despot from his grave. Both have failed to discharge their responsibilities, Helel by neglecting the contractual agreement made with his votaries, the tyrant by allowing his hubris to lead him to excess.

The fall of Babylon, its gods, and its kings was a necessary precursor to the second exodus. The fall of the city and its institutions is an event of major importance to this author and to the glossator who included 13:1-22; 14:1-20a, 22-23; 21:1-10; and 33:1-24; as a part of the Isaianic corpus of chapters 1 to 39. In Isa. 13 the fall of the city is accompanied by cosmic chaos. In Isa. 14 the taunt against the king is placed on the lips of an Israel freed from hard service, and in 21:9 the fall of the city is reprised and the announcement made that her gods have been shattered. 33:18 may contain a reference to Babylonian dominion which is contrasted to vss. 17 and 20 with the messianic (?) king and restored Zion. This may be compared to the fall of Babylon's gods in Isa. 46, the reference to Cyrus as "Bird of Prey" in 46:11, the desperation and abandonment of the city by her diviners in Isa. 47, and the command to escape from Chaldea in 48:20. In Deutero-Isaiah and Isaiah 1-39 the fall of Babylon signals freedom for Israel. It is within the structure of the larger redacted work of Isaiah 1-55 that the ode in Isa. 14 finds its significance. In its present position it

reinforces the doom of Babylon mentioned in ch. 13 and leads the reader forward to chs. 21 and 33. The taunt against Sennacherib (37:22b-29) and most references to Assyria are made subsidiary to the broader theme of the eventual destruction of the archetype of evil cities and the destruction of its king. It is a literary reenactment of what has already transpired and an affirmation of the political freedom desired by the poet and those who share his views. The redactor who placed Isa. 14 in its present place recognized that it was an edifying piece for those who were well acquainted with the eccentricities of Oriental monarchs and could see in the poem universal allusions to the rule of every king.²¹⁷

There is no myth involving 'Athtar at Ugarit to which Isaiah 14 can be legitimately compared. Helel is cast as a usurper. He desires to assume prerogatives belonging to Ba'l and El, but his plan ends in failure and exile to Sheol. In CTA 2, the nature of the conflict between 'Athtar and Yamm is unclear. Therefore, little may be gained by comparing their struggle with the Helel myth. In CTA 6, 'Athtar is made king by El. He assumes this office legally. He relinquishes power voluntarily when he discovers that he cannot fill Ba'l's role. Unfortunately, his status after stepping down from Šapon is not clear because the narrative ends abruptly. Nonetheless, we are not certain that *wymlk bars 'l klh* indicates his assumption of kingship over Sheol. From what little we know of the god *mt-w-šr* from CTA 23.8, comparison with *Hyll bn šhr* must be based primarily on the etymology of

²¹⁷ It is possible that the original author represented a school which saw temple and Davidic kingship as less desirable than a decentralized form of government modeled after the old Israelite league with its central shrine, conciliar government, and conditional leadership.

šr and its semantic similarity to *hyll*. Comparison of *hyll* (Greek *heosphoros*, Latin *Lucifer*) to 'Athtar requires that one treat it as an 'Athtar epithet. Although we find the 'Athtar/Helel/*mt-w-šr* equation compelling on linguistic grounds, there is no evidence from Ugaritic mythology to indicate that 'Athtar attempted to seize kingship from El illegally. We are left, therefore, with a strong semantic indicator that the three divine names mentioned above refer to the same god, but we lack a Ugaritic mythological counterpart with which to compare Isaiah 14.

Daniel 11:21,36-39, 45: 12:1-3

Daniel 11:21-45 is generally held to be an apocalyptic vision inspired by the persecution instigated by Antiochus IV Epiphanes whose regnal years extend from 175 to 163 B.C.E. His military activity against Palestine and Egypt provided the impetus for a resurgence mythology in this second-century setting. Some of the more important aspects of his foreign and domestic policy included the illicit seizure of temple treasuries to bolster government revenue, the fostering of the Hellenic ideal as a unifying ideology for the empire, the granting to certain select cities the rights of the Greek polis, state-sanctioned religious syncretization (with Zeus and other gods being identified with local divinities), and the promulgation of a royal cult which held the king to be Zeus manifest. This represented a policy shift from the program of Antiochus III, who allowed a degree of Jewish cultural autonomy. This led, initially, to the replacement of Onias III by Joshua (Jason) as high priest and the construction of a gymnasium in Jerusalem. Joshua found himself eventually replaced by Menelaus, and during Antiochus' campaign against Egypt (in 169), seized control of the city and caused the former to flee. Upon his return, Antiochus restored Menelaus and sacked the temple in reprisal for rebellion. One year later Antiochus' second invasion of Egypt was halted by Roman decree. His forced withdrawal combined with the apparent failure of efforts to Hellenize Judea resulted in the dispatch of Apollonius (his mercenary commander) to Jerusalem, and the institution of harsh policies against the civilian populace. Jerusalem was treated as a city under siege and with the construction of an independent and self-governing garrison (the Acra) became, in form and function, the property of a Greek city-state. This latest sequence of events removed all barriers to total Hellenization of the region, and with the

assistance of Menelaus, a syncretized Yahweh-Zeus cultus was established. By 167 B.C.E., local religious observations were forbidden and steps had been taken by the state to insure the success of Antiochus' ideological program. Resistance was met with persecution. Opposition was focussed most clearly in the *ḥsydym* "righteous ones," and it was the effective insurgency of the Maccabeans which led eventually to the defeat of Seleucid forces and the cleansing of the temple in 164 B.C.E.

Daniel 11:21-45 deals almost exclusively with the evils and excesses of Antiochus IV. We are particularly interested in v. 21 where his rise to power is discussed, vss. 36-39 which recount his break with acceptable religious practice, vs. 45 which details his final act of treachery and demise, and 12:1-3 which contains the cosmic denouement of the earthly persecution of the faithful. Michael the great angel will rise and a time of unprecedented trouble will ensue, after which the righteous will "shine like the brightness of the (heavenly) firmament" (12:3). The eschaton will result in a change in status of the persecuted; they shall be likened to the stars.

Within the text, profound concern was registered over the evils of a single ruler rather than over the general abuses of kingship. Since the combat raging on earth was seen to be a reflection of similar warfare taking place in heaven, the author's perspective was at variance with the military activism espoused by the Maccabees. The political posture he assumed was one that placed the fate of the community of the faithful in the hands of Yahweh. Consequently, the *ḥsydym* patiently awaited the outcome of the war (Hanson 1986:344-345).

Archaic material has been incorporated into the apocalyptic vision of 11:21-45. The meaning of the text and the nature and function of the

mythological references contained therein are our primary exegetical concerns.

21

| | |
|--|---|
| wa-ʿamad ʿal kannō nibze ²¹⁸ | And one who is despised shall arise in his place, |
| wa-lōʾ natanū ʿalayw hōd malkūt | who has not been granted kingly honor, |
| wa-baʾ ba-šalwā | and he will enter with ease, |
| wa-hihzīq malkūt ba-ḥalaqlaqqōt ²¹⁹ | and seize the kingdom by means of slipperiness. |

The allusion to Antiochus as one despised (*nbzh*),²²⁰ who has assumed his regency illegitimately is clear.²²¹ The major difference between the route to kingship depicted above and in Isaiah 14, for example, is that here the usurper is actually said to have secured his regency through

²¹⁸OG reads *eukataphronētos* "(one who is) contemptible" (LSJ:717).

²¹⁹OG reads *en klērodoxia autou* "in/by his distribution of land." Theodotion reads *en olisthrēmasi*.

²²⁰We disagree with DiLella's assessment that *nbzh* probably refers to the lowly status of the king rather than to the unfavorable opinion of him held by the populace (1978:269). We believe that the author's intention was to express total disdain for the king's legitimacy as heir and complete disgust with regard to his official policies.

²²¹DiLella (in Hartman and DiLella 1978:294) has described the process whereby Antiochus IV was freed from his forced exile in Rome by Seleucus IV (who sent his son Demetrius to replace Antiochus in Rome) and assumed the throne by counteracting Heliodorus' plot to seize power and murdering his young nephew whom Heliodorus had placed in power.

intrigue (*hlqlqwt*).²²² In the former, a tyrant has fallen because while in office, he abrogated rights belonging to the highest god. The paucity of adjectives descriptive of him may reflect the author's total disdain for the usurper. The effect of this stratagem is that Antiochus is cast as the sum total of his actions rather than as an individual with definable character traits.

36-39

| | |
|--|---|
| wa-ʿaśā ka-raṣōnō ham-malk | And according to his will shall the king behave, |
| wa-yitrōmim ²²³ wa-yitgaddil ʿal kull ʾēl | and he shall exalt and glorify himself above every god, |
| wa-ʿal ʾil ʾilīm yadabbir niplaʾōt | and against the god of gods he will say extraordinary things, |
| wa-hiṣlīh ʿad kullā zaʿm ²²⁴ | and he will prosper until the curse is complete, |
| kī niḥraṣā niʿśatā ²²⁵ | for what is determined shall be done. |

²²²Context seems to suggest that allusion is being made to the intrigues that led to Antiochus' assumption of power. *hlqlqwt* in Psalm 35:6 and Jer. 23:12 is used with particular reference to treacherous footing. We suspect that the author's intention was to convey the insincerity of Antiochus' intentions and promises. This range of meaning would be similar to that of the root *ḥlq* in Hosea 10:2 and of the noun *hlq* in Proverbs 7:21. Montgomery (1927:450) translates *hlqlqwt* as "intrigues."

²²³OG reads *kai parorgisthēsetai* "and he will be provoked to anger." Theodotion reads *kai ypsothēsetai* "and he will be lifted up."

²²⁴OG reads *hē orgē* "temperament, disposition, mood; anger" (LSJ:1246).

²²⁵OG reads *eis auton yar synteleia ginetai* "for he is coming to an end."

wa- 'al 'ilōhē 'abōtayw lō' yabīn²²⁶
 wa- 'al ḥimdat našīm
 wa- 'al kull 'ilōh lō yabīn²²⁷
 kī 'al kull yitgaddil²²⁸
 wa-la- 'ilōh ma'uzzīm²²⁹ 'al kannō yakabbid
 wa-la- 'ilōh 'ašr lō' yada'ūhū 'abōtayw
 yakabbid ba-zahāb wa-ba-kasp
 wa-ba- 'abn yaqarā wa-ba-ḥamūdōt
 wa- 'asā la-mabšarē ma'uzzīm²³⁰
 'im 'ilōh nikār
 'ašr yakkīr²³¹ yarbe kabōd
 wa-ḥimšīlām ba-rabbīm
 wa- 'adamā wa-ḥalliḡ ba-mihīr²³²

And he will not heed the
 gods of his fathers,
 or the one beloved of
 women;
 neither shall he obey any
 god,
 because he magnifies
 himself above all.
 And to the god of
 fortresses he will give
 glory in his place,
 and to a god his fathers
 did not know
 will he give honor by
 means of gold and
 silver,
 and with precious stones
 and treasures.

And he will attack strong
 fortresses with (the
 aid of) a foreign god.
 The one who honors
 (him) he shall
 magnify with honor,
 and he will cause (him)
 to rule (over) many
 and the land he will
 divide for a price.

²²⁶OG reads *ou mē pronoēthē*.

²²⁷This line is missing from OG.

²²⁸OG adds *kai hypotagēsetai autō ethnē ischura* "and he will subjugate under himself a mighty nation."

²²⁹This reading is missing from OG.

²³⁰OG reads *poiēsei [poleōn] kai eis ochyrōma ischuron hexei* "he will build cities and he will have a strong fortress."

²³¹We have adopted the Qere reading.

²³²OG reads *eis dōrean* "for a gift."

| | |
|--|---|
| wa-yitta' 'uhalê 'appadanô ²³³ bân yammîm | and he will pitch his palatial tents between the Seas |
| la-harr sabî quds ²³⁴ | at/on ²³⁵ the beautiful holy mount, |
| wa-ba' 'ad qisṣô wa-'ên 'ôzêr lô | yet he will come to his end with no one to help him. |

The king will regard no external authority in the determination of his actions, shall place himself above all gods, and will make unusual claims against the most important of the gods ('l 'lym), presumably Yahweh. His period of prosperity has been fixed and is unalterable. The king is represented as a force who has no earthly superior, and also thinks himself to be without divine or human peer.²³⁶

The king will also break tradition, abandoning the ritual practice of his forebears, turning away particularly from the *ḥmdt nšym* "one beloved of women," which some take to be the cult of Tammuz.²³⁷ Again, we are

²³³An equivalent for 'pdnw is not contained in OG.

²³⁴OG reads *tou orous tēs thelēseōs tou agiou* "the mountain of the pleasure of the holy one."

²³⁵We propose that *lamedh* has a locative meaning here similar to that found in Ugaritic grammatical usage (cf. UT:97).

²³⁶DiLella has noted that Antiochus was the first to assume the title *theos* on his coins. He has also stated that the name Epiphanes demonstrates the extent to which Antiochus identified himself as a divine figure (Hartman and DiLella 1978:301).

²³⁷Cf. Hammer (1976:113) for example.

reminded that he will acknowledge the superiority of no god because he places himself above them all.²³⁸

The king will give cult to the 'lh m'zym "god of fortresses." This is, perhaps, a reference to the Acra constructed in Jerusalem by Apollonius and his contingent in the mid-second century B.C.E. The foreign god who is to receive honor in the form of gold, silver, precious stones, and treasure is likely Zeus.²³⁹

With the aid of Zeus and by means of the Hellenization policy of which this cult is a central part, the king will insure success against enemies, and those who honor him, presumably sympathizers, collaborators, and assimilationists, will receive favorable treatment by him and his administration.²⁴⁰ They will be given positions of prominence. This

²³⁸DiLella gives a brief account of scholarly opinion regarding the nature of these offenses. They include the suppression of the cults of local deities (including Tammuz) and the plundering of temple treasuries whenever the crown was suffering through a fiscal crisis (Hartman and DiLella 1978:301-302).

²³⁹Other suggestions include Jupiter Capitolinus, for whom Antiochus built a temple in Antioch (Hammer 1976:113), Syrian 'Azîz, el-'Uzza, Mars, and Roma (see Montgomery 1927:461 for references to the appropriate secondary literature). The author is concerned with the impact of the monarch's Hellenizing policies and their impact on the faithful living in Jerusalem. We take this reference and that made in vs. 39 to the *mbsry m'zym* as references to the Acra specifically. Hammer believes that vs. 39 has as its background resistance to the general policy of garrisoning troops in Jerusalem (1976:114).

²⁴⁰These should be identified with those who have a vested interest in the maintenance of the religious and political status quo. For a discussion of the sociological background and political dimensions of the exilic period see Hanson (1979:211-220).

reference might include the scandal caused by the sale of the high priesthood to one whose sentiments were pro-Greek (e.g. Joshua or Menelaus). The valuation and sale of the land may echo the de-facto ownership of Jerusalem by the self-governing Acra after its construction. We are told in v. 45 that ultimately, the fate of the king is sealed. His attempted siege of Jerusalem, "the beautiful holy mount," is to be the act which results in the appearance of Michael and the armies of Yahweh and the initiation of the final eschatological battle.²⁴¹ The author anticipated that the demise of Antiochus would take place at this time. This event marks the culmination of Antiochus' evil reign and the end of the forced Hellenization of Jerusalem. The assault begins to assume cosmic dimensions at this point which will be expanded fully in 12:1-3.

12:1-3

wa-ba-'itt hah-hi' ya'mud

mīka'el has-sar hag-gadol²⁴²
ha'-'ōmēd 'al banē 'ammakā

wa-hayitā 'itt šarrā

And at that time will
arise

Michael the great prince,
the one in charge of the
children of your
people.

And it will be a
distressful time,

²⁴¹For a summary of proposed solutions to *byn ymym* see Montgomery (1927:467). DiLella takes this as a reference to the Mediterranean and *hr šby qdš* as a reference to Mt. Zion (Hartman and DiLella 19778:273).

²⁴²OG reads *pareleusetai Michaēl ho aggelos ho megas* "Michael the great angel shall come forward/pass by."

'ašr lō nihyatā mih-hvyōt gōy²⁴³
 'ad ha'-itt hah-hī'
 wa-ba'-itt hah-hī' yimmaliṭ 'ammakā
 kull han-nimṣā' katūb bas-sipr
 wa-rabbīm miy-yōšīnē
 'adamat 'apār²⁴⁴ yaqīṣū
 'ille la-ḥayyē 'ōlām
 wa-'ille la-ḥarapōt la-dirra'ōn 'ōlām²⁴⁵
 wa-ham-maškilīm yazhīrū
 ka-zuhr har-raqī'
 wa-maṣḍiqē har-rabbīm²⁴⁶
 ka-kōkabīm²⁴⁷ la-'ōlām wa-'ēd

such as has never been
 since there was a
 nation
 until that very time;
 but at that time your
 people will be saved,
 all (those) found written
 in the book.
 And many who sleep
 in the earth's dust shall
 awaken;
 some to eternal life,
 and some to disgrace and
 eternal abhorrence.
 but those who have
 understanding shall
 shine
 like the splendor of the
 firmament,
 and those who turn many
 toward uprightness,
 as the stars for all
 eternity.

Once stationed at the holy mount, a time of unequalled distress will
 begin, but the faithful will be protected by their champion, Michael. Those
 found listed in the book (i.e. those who have maintained their allegiance to

²⁴³We treat *oia ouk egenēthē aph ou egenethēsan eōs tēs hēmeras ekeinēs* "which has
 not transpired since they were created until that day." as a paraphrase of an OG
 Vorlage similar to MT.

²⁴⁴OG reads *en platei tēs gēs* "in the breadth of the earth."

²⁴⁵OG reads *hoi de eis oneidismon, hoi de eis diasporan [kai aischunēn] aiōnion*, "and
 some to reproach, and some to dispersion [and disgrace] eternal" This is expansionistic
 and in no way superior to MT.

²⁴⁶OG reads *hoi katischontes tous logous mou* "the possessors of my word."

²⁴⁷OG reads *ta astra tou ouranou* "as the stars of heaven."

pure Yahwism as opposed to its syncretized form) will be spared the coming cataclysm. The dead will awaken, those who have kept themselves free from Hellenism's taint will awaken to eternal life, those who have collaborated and adopted assimilationist attitudes will rise only to face everlasting disgrace. Those who have understanding (perhaps those who have knowledge of this coming time of trouble, or those who comprehend the true nature of Antiochus' policies) will shine (*yzyrw*) like the sky above and like the stars (*kwkbym*) eternally.²⁴⁸

Summary-Daniel 11.12

Antiochus, as monarch and as the personification of the Hellenization process, is the central concern for the apocalyptic community which produced Daniel. His promulgation of a cult of divine-kingship, assault on the integrity of the priesthood, reduction of Jerusalem's status, and syncretization of the religious cult were quantifiable offences against Yahweh. They represented a challenge to the claim that Yahweh was cosmic ruler. As such, they could be interpreted only as acts of rebellion from the perspective of those who resisted Hellenistic assimilation. That this should result in the resurgence of apocalyptic eschatology should not come as a surprise.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸Hammer believes that this is a reference to the religious leaders who have distinguished themselves as martyrs and teachers during the time of persecution. He compares the technical term *mšklym* which is used for teachers at Qumran (1976:116).

²⁴⁹See Hanson (1979:211-220, 402-409) for a discussion of the sociological background for the growth of apocalyptic visionary movements and an assessment of the seminal features of apocalyptic eschatology.

The eschatological import of the monarch's actions against the faithful have been described in this text using mythological imagery similar to that encountered in Job 38 and Isaiah 14 above. We have isolated the following common elements which require comment:

1. In vs. 21, questions are raised about the legitimacy of the king's reign. The implication is that he has not achieved his status by acceptable means.
2. In vs. 36ff. the king is said to have disdain for all gods, including the god of gods.
3. In vs. 45, it is said that the king will come to his end when he pitches his tent between the seas (*byn ymym*) at/on the beautiful holy mount (*hr šby qdš*).
4. In vs. 12, cosmic conflict ensues with Michael, called *hšr*, engaging in battle on behalf of the pious ones.
5. In 12:3 it is said that the *mšklym* will shine (*yzhr*) like the *zhr hrqy*^c and that the *mšdyqy hrby*^m will shine like the *kwkbym*.

The king's right to rule is questioned here just as the authority of the king of Babylon and the aspirations of *Hyll bn šhr* are questioned in Isaiah 14. The disdain which the king displays for all the gods, including the 'l 'lym, in Daniel 11 is similar to the sentiment expressed by Helel toward the authority of Yahweh ('lywn). Neither showed evidence of deference to superior power, or to the foremost of all divine powers. In Isaiah 14:13, Helel says that he will be seated on the assembly mount (*hr mw'd*) in the "far reaches of the north." In Daniel 11, the despised king will meet his end when he encamps between the seas at Mt. Zion.²⁵⁰ It is said that Michael "the great prince" will rise in defense of the faithful. It is possible

²⁵⁰ The place of the cosmic battle is described using language reminiscent of El's abode (*byn ymym* and *hr šby qdš*). Cf. the description of El's abode in CTA 6.1.4-10, 4.4.20-24, and elsewhere.

that the form *šr* "prince" is in fact meant to be read *šr* "shining one," or that a dual sense is intended in which both were to have been understood in this instance and in 10:13, 20, and 21. In connection with this, the righteous are promised a transformation that will make them "shine" (*√zhr*). The semantic relationship between these references, *ʿwrm* and the *rsʿym* of Job 38, and *hyll bn šhr* of Isaiah 14 is apparent.²⁵¹ We suspect that the author has made use of a myth similar to that in Isaiah 14 to illustrate and/or give eschatological significance to the crimes of Antiochus IV. While the myth bears no resemblance to *ʿAthtar* mythology found at Ugarit, there is a possibility that this god was an astral god nonetheless. Though the god's identity is withheld, his heavenly adversary, Michael, is named. This is not unexpected. As we have stated above, the author has depersonalized Antiochus himself and we should expect a similar treatment for his primordial counterpart. The language used to describe the fate of the righteous in juxtaposition to that of the king leads us to suspect this. The former were to shine like heavenly bodies. The latter was to die with no one to assist him. As part of a hermeneutical program with practical application for the marginalized community which produced Daniel, this imagery accents the positive transmutation of the oppressed community into something more than human. Unlike Antiochus, whose abrogation of divine prerogative was against the will of Yahweh, the faithful will be rewarded for their righteousness, perseverance, and understanding. The implication is that those who have died and those who presently devote their lives to furthering the cause of the non-collaborators will be given a *measure* of that

²⁵¹Note should also be taken of the connection between these and *mt w šr* and the *šr phr* of CTA 23.

which the king sought. Though they will not be given kingship of the cosmos, they will share at least one of the characteristics of Yahweh's divine subordinates which administer the affairs of heaven and earth. Thus, the author speaks of the birth of a new order in the cosmos in which those who have suffered persecution will become luminaries, though of a lesser sort, in the assembly of the divine king, Yahweh.

Psalm 82

Several satisfactory treatments of this psalm exist of which those by Briggs and Briggs (1907), Morgenstern (1949), Weiser (1962), Ackerman (1966), and Mullen (1980) should be noted. Its authorship, date, and life-setting are matters of considerable debate. Two of the most plausible solutions to these problems have been made by Ackerman and Morgenstern. Ackerman has suggested that it was composed before the united monarchy and was made a part of the liturgy in the Jerusalem temple at some point during the reigns of David and Josiah. He has also associated it with the Passover festival celebrated at Shiloh during the period of the tribal league (1966:455, 457). Morgenstern has proposed that the original form of the psalm was authored by a Galilean poet who was influenced by both the North Semitic culture of his neighbors in Phoenicia, and the universalistic tendencies of the sixth-century B.C.E.²⁵² He has also suggested that it was brought to Jerusalem by festival pilgrims from Galilee in the late 6th century, and was incorporated into the official liturgy after systematic revision (1939:80, n. 88, 121-122). The mythological elements found in the psalm make isolating its date and point of origin particularly difficult. We disagree with Morgenstern's 6th-century dating of the psalm. Ackerman's proposed date and cultic setting are reasonable, but we are not convinced that the psalm's original home was Shiloh. For the purpose of interpretation, we have adopted Ackerman's pre-monarchical date. Internal evidence has not suggested a clear point of origin, so we have not suggested one. In addition to the psalm's meaning, we are particularly interested in identifying what is

²⁵²This date is also preferred by Cross (personal communication).

transpiring in the divine council and in establishing the relationship between these events and the sentence passed in vss. 6-8.

| | | |
|--|-----|-------------------------------------|
| 1 mizmôr la-'asap | EM | A mizmor of Asaph |
| <yahwe> ²⁵³ niṣṣab ba-'idat 'il<îm> ²⁵⁴ | 8 1 | Yahweh stands in the divine council |
| ba-qirb 'ilôhîm yišpuṭ | 7 1 | He judges in the midst of the gods |

Verse Type: Bicolon
Meter: 1:1

The scene is the assembly of the gods with Yahweh holding the chief administrative position. Its current provenance is Israelite. El has been supplanted as ruling god in the divine assembly by Yahweh. The council motif, originally drawn from Canaan, remains operational. The head of the pantheon is surrounded by a cadre of lesser gods. Yahweh does not appear to be standing as a lesser god in the assembly of El. In our reconstruction of the text, he is pictured here as the governing force in the assembly. We

²⁵³OG reads *ho theos*. This reconstruction agrees with that of Ackerman (1966:278). We have taken MT *'lhym* as an Elohistic emendation.

²⁵⁴OG reads *synagōgē theōn*. We have adopted the reading *b 'dt 'lym* with Ackerman (1966:279-284). He suggested that two Hebrew versions of this verse existed. The first version, *b 'dt 'lym*, was of Egyptian provenance. The second version, *b 'dt 'l*, was at home in Palestine. The former became the basis of the reading found in OG, while the latter became the reading of MT. Ackerman has argued that the reading *b 'dt 'lym* is the original reading based on parallel designations of the divine council in Ugaritic literature, Syro-Palestinian inscriptional evidence, and biblical references to Yahweh's assembly, and the general tendency toward demythologization current within Judaism and early Christianity (which makes it unlikely that the translator of OG would translate *b 'dt 'l* as *synagōgē theōn*).

agree with Ackerman (1966:492) that since Yahwism is believed to have emerged from El theology, there could not have been a developmental stage in which Yahweh was a junior member of El's cadre of lesser gods.

2-4

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|---|
| 'ad matay yišpuṭū 'awl | 7 l | "How long will you judge |
| wa-panē raša'im tišša'ū silā | 9 l | unjustly, and lift up the faces of the |
| šupṭū [] yatum wa-'anī | 7 l | guilty? |
| 'anaw wa-raš hašdīqū ²⁵⁵ | 7 l | Judge the orphan and the weak, give justice to the humble and destitute." |

Verse Type: Bicolon

Meter: 1:1::1:1

As cosmic rulers, the gods were charged with maintaining the equilibrium of the universe. Broadly conceived, their responsibilities included decreeing the fates of humankind, providing for human sustenance, answering requests of a personal or corporate nature, and dispensing justice. There was also an expectation that they would care for marginalized elements of society. Their duties mirrored those of earthly kings. Administrative responsibilities on earth and amongst the gods, therefore, carried with them the duty of establishing order and insuring the safety and care of the disenfranchised. Failure to do so was considered an offense of

²⁵⁵OG reads *krinate orphanon kai ptōchon, papeinon kai penēta dikaiōsate*. Ackerman has followed a suggestion given to him (in a personal communication) by Cross which treats the current composition of vs. 3 as the result of two forms of textual corruption. The first of these involved a vertical dittography caused by the similarity of endings in *płtw* and *špłtw*. This resulted in the placement of *dl* in vs. 4. The second involved the loss of 'nw from 3b by haplography. This was caused by the proximity of 'nw to 'ny. We have adopted Ackerman's reconstruction of the original form of vs. 3 (1966:285-287).

considerable gravity. One of the most poignant examples of the condemnation of a god for failure to dispense his duties properly is found in the Mesopotamian flood story. In Gilg. XI, Enlil is charged with instituting the flood to escape human kind's noise, without taking council with the gods. We hear Enlil mentioned continually as the one "who did not take council, but established a flood." Nothing out of the ordinary is encountered, therefore, in this scenario. Yahweh's condemnation which follows later is roughly equivalent to that of the gods in the council who condemn Enlil for his rashness in the destruction of humanity.

The reference here to the lifting of the head of the *rs'ym* concerns the rendering of judgement in a legal case in favor of the incorrect party. We have already discussed the mythological background of the *rs'ym* above and suggested that in some instances these might be taken as deities who had committed crimes in the cosmos. Such does not seem to be the case here. The poet does not seem concerned with destabilizing activity within the divine council. Instead, the question being asked concerns how long these gods intend to pursue a course of action in the cosmos counter to that which is natural for them and in accordance with their place in the established hierarchy. From a Yahwistic perspective, the condemnation of the gods is based on their failure to live up to contractual obligations sanctioned by Yahweh between themselves and their respective nations. Violation of these covenantal agreements would be just cause for their removal from office.

5

lō' yada'ū wa-lō' yabīnū

9 l They do not know, they
comprehend not.

ba-ḥašikā yithallikū

8 l They walk around in darkness,

yimmōtū kull mōsadē 'arṣ

8 1 The foundations of the earth
totter.

Verse Type: Tricolon

Meter: 1:1:1

Yahweh's dialogue is interrupted, and the poet inserts a parenthetical remark to describe the character defects of the gods who are, in a sense, on trial. The gods, counter to what one would expect, are said to be without understanding and devoid of comprehension. They are also said to wander in darkness. As a result, the foundations of earth, here symbolic of the harmony of the cosmos and the order inherent in creation, are shaken. The poet has employed a reversal of roles to make clear the grave nature of cosmic affairs. One would expect the gods to provide the qualities which "illumine" humankind. Taken allegorically this could symbolize the gods and their ability to distribute justice effectively. The implication here is that the universe is dark (i.e. without justice) because the gods themselves are corrupt.

6-8

'anī 'amartī 'ilōhīm 'attimm
wa-banē 'ilyōn kullikimm

10 1 "I said that you are gods,
9 1 indeed sons of Elyon all of
you,

'akin²⁵⁶ ka-'adam tamūtūn
wa-ka-šarr-im²⁵⁷ tippōlū

8 1 but you will die like Adam,
7 1 what's more, fall like the Shining
One."

²⁵⁶We agree with Ackerman that *hymeis de* may have been used by the translator to convey the emphasis intended by MT 'kn (1966:287).

²⁵⁷We vocalize this as the noun šr with enclitic mēm for emphasis Cross, who favors a sixth century B.C.E. date for the psalm, prefers the reading šarrīm "shining ones." The mēm enclitic which we have vocalized does not fit his dating.

Verse Type: Quatrain
Meter: 1:1::1:1

The sentence is pronounced; those who were once gods, offspring of Elyon, will now die like the first human, and fall like the "Shining One," whose identity shall be discussed below.²⁵⁸ The unique element here is the death sentence pronounced against the gods. Two prominent examples of gods dying by means of execution are found in Mesopotamia. In *Enūma Eliš*, the commander of Tiamat's forces is slain and from his essence the first human is fashioned. A similar sequence of events is found in the account of the creation of humankind in *Atrahasis*, where, the god We-ila, leader of the uprising against Enlil, is sacrificed. From his flesh the first mortal is formed. As a result of this, the message being conveyed is that the demise of a god is a matter of considerable weight, even when the god has been accused of criminal activity. In both of these cases, such a death accompanies a marvelous creative event. In the *Atrahasis* account, the god to be slain is even told that the beating of the human heart will be an everlasting reminder of his sacrifice. The circumstances in Psalm 82 are different. The death of the gods mentioned here accompanies Yahweh's exaltation to the position of sole authority in the pantheon. There is nothing to ennoble their fall. As irresponsible gods, their death marks the restoration of order to the cosmos and the elimination of disharmony in the pantheon.

9

| | | |
|--|------|---|
| qūmā <yahwi> ²⁵⁹ šupṭā haʾ-ʾarṣ | 9 l | Arise O Yahweh, judge the earth, |
| kī ʾattā tīnḥal ba-kull hag-gōyīm | 10 l | For you shall inherit all the nations. |

²⁵⁸Here we disagree with Mullen's reading of pl *šarīm* "Shining Ones" (1980:229,244).

²⁵⁹We treat MT *ʾlhyim* as a secondary Elohist emendation.

Verse Type: Bicolon
Meter: 1:1

Yahweh has become the sole cosmic administrator and is now called to assume the responsibilities of the gods who have been deposed. Yahweh has effectively eliminated the divine council. Harmony has been restored to the cosmos by the elimination of ineffective divine rulers and the rise to power of a single governing force.

Summary-Psalm 82

In vs. 7 the gods who are condemned by Yahweh are informed that they will fall like the *šrym*, "Shining One." We have no mention of a *šr* falling other than that made in CTA 23.8-11, where *mt w šr* is bound, pruned, and cast to the ground. Unfortunately, we do not know enough about either *mt w šr* or the *šr* mentioned in Psalm 82 to make a convincing connection between the two. We also have the fall of *hyll bn šhr* in Isaiah 14, but we cannot establish with certainty that this is the fall alluded to in Psalm 82. We have already noted the semantic correspondence between *šr* (CTA 23), *ʾwr* (Job 38), and *hyll* (Isaiah 14). We have also discussed the eschatological promise made in Daniel 12, where it is said that the faithful, in contrast to the rebel king Antiochus and the unnamed rebel god who is his cosmic counterpart, will "shine" (*ʾzhr*) as the firmament and the stars. These data suggest that a connection between the beings mentioned in CTA 23, Job 38, Isaiah 14, and Daniel 12 based on semantic correspondence is, at the very least, plausible. Unfortunately, we are unable to establish with certainty the relationship between the aforementioned and the god ʿAthtar. Since we lack direct evidence of ʿAthtar's fall at Ugarit, the relationship between him and the "Shining Ones" mentioned in biblical texts, including Psalm 82, rests solely on his identification as an astral god (i.e. the planet

Venus). While linguistic evidence suggests an 'Athtar/Helel/Shining One' identification, mythological evidence from Ugarit is mute on this point.

In conclusion, Psalm 82 describes Yahweh's assumption of supremacy over the cosmos and elimination of his host. It represents one of many strains of thought regarding the nature of the divine council in Israel. For its author, Yahweh now governs the cosmos without the assistance of a royal coterie. This may reflect an intermediate stage preceding the development of primitive angelology, or it could represent a separate body of tradition which maintained that Yahweh was sole ruler of the universe. The death of primordial man and the fall of the "Shining One" are equated with the demise of unjust and irresponsible gods.

Ezekiel 28:1-10²⁶⁰

Of the previous studies of Ezekiel 28:1-10 and 28:11-19, those of Cooke (1936), Zimmerli (1970), and Eichrodt (1970) should be mentioned. We disagree with Zimmerli's assessment of vss. 1-10 as a "fairly succinct basic text" which "has been secondarily enriched and had its content expanded by the motif of the wisdom of the king of Tyre" (1969:76). We believe that the text, as we have reconstructed it, is an oracle directed to an unnamed prince of Tyre which draws upon allusions to the god El and his wisdom in illustrating the hubris of an upstart noble. There is no single datum that can be used in determining the time and place of authorship. Mythological material and stereotypical characteristics²⁶¹ have been woven into the fabric of the oracle so adroitly that its temporal focus is non-specific. In addition to analyzing the meaning and function of the oracle, we are particularly interested in the mythological background of the grandiose claims made by the prince, his abrogation of divine prerogatives, and his punishment.

1-2

way-yahī dabār yahwe 'ilayy la-'umōr

And Yahwe's word came
to me saying:

²⁶⁰We have not attempted a metrical scansion of this text. We are in agreement with Zimmerli that it is difficult to discern a regular metrical form (1969:76). For this reason, we have limited ourselves to the reconstruction and vocalization of the text. Our line division is intended to approximate, as closely as possible, meaningful sense-units.

²⁶¹Zimmerli notes that the king is not given individual characteristics by the author, but is cast with typical ones (1969:76).

²⁶²bin-ʾadam ʾumur la-nagīd surr

kō ʾamar []²⁶³ yahwe
yaʿn gabōh libb-kā
wa-tō(?)mir ʾēl ʾanī
mōšab²⁶⁴ ʾilōhīm yašabū²⁶⁵

ba-libb yammūm²⁶⁷
wa-ʾattā ʾadām wa-lōʾ ʾēl

wa-titūn libba-kā ka-libb <ʾil-im>²⁶⁸

"Son of man, say to the
Prince of Tyre

Thus says Yahweh:
Because you are haughty,
and say, 'I am El,
I live in the habitation of
the godhead²⁶⁶
in the midst of the seas,'
yet you are Adam and
not El;
although you made you
heart like that of El

While it is clear from the introductory formula in vs. 1 that this oracle is directed against the prince of Tyre, it is equally clear from vss. 2ff. that we are dealing with material influenced heavily by older mythological tradition. The poet has allowed free reign to this tradition and has permitted the prince's presumption to be expressed unambiguously. He claims identification with El. It is also important to note that the oracle is

²⁶²OG adds *kaisou*, "and you"

²⁶³*dny* is missing from OG.

²⁶⁴OG *katoikian*, "habitation"

²⁶⁵OG *katōkēka*, "I have inhabited."

²⁶⁶In translating *ʾlhy*m as "Godhead" we have followed the recommendation of Cross (personal communication), who sees this as a reference to El

²⁶⁷OG *thalassēs*, "sea," (gen., sing., masc.) against MT.

²⁶⁸We believe that MT *ʾlhy*m is an emendation intended to assist in the muting of the mythological imagery prevalent throughout the oracle. Cross is dubious about the use of enclitic *mēm* in this period (personal communication).

not directed against the king of Tyre. We believe that this is intentional on the poet's part. This is not an oracle against a hegemon; it is, by contrast, against one who desires to be one.²⁶⁹ The Tyrian king would, to a limited extent, be correct in equating himself with Canaanite El, his right to rule having been decreed by El and the council of gods. As king, his authority in matters temporal was comparable to that of El in matters cosmic. If the imagery of the divine council is extended to earthly government, then one who is a prince (i.e. a member of the royal household whose authority extends to areas delimited by the monarch) may have responsibilities ranging from care of mundane matters of state to actual coregency. As such, he would be akin to Baʿl or one of the other younger gods in the divine assembly (Yamm, ʿAštart, Mot, etc.). On a cosmic scale, for any of these gods to assume El's prerogatives would be highly irregular. The same may be said of political protocol on earth. However successful or popular a coregent or heir might be, abrogation of the kingly prerogatives would be tantamount to usurpation. It is not a king's crime which is described, but that of an ambitious member of the royal cadre whose wisdom, popularity, and political acumen have inspired him to lay claim to the lordship of Tyre. The poet gives the crime a cosmic dimension by incorporating elements from Canaanite myth. The *mwsb ʿlhm* echoes El's abode at the foot of the cosmic mountain, and as an island locale, Tyre is *blb ymym*, "in the heart of

²⁶⁹We disagree with Zimmerli (1969:76-77) and Eichrodt (1970:390) who seem to treat *ngyd* in this context in a manner similar to that in older Israelite contexts (e.g. 1 Sam. 9:16; 10:1).

the seas."²⁷⁰ The primordial allusion to El's home at the source of the two rivers, in the heart of the double deep, is also transparent.

The boast of the prince is of particular interest. We have preferred the translation "I am El" for *'l 'ny* rather than the usual "I am a god" (RSV). His wisdom, riches, strength, and power, as they are described in vss. 3-5, lead one to suspect that the prince would lay claim to far more than identification as a god (i.e. one of the members of the divine council). By simple equation with the known structure of the local pantheon, this would be nothing unusual. He would, in fact, be the earthly counterpart to one of the children of El. The context suggests that the prince takes himself to be Canaanite El, chief god of the pantheon, an inappropriate claim for even a Canaanite monarch to make. This boast is similar to that found in Isaiah 14:12ff, and is the crucial feature around which the remainder of vss. 1-10 is constructed. The overstepping of bounds is the dominant theme here and in Isaiah 14. It finds full expression in the statement "I am El."

The background against which this more concrete reference to the Tyrian prince is to be understood must revolve around El and a challenge to his authority, home, and prestige by a divine usurper. The reader is left with the job of identifying the god capable of and inclined toward mounting such opposition against him. The poet's original audience no doubt found this task to be less problematic than modern interpreters. We believe that an important clue is contained in the powers which are ascribed to the god in vss. 3-5.

3-5

²⁷⁰We are in agreement with Cross that *blb ymym* can apply also to a promontory or peninsula (personal communication).

hinne ḥakām ʾattā²⁷¹ mid-danʾēl
 kull satūm lōʾ ʾamamū-kā²⁷²
²⁷³ba-ḥukmat-kā wa-ba-tabūnat-kā²⁷⁴
 ʾašitā la-kā ḥayl
 wat-taʾš²⁷⁵ zahāb wa-kasp ba-ʾōṣarōtay-kā
²⁷⁶ba-rabb ḥukmata-kā²⁷⁷ ba-rakullata-kā
 hirbītā ḥēla-kā
 wa²⁷⁹yigbah libab-kā ba-ḥēla-kā

You are indeed wiser
 than Danel.
 All that is hidden is not
 concealed from you.
 With your wisdom and
 understanding,
 you made yourself strong.
 You made gold and silver
 for your storehouses.
 By means of your great
 wisdom and
 commerce,
 you increased your
 strength.²⁷⁸
 and you have become
 haughty with your
 power.

²⁷¹OG *mē sophōteros ei sou*, "are you not wiser."

²⁷²OG *ē sophoi ouk epaideusan se te epistēmē autōn*, "or did the wise ones not teach you their skill" It is likely that this is an "educated guess" on the translator's part, based on the preceding half of the verse.

²⁷³OG reads *mē ēn* (Hebrew *wa-ba-ḥukmata-kā*).

²⁷⁴OG *phronēsei*, "purpose, intention"

²⁷⁵OG does not translate Hebrew *ta ʾš*.

²⁷⁶OG adds *ē*.

²⁷⁷OG adds *kai*.

²⁷⁸We are in agreement with Cross that power and riches are included in the semantic range of *ḥyl* (personal communication).

²⁷⁹This copula is missing from OG.

The prince is said to be wiser than the Danel of Canaanite lore.²⁸⁰ He is strong, wealthy, and powerful. Reference to wealth, as it related to Tyre and its prince is best taken literally. The aforementioned attributes are characteristic of most gods in the Canaanite pantheon. Wisdom, by contrast, is usually ascribed to El. The combination of wisdom and hubris, however, does create something of a problem. We have no record in Ugaritic myth of a wise and proud contender actively vying for El's throne. In Isaiah 14, the usurper is called *hyll bn šhr*, suggesting that the usurper was an astral god. By contrast, here emphasis is placed on the usurper's wisdom which has led to corruption.

6-8

lakēn kō 'amar []²⁸¹ yahwe

Therefore thus says
Yahweh:

ya'n titta-kā []²⁸² libab-kā ka-libb <'ēl-mi>²⁸³

Because you made your
heart like that of El,
therefore observe me now
bringing strangers
upon you,

lakēn hinninī mibī' 'alay-kā zarīm

the terror of nations,

'arīšē gōyīm²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰Here we are in agreement with Eichrodt (1969:391).

²⁸¹We take 'dny to be a late addition and, therefore, not an original part of the text.

²⁸²It has been assumed that the marker for the direct object was absent in the earliest form of the oracle.

²⁸³OG *theos*, MT ;*lhym*. There is evidence suggesting that the text has undergone editorial revision of the kind represented by the addition of ;*dny* here and in vss. 2 and 10. We are led to believe, therefore, that (with the possible exception of 28:1) ;*lhym* has been levelled through the text by one or more editors seeking to alter the mythological content of the oracle.

²⁸⁴OG *allotrious loimous apo ethnon*, "foreign plagues from the nations."

| | |
|---|---|
| wa-hirīqū ḥarab ōtām ‘al yapī ḥukmata-kā ²⁸⁵ | and they will draw their swords against the beauty of your wisdom, |
| wa ḥillilū yip‘ata-kā ²⁸⁶ | and they will despoil your beauty. |
| laš-šaḥt ²⁸⁷ yôridū-kā | They will bring you down to the Pit, |
| wa-mattā mamôtê ḥalāl ²⁸⁸ | and you will die the death of the slain, |
| ba-libb yammīm | in the midst of the seas. |

The beauty, power, and wisdom of the prince are to be brought to an end in the same way that those of the primordial usurper were brought to naught. Both shall die at the locus of the power they desired. In addition, they shall be brought to the pit (*sḥt*), a reference to Sheol (Dahood 1968:39). In Isaiah 14, Helel is said to have been brought to Sheol. The spoiling of beauty, the bringing low of one who acknowledged no peer, and the defeat of one who supposed that his power was supreme, illustrate that the reversal of fates for those stricken with excessive pride is woven into the fabric of the cosmos; its effects are felt in linear and cyclic time.

9-10

ha-’amôr tō’mar <’ēl-mi> ’anī

²⁸⁵OG *epi se kai epi to kallos*, "upon you and upon the beauty...," an expansionist addition.

²⁸⁶OG *kai trōsousi to kallos sou eis apoleian kai katabibasousi se*, "and they will wound your beauty to (the point of) destruction and bring you down."

²⁸⁷Missing from OG.

²⁸⁸OG *kai apothanē thanatō traumatiōn*, "and let him die the death of the slain ones."

| | |
|--|--|
| la-panê hōriga-kā | Will you continue to say, 'I am El,' before your slayer? |
| wa-'attā 'adām wa-lō' 'ēl | You are, indeed, Adam, and not El. |
| ba- ²⁸⁹ [] môt[] 'arilīm tamūt | You will die the death of the uncircumcized, |
| ba-yad zarīm ²⁹⁰ | by the hand of foreigners, |
| kī 'anī dibbartī | for I have spoken. |
| na'ūm [] yahwe | Oracle of Yahweh. |

The prince and the divine usurper are to die an inglorious death. They are judged to be finite (*w'ṯh 'dm w'l''*) rather than infinite. For the prince this clearly means death. For his divine counterpart, the meaning could well be the same.

Summary-Ezekiel 28:1-10

The tale of a vainglorious god and his presumption to be El is the background for understanding this oracle against the prince of Tyre. Commerce, a trademark of Tyre, and the increased status brought by wealth derived from economic success have led the prince to presume supreme

²⁸⁹The preposition here is attested in OG *en*.

²⁹⁰OG and MT contain ancient variants for vs. 10a. They are as follows:

- | | |
|---|--------|
| (a) <i>ba-yaad muḥallilê-kā tamūt</i> | MT 9b |
| (b) <i>môt [] 'arilīm tamūt</i> | MT 10a |
| (c) <i>en plēthei ape:itmētōn</i> | OG 10a |

(B) has been taken as the original reading. MT *môtê* has been corrected to read the expected singular construct form. It is certainly more reasonable to assume that the Vorlage of OG was damaged from *b [yd mḥllyk mwty]* to *'rylym* than to suppose that MT and OG represent different textual traditions. This solution would account for the absence of *ba-yad muḥallilay-kā*. *En plēthei* would then have to be treated as the translator's reconstruction for the damaged area.

authority likened only to that of El. The transgression of established bounds results in his eventual fall. Memory of a heavenly courtier who challenged El enlivens the oracle. The myth speaks for itself, the slogan "I am El" capturing the essence of human and divine hubris. The result is the same, failure and death.

Within the current Israelite interpretive context, Yahweh, rather than El, is the one against whom the earthly and cosmic crimes have been committed. His proclamation against the prince and the usurper-god issue the timeless reminder that challenges against divine supremacy are dealt with severely. In spite of the complexity of life observable in the universe, the underlying organizational principle is simple; there exist those that are mortal (^{ʾdm}), and those that are gods (^{ʾlym}). Of the gods, only one rules, Yahweh. None may challenge him. The poet believes, obviously, that the council of gods exists, and that it is Yahweh who presides in this council rather than El. The poet transforms this Canaanite myth with only the slightest of interference. For him, it is Yahweh who brought the cosmic rebel low, and who reduces the presumptuous prince. It is Yahweh who calls to mind the finite nature of all who oppose his absolute power.

Is it appropriate, however, for a Canaanite prince to assume the place of El, a Canaanite god? We believe so.²⁹¹ For a Yahwistic poet, there is no implicit theological threat in allowing the original source to convey its message, especially when it reenforces the importance of submission to divine rule. The poet simply introduces and concludes the oracle with Yahwistic references. At the beginning we are told that these words are uttered by the prophet against the prince of Tyre. In the conclusion it is

²⁹¹We are in agreement here with Pope (1955:98).

Yahweh who pronounces judgement, reminding him that he is Adam (literally and metaphorically) not El.

Our major problem comes in attempting to identify who this divine usurper is. The hubris of the usurper is similar to that found in Isaiah 14. The boasts made by the usurper in Ezek. 28:2 (beginning with 'l 'ny) are not unlike the series of claims made in Isaiah 14:13-16 which culminates with 'dmh l'lywn. The major departure in Ezekiel is that the usurper has been stripped of astral characteristics and has been described as a god whose wisdom has corrupted him. The imagery is anthropomorphic. It is possible that the poet was attempting to establish a wisdom hierarchy in which El/Yahweh was without peer. We have no indication from Ugaritic myth that 'Athtar was perceived as a wise god. The only connection between the usurper encountered here and *hyll bn šhr* in Isaiah 14 is found in the claims against El/Yahweh made by both. Since there is no mention of *šrym*, *rš'ym*, or *'wr*, and no indication that the mythological figure is in possession of astral characteristics, the relationship between 28:1-10, Job 38, and Psalm 82 is open to question.

Ezekiel 28:11-19²⁹²

Zimmerli has noted that references to wisdom as they relate to the king of Tyre are secondary additions here and in 28:1-10 (1969:87). We have stated above that we believe these references to be an original part of the oracle. We feel that the same is true of vss. 11-19. With regard to the date of this text, Zimmerli has concluded, based on a comparison of vss. 11-19 with Ch. 27, that Ezekiel's "subdued judgement" indicates that the prophet is still awaiting the fall of the city. We agree with Zimmerli on this point. Nevertheless, caution must be exercised in positing a more specific date because the poet has woven mythological material carefully into the lament. Our dilemma is, thus, not unlike that encountered in vss. 1-10 above. The poet's intention was to elevate the the king of Tyre and his failures to the status of universal exemplar of the folly of hubris and the reversal of fates which await the excessively proud.²⁹³ As a result, the poem has, to a certain extent, a non-specific temporal focus because of the broad applicability of the message contained therein. In addition to the meaning and function of the text, we are interested particularly in the myth

²⁹²Once again metrical scansion has proved difficult because of textual corruption and because, as Zimmerli has expressed, its form conveys "a metrically very obscure impression" (1969:87).

²⁹³Eichrodt's interpretation emphasizes the importance of the change in the king's fate as it is related to the economic prosperity of Tyre and the injustice and violence which unscrupulous commercial policy have caused. The king, who once enjoyed great wealth and the admiration of his peers, is cast to earth where he is now an object of scorn (1970:394-395).

upon which the poet has drawn, and in the identity of the figure to whom the king of Tyre is compared.

11-13

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| way-yahī dabār yahwe 'ilayy la'umōr | And the word of Yahweh |
| bin 'adām ša qīnā 'al malk šurr | came to me saying: |
| wa-'amartā lō kō 'amar [] ²⁹⁴ yahwe | "Son of Man, raise a lament |
| 'attā ḥōtīm tuknūt ²⁹⁵ | against the king of Tyre, |
| [] ²⁹⁷ wa-kalī ²⁹⁸ yōpī | And say to him 'thus says |
| ba-'idēn ²⁹⁹ gann 'ilōhīm hayītā | Yahweh.' |
| | You are the symbol of |
| | proportionality ²⁹⁶ |
| | and perfect in beauty. |
| | You were in Eden, El's |
| | garden ³⁰⁰ |

²⁹⁴Following OG, MT 'dny is taken as a secondary editorial gloss.

²⁹⁵OG *su aposphragisma homoiōseōs*, "you are the seal of a likeness/pattern," reflects the reading 'th ḥtm tbnyt. Graphic confusion between bêt and kaph could have resulted in the reading of OG. MT tknyt is the more difficult reading, and has been adopted.

²⁹⁶Literally, "you are the seal of proportion." The meaning implies complete proportionality. Perhaps we might also translate, "you are the sum total of perfection."

²⁹⁷ml 'ḥkmh "full of wisdom" is missing from OG. We take it as a late addition to the Hebrew text. The OG reading has been preferred.

²⁹⁸OG *stephanos*, "crown."

²⁹⁹OG interprets this as a simple substantive rather than as a place name, reading *tryphē*, "softness, luxuriousness."

³⁰⁰We suspect a euphemism or metaphor here for the divine council. The accent here is on El's ownership and the favored status of the being in question. We suggest that gn 'lhyim originally read gn 'lm, "the garden of El himself."

kull 'abn yaqarā masūkatakā³⁰¹

[ʔudm pīdā wa-yahlōm tarsīš

šuhm wa-yašpe sappīr nupk wa-barqāt]³⁰⁴

Every stone of value was
your adornment³⁰²

carnelian, chrysolite and
topaz, jasper,³⁰³

onyx and jasper(?), sapphire,
ruby and emerald

³⁰¹OG *endedesai*, "you have put on for yourself."

³⁰²We see here no priestly allusion. Instead we see an allusion to astral deities (Zimmerli 1969:93). That the precious stones are his adornment means that they surround him, hence they are his coterie, his supporters, his subjects. We are reminded here of the *šr pḥr* "Shining Ones of the Council" mentioned in CTA 23.

³⁰³BDB:1076 lists Dn 10:6 and Ct 5:14 as instances when *tršyš* is used as a simile of a resplendent body.

³⁰⁴MT lists nine of the twelve stones found in the first description of the priestly ephod in Ex. 28:17-20. OG mentions twelve stones in its list, adding "and gold and silver" (*argyrion kai chrysiōn*) also. This reading is marked with the obelus in Mss. O of the Origenic Recension and is missing from several other early Christian witnesses to the Greek text. Taking note of the stones as they are found in Ex. 28:17-20 and in MT of Ezekiel 28:13, the order has been changed so as to form an *inclusio* marking the list itself as a self contained unit. The stones are arranged in four groups of three in Exodus:

| <u>Arrangement</u> | <u>Stones</u> |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| A B C | 'dm ptdh w-brqt |
| D E F | npg spyr w-yhlm |
| G H I | šm šbw w-'hlmh |
| J K L | tršš w-šhm w-yšph |

In Ezekiel the Stones of the first, second, and fourth tiers in the Exodus list are found arranged as follows:

wa-zahab mal'akt tuppaykā

and (in) gold work (were)
your settings

wa-nvqabaykā []³⁰⁵ ba-yôm

| <u>Arrangement</u> | <u>Stones</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| A B F | 'dm ptdh w-yhlm |
| J K L | tršš šhm w-yšph |
| E D C | spyr npk w-brqt |

The fourth tier has been placed between the first and second, but the order of its three stones has remained the same. The order of the stones in tiers one and two has been changed, the third stone in tier one being moved to the third position in tier two, and the third stone in tier four being moved to the third position in tier one. The first and second stones in tier four have been reversed so that the order of the entire row is reversed, creating a chiasmic inclusio which seals the list as a three-line, nine-stone unit. The list as it exists in MT of Ezekiel either existed in its present form as a written unit or oral formula before being added to MT, or was reworked by an editor from the list in MT of Exodus specifically for use in this setting. What, then, should be made of the list in OG? Its Vorlage probably contained a list of stones. Whether it was one similar to Ezek 28:13 or Ex. 28:17-20 cannot be known for certain. It is most unlikely that the list in Ezek 28:13 is a completely foreign addition to the lament in its present form. It is improbable that both the translator of OG and a late editor of MT Ezekiel saw fit independently to insert lists of precious stones to enhance the composition. It is more likely the case that a list, either the one in Ezekiel 28:13 or some other list with less than the full complement of twelve stones, was the reading which the OG translator had before him. It is also possible that some part of the text was damaged. Desiring either to restore the list to its original form or to embellish it for his current audience, the translator inserted a translation of the list found in Ex. 28 or corrected a list in his Vorlage according to that contained in Ex. 28. It is our belief, therefore, that a list of stones of some kind is an integral part of the lament.

³⁰⁵OG *kai chrysiou eneplēsas tou thesauros sou kai tas apothēkas sou en soi*, "and you filled your treasures and your storehouses with you with gold." OG is not superior

We are told specifically that this lament is to be raised over the king of Tyre, in contrast to the prince of Tyre to whom the previous oracle is directed.³⁰⁸ Interestingly enough, the same myth is used as an artistic device to illustrate the crimes of which the king has been accused. The poem begins in primeval reality, rather than in actual time. Once again the poet has exercised considerable restraint in editing and has allowed the myth to convey its message directly. Its main characters are Yahweh and one of his throne guardians. We suspect that the original characters were El and a member of his cadre of gods. Apparently, the author trusted his urbane and literate audience enough to allow them to make the connection between the old Canaanite myth and the historical personage in question.

An entity without flaw is described, perfect in proportion and visage. We see in him the ultimate manifestation of the creative genius of El/Yahweh, the pinnacle of all that has been made. He is part of the divine court, a member of the council of gods. We also suspect that he is envisioned as one of the stars or deified heavenly bodies which were

to MT. Both attest to the reading *bkh* which we believe to be secondary and superfluous. We have eliminated it from our reconstruction on these grounds.

³⁰⁶We adopt here the reading of OG, from which a Greek equivalent for *kōnanū* is missing. We believe it to be a late addition to the text.

³⁰⁷Hebrew *nqb* is a technical term of uncertain meaning. A cavity or hole could be implied (BDB:666).

³⁰⁸There is nothing in vss. 1-10 or 11-19 which could be used in making a positive identification of the king or prince mentioned in these two texts.

themselves a part of the governing forces of the cosmos.³⁰⁹ Of these, he is the most perfect, and all other celestial bodies are his personal coterie; they accent his beauty by being comparable in genus but inferior in appearance. These were established as his assembly on the day of his creation.

14-15

| | |
|--|--|
| 'attā ³¹⁰ [] ³¹¹ karūb | As for you, O Cherub |
| []natatūkā ³¹² ba-harr qudš [] ³¹³ | I set you on the holy mount. |
| hayitā ba-tōk 'abanē 'ēš [] ³¹⁴ | You were in the midst of the fiery stones, |

³⁰⁹We would not go so far as to adopt Zimmerli's alternate suggestion that these 'bny 'š be treated as those who produce lightning flashes, though we do agree with him that environment of the assembly mount is clear (1969:93).

³¹⁰We have vocalized this form as the 2nd. masc. sing. personal pronoun.

³¹¹MT *mmšh hskk* has been omitted in agreement with OG.

³¹²The copula preceeding *nttyk* has been omitted in agreement with OG.

³¹³OG *en orei hagiō theou*, "on the holy mountain of god," is in agreement with MT. Both are, however, corrupt. The heaping on of epithets and descriptives is common during the process of textual transmission. Gn 'lhym in v. 13 and hr 'lhym in v. 17 lead one to believe hr 'lhym improbable here. Equally unsatisfactory is the extended hr qdš 'lhym. Hr qdš, therefore, is preferable here.

³¹⁴For a sense of the translation of OG one has to begin in the preceeding verse, and continue through the first two lines of this section. The full reading is *aph ēs hēmeras ektisthes su, meta tou cheroub ethēka se en orei ayiō theou*, "from the day you were created, you were with the Cherub on the holy mountain of God." Our feeling is that both MT and OG are corrupt, and some reconstructive work must be done. OG appears to have levelled

some of the parallelism characteristic of the original composition, favoring a narrative description of events (note the absence of *wn'ttyk* in OG), while MT has attracted editorial activity which has redefined the sequence of events, making the Tyrian king the recipient of all actions. He is said to have been placed with an anointed Cherub guardian (*nttyk*), to have been present on the mountain of god (*hyyt*), and to have walked about (*hthlkt*) in the midst of stones of fire. We propose that the Cherub was the original focus, and that two actions were featured. The first was his being placed on the holy mount, and the second involved his being in the company of the stones of fire. We have treated *hthlkt* (an equivalent for which is also missing from OG), therefore, as a secondary editorial addition not original to the text. Our reconstruction of these first three lines represents, in our estimation, the author's original reading. Cross (personal communication) has made an equally compelling proposal. He reconstructs the following tricolon:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>'th 't krwbym nttyk</i> | As for you, I set you with the Cherubim |
| <i>bhr qdš hyth</i> | You were on the holy mount of God |
| <i>btwk 'bny 'š hthlkt</i> | You walked in the midst of fiery stones |

The major problem with any reconstruction is reconciling the sequence of events in OG with those in MT. If vss. 14-15 of OG are retroverted, we have the following Hebrew vorlage:

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>'th 't krwb</i> | You were with the Cherub |
| <i>nttyk bhr qdš 'lhym</i> | I set you on the holy mount |
| <i>'th btwk 'bny 'š</i> | You were in the midst of fiery stones |

Cross' reconstruction follows OG closely in lines one and two of the tricolon, the only exception being his emendation of *krwb* to *krwbym* (a masculine plural form). He also allows the verb *nttyk* to remain in the first colon and adopts MT *hthlkt* for the third. From an artistic standpoint, this makes the poetic unit symmetrical, each line having a finite verb form in final position. Our reading commends itself for two reasons. First, its asymmetry (verbless clause followed by two cola, each having its own finite verb form) makes it

tamīm 'attā ba-darakaykā

miy-yôm hibbari'akā

'ad nimša' 'awlatā bakā

you were innocent³¹⁵ in
your ways,
from the day you were
created,
until iniquity was found in
you.

There are three possible interpretations of *krwb*.

1. A divine name
2. An epithet of a Canaanite, Mesopotamian, or Israelite god
3. A title or classification of beings with a functional significance

It is our belief that the king is being identified with one of the mythological Cherubim (hence, option three).³¹⁶ The implication here is that

a more difficult reading. Second, the second and third cola follow the reading of OG (with the exception of our elimination of 'lhym at the end of the second colon).

³¹⁵The semantic range of *tmym* includes completeness as it is related to truth (BDB:1070-1071).

³¹⁶Cherubim are part of the iconographic repertoire of Canaan, Mesopotamia, and Egypt (cf. ANEP plates 332, 386, 393, 456-459, 586, 646-650, 662, 666, and 765). Gaster (1962:128-134) has noted that several strands of tradition concerning the Cherubim have been woven into the tapestry of biblical literature. These include the following:

1. The Cherub as guardian of the tree of life (counterpart of sentinel dragons and winged colossi at palace entrances in Babylon and Assyria)
2. The Cherub as throne supporter and ark guardian (comparable to winged figures flanking Hiram of Byblos' throne, the draconic *zōa* who draw chariots and thrones of emperors in Sassanian and Byzantine iconography, and the winged steeds of Yahweh who are the personification of the winds)

he was a member of the divine assembly which met at the holy mount, cosmic meeting place of the gods. This must certainly have been the meaning behind the Cherub's having been "set" (i.e. stationed in a position of responsibility or authority) on the holy mount of god. *Hy'yth brwk 'bny 'š* is very mysterious, and we cannot identify its meaning with any measure of certainty. As we have noted above, it is possible that the "fiery stones" are, in actuality, stars, and that the Cherub being addressed was an astral god. These too would, conceivably, be gathered at the meeting place of the divine assembly. The designation "stones of fire" is not a wholly inappropriate mythological, literary, or poetic image for celestial bodies, particularly stars. The cherub's "innocence" (*tnym*) is established in contradistinction to the "iniquity" (*'wlth*) later found in him. It also helps to establish his initial status as a figure of some importance and honor. Context suggests that this is one of El's/Yahweh's trusted counselors or personal guardians who has fallen from favor.

Gaster has also noted the similarity between the biblical Cherubim and the Mesopotamian *kāribu* (or *kurību*) "intercessor," and has listed the following well-known biblical attestations of the Cherubim: 2 Sam. 22:11; Psalm 18:11; Ezekiel 1:4-28; 10:3-22; Genesis 3:24; Psalm 80:1; and 99:1.

16-17a

[]³¹⁷ <milla'ā>³¹⁸ tōkaka³¹⁹ hamās
wa-tihta'

You filled your midst
with violence and you
sinned,

wa-'uḥallilka³²⁰ mih-harr 'ilōhīm

so I threw you as a profaned
thing from the holy
mount,

wa-<'u'abbidka>³²¹ karūb []³²²

and I drove you, O Cherub,

³¹⁷We have treated *brb rklk* as a secondary expansionistic addition intended to focus increased attention on the activity of the Tyrian economy as source of the king's sin. See vss. 5 and 18 where *rb* and *rklh* appear in close proximity (and we believe are original to the text) accenting the king's economic activity. In this single instance, we interpret it as needlessly repetitious and distracting from the overall emphasis of this section which is on the violence and pride which have corrupted the ruler.

³¹⁸We have emended the text here in partial agreement with OG.

³¹⁹OG *ta tamieia sou*, "your storehouses," is an expansionistic translation of *twkk*.

³²⁰OG *etraumatisthēs*, "you were wounded," is either a theologically motivated emendation whose intention was to remove reference to Yahweh's profaning/wounding of the Tyrian ruler, or an attempt to make sense of the unusual syntax of the Hebrew in v. 16, *√hll* followed by *mn* being a difficult grammatical construction. OG represents, in our opinion, a superior reading.

³²¹OG *kai ēgage se* "and he (the Cherub) led" is either a circumlocution intended to deal with *√'bd*, with which the translator may not have been familiar, or a meaning which the translator projected for the construction *√'bd* followed by *mn*. The proposed reconstruction which we suggest takes *krwb* as a vocative, eliminating the conjunction before the preceding verb (which we have vocalized as a 1st common sg. imperfect form).

³²²We have followed the reading of OG here.

mit-tôk 'abanê 'eš

gabôh libbakā ba-yupīkā

šihhattā hukmatakā³²³ 'al yip'atakā³²⁴

from the midst of the stones
of fire.

Because of your beauty, your
heart was proud

You corrupted your wisdom
because of your splendor

The nature of the offense is absent, though we are told that the Cherub's wisdom was corrupted because of his splendor and that his beauty contributed to his pride, but it is almost certainly one involving actual or potential harm to Yahweh/El. It resulted in his expulsion from the holy mount and his apparent demotion from the status of astral deity.

17b-18a

³²⁵'al 'arš hišlikūkā
la-panē malakīm natatūkā

la-ra'wā bakā
mir-rubb 'awōnaykā ba-'awl rakullataykā

hilliltā³²⁶ maqdašaykā

I threw you to Earth,
I put you on display before
kings,
to behold you.

In the greatness of your
iniquity, in the
unrighteousness of your
trade,

you profaned your holy
places

Focus returns to the king of Tyre, emphasis now being placed on commerce as the force which corrupted him. The author intends for an

³²³OG reads *diephtharē hē epistēmen* "your wisdom was corrupted." This presumes the existence of a D- form of *√ḥt* in its Vorlage. An active form is preferable.

³²⁴...*meta tou kallous sous* "with your beauty," is the reading of OG.

³²⁵OG adds *dia plēthos hamartiōn sou* "because of the magnitude of your sins." This is clearly expansive, and the shorter reading of MT has been adopted.

³²⁶OG, *ebēbēlōsa* "I profaned" is not superior to the reading of MT.

equation to be drawn between the cherub, whose perfection was ruined by violence, and this king. The profanation of temples ("holy places") may be a stock accusation made of all monarchs who have met with popular disfavor or an actual reference to the plundering of temples to produce revenues. We suspect that the former is true in this case.

18b-19

| | |
|--|---|
| wa'-ôṣī' 'ēš mit-tôkakā hī' 'akalatkā | Therefore I brought fire from your midst and it consumed you, |
| wa'-ittinkā la-'ipr 'al ha'-arṣ ³²⁷ | and I turned you to ash on the earth, |
| la-'ênê kull rō'aykā | in the eyes of all who beheld you. |
| kull yōdi'aykā ba'-ammīm šamimū 'alaykā | All who know you among the peoples are appalled at you. |
| ballahôt hayitā | You were dreadful, |
| wa-'ênakā 'ad 'ôlām | but you will be no longer. |

Zimmerli proposes that the intention of vs. 19 is to convey the idea that fire issues forth from the place of sin (the sanctuary) and destroys the sinner (1969:94). However, we believe that the poet intended to convey a dual image. Like the cherub, the human king will be made like an astral deity, but with one exception. The flame which is characteristic of the former will consume the latter, reducing him to ash. This will be his end. Like his primordial counterpart, he too shall die.

Summary-Ezekiel 28:11-19

Yahweh's/El's trusted associate, who was without equal in the created order, is compared to the king of Tyre. Both are fated for destruction because of their pride and their vanity. Corruption has resulted in their

³²⁷OG reads *epi tēs gēs sou* "upon your land."

being deprived of that which makes them what they are. For the cherub, this involves being expelled from the assembly mount and having his "fire" extinguished metaphorically (i.e. by being deposed as an astral deity). The king is to be exiled from the holy mount (i.e. denied his kingly functions as head of state and chief patron of the cultus). An all consuming fire is to come forth from him, reducing him to ash. Primeval and contemporary metaphors are mixed: the astral god is deposed like an earthly king; the earthly king is consumed by a fire like that which causes the stars of heaven, and the cherub, to shine.

Cooke (1936:315), Zimmerli (1969:94ff.), and Eichrodt (1970:392-395) have noted that vss. 11-19 draw on an old Semitic myth. We would summarize its content as follows:

1. Yahweh/El creates a perfect being, divine in nature, incomparable in beauty and wisdom.
2. He is present in Eden (at the Holy Mount) and is placed among the ranks of celestial gods where he enjoys favored status. He is surrounded by other beings of light (astral gods).
3. He is considered blameless until he was found to be filled with violence. He was corrupted by his beauty and wisdom.
4. He is driven from the Holy Mount, removed from the ranks of the astral gods, and cast down to earth.

The pride expressed by the cherub, the corruption that led to his downfall, and his expulsion from the mount of assembly are echoed in Isaiah 14, Daniel 11, and vss. 1-10 above. The reference to the *'bny 'š* brings to mind the enigmatic *mt w šr* and *šr pbr* of Ugaritic lore, the *rš'ym* and "their light" (*'wrm*) of Job 38, *hyll bn šhr* of Isaiah 14, and the transformation of the righteous into resplendent creatures in Daniel 12. Though we are not informed as to the specific crimes which were committed, we are told that

the protagonist was "filled with violence" and "sinned" (vs. 16), and in another that he "corrupted" his wisdom because of his "splendor" (vs. 17). The poet's concern with the king of Tyre and his shortcomings caused him to deemphasize the specific actions of the mythological criminal. However, from what we are told, it is clear that these events bear no similarity to those involving 'Athtar in Ugaritic myth.

Genesis 6:1-4³²⁸

Several satisfactory treatments of this text exist, of which Gunkel (1901), Kraeling (1947), Childs (1960), Speiser (1964), Von Rad (1972), Cassuto (1961), Westermann (1974), Petersen (1976), Clines (1976), and Hendel (1987) must be noted. The old correlation of brevity with originality when assessing the age of biblical literature has long been discarded as minimalist and completely at variance with what is known about orally composed literature.³²⁹ At the same time it has also been established convincingly that the Priestly stratum of the Pentateuch is essentially editorial in nature rather than being a narrative source (Cross 1973:324-325). The implications of these two developments and their impact on short, seemingly independent, pericopes in the Hebrew Bible cannot be underestimated. Genesis 6:1-4 has troubled generations of interpreters precisely because of its length and its suspect relationship to the narrative traditions which it precedes. It is, by all appearances, a "summary-composite," components of at least three myths being found within it. Its author was an editor, probably P rather than J, though J and P had knowledge of the traditions which are part of it. As part of the preface to

³²⁸While it is impossible to reconstruct the poetic original (no doubt an oral composition) from the existing prose, in a manner similar to that attempted by Sievers (1904:17, 249-250), it makes sense to try to recover something of the original scope and symmetry of this passage in order to understand its meaning. For this reason our graphic presentation of the reconstructed text is stichometric (i.e. line by line), but this is in no way to be construed as an indication that Genesis 6:1-4 consists of poetry as opposed to prose.

³²⁹See especially the critique of Gunkel by Cross (1983a:22).

the flood story, it serves to accent the pervasiveness of sin which leads to the destruction of the earth.

1-2

way-yahī kī hihill ha'-ʾadam la-rubb ʿal panē ha'-ʾadamā³³⁰
wa-banōt³³¹ yulladū la-himm
way-yir'ū³³² banē []'ilōhīm³³³ []banōt []'adam³³⁴ kī tōbōt hinnā
way-yiqqahū la-himm nasīm mik-kull 'ašr baḥarū

When mankind began to increase upon earth,
and daughters were born to them,
the gods saw that mortal women were beautiful,
and they took for themselves wives from those they selected,

Way-yahī kī is a *waw* consecutive form yet, at the same time, it is thematically disjunctive. The sequence of converted imperfect forms follows *bara'am* in 5:2. Way-yahī is then ubiquitous throughout the genealogical

³³⁰OG *hēnika ērxanto hoi anthropoi polloi ginesshai epi tēs gēs*, "...at that time when/when men began to be numerous upon the earth" The texts of OG and MT are identical

³³¹OG *thygateres*, "daughters."

³³²OG *idontes*, "having seen," is periphrastic. It does not reflect a reading superior to MT.

³³³The original here may have been *banē 'ilīm*, a designation for the members of the divine council similar to that found in the mythic lore of Ugarit. Another possibility would be to emend to *banē ʿil-mi*, "the sons of El himself / the very sons of El," though this is a less attractive alternative.

³³⁴The definite articles before *'ilōhīm*, *banōt*, and *'adam* obscure the intended mythological allusion which juxtaposes the gods and the offspring of mortals. For this reason they have not been included in the reconstruction of the text.

section ending at 5:32. In 6:1 and 6:5 *way-yahī kī* and *way-yar'kī* are found respectively. It cannot be merely coincidental that these come at the beginning of short blocks of material which separate the genealogical material from the beginning of the flood narrative. 6:1-4 tells of divine-human commingling leading to a reduction of the human lifespan. 6:5-8 briefly recounts the wickedness leading to Yahweh's decision to eliminate humankind and Noah's favor in Yahweh's eye, the reason for which is not given. 6:9 seems like a secondary insertion to link 6:1-8 with 6:11ff (its purpose being to explain why Noah found favor with Yahweh). If 6:11ff is rejoined to 5:32 not only does the resulting narrative proceed smoothly, but the sequence of converted perfects continues without interruption. This leads one to suspect that the construction Converted Imperfect + *kī* is used in this immediate context to mark the intrusion of secondary material. Continuity is maintained, but the distinctiveness is indicated. There is a strong possibility that 6:5-8 is an alternate introduction for the flood story while 6:1-4 retains elements of another introductory scenario establishing the reasons for the destruction of humanity (involving the offspring of the divine-human union and the disruption of cosmic harmony) which have been muted. In its present form, 6:1-4 maintains its independent character in spite of some internal discontinuities and visible seams. Ultimately, the pattern of Converted Imperfect + *kī* does draw attention away from the flood and to the gods, mortal women, the "fallen ones," and Noah.

The gods and their copulation with mortal women is a motif attested in Greece. Its origin, like that of most mythological material, is subject to debate. An important issue is the extent to which such union is considered to be a crime elsewhere in the ancient Near East. The editorial hand responsible for the present shape of Gen. 6:1-4 considered the act itself a

crime, the penalty for which was to be assumed by humans. The change of the penalty in v. 3 (from punishment of the gods?) and the positioning of this passage before the flood narrative reflect the editor's desire to place the onus of cosmic breakdown on human agency.

3-4

way-yō'mir yahwe³³⁵
 lō' yadunn rūhī ba-'adam³³⁶ la-'ōlam []³³⁷
 hū' bašar³³⁸ wa-hayū yamayw³³⁹ mi'ā wa-'isrīm šanā³⁴⁰
 han-napīlīm³⁴¹ hayū ba'-arš bay-yamīm hah-him

³³⁵OG reads *kyrios ho theos*, "the Lord God," possibly reflecting *yhwh 'lhym*. MT is superior.

³³⁶OG, *en tois anthropois toutois*, "in these men," is an expansionistic reading.

³³⁷MT *ba-šaggām* is not found in OG, and may have been added after the translation of OG. It is also possible that the translator of OG took it to mean, "because," or, "by reason of," and that *dia to* is evidence of this. It seems more likely that a late editor added it in order to explain the cryptic statement from Yahweh which comes before it.

³³⁸OG *dia to einai autous sarkas*, "because they are flesh"

³³⁹OG *hai ēmerai autōn*, "their days," against MT, "his days."

³⁴⁰One suspects strongly that the quote attributed to Yahweh was not an original part of the tale describing the commingling of the gods and mortal women. Condemnation of the activity would be more appropriately directed toward the gods, and it is likely that originally a statement doing exactly that stood in place of the present one. An editor has shifted the focus of the myth to the earthly realm, and the result is an apologia for a human's limited lifespan.

³⁴¹OG *hoi gigantes*, "the giants."

wa-gam []³⁴² yabō'ū banē []'ilōhīm 'il banōt []'adam³⁴³
 wa-yaladū la-himm himmā []gibbōrīm³⁴⁴ 'ašr mi'-ōlam 'anašē haš-
 šim³⁴⁵

and Yahweh said:

"My spirit will not be strong³⁴⁶ in mankind forever
 He is flesh, and his time span shall be one hundred and twenty years."
 The, "fallen ones,"³⁴⁷ were on earth in those days.
 And, moreover, the sons of the gods copulated with mortal women,
 and they bore (offspring) for them - these are the ancient heroes, men of
 renown.

It is disconcerting that punishment is directed against humanity for
 activity which is initiated by the gods. The relationship of the punishment to
 the crime is also unclear. No offspring of the union is mentioned in vss. 1-

³⁴²'aḥarē kin 'ašr is treated here as a late gloss. I agree, however, with Hendel
 (1987:21, note 38) that its purpose is to account for the existence of the "fallen ones"
 after the flood.

³⁴³See note 91 concerning the readings *banē 'ilōhīm* and *banōt 'adam*.

³⁴⁴OG, *ekeinoi ēsan hoi gigantes*, "these have been the giants."

³⁴⁵Note that OG *hoi anthrōpoi hoi onomastoi*, "men of name," reflects Hebrew *h' nšy hšm*, against MT which reads *'nšy hšm*.

³⁴⁶We follow Hendel's suggestion that the root here is *√dnn*, "to be strong" (1987:15, n. 10).

³⁴⁷Or the, "well known/very fallen one," if *napīli-mi* (*qatīl* form with enclitic *mēm* for emphasis) is read. If this suggestion is followed then it must be assumed that *hayū* (3cpl) was altered from original *hayā* (3ms) by a later editor unfamiliar with the use and meaning of the *mēm* enclitic. We have preferred the plural form in our reconstruction in agreement with Cross (personal communication), who is dubious about the use of enclitic *mēm* in this text.

2, so there is no reason to limit the tenure of semi-immortal creatures who could upset the order of nature. Humanity is mentioned (in the generic sense) in the opening verse but without character development relative to the course of events which follows, the major characters being the gods and mortal women. V. 3 introduces a penalty directed at humanity generally but having distinct anti-feminine overtones. Punishment is levelled against all of humankind because mortal women cavorted with the gods. A tension is clearly discernible as the penalty is well defined with motivation being ambiguous, and the question of guilt pointing neither to the gods nor to mortal men, but to mortal women. This is not an unanticipated manipulation of material given, J's penchant for attributing sin to human free agency and the disruption of paradise to Eve.

Summary-Genesis 6

Westermann is on the right track when he isolates two thematic strains here,³⁴⁸ and judges 6:4a to be an "antiquarian gloss" (1974:368, 378). Another possibility which Westermann rejects is that v. 3 in its present form was intended to be placed after v. 4 (1974:373). This is not as unacceptable a solution as Westermann suggests. If the secondary gloss, "...and afterwards" is removed from v. 4, the plot would remain perfectly clear.

- A. Humanity increases with resulting increase in female offspring
- B. Gods find human offspring favorable, choosing to mate with them
- C. Liminal offspring produced (neither human nor divine); state of imbalance in cosmic order results

³⁴⁸We do not agree with his designation of these traditions as narratives (1974:368). These are almost certainly poetic and orally transmitted sources.

D. Damage control - Lifespan of liminal creatures is established

The "ancient heroes" and "men of renown" are not so much evil as they are disruptive. Their lifespan must be limited to insure the proper equilibrium between finite and infinite beings. Vs. 3 is not necessarily concerned with "infringement" (Westermann 1974:373). It addresses the consequences of a unique form of life and its ontological impact on the universe. Liminality is generally handled in one of two ways, either spatially or temporally. In Mesopotamia Gilgamesh is denied eternal life. The alewife, a liminal figure herself living at the shores of the sea of Death, reminds Gilgamesh of the dividing line that exists between the earthly and divine worlds. Atrahasis and his spouse are removed from the world of mortals after surviving the flood which destroyed all creatures. It was not his collusion with Enki that accounted for this. It was, rather, that he had survived the death decree of the gods, an ontological impossibility. Liminality can also be ascribed to gods like Enki (who violates divine decree in the Atrahasis epic and plays an important role in the creation of mankind) and Canaanite Kothar-wa-Hasis (immortal craftsman and maker of implements of war who is allied to no one and lives in far off Kaphtor).

Even in the present arrangement of verses, the focus of the plot represented by this outline remains reasonably clear, but a blurring of meaning has resulted from a rearrangement of verses (v. 4 being moved from its original position after v. 2), the secondary insertion of *wa-gam 'aḥarê kin* "and afterwards also" in v. 4, the muting of the penalty in v. 3 (which must certainly have been directed against the offspring of the union), and the present location of the text just prior to the story of the flood. This suggests that the two traditions which have been brought together here each

detailed actions which carried penalties. The first, sexual misconduct between gods and mortals (carrying a penalty originally directed against the gods). The second, the birth of children resulting from the union of gods and mortals (resulting in the limiting of the lifespan of these demi-gods). It is in fact possible that these are two parts of an original myth in which the gods and the offspring were punished, but in which the larger part of humanity is left alone. P and/or J had knowledge of both of these. P also had access to flood tradition from Israel and Mesopotamia. The Mesopotamian material envisioned the flood as a means of birth control, the motivation for which was the "noise" of humankind. The editorial hand which produced the present arrangement of verses and the placement of 6:1-4 as a preface to the flood narrative subsumed all of these themes (penalty against the gods for violation of the human/divine boundary, establishment of parameters for liminal life forms, population control due to noise) and made them serve the larger purpose of describing the sin of humanity and the wrath of Yahweh. 6:4a¹ is more than an "antiquarian gloss." (Westermann 1974:378, following the opinion of Skinner) It is the one element in the tale that gives it spatio-temporal specificity. It is set during the time when the "fallen ones" were on earth. The setting is primordial, from the very distant past when the parameters of discourse between the numinous and mundane differed from those of the narrative present.

That the "fallen ones" could be used in such a way says something about the degree to which the tradition must have penetrated Israelite folklore. The author must have been able to assume that his audience would be familiar with who these beings were, where they had come from, and what they had done to "fall." None of this information is given, so it must have been part of the projected audience's general knowledge. Subsequent

generations of interpreters have not been so fortunate, the basic meaning of *napīlīm* having been extended to mean giants (Num. 13:33).³⁴⁹ combined with the ubiquity of *√npl* in the Hebrew Bible. The original meaning remains a mystery. Westermann suggests that *napīlīm* was first used to describe "semi-gods" akin to Gilgamesh and other mythical figures whose ancestry contains a mixture of mortal and immortal elements (1974:378).

The root *√npl* appears frequently in Biblical Hebrew with the basic meaning "to fall, to lie" (BDB:656). In the G stem, it can mean to fall by accident (Ex. 21:33), to fall as a result of a violent death (1 Sam. 4:10), to fall prostrate - in a faint or under supernatural experience (1 Sam. 28:20; Num. 24:4, 16), to fall upon - meaning to attack (Jer. 48:32), to fall into bed (Ex. 21:18), to fall (figuratively) into a deep sleep (Gen. 15:12), or to lie/lie prostrate (1 Sam. 19:24). (BDB:656-658)

Of the nouns formed from this root, *napīlīm* (BH *nāpīlīm*) is the most enigmatic. It is found only in Genesis 6:4 and in Num. 13:33 (twice). BDB suggests the meaning "giants" (658) based on the Old Greek translation (*gigantes*) of *npylm* in Gen. 6:4. The OG may have been influenced by Greek mythological lore; it does not reflect the lexical meaning of the Hebrew root. Grammatically, *npylm* can be vocalized as a masculine plural *qatīl* form (as in BDB), or a masculine singular *qatīl* form

³⁴⁹Westermann points to scholars like Cassuto, Kraeling, Humbert, Delitzsch, Nahor and others, who have attempted to deal with the meaning of *√npl* in Ezekiel 32:20, 22, 23, 24, and 27 (1974:378). This should certainly be augmented by an examination of each occurrence of the root in literature with considerable mythological content. Nominal forms should come under heavy scrutiny, possible revocalization of participial and infinitival forms perhaps revealing clues to the original meaning of *napīl* and *napīlīm*.

with enclitic *mēm* attached for emphasis. Here, either could be the case, though we suspect that the masculine plural form is more easily defensible, the presence of enclitic *mēm* being somewhat dubious in this text (cf. comments above). The form takes a plural verb in 6:4 but this could be the result of a later correction. Since 6:4 is little more than a gloss intended to give a concrete historical reference to the story of the sexual exploits of the gods with mortal women, nothing is said of who these beings are. The author has assumed that the *npylm* is/are so well known that elaboration is not required. Given this set of circumstances, the most acceptable translation is one based on the meaning of the root, hence, "the fallen one(s)." From a literary-critical standpoint, it is not insignificant that the story for which it is a referent begins with a crossing of the boundary between the land of the gods and that of humans (possibly a descent from a higher realm - the heavens - if these are gods of the upper region rather than chthonic deities) and mentions the demise (or "fall" if the resulting decrease in lifespan is treated allegorically) of humanity as a result of this activity. Beyond grammatical (based on the meaning of the root), morphological (established by an assessment of the noun pattern), and contextual evidence (determined by immediate usage), there is little upon which to base a more substantial conclusion. In Num. 13:33, the *npylm* are said to be occupying the land of Canaan. *bn̄y 'nq mn hn̄pyl̄m* is either a parenthetical remark or secondary addition the intention of which was to define who the *npylm* were, and to distinguish between the mythical *npylm* (in Gen. 6:4) and those occupying the land of Canaan. An examination of the story of the spies reveals that the actual identification of the *npylm* is not one of the focal points of the plot. They serve as one of many "excuses" cited for not proceeding with the conquest of Canaan. The episode highlights Caleb's (of Judah)

moderating influence in the debate over whether or not to invade Canaan, and reenforces the place of the tribe of Judah as a leader in the program of conquest; it is its representative who is able to see beyond the unfounded fears of the spies and the congregation. After being named (13:4-16) and dispatched (13:17), the spies return with a mixed report (13:25-29, 31-33). The land was good, but occupied by the Anaqim (13:28), Amalekites, Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, and Canaanites (13:29). Caleb, also one of the spies, reports that there is no obstacle to successful conquest (13:30). Those who accompanied him disagreed, this time claiming that the land "devoured its people" (13:32), that those who lived there were of huge stature, and that the *npylm* (who are identified as offspring of the Anaqim, who were descendants of the *npylm*, were in the land. Those assembled in the wilderness are said to have been swayed by the negative report of the majority of spies and supported a return to Egypt (14:4). The wrath of Yahweh is kindled (14:11-12), and all except Caleb and Joshua (14:24, 30, 38) are fated never to enter Canaan. A plague claims the lives of all the spies except Joshua and Caleb (14:38), and an attempt to conquer the land from the hill country, which Moses advised against, leads to a resounding defeat (14:43-45). Caleb's voice is one of practicality as well as one expressing loyalty to Yahweh (running counter to the "murmuring" of the people). The report itself is arranged in a cyclical fashion from 13:28-32 (beginning and ending with references to the stature of the land's inhabitants), with polar opposites used to introduce and conclude it. In 13:27 the spies report that the land is good; in 13:33 they report that the *npylm* are there. Within this arrangement, the spies' response uses a progression of excuses listed in ascending order by degrees of fearsomeness.

| | |
|--|-------|
| The Land is Good | 13:27 |
| Strong People | 13:28 |
| Fortified Cities | 13:28 |
| The Anaqim | 13:29 |
| Amalekites, Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Canaanites | 13:29 |
| The Land Devours its People | 13:32 |
| People are Monumental in Size | 13:32 |
| The <i>npylm</i> are there | 13:33 |

The spies report that compared to the *npylm*, they are like grasshoppers (13:33). The operational motif here is that the land is forbidding, its cities unconquerable, and its inhabitants strong. Nothing is said of the *npylm* except that they of greater stature than the spies. Should this be taken literally, figuratively, or both? The final option seems most sensible given the emphasis of the story. Who the *npylm* are is left a mystery, except for the parenthetical/explicating gloss in 13:33, which in light of the above is a secondary addition to the original narrative. The purpose of the gloss was to clear up some of the ambiguity. I think that 13:33b ("...and we seemed like grasshoppers and so we seemed to them") is also a secondary addition which helps to clarify further who these beings are for a later audience. Originally, the account concluded simply with a reference to the *npylm* being in the land, the purpose being to provide the most compelling in a series of reasons not to occupy the land. The author's intention was to muster images of a land which was itself openly hostile ("it devours/consumes its inhabitants") where mythical creatures dwell (the *npylm*). The effect is that Canaan is perceived a land where primordial chaos reigns. *Npylm* thus retains its mythological force. No extension of meaning has taken place. The basic meaning "fallen ones" (here certainly a plural form) is retained. 13:33b attempts to impose a layer of different tradition to identify who they were. The original narrative needed no such

additional embellishment; the identification of the "fallen ones" with primordial reality (perhaps indicating that the immediate audience had knowledge of a *npylm* tradition) being sufficient to conjure powerful images of dread and death. Unlike Gen. 6:1-4 which uses the "fallen ones" as a temporal referent, Num. 13-14 uses them as a mythological referent in anti-Canaanite propaganda. In both cases nothing conclusive may be said about who they are or where they come from. References to their stature are of suspect originality in Numbers. In the end, the most that can be said is that they have "fallen" (literally?/figuratively?), they belong among the cast of primordial characters (predating or coeval to the events in Gen 6:1-4), and they are archetypal representations of fear and chaos (Num. 13:33).

Can a case be made for identifying the "Fallen Ones" with *mt w šr* and the *šr pbr* of Ugaritic lore, the *rs'ym* and "their light" of Job 38, *hyll bn šhr* of Isaiah 14, the *šrym* of Psalm 82, the unnamed figure who is cast to earth in Ezekiel 28:1-10 and 28:11-19, or the activities of 'Athtar known from the lore of Ugarit? The lack of astral imagery in Genesis 6:1-4 and the brevity of the text make this identification impossible. We may only suggest that the spectacle of the fiery demise of a meteor, for example, or of apparent incomplete ascent of the planet Venus to the heavens in the early morning and evening might have been capable of conjuring images of deposed or "fallen" gods. The connection between the *npylm* and 'Athtar must remain unresolved until more information is available about his place in the pantheon. As we have already stated, his descent from Šapon is depicted as voluntary. He comes down from his position on Ba'l's mount, but does not "fall." It is also clear that he is not removed forcibly from office. Beyond these modest conclusions, little else may be said.

Summary and Review of Hebrew Evidence

Our study has established that Isaiah 14, Daniel 11, 12, Ezekiel 28:1-10, and Ezekiel 28:11-19, reflect mythological patterns that are remarkably similar. In each text, criminal activity against Yahweh/El is detailed on earth and in the cosmos. In Isaiah 14, the fall of the king of Babylon and the demise of the astral god, Helel son of Šaḥar, are recounted. Both are said to be guilty of hubris and both are condemned to Sheol. Helel's great crime is his desire to make himself like Yahweh. In Daniel 11 and 12, the crimes of Antiochus Epiphanes are described using similar imagery. The king is cast as a usurper who came to power by subterfuge. He, like the king of Babylon in Isaiah 14, is also guilty of excessive pride. He breaks with traditional worship practices and is also said to have refused to honor the highest of gods. His final campaign is to lead him to the holy mount where he will camp. This will signal the beginning of his downfall because Michael, the great prince of Yahweh's host, will arise to rescue the faithful, who will shine like the firmament of heaven and the stars. In Ezekiel 28:1-10, an ambitious Tyrian prince desires to be enthroned in the place of El. Corrupted by his wisdom, he is condemned to Sheol. In Ezekiel 28:11-19, the king of Tyre is compared to a rebellious Cherub who once enjoyed Yahweh/El's favor. The former is said to have been corrupted chiefly by the wealth of his nation. The fall of the latter is attributed to his wisdom and beauty which led to his corruption. They are to enjoy similar fates. The king is to be consumed by fire. The Cherub is relieved of his position as an astral god.

In two of these texts, Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28:11-19, we are given the identities of the mythological characters compared to the kings of Babylon and Tyre.. The content of each may be outlined as follows:

Isaiah 14

1. Helel desires to:
 - a. ascend
 - b. set his throne above El's stars
 - c. sit on the assembly mount
 - d. ascend above (ride?) the clouds
 - e. make himself like the "Highest"

2. Helel is brought down to Sheol

Ezekiel 28:11-19

1. The Cherub is perfect and was stationed in Eden, on the holy mount, where he enjoyed favored status (as an astral god?)
2. Fault was found with him and he was cast from the holy mountain and driven from the "stones of fire"

Note should be taken of the fact that in both texts, the holy mount, the place of the meeting of the divine assembly, is mentioned specifically. In Isaiah 14, it is one of the objects of Helel's desire. In Ezekiel 28:11-19, it is the place where the Cherub lived before he was driven out by Yahweh.

In Daniel 11, 12 and Ezekiel 28:1-10, while the mythological figures in question are not identified, patterns similar to those cited above are discernible nonetheless. The interweaving of historical and mythological elements makes separating them quite difficult. We have listed below the outline of the myth as it may most reasonably be reconstructed from the evidence available to us.

Daniel 11, 12

1. One god makes claims against all the gods and against the "god of gods"
2. He establishes a battle encampment at the holy mount
3. The commander of Yahweh's army arises and combat ensues

Ezekiel 28:1-10

1. A god whose wisdom and pride are substantial claims to be El and desires to reside in El's dwelling place
2. He is/will be thrust into Sheol for his presumptions.

In each of these texts, the scene is the mount of assembly and the principal character is a god who assaults the highest god in the pantheon verbally and/or physically. If our reconstruction is correct, Daniel 12 retains memory of the mustering of the high god's armies in response to this challenge, but records no outcome. Ezekiel 28 notes the outcome but lacks details of the conflict which preceded the usurper's fall. From the foregoing analysis, it must be noted that in each of these texts, the following elements are found:

1. A god is described who possesses one or more of the following traits:
 - a. an astral nature
 - b. wisdom
 - c. beauty
 - d. pride
2. This god is said to have enjoyed favorable status within the divine assembly at some point in time³⁵⁰
3. A verbal or physical attack is made against the chief-god
4. The holy mount functions in one or more of the following capacities:
 - a. as the desired dwelling-place of the usurper
 - b. as the site of cosmic conflict
 - c. as the original home of the usurper
5. The reversal of fates is expressed in one of the following manners:
 - a. in the descent of the usurper to Sheol
 - b. in the expulsion of the usurper from the

³⁵⁰In Isaiah 14:12ff., Helel's fate would have little significance unless he held a position from which he could "fall"

holy mount
c. in the rise of the armies of the chief-god
in response to the usurper's attack³⁵¹

The presence of these elements indicates that we are not dealing with several different myths. Instead, it suggests the possibility that we are dealing with a single myth which has assumed varied forms. The interpretive agenda of the poets who mediated the myth determined the shape which it took. For example, Isaiah 14 seems particularly concerned with the downfall of kingship as an institution. Daniel 11, 12 is focussed on the fate of the faithful in the eschaton and the fall of Antiochus Epiphanes. Ezekiel 28:1-10 is concerned with the abuses of wisdom and the excesses or princely ambition. Ezekiel 28:11-19 is concerned with hegemonic abuses caused by wealth and pride.

Job 38, Psalm 82, and Genesis 6:1-4 share almost none of the features listed above, but are useful, nonetheless, in helping to understand the mythology behind Isaiah 14, Ezekiel 28, and Daniel 11. Job 38:13-15 describes the mythological *rs'ym*, "their light," their exposure after the creator-god seizes the "skirts of Earth," and the breaking of the "upraised arm." We have suggested tentatively, on the basis of comparative evidence, that this may be a reference to cosmic conflict. We have also noted the possible connection between *mt w šr* (CTA 23), *šr pbr* (CTA 23), *hyll bn šhr* (Is. 14), *'wrm* (Job 38), *šrym* (Psalm 82), and *'bny 'š* (Ezek. 28). We have also commented on the use of the myth Adam's fall and that of the *šrym* as the background against which Yahweh's elimination of the gods of the nations is illustrated in Psalm 82. As for Gen. 6:1-4, we have examined the use of *npylm*, and noted that it is used as a literary device to establish

³⁵¹Cf. Daniel 12:1-3.

the antiquity of the myth of the cohabitation of mortal women and the gods. We have concluded that they represent the forces of chaos in the human realm. We are unable to establish their relationship to the "Shining Ones" of Hebrew and Canaanite tradition with certainty.

The density of Canaanite mythological elements found particularly in Isaiah 14, Daniel 11,12, Ezekiel 28:1-10, and 28:11-19, but noticeable also in Psalm 82, Genesis 6:1-4, and Job 38, suggests that this myth came to Israel by way of Canaan. Unfortunately, we have no Canaanite counterpart to this myth. Linguistic evidence points toward the possible identification of 'Athtar as the combatant against El in the original myth and toward a connection between this god and the "Shining Ones" referred to elsewhere in Ugaritic and Hebrew myth. 'Athtar is cast neither as usurper nor rebel at Ugarit. This is not to suggest that such a tradition did not exist in the Ugaritic mythological corpus, yet it must be remembered that we have little evidence from Ugarit on which to make any claims about 'Athtar. Future archaeological research may reveal additional information about him. It may also lead to the discovery of the Ugaritic counterpart to this myth. For the present time, we must limit ourselves to more modest conclusions. Isaiah 14:12 is the strongest evidence in support of identifying 'Athtar as the rebel god. The astral imagery in Ezekiel 28:11-19 and Job 38:13-15 also support this claim. Helel's desire to make himself like "the Highest" echoes the boast 'l 'ny placed on the lips of the prince of Tyre in Ezek. 28:2, as does the accusation made against Antiochus in Daniel 11:37, that is, that he elevated himself to divine status ("he will magnify himself over all"). These data suggest that these texts had a common progenitor.

Conclusion

There almost certainly existed an old Canaanite myth that told of sedition against the high god of the pantheon. We are convinced that the chief protagonist of the myth was the god 'Athtar. The influence of this myth in Israel was pervasive and is attested to by the distribution of its reflexes across a broad spectrum of time and in a variety of socio-political settings. It was a particularly malleable myth. Its didactic value in matters ethical, moral, and practical, allowed its incorporation within the primeval cycle, the Yahweh Speeches of Job, the proto-apocalyptic poetry of Deutero-Isaiah, the oracles of Ezekiel, the apocalyptic semiotic universes of Daniel, I Enoch, and Jubilees, and the reflections of the unknown hymnodist who authored Psalm 82. Remnants also remain in the literature of the early Christian movement of the first and second centuries of the Common Era. We should not expect to find agreement in structure, detail, plot, purpose, or characters in so great a variety of sources, sub-cultures, and time periods. We must allow for those transformations which give rise to the emergence of interpretive adaptations of the myth, engineered by literary artists who make use of the material in meeting specific social, religious, political, and artistic agenda. This enables us to look at the relationship between a single reflex of the myth and its immediate context.

Our study has established that:

1. Hebrew literature retains evidence of several revolts against Yahweh.
2. Similarities in plot shared by Isaiah 14, Ezekiel 28:1-10, Ezekiel 28:11-19, and Daniel 11 suggest these biblical texts are the offspring of a single progenitor.
3. Mythological motifs in the Hebrew texts containing this myth are similar to those found in the lore of Ugarit. In particular,

it appears that the original myth involved a revolt against El by a member of his divine council.

4. The events which form part of the revolt myth as it is attested in Hebrew literature have no counterpart in Ugaritic lore. The exploits of 'Athtar which are found in Ugaritic mythology in no way indicate that he initiated or participated in a revolt against El.
5. Descriptions of the rebel in Isaiah 14, Ezekiel 28:11-19, and Psalm 82 along with the description of the fate of the faithful in Daniel 12:1-3, suggest that he was an astral god, perhaps even a member of Yahweh's celestial army. To the extent that a convincing linguistic argument can be established linking 'Athtar, the "Shining Ones," *mt w šr*, and the *šr pbr* known from Ugaritic myth on the one hand, and *hyll*, *'wrm*, the *rs'ym*, *šrym*, and the *'bny 'š* known from Hebrew literature on the other, one may suggest tentatively that 'Athtar is the protagonist in the myth of celestial rebellion echoed in Isaiah 14, Job 38, Ezekiel 28, Daniel 11, and provides the background against which Genesis 6, and Psalm 82 are to be understood. One may also suggest, from the internal evidence of each aforementioned text, that the goal of 'Athtar's attempted coup was to secure kingship of the cosmos from El.
7. The dwelling place of Yahweh/El, the cosmic mountain, is the locus of activity in the myth. It is described variously as:
 - a. the desired dwelling-place of the usurper
 - b. the site of cosmic conflict
 - c. the original home of the usurper
8. The reversal of fates figures prominently in the myth. The usurper receives the opposite of what he desires.

Tentative Reconstruction of the Revolt-Myth

We are aware of the dangers inherent in the *ex eventu* harmonization of our disparate literary witnesses in the hope of reconstructing a reasonably accurate outline of this myth. Nonetheless, we feel it necessary to conclude with some remarks about the shape which the myth may have assumed in its earliest form. Therefore, the following is offered as a tentative reconstruction based on our interpretation of the texts examined in this study.

After having enjoyed primacy of place within the pantheon as one of the creator-god's most perfect creations, endowed with wisdom and beauty (cf. Ezekiel 28:3, -3, 12b, 15, 17), 'Athtar conspired to make war against El and wrest control of the pantheon and the cosmos from him. He was corrupted by the very characteristics that made him unique amongst the gods (Ezekiel 28:2, 5, 15-17). This led him to claim equality with El (Ezekiel 28:2, 6, 9; Isaiah 14:14). In Ezekiel 28:1-10 he is said to have boasted of sitting in El's throne (28:2), of being in possession of a wisdom comparable to El's (28:5), and, indeed, of being El (28:9). In Ezekiel 28:11-19, he is said to have had high status in Eden on El's mountain (28:13), where he walked in the midst of other astral gods before corruption led to his demise (28:13-18). In Isaiah 14, he is said to have aspired to rise above the circumpolar stars, to set his throne on El's mountain in the far north, to mount the clouds like Ba'al, and to make himself like Elyon (El) (14:13-15).³⁵² He declared war against El and pitched his battle encampment at El's tent-shrine (Daniel 11:45). He is defeated,³⁵³ driven from his place on the holy mount (Ezekiel 28:16), and sentenced to the underworld (Psalm 82:7; Isaiah 14:9-11, 14-19; Ezekiel 28:8).³⁵⁴

³⁵²The author of Daniel 11 has muted, to some extent, the mythological material related to the crimes of the primordial rebel and has made general comments about the criminal's boasts (11:21, 36).

³⁵³Job 38:13-15 may represent an intermediate stage in the myth when 'Athtar and his band fled to Earth for protection after being defeated by El's forces, and before being sentenced to the underworld.

³⁵⁴If we follow Daniel 12:1-2, then we may assume that the defeat came at the hands of the commander of El's celestial army.

Appendix A

Distribution of Elements Common to the Astral Revolt Myth³⁵⁵

| | Gn | Jb | Ez ^A | Ez ^B | Ps | Dn | C ² | C ²³ | C ²⁴ | C ⁶ | Is |
|---------------------------------------|----|----|-----------------|-----------------|----|----|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|----|
| <i>Rš'ym</i> ³⁵⁶ | | X | | | X | | | | | | X |
| <i>Npylym/vnpl</i> | X | | | | X | | | | | | |
| Rebel's Presumption | | | | X | X | | X | | | | X |
| Earth as Refuge ³⁵⁷ | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Sheol/Underworld ³⁵⁸ | | | X | X | X | | | X | | | X |
| Rebel's Initial Status ³⁵⁹ | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| Michael | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| 'Athtar as King | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| Astral Imagery ³⁶⁰ | | X | | X | X | X | | X | X | | X |
| 'Athtar Epithets | | X | | X | X | | X | X | X | X | X |
| Rebel's Attribs. ³⁶¹ | | | X | X | X | | | | | | X |
| El's Abode | | | X | X | X | X | | | | | X |

³⁵⁵Key: X=element found in text; Gn=Genesis 6:1-4; JB=Job 38:1-38; EZ^A=Ezekiel 28:1-10; EZ^B=Ezekiel 28:11-19; Dn=Daniel 11:21, 36-39, 45; 12:1-3; C²=CTA 2.3.1-24; C²³=CTA 23.8-11,52-56, 61-64.; C²⁴=CTA 24.23-33; C⁶=CTA 6.1.43-67; Is=Isaiah 14:4b-20a

³⁵⁶We refer here to those who served as 'Athtar's contingent in his coup against El

³⁵⁷Here we suppose an intermediate stage in the revolt during which 'Athtar and his rebel band fled to Earth for protection after the coup failed.

³⁵⁸We refer here to those instances in which the underworld or earth is envisioned as a place of punishment or debasement for the rebel

³⁵⁹We include here descriptions of the rebel's pre-revolt status (i.e. as a favored member of the divine court or privy to certain cosmic events).

³⁶⁰This category includes stars and other astral deities.

³⁶¹Chiefly involved here are his wisdom and beauty.

Appendix B
Canaanite Elements in Biblical Reflexes of the Astral
Revolt Myth

Genesis 6:1-4

bny []'lhym

[]npylm

Isaiah 14:4b-20a

š'wl

hyll bn šhr

kwkby'l

hr mw'd

yrktyšpwn

yrktybwr

bmty 'b

'lywn

'bny bwr

Psalms 82

'dt 'l

bny 'lywn

[]šrym

Job 38

kwkbybqr

bny []'lhym

ym

thwm

šhr

bqr

š'ry mwt

š'ry šlmwt

'rš

šmym

mtr

'gly ḏl

kymy

ksyl

mzrwł

‘yš

ṭhwł

škwy

Ezekiel 28:1-10

’l

mwšb ’lhym

blb ymym

dn ’l

Ezekiel 28:11-19

gn ’lhym

hr qdš ’lhym

’bny ’š

hr ’lhym

Daniel 11:21, 36-39, 45: 12:1-3

’l ’lym

bynymym

hr šby qdš

kwkbym

Appendix C 'Athtar: An Excursus

Several studies have attempted to reconcile the varied and sometimes conflicting data about the Semitic god 'Athtar. Of these, the examinations Gray (1949, 1965), Gaster (1950), Caquot (1956), Dahood (1958), and Roberts (1972) deserve mention. A brief review of their contributions will be made, followed by a summation of where we now stand with regard to our knowledge of 'Athtar's place in the religion of Canaan and elsewhere in the ancient Near East.

Gray (1949:72-76, 80; 1965:169-174) accepts the hypothesis of Nielsen (1936) and posits a Canaanite 'Athtar=Venus=South Semitic 'Athtar identification.³⁶² The quote below illustrates the extent to which he has adopted this position. Note should be taken of the manner in which he accounts for the compensatory effect of cultural isolationism on the rate of societal change.

³⁶²According to Gray, Nielsen suggests that 'Athtar tradition from South Arabia reflects an early stratum of Semitic religion. Nielsen posits that the 'Athtar of the Ugaritic texts is to be identified with the 'Athtar of the South Arabian pantheon. In this setting he is the son of the moon-god Il and the sun-goddess Athirat, and the deification of the Venus star, the brightest of celestial bodies after the sun and moon. Nielsen suggests that at Ugarit, two cultural strains have merged, leaving their mark on the pantheon. These consist of an archaic stratum whose origins are in the essentially nomadic culture of the desert, and a younger level which is fundamentally agricultural in character. There is a pervasive bias that undercuts the type of analysis undertaken by Nielsen. He implies that the rate of social change in primitive cultures is so slow as to be almost undetectable. This allows him to bridge the temporal gap existing between Ugaritic and South Arabian sources. No culture can escape the effects of change. Nielsen's acknowledgement of the existence of a conflated culture at Ugarit incorporating nomadic and agrarian strains confirms this. Nielsen is also incorrect in his identification of Il as moon god and Athirat as sun god.

We accept Nielsen's theory on the grounds that the lapse of time in this case is discounted by the isolation and natural conservatism of the Semitic communities of South Arabia and the oases, where life was for so long immune from extraneous influences. (1965:169)

Gray establishes that the province of 'Athtar was irrigation. He also addresses the problem of why it is that 'Athtar's name is absent from the lists of gods at Ugarit. He concludes that he was assimilated to Šhr and Šlm, "the twin deities manifest in the star of Dawn (Šhr) and Completion (Šlm) of Day" (1965:170). In addition, he finds that the name Ashtar-Kamosh found in the Mesha Inscription indicates that the gods Ashtar and Kemosh could be assimilated with little difficulty if not actually identified with one another. He extends the identification process to Ammon and finds Milkom to be yet another 'Athtar hypostasis. His final identification equates 'Athtar, Kemosh, Milkom, and Shalim. This is indicated by the failure of 1 Kgs. 11:7 to mention 'Athtar by name (only his hypostases Kemosh and Milkom are mentioned), the reference to astral worship as background to Josiah's reform in 2 Kgs. 23:5ff., indications congruent with information in the account of St. Nilus that 'Athtar was worshipped with human sacrifice (2 Kgs. 23:11, 16:3, 17:17, 3:27, and 2 Chron. 28:3). He also believes that worship of 'Athtar was centralized at Jerusalem at least since the 18th century B.C.E. He cites Zephaniah 1:5, 2 Kgs. 25:4, Neh. 3:15, 2 Kgs. 21:18-26, the names of David's sons (Absalom and Solomon), and the name "Jerusalem" in the Egyptian Execration texts as evidence of this.

While we acknowledge the remote possibility that *šhr* and *šlm* might possibly be hypostases of 'Athtar, there are significant problems with Gray's reconstruction. First, by adopting Nielsen's hypothesis he has constructed an interpretive paradigm for his primary data which is built on questionable anthropological and social theory. Furthermore, we are also

unconvinced by the 'Athtar/Milcom equation, and by the proposition that Jerusalem was a center of 'Athtar worship from ancient times. We suspect that the title *m/k* is most appropriately applied to El. One would have to build a more convincing case than Gray has to prove that a national deity in Canaan, other than El, could be called "King."

Dahood (1958:85-90) notes that 'Athtar usually heads lists of South Arabian deities, and is considered to be the head of the pantheon in the region. For him, this datum and supporting evidence from ancient Mesopotamia indicate that 'Athtar was an astral god identified with the planet Venus. He notes that in Arabia he is known as "the eastern one," and that in Mesopotamia, Akkadian Ištar was equated with Sumerian *DIL.BAT*, the name by which Venus was known. Dahood also cites Ugaritic UT 5:1, which reads *k 'θtr 'rb* "when 'Athtart sets" as evidence of 'Athtar's astralization, and compares this with PRU II, text 162, where the root *√'rb* is used to describe activity of the sun goddess, *b šš ym ḥdš byr 'rbt špš θgrh ršp* "during the six days of the new moon of the month Hiyar, Šapš sets, her porter being Rešep." He also cites similar usage in UM 9:6 *'rb špš whl*. He is critical of Caquot, who treats this astralization as a secondary development, and believes that the Ugaritic personal names *'θtr ab* "'Athtar is my father" and *'θtr um* "'Athtar is my mother" suggest that as early as the fourteenth century B.C.E., Canaanites and the first wave of Semites entering Mesopotamia in more ancient times believed 'Athtar to be androgynous. Therefore, Dahood takes astralization and the duality of gender as original divine traits belonging to 'Athtar. He uses these data to refute Gray's argument that 'Athtar/'Athtart were assimilated to Šahar and Šalim. That 'Athtar appears in personal names establishes for Dahood that this assimilation had not taken place by the fourteenth century

B.C.E. His proposal is that 'Athtar was worshipped as morning star and 'Athtart as that of the evening. He does not believe that 'Athtar was identified with deified Dawn and Dusk. With regard to UT 49:I (CTA 6.1.43-67), Dahood is critical of Caquot. He argues that Caquot's argument that astralization is not a primary phenomenon, his adoption of the theory that Arab nomads did not worship stellar gods, and his view that settled Semites would not be as inclined to worship astral gods as would their non-sedentarized counterparts, make his position unacceptable given the evidence available from Ugarit, Mesopotamia, and South Arabia. The agreement of evidence from Mesopotamia and Ugarit concerning 'Athtar's astral character and gender binarism are indicators for Dahood that these traits are quite ancient. We agree with Dahood that 'Athtar was originally an astral deity, binary in gender and natural manifestation.

Caquot (1956:45-60) notes that 'Athtar does not occupy the place of prominence afforded Ba'al, Yamm, and Mot in Ugaritic mythology, and that he appears as a lesser figure who enjoys little glory. He is characterized as jealous, pretentious, and incapable, and seems also to disappear immediately after his failure to take Ba'al's place atop Mt. Sapon. Caquot ponders whether or not it is possible to reconstruct a complete 'Athtar myth from Ugaritic and outside data, particularly since 'Athtar holds a position of high regard in other Semitic religions. He also wonders if data from elsewhere in the Near East are reconcilable with the relatively unflattering picture of 'Athtar presented at Ugarit.³⁶³ Caquot notes that in South Arabian inscriptions 'Athtar is the great god of the heavens who is mentioned

³⁶³These issues remain central in the debate over 'Athtar today.

regularly at the head of god lists. Though other gods are given places of greater prominence as protectors of capitals and those who engender kings, Caquot suspects that there existed a more primitive phase of religious history in which 'Athtar was the primary deity. By contrast, the information found at Ugarit does not lend itself to such clear interpretation. In his opinion, there appears to be a gradual debasement of 'Athtar at Ugarit. Based on his interpretation, 'Athtar is cast in a most favorable light in the Hymn to Nikkal and Yarih, but in a largely negative one in the recounting of his conflict with Yamm (CTA 2) and his failure on Šapon (CTA 6). He is inept as Baʿl's replacement and impotent in his encounter with Yamm. Caquot wonders whether, perhaps, some part of 'Athtar mythology has been lost at Ugarit in which 'Athtar was returned to his original stature (1956:49). Caquot's conclusion, based on characteristics described in divine epithets, is that in South Arabia, 'Athtar is the supreme being of the heavens who is protector and fertility god. The astral characteristics which he accrues in Mesopotamia and at Ugarit are, however, the result of secondary identification with astral phenomena (1956:57). According to Caquot, 'Athtar is master of life, of the waters which bestow it, and of the heavens which dispense the waters. He is, in effect, similar to Ugaritic Baʿl in function (1956:58). His degradation at Ugarit seems, therefore, to be a regional phenomenon (limited to Ugarit) rather than a pan-Near Eastern one. The implication is that at Ugarit, 'Athtar is eclipsed by a god (Baʿl) with a role identical to his own, but whose non-astral character made him more acceptable to a non-nomadic population. Caquot also believes that sedentarized Semites would be less likely to pay homage to an astral god than their non-sedentarized counterparts (1956:57-58). Prerogatives belonging

to 'Athtar in a non-urban setting are assigned to Ba'l at Ugarit, resulting in the astral deity's fall from favor.

Several of the points made by Caquot are credible. First, it is almost certain that the Ugaritic corpus is missing a substantial amount of mythological material relating to 'Athtar. This is clear from the abrupt ending we have at CTA 2.3.24 and CTA 6.1.67. We are unable to say at this point whether this material included any reference to 'Athtar's return to glory. From what is extant at Ugarit, 'Athtar represents all that is seemingly undesirable in a god. Caquot's interpretation of the Nikkal episode is much too complimentary. This, leads him to believe that the testimony of Ugaritic evidence is ambiguous. We treat the reference in the Nikkal Hymn as negative in tone and believe that the collective witness of mythological lore from Ugarit presents a uniformly unflattering picture of 'Athtar. We do not believe that regional adaptation plays an important part in the development of myth. We believe, instead, that the agenda of the biblical authors who made use of the material helped to determine the shape that the myth assumed in their writings. We do not accept Caquot's conclusion that astralization is secondary in the case of 'Athtar. We believe that Dahood's position is the more acceptable one. We also find his acceptance of generalities about non-sedentarized peoples, particularly those responsible for producing the epigraphic material in South Arabia, to be questionable.

Gaster (1950:126-127, 196-199) sees 'Athtar's role being confined to that of artificial irrigation. The episode on Šapon illustrates, for him, the inadequacy of irrigation when compared to natural rainfall. 'Athtar's failure to fill Ba'l's throne is symbolic of this reality. He sees 'Athtar as a god of "inferior status" who is unable to assume control of the earth and the

waters. He is, therefore, a god whose aspirations far exceed his qualifications.

With regard to the etymology of the divine name, 'Athtar, Gaster notes the Arabic cognate 'aṣarī "soil artificially irrigated,"³⁶⁴ and 'āḍūr,³⁶⁵ which designates a trench or canal dug for the irrigation purposes. He also suggests that 'Athtar in South Arabia and Ištar in Mesopotamia fulfill these roles within their respective religious systems. Gaster concludes that as a deity associated with artificial irrigation, 'Athtar's rise to power during Baʿl's absence is most appropriate since Baʿl's disappearance corresponds to the dry season in Syria-Palestine. Moreover, 'Athtar's effectiveness is but a partial substitute for the full range of Baʿl's power. He is unable to fill his throne on Ṣāpon, but is competent enough to provide temporary sustenance for earth until Baʿl returns. Gaster also believes that the episode at Ṣāpon represents the mythologization of the institution of the temporary king (interrex) who rules in place of the actual king during that time when the legitimate ruler is thought to have died or considered to be no longer in power (1950:196). We believe that Gaster's characterization of 'Athtar as one lacking the qualifications to fulfill his aspirations is correct. However, we have some reservations about his

³⁶⁴On this etymology cf. also Smith (1972:99, n. 2).

³⁶⁵He recognizes a similar semantic range in Hebrew $\sqrt{\text{'šr}}$ in Psalm 65:10, where $\sqrt{\text{'šqḥ}}$ denotes the method of providing water from underground water sources (1950:126, n. 35).

etymology of $\sqrt{\text{'}\text{Ṣr}}$ in Arabic. The meanings he cites are not primary meanings, and 'aṣarī refers to land watered by rain or run-off.³⁶⁶

Roberts' (1972:37-40) study of the early Semitic pantheon, though dated, remains the standard on the subject. He concludes that the names 'Athtar and 'Athtart originally designated Venus as the morning and evening stars, the former being male and the latter female. This gender based distinction was preserved only in West Semitic. The masculine form assumed dominance in the East where the Semitic population, recalling the old god's androgynous character, did not allow the grammatical gender of the divine name to interfere with 'Athtar 's development as a goddess. He suspects that Sumerian influence may have played a part in this unusual combination of traits. The personal names *Eštar-laba*, "Eshtar is a lion," *Eštar-pāliq*, "Eshtar is a slayer," and *Eštar-qarrād*, "Eshtar is a warrior," indicate for Roberts that the typing of 'Athtar as war goddess had taken place by the Old Akkadian period. He also believes that this may have been accompanied also by typing as sex goddess. The precise manner of combining these aspects is not known, but he makes the proposal that the male aspect may have originally been assigned the war aspect while the female was assigned the love aspect. In late tradition, both elements are combined to form the picture of Ištar as beautiful, fickle, and vicious. Roberts also sees these elements combined in Ugaritic Anat and 'Athtart .

³⁶⁶We owe this observation of J. Huehnergard (personal communication). In contrast to Gaster's position, Cross has cited Ryckmans (in Leidlmaier 1962:186-192) claim (apud. M. Höffner) that there is no satisfactory etymology for the name 'Athtar . He has also noted Höffner's view that South Arabian 'Athtar texts refer to rain rather than to artificial irrigation. He also notes 'Athtar 's title in South Arabia, *ṣarqān* "easterner" (i.e. of dawn), or better "shining one." (personal communication).

We agree with Roberts' analysis of the data with one exception. The assignation of separate aspects of character to morning and evening manifestations of Venus seems somewhat facile.³⁶⁷ 'Athtar and 'Athtart may have had shared a common body of traits which were not necessarily separable along gender based lines.

Further, if we may judge from Roberts' list of Ištar personal names, 'Athtar clearly has social and astral characteristics, masculine and feminine aspects, and general ambiguity with regard to grammatical gender in Mesopotamia.³⁶⁸ The names *Eštar-muṭī*, "Eshtar is my man," and *Eštar-ummi*, "Eshtar is my mother," establish that both male and female roles were

³⁶⁷There is also a problem with the notion that 'Athtart was a sex goddess. Evidence in support of this position is lacking. J. Hackett (1989:65-76) has noted the problem inherent in classifying all goddesses, for example, as sex goddesses. For this reason, we prefer to think in terms of individual power profiles when discussing gods and goddesses. This allows the uniqueness of each individual deity to be described without the use of categorizations that are artificial or inaccurate (e.g. "sex goddesses").

³⁶⁸We believe that personal names containing theophoric elements are helpful in determining what the traits people perceive as being characteristic of a god or goddess. As such there is always a question as to the locus of authority in making an association between an attribute and a particular deity. For example, the name *Eštar-ummi* may indicate that in popular perception, the goddess Eštar has characteristics which would make her identifiable as a mother figure. It may also reflect the feeling of the name giver; that individual may feel that Eštar has acted toward him/her or the person named as though the goddess were a mother. This perception may or may not be consonant with that of the official cultus or popular perception. It may be conditioned largely by the namer's personal encounter with the goddess in the course of a given set of circumstances. This suggests that personal names must be treated with a degree of caution as there is always a question concerning whether one encounters in them evidence of official theology, popular piety, or personal faith.

part of early East-Semitic typology. *Eštar-pāliq*, "Eshtar is a slayer," *Eštar-rabiat* (fem.), "Eshtar is great," *Eštar-imitū*, "Eshtar is my support," *Eštar-laba*, "Eshtar is a lion," *Eštar-sil*, "Eshtar is protection," *Eštar-paluḥ* (masc.), "Eshtar is Awe Inspiring," *Eštar-qarrād*, "Eshtar is a warrior," *Eštar-rēš*, "Eshtar is my helper," and *Eštar-šadu*, "Eshtar is a mountain," illustrate warlike traits. A possible reference to Eshtar as provider of fertility is found in the name *Eštar-nuḥṣī* "Eshtar is my wealth." Evidence of early astralization is found in the name *Eštar-nūrī*, "Eshtar is my light." Surprisingly, an attestation of Eshtar as a god of wisdom is found in the name *Eštar-mūda*. *Eštar-dān* and *Eštar-danat*, "Eshtar is strong," are examples of the ambiguous nature of the grammatical gender of the name, in spite of the preference of the grammatically male name *Ištar* in Mesopotamia. We take this range of characteristics as evidence that 'Athtar, by the Old Akkadian period, was cast as social, astral, zoomorphic, and warlike, and that these characteristics are echoed in the mythological material in Canaan, Israel, and Mesopotamia. We find, however, no indication of 'Athtar being a rebel or a criminal in the Old Akkadian onomasticon.

It is clear from this summary that a new treatment is needed on the Semitic background of 'Athtar, with special attention being given to data from Mesopotamia and South Arabia. The studies which have been reviewed here are now dated and recent epigraphic finds make a reassessment of 'Athtar's place in the Semitic pantheon both necessary and desirable.

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