

## CHAPTER IX

### ABRAHAM AND ARCHAEOLOGY

ABRAHAM HIRED AN OX. ABRAHAM LEASED A FARM. ABRAHAM PAID HIS RENT. WHO WAS THIS ABRAHAM? TRAVEL BETWEEN BABYLONIA AND PALESTINE. HAMMURABI, KING OF THE WESTLAND. KUDUR-MABUG. KINGS SUPPOSED BY SOME TO BE THOSE OF GENESIS 14. A LITURGY OF THE TIME OF ABRAHAM AND MELCHIZEDEK.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL investigation has brought to light a number of texts believed by scholars to illumine the Biblical accounts of Abraham. It is the purpose of this chapter to translate and discuss these.

The documents which naturally attract us first are some contracts from Babylonia in which an Abraham was one of the contracting parties. They are as follows:

#### 1. Abraham Hired an Ox.

1. On ox broken to the yoke,
2. an ox from Ibni-Sin, son of Sin-imgurani,
3. from Ibni-Sin, son of Sin-imugurani,
4. through the agency of Kishti-Nabium,
5. son of Eteru,
6. Abarama, son of Awel-Ishtar,
7. for one month has hired.
8. For one month
9. one shekel of silver
10. he will pay
11. Of it ½ shekel of silver
12. from the hand of
13. Abarama
14. Kishti-Nabium
15. has received.
16. In the presence of Idin-Urash, son of Idin-Labibaal,
17. In the presence of Awele, son of Urri-bani,
18. in the presence of Beliyatum, scribe
19. Month of the mission of Ishtar (i.e. Ulul), day 20<sup>th</sup>,
20. The year of Ammizadugga, the king (built).
21. the wall of Ammizadugga, (i.e., Ammizadugga's 11<sup>th</sup> year)
22. Tablet of Kishti-Nabium.

This tablet shows how Abarama (Abraham), a farmer, hired an ox for a month. The tablet, as the last line shows, is the copy made

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for Kishti-Nabium, the agent. In such business transactions three copies were often made, one for each of the contracting parties and one for the scribe. The date of their tablet is 1965 B.C.

Ammizadugga was the tenth king of that first dynasty of Babylon, of which Hammurabi was the sixth.

## **2. Abraham Leased a Farm.**

1. To the patrician
2. speak,
3. saying, Gimil-Marduk (wishes that)
4. Shamash and Marduk may give thee health!
5. Mayest thou have peace, mayest thou have health!
6. May the god who protects thee thy head in luck
7. hold!
8. (To enquire) concerning thy health I am sending.
9. May they welfare before Shamash and Marduk
10. be eternal!
11. Concerning the 400 shars of land, the field of Sin-idinam,
12. which to Abrahama
13. to lease, thou hast sent:
14. the land-steward (?) and scribe
15. appeared and
16. on behalf of Sin-idinam
17. I took that up.
18. The 400 shars of land to Abamrama
19. as thou hast directed
20. I have leased.
21. Concerning they dispatches I shall not be negligent.

It appears from this document that Abamrama, who is none other than a Babylonian Abraham, was a small farmer, who leased a small tract of land.

## **3. Abraham Paid His Rent.**

1. 1 shekel of silver
2. of the rent (?) of his field,
3. for the year Ammizadugga, the king,
4. a lordly, splendid statue (set up),
5. brought
6. Abamrama,
7. received
8. Sin-idinam
9. and Iddatum.
10. Month Siman, 28<sup>th</sup> day,
11. The year Ammizadugga, the king,
12. a lordly, splendid statue (set up).  
(This was Ammizadugga's 13<sup>th</sup> year.)

This document, dated two years after that in which the ox was hired, shows how Abamrama (Abraham) paid a part of his rent.

The name Abamrama (Abraham) occurs in two other documents published in the same volume (no. 101, and no. 102), where, in defining the boundaries of other fields of Sin-idinam, they are said to be bounded on the one side by the field of Abamrama only incidentally, they are not translated here.

**4. Who Was This Abraham?---**These documents, which relate to the business of a Babylonian Abraham, come from Dilbat, about eight miles south of Borsippa, which was just across the Euphrates from Babylon. It is clear that his Abraham was a small farmer, who hired a tract of land from a larger land-owner. He also hired an ox wherewith to work his land, and paid the rent of the land and the hire of the ox was a good citizen should. This Abraham was not the Biblical patriarch. The patriarch's father was Terah and his brother Nahor; the father of this Babylonian Abraham was Awel-Ishtar, and his brother Iddatum (ibid. no 101, 9). The Abraham of the Bible was a monotheist according to Genesis; the ancestors of the Babylonian Abraham worshiped the goddess Ishtar, who corresponded to the Canaanitish Ashtoreh. The Bible connects the patriarch with Ur and Haran; this Abraham lived about half-way between these two cities.

The name Abraham was borne by at least one other person mentioned in the cuneiform writings. It also occurs in the name of a place in Palestine, probably near Hebron, which Sheshonk I, the Biblical Shishak, calls "The Field of Abram." As Shishak lived much later (945-924 B.C.), being a contemporary of Rehoboam the son of Solomon, this Egyptian place name is not so significant. The Babylonian Abraham mentioned in the documents just translated is welcome proof that Abraham was a personal name in Babylonia near the time in which the Bible places the patriarch. With these documents Genesis 11:27-25:10 should be compared.

Another Babylonian contract is of interest in connection with the migration of Abraham.

**5. Travel between Babylonia and Palestine.**

1. A wagon
2. from Mannum-balum-Shamash
3. son of Shelibia
4. Khabilkinum,
5. son of Appani[bi],

Breasted, *Ancient Records, Egypt, IV*, pp. 352 353

6. on a lease
7. for 1 year
8. has hired
9. As a yearly rental
10. 2/3 of a shekel of silver
11. he will pay.
12. As the first of the rent
13. 1/6 of a shekel of silver
14. he has received.
15. Unto the land of Kittim
16. he shall not drive it.
17. In the presence of Ibku-Adad,
18. son of Abiatum;
19. in the presence of Ilukasha

20. son of Arad-ilushu;
21. in the presence of Ilishu.....
22. Month, Ululu, day 25,
23. the year the king Erech from the flood
24. of the river as a friend protected.

The date of the above interesting document has not been identified with certainty. It is thought by some to belong to the reign of Shamsu-iluna, the successor of Hammurabi. The writing clearly shows that at any rate it comes from the period of this dynasty. That is, it comes from the period to which many assign the migration of Abraham. Kittim in the contract is word used in the Hebrew of Jeremiah 2:10 and Ezekiel 27:6 for the coast lands of the Mediterranean. It undoubtedly has that meaning here. This contract was written in Sippar, the Agade of earlier times, a town on the Euphrates a little to the north of Babylon. It reveals the fact that at the time the document was written there was so much travel between Babylonia and the Mediterranean coast that a man could not lease a wagon for a year without danger that it might be driven over the long route to Syria or Palestine. Against such wear upon his vehicle the particular wagon-owner of our document protected himself.

When, therefore, Abraham went out from his land and his kindred, he was going to no unknown land. The tide of commerce and of emigration had opened the way. Apparently it was no more remarkable for him to do it than for an Irishman to come to America half a century ago, or for a south European to come today.

6. Hammurabi, King of Westland.---It is thought by many scholars that Hammurabi was the Amraphel of Genesis 14. The following inscription relates to this king:

1. To [Shar]ratum
2. the bride of Anu

3. who has come to lordship,
4. lady of strength and abundance,
5. of the mountain-temple
6. faithful lady, of exalted counsel,
7. lady who binds the heart,
8. who for her spouse
9. makes favorable her open oracle;
10. to his lady,
11. for the life of Hammurabi,
12. king of the Westland (MAR-TU),
13. Ibirum.....
14. governor of the river-[district]
15. son of Shuban.....
16. a guardian deity appropriate to her divinity,
17. in the land which she loves,
18. for her service (?)
19. before her beloved temple has set up.

This inscription is quoted here for two reasons: 1. It was erected “for the life of Hammurabi,” who is supposed by many to be the Amraphel of Genesis 14:1. Amraphel is supposed to be a

corruption of Hammurabi, thus Amrabi. The final *l* of Amraphel is a difficulty. While many Assyriologists, from Schrader onward, have recognized the equivalence, it is now seriously questioned by Jensen and Eduard Meyer, and absolutely rejected by Bezold. It must be said that, if Amraphel is intended for Hammurabi, the name had undergone corruption before it was placed in the Biblical record. 2. In this inscription Hammurabi is called “king of MAR-TU,” or the Westland, a name by which the Babylonians often designated Syria and Palestine. MAR-TU simply means “sunset,” but was used like the Arabic *magrib* as the designation of a region. There is no reason to doubt that her it designates Syria and Palestine, so that, if Amraphel is Hammurabi, this is confirmatory of his connection with the West.

**7. Kadur-Mabug.**---The following inscription has also often been brought into the discussion of Genesis 14:

1. To Nannar,
2. his king,
3. Kudur-Mabug
4. “Father” of the Westland (MAR-TU),
5. son of Simti-shilkhak,
6. when Nannar
7. his prayer

8. had heard,
9. Enunmakh,
10. belonging to Nannar,
11. for his life
12. and the life
13. of Arad-Sin, his son,
14. king of Larsa,
15. he built.

This inscription has often been brought into connection with Abraham, partly because some have seen in Kudur-Mabug in it calls himself “Father” or governor of the Westland. If, however, Kudur-Mabug was intended by the name Cherdorlaomer, the name had been corrupted beyond all recognition in the Biblical tradition before Genesis 14 was written. In reality there is no reason to suppose that Kudur-Mabug and Cherdorlaomer the same. As to the term “Westland,” it probably does not here designate Palestine, but either the western part of Elam or the southern part of Babylonia. Babylonia lay to the west of Elam, and Kudru-Mabug placed on the throne of Larsa, a city of South Babylonia, first his son, Arad-Sin, and then his son, Rim-Sin, and apparently maintained an over-lordship over both of them. “Westland” accordingly means in his inscription, not Palestine, but Babylonia. One of Kudur-Mubug’s sons calls his “Father” (or governor) of Emutbal, a region of Elam. It is mistake, therefore, to bring Kudur-Mabug into connection with Abraham and Genesis 14.

**8. Kings Supposed By Some to Be Those Mentioned in Genesis 14.**---Some fragmentary tablets from the Persian period, not earlier than the fourth century B.C. contain references which have been brought by some scholars into connection with Abraham and the fourteenth of Genesis. The texts read as follows:

- 1.....

- 2.....
- 3.....his work not.....

It was formerly not known that Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin were different persons, and some thought the king might be called either Rim-Sin or Eri-aku (Antioch, Gen. 14:1). It is possible that Arad-Sin may have been called Ari-aku in Sumerian, but it is improbable. It is now known that Arad-Sin died 30 years before Hammurabi came to the throne. Without present knowledge it is difficult to see how Arioch could be the name of Rim-Sin unless Rim-Sin be read partly as Semitic and partly as Sumerian and then considerable corrupted.

4. ....su-ha-am-mu.....
5. ....before the gods the creation of.....
6. ....day.....Shamash, who illumines.....
7. ....the lord of the gods, Marduk, in the satisfaction of his heart,
8. ....his servant, the region, all of it, a counsel not fulfilled,
9. ....by force of arms he overthrew. Dursirilana, son of Arad-Malaku (Eri?...aku)
10. ....goods (?) he carried off, took as spoil, waters over Babylon and Esagil
11. ....his with the weapon of his hand like a lamb he killed him,
12. ....spoke to her, father, and son; with the weapon
13. [Great] and small he cut off, Tudkhula, son of Gazza.....
14. ....goods he took as spoil, waters over the Babylon and Esagil
15. ....his son with the weapon of his hands upon him fell.
16. ....of his dominion before the temple of Annunit.....
17. ....Elam, the city Akkhi to (?) the city Rabbatu he spoiled.
18. ....like a deluge, he made the cities of Akkad, all of Borsippa (?)
19. ....ended. Kukukumal, his son pierced his heart with a girdle-dagger of iron.
20. ....the enemy took and the destruction of these kings, participators in wrong (?),
21. ....bondage for which the king of the gods, Marduk, was angry with them
22. ....with sickness their breast was oppressed.....
23. ....unto ruins were reduced (?). All of them to the king, our lord
24. ....knowing (?) the hearts of the gods, the gracious Marduk, for the commemoration of his name.
25. ....and named Esagil-----to his place may he return.
26. ....thy.....may he make. This, O king, my lord we.....
27. ....his evil his heart the gods, his fathers.....
28. ....a participator in sin shall not be (?).

## II

1. ....gods (?).....
2. ....in the city feared day (?) [and night (?)]
3. ....Larsa (?), the bond of heaven which unto the four winds.....
4. he decreed them the park (?) which is in Babylon, the city of [his] majesty (?);
5. he decreed them the possessions of Babylon, small and great.
6. In their faithful counsel unto Kukumal, King of Elam,
7. they established the fixed advance which to them [seemed] good.
8. In Babylon, the city of Karduniash, kingship he assumed.....
9. In Babylon, the city of the gods, Marduk set his throne (?),
10. All, even the Sodomites of the plundered temples, obeyed [him].
11. Ravens build nests; birds dwell [therein];

12. The ravens croak (?), shrieking they hatch their young [in it].
13. To the dog crunching the bone the lady.....is favorable.
14. The snake hisses (?), the evil one who spits [poison].
15. Who is the King of Elam who the great building of Esagil de[stroyed],
16. which the Babylonians made, and their work was.....?
17. This is what thou hast written, saying: "I am a king, the son of a king".....

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18. Who is the son of a daughter of a king, who on the royal throne will sit?.....
19. He is Dursil-ilani, son of Arad-Malkua, who the throne.....
20. on the royal throne he sat and before his warriors [he marched].
21. Now let the king march who from ancient days.....
22. has been proclaimed lord of Babylon; the work of .....shall not endure.
23. In the month Siman and the month Tammuz in Babylon there was done....
24. the work of the one of the magician. The bull (i.e. warrior) who devastates the land.....
25. The elders in their faithful counsel.....
26. [gave] the son of the magician the place instead of the father
27. ....1 maid.....

Two other similar fragmentary texts belonging to the series are published as noted above, but it is unnecessary to quote them here. The two fragments which we have translated contain the most important references, and are sufficient to enable the reader to make up his mind as to the bearing of these texts upon the fourteenth of Genesis.

Pinches and Sayce read the name of the Elamite king, Kukukumal, Kudurlakhmal, and identified it with Chedorlaomer. Pinches so read it, hesitatingly! Sayce, confidently. There is no reason for so reading it, except the desire to discover Chedorlaomer. The first three syllables are represented in the cuneiform by the same sign---a sign the most frequent value of which is ku. It does sometimes have the value dur, but never lakh. King reads it Kukukumal, and there is really no reason for reading it otherwise.

Another name which occurs twice is written in the two places with a slight difference of spelling. It is according to the most natural reading of the signs, Arad-Malkua, or Arad-Malaku. Sayce and Pinches read Eri-eaku and identified him with "Arioch, king of Elassar," (Gen. 14:1). While this is a possible reading, it is only secured by giving to the signs their Sumerian, instead of their Semitic values, and, as the documents are in Semitic, this probably wrong. The name is to be read Arad-Malkua. Another name, Tudkhula, which occurs in the first document, has been identified by the same scholars with "Tidal, king of the nations" (Gen. 14:1), but in this text there is no evidence that Tudkhua was a king at all, and the identification is purely fanciful. It should be noted also that Arad-Malkua, the supposed Eri-eaku, does not himself take any part in the wars here recorded; it is his son, Dursil-ilani, who is represented as a contemporary of Kukukumal, the supposed Chedorlaomer.

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It should be further noted that these documents represent a complete conquest of Babylon by Elam---a conquest in which Babylon itself is ladi desolate. It is not certain just what part Dursil-ilani played in the story. He may have been a vassal king under Kukukumal, or the Babylonian

upon whom the hopes of the people centered, to free them from the yoke of Elam. It is clear, however, that the events mentioned in these documents are not in harmony with the supposition that these monarchs acted as allies of Hammurabi in the invasion of Palestine. Hammurabi is excluded from the account. Kukukumal conquered and desolate the very city in which Hammurabi had his throne. Kukukumal must, accordingly, have lived at some other period of the history, and the supposed confirmation of the account of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis has not yet been found.

As already stated, these tablets are not earlier than the fourth century B.C. The events which they record were probably much later than the time of Abraham. Babylon is called by its Cassite name, Kar-duniash, a name which it did not bear until some hundreds of years after the time of Hammurabi. Many times in the course of Babylonian history was the country overrun by Elam, and there is no real reason to suppose that the war here referred to belongs to the age of Hammurabi.

In recent years several attempts have been made to bring the statements of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis into accord with historical events of a period later than that of Hammurabi. One of the most interesting efforts to find correspondences between the fourteenth chapter of Genesis and archaeologically attested facts of a time later than Hammurabi is that made by Dr. W.F. Albright, and Anton Jirku. Dr. Albright, and Anton Jirku. Dr. Albright's effort was prompted by several archaeological considerations some of which were raised by discoveries in Palestine, others by discoveries in upper Mesopotamia. Among the last mentioned are the names of some kings found on tablets dug at Ashara, on the Euphrated, by Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme. Ashara is the site of the capital of the ancient kingdom of Hana, and there is reason to believe that the texts mentioned come from the period 1800-1600 B.C. Dr. Albright further proposes to identify the kings mentioned in the tablets translated

*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Vol X, W.F. Albright, "The Historical Background of Genesis XIV"*

above, on pp. 349, 350, with rulers of this same period. the name Eri-aku he connects with a man whose son, Tukulti-belit-ilani, ruled in northern Babylonia about 1800 B.C. Shinar he equates with Singara. Of Tudkhula he remarks that at least five Hittite kings bore the name Tudkhulia. For Amraphel he has found no certain equivalent, but suggest two or three hypothetical possibilities.

As yet it is impossible to prove their theory Dr. Albright proposes. The period has hitherto been one of the darkest in the history of Western Asia, owing to the lack of historical documents containing information about it. The theory however, deserves attention. Should it prove to be true, it would relieve a great chronological difficulty.

**9. A Liturgy of the Time of Abraham and Melchizedek.**---Among the poems discovered at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) are three liturgies. Scholars designate these as Poems I, II, and III. It seems clear from the contents of the poems that they were written by Semites, probably Amorites, and were written to be recited at Festivals celebrated in temples situated at points south of Ugarit. Poems I and II were clearly written to be recited at festivals of Alein (Adonis-Tammuz) at Aphek (Josh. 13:4), the Aphaca of Lucian, while Poem III is, as I believe, a liturgy originally written for the spring festival at Jerusalem about 1600-1800 B.C., the period of Abraham and Melchizedek.

Liturgies are always derived from material, which antedates considerably the time of compilation and adoption to worship.

In studying Poems I and II, I had become convinced that those texts had first taken shape when the bulk of the ancestors of the Phoenicians were still living in what is now Palestine. This

conviction was based on the fact that the shrine at Aphek is in Poems I and II consistently referred to as in “the heights of the north,” although it is in central Phoenicia, considerably south of Ugarit, where the texts were copied. This conjecture is fully confirmed by Poem III, the whole scene of which is in southern Palestine, reaching as far south as Kadesh in the wilderness. In addition to his the discovery by Dr. Grant at Beth-Shemesh during the summer of 1933 of a tablet in this same script in a stratum of the same age as that in which the tablets at Ugarit were found, is

JAOS, LII, 221 ff.  
Journal of Biblical Literature LIII, 61 ff.

proof that a people employing the same alphabet and worshipping the same supreme god, El, was still in southern Palestine at the time these liturgies were being copied at Ugarit, i.e. about 1400-1375 B.C. While liturgies are adorned with rubrics contemporary with their adoption, and may here and there contain other evidence of the time and place, when they became liturgies, the bulk of the liturgy is invariably considerably older, usually older by centuries. If, furthermore, we find in the archives of Ugarit a liturgy brought from the south and written for use in the South, it is certain to be a liturgy brought from the South and written for use in the South, it is certain to be a liturgy older by some centuries than the date of the copy. It had become through use in the south charged with sacred associations, before it was transferred to the North and treasured there. If, then, it can be shown, as I believe it can, that Poem III was originally compiled for a well known temple in Palestine, it will follow from the date of the copy in our possession that it probably belongs to the period prior to 1600 B.C.

The text of Poem III in as follows:

1. I will summon the gods, gracious
2. and beautiful, children of princess.....
3. who are granting a city unto (?)......
4. in the wilderness. The wind-swept places they will.....
5. at their summits, and will.....
6. Eat of bread with me, and drink of wine, my weary ones!
7. O Salem, thou shalt be queen---Salem, queen of those who enter in and pour a libation.

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8. Moth-w-Shor shall sit; in his hand the scepter of bereavement; in his hand
9. the scepter of silence. The pruners shall prune the vine;
10. those who tie shall tie the vine; they shall cast the stones from its field
11. as did Geven.

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12. Remove the crescents upon the ‘Edh and ye who enter shall respond (or make responses).

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13. And as to the fields, the fields of the gods, the fields of Asherat and the merciful ones,
14. over the fire removes the ashes (?); slay a kid in the milk, resting in the curds,
15. and upon the basin remove for them the.....

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16. Thou shalt bring to them my loved-ones and declare them righteous.....
17. Thou shalt girdle with ashes (?) the gracious (gods?).....
18. and we will place on those entering the crescents (?).....

19. The dwelling of the eight gods.....
20. the seven store-houses (?).....
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21. I will jealously guard the names.....
22. The sons of princes.....
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23. I will summon the gracious gods (against Asherat of) the sea;
24. they shall take vengeance on the exceeding anger of Asherat.....
25. O Shephesh, who as to the cows, (will Open?) their door.....?
26. while those who enter and pour libations are crying loudly, Salem.....
27. come to them in they acceptable sacrifice!
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28. The fields of the gods, the field of Asherat, my loved ones
29. ....shall inhabit.
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30. (Subdue) with her the foam of the sea and may the foam of the deep be harnessed!
31. (Subdue?) those that are gathered together on the crest of the wave (?)
32. Her praise is to be proclaimed; her praise thou shalt exalt; her praise thou shalt cry, O might one.
33. Her praise thou shalt cry, O mother, mother,---the hand of El shall push them back like the sea,
34. and the hand of El is like a creeping-thing; the hand of El is long as the sea;
35. and the hand of El is like a creeping thing; El is seizing those who are gathering themselves together---
36. those gathering themselves together on the crest of the wave he will seize; they are in his house.
37. The scepter of El has rested; El will be merciful; the staff of his hand he will lift up.
38. He shall direct (to) his wilderness; he shall direct in the wilderness; the bird he shall pluck; he shall put it
39. on the coals. The woman, as El shall pass by them, the woman shall cry,
40. "O Moth, Moth, we shall set limits to they scepter, tearing away the staff of they hand."
41. The bird shall warm at the fire, broiling on the coals.
42. The bird shall warm at the fire, broiling on the coals.
43. women who cry, 'O mighty one; we shall set limits to they scepter,
44. tearing away the staff of they hand'" The bird shall warm at the fire,
45. even broiling on the coals. "Households, each a household of El
46. and his slaves (are we)." These are the women who cry, "O Moth, Moth,
47. we shall set limits to they scepter, tearing away the staff of they hands."
48. shall warm at the fire, even broiling at the coals women, each a wife
49. of El, even his servants, ---he shall cleanse their lips, shall lift
50. them up; their lips are sweet, sweet like pomegranate.
51. With them is kissing and conception; by embracing she who is passionate shall be impregnated,

52. she shall bring forth. Shakkhar-w-Salem word to El shall carry: "Thy wife,
53. O El, has brought forth," "What has she brought forth?" "My children, O Shakkhar-w-Salem?"
54. "Offer a perfect one to Shephesh, the Lady, and to the stars.....
55. He shall cleanse their lips; he shall lift them up; their lips are sweet.

56. With them is kissing and conception by embracing , and he shall capture the ear of her who is passionate.
57. He shall count to five for.....the multitude of those enclosed (?);
58. the sons of these they shall avenge in anger. Salem shall carry word to El
59. the sons of the sea they shall avenge in anger. Salem shall carry word to El
60. "My women have brought forth. O El!" "What have they brought forth?" "My gracious gods, O blessed one (?).
61. dividers of the sea." The sons of the sea they shall avenge in anger, to establish a field (from) the border
62. of the land to the border of the wilderness, that there may enter into their mouths the birds of the desert.
63. and the fish in the seas; and they shall drive away the locusts (?) (and) thy delights (?) shall multiply both on the right hand
64. and on the left in their mouths. The son of Shebani, wife of Etrakh,
65. shall build Ashdod, devising 'Edh, thy house in the wilderness of Kadesh.
66. There shalt thou sojourn with stones and trees for seven years.
67. Thou shalt slay eight birds just hatched at the 'Edh of the gracious gods. Thou shalt walk up and down
68. the field, thou shalt hunt the corners of the wilderness, and bringing them near protected
69. of the shell, cry to them with the protection of the shell, "O protected one,
70. protected one, open, even open it and break through into their 'Edh
71. and enter their.....and we will give,
72. and we will feed them. Where is wine.....and we will give and make them drink."
73. Then shall answer them the one protected of the shell.....
74. "Where is wine for entering into?.....
75. The female guests---for them a log of her wine.....
76. and her homer (?) full of wine.....

The lines across the text of the above poem mark off the sections of the text, and separate the rubrics from the main part of the liturgy. Lines 1-7 constitute the opening lines of the liturgy, containing the summons by which the officiating priest called the gods to the festival. They belong to a stratum of thought in which gods, like men, were believed to need food. The gods who, in lines 1, 2 are called "gracious and beautiful," are accordingly addressed in line 6 as "my weary ones." Line 7. "O Salem, thou shalt be queen---Salem queen of those who enter and pour a libation," identifies the place for which the liturgy was composed as Jerusalem. Jerusalem

is called Salem in Genesis 14:18 and Psalm 76:2. In the last mentioned passage there can be no question that Jerusalem is meant, since in the parallelism it is equated with Zion. This was the view also of Josephus (Ant. I, x. 2; BJ, VI, x), of Onkelos, and all the Targums. Eusebius and Jerome held the same opinion, though Jerome also knew of another Salem. Other views have, however, been held. The LXX. Vulgate and Syriac make Genesis 33:18 read, "And Jacob came unto Salem, a city of Shechem." That there was such a place near Shechem has been confirmed by Robinson's discovery of a small village called Shalim northeast of Nablus. The Hebrew text of Genesis does not, however, say that Jacob went to this place. The word misunderstood by the Versions in Genesis 33:18 as a proper name (shalem) is descriptive of Jacob. It means that Jacob, after his encounter with Esau, went to Shechem with a whole skin, and evidence of the antiquity

of Shalim is lacking. True, a Salem in the Jordan Valley is mentioned in the Gospel of John (3:23); Jerome found a Salem in the Jordan Valley eight miles south of Scythopolis, but no evidence exists that this Salem had existed at an early date.

Evidence has already been adduced for regarding the date of our text as about 1600 B.C. or earlier. It so happens that these lines of our ritual actually fit the topography of the northern approach to the city as disclosed by the excavations of Macalister and Duncan in 1923-24. Across the narrow neck of Zion north of the northern city-wall a rock-cut trench, was found, which had evidently been cut to strengthen the defenses of the city on this side. Steps were cut on its northern side leading down into it, and on its southern side leading out of it up to the city gate. By the top of the steps which led to the city gate a rock cut altar was found--an altar which led the excavators to think they understand why Abraham is said in Genesis 14 to have given to Melchizedek a tenth of his spoils. The pottery found in this trench belonged to the period, 2000-1600 B.C. and contained the call of the gods to the festival, exactly fit this trench and altar. Salem is "queen of those who enter

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in and pour a libation." True, Virolleaud translates, "Salem! la royante (sur) les Arabes et Arabes et les Shenenites," but 'Arabs' are not elsewhere mentioned at so early a time, and everywhere in this text where the word occurs a better sense is obtained by taking the word as equivalent to the Arabic *gharba*, Akk, eribu, from which the Hebrew 'erebeh' 'evening' is derived. As for a tribe called Shenenites, it is unknown elsewhere. The root SNN means 'pour out' water or wine. Clearly the lines are a call to a festival, and Salem is declared queen of those who enter into her city, and who pour a libation. The phrase fits the gate of Jerusalem and its altar at that very period, and the altar and the gate explain the lines.

It may further be objected that in our text Salem is one of the supernatural spirits. To this it should be replied that Salem is at times so regarded in these lines. As a supernatural spirit his function is to bear to El, the supreme deity, the good news that children are born to him. Once he bears, when acting in that capacity, the compound name (line 53) Shakhar-w-Shalem (Dawn and Peace), and twice (lines 26 and 59) simply Salem. The double name is paralleled by that of the vine-spirit which, in one poem, is called Gepen-w-Agar, but in our poem (line 11) simply Gepen. For the supposition that Salem is both an earthly city and a supernatural spirit, we have two analogies. In line 65 of our poem Kadesh is the well-known place of Ain Kades, while in Poem II, col. iv, 13-18, Kadesh is the supernatural spirit which formed the rear guard of Asherat, when the goddess was brought back from temporary exile. Similarly in the poem before us *gepen* is in lines 9 and 10 vines in an early vineyard; in line 11, the supernatural vine-spirit. There is no reason, then why Salem may not be in this poem both a city and the spirit of the city. That it is here, in line 7, the city is confirmed by the fact that it is feminine and its verb is feminine, whereas in lines 52 and 59, where it is a spirit, it is masculine and its verb is in a masculine form. Since in line 3 the gracious gods are said to be granting a city, we conclude that that city was Salem, better known as Jerusalem. Albright pointed out some years ago that in poetry Salem was employed

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in place of the longer Jerusalem, because it is less awkward to fit into meter. The city was apparently situated in a wilderness (1. 4), though a break in the text leaves this somewhat in doubt. "The wilderness of Judea"---a phrase familiar to every reader of the Bible, probably at this period surrounded the region where Jerusalem stands. True, the evidence does not amount to full demonstration, but it does raise to a high degree of probability the hypothesis that our text was a liturgy for a festival celebrated at Jerusalem in the period 1800-1600 B.C. We may, I think, go a step further and say that the ritual was arranged soon after the worshippers had gained possession of the town, while the consciousness that their gods had given them its possession was clear in memory.

This text with its kindred texts from Ugarit, affords us a new background for Genesis 14:18-24. Here as there the city is called Salem. Here as there the god worshipped is El. In Genesis 14:19 El is called the "possessor" (Heb. *qoneh*) of heaven and earth, just as in Poem II Asherat is called "possessor" (*qnyt*) of the gods.

The second section of the poem, lines 8-11, are a bit of beautiful poetry taken over from an old vineyard song, which was sung at the seasons when the vines were being pruned and tied up and the stones cast from the vineyard. As the purpose of the cultivation was to make the vines bear, Moth, the god of death, is represented (lines 9-11) as sitting in silent sorrow. Perhaps in our poem the lines are a rubric. Perhaps at the festival there was a representation in pantomime of the three processes of vine-culture indicated in the lines. At all events, this bit of vintage marks the season of the festival. The vines are pruned after the rainy season is over, in what we call the spring; the grapes grow during the summer, and are harvested in September. The festival, of the ritual of which they form a part was, accordingly, a spring festival.

No one can read this bit of vineyard poetry, especially in the original, without being at once reminded of Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard, Isaiah 5:1-8. In both the word for ridding the vineyard of stones is identical. If we are right in thinking that this ritual was compiled for Jerusalem, it may well have survived there down to the time of Isaiah. In that case our lines may have suggested to Isaiah his ode, and, from the fact that the theme

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was familiar in a religious liturgy, they would be all the effective.

The third marked section of the text, line 12, is clearly a rubric. It directs that "crescents" or "moons" are to be removed from the '*Edh*, ("testimony" or "shrine"), and that those who enter shall make responses.

As now the gods have been summoned, the pantomime of pruning provided for, and directions given for the admission of worshippers, lines 13-15 contain directions for a sacrifice for the fields. The chief feature of this sacrifice is the slaying of a kid in the milk. The text is broken, but he was apparently boiled over the fire. This is the rite prohibited in Exodus 34:26.

The next section, lines 16-18, is a rubric, but, as the ends of the lines are all lost, it is somewhat obscure. "My loved-ones" are, however, probably the worshippers, who are to be brought near and declared righteous (*sedeq*-a word associated with Jerusalem the names Melchizedek and Adonizedek, Judges 1:5, where it is accidentally written Adoni-Bezek) or ritually pure, they are then to be girdled with ashes (?), and, as they enter, the crescents which were removed from the shrine are to be placed on their heads.

Lines 19 and 20 form another rubric, but are too mutilated to afford a clear meaning. They originally gave directions as to what was to be done with the shrines of the eight gods and the seven storehouses (?), but we cannot now guess what that was.

Lines 21 and 22 are similarly now broken. They were apparently a promise by the officiating priest jealously to guard the names of the gracious gods.

The preceding rubrics having been complied with, the sacrifice of the kid being ready, the priest in line 23 summons the gracious gods again. He summons them against the exceeding anger of Asherat of the sea. The role of this goddess is, from the point of view of Semitic religion, peculiar in all three of the poems from Ugarit hitherto published. She is regarded as the giver of prosperity, the possessor of riches, but as a goddess hostile in some degree to her worshippers, whose opposition must be overcome, and who must be compelled to be benignant. She is further called "Asherat of the sea"---an epithet not applied to her in any hitherto discovered Semitic sources. The name

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Asherat goes back for its origin to the primitive Semitic home, but into the personality of the Asherat of these Ugarit poems a new and non-Semitic element had entered. She is connected with the sea, and she is, while exceedingly powerful and rich, characterized by a reluctance and hostility which had to be overcome. M. Dussaud, building on a statement in Herodotus VII, 89, that the Phoenicians formerly dwelt on the Red Sea, whence they crossed over and lived on the coast of Syria, would account for nautical characteristics of our goddess by the sea-faring experiences of the ancestors of the Phoenicians on the Red Sea during centuries anterior to our text. Such experiences do not seem to the present writer sufficient to account for the phenomena. We now know that a considerable Hurrian element had entered into Phoenician civilization. These Hurrians had apparently come from the northwest, partly, doubtless, by sea. Cypriote pottery patterns both at Ugarit and at Jerusalem in the strata of the period to which our text belongs, indicates that along with the Hurrians there came Aegean elements. The people from over the sea brought their goddess with them. They had to be overcome and absorbed by Semites. The process involved the final blending of two goddesses. The emergent divinity bore the old Semitic name, but possessed many nautical elements derived from the West. The hostility of the western invaders, when they first appeared, survived in the memory of the people, and gave to the Asherat that resulted from the fusion the inimical character attribute to her in these poems.

In my judgment it is for this reason that in this second invocation the gracious gods are summoned against Asherat of the sea to take vengeance on the exceeding anger of Asherat. Against her, Shephesh, the sun-goddess is called upon to inform the worshippers who it is that will open (?) the door for the cows, while those who are entering and pouring the libations are crying loudly, "O Salem, come to the acceptable sacrifice!" This summons is followed in lines 28 and 29 with a statement which, though fragmentary, seems to declare that those beloved of the officiating priest, who speaks evidently in the name of El, shall inhabit the fields of the gods and of Asherat. This section of

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the liturgy, with its reference to cows and fields, is intended to secure fertility for the husbandman.

Lines 30-36, which were next recited, were doubtless said as a part of the ritual for subduing the reluctance of Asherat. They are either a part of an old song of triumph of the Semites over sea-peoples from the West, or an incantation of sailors designed to secure them a safe passage. Like much that follows, they were composed in an environment quite other than Jerusalem. With

the recitation of such brave words the reluctance of Asherat of the sea was thought to be overcome.

Lines 37-60 contain the fullest ritual yet discovered for the service of the qadeshoth, or wives of El. Just as the previous ritual had been calculated to secure fertility to the vines, the cows, and the fields, the purpose of this ritual was to secure human offspring. The ritual was recited as a bird was broiling on a coal fire, and as the image of the god El was carried up and down. The bird so broiled was believed to have been secured by El's leading the way to the wilderness.

After repetitions of this ritual, the pleasures of embracing the wives of El are portrayed and the births, first of earthly, and then of heavenly children, are separated announced to El. As Salem, the Spirit of the city, announces the births to El, it is probably that the ritual was performed to secure a succession of children for the earthly city. The inference is confirmed by line 54, which follows the announcement of the earthly births: "Offer a perfect one to Shephesh and the stars",-- a command which reminds us of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac.

Lines 61-76, which follow the description of the birth of the gracious gods, describe the work they shall accomplish. As the tablet breaks off suddenly the description is incomplete, but it is clear that these are the gods who were believed to have given the worshippers the cultivated land from the edge of the desert. In other words the territory from Ashdod to Kadesh, that the "bird of heaven and the fish in the sea may enter into their mouths, and they shall drive away the locusts (?) and thy delights (?) shall multiply both on the right hand and on the left in their mouths."

The son of Shebani, wife of Etrakh (Terah?), shall build Ashdod, devising an 'Edh, ("testimony") in the wilderness of Kadesh. As this 'Edh is defined as "thy house" it was clearly something in which the god was supposed to dwell. It was probably an

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altar or a *massebah*. If, as we suspect, the word "Edh" in line 12 of the poem refers to the rock altar at the gate of Jerusalem, it probably refers to a similar structure at Kadesh. This "Kadesh in the wilderness" is clearly the Ain Kadis of today, and the Kadesh of Numbers 13:26; 20: 1, etc. Our text thus gives us a literary reference to that sacred place earlier than nay we have hitherto possessed, carrying back the antiquity of the shrine at Kadesh to the middle bronze age. This antiquity of the site is confirmed by the finding of pottery in 1914 by Woolley and Lawrence "closely resembling Cypriote fabrics." Our text shows that the site was old even then.

This part of the ritual, the scene of which is laid in the Maritime Plain and the Negeb, or southland of Judah, represents a society that has become partly agricultural, but which is till partly dependent on hunting and fishing. The gods are to establish a wide field, and wine is a part of the sacrificial offering. This is agricultural. But the birds of heaven and fishes of the sea still form part of the diet of the people, and the sacrifices at Kadesh consist of wild birds alone. It is thus evident that the ritual of the shrine was fashioned in a still remoter period, when the community lived by hunting and fishing. The gods are to establish a wide field, and wine is a part of the sacrificial offering. This is agricultural. But birds of heaven and fishes of the sea still form part of the diet of the people, and the sacrifices at Kadesh consist of wild birds alone. It is thus evident that the ritual of the shrine was fashioned in a still remoter period, when the community lived by hunting.

It will thus be seen that the range of territory from which this liturgy draws its material extends from Kadesh on the south to Jerusalem on the north, embracing also the territory of what was later called Philistia. It further appears that in a number of passages its contents afford points of contact with patriarchal traditions. Thus Shebani, the wife of Etrakh (Tera?), whose son is said to have built Ashdod, is a name, which embodies the numeral seven. Dussaud, in the article already mentioned, sees in this a connection with the name possible, though perhaps somewhat fanciful.

If this text is not a liturgy written for Jerusalem, it is at least a liturgy compiled for a topography closely resembling that of Jerusalem between 1600 and 2000 B.C. The city fits the liturgy and the liturgy fits the city. It is accordingly, difficult not to conclude that what a mutual birth ha originally joined together, only the accidents of transmission through three thousand there hundred years have put asunder.