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EDITED BY
MAX L. MARGOLIS
HENRY T. FOWLER
FRANK C. PORTER
COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF
BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

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Palestine. The numerous vessels and cup-marks discovered in connection with tombs show that the dead were provided with food and water; cf. also Ben Sira, 31 17f. The Massoretic pointing **וּפְנֵי מַלְכֵיהֶם בְּמוֹתָם** in Ez. 43 7 indicates that high-places were supposed to be attached to the tombs of the kings at Jerusalem, though **בְּמוֹתָם** is probably the original reading. Also Is. 65 4 proves that offerings were made at the tomb; even in Israel there were remnants of this pagan cult, against which the Law contended (Deut. 26 14). In this connection it may be noted that the same word is used for *coffin* and for *ark of Yahweh*. Similarly the **זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים** may have been originally an offering made to the dead, part of the feast, the blood, being given to the spirit.⁷

Having shown the connection between the differing meanings of Ariel, it remains to explain its association with the city of Jerusalem. In Is. 29 1 the city of David referred to is, of course, Zion, and **צִיּוֹן** means also tomb. When Josiah asked (II Kings 23 17): **מָה הַצִּיּוֹן הַלֵּז**, the answer was **הַקֶּבֶר אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים**. In Zion the people of the surrounding country may have buried their dead. In the southern part of the mountain, near Siloam, tombs have recently been found, which may have belonged to the first kings of Judah.⁸ Accordingly the name Ariel may be equivalent to *necropolis*, like Zion. Possibly also the name Jerusalem contains the element *šalem*, dead, and means *city of the dead, necropolis*. Salem, Zion, Ariel are three names belonging to different periods; according to tradition Salem was employed at the time of Abraham, and Zion at the time of David.

While the Talmud cannot be considered a direct source for early Palestinian conceptions, it contains many valuable traditions, and mentions many survivals of an older period. The word **אַרְאֵלִים** in the Talmud refers to the angels of death. When Rabbi Judah died bar-Kappārā said (*Ketūbhôt*, 104): **אַרְאֵלִים**

⁷ In Assyrian *šalamtu* (whence Aram. *šaladdā*) is *corpse*, and *šalām šamši* is *sunset*, properly *death of the sun* (Albright, *AJSJ*, XXXIV, 142). Ar. *salīm* means *wounded to death*.

⁸ Elsewhere I will discuss the question of these tombs, especially on its topographical side.

ומצוקים אחו בארון הקדש נצחו האראלים את המצוקים ונשבה ארון הקדש. The Mesûkîm are the angels of the upper world, and the Er'elim are the angels of the lower world, who defeat the former and carry the ark of God (i. e. Rabbi Judah) captive. Midraš Kônen (Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, s. v.) names as different classes of angels the אראלים, מלאכים, and אופנים, so that the Er'elim appear as the lowest category, the Ôfannim being the angels in the מרכבה, or Chariot of God.

THE BABYLONIAN TEMPLE-TOWER AND THE ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING

W. F. ALBRIGHT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, JERUSALEM

The studies of my friend Mr. Feigin have placed the old problem of Ariel in a much clearer light, though I am not able to agree with all his suggestions. There can be no doubt that the balance of probability is now in favor of the Assyrian etymology long maintained by Jeremias and others. In Mesopotamian cosmology Mount Aral(l)û, Sum. Arali (for etymology cf. *AJSL.*, XXXV, 191, n. 1), in the far north was the home of the shades, whence Hades was called in Sumerian *kûr*, mountain, and in Assyrian *huršân*, mountain, as Zimmern has recently shown. Aralû is written ideographically Ê-KÛR-US (BAD), House of the mountain of the dead. Aral(l)û is also the mountain of the gods, Ê-ġarsag-gal-kûr-kûr-ra, House of the great mountain of the lands, and is further identified with the fabulous mountain of gold in the land of the gods. As Ê-kûr and Ê-ġarsag-kûr-kûr-ra were two of the most popular names of *zikkurâti*, or temple-towers, we may safely suppose that the latter, being the terrestrial representations of the mountain of the gods, shared its name Aralû. Originally, of course, the mountain of the gods and the mountain of the shades were distinct conceptions, but since both were placed in the far north they were naturally confused.

In Is. 29 2, אַרְיָאֵל clearly means Hades:

וְהָיִיתִי לִי כְאֲרִיָאֵל וְהָיָה כְּאֹב־מֵאֲרִיץ קוֹלְךָ
 וְתִנִּיתִי כְדוֹר עֲלִיךָ וּמַעַפְרֵי אֲמִרְתְּךָ תִּצְפְּצַף

Thou shalt become like Hades; I will encamp like a wall against thee.***
 The voice of a shade shall be thine; from the dust thou shalt utter chirps.

The denizens of the underworld were supposed to become birds, clad in feathers (Descent of Ištar, line 10). The conception that the soul of a dead man is embodied in a bird, especially an owl, is almost universal. Is. 33 7,

הֵן אֲרָאֵלִים צִעֲקוּ-חֹצָה מֵלֹאכֵי שְׁלוֹם מֵרִיבֵיכִיּוֹן

is evidently, following the Talmudic tradition (see Mr. Feigin's article), to be rendered as follows:

Behold the Ar'elim cry without; the propitious angels wail bitterly.

The thought seems to be that the destructive spirits of the lower world have invaded the land, howling like jackals without while they spread famine and pestilence; the spirits of heaven weep bitterly over the godlessness of the land and its consequent suffering. The shades were called both *Ar'elîm* and *Benê Ar'el* (II Sam. 23, 20, LXX), just as they are also both *Refa'im* and *Benê Rafû*, *Anakîm* and *Benê Anak*.² These expressions are used in the Bible just as in Egypt and Mesopotamia for the demigods and heroes of a bygone age as well as for the shades of the lower world in general.

There is no phonetic objection to the combination of *Ar'el* with *Aralû*; the final *û* is dropped in Hebrew loan-words from Assyrian, as in *cdû* > אָרַב, *inundation*. The various writings point unmistakably to a loan-word which was adapted to Hebrew by popular etymology in different ways. The pronunciation *Ar'el* is evidently based on a reminiscence of Nergal-Irra, called *šar Aralî* and usually represented as a lion. The variant *har'el* in

¹ Pronounce metrically *kôhméres*.

² For the etymology of אֲרָאֵל see Haupt, *AJSL.*, XXXIII, 48; the stem is אֲרָא = *rabû*, set, of the sun. Similarly אֲרָאֵל may be connected with Ar. *a'naka*, set, of the stars (cf. *AJSL.*, XXI V, 142). This is, of course, very doubtful, but is at least more likely than the old combination with *a'nak*, long-necked.

Ez. 43 15 means *mountain of god*, like Arallû. That the word should be a genuine Hebrew compound is impossible, as we have no parallels. Moreover, the rendering *hearth of God* is excluded by the fact that there is no word *irîah*, hearth, in Arabic, as lightly assumed by all the commentators. The word supposed to mean *hearth* is one of the many forms of the word *irî*, *arîi*, *ârîi*, *arîyah*, crib, stall, enclosure (cf. Barth, *ZDMG.*, LVII, 636), a pre-Islamic loan from Aram. *urîâ*, itself derived from Assyr. *urû*, stall, enclosure, another loan from Sum. *ûr* (*Sumerisches Glossar*, p. 49, *ûr* VI), with the same meaning.

As seen by Jeremias, Ariel as the name of Mount Zion³ is identical with Arallû, mountain of god, Heb. *har kôdeš*. Similarly, the highest of the three stages of the altar of burnt-offering in the temple of Solomon and Ezekiel bears the same name. The striking resemblance of this altar to the Babylonian stage-tower was pointed out many years ago by Haupt, who said (Toy, *Ezekiel*, p. 187): "The Temple resembled, to a certain extent, a Babylonian temple-tower of three stories, and the altar of burnt-offering is practically a Babylonian temple-tower on a smaller scale, or rather, the temple-tower is, as it were, a huge altar." The commonest type of stage-tower had three stages; cf. the illustrations in Gressmann, *Allorientalische Texte und Bilder*, II, 39. Descriptions of stage-altars may be found in Dalman's *Petra*, pp. 141 (on the summit of a high-place), 288 (on a terrace), and 299, but all of these are crude compared with the Jewish altar, which was certainly based on Mesopotamian models, coming through Phoenicia.

The reconstruction of the altar of burnt-offering (Ez. 43 13-17) given in the commentaries (cf. Kraelzschmar, *Handkommentar*, p. 279, and Toy, *Ezekiel*, p. 191) requires a slight modification. The *הַיִּק הָאֲרִיץ*⁴ is not the lowest of four stages, but is the foundation of the altar, just as rendered by the Targum, which gives *תְּשִׁיטָה*. Since its surface was then on a level with the

³ The name Zion probably means *mountain* rather than *necropolis*; Ar. *ḡūyah* means *mound* as well as *stone-heap* = Heb. *צִיּוֹן*, and Eg. *dy* means *mountain*.

⁴ Restore *הַיִּק הָאֲרִיץ* also after *הַיִּק* in 13; it has fallen out before *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* by haplography.

surrounding pavement it becomes clear why the **גבול**, *boundary* (13, 17), was necessary to mark the limit of the sacred altar-area. Thus, while the total height from the bottom of the foundation to the top of the horns was twelve cubits ($1+2+4+4+1$), the actual elevation of the surface of the *ar'el* above the pavement was ten cubits ($2+4+4$), agreeing exactly with the ten cubits stated in II Chr. 41 as the height of the altar of Solomon's temple, the cubit being here also presumably the Babylonian cubit of 21 inches specified by Ezekiel. Moreover, the boundary (13) was half a cubit (one span) from the base of the lower stage,⁵ another span in width (17), while the **זיק** projected a cubit beyond the boundary, so the total length and width of the altar would be $12+1+1+2+4=20$ cubits, just as stated in II Chr. 41.

The enigmatical expression **זיק הארץ**, *bosom of the earth*, is very important, as it is simply a literal translation of Assyr. *irat kigalli*, bosom of the *kigallu*, commonly used to denote the foundation of a temple-tower. The word *kigallu*, literally *great earth*, means *underworld, site, basis, and foundation-platform*, the latter sense arising from the fancy that the temple-tower was the link of heaven and earth (*dur-an-ki*), founded in the underworld and reaching heaven, a hyperbole recurring countless times in the inscriptions.

No less characteristically Mesopotamian is the use of the term *ar'el* for the highest stage of the altar, rather than for the whole altar. Assyr. *zikkuratu* means properly mountain-peak (*zikkurat šadi*), and refers primarily to the topmost stage, though it may be extended by metonymy to include the entire temple-tower, whose original name was *ekurru*, mountain-house,

⁵ The term **ערה**, generally misunderstood, and even combined with Assyr. *ušurtu*, means properly *terrace, terrace-platform*. Ar. *ʿādirah* is *terraced court before a house*, and South. Ar. **ערה** has the same meaning (contrast Weber, *MYAG.*, 1901, p. 66). The primary sense is *what is supported, upheld* from the stem *'dr*, support, help. The **ערה** of Solomon's temple (II Chr. 4:6 13) corresponds exactly to Assyr. *hisallu*, the terrace-platform in front of the temple. Here Solomon erected his bronze **בזבז** (also Babylonian, as pointed out *JAOS.*, XXXVI, 232) on which to address the multitude assembled before the temple.

whence Aram. *churrâ*, shrine, idol. The cosmic symbolism appears clearly in the four horns, or rather four mountains, if we may judge from the four "horns" on an altar at Petra. If there were any possible doubt regarding the correctness of our interpretation, it should be removed by the variant *har-el*, mountain of god, in verse 15 (see above).

From Mr. Feigin's discussion it appears that *ar'el* in the Mesha stone means *maššebah*, *pésel*, and not *pillar-altar* or *altar-hearth*, as commonly assumed. As is well-known, among the Western Semites the symbol of deity was rarely more than a stone menhir or a wooden post, and it is seldom possible to distinguish sharply between *maššebah* and *pésel*. It is not certain how *ar'el* came to mean *pésel*. Porphyry says that the altar was regarded as the symbol of deity by the Arabs (cf. Lagrange, *Religions sémitiques*, p. 191) and Robertson Smith (*Religion of the Semites*, p. 201ff.) maintains that the altar is a development of the *maššebah*. While the latter view cannot be seriously defended, it must be admitted that there is often no clear distinction between the two. On the whole I am inclined to favor Lagrange's theory that the *maššebah* as a stele representing divinity reflects the Mesopotamian temple-tower (*op. cit.* p. 192ff.), though I would not go as far as he does. The conception is, of course, primitive, taking root in a fetishism found all over the world; the cult-symbolism of later times, however, is often unmistakably Mesopotamian in origin. It is more than likely that Egyptian influences have also been at work here. The Egyptian analogue of the *zikkurat* is the pyramid, which assumes two forms, the stage-tower surmounted by a pyramidion, which developed into the later stageless pyramid, and the obelisk crowned by a pyramidion. This pyramidion bore the name *bn* or *bnbnt*,⁶ also applied by metonymy to the

⁶ For the relation between the obelisk and the pyramidion cf. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 70ff. The *bn* was further combined by paronomasia with the *bnj*, phoenix, also symbolizing the sun. For the etymology of *bn*, *bnbnt* see *AJSL.*, XXXIV, 223, note. Here also belongs Ar. *banân*, fingers, extremities of the body; cf. Assyr. *uḫn šadî*, mountain peak, lit. finger (*uḫnu* > **ibhâm* is not etymologically connected with *bnbnt*) of the mountain.

whole obelisk, just as in the case of the Babylonian *zikkurat*. The pyramidion called *bn*, which stood in the temple of the sun at Heliopolis, corresponds to the *maššebah* or *hammân* of Šamaš or Ba'al, just as the wooden *dd* pillar of Osiris is parallel to the Aširat post, as pointed out by Ember. While the pyramidion was originally only a specialized type of *maššebah*, in the course of time it certainly came to represent the mountain of the earth. Though the obelisk had other symbolism also, one can hardly doubt that the two obelisks flanking the pyla of some Egyptian temples, reappearing as architectural loans in Phoenician and Syrian temples, represent primarily the mountains of dawn, figuring so often in West-Asiatic and Egyptian literature and art. As is well-known, these obelisks finally appear as *Iakin* and *Ia'oz*(?) in the temple of Solomon, also facing the east, the *šit šamši*. All this cosmological symbolism is comparatively recent, even though appearing in our oldest monumental sources.