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EL'S ABODE

MYTHOLOGICAL TRADITIONS RELATED TO

MOUNT HERMON AND TO THE MOUNTAINS

OF ARMENIA

In the middle of the second millennium B.C. the people of Ugarit localized the abode of Ba'al « in the recesses » of the nearby, 1770 m. high Ġebel el-Aqra', where Eštori ha-Parhi, the famous Jewish traveller of the XIVth century A.D., had located *Hor Hāhār*, which was, according to Numb. 34, 7-8, the *gēbūl šāpōn*, the « northern border », of the Promised Land¹. The god El, instead, was supposed to live far away from Ugarit, « a thousand fields, ten thousand acres » distant from Mount Šapān, the actual Ġebel el-Aqra'². Just as Ba'al's abode, the residence of El was, to be sure, no purely mythical and imaginary place; it had a geographical location as well³.

¹ EŠTORI HA-PARHI, *Kaphtōr wa-Pherah*, chap. 2; ed. by H. EDELMANN, Berlin, 1852, see p. 42. Cf. A. NEUBAUER, *La Géographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, p. 7-10.

² A. HERDNER, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques, découvertes à Ras Shamra - Ugarit de 1929 à 1939* (Mission de Ras Shamra, X = BAH, LXXIX), Paris, 1963, No. 4 (II AB), v, 84-86; C.H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Analecta Orientalia, 38), Rome, 1965, text 51, v, 84-86. These two works will be quoted further on CTA and UT, followed by the text's number or abbreviation. — P. GRELOT, *La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 33-69, quotes an in-existent Ugaritic text: « sur les hauteurs de šafōn, à la source des fleuves, au milieu des chenaux des deux Océans » (see p. 62), identifying thus El's abode with the « recesses of Šapān ».

³ However, some doubts about the existence of a terrestrial geographical location of El's abode have still recently been expressed by H. GESE, *Die Religionen Altsyriens*, in H. GESE - M. HÖFNER - K. RUDOLPH, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (Die Religionen der Menschheit, 10/2), Stuttgart, 1970, p. 100: « Wieweit wir aber nach einem irdischen Gegenstück suchen dürfen, das den mythischen Angaben in kombinierter Form entspricht, bleibt fraglich ». But the case of Ġebel el-Aqra' is not the only one that counterbalances such doubts. Even the Sumerian *hur-sag-an-ki-bi-da*, « the mountain of heaven and earth », on which was located « the pure mound », *dug-kù*, primitive abode of the Anunna-gods, is probably a geographical place as well. According to Th. JACOBSEN, *Sumerian Mythology: A Review Article*, in *JNES*, 5, 1946, p. 128-152 (see p. 141), it is to be identified with the range of mountains bordering the Mesopotamian plain on the east.

On the basis of the correlation between the word 'apq, occurring in the description of El's abode ⁴, and the place-name Apheq, M. H. Pope has suggested to identify El's domain with the modern Hirbet Afqa in Lebanon, midway between Byblos and Baalbek, at the source of the Nahr Ibrāhīm, the ancient river of Adonis ⁵. The author's argumentation parallels that of Vladimir Vikentiev, who had located at the same spot the Valley of the Cedar which plays a role in the Egyptian folk tale of Two Brothers ⁶. In fact, the site was in antiquity a holy place, successively devoted to Astarte, Aphrodite, Venus, and Our Lady of Afqa. There, according to an aetiological legend, was the scene of the first and last embrace of Adonis and Aphrodite, for the name of the place, 'pq, had been connected with the root 'pq, «to embrace». Other aetiological legends explained the blood-red colour which the waters of the Nahr Ibrāhīm show after the first heavy winter rains bring down mud stained with the ferrous oxide of the *terra rossa* ⁷. According to these aetiologies, Uranos had been emasculated there by his son El-Kronos, Adonis had been mortally wounded, and the Forty Martyrs put to death. As the river emerges from a cavern, Maḡārat Afqa, this could have been considered in antiquity as the entrance to the subterranean abode of the god El, «at the sources of the rivers, midst the springs of the two Oceans» ⁸.

This hypothesis of M. H. Pope is the only coherent and consistent solution which has hitherto been proposed to solve the problem of the

⁴ CTA 2 (III AB), III, 4; 3 (V AB), E, 14; 4 (II AB), IV, 22; 6 (I AB), I, 34; 17 (II D), VI, 48; UT 49, I, 6; 51, IV, 22; 129, 4; 2 Aqht VI, 48; 'nt v, 14.

⁵ M. H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (SVT, II), Leiden, 1955, p. 72-81. His hypothesis has been accepted, among others, by W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion, VII), London, 1968, p. 105; J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica V* (Mission de Ras Shamra, XVI = BAH, LXXX), Paris, 1968, p. 54; U. OLDENBURG, *The Conflict between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion* (Supplementa ad Numen. Altera Series, 3), Leiden, 1969, p. 106-109.

⁶ V. VIKENTIEV, *Le Conte égyptien des Deux Frères et quelques histoires apparentées*, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts. Fouad I University*, 11/2, 1949, p. 63-111 and pl. I-X (see p. 71-82).

⁷ Cf. W. W. BAUDISSIN, *Adonis und Esmun. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Glaubens an Auferstehungsgötter und an Heilgötter*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 71 ff.

⁸ Photographs and drawings relating to the site of Afqa and the places connected can be found in the article of V. VIKENTIEV, *art. cit.*, pl. I-X. Photographs of the cavern and of the river about 300 m. below it are also given in R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Études sur les dieux phéniciens hérités par l'Empire romain* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, 14), Leiden, 1970, pl. IX and X.

nature and location of El's abode. However, this interpretation is questionable, since the word 'pq can be merely a common noun⁹, and since the site of Hirbet Afqa never appears as the place where the Canaanite gods gather together. Now, the assembled pantheon must have deliberated and banqueted in the abode of El, since El was precisely presiding over the divine assembly¹⁰. For this reason, another location of El's abode may fit in better with its nature and with the Syro-Palestinian traditions about the mountain of the gods. The problem is worthy of all consideration for the dwelling place of a god is an important element for the understanding of his nature and his qualities¹¹.

I

MOUNT HERMON AND ITS MYTHOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

It is likely that the Ugaritians located the abode of El somewhere within their own geographical horizon, but rather far from Ugarit, at a distance of « a thousand fields », of « ten thousand acres »¹².

⁹ The noun is generally used in the plural with the meaning « springs from which water streams out » rather than « channels, beds of streams ». Cf. F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Études Bibliques), II, Paris, 1938, p. 246; Djafar AL-HASSANI - J. STARCKY, *Autels palmyréniens découverts près de la source Efca*, in *Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, 7, 1957, p. 95-122 (see p. 110-111). In particular, 'pq is also employed as a common noun in the closest biblical parallel in II Sam. 22,16 = Ps. 18,16, where 'apîqē yām means « the springs of the sea ».

¹⁰ CTA 2 (III AB), I, 13 ff.; UT 137,14 ff.; Ch. VIROLLEAUD, in *Ugaritica V*, Nos. 1 and 2 (p. 545-557).

¹¹ This has recently been stressed by H. GESE, in H. GESE - H. HÖFNER - K. RUDOLPH, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, p. 98 : « Zum Verständnis der Götter sind die Angaben über ihre Wohnung wichtig ».

¹² CTA 4 (II AB), v, 84-86; UT 51, v, 84-86. In the Syro-Palestinian poetical tradition the words « thousand » and « ten thousand » are used as parallels. Cf. St. GEVIRTZ, *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel* (SAOC, 32), Chicago, 1963, p. 15-24. For the patterns of numerical parallelism see also W.H.W. ROTH, *The Numerical Sequence x/x + 1 in the Old Testament*, in *Vetus Testamentum*, 12, 1962, p. 300-311; Id., *Numerical Sayings in the Old Testament. A Form-Critical Study* (SVT, XIII), Leiden, 1965; G. SAUER, *Die Sprüche Agurs. Untersuchungen zur Herkunft, Verbreitung und Bedeutung einer biblischen Stilform unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Proverbia c. 30* (BWANT, V/4), Stuttgart, 1963, esp. p. 34-70, 77-91, 101-111; M. HABAN, *Biblical Studies : The Literary*

There is a place which *a priori* deserves consideration, as it is mentioned in the mythological poems found in Ugarit. It is the region of the Lebanon-Hermon ranges and of lake Hūle, whose Ugaritic-Canaanite name *šmk*¹³ is still echoed in the Aramaic and Middle Hebrew name *Samekū* or, better, *Samekō*¹⁴, and in the Greek names Σεμεχωνίτις λίμνη¹⁵ and Σεμεχωνιτῶν λίμνη¹⁶. Indeed, there seems to be no reason to doubt about the identity of the Ugaritic *šmk* with the Aramaic-Hebrew *Samekō* and the Greek Σεμεχω- since the Ugaritic *š* and the Aramaic *s* may both derive from a primitive *ś*: *Šamkō*¹⁷. Moreover, the name occurs in the Ugaritic phrase 'ah. *šmk. ml'at. r'umm*¹⁸, « the brink of *Šamkō* full of buffalos », which reflects very exactly the conditions of the Hūle valley, bounded on the west by the River Liṭāni, on the east by the snow-covered Mount Hermon, and bordering to the south on Lake Hūle. In this fertile, well watered,

Applications of the Numerical Sequence x/x + 1 and Their Connections with the Patterns of Parallelism (in Hebrew), in *Tarbiz*, 39, 1969-1970, p. 109-136.

¹³ CTA 10 (IV AB), II, 9 and 12; UT 76, II, 9 and 12.

¹⁴ Talmud of Jerusalem, *Kilayim* IX, 6 (32c); *Šeqālīm* VI, 2 (50a); *Bābā bātrā* V, 1 (15a). There exists a variant *Šibekay* or *Šibekē*, with the transition *m > b*, in the Babylonian Talmud, *Bābā bātrā* 74b; *Bekōrōt* 55a, and in the Midrash *Tehillīm* to Ps. 24, 6. The name has been corrupted to *Sōp^bnē* or *Sūp^bnē* in the Tosephta, *Bābā gammā* VIII, 18; *Bekōrōt* VII, 4, and also in the *Siphre* on Deuteronomy, 355, and in the Targum Yerushalmi I on Deut. 33, 23. Cf. G. DALMAN, *Der Simchu-See*, in *Palästina-jahrbuch*, 10, 1914, p. 44-45. The form *Samekā*, reported by G.R. DRIVER, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh, 1956, p. 117, n. 6, and p. 148, n. 31, is never attested.

¹⁵ JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War*, III, 10, 7, § 515: τὰ τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης ἔλη καὶ τέλματα, « the marshes and lagoons of Lake Semechonitis »; ID., *Jewish Antiquities*, V, 5, 1, § 199: τῆς Σεμεχωνίτιδος λίμνης.

¹⁶ JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War*, IV, 1, 1, § 2: πρὸς τῇ Σεμεχωνιτῶν λίμνῃ. The Ugaritic and Greek names have already been correlated by Ch. VIROLLEAUD, 'Anat et la génisse. Poème de Ras Shamra (IV AB), in *Syria*, 17, 1936, p. 150-173 (see p. 157); R. DUSSAUD, *Cultes cananéens aux sources du Jourdain d'après les textes de Ras Shamra*, in *Syria*, 17, 1936, p. 283-295 (see p. 283); H.L. GINSBERG, *Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends*, in J.B. PRITCHARD, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed., Princeton, 1955, p. 142, n. 2 (with a question mark); G.R. DRIVER, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 148 with n. 31; M.C. ASTOUR, *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden, 1965, p. 87, n. 8 (« probably »).

¹⁷ *Samekō* as compared with the segolate form Σεμεχω- indicates that the name was earlier vocalized *Šamkō*, with a final -ō as in *Šilō*, *Gilō*, 'Akkō, *Qarhō(h)*. This is confirmed by the adjectival form Σεμεχωνι-, similar to *Šilōnī*, *Gilōnī*. Cf. P. JOUON, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, 3rd ed., Rome, 1965, p. 210, § 88 M g.

¹⁸ CTA 10 (IV AB), II, 9 and 12; UT 76, II, 9 and 12.

and originally even paludal region, the black buffalo, *Bos bubalus*, enjoyed living from prehistorical times¹⁹. This area situated near Mount Hermon and the Jordan's sources belonged thus to the geographical horizon of the Ugaritic myths. As for Mount Hermon itself, it is also mentioned in these texts under its ancient name of *Šaryān*²⁰.

Now, Mount Hermon was a sacred mountain, as shown by the name itself of *hermōn*, which means something like «taboo» or «sacred precinct», just as the Arabic *ḥaram*. Its sacredness may be compared with the inviolability of Mount Sinai as described in Ex. 19,12 and 23. The geographical name of the Hermon range was *Šaryān*/*Širyōn*²¹, *Šenār*/*Sanār*²², *Sirāra* or *Sirā*²³, which all occur in parallelism with

¹⁹ Cf. F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Études Bibliques), I, Paris, 1933, p. 221; J. PERROT, art. *Préhistoire palestinienne*, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 43, Paris, 1968, col. 286-446 (see col. 411-412). — A. CAQUOT and M. SZNYCER, in *Les Religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*, Paris, 1970, p. 437, n. 1, suggest to localize *šmk* in the paludal regions of the Orontes, the Nahr el-ʿĀṣī. But no positive argument favours this location.

²⁰ CTA 4 (II AB), VI, 19 and 21; UT 51, VI, 19 and 21. The vocalization is supplied by the syllabic spelling *Ša-ri-ia-na* of various texts from Boğazköy (see below, p. 25). An older pronunciation *Šaryānu* may be attested by the Egyptian execration texts edited by G. POSENER, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire*, Bruxelles, 1940, E 30: *Š(?)y(?)nw*, where A. ALT, *Herren und Herrensitze Palästinas im Anfang des Zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 64, 1941, p. 21-39 (see p. 33), has suggested to recognize the biblical *Širyōn*. This article has been reprinted in A. ALT, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III, München, 1959, p. 57-71 (see p. 67). Cf. also L.-H. VINCENT, *Les pays bibliques et l'Égypte à la fin de la XII^e dynastie égyptienne*, in *Vivre et Penser*, 2, 1942, p. 187-212 (voir p. 198); B. MAISLER (MAZAR), in *Eretz-Israel*, 3, 1954, p. 25, quoted by A. MALAMAT, *Campaigns to the Mediterranean by Iahdunlim and Other Early Mesopotamian Rulers*, in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* (Assyriological Studies, 16), Chicago, 1965, p. 365-373 (see p. 373, n. 41).

²¹ This name occurs in Hebrew (Deut. 3,9; Ps. 29,6), in Aramaic (*Siryōn*), in texts from Boğazköy (see below, p. 25), in Ugaritic (see the note above), and, with the apheresis of the final *n*, in Old Babylonian (*Sa-ri-a*; see below).

²² This form of the name is found in Hebrew (Deut. 3,9; Ez. 27,5; Cant. 4,8; I Chron. 5,23), in the original of I Enoch 13,9 (see below, p. 32), in Assyrian texts, and in Arabic. The cuneiform spelling *Sa-ni-ru* occurs in the annalistic reports of the Syrian campaign of Shalmaneser III in 841 B.C. The most known of these texts has been published in H.C. RAWLINSON, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, III, London, 1870, pl. 5, No. 6, line 6. The best recent transliteration is that of E. MICHEL, *Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III. (858-824)*, § 22, in *Die Welt des Orients*, 1, 1947-1952, p. 265-268. Translations can be found in D.D. LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I, Chicago, 1926, § 672, and in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd ed., Princeton,

Lebanon. Despite this frequent juxtaposition of the names of both mountain ranges, the actual Ġebel eš-Šēh, « Mountain of the Hoar », so called because of its snow-covered top²⁴, appears to be the real giant of the Lebanon-Antilebanon, commanding the greater part of the entire land. Ġebel eš-Šēh corresponds thus most likely to a particularly sacred part of the Lebanese mountains, whose holiness is attested from the Old Babylonian period on.

In fact, the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epos identifies « Hermon and Lebanon » with the « dwelling of the Anunnaki ». The text is known from the Chicago fragment Or. Inst. A.22007 (= Išāli 35 - T 117) and has been published by Th. Bauer in 1957²⁵. The

1969, p. 280. Parallel accounts of the campaign have been published (1) by A.H. LAYARD, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*, London, 1851, pl. 12 (Bull A, lines 41-47) and pl. 46 (Bull B, lines 41-52), with a transliteration by A. BILLERBECK and F. DELITZSCH, *Die Palasttore Salmanassars II. von Balawat* (Beiträge zur Assyriologie, VI/1), Leipzig, 1908, p. 150-151, and a translation by D.D. LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.*, I, § 663; (2) by F. SAFAR, *A Further Text of Shalmaneser III. from Assur*, in *Sumer*, 7, 1951, p. 3-21 and pl. I-III (col. III, 45-IV, 15), with a transliteration and a translation by E. MICHEL, *Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III. (858-824)*, § 32, in *Die Welt des Orients*, 2, 1954-1959, p. 27-45 (see p. 38); (3) by J.V. KINNIER WILSON, *The Kurba'il Statue of Shalmaneser III*, in *Iraq*, 24, 1962, p. 90-115 and pl. xxx-xxxv (lines 21-30). The other known accounts of the same campaign are only summaries in which the name of *Sa-ni-ru* does not occur. As regards Arabic, Ġebel Sanīr was the usual name of the Antilebanon until the XIVth century A.D. Cf. G. LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500. Translated from the Works of Medieval Arab Geographers*, London, 1890, p. 79; F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, p. 346.

²³ These forms are generally used in Akkadian texts. For instance, *Sirāra* occurs in D.D. LUCKENBILL, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (OIP, 2), Chicago, 1924, p. 106, col. v, 25; p. 107, col. v, 51; p. 119, line 23; p. 120, line 40; in M. STRECK, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Nineveh's* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 7), Leipzig, 1916, vol. II, p. 88, line 98; p. 170, line 46; in E. REINER, *Lipšur Litanies*, in *JNES*, 15, 1956, p. 129-149 (see p. 132, line 8, and p. 147, n. 1). The variant form *Sirā* can be found, for instance, in E. REINER, *art. cit.*, p. 133, n. 8, and p. 146, line 6'.

²⁴ Mount Hermon and Mount Amanus are called by Sennacherib *šadē ellūti*, « shining mountains », i.e., « snow-capped ». Cf. D.D. LUCKENBILL, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 106, col. v, 25; p. 119, line 23. According to the lexical lists, the word *ellu*, used as a substantive, designates snow.

²⁵ Th. BAUER, *Ein viertes altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgameš-Epos*, in *JNES*, 16, 1957, p. 254-262 (see p. 255, 256). Improvements in the reading of this text have been made by W. VON SODEN, *Beiträge zum Verständnis des babylonischen Gilgameš-Epos*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 53, 1959, p. 209-235 (see p. 219). The text has recently been translated by A.K. GRAYSON, in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd ed., p. 504-505, and by R. LABAT, in *Les Religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*, Paris, 1970, p. 180-181.

passage concerned belongs to the episode of the killing of Huwawa :

i-ne-ir E[n-k]i-[du₁₀ ma-ša-a]r qí-iš-tim

ša a-na zī-ik-[ri-šu] Sa-ri-a ù La-ab-na-an (rev., lines 12-13),

« Enkidu slew the [guardi]an of the forest,

at whose name Hermon and Lebanon [trembled] ».

After the death of Huwawa, Gilgameš and Enkidu penetrate within the forest, which, according to lines 9 and 11 of the reverse, must be the famous Cedar Forest ²⁶. Enkidu, the text says,

[i-t]e-er-ri qí-iš-tam

mu-ša-ab E-nu-na-ki pu-zu-ra-mi-ip-te-e

^dGIŠ *i-ši ú-ba-ta-aq En-ki-du₁₀ ú-ḥa-ra ur-ma-zi-li* (rev., lines 19b-21),

« penetrated into the forest,

opened the secret dwelling of the Anunnaki.

Gilgameš hewed down the trees, Enkidu dug up the *urmazili* ²⁷ ».

The Ninivite version describes Huwawa's abode as the KUR-*u* ^{giš}ERIN *mu-šab* DINGIR^{meš} *pa-rak* ^dIr-ni-ni ²⁸, « the cedar mountain, abode of the gods, sanctuary of Irnini ». The *mūšab ilī* and the *parak Irnini* seem, however, to reflect two different mythological traditions. This hypothesis appears as the only solution for the unexpected mention of Irnini, which B. Landsberger considered as « completely unexplained » ²⁹. In the older tradition, attested by the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epos, Huwawa was the guardian of the mountain which was the gods' abode. In the other one, Huwawa, called also Humbaba, is likely to have been the guardian of Ištar's sanctuary.

²⁶ The name *qīšti erinni* itself is attested in the Old Babylonian version of tablet III, where Huwawa appears as the guardian of the Cedar Forest. The text is known from the « Yale Tablet », which has been published by M. JASTROW and A. CLAY, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgameš Epic* (YOS, Res., IV/3), New Haven, 1920; see col. v, 3. Several improvements have been later made in the decipherment of this tablet. A translation of E.A. SPEISER, revised by A.K. GRAYSON, is given in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd. ed., p. 78-81.

²⁷ The meaning of this word is unknown.

²⁸ Tablet V, col. I, 6, according to the edition of R. Campbell THOMPSON, *The Epic of Gilgameš*, Oxford, 1930.

²⁹ B. LANDSBERGER, *Zur vierten und siebenten Tafel des Gilgamesch-Epos*, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 62, 1968, p. 97-135, see p. 113, n. 52 : « Die Erwähnung Irninis ist völlig unerklärt ».

Irnini or Irnina is in fact a by-name of Ištar³⁰, and, after Humbaba has been killed, Gilgameš meets precisely that goddess, at least according to the Ninivite version of the epic (tablet VI).

A trace of this second tradition is found much later in a Syrian legend reported by Lucian of Samosata in *De dea syria*, 19-26³¹. *Κόμβαβος* who is none else but Humbaba³², appears there as the watchman of

³⁰ According to Th. JACOBSEN, *Ancient Mesopotamian Religion: The Central Concerns*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107, 1963, p. 473-484 (see p. 476, n. 6), *ir-ni-na* is an -a form corresponding to *irnittu*, « Victoria », and is an Akkadian translation of the Sumerian epithet *in-nin / nin₉* of the goddess Inanna. According to I.J. GELB, *The Name of the Goddess Innin*, in *JNES*, 19, 1960, p. 72-79 (see pp. 78-79), *ir-ni-na* is instead a Sumerian name of a distinct goddess: « Originally a river and an underworld goddess, she may have passed into the circle of Ištar if and when the written Irnina came to be pronounced as Innina ».

³¹ The classical edition of Lucian's writings remains that of C. JACOBITZ, *Lucianus Samosatensis* (Bibliotheca Teubneriana), 3 vols., Leipzig, 1860-1861. A special edition of *De dea syria* has been given by H.A. STRONG and J. GARSTANG, *The Syrian Goddess*, London, 1913.

³² This has already been suggested by Ch. VIROLLEAUD, *La Montagne des Cèdres dans les traditions de l'ancien Orient*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 101, 1930, p. 16-26 (see p. 23 ff.); J. PRZYLUŚKI, *Kubaba et Kombabos*, in *Revue Hittite et Asianique*, 5, 1938-1940, p. 205-209 (see p. 205-206); Id., *La Grande Déesse*, Paris, 1950, p. 185; V. VIKENTIEV, *art. cit.*, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts. Fouad I University*, 11/2, 1949, p. 108; B. GOLDMAN, *The Asiatic Ancestry of the Greek Gorgon*, in *Berytus*, 14, 1961, p. 1-22 (see p. 18-19); M.C. ASTOUR, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 186, n. 4, and p. 258-259, but has been denied in turn by other authors, as C. CLEMEN, *Lukians Schrift über die syrische Göttin* (Der Alte Orient, XXXVII/3-4), Leipzig, 1938, p. 39, n. 1; E. BENVENISTE, *La légende de Kombabos*, in *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* (BAH, XXX), Paris, 1939, vol. I, p. 249-258 (see p. 250-251, where the author agrees however that *Κόμβαβος* is a transcription of *Humbaba*, but he objects that these personages are as dissimilar as possible); G. GOOSSENS, *Hierapolis de Syrie*, Louvain, 1943, p. 43, n. 4, and p. 55, n. 4. Nevertheless, the original identity is strongly suggested by the fact that Humbaba was the guardian of the *parak Irnini* and that the love of Queen Stratonike for her watchman Kombabos is only a projection into history of a mythical account which narrated the love of Ištar-Astarte for her servant. Cf. G. GOOSSENS, *op. cit.*, p. 23, 45-46, 69, 190-192; M.C. ASTOUR, *op. cit.*, p. 258-259. Similar loves of the goddess are alluded to in the Ninivite version of the Gilgameš epos, tabl. VI, 46-78; the same motif also appears in the case of Gilgameš himself (tabl. VI), and a parallel story, that of Ešmun and Astronoë, is reported by DAMASCIUS, *Vita Isidori*, § 302, in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius (codex 242); cf. I. BEKKER (ed.), *Photii Bibliotheca*, I, Berlin, 1824, p. 352; J.-P. MIGNE (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, CIII, Paris, 1860, col. 1304. It is quite possible that the theme also appears in the poetic autobiography of Sargon of Akkad, better known as the Sargon Birth Legend. The king says in line 12: « While I was gardener, Ištar loved me ». This text has been discussed by H.G. GÜTERBOCK, *Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische*

Queen Stratonike in the legend concerning the construction of the sanctuary of Hierapolis (Manbiğ) ³³. Now, the great Aramaic goddess of Hierapolis was Atargatis ³⁴, a form of Ištar-Astarte ³⁵, whilst the name of Queen Stratonike obviously recalls Astarte ³⁶, invoked as Queen by Ešmun'azor II of Sidon in his inscription ³⁷ and recorded as such by Plutarch in his work *De Iside et Osiride*, chap. 15, 357 B ³⁸. Lucian mentions even another version of the tale, according to which, not the Queen, but the goddess of Hierapolis herself fell deeply in love (φιλέουσα) with Kombabos ³⁹. The legend reported by Lucian was thus inspired by a mythological tradition which regarded Humbaba as the watchman of Astarte and of her abode. According to the Niniuite version of the Gilgameš epos, this abode was situated in the recesses of a mountain, near a cedar forest. These indications strongly suggest localizing it at the famous spot of Afqa, near the source of the Nahr Ibrāhīm, the ancient river Adonis.

The worship of Astarte-Aphrodite at Afqa was specially notorious. In Afqa, according to Eusebius ⁴⁰, there was, as late as in the time

Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 42, 1934, p. 1-91; 44, 1938, p. 45-149 (see 42, 1934, p. 62-65). Cf. also A.K. GRAYSON - W.G. LAMBERT, *Akkadian Prophecies*, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 18, 1964, p. 7-30 (see p. 8 with n. 13). A recent English translation of the text was given by E.A. SPEISER, in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd ed., p. 119. Other oriental stories of that kind are recorded by E. BENVENISTE, *art. cit.*, and by A.H. KRAPPE, *Seleukos and Kombabos*, in *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, 1, 1946, p. 189-199. In any case, LUCIAN, *De dea syria*, 26, mentions also another version of the story, according to which the goddess Hera-Atargatis herself had loved Kombabos; cf. G. GOOSSENS, *op. cit.*, p. 36 and 191. — One can still add that the name of Huwawa/Humbaba is ordinarily written in the Mesopotamian sources with the determinative DINGIR of divine names and that the *Lexicon* of HESYCHIUS gives the explanation Κῦβαβος-θεός; cf. K. LATTE, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, II, E-K, Copenhagen, 1966, s.v.

³³ Cf. R. GANSCHENIETZ (GANSZYNIEC), *art. Kombabos*, in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XI/1, Stuttgart, 1921, col. 1132-1139.

³⁴ Lucian identifies her with Hera.

³⁵ Cf. G. GOOSSENS, *Hiérapolis de Syrie*, p. 57-60. It should be reminded that 'Attar is the Aramaic form corresponding to Ištar.

³⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 45-46, 69; V. VIKENTIEV, *art. cit.*, in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts. Fouad I University*, 11/2, 1949, p. 107; H.C. ASTOUR, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 258.

³⁷ Line 15. The text can be found in H. DONNER - W. RÖLLIG, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden, 1962-1964, No. 14.

³⁸ The best critical edition is now that of J.G. GRIFFITHS, *Plutarch. De Iside et Osiride. Edited with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Liverpool, 1970.

³⁹ LUCIAN, *De dea syria*, 26. Cf. G. GOOSSENS, *Hiérapolis de Syrie*, p. 36 and 191.

of Constantine the Great, a temple in which the old Phoenician fertility rites were still retained.

« This, he says, was a grove and a sacred enclosure, not situated, as most temples are, in the midst of a city, and of market-places, and of broad streets, but far away from either road or path, on the rocky slopes of Lebanon. It was dedicated to a shameful goddess, the goddess Aphrodite. A school of wickedness was this place for all such profligate persons as had ruined their bodies by excessive lust. The men there were soft and womanish — men no longer; with impure lust they thought to honour the deity. Criminal intercourse with women, secret pollutions, disgraceful and nameless deeds, were practised in the temple, where there was no restraining law, and no guardian to preserve decency ».

We may have to deal with reminiscences of this sanctuary's practices in the Ninivite version of the Gilgamesh epic. Even if the scene of tablet VI is actually laid in Uruk, the water in which Gilgamesh washed himself could recall the river Adonis (tabl. VI, 1). Ištar, who is attracted to the hero because of his achievements, pleads for his love, and invites him to perform the rite of the sacred marriage (tabl. VI, 6 ff.), behaves in conformity with the practices of the sanctuary of Afqa. But, in spite of all her entreaties, Gilgamesh refuses her advances and recalls to her mind the sad fate incurred by her previous lovers, first of all by Tammuz, for whom she had « ordained wailing year after year » (tabl. VI, 46-47). This passage refers to the annual festival of wailing for Tammuz (cf. Ez. 8,14), the Phoenician Adonis, whose annual death was precisely announced by the blood-red waters of the river Adonis, as recorded by Lucian in *De dea syria*, 8 :

« A river, flowing from Mount Lebanon, discharges itself into the sea : this river bears the name of Adonis. Every year regularly it is tinged with blood, and loses its proper colour before it falls into the sea ; it dyes the sea, to a large space, red, and thus announces their time of mourning to the Byblians. Their story is that during these days Adonis is wounded, and that the river's nature is changed by the blood which flows into its waters, and that it takes its name from this blood ».

We are told further in the Gilgamesh epos that « Ištar assembled the votaries, the prostitutes, and the harlots » to « set up a wail » (tabl. VI, 165-167). This too may reflect the mourning of Adonis at Afqa, even if the wail is actually set up over the right thigh of the Bull of Heaven (tabl. VI, 167), which is obviously a satire.

We may have to deal therefore in the Ninivite version with a combination of two different traditions. The new stream of the actual narrative seems to originate in the legend concerning the sanctuary of Astarte at Afqa in Lebanon, while traces of the older tradition can be found in the mention of the mountain which was the abode of the gods, and whose accesses were hidden by the Cedar Forest whose guardian was Humbaba. This mountain was, we believe, the Anti-Lebanon-Hermon, as will better appear in the following.

It is true that the Ninivite version mentions in this context the «Cedar Mountain» (tabl. V, col. V,6), which is usually identified with the Amanus range on the Mediterranean coast. In one of the inscriptions of Gudea, ensi of Lagaš, the *àm-a-num*, i.e. the Amanus, is in fact defined as *hur-sag-er-in-ta*, «cedar mountain»⁴¹, and Gudea relates that he procured from there cedar beams. The Old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh epos and the Ninivite version of tablets III and VIII mention however a «cedar forest». Also the first three lines of tablet V in the Ninivite version speak of a forest of cedars, whereas line 6 says that the cedars rise in front of the mountain⁴². It seems therefore that, from the point of view of the mytho-geographical traditions, «cedar mountain» is not an original expression in this context. It proceeds from the hand of a redactor living in a period when there was no longer a clear distinction between the traditional «cedar forest» and the equally traditional «cedar mountain». In fact, A. Poebel has rightly observed that the cedar mountain cannot be identified with the *gišTIR gišEREN*, «cedar forest», whose name first occurs in the inscriptions of Sargon of Akkad⁴³. He thought that «the cedar forest has to be sought further south, as far south perhaps as Lebanon and Antilebanon»⁴⁴. His opinion is now confirmed by the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh epos, which precisely locates the Cedar Forest in the Lebanon

⁴¹ Statue B, col. v, 28. The passage has been translated by A.L. OPPENHEIM in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd ed., p. 269.

⁴² Tabl. V, col. I, 7. The text has the singular «cedar», probably in a collective sense.

⁴³ So on the famous Nippur tablet; cf. H. HIRSCH, *Die Inschriften der Könige von Akkad*, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 20, 1963, p. 1-82 (see p. 38, lines 25-26//31-32, and p. 49, line x + 30). The first of these passages has been translated by A.L. OPPENHEIM in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd ed., p. 268.

⁴⁴ A. POEBEL, *Historical Texts* (University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section, IV/1), Philadelphia, 1914, p. 223-224.

and Antilebanon. As this forest, as well as that in Sargon's inscriptions, is mentioned without any other specification, it is evidently understood to be the well-known Cedar Forest.

Now, the Antilebanon-Hermon was in fact reputed for its cedars as well as the Amanus and the Lebanon, from which Solomon had imported the cedars for the building of the Temple ⁴⁵. In the building of Ba'al's palace on Mount Šapān, the cedars of the Antilebanon-Hermon (Šaryān) were used rather than the cedars of the neighbouring Amanus range :

y[tl]k. ūbnn. w'sh	« They proceed to Lebanon with its trees,
l[šr]yn. mḥmd. 'arzh	to Šaryān, precious for its cedars.
h[lm. l]bnn. w'sh	They hammered Lebanon with its trees,
š[r]yn. mḥmd. 'arzh ⁴⁶ .	Šaryān, precious for its cedars».

In the *lipšur* litanies, the Antilebanon-Hermon, called by its name of *Sirāra* or *Sirā*, is characterized as KUR *e-re-ni*, « cedar mountain » ⁴⁷, whereas the Lebanon is described as KUR GIŠ.ŠUR.MAN, « cypress mountain » ⁴⁸. In the inscriptions of Sennacherib and of Esarhaddon, cedar and cypress or pine trees are presented as products of the Amanus and the *Sirāra* ⁴⁹, of the *Sirāra* and the Lebanon ⁵⁰, or especially of the *Sirāra* mountains ⁵¹. Assurbanipal states that for the erection of

⁴⁵ I Kings 5,20.23-24.28; 7,2. Cuneiform sources likewise mention the bringing of cedars taken from the Lebanon for the construction of palaces and temples. Some references are given in the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, IV, E, Glückstadt-Chicago, 1958, p. 274-275.

⁴⁶ CTA 4 (II AB), VI, 18-21; UT 51, VI, 18-21.

⁴⁷ E. REINER, *art. cit.*, in *JNES*, 15, 1956, p. 132, line 8; cf. p. 133, n. 8. — We can observe here that the name « cedar mountain » is not reserved any more for the Amanus range.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 132, line 9. — The translation « cypress » of the word *šurmēnu* is challenged by A. MALAMAT, *Campaigns to the Mediterranean by Iahdunlim and Other Early Mesopotamian Rulers*, in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* (Assyriological Studies, 16), Chicago, 1965, p. 365-373 (see p. 368-369), who thinks that this tree belongs rather to the juniper family.

⁴⁹ D.D. LUCKENBILL, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 106, col. v, 23-25; p. 119, lines 22-23.

⁵⁰ R. BORGER, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO, Beih. 9), Graz, 1956, p. 5, col. VI, 7-8; p. 60-61, col. v, 75. This passage has been translated by A.L. OPPENHEIM in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd ed., p. 291.

⁵¹ D.D. LUCKENBILL, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 107, col. v, 50-53; p. 120, lines 38-40; R. BORGER, *op. cit.*, p. 87, obv., line 21.

his palace he had employed large cedar-planks from the Sirāra and the Lebanon⁵². The parallelism found in the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epos between the Cedar Forest and the Lebanon and Antilebanon-Hermon ranges is thus confirmed by later texts, which describe these mountains, and above all the Antilebanon-Hermon, as the cedars' country.

The giant of these mountain ranges is the actual Ġebel eš-Šēḫ, 2814 m. high and visible from far off. The southern range of the Antilebanon is therefore likely to be the mountain in whose recesses the Anunnaki dwelled according to the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgameš epos. In the Old Babylonian period the Anunnaki were still the gods in general, which is confirmed by the Ninivite version speaking of *mūšab ilī* (tabl. V, col. I,6) instead of *mūšab Enunaki*. The later tradition tended to distinguish the Anunnaki and the Igigi⁵³. Mount Hermon should thus be identified with the dwelling of the gods.

The name of **Šaryān* also occurs, in association with *Lablani/a*-Lebanon in Akkadian⁵⁴, Hittite⁵⁵, and Hurrian⁵⁶ texts from Boğazköy, in which these deified mountains⁵⁷ are invoked as divine guaran-

⁵² M. STRECK, *Assurbanipal*, II, p. 88, line 98; p. 170, lines 45-46.

⁵³ Recent literature on the Anunnaki and Igigi is plentiful: W. VON SODEN, *Babylonische Göttergruppen: Igigu und Anunnaku. Zum Bedeutungswandel theologischer Begriffe*, in *Compte rendu de l'Onzième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Leiden, 1964, p. 102-111; ID., *Die Igigu-Götter in altbabylonischer Zeit*, in *Iraq*, 28, 1966, p. 140-145; A. FALKENSTEIN, *Die Anunna in der sumerischen Überlieferung*, in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* (Assyriological Studies, 16), Chicago, 1965, p. 127-140; B. KIENAST, *Igigū und Anunnakū nach den akkadischen Quellen*, *ibid.*, p. 141-158.

⁵⁴ H.H. FIGULLA - E.F. WEIDNER, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, I (WVDOG, 30/1), Berlin, 1916, No. 4, rev., col. iv, 28; E.F. WEIDNER, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, III, Berlin, 1922, No. 7, lines 3-4. Cf. E. WEIDNER, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien: Die Staatsverträge in akkadischer Sprache aus dem Archiv von Boghazköi* (Boghazköi-Studien, 8-9), Leipzig, 1923, No. 3 (p. 68, line 36), and No. 4 (p. 74, lines 3-4).

⁵⁵ FR.(B.) HROZNÝ, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, V (WVDOG, 36/1), Berlin, 1921, No. 9, rev., col. iv, 11. Cf. D.D. LUCKENBILL, *Assyriological Notes*, in *AJSL*, 39, 1922-1923, p. 56-65 (see p. 64); J. FRIEDRICH, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache*, I (MVAG, 31/1), Leipzig, 1926, p. 22, col. iv, 11, cf. p. 47.

⁵⁶ C.-G. VON BRANDENSTEIN, *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, XXVII, Berlin, 1934, No. 14, col. III, 7. Cf. ID., *Zum churrischen Lexikon*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 46, 1940, p. 83-115 (see p. 92).

⁵⁷ We have here to deal with deified mountains, and not with their Ba'als, as thought A. JIRKU, *Der Ba'al Lebanon in den Keilschrifturkunden von Boghazköj*, in *OLZ*, 26, 1923, col. 4-5.

tees of international treaties ⁵⁸. Also in the *lipšur* litanies, the Hermon-Sirāra is mentioned together with the Lebanon as a sacred mountain :

KUR *Si-ra-ra* (var. [*Si-r*]a-a) *lipšur* (MIN) KUR *e-re-ni*

KUR *Lab-na-na lipšur* (MIN) KUR GIŠ.ŠUR.MAN ⁵⁹.

« May Mount Sirāra absolve, the cedar mountain.

May Mount Lebanon absolve, the cypress mountain » ⁶⁰.

In Ps. 89, 13, Tabor and Hermon are personified. Now, Mount Tabor was most likely an old place of worship, as is generally admitted in consideration of Deut. 33, 18-19 and Hos. 5, 1 ⁶¹, and it was still considered as a holy place in the beginning of our era ⁶². It may reasonably be inferred therefore that also Mount Hermon was a sacred mountain.

In fact, Eusebius of Caesarea testifies of its holiness in his *Onomasticon* : Φασὶν δὲ εἰς ἔτι νῦν Ἀερμῶν ὄρος ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ ὡς ἱερὸν τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν, « and they say that it is called until

⁵⁸ Cf. A. GUSTAVS, *Die syrischen Berge Šā-ri-ja-na und Bi-i-šā-i-šā in den Boghazköi-Texten*, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 42, 1924, p. 154-155; É. DHORME, *Les Amorhéens*, in *Recueil Édouard Dhorme*, Paris, 1951, p. 138-139 and 141.

⁵⁹ E. REINER, *art. cit.*, in *JNES*, 15, 1956, p. 132, lines 8-9, and p. 133, n. 8.

⁶⁰ Identical equations appear also in the lexical series *ḪAR-ra* = *ḫubullu*, tabl. XXII, 6'-7', with the spellings KUR *Si-ra-a* or *Si-ra-a-ra* and KUR *La-ab-na-nu* or *La-ab-na-na*. Cf. E. REINER, *art. cit.*, p. 146 and 147, n. 1 and 2.

⁶¹ Cf. E. MEYER, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle, 1906, p. 538; J. BOEHMER, *Tabor, Hermon und andere Hauptberge*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 12, 1909, p. 313-321; A. ALT, *Eine galiläische Ortsliste in Jos 19.*, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 45, 1927, p. 59-81 (see p. 75); H.-W. HERTZBERG, *Die Melkišedeq-Traditionen*, in *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 8, 1928, p. 168-179, reprinted in H.-W. HERTZBERG, *Beiträge zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Göttingen, 1962, p. 36-44; J. BOEHMER, *Der Name Tabor*, in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, 7, 1929, p. 161-169 (esp. p. 163); O. EISSFELDT, *Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 31, 1934, p. 14-41 (esp. p. 14-15), reprinted in O. EISSFELDT, *Kleine Schriften*, II, Tübingen, 1963, p. 29-54 (esp. p. 29-30); J. LEWY, *Tabor, Tibar, Atabyros*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 23/1, 1950-1951, p. 357-386 (esp. p. 357).

⁶² This is shown by the fact that the Christian tradition located there the exaltation of Jesus after his temptations in the desert and also his Transfiguration. Origenes quotes twice a passage from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, from the end of the first century A.D., where Jesus, after his temptations, is said to have been transferred by the Holy Ghost εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβάρ. Cf. M.-J. LAGRANGE, *L'Évangile selon les Hébreux*, in *Revue Biblique*, 31, 1922, p. 161-181, 321-349 (see p. 172-173, cf. p. 331, where the passage is further commented). From the fourth century on, the Patristic tradition locates on Mount Tabor also the Transfiguration of Jesus. Cf. F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, p. 355.

now Mount Hermon and that it is venerated as holy by the pagans »⁶³. Several villages of the Hermon range show still traces of temples from the Greek-Roman period, and some interesting inscriptions were found in the same region⁶⁴. A text discovered in Qal'at Gandal and dating from 282 A.D. is dedicated by a priest to Zeus Megistos, Διὶ μεγίστῳ⁶⁵, who is likely to be the Ba'al Hermōn of the Bible⁶⁶. Zeus is in fact the Greek equivalent of Ba'al, the Canaanite storm-god⁶⁷. Another inscription, found in Qatana, at the foot of Hermon, testifies of the cult of Λευκοθέα⁶⁸, which was in that period a Greek appellation of Astarte⁶⁹, the bride of Ba'al. The same Ζεὺς μέγιστος was vener-

⁶³ E. KLOSTERMANN, *Eusebius. Werke*, III/1, *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (GCS, 11/1), Leipzig, 1904, p. 20.

⁶⁴ Cf. Ch. WARREN, *The Temples of Coele-Syria and Our Summer in the Lebanon*, in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement*, 1, 1869-1870, p. 183-210 and 215-242, cf. p. 328-329; R. DUSSAUD, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (BAH, IV), Paris, 1927, p. 389-395.

⁶⁵ Ch. FOSSEY, *Inscriptions de Syrie*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 21, 1897, p. 39-65 (see p. 63, No. 72, line 2).

⁶⁶ Cf. Judg. 3,3; I Chron. 5,23.

⁶⁷ The Greeks equated Ba'al with Zeus at least from the beginning of the fifth century B.C. on, since HERODOTUS, *The Histories*, I, 181 and III, 158, explicitly identifies Zeus with the Babylonian Βῆλος, i.e., Marduk. Now, this equation implies a previous identification of Zeus with the Phoenician Ba'al, since the nature of Marduk would not justify by itself an equation with the Greek storm-god.

⁶⁸ The inscription is in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, in Brussels. Cf. Fr. CUMONT, *Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire*, 2nd ed., Bruxelles, 1913, p. 166 ff., No. 141, where the older bibliography is given. The text can also be found in W. DITTENBERGER, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones selectae*, Leipzig, 1903-1905, No. 611, and in R. CAGNAT, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, III, Paris, 1906, No. 1075. We can still mention in particular the study of Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, II, Paris, 1898, p. 63-78 and 98-101.

⁶⁹ Cf. P. PERDRIZET, *Légendes babyloniennes dans les Métamorphoses d'Ovide*, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 105, 1932, p. 193-228 (see p. 208-209); R. MOUTERDE, *Monuments et inscriptions de Syrie et du Liban*, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, 25, 1942-1943, p. 21-79 (see p. 69-73); R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, *Éli et ses épouses vus par Philon de Byblos*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire offerts à Jérôme Carcopino*, Paris, 1966, p. 271-288 (see p. 276); E. LIPÍŃSKI, *La fête de l'ensevelissement et de la résurrection de Melqart*, in *Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Ham-sur-Heure, 1970, p. 30-58 (see p. 37). The name Λευκοθέα might have been understood as an allusion to the shining of the Venus star, supposed to be white and to whiten everything. It is interesting to note that this conception is actually attested in the Sumerian Temple Hymn, No. 26, lines 323-324, in honor of the shrine of Inanna, the Sumerian evening star, « who makes (everything as) clean (as) the whitest

ated under the name of *Θεὸς μέγιστος* also on Hermon's summit, where a sanctuary has been discovered with an oval precinct enclosed by a wall of hewn stones ⁷⁰. To the north-west of the precinct, in the place called *el-Mutābhiyāt*, Ch. Warren has found the following Greek inscription ⁷¹, which is conserved in two pieces in the Museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in London : *κατὰ κέλευσιν θεοῦ μεγίστου κ(αὶ) ἁγίου ὁ(=οἱ) ὁμνύοντες ἐντεῦθεν*, « By order of the greatest and holy god, those who swore — from here ». This text has been deciphered and commented by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau ⁷². The adverb *ἐντεῦθεν*, he thinks, probably indicates the place from which the sworn devotees had to proceed in procession. The mention of these *ὁμνύοντες* is important. Indeed, the cultual oath so alluded to in the inscription has rightly been related by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau ⁷³ to the episode of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch or I Enoch, chapters VI to XI, where Mount Hermon appears precisely as the mountain of the oath.

The sons of God were attracted by the beauty of the daughters of men and decided to take them as wives (comp. Gen. 6,1-4). But their chief Semyāzā feared that they would renounce to accomplish their decision :

« And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the

of things, ... ; through her the firmament is made beautiful in the evening »; cf. Å.W. SJÖBERG - E. BERGMANN, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns* (Texts from Cuneiform Sources, III), Glückstadt - New York, 1969, p. 36. However, the name of *Λευκοθέα* was applied in Homeric times to Ino, the daughter of Kadmos (cf. *Odyssey*, V, 333-334), and this use is still attested in the *Orphic Hymn*, I, 35. The temple of Ino on the Delos island was called *Λευκόθειον* (PINDARUS, *Pythiae*, XI, 2).

⁷⁰ The spot has been described by Ch. WARREN, *Summit of Hermon*, in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement*, I, 1869-1870, p. 210-215, and by V. GUÉRIN, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*, III, *Galilée*, II, Paris, 1880, p. 290-295.

⁷¹ Cf. Ch. WARREN, in *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement*, I, 1869-1870, p. 213, 239, 241, 328.

⁷² Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Le Mont Hermon et son dieu d'après une inscription inédite*, in *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, V, Paris, 1903, p. 346-366 and pl. VIII. Cf. *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich-Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 19, 1904, p. 215; F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, p. 348.

⁷³ Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *art. cit.*, p. 354-366. Cf. also A. LODS, *La chute des anges. Origine et portée de cette spéculation*, in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 7, 1927, p. 295-315 (see p. 306-307).

children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another : 'Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children'. And Semyāzā, who was their leader, said unto them : 'I fear ye will not indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin'. And they all answered him and said : 'Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations not to abandon this plan but to do this thing'. Then swore they all together and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred, who descended in the days of the Yarid on the summit of Mount Hermon, because they had sworn and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it » ⁷⁴.

The word *yarīd*, transcribed in the Greek Ἰάρεδ (I Enoch 6,6), is not the name of a person, as authors generally believe, but a cultic term denoting the rite of hydrophory, which consisted in going down to a well in order to draw water out of it and bring it up in procession to pour it out as a libation. This results from the complete name of the ceremony, ἐς τὴν λίμνην κατάβασις, reported by Lucian, *De dea syria*, 47, and from its partial description in the tractate *Sukkā*, iv, 9, of the Mishnah and of the Tosephta ⁷⁵. Lucian characterizes that festival, celebrated in Hierapolis (Manbiğ), as πανηγύριες μέγισται ⁷⁶, and, in Jerusalem, the drawing of water from the Pool of Shiloah was one of the leading features of the post-exilic Feast of Sukkōt ⁷⁷. The Semitic name *yarīd*, translated κατάβασις by Lucian and left without any translation in I Enoch 6,6 ⁷⁸, occurs several times in the Talmud which mentions the *yarīd* of 'Ēn-Bekī, 'Akko, Gaza, Tyre,

⁷⁴ I Enoch 6, 1-6. The translation follows that of R.H. CHARLES, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II, *Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, 1913, p. 191. The passages conserved in Greek can be found in R.H. CHARLES, *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1893. A variant of this tale is reported by Syriac authors; cf. Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *art. cit.*, p. 359-361; A. LODS, *art. cit.*, p. 297-298.

⁷⁵ Cf. also Zech. 14, 17, and the Talmud of Babylon, *Sukkā*, 50a-53b.

⁷⁶ LUCIAN, *De dea syria*, 47: πανηγύριες τε μέγισται, κάλειονται δὲ ἐς τὴν λίμνην καταβάσεις.

⁷⁷ Cf. D. FEUCHTWANG, *Das Wasseropfer und die damit verbundenen Zeremonien*, Breslau, 1911 (reprint from the *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 54, 1910; and 55, 1911); N.H. SNAITH, *The Jewish New Year Festival. Its Origins and Development*, London, 1947, p. 67-68; E.L. EHRLICH, *Kultsymbolik im Alten Testament und im nachbiblischen Judentum* (Symbolik der Religionen, III), Stuttgart, 1959, p. 54-58. The rite is already mentioned in Is. 12,3 and, therefore, does not seem to be a post-exilic innovation in the ritual of the feast, contrary to the opinion of E.L. Ehrlich.

⁷⁸ But the same Greek root is used in the sentence: οἱ καταβάντες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰάρεδ εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ Ἑρμονιεύμ ὄρους.

and Boṭnā ⁷⁹. A similar ceremony is attested in Mambre, near Hebron ⁸⁰ in Afqa, at the source of the Nahr Ibrāhīm ⁸¹, and also on Mount Hermon, since the sons of God descended precisely on its summit «in the days of the *yarīd*» ⁸². According to Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, the hole cut out on Hermon's peak, in the centre of the precinct, may have been the place the worshippers poured the water into ⁸³. Such rites seem to be archaic, since they were originally supposed

⁷⁹ Talmud of Jerusalem, 'Abōdā zārā, I, 4 (39d); Talmud of Babylon, 'Abōdā zārā, 11b. Cf. G. HOFFMANN, *Aramäische Inschriften aus Nérab bei Aleppo. Neue und alte Götter*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 11, 1896, p. 207-292 (see p. 241 and 246); I. LÉVY, *Cultes et rites syriens dans le Talmud*, in *Revue des Études Juives*, 43, 1901, p. 183-205. The *yarīd* of Tyre, mentioned in the Talmud of Jerusalem, 'Abōdā zārā, I, 4 (39d), appears from the context as being identical with the *Actia Heraclia* in honor of Melqart-Herakles. According to the text, R. Simon ben Yoḥanan had read in Tyre the following inscription: «I, Diocletian the king, have instituted this *yarīd* of Tyre in honor of its genius — which is Herakles my brother — for eight days». The passage has already been quoted by E. RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie. Texte*, Paris, 1864, p. 540; J. FÜRST, *Zur Erklärung griechischer Lehnwörter in Talmud und Midrasch*, in *ZDMG*, 48 1894, p. 685-691 (see p. 685-686); I. LÉVI, *art. cit.*, *REJ*, 43, 1901, p. 196, who have misunderstood its sense. On that festival and its meaning, one can see E. LIPÍŃSKI, *La fête de l'ensevelissement et de la résurrection de Melqart*, in *Actes de la XVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Ham-sur-Heure, 1970, p. 30-58. — The place called Boṭnā', Buṭnā' or Boṭnān (Midrash Rabbā on Genesis, 47) may be the spring of Batnān, near Harran, where a similar feast was celebrated; cf. H. STOCKS, *Studien zu Lukians «De Syria Dea»*, in *Berytus*, 4, 1937, p. 1-40 (see p. 39, cf. p. 27-28, 37-38).

⁸⁰ Cf. SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 4, 5. Critical edition by J. BIDEZ and G.C. HANSEN, *Sozomenus. Kirchengeschichte* (GCS, 50), Berlin, 1960, p. 55.

⁸¹ SOZOMEN, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II, 5; ZOSIMUS, *Historia nova* (ed. by L. Mendelssohn, Leipzig, 1887), I, 58. Cf. F.K. MOVERS, *Die Phönizier*, I, *Untersuchungen über die Religion und die Gottheiten der Phönizier*, Bonn, 1841 (reprint: Aalen, 1967), p. 279, 589, 666-667; W.R. SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., London, 1894 (reprint: New York, 1959), p. 107, 175; M.-J. LAGRANGE, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1905, p. 159.

⁸² I Enoch 6,6. This feast was quite likely the most popular one and gathered the largest number of people, just as in Hierapolis according to LUCIAN, *De dea syria*, 13, 33, 36, 48. Cf. G. GOOSSENS, *Hierapolis de Syrie*, p. 131.

⁸³ Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, V, p. 365-366. Cf. Ch. WARREN, *art. cit.*, *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement*, 1, 1869-1870, p. 212 and fig. on p. 211. This would agree with the testimony of LUCIAN, *De dea syria*, 13 and 48, who reports that, in Hierapolis, the water was poured out in a rift under the temple to commemorate the deluge. According to a later Syriac tradition, the rite's aim was not to let an evil spirit come out of the rift; so PSEUDO-MELITON, *Apology*, in W. CURETON, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1848, p. 44-45. Cf. G. GOOSSENS, *Hierapolis de Syrie*, p. 47-48, 51, 67, 70, 129. A. SCHMIDT, *La grotte de Hierapolis-Menbidj*, in *Syria*, 10, 1929, p. 178-179, has tried to localize this rift. Cf. also G. GOOSSENS, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

to cause abundant rains and belonged thus to the sympathetic magic ⁸⁴. The myth of the descent of heavenly beings on the summit of Mount Hermon may as well reflect an old tradition which considered this mountain as the dwelling of the gods. The Old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh epos would then be its oldest known expression.

The sacred character of the surroundings of Mount Hermon appears further in I Enoch 13,7-9. This passage tells us how Enoch himself got in dream a heavenly revelation, when he was resting near the waters of Dan, south-east of Hermon : ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων Δὰν ἐν γῇ Δὰν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἑρμωνειὲν δύσεως (I Enoch 13,7), « at the waters of Dan, in the land of Dan, which is to the south of the west of Hermon » ⁸⁵. The « waters of Dan » are one of the two main sources of the Jordan, fed by the melting snows of Mount Hermon. The Arabic name of the spring is 'Ain el-Qādi. It starts underground near the south-western slopes of the mountain.

Enoch is ordered in that dream to go and reprimand the heavenly beings who had descended on the summit of Mount Hermon. He finds them gathered together, weeping « in Ebelsata, which is between Lebanon and Senisêl », ἐν Ἐβελσατὰ ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Λιβάνου καὶ Σενισήλ (I Enoch 13,9). The Greek *EBELCATA* comes from an earlier *EBELCAIA*, as shown by the Ethiopic 'Abelsya'il ⁸⁶. The form *EBELCAIA* can in its turn be explained by the Hebrew 'Ābēl-mayim or the Aramaic 'Ābēl-mayin, since ɲ could easily be

⁸⁴ M.-J. LAGRANGE, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1905, p. 167-168; J.G. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, I, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, 3rd ed., London, 1911, p. 251; H.A. STRONG - J. GARSTANG, *The Syrian Goddess*, London, 1913, p. 82, n. 59; R. DUSSAUD, *Les origines sémitiques du sacrifice israélite*, Paris, 1921, p. 204; H. GRESSMANN, *Der heilige Hahn zu Hierapolis in Syrien*, in *Vom Alten Testament. Karl Marti zum siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet* (BZAW, 41), Giessen, 1925, p. 88-95 (see p. 93-95); W.R. SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed., London, 1927, p. 232; H. STOCKS, *art. cit.*, in *Berytus*, 4, 1937, p. 23-28; G. GOOSSENS, *Hiéropolis de Syrie*, p. 48, 51, 71-72. Cf. also the ancient text of I Sam. 7,6 and its comment in E. LIPIŃSKI, *La liturgie pénitentielle dans la Bible*, Paris, 1969, p. 40, cf. p. 84-85.

⁸⁵ The form Ἑρμωνειὲν might reflect an Aramaic *Hermōnayin*, with the characteristic ending *-ayin* of place-names. The corresponding Hebrew form is attested in Greek transcription in I Enoch 6,6 (Ἑρμωνίμ). In the Septuagint version of Ps. 42(41),7 and 89(88),13 we find Ἑρμωνίμ (var. Ἑρμων in Ps. 89[88],13). It might be inferred from the forms of I Enoch that the alleged Hebrew plural of Ps. 42,7 is to be read *Hermōnayim*, with the ending *-ayim* of place-names.

⁸⁶ It is a well-known fact that *I* could easily be taken for *T*, and *A* for an *A*.

confused with ϕ in some Jewish scripts of the second and first century B.C.⁸⁷ This place is identical with the older 'Ābēl-bēt-ma'ākā, as shown by a comparison between I Kings 15,20 and II Chron. 16,4. It is simply called 'Ābēl in II Sam. 20,18, and this name is still kept in the one of Tell Ābil, situated just south of Metulla, the modern frontier village of Israel⁸⁸. In the vicinity of 'Ābēl the Hūle valley descends quite suddenly, and one of the smaller sources of the Jordan, which passes near 'Ābēl, leaps over this step in a gushing waterfall⁸⁹. The south-eastern slopes of Mount Lebanon end west of 'Ābēl, at the brink of the River Liṭāni; east of 'Ābēl emerges the snow-covered Mount Hermon. It is called Σεμισήλ in the Greek text of I Enoch 13,9, and *Seniser* in the Ethiopic version. The original name was obviously *Senīr*, found in Deut. 3,9; Ez. 27,5; I Chron. 5,35; Cant. 4,8⁹⁰. This was thus the place where the heavenly beings gathered weeping, since 'ābēl means «mourning». But, independently of this folk etymology, their weeping reflects probably a ritual practice, just as their oath on the summit of Mount Hermon does. The Babylonian Talmud locates in fact Micah's idol of Judg. 17-18 in a place called *Bekī*, «weeping», which is likely to be in the neighbourhood of Dan⁹¹. The full name of that place was probably 'Ēn *Bekī*, «Source of Weeping», which would be the smaller source of the Jordan near 'Ābēl-mayim. The Talmud mentions actually the «yarīd of 'Ēn *Bekī*», which was probably at the origin of the gathering of the heavenly beings at 'Ābēl-mayim⁹², where Enoch came to reprimand them in God's name.

⁸⁷ Cf. J.T. MILIK, *Le Testament de Lévi en araméen. Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrān*, in *Revue Biblique*, 62, 1955, p. 398-406 with pl. IV (see p. 404 with n. 3).

⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 403.

⁸⁹ Cf. G. DALMAN, *Abel Beth Maacha*, in *Palästina-jahrbuch*, 10, 1914, p. 45-46.

⁹⁰ See above, p. 17, n. 22.

⁹¹ Talmud of Babylon, *Pesāḥim*, 117. M. OPPENHEIM, in *Hamagīd*, 1867, p. 29, had suggested to identify *Bekī* with Baalbek.

⁹² Talmud of Babylon, 'Abōdā zārā, 11 b: *yarīd še-be'ēn bekī*. A. NEUBAUER, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 298, and I. LÉVY, *art. cit.*, in *REJ*, 43, 1901, p. 194, identify this place with Baalbek and consider its name as a variant of *ba'al bekī*, found in the Mishnah, *Ma'aserōt*, v, 8. But the *šūm ba'al bekī*, mentioned there, is rather the «weeping-garlic», i.e., so strong that it makes the eyes water. Cf. H. DANBY, *The Mishnah*, London, 1933, p. 73, n. 3. In fact, when the Midrash Rabbā to *Qohelet* 5,8 mentions later «the wine of Baalbek», *yyn Blbqy*, the name of the city is written *Blbq*. The full name was perhaps *Ba'al-beq'ā*.

According to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs ⁹³, also Levi, the forefather of the priestly tribe, got a revelation near Mount Hermon. A fragment of the original Aramaic text of the Testament of Levi, dealing precisely with that episode, has been found in cave 4 of Qumrān and edited by J.T. Milik ⁹⁴. According to this Aramaic text, Levi had prayed the Lord in 'Ābēl-mayin (col. II,13), corrupted in Greek into 'Αβελμαούλ/μ (Levi 2,3). Enoch had found on the same spot the mourning sons of God, as seen above. After his prayer Levi goes to sleep : he is on a neighbouring high mountain, which reaches up to the heavens, and he has there in a dream a celestial revelation. This mountain is obviously Mount Hermon. According to the Greek text its name is τὸ ὄρος Ἀσπίς, « Mount Shield » (Levi 6,1). But this can be only an approximate translation of the Aramaic word *siryōn*, « breastplate », which happens also to be the name of Mount Hermon ⁹⁵. This mountain is considered in the text as the cosmic mountain which joins earth to heaven, as clearly appears from the

⁹³ There is a recent edition of the most reliable manuscript by M. DE JONGE, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum. Edited according to Cambridge University MS Ff 1.24, fol. 203a-262b. With Short Notes* (Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece, I), Leiden, 1964. But the edition of R.H. CHARLES, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, edited from nine MSS. together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and Some Hebrew Fragments*, Oxford, 1908, remains indispensable. A reliable translation can be found in R.H. CHARLES, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, translated from the Editor's Greek Text and edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, London, 1908, or ID., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II, *Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, 1913, p. 282-367. A recent study of the origins and formation of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is that of J. BECKER, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums, VIII), Leiden-Köln, 1970.

⁹⁴ J.T. MILIK, *Le Testament de Lévi en araméen. Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrān*, in *Revue Biblique*, 62, 1955, p. 398-406 with pl. iv.

⁹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 404. The proto-semitic *śin* becomes a *samek* in Middle Aramaic; hence *siryān* or *siryōn* > *Siryān* or *Siryōn*. According to C.-G. VON BRANDENSTEIN, *Zum churrischen Lexikon*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 46, 1940, p. 83-115 (see p. 104-105), « breastplate » would be the original meaning of this mountain's name, which he translates by « Panzergebirge ». — The location of the mountain in the Greek text of the Testament of Levi 6,1 allows no conclusion : καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὄρους Ἀσπίς, ὅτι ἐγγὺς Γεβάλ, ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἀβιλᾶ (M. DE JONGE, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum*, p. 13), unless Γεβάλ is not Byblos but the « border » of the Land of Israel or the « Highland » of the Lebanon-Antilebanon ranges, and unless Ἀβιλᾶ is not the city of Abila in Galaad, but 'Ābēl(-bēt-ma'ākā).

introduction of Levi's account of his vision, as read in the Greek translation :

« When I was feeding the flocks in 'Ābēl-mayin, the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me, and I saw all men corrupting their way, and that unrighteousness had built for itself walls, and lawlessness sat upon towers. And I was grieving for the race of the sons of men, and I prayed to the Lord that I might be saved. Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain, and I was upon it. And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me : 'Levi, enter'. And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging »⁹⁶.

This « great sea » is the celestial reservoir whence rain comes. The text says further that « the lowest heaven has snow and ice made ready for the day of judgment »⁹⁷. This is a clear allusion to the eternal snows of Mount Hermon. In fact, during the winter time the snow extends down the mountain slopes for about 1500 m. ; it gradually melts away as spring advances, until in September very little is left, and this only in the crevices where the sun is unable to penetrate. But already in November snow begins to cover the mountain again. The Targums of Deut. 3,9 and Cant. 4,8 call it in fact *Tūr Talgā*, « Mountain of the Snow »⁹⁸, and this name is also adopted by the *Siphre* on Numbers⁹⁹ and by the Samaritan version of Deut. 4,48. Also the oldest Arabic name of the mountain was *Ġebel et-Telġ*, attested ca. 600 A.D. by the poet Hassān ibn Ṭābit¹⁰⁰.

The preserved part of the Aramaic original is slightly different from the Greek text :

« And I saw the heavens open and I beheld under me a very high mountain that reached up to heavens, and I stayed upon it. And the doors of the heavens were opened and an angel said to me ... ».

In both versions Mount Hermon is the cosmic mountain which joins the earth with the lowest heaven. The same conception lies behind the episode of the sons of God in the Book of Enoch. The celestial

⁹⁶ Levi 2,3-7. The translation follows that of R.H. CHARLES, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, II, p. 304.

⁹⁷ Levi 3,2. Cf. R.H. CHARLES, *op. cit.*, II, p. 305.

⁹⁸ A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic*, I, *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos*, Leiden, 1959, p. 294; IV A, *The Hagiographa*, Leiden, 1968, p. 134.

⁹⁹ *Siphre* on Numbers, ed. M. Friedmann, p. 476 (section *Balaq*).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. H. LAMMENS, art. *Lubnān*, in *Enzyklopädie der Islam*, III, Leiden-Leipzig, 1936, p. 34-36 (esp. p. 35).

beings gather on the summit of Mount Hermon because this is the mountain of the gods, the Canaanite Olympus. The tradition echoed in the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh epos was thus alive still in the second and first centuries B.C., and apparently also in the early centuries A.D.

A christian text of the first century may in fact be mentioned here. According to Matth. 16,13 and Marc 8,27, Jesus went once with his disciples to Caesarea Philippi, where was the other main source of the Jordan. According to Matth. 16,18, Jesus there told Petrus: « You are the Rock, and on this rock I will build my assembly, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it ». The sentence has obviously an Aramaic origin, since *πέτρος* and *πέτρα* translate the Aramaic word *kēphā'*, « the rock », *ἐκκλησία* corresponds to *qāhāl* or *'ēdā*, and the *πίλοι* *ἄδου* are the *šā'arē šē'ōl* or *tar'ē šē'ōl* (cf. Is. 38,10). Now, in the context of Caesarea Philippi, the « Rock » is likely to be the peak of Mount Hermon rather than the 30 m. high cliff which overhangs the entrance of the cave of Bāniās ¹⁰¹. The « assembly » of Jesus, *μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, which will be founded on that Rock, seems to presuppose other « assemblies » gathering on Mount Hermon. One could think of the pagan meetings attested by the inscription found on the spot of el-Mutābhiyāt, or of the heavenly assembly from the Book of Enoch, which reflects most likely an old mythological tradition. The mention of « the gates of the Sheol » would then indicate that Mount Hermon was also believed to hide in its slopes the gates of the underworld ¹⁰². The passage added to his main sources by the author of the Gospel according to Matthew would thus testify a knowledge of mythical ideas connected with Mount Hermon.

The problem is now whether this holy mountain can be the abode of El, as known from the Ugaritic myths, or no.

The mountainous character of El's abode is assured by the use of the term *hršn* and of the expressions *gr ll* and *gr ks*, all denoting his dwelling place ¹⁰³. Their meaning shall be explained further on. The phrases

¹⁰¹ This second location has been suggested by O. IMMISCH, *Matthäus 16,18*, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 17, 1916, p. 18-26.

¹⁰² Also Is. 14,12-15 seems to imply that the Sheol is at the foot of the divine mountain. Cf. P. GRELOT, *art. cit.*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 41.

¹⁰³ For *hršn*, see CTA 1 (VI AB), II,23 and III,22; UT 'nt pl. ix, II,23 and III,22. For *gr ll*, see CTA 2 (III AB), I,14 and 20; UT 137, 14 and 20. For *gr ks*, see CTA 1 (VI AB), III,12; UT 'nt pl. ix, III,12.

'm 'il mbk nhrm qrb 'apq thmtm¹⁰⁴, « towards El at the sources¹⁰⁵ of the rivers, midst the springs of the two Oceans », and 'm 'il mbk nhrm b'dt thmtm¹⁰⁶, « towards El at the sources of the rivers, at the confluence of the two Oceans »¹⁰⁷, make it clear that El resides in aqueous and subterranean environs, for the seas' and streams' springs were supposed to be situated in secret and hidden places¹⁰⁸. This is confirmed by another phrase of the texts of Ugarit, where El's home is located *tn mtpdm tht 'nt 'ars tlt mth gyrm*¹⁰⁹, « two mathpads under earth's wells, three underneath the hollows »¹¹⁰. El's abode is therefore a mountain with water gushing from its bowels. Also this feature, which characterizes El's mythological dwelling in the Ugaritic texts, has its counterpart in Mount Hermon.

Tacitus rightly regards it as the father of the Jordan, but he apparently identifies Mount Hermon with Lebanon :

« Of the mountains, Lebanon rises to the greatest height, and is in fact a marvel, for in the midst of the excessive heat its summit is shaded by trees and covered with snow ; it likewise is the source and supply of the river Jordan »¹¹¹.

With more precision, Pliny localizes the source of the river in the spring of Bāniās : *Iordanes amnis oritur e fonte Paniade*¹¹². The two main sources of the Jordan are in fact the « waters of Dan », called by the Arabs 'Ain el-Qāḍi, which start underground, and the source

¹⁰⁴ CTA 2 (III AB), III,4; 3 (V AB), E,14-15; 4 (II AB), IV,21-22; 6 (I AB), I,33-34; 17 (II D), VI,47-48; UT 49, I,6-7; 51, IV,21-22; 129,4; 2 Aght VI,47-48; 'nt V,14-15. This phrase has been largely commented by M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 61-64.

¹⁰⁵ That *mbk* is the construct state of the plural appears from the parallel passage of Job 28,11; cf. also Job 38,16.

¹⁰⁶ RS. 24.244, lines 2-3, edited by Ch. VIROLLEAUD, in *Ugaritica V*, No. 7, see p. 564 and 567.

¹⁰⁷ The translations of Ch. VIROLLEAUD, in *Ugaritica V*, p. 566, and of H. CAZELLES, in *Vetus Testamentum*, 19, 1969, p. 503, do not take in consideration the strict parallelism existing between this phrase and the one we have just quoted. In fact, there is even more than parallelism, since the phrase of RS. 24.244 is only a variant of the other one.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Job 28,11; 38,16-17; II Sam. 22,16 = Ps. 18,16.

¹⁰⁹ CTA 1 (VI AB), III,20-21; 3 (V AB), IV,79-80; UT 'nt IV,79-80; 'nt pl. ix, III,20-21.

¹¹⁰ Cf. O. KAISER, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (BZAW, 78), 2nd ed., Berlin, 1962, p. 49. The noun *gyrm* must be related to the Arabic words deriving from *gwr*; cf. H. WEHR - J.M. COWAN, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden, 1961, p. 687b.

¹¹¹ *Idem amnem Iordanen alit funditque* (*The Histories*, V, 6). Translation of C.H. MOORE, *Tacitus*, II (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London, 1931, p. 185.

¹¹² PLINY, *Natural History*, V, 15, § 71.

originating about five kilometers east of it, below Caesarea Philippi, at Paneion or Paneas, from which the Arabic name Bāniās derives. We have already spoken of the « waters of Dan ». The second source of the Jordan had an equally great mythological importance. In Greek-Roman times, the god Pan was venerated on that spot, and a pagan cult is still testified there by Eusebius of Caesarea in the fourth century A.D. :

« At Caesarea Philippi, which Phoenicians call Paneas, it is said that on a certain festival a victim is thrown down among the springs that are shown there, on the slopes of the mountain called Paneion, from which the Jordan takes its source; and that it becomes invisible in some miraculous way through the demon's power, a circumstance, they say, that is looked upon by those present as a far-famed marvel » ¹¹³.

A connexion may exist between this custom and an allusion found in the inscription discovered in Qatana, on the slopes of Mount Hermon, which Eusebius calls here Paneion. The dedicator insists on the fact that he is « father of Neteiros, deified in the basin where the festivals are celebrated », Πατὴρὸς Νετείρου, τοῦ ἀποθεωθέντος ἐν τῷ λέβητι δι' οὗ αἱ (ἐ)ορταὶ ἄγονται ¹¹⁴. According to some authors, this implies only that Neteiros has been incinerated and then buried in an urn ¹¹⁵. In this interpretation the apotheosis is nothing else but the sepulture ¹¹⁶. Other scholars think instead that the child immersed in the sacred caldron was assimilated to the goddess Leukothea, to whom the inscription is dedicated ¹¹⁷. The first opinion does not

¹¹³ EUSEBIUS, *The Ecclesiastical History*, VII, 17. Translation of J.E.L. OULTON, *Eusebius. The Ecclesiastical History*, II (The Loeb Classical Library), London, 1932, p. 175. Cf. F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, p. 477.

¹¹⁴ Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, II, Paris, 1898, p. 64, lines 5-8.

¹¹⁵ So Ch. FOSSEY, *Inscriptions de Syrie*, I. *Dédicace de El-Burdj*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 19, 1895, p. 303-306; W. DITTENBERGER, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones selectae*, sub No. 611; B. HAUSSOULLIER and H. INGHOLT, *Inscriptions grecques de Syrie*, in *Syria*, 5, 1924, p. 316-341 (see p. 341).

¹¹⁶ According to B. HAUSSOULLIER and H. INGHOLT, *loc. cit.*, other funerary inscriptions decidedly prove this use of the term. In an epitaph from Sidon, that they have published in the article just quoted (No. 12, p. 340-341), the deceased is called ἀποθουμένη = ἀποθεουμένη. In funerary inscriptions from Aphrodisios, in Asia Minor, μετὰ τὸ ἀποθεωθῆναι τοὺς προδηλουμένους and μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἀποθέωσιν (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, II, Nos. 2831,6-7 and 2832,3) would simply mean « after the sepulture of the above mentioned ».

¹¹⁷ So W. DREXLER, art. *Neteiros*, in W.H. ROSCHER (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, III/1, Leipzig, 1897-1902, col. 299-302;

explain the mention of the festivals, but its defenders rightly observe that the apotheosis is connected with the death of the person concerned. This is especially true in the case of a child ¹¹⁸. But the second opinion is probably right in seeing in the passage an allusion to a ritual act. And, since we are in the Semitic pagan world, a human sacrifice can be ment ¹¹⁹. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau thought already that the λέβης might be a spring where the young Neteiros had been thrown down as a victim, being so apotheosized ¹²⁰. In the light of the text of Eusebius this explanation becomes more likely. The place where such festivals were celebrated should then be the spring of Bāniās, that Josephus Flavius describes as follows :

« When, later on, through Caesar's bounty, he received additional territory, Herod there too dedicated to him a temple of white marble near the sources of the Jordan, at a place called Paneion. At this spot a mountain rears its summit to an immense height aloft; at the base of the cliff is an opening into an overgrown cavern; within this, plunging down to an immeasurable depth, is a yawning chasm, enclosing a volume of still water, the bottom of which no soundingline has been found long enough to reach. Outside and from beneath the cavern well up the springs from which, as some think, the Jordan takes its rise; but we will tell the true story of this in the sequel » ¹²¹.

Josephus gives a somewhat shorter description of Paneion in his other work, the *Jewish Antiquities* :

« In the mountains here there is a beautiful cave, and below it the earth slopes steeply to a precipitous and inaccessible (ἀβατον) depth, which is filled with still

Fr. CUMONT, *Catalogue des sculptures et inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées royaux du Cinquantenaire*, 2nd ed., Bruxelles, 1913, p. 166, No. 141.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Fr. CUMONT, *Lux Perpetua*, Paris, 1949, p. 323-328.

¹¹⁹ Sacrifices of children are still attested in Syria and Phoenicia in Greek-Roman times. Cf. *Historia Augusta. Elagabalus*, 8; LUCIAN, *De dea syria*, 58; PORPHYRIUS, *De Abstinencia*, II, 56. The latter mentions too such sacrifices in Carthage (*ibid.*, II, 27). Cf. also DIODORUS, *Bibliotheca Historica*, XX, 14 and 65; PLUTARCHUS, *De Superstitione*, 13.

¹²⁰ Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Notes d'archéologie orientale*, 27. *L'apothéose de Neteiros*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd ser., 30, 1897, p. 282-299 (see p. 294-299); Id., *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, II, p. 73-78, and IV, Paris, 1901, p. 250. According to H. STOCKS, *art. cit.*, in *Berytus*, 4, 1937, p. 24, the children sacrificed in Hierapolis (LUCIAN, *De dea syria*, 58) would have been precipitated in the rift under the temple, where the deluge was commemorated (cf. LUCIAN, *De dea syria*, 13). Cf. G. GOOSSENS, *Hierapolis de Syrie*, p. 74.

¹²¹ JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War*, I, 21,3, § 404-406. Translation of H.St.J. THACKERAY, *Josephus*, II, *The Jewish War, Books I-III* (The Loeb Classical Library), London, 1927, p. 191.

water, while above it there is a very high mountain. Below the cave rise the sources of the river Jordan. It was this most celebrated place that Herod further adorned with the temple which he consecrated to Caesar»¹²².

The large cavern, from which the river emerged, is the Maḡārat ras en-Neba', which to-day does not contain any more water. Seismic disturbances have transformed the hydrographical conditions of the spot so that the river emerges now at the foot of the mountain¹²³. But still in Talmudic times, «the Jordan was coming out from the cavern of Paneas», *Yardēn mōšī' mimme'ārat Panēyās*¹²⁴. Now, some eight kilometers south-east of Bāniās, there is a small lake called Birket er-Rān or er-Rām, situated in the crater of a former volcano. It was known in Greek-Roman times under the name of Φιάλη, «Cup». According to a legend, this lake was the real source of the Jordan, whose waters were supposed to reach the cavern of Bāniās through a subterranean tunnel¹²⁵. Josephus Flavius reports that legend in the *Jewish War* :

«The Jordan runs through the middle of the lake (of Tiberias). This river has its apparent source at Paneion; in reality it rises in the pool called Phiale from which it passes by an unseen subterranean channel to Paneion. Phiale will be found at a distance of a hundred and twenty furlongs from Caesarea (Philippi), on the right of and not far from the road ascending to Trachonitis; the pool derives its name Phiale from its circular form; the water always fills the basin to the brim without ever subsiding or overflowing. It was for long unknown that this was the true source of the Jordan, but the fact was proved by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis: he had chaff thrown into the pool of Phiale and found it cast up at Paneion, where the ancients believed that the stream had its origin ... After issuing from this grotto the Jordan, whose course is now visible, intersects the marshes and lagoons of Lake Semechonitis»¹²⁶.

¹²² JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities*, XV, 10,3, § 364. Translation of R. MARCUS, *Josephus*, VIII, *Jewish Antiquities*, Books XV-XVII (The Loeb Classical Library), London, 1963, p. 177.

¹²³ Cf. F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, p. 476-477. A photograph of the cavern can be found *ibid.*, I, pl. XI,2.

¹²⁴ Tosephta, *Bekōrōt*, VII,4; Talmud of Babylon, *Bābā bātrā'*, 74b; *Bekōrōt*, 55a. Cf. A. NEUBAUER, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 29-30; G. DALMAN, *Les itinéraires de Jésus. Topographie des évangiles*, Paris, 1930, p. 269-270.

¹²⁵ The possibility of any connexion between this lake and the cave of Bāniās is categorically denied by modern geographers.

¹²⁶ JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War*, III, 10,7, § 509-513 and § 515. Translation of H.St.J. THACKERAY, *Josephus*, II, *The Jewish War*, Books I-III, p. 719, 721. Cf. F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, p. 489-490. A photograph of Phiale can be found *ibid.*, pl. XIII,1.

According to another legend, Moses would have intended to enter Canaan through this secret way, but God did not accept his request ¹²⁷.

One might suppose that the name Φιάλη was the translation of an old Semitic name *ks*, and that the *gr ks*, « the mountain of the Cup », where El dwells ¹²⁸, is precisely Mount Hermon. But the connexion between that name and the Birket er-Rān is not otherwise justified. There exists instead another tradition concerning the cavern of Bāniās itself, which could suggest to localize El's abode in the recesses of Mount Hermon. According to the Midrash Rabbā on Genesis, 33 (67a), this cavern was one of the outlets of the Deep or Ocean from which came the waters of the Flood ¹²⁹. A rabbinical tradition identified thus that source of the Jordan with one of the « fountains of the great Ocean » (*tehōm rabbā*), mentioned in Gen. 7,11 and 8,2 ¹³⁰. In accordance with ancient cosmographical ideas, the outburst of water from the cavern of Bāniās has thus been conceived as an eruption of the subterranean ocean on which the earth was believed to rest. On the other hand, the Testament of Levi 2,7 locates above Mount Hermon « a great sea hanging » ¹³¹, which is the celestial ocean. These cosmological ideas proceed in fact from an old tradition, as can be seen from Ps. 42 : 7-8 :

« Upon me my soul is cast down,
therefore I remember thee
from the land of Jordan and of Hermon ¹³²,
from the mountain of Miš'ar ¹³³.

Ocean calls to Ocean
in the roar of thy water-tunnels;
all thy breakers and thy waves
passed over me ».

¹²⁷ *Mekhilta* on Exodus 17,14, ed. M. Friedmann, p. 55b. Cf. also *Siphre* on Numbers, 135 (51a).

¹²⁸ *CTA* I (VI AB), III,12; *UT* 'nt pl. ix, III,12.

¹²⁹ Cf. A. NEUBAUER, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 37; G. DALMAN, *Les itinéraires de Jésus*, p. 270.

¹³⁰ Cf. Am. 7,4; Is. 51,10; Ps. 36,7.

¹³¹ Cf. here above, p. 34.

¹³² The form *hrmwnym* was probably read *Hermōnayim* and designated the region of Mount Hermon. See here above, p. 31, n. 85.

¹³³ *Miš'ar* is most likely the proper name of a peak in the Hermon range. G. DALMAN, in *Palästinajahrbuch*, 5, 1909, p. 101-103; 9, 1913, p. 56, and *Les itinéraires de Jésus*, p. 271, suggested to localize it north-east of Bāniās, next to the village of Zā'ōra, whose name may preserve traces of *Miš'ar*.

This passage reflects the belief that the two oceans or deeps (*tehōm*) of the world, the subterranean source of the fountains, springs and rivers that come out of the earth, and the celestial reservoir whence comes the rain, join in the region of the upper Jordan and of the giant Mount Hermon, whose summit was supposed to reach up to the first heaven. The two oceans are personified and represented as calling aloud to one another through the *šinnōrīm*, «water-tunnels» (cf. II Sam. 5,8), that connect them in the mysterious entrails of the mountain. Their roar is nevertheless heard where waves of their waters burst out from the cave of Bāniās, breaking over and rolling over man. The waves of the river, in their agitated condition, are in the psalm a metaphor of trouble¹³⁴. They are all conceived as Yahweh's, because the Jordan is His river (cf. II Kings 5,10-15) and because the trouble in which the suppliant is struggling proceeds from Him. The meaning of the metaphor, however, does not interest us here. What is important for what concerns us, is the belief that the two deeps join near the sources of the Jordan. This could suggest to localize El's abode midst Mount Hermon, since he was supposed to live «at the sources of the rivers, midst the springs of the two Oceans». However, since we have no explicit testimony of El's dwelling on that spot, a more detailed analysis of the Ugaritic names of his abode may help us to reach a better balanced solution.

II

THE MOUNTAINS OF ARMENIA AND THEIR MYTHOLOGICAL TRADITIONS

The mountain where El lives is called *hršn*, *gr ll*, and *gr ks*¹³⁵. Ch. Virolleaud has already related *hršn* to the Akkadian noun *huršānu*. The latter may designate the river ordeal, or mean «mountains», «mountain range». It never designates the trial after death nor the

¹³⁴ Cf. Ps. 18,5; 69,2-3.

¹³⁵ It does not appear that the word «mountain» as such ever denotes the underworld, as sustains L. WÄCHTER, *Unterweltsvorstellungen und Unterweltsnamen in Babylonien, Israel und Ugarit*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, 15, 1969, p. 327-336 (see p. 331-332).

infernal river, and not even the cosmic mountain of the nether world ¹³⁶. There are thus only two possible translations of the Ugaritic noun *hršn* : « mountains » or « place of the river ordeal ». It is to be lamented that the text is broken after the two occurrences of the word in the mythological texts of Ugarit ¹³⁷. However, it may reasonably be inferred from the context that *hršn* means there « mountains ». The expression *tk hršn* is even paralleled by the Akkadian use of *ana qereb huršāni*, « towards the middle of the mountains », which occurs, for instance, in the account of Sargon's expedition to Urartu, in 714 B.C. ¹³⁸. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that *hršn* is the proper name of El's mountain ¹³⁹. In both passages there is a large lacuna following *hršn*, so it is likely that a word determined the term *hršn*. It is true that *gr* is the word normally used for « mountain » in the Ugaritic texts, but *hršn* was probably chosen to supply parallelism's wants, as it was most likely followed by the expression *gr ks*, « mountain of the Cup » ¹⁴⁰. The latter's meaning is probably that the

¹³⁶ As against H. ZIMMERN, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest. Zweiter Beitrag* (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philol.-hist. Kl., 70/5), Leipzig, 1918, p. 3, n. 2, followed, among others, by O. EISSFELDT, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon* (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philol.-hist. Kl., 98/4), Berlin, 1951, p. 30-31, n. 4; M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 69-72; C.H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Textbook*, p. 405, § 19.1018; U. OLDENBURG, *The Conflict between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion*, p. 106, n. 9. For the Akkadian use of *huršānu*, one can see W. VON SODEN, *Gibt es ein Zeugnis dafür, dass die Babylonier an die Wiederauferstehung Marduks geglaubt haben?*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 51, 1955, p. 130-166 (see p. 140-141); Id., *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, I, Wiesbaden, 1965, p. 359-360; *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 6, H, Glückstadt-Chicago, 1956, p. 253-255. When the Sumerian word *hur-sag* designates the nether world, it is determined by specific epithets, as in H. DE GENOUILLAC, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre* (TCL, XV), Paris, 1930, No. 23, lines 12-13 = 17-18 : *h[ur]-sag-ki-a un-gú-si-a a-[a]-zu den-líl-le sag-e-eš mu-ri-in-rig*7, « the mountain of the earth, where the people are gathered, your father Enlil has given to you (= Nergal) »; cf. Å.W. SJÖBERG - E. BERGMANN, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*, p. 88.

¹³⁷ CTA I (VI AB), II,23 and III,22; UT 'nt pl. ix, II,23 and III,22. A highly conjectural restoration has been proposed by J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica V*, p. 53.

¹³⁸ FR. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (TCL, III), Paris, 1912, line 13. Cf. also, for instance, the *qereb huršānu* in A. FALKENSTEIN, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk*, Berlin, 1931, No. 43, line 18.

¹³⁹ Against U. OLDENBURG, *The Conflict between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion*, p. 106, n. 9.

¹⁴⁰ This seems to result from a comparison with CTA I (VI AB), III,11-12; UT 'nt

mountain contains the cup of destinies, as we suggest in another study ¹⁴¹. This cup would be the cup of El, which became in the Bible the cup of Yahweh. The locution *gr ks* occurs actually in a single passage ¹⁴², but must probably be restored in two other incomplete verses ¹⁴³.

The third expression qualifying El's abode as a mountain is *gr ll* ¹⁴⁴, which can only mean «mountain of night» ¹⁴⁵. It results from the context that the recesses of that mountain were the seat of the assembled pantheon. The expression *tk gr ll*, «toward the midst of the mountain of night», is in fact paralleled by *'m p̄hr m'd*, «toward the meeting place of the assembly» ¹⁴⁶. The name *gr ll* is paralleled, if not by the Sumerian *kur-sùh-ḥa*, «the dark(?) mountain» ¹⁴⁷, at least by the Talmudic expression *hārē ḥōšek*, «mountains of darkness». The latter is used in two Jewish legends concerning Alexander the Great. The first one is the story of the judgment of king Qašyā', ruling a country situated behind the Mountains of Darkness ¹⁴⁸. The second one relates the meeting of Alexander with the Amazons, also supposed to live behind the Mountains of Darkness ¹⁴⁹, through which

pl. ix, III,11-12, as noticed by A. HERDNER, *Note concernant le texte de Ras Shamra VI AB*, in *Syria*, 24, 1944-1945, p. 283-285.

¹⁴¹ E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Banquet en l'honneur de Baal*, in *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 2, 1970, p. 75-88 (see p. 86-88).

¹⁴² CTA 1 (VI AB), III,12; UT 'nt pl. ix, III,12.

¹⁴³ CTA 1 (VI AB), II,24 and III,22; UT 'nt pl. ix, II,24 and III,22.

¹⁴⁴ CTA 2 (III AB), I,20, and to be restored in line 14; UT 137,14 and 20.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. C.H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Textbook*, p. 428, § 19.1379. The orthography *ll* for the word «night» appears also in Deut. 32,10, where *wll* is to be read instead of *yll*: «He found him in a land of wilderness, in a waste and in the night of a desert». «Night», *ll*, seems to occur also in CTA 34,12; 37,9; 38,7; UT 1,12; 22,9; 23,7. The pronunciation *lél* is attested by a Canaanite glose in EA 243,13, according to the numeration of J.A. KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1915.

¹⁴⁶ CTA 2 (III AB), I,14 and 20; UT 137,14 and 20.

¹⁴⁷ This translation is proposed by Å.W. SJÖBERG - E. BERGMANN, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*, p. 86. But *sùh* means «to trouble, to disturb»; cf. W.H.Ph. RÖMER, *Sumerische «Königshymnen» der Isin-Zeit* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui, 13), Leiden, 1965, p. 97-98.

¹⁴⁸ Talmud of Jerusalem, *Bābā Mešā'ā'*, II,5 (8c); Midrash Rabbā on Genesis, 33/1; Midrash Rabbā on Leviticus, 27; Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana, IX, sect. *šōr 'ō kešēb* (ed. by S. Buber, 1st ed., Łuck, 1868, p. 74a); Midrash Tanḥuma, 'Emor, 6; Yalqut Šim'ōnī, on Psalms, 727.

¹⁴⁹ Babylonian Talmud, *Tamīd*, 32a-b; Midrash Rabbā on Leviticus, 27; Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana, *loc. cit.*; Midrash Tanḥuma, 'Emor, 6.

Alexander made his journey riding on young Libyan asses ¹⁵⁰. In fact, the town inhabited by the Amazons is called Carthage ¹⁵¹. I. Lévi thinks that this city has been chosen because its name was derived by folk-etymology from the Aramaic *qartā'*, «the town», and the Greek *γυνή*, «woman» ¹⁵². But also Diodorus of Sicily mentions the Amazons dwelling «in the western parts of Libya, on the bounds of the inhabited world» ¹⁵³, though he knows too, from the legend of Alexander the Great, that Amazons were living in «the country between the rivers Phasis and Thermodon» ¹⁵⁴, in Asia Minor.

The Talmud records on the other hand a rabbinical statement that Gehenna lies behind the land of darkness ¹⁵⁵. This idea is not of biblical origin. But the region of the underworld was popularly located by the Greeks among the Cimmerians, believed to be deprived of the sight of the sun ¹⁵⁶, or among the Hyperboreans ¹⁵⁷. The author of *Odyssey*, XI, 14-19, describes the people and city of Cimmerians as wrapped in darkness: «Never does the shining sun look at them with his rays, neither when he turns his course toward the starry sky, nor when from the latter he returns to the earth; but a baneful night spreads over those unfortunate mortals». A thousand years later, the Orphic *Ἀργοναυτικά* ¹⁵⁸, a product of the II-IV century of our era, speaks still of the same country as overshadowed by mountain ranges, which shut from it the light of the sun. As that region was located among the Cimmerians, or in other northern regions ¹⁵⁹, it is likely that the original

¹⁵⁰ Babylonian Talmud, *Tamīd*, 32a.

¹⁵¹ Cf. G. NEUBAUER, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 403-405; P. GRELOT, *art. cit.*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 58-59.

¹⁵² I. LÉVI, *art. Alexander the Great*, in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, New York - London, 1901, p. 341-343 (see p. 343).

¹⁵³ DIODORUS, *Bibliotheca Historica*, III, 53.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, XVII, 77,1.

¹⁵⁵ Talmud of Jerusalem, *Ḥagigā*, II,1 (32b).

¹⁵⁶ NONNUS, *Dionysiaca*, XLV, 268-269; CICERO, *Academica. Editio Prior*, II, 19, § 61. Cf. C.F. LEHMANN-HAUPT, *art. Kimmerier*, in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, XI/1, Stuttgart, 1921, col. 397-434 (see col. 425-434).

¹⁵⁷ PINDAR, *Pythian Odes*, X, 29-30; BACCHYLIDES, *Epinicia*, III, 58-59. Cf. O. SCHROEDER, *Hyperboreer*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 8, 1905, p. 69-84; A. KÖRTE, *Das Land der Hyperboreer*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 10, 1907, p. 152-153; P. GRELOT, *art. cit.*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 51-52.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. G. DOTTIN, *Les Argonautiques d'Orphée*, Paris, 1930, p. 44-45, vs. 1120-1142.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. O. GRUPPE, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, München, 1906, p. 390, n. 4.

« mountains of darkness » are to be looked for at the north-eastern borders of Asia Minor, not far from the Thermodon, where the home of the Amazons is usually placed. In fact, early romantic historians of Alexander the Great, such as Cleitarchus of Alexandria¹⁶⁰ and Onesicritus of Astypalaea¹⁶¹, already brought their hero into association with the Amazons, and Cleitarchus located their home not far from the Caucasus, since he says that the queen of the Amazons came to Alexander « starting from the Caspian Gates and Thermodon », ἀπὸ Κασπίων πυλῶν καὶ Θερμώδοντος ὁρμηθεῖσαν¹⁶². That the Amazons dwelled at the Thermodon is also asserted by the different recensions of the Greek Alexander Romance, III, 27,6-7¹⁶³. The « mountains of darkness » of the Jewish legend, behind which the Amazons were supposed to live and Gehenna was believed to be located, may thus have been, in an earlier stage of the tradition, a range of mountains in the north-east of Asia Minor.

A fanciful letter, included in the Greek Alexander Romance¹⁶⁴, tells on the other hand how Alexander, wishing to acquire eternal

¹⁶⁰ Quoted by STRABO, *Geographica*, XI, 5,4, § 505, and by PLUTARCHUS, *Alexander*, 46. The extant fragments of his *Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου* can be found in English translation in CH.A. ROBINSON, *The History of Alexander the Great*, I, Providence, 1953, p. 171-183 (see p. 176-177). On Cleitarchus and his work, see L. PEARSON, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (Philological Monographs, XX), London, 1960, p. 212-242.

¹⁶¹ Quoted by Plutarchus, *Alexander*, 46. The extant fragments of Onesicritus' *Πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤχθη* can be found in English translation in CH.A. ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 149-166 (see p. 152). On Onesicritus and his work, see L. PEARSON, *op. cit.*, p. 83-111.

¹⁶² STRABO, *Geographica*, XI, 5,4, § 505.

¹⁶³ For the *Recensio Vetusta*, see G.(W.) KROLL, *Historia Alexandri Magni* (Pseudo-Callisthenes), I, *Recensio Vetusta*, Berlin, 1926 (reprint, 1958), p. 128, 26-129,1. For the recension β, see L. BERGSON, *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension β* (Studia Graeca Stockholmensia, III), Stockholm, 1965, p. 174,1-2. For the recension γ, see F. PARTHE, *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension F. Buch III* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 33), Meisenheim am Glan, 1969, p. 410,7-8. A.R. ANDERSON, *Alexander at the Caspian Gates*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 59, 1928, p. 130-163 (see p. 139-140), observes that the same location is also implied by the recension γ, where the episode of the building of the Caucasian Gate by Alexander (III, 29) precedes immediately his meeting with the Amazons. See F. PARTHE, *op. cit.*, p. 396-412. But this passage is of a later origin. Cf. R. MERKELBACH, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* (Zetemata, 9), München, 1954, p. 108. — See also DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica*, XVII, 77,1: « When Alexander returned to Hyrcania, there came to him the queen of the Amazons named Thallestris, who ruled all the country between the rivers Phasis and Thermodon ».

¹⁶⁴ Book II, 23, 32-33, 36-41. It has been left out, as too fanciful, by the redactor of the *Recensio Vetusta*. Cf. R. MERKELBACH, *op. cit.*, p. 45-48 (in particular p. 47), cf. p. 98-100.

life, proceeded up to « the end of the earth »¹⁶⁵. After he had reached « the way of the Armenians' country, where is the source of the Euphrates and of the Tigris »¹⁶⁶, he entered the wonderland¹⁶⁷, traversed the land of darkness¹⁶⁸, proceeded up to the country of the blessed ones, ἡ καλουμένη μακάρων χώρα, where « the sun does not shine »¹⁶⁹, and, without knowing it, he reached the spring of life¹⁷⁰. This marvellous tale was already known in the third century B.C., since Teles (ca. 240 B.C.) says that man wants, « as Alexander, to become immortal », ὥς Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀθάνατος γενέσθαι¹⁷¹.

¹⁶⁵ Book II, 37. Cf. L. BERGSON, *op. cit.*, p. 131,7; H. ENGELMANN, *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension I. Buch II* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 12), Meisenheim am Glan, 1964, p. 301,27.

¹⁶⁶ Book II, 23. Cf. L. BERGSON, *op. cit.*, p. 124,5-6; H. ENGELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 215, 34-35.

¹⁶⁷ Book II, 32-33, 36-41.

¹⁶⁸ Book II, 38. Cf. L. BERGSON, *op. cit.*, p. 131,8-10; H. ENGELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 300, 6-8; p. 301,30-34; p. 304,8-14 (τὴν παννύχιον ... γαίαν : lines 11-12).

¹⁶⁹ Book II, 39, cf. 40. See L. BERGSON, *op. cit.*, p. 132,7-8, cf. p. 133,12-13, where this country is described as τὴν θεοῦ μόνου; H. ENGELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 307,3-4, cf. p. 310,4-6, where the same country is called τὴν θεοῦ μόνου and Μακάρων νήσους (line 5).

¹⁷⁰ Book II, 39. See L. BERGSON, *op. cit.*, p. 133,3-8; H. ENGELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 306, 1-8; p. 309,34-37 and 311,1-8. Cf. I. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Alexanders Zug nach dem Lebensquell und die Chadhirlegende*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 13, 1910, p. 161-246 (esp. p. 185). This article is reprinted in I. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1913. See also C.F. LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1910-1931, vol. II, p. 836; R. MERKELBACH, *Die Quellen der griechischen Alexanderromane*, p. 47-48, 98-99. This episode is reported also in the Syriac Alexander Romance and in the Syriac Alexander poem, attributed to Jacob of Sarūg : E.A.W. BUDGE, *The History of Alexander the Great being the Syriac Version of Pseudo-Callisthenes*, Cambridge, 1889, especially p. 260,18 and 261,2; C. HUNNIUS, *Das syrische Alexanderlied*, in *ZDMG*, 60, 1906, p. 169-209 (see p. 186 ff.), of which, however, a better manuscript is extant, as noted by C. PETERS, *Die Berliner Handschrift des syrischen Alexander-Liedes*, in *Le Muséon*, 51, 1938, p. 277-283. Cf. also Fr. PFISTER, *Alexander der Grosse in den Offenbarungen der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft, 3), Berlin, 1956, p. 36-39. Also the Jewish legend reports Alexander's journey into the region of darkness. There he stops at the spring of life, which reanimates a dead fish he has dipped into it. Cf. the Babylonian Talmud, *Tamīd*, 32a.

¹⁷¹ Quoted by STOBÆUS, *Teletis Reliquiae*, V, 33,31, edited by O. HENSE, Tübingen, 1889, p. 816,11. Cf. W.W. TARN, *Alexander the Great*, II, *Sources and Studies*, Cambridge, 1948 (reprint, 1950), p. 364; R. MERKELBACH, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromane*, p. 48 and 99.

The Syriac Alexander Romance and the poem or homily of Pseudo-Jacob of Sarūg state that, before reaching the land of darkness, the king arrived at a mountain range named *Masīs*, which is the ancient Armenian name for the highest mountain of the central province of Ağri-Dağī, the former Urartu¹⁷². The Arabs associated the name of *Masīs* with *Musa* (Moses), hence the Qur'ān, *Sura* 18,59-63, reports on Moses an episode borrowed from the Alexander Romance: « Musa said to his servant: 'I will not rest until I shall have found the junction of the two seas (*mağma' al-bahrain*), even if I have to wander eighty years'. When they had reached this junction of the two seas, they forgot their fish, which had taken its course through a tunnel into the sea »¹⁷³.

Also Enoch, in his journeys towards Paradise, reached « to a dark place (ζοφώδη) and to a mountain, the point of whose summit reached to heaven » (I Enoch, 17,2), and he saw « the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place whence the waters of the entire deep flow », and « the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep » (I Enoch, 17,7-8). According to the Aramaic text of I Enoch 32,2-3, found in cave 4 of Qumrān and published by J.T. Milik¹⁷⁴, Enoch reached to Paradise after having passed above a land

¹⁷² Cf. C. KNÖSS, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, Göttingen, 1807, p. 72,6 ff.; E.A.W. BUDGE, *The History of Alexander the Great*, p. 148-149; A.R. ANDERSON, *Alexander at the Caspian Gates*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 59, 1928, p. 130-163; ID., *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Enclosed Nations*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1932, p. 21 ff.; A.H. KRAPPE, *The Subterranean Voyage*, in *Philological Quarterly*, 20, 1941, p. 119-130 (see p. 123 and 125-127); ID., *The Land of Darkness*, in *Philological Quarterly*, 21, 1942, p. 334-346 (see p. 341, 343). Cf. A. UNGNAD and H. GRESSMANN, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, Göttingen, 1911, p. 161-162. In Greek-Roman times, the mountain was known as *Máσιον* or *Máσιον ὄρος*; cf. STRABO, *Geographica*, XI, 5,6, § 506; 14,2, § 527; 12,4, § 522; XVI, 1,23, § 747.

¹⁷³ Cf. M. LIDZBARSKI, *Wer ist Chadkir?*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 7, 1892, p. 104-116; ID., *Zu den arabischen Alexandergeschichten*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 8, 1893, p. 263-312; I. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1913, p. 61-107; A.H. KRAPPE, *art. cit.*, in *Philological Quarterly*, 20, 1941, p. 125-126, and 21, 1942, p. 345-346; M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 78-79.

¹⁷⁴ J.T. MILIK, *Hénoch au Pays des Aromates (ch. XXVII à XXXII). Fragments araméens de la grotte 4 de Qumrān*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 70-77 and pl. I. These texts have been recently studied by M. GIL, *Enoch in the Land of Eternal Life* (in Hebrew), in *Tarbiz*, 38, 1968-1969, p. 322-337, with an English summary, p. I-III of the fasc., No. 4. According to this author, there is a high degree of probability that the original text of Enoch was a Greek one (p. 336-337 and II).

of darkness : *w'brt* ['l'] [m]n *hšwk' rh[y]q mnh w'hlp̄t lyd prds qšl'* (4Q Hen^a, lines 7-8), « and I passed above the Darkness, far from it, and I came next to the Paradise of righteousness ». This paradise has to be identified with the high mountain of God which is situated in the north, as results also from a comparison of I Enoch 25,3 with 25,5 ¹⁷⁵.

It can even be referred to the pseudepigraphic book of IV Ezra 13,40 ff. ¹⁷⁶, where the author relates his vision of the expedition of the deported North-Israelite tribes from Mesopotamia to « a land further distant, where the human race had never dwelt » (II Ezra 13,41). The text says that, on their journey, « they entered the narrow passages of the river Euphrates » (IV Ezra 13,43), travelling thus in the direction of the north.

All these legends make their hero penetrate the Land of the Living through a gate of darkness, whose geographical origin is likely to be looked for in the tunnel at the source of the Western Tigris ¹⁷⁷. The river enters the mountain on the north, traverses it in a rocky tunnel about one kilometer long, and reappears on the southern side. There is evidence that the tunnel was much longer formerly and that it was shortened, in the north, by successive landslides ¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. P. GRELOT, *art. cit.*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 42, and J.T. MILIK, *ibid.*, p. 77 with n. 1.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. the edition of L. GRÉY, *Les dires prophétiques d'Esdras (IV. Esdras)*, Paris, 1938.

¹⁷⁷ The narrative of IV Ezra 13,40 ff., which mentions the river Euphrates, constitutes no objection against this location. Moreover, the idea of « narrow passages of the river » may ultimately be borrowed from the tunnel of the Western Tigris.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. C.F. LEHMANN-HAUPT, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, I, p. 438-440, 448, 450; II, p. 838, 846; W.F. ALBRIGHT, *The Mouth of the Rivers*, in *AJSL*, 35, 1918-1919, p. 161-195 (see p. 192); A.H. KRAPPE, *art. cit.*, in *Philological Quarterly*, 20, 1941, p. 126-127. I. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, p. 303-304, located the landmark of the junction of the two seas (*mağma' al-bahrain*) at the Rock of Gibraltar and regarded the subterranean passage as a sort of forerunner of the Suez Canal. M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 78-80, considers that the tunnel connecting Afqa with the nearby Birket el-Yammūneh recommends itself as a most likely place. But R. HARTMANN, review of I. Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, in *ZDMG*, 67, 1913, p. 739-751 (see p. 749-751), seems to have proved that even the scene of the Qur'ān, *Sura* 18,59-63, as far as it has a definite terrestrial location, was the cave at the sources of the Tigris, since the pre-Islamic legend makes Alexander the Great enter this cave on his way to Paradise, which accordingly would be located in Armenia. The *mağma' al-bahrain* should thus be looked for in the same region, at the sources of the Tigris.

It appears also very likely that these tales have ultimately been influenced by the Mesopotamian epic of Gilgameš¹⁷⁹, of which copies were still made in Late-Babylonian times¹⁸⁰, probably less than one century before the legend of Alexander's journey to the Land of the Living was formed. In particular, « the northern journey of Alexander in his romance was in large measure due to the influence of his identification with Gilgamesh »¹⁸¹.

In his attempt to obtain immortality, the great Mesopotamian hero ventured on a long journey in search of Utnapištim, the Babylonian Noah, to whom eternal life had been granted, in order to learn from him how he had obtained such good fortune. According to tablet IX of the Ninivite version of the Gilgameš epos, the hero journeyed thither a dozen double hours or leagues (*bēru*) over the « twin mountain (*Māšu*) which daily keeps watch over sun[rise and sunset], whose peak [reaches to] the vault of heaven, whose breast reaches to the nether world below » (col. II,2-5)¹⁸². He travelled in complete darkness, and it may reasonably be inferred therefore that his path ran through a subterranean passage. As he intended then to join Utnapištim, « who entered the assembly of the gods »¹⁸³, he penetrated in that tunnel on his way to the sojourn of the gods. Since the Akkadian name of the « twin mountain » is *Māšu*, this has been regarded as Mount Masîs in Armenia¹⁸⁴, and the subterranean passage has been

¹⁷⁹ For the journeys of Enoch, this is noted by P. GRELOT, *art. cit.*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 67-69.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. D.J. WISEMAN, *Additional Neo-Babylonian Gilgamesh Fragments*, in *Gilgameš et sa légende*, Paris, 1960, p. 123-135 (see p. 123, n. 8, cf. p. 134).

¹⁸¹ A.R. ANDERSON, *art. cit.*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 59, 1928, p. 141.

¹⁸² The twin mountain, which at sunrise keeps watch over the sun (cf. tabl. IX, col. II,3 and 9), is frequently represented on cylinder seals of the Akkadian period. References can be found in E.D. VAN BUREN, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art* (Analecta Orientalia, 23), Rome, 1945, p. 179-181, and in E. LIPÍŃSKI, *La Royauté de Yahvé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Akademie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, No. 55), 2nd ed., Brussel, 1968, p. 205, n. 4. Two reproductions are given in J.B. PRITCHARD, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed., Princeton, 1969, Nos. 683 and 685. The « twin mountains which daily keep watch over sunrise and sunset » are also mentioned in Ps. 65,9, where they are called « outgoings of the mourning and evening ».

¹⁸³ Col. III,4; cf. tabl. XI, 197.

¹⁸⁴ So, for instance, Ch. VIROLLEAUD, *Le voyage de Gilgamesh au Paradis*, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 101, 1930, p. 202-215. For this passage, see also J. and H. LE-

identified with the tunnel at the source of the Tigris. It has been objected against this view that the direction of Gilgameš is designated as westward ¹⁸⁵, *harrān šamši*, « along the road of the sun » (col. IV, 46). But it seems that he walked in the sense directly opposite to the sun, since according to the Old Babylonian fragment VAT 4105 ¹⁸⁶ he encountered on his way the Sun-god. It is even possible that this is explicitly asserted in the text, at least if the verb *idaqqussu* of line 5 means that Šamaš « went towards him » ¹⁸⁷. On the other hand, Gilgameš journeys through the tunnel northward, since he feels after the ninth double hour or league the north wind, *iltānu*, fanning his face (col. V, 38-39). This corresponds exactly to the north-south direction of the tunnel at the source of the Western Tigris, but raises the problem of the hero's meeting with the Sun-god, coming from the east. Most likely, we have here to deal with a combination of elements originating from two different traditions: one locates Paradise in the north, the other one in the east ¹⁸⁸.

Before joining Utnapištim, Gilgameš must still cross a sea, which is traversed by the Waters of Death (tabl. X) and which « only the valiant Sun-god crosses » (col. II, 23). If the subterranean passage has

wx, *The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 17, 1942-1943, p. 1-152 (see p. 13-14). For another interpretation, cf. M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 78.

¹⁸⁵ So M.H. POPE, *op. cit.*, p. 78; P. GRELOT, *art. cit.*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 56-57. Cf. E.A. SPEISER, in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, p. 89, n. 152.

¹⁸⁶ This fragment has been published by B. MEISSNER, *Ein altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgamešepos*, in *MVAG*, 7/1, 1912, p. 1-15. A translation by E.A. SPEISER can be found in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd ed., p. 89-90.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. W. VON SODEN, *art. cit.*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 53, 1959, p. 220; Id., *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, I, p. 162.

¹⁸⁸ The eastern location is implied by Gen. 2,8 and 11,2, by I Enoch 30-32 and 77, at least in the version of 4Q (cf. J.T. MILIK, *art. cit.*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 75-76), and also by the Sumerian mythology which locates Paradise in Dilmun. Cf. S.N. KRAMER, *Dilmun, the Land of the Living*, in *BASOR*, 96, 1944, p. 18-28. The most explicit testimony is that of the tablet CBS 10673, col. vi, 12, published by A. POEBEL, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section, V), Philadelphia, 1914, No. 1: *kur-dilmun-na ki-^autu-è-šè*, « in the land of Dilmun, the place where the sun rises ». The latest study of the text is that of M. CIVIL, in W.G. LAMBERT and A.R. MILLARD, *Atra-ḫasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, Oxford, 1969, p. 138-145 and 167-172. The author simply translates the quoted sentence: « in the orient, in Dilmun » (p. 145, line 260). See also Å.W. SJÖBERG - E. BERGMANN, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*, p. 89-90.

been suggested to the mythographer by the tunnel at the source of the Tigris, the sea is likely to be the Persian Gulf conceived as a stream encircling the world ¹⁸⁹. This conception is plastically expressed on the famous Babylonian map of the world drawn by a scribe on a tablet dating from the second quarter of the first millennium B.C., but reproducing apparently an older original ¹⁹⁰. The Persian Gulf is drawn on it as a river encircling the world and called *nāru marratu*, «River of Brackish Waters» ¹⁹¹. There were seven mysterious «regions» (*nagû*) beyond these waters, represented each by a triangle. Utnapištim, whose name actually occurs in the text of the tablet (obverse, line 10), lived his post-diluvian eternal life in one of these remote corners of the universe. There Gilgamesh found him and his wife. They had become like gods and were living «at the mouth of the rivers», i.e., at their source ¹⁹², at the place of the gods' assembly (tabl. XI, 194-197), where one could find the plant of life (tabl. XI, 266-276).

In the Gilgamesh epos, this godly country corresponds most likely to Urartu, the later Armenia ¹⁹³, and it may reasonably be supposed that this location is reflected in Gen. 8,4, which makes Noah's ark

¹⁸⁹ Also Enoch had to pass over the Erythraean Sea, i.e., the Persian Gulf with the Indian Ocean, before reaching Paradise. In the Aramaic text 4Q Hen^a, line 7, the name of that sea is *ym' šmwaq'*. Cf. J.T. MILIK, *art. cit.*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 71-72 and 75-76.

¹⁹⁰ The tablet (BM. 92687) has been published by R. Campbell THOMPSON, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, XXII, London, 1906, pl. 48 (cf. p. 12). A good photograph is given by E. SOLLBERGER, *The Babylonian Legend of the Flood*, London, 1962, p. 45. The map has frequently been reproduced.

¹⁹¹ Also HERODOTUS, *The Histories*, IV, 36 and V, 49, and STRABO, *Geographica*, I, 1,9, § 6, knew of that conception of the world encircled by the ocean.

¹⁹² The mouth of a river is the «mouth whence issues the water of the earth», as says the myth of Enki and Ninhursag. Cf. S.N. KRAMER, in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd ed., p. 38, line 55.

¹⁹³ It is probable, however, that for the poets and priests of Sumer it was the Persian Gulf that was at «the mouth of the rivers», because it was supposed to give the Tigris and the Euphrates their annual overflow, rather than the invisible thaws in far off Armenia. Cf. S.N. KRAMER, *art. cit.*, in *BASOR*, 96, 1944, p. 28, n. 42; E.A. SPEISER, *The Rivers of Paradise*, in *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich*, Heidelberg, 1959, p. 473-485 (see p. 477-478), and *Oriental and Biblical Studies. Collected Writings of E.A. Speiser*, Philadelphia, 1967, p. 23-34 (see p. 28-29). In fact, near the head of the Persian Gulf lay the celebrated Dilmun which was the Land of the Living of the Sumerian mythology. The journey of Gilgamesh northward shows however that a Semitic tradition had located that Paradise in the north.

land « on the mountains of Urartu »¹⁹⁴. It is true that Utnapištim's boat came to rest on Mount Nišir (tabl. XI, 140-144), which means « Mount of Safe-keeping ». A mountain of that name is recorded in the annals of king Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria (883-859 B.C.), according to which it was situated south of the Lesser-Zab (*Zāb eš-Šaḡīr*)¹⁹⁵. This Mount Nišir is probably to be identified with the modern Pir Omar Gudrun, or Pir-i-Mukurun, a mountain 2850 m. high¹⁹⁶. However, even if the name is the same, it cannot be inferred from the location of the historical mountain range of Nišir that this was also the traditional landing-place of the ark. The name has been chosen because of its Semitic meaning. Unfortunately, the end of the Atrahasis epos is badly damaged. But Berossus names the Gordyaeon mountains of Armenia as the landing-place of the boat of Xisuthros, i.e., Ziusudra¹⁹⁷. These mountains correspond to Ġebel Ġūdī, in the southwestern part of Armenia, where also Syriac and Arabic traditions

¹⁹⁴ The old pronunciation 'Urart' is attested by the spelling *hurrt* in Is. 37,38, read in the great Isaianic manuscript from Qumrān (1Q Is^a).

¹⁹⁵ See L.W. KING, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, I, London, 1902, p. 305 ff.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. A. BILLERBECK, *Das Sandschak Suleimania und dessen persische Nachbarlandschaften zur babylonischen und assyrischen Zeit. Geographische Untersuchungen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung militärischer Gesichtspunkte*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 26; M. STRECK, *Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien nach den babylonisch-assyrischen Keilschriften* (Schluss), in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 15, 1900, p. 257-382 (see p. 272-274); A.T.E. OLMSTEAD, in *JAOS*, 38, 1918, p. 230, n. 48; E.A. SPEISER, *Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal and To-day*, in *AASOR*, 8, 1926-1927, p. 1-41 and 1 Map (see p. 17-18 and 31); ID., in J.B. PRETCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, p. 94, n. 212; A. HEIDEL, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, 2nd ed., Chicago, 1949 (reprint, 1963), p. 250; E. SOLLBERGER, *The Babylonian Legend of the Flood*, London, 1962, p. 29.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. W.G. LAMBERT - A.R. MILLARD, *Atrahasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, Oxford, 1969, p. 134-137. JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities*, I, 3,5-6, § 92-94, presents that tradition as follows: « The Armenians call that spot the Landing-spot (*ἀποβάρησιον*), for it was there that the ark came safe to land, and they show the relics of it to this day. This flood and the ark are mentioned by all who have written histories of the barbarians. Among these is Berossus the Chaldaean, who in his description of the events of the flood writes somewhere as follows: 'It is said, moreover, that a portion of the vessel still survives in Armenia on the mountain of the Gordyaeans, and that persons carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they use as talismans'. These matters are also mentioned by Hieronymus the Egyptian, author of the ancient history of Phoenicia, by Mnaseas (of Patara in Lycia, end of the third century B.C.) and by many others. Nicolaus of Damascus in his ninety-sixth book relates the story as follows ... » (see below). The translation is that of H.St.J. THACKERAY, *Josephus*, IV, *Jewish Antiquities*, Books I-IV, London, 1930, p. 45, 47.

locate the landing-place¹⁹⁸. Nicolaus of Damascus, contemporary and friend of Caesar Augustus and of Herod the Great¹⁹⁹, affirms likewise that « there is above Minyas in Armenia a great mountain called Baris, to which, as the story goes, many people had fled for refuge in the flood and were saved; they say too that a certain man, floating in an ark, grounded on the summit, and that remains of the timbers were preserved for a long time. The man may have been he who was recorded by Moses, the legislator of the Jews »²⁰⁰. The reference to Moses seems to show that Nicolaus was acquainted with the Flood narrative in Genesis, but the mention of the mountain where people « were saved » may reflect a Babylonian comment on the name of Mount Nišir. In any case the allusion to the preserved timbers was found also in the *Βαβυλωνιακά* of Berossus :

« It is said, moreover, that a portion of the vessel still survives in Armenia on the mountain of the Gordyaeans, and that persons carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they use as talismans »²⁰¹.

Since the landing-place of the ark was a mountain of Armenia, which, broadly speaking corresponds to the territory of Urartu, also the Land of the Living of Utnapištim and his wife must be located in that region. The Tigris tunnel of Bylkalein explains then the subterranean passage which Gilgameš had to traverse before reaching the Land of the Living. Its southern end may therefore be considered as the gate to the earthly Paradise, thought to lie beyond the mountain range pierced by the tunnel²⁰². Once the true nature of the Tigris

¹⁹⁸ Cf. M. STRECK, *art. cit.*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 15, 1900, p. 272-273; A. HEIDEL, *The Gilgamesh Epic*, p. 250.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. T. SINKO, *Literatura Grecka*, II, *Literatura hellenistyczna*, 2, *Wiek I przed Chr.*, Kraków, 1948, p. 116-123.

²⁰⁰ This passage is quoted by JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities*, I, 3,6, § 95. For Minyas some scholars would substitute Milyas in the text, comparing PLINY, *Natural History*, V, 142, § 147 : « Attingit Galatia et Pamphyliae Cabaliam et Milyas qui circa Barim sunt ». The reading Minyas is defended by A. REINACH, *Noé Sangarion*, Paris, 1913, p. 47 ff. It can be noted here that there was among the Hittites a deified river whose name was Maliya; cf. H. OTTEN, *Die Religionen des alten Kleinasien*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I. Abt., VIII/1, *Religionsgeschichte des Alten Orients*, 1, Leiden-Köln, 1964, p. 92-121 (see p. 101).

²⁰¹ Passage quoted by JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities*, I, 3,6, § 93. Cf. W.G. LAMBERT - A.R. MILLARD, *Atra-ḫasīs*, p. 136.

²⁰² Cf. W.F. ALBRIGHT, *The Mouth of the Rivers*, in *AJSL*, 35, 1918-1919, p. 161-195; ID., *The Location of the Garden of Eden*, in *AJSL*, 39, 1922-1923, p. 15-31; H. GRESS-

tunnel became increasingly clear, the Land of Darkness was pushed farther north, to be identified, at the end, with the extreme northern and north-eastern parts of European and Asiatic Russia ²⁰³. The biblical Paradise seems to have been likewise located in Urartu, since Gen. 2,10-14 situates it at the sources of the Tigris and of the Euphrates. S. Mowinckel identified the two other rivers with the Halys and the Araxes, which have likewise their sources in the mountains of Armenia ²⁰⁴.

Now, the Flood hero is described in the Gilgamesh epos as living in the country of the gods' assembly ²⁰⁵, which would accordingly be Armenia or Urartu. A biblical text seems to situate there explicitly the mountain of the divine assembly. Indeed, the dirge of Is. 14,4b-21 alluded originally to king Sargon II of Assyria (721-705 B.C.). This was already noted by H. Winckler at the end of the last century and has been stressed again by writers in recent decades ²⁰⁶. In fact, there can be little doubt that Sargon's death in a battle against Anatolian barbarians and privation of sepulture ²⁰⁷ are alluded to in Is. 14,18-20, for Sargon

MANN, *Der Eingang ins Paradies*, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 3, 1926, p. 12; A.H. KRAPPE, *art. cit.*, in *Philological Quarterly*, 20, 1941, p. 128, and 21, 1942, p. 345.

²⁰³ For the evolution of this mythopoeic theme, one may see A.H. KRAPPE, *The Subterraneous Voyage*, in *Philological Quarterly*, 20, 1941, p. 119-130; *Id.*, *The Land of Darkness*, in *Philological Quarterly*, 21, 1942, p. 334-346. Cf. also Th.H. GASTER, *Thespis. Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East*, 2nd ed., New York, 1961, p. 197-198.

²⁰⁴ S. MOWINCKEL, *De fire Paradisevene*, in *Norsk teologisk tidsskrift*, 39, 1938, p. 47-67, especially p. 54-55.

²⁰⁵ Tabl. IX, col. III,4, and tabl. XI, 197.

²⁰⁶ Cf. H. WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, Leipzig, 1893, p. 414; *Id.*, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., vol. II, Berlin, 1903, p. 47 ff.; É. DHORME, *Les pays bibliques et l'Assyrie*, in *Revue Biblique*, N.S., 7, 1910, p. 54-75, 179-199, 368-390, 503-520; 8, 1911, p. 198-218, 345-365, and 1 Map (see 7, 1910, p. 389); B. BONKAMP, *Die Bibel im Lichte der Keilschriftforschung*, Recklinghausen, 1939, p. 425; A. GELIN, in A. ROBERT - A. TRICOT, *Initiation biblique*, 3rd ed., Tournai, 1954, p. 151; A. PARROT, *Ninive et l'Ancien Testament* (Cahiers d'archéologie biblique, 3), Paris, 1955, p. 34-36; A. ORR, in *A. Bīram Jubilee Volume* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1956, p. 84-87; H.L. GINSBERG, *Reflexes of Sargon II in Isaiah after 715 B.C.E.*, in *JAOS*, 88/1, 1968 = *Essays in Memory of E.A. Speiser* (AOS, 53), New Haven, 1968, p. 47-53 (see p. 49-53).

²⁰⁷ The Assyrian Tablet K. 4730, line 9, says of Sargon that « he was not buried in his house », *ina bītišu lā qebru*. This text has been first edited by H. WINCKLER, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, II, *Texte verschiedenen Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1893-1894, p. 52-53, and then studied by H. WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, Leipzig, 1893, p. 410-415, and by H. TADMOR, *The « Sin of Sargon »* (in Hebrew), in *Eretz-Israel*, V,

is actually the only Mesopotamian king of whom we know that he was killed in battle and had received no sepulture. Now, Isaiah was precisely a contemporary of the Assyrian ruler.

The most known and most audacious expedition of Sargon was directed, in 714 B.C., against Urartu. It is described in poetical style in a « letter to the god »²⁰⁸. Sargon says that he led his army « towards the middle of the mountains », *ana qereb huršāni* (line 13), « over whose area shadows stretch as in a cedar forest, the traveler of whose paths never sees the light of the sun », *kīma qišti erinni eli tāmirti(šu)nu šillu tarsuma ālik urhišunu lā emmaru šarūr* ^a*Šamši* (line 16). He opened a way through « Mount Simirria, the high peak which rises steeply like the tip of a lance and is even higher than the mountain upon which the goddess Bēlet-ilī dwells, whose summit reaches the heavens above, whose roots strike downward into the midst of the nether world », *kur Simirria, ubān šadī rabītu, ša kīma šēlūt šukurri zaqqatma eli huršāni, šubat* ^a*Bēlet-ilī, šaqāt rēši, ša eliš rēšāša šamāmi endama šaplānu šursūša šuksūdū* ²⁰⁹ *qereb arallī* (lines 18-19).

In fact, Sargon II went round lakes Urmia and Van, but did not manage to conquer Turušpa, the capital of Urartu. This campaign through the highest mountains of the Middle East is most likely evoked in Is. 14,13, where the king is supposed to have expressed his ambitious intentions: « Above the stars of El I will exalt my throne, and I will sit down upon the Mount of the Assembly, in the recesses of the north ». The recesses of the north are here the high mountains of Urartu, where the divine assembly, presided by El, was believed to gather²¹⁰. It is very likely that also Ps. 48,3 alludes

Jerusalem, 1958, p. 150-163, esp. p. 154-157, with a plate giving the photograph of K. 4730.

²⁰⁸ FR. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (TCL, III), Paris, 1912.

²⁰⁹ *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1, A, Part II, Glückstadt-Chicago, 1968, p. 226, suggests to read *šur-šud-du*, « are firmly planted », instead of *šuk-šud-du*.

²¹⁰ H.L. GINSBERG, *art. cit.*, in *JAOS*, 88/1, 1968 = *Essays in Memory of E.A. Speiser*, p. 51 with n. 25-26, gives a completely different translation of the verse: « I will sit in the Assembled Gathering in Highest Heaven! ». He corrects *bhr mw'd* in *bphr mw'd* after Ugaritic *phr m'd*, and attributes to *špwn* the meaning « sky », since the mountain on which the Ugaritic *phr m'd* meets is not *Špn* but *Ll*. — The present author's opinion does not follow any more the view expressed by W. SCHMIDT, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* (BZAW, 80), Berlin, 1961, p. 26-27, as the case was in E. LIPÍŃSKI, *La Royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël*, p. 119, n. 3.

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to these mountains, when it identifies Mount Zion with « the recesses of the north »²¹¹, transferring to Zion the religious significance of the divine Mount of the Assembly²¹². To the same mountain seems even to allude I Enoch 25,3 : « This high mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of the Lord, is His throne ». It results from I Enoch 25,5 that this mountain is in the north.

In the light of these mythological allusions to the abode of the gods in the mountains of Armenia, the only explicit mention of El's abode at the sources of the Euphrates acquires new dimensions.

A Late Hittite version of a Canaanite myth found in Boğazköy²¹³ tells us that the Storm-god, who must be in this context Ba'al-Hadad, visited his father *El-ku-ne-er-ša*, i.e., « El-owner-of-the-earth »²¹⁴, who was living in a tent at the sources of the Māla river²¹⁵, which is the Upper Euphrates²¹⁶. We are not concerned here with the myth as such, but only with the tradition according to which El's abode was at the sources of the Euphrates, i.e., precisely in the region where other traditions localised Paradise and the Mount of the divine Assembly, the mountain of darkness and the entrance to the nether world. The use of the word « tent », which is employed in West Semitic

²¹¹ So J. MORGENSTERN, *Psalm 48*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 16, 1941, p. 1-95 (see p. 47 ff.).

²¹² Cf. R. DE LANGHE, *Les textes de Ras Shamra - Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu de l'Ancien Testament*, Gembloux-Paris, 1945, vol. II, p. 242; E. PODECHARD, *Le Psautier. Traduction littérale et explication historique*, I, *Psaumes 1-75* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté Catholique de Théologie de Lyon, 3), Lyon, 1949, p. 214; M. DAHOOD, *Psalms I : 1-50* (The Anchor Bible, 16), New York, 1966, p. 289; A.R. JOHNSON, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, 2nd ed., Cardiff, 1967, p. 75, n. 2.

²¹³ Cf. H. OTTEN, *Kanaanäische Mythen aus Hattusa-Boğazköy*, in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 85, 1953, p. 27-38 (see p. 30 ff.); Id., *Ein kanaanäischer Mythos aus Boğazköy*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, 1, 1953, p. 125-150; E. VON SCHULER, in H.W. HAUSSIG (ed.), *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient* (Wörterbuch der Mythologie, I Abt., 1), Stuttgart, 1965, p. 159; M.A. HOFFNER, *The Elkunirsa Myth reconsidered*, in *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, 23, 1965, p. 5-16; A. GOETZE, in J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *ANET*, 3rd ed., p. 519.

²¹⁴ For this translation and the questions connected with it, cf. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *La Royauté de Yahvé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël*, p. 418-420, where further references are given.

²¹⁵ Line 6 of the text.

²¹⁶ M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 66, quotes the myth from Boğazköy, but adds immediately : « It is clear, however, that this is not his regular abode, but that he is living away from his spouse and house ».

texts with the meaning of « home »²¹⁷, indicates that the myth actually alludes to the regular dwelling place of El and not only to a passing residence. It seems therefore that El's abode, as presented in the Ugaritic myths, is not to be looked for near Mount Hermon, but midst the mountains of Armenia. In view of the testimonies pointing toward that country, it is unlikely that this location of El's dwelling in the myth from Boğazköy is due to a Hurrian adaptation of the original Canaanite tradition. El's abode and the Mountain of the divine Assembly were therefore outside Canaan.

The traditions concerning Mount Hermon must in consequence be considered as belonging to another West Semitic cultural milieu. However, they are attested long before the « Urartian » or « Armenian » traditions, since they are already reflected in the Old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh epic. Later, they are known above all from Palestinian sources. Now, I.J. Gelb concludes from his survey of the ethnic situation in Syria and Palestine that « Palestine and the Phoenician Coast were settled by West Semites long before Syria was »²¹⁸. It may reasonably be inferred therefore that Mount Hermon became the mountain of the gods in an earlier phase of the history of the West Semitic peoples. This older tradition is recorded in the Amorite, i.e., Old Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh epic, and it is preserved in the more conservative Palestinian traditions²¹⁹. The mythological texts from Ugarit, locating El's abode in the Mountain of Night, the Hittite version of the Canaanite myth making El live at the sources of the Euphrates, and the standard form of the Gilgamesh epic with the hero's journey toward north, all reflect a later stage of the tradition about the Mount of the divine Assembly and the abode of El.

²¹⁷ Cf. W. GESENIUS - Fr. BUHL, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 17th ed. (reprint), Leipzig, 1921, p. 14a, sub 'ōhel, 3. The best proof, however, of this use of the word « tent » is given in a text from Ugarit, CTA 15 (III K), III,18-19; UT 128, III,18-19, where we read in parallelism :

« The gods proceed to their tents ('ahhlm),
the family of El to their habitations (mšknthm) ».

²¹⁸ I.J. GELB, *The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples*, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 15, 1961, p. 27-47 (see p. 41).

²¹⁹ The more conservative character of the Palestinian traditions, when compared with the Ugaritic myths, appears also in the myth of the struggle between the Storm-god and the Sea. Cf. S.E. LOEWENSTAMM, *The Myth of the Sea in the Texts of Ugarit and Its Relation to the Myth of the Sea in the Bible* (in Hebrew), in *Eretz-Israel*, IX, *Albright Volume*, Jerusalem, 1969, p. 96-101.

The influence of Hurrian beliefs may tentatively be postulated to explain such an evolution in the mythological traditions. However, an other and older Syrian tradition might have been preserved in the name 'il *špn*.

III

'ĪLU ŠAPĀNI

The name 'il *špn* is attested four times in the actually published texts from Ugarit ²²⁰. According to U. Oldenburg, El had first his residence on the holy Mount Šapān, named El-Šapān after El, just as it was called later Ba'al-Šapān after Ba'al ²²¹. The author seems to exclude a translation such as «divine Šapān», «since, he says, in Ugaritic mythology mountains were not considered gods» ²²². But *Špn* is obviously regarded as a deity in several ritual texts, where its name occurs even besides that of *B'l špn* ²²³. It may reasonably be inferred therefore that *Špn* is a deity distinct from *B'l špn*. Thanks to RS. 24.643 and to RS. 24.264 + 280 ²²⁴, the Akkadian list of Ugaritic gods (RS. 20.24) can be reconstituted. The result is that *Špn* is the Ugaritic name of DINGIR HUR.SAG *Ha-zi* ²²⁵, the deified Mount Hazzi ²²⁶. The divine character of the mountain is still echoed in a legend reported by Philo Byblius, who writes in his *Phoenician*

²²⁰ CTA, 3 (V AB), III, 26 and 63; 29, 1; RS. 24.245, line 2, edited by Ch. VIROLLEAUD in *Ugaritica V*, No. 3, p. 556. UT 17,13; 'nt III, 26 and 63.

²²¹ U. OLDENBURG, *The Conflict between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion*, p. 104-106.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 105, n. 1; cf. p. 78.

²²³ CTA 29,15 (cf. CTA, p. 292, ad p. 110); 35, 34 and 42; 36, 4 and 7; p. 137-138, lines 27, 37, and 45; RS. 24.643, line 6 (*Ugaritica V*, No. 9, p. 579); RS. 24.643, rev., line 7 (*Ugaritica V*, No. 9, p. 581); RS. 24.249 A, lines 7 and 10 (*Ugaritica V*, No. 12, p. 589); RS. 24.253, lines 10 and 34 (*Ugaritica V*, No. 13, p. 591); RS. 19.15, line 3 (Ch. VIROLLEAUD, *Les nouvelles tablettes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra*, in CRAIBL, 1956, p. 60-67); RS. 24.264 + 280 (cf. CTA, p. 292, ad p. 110). UT 3, 34 and 42; 9, 4 and 7; 173, 27, 37, and 45.

²²⁴ Cf. J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica V*, p. 63-64.

²²⁵ RS. 20.24, line 14, edited by J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica V*, p. 379, cf. p. 45 and 64.

²²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 50-51. The signs HUR.SAG are here the determinative of the mountain's name, just as in the Ullikummi myth, where Mount Hazzi is also mentioned. Cf. H.G. GÜTERBOCK, *The Song of Ullikummi*, New Haven, 1952, p. 30, line 23.

History: « And these (i.e., Light, and Fire, and Flame) begat sons of surpassing size and might, whose names were applied to the mountains which they occupied, so that from them were named Mount Casius (i.e., Mount Šapān), and Lebanon, and Anti-Lebanon, and Brathy »²²⁷. Philo obviously interprets the old tradition in the sense that the giants gave their name to the mountains which they respectively occupied. But the idea itself of « sons of surpassing size and might » indicates that these giants were originally the mountains themselves²²⁸.

The deified mountains Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, called *Lablani/a* and *Šaryāna*, are mentioned in treaties among the deities listed as witnesses together with the equally deified Mount Pišaiša, which must also be in Syria²²⁹. The latter is even personified in a Canaanite myth in Hittite dealing with an adventure of Mount Pišaiša, who raped the goddess Ištar, i.e., Astarte, was threatened with punishment by her, and asked for mercy²³⁰. The name of Mount *Bpáθv* has been regarded as a scribal error for *Θαβύρ*²³¹. But *Bpáθv* is rather the Mountain of the Juniper, which W.F. Albright has suggested to identify with the Amanus range²³². Its exact location has here little importance,

²²⁷ EUSEBIUS, *Praeparatio evangelica*, I, 10,9. Cf. K. MRAS, *Eusebius. Werke*, VIII, *Praeparatio evangelica* (GCS, 43), vol. I, Berlin, 1954, p. 44.

²²⁸ Cf. O. EISSFELDT, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* (Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums, 1), Halle, 1932, p. 5-6.

²²⁹ See the references here above, p. 25. Mount Pišaiša is mentioned in those texts immediately after the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, and must therefore be in Syria. E. FORRER, art. *Bisaisa*, in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, Berlin-Leipzig, 1938, p. 32, has suggested to identify it with Ġebel el-Anšāriyeh.

²³⁰ The references can be found under No. 246 in E. LAROCHE, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, in *Revue hittite et asianique*, 14, 1956, p. 33-38, 69-116; 15, 1957, p. 30-89; 16, 1958, p. 18-64. Cf. also J. FRIEDRICH, *Zu einigen altkleinasiatischen Gottheiten*, in *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, 2, 1952, p. 144-153 (see p. 147-150); H. OTTEN, *Kanaanäische Mythen aus Hattusa-Boğazköy*, in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 85, 1953, p. 27-38 (see p. 35-36). The text alludes to a victory of the Storm-god over the Sea, which may mean the victory of Ba'al over Yām, « Sea », in the Ugaritic Ba'al cycle. Cf. H.G. GÜTERBOCK, *Kumarbi. Mythen vom churritischen Kronos* (Istanbuler Mitteilungen, 16), Zürich-New York, 1946, p. 122; Id., *Hittite Mythology*, in *Mythologies of the Ancient World*, New York, 1961, p. 139-179 (see p. 173).

²³¹ So O. EISSFELDT, *Baal Zaphon*, p. 6, n. 2; Id., *Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 30, 1932, p. 14-41 (see p. 16); Id., *Kleine Schriften*, II, Tübingen, 1963, p. 31. The suggestion has already been made by W.W. BAUDISSIN, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, II, Leipzig, 1878, p. 247, n. 4.

²³² W.F. ALBRIGHT, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 60, 1941, p. 211-212. The word

since it does not affect the conclusion that there existed deified mountains in Canaanite mythology.

The problem is now how to explain the name 'il špn. It clearly appears from CTA 3 (V AB), III, 26 and 63²³³ that 'il špn cannot be in RS. 24.245, line 2, a title of Ba'al, as Ch. Virolleaud has suggested²³⁴. Judging from parallel expressions as 'il hd²³⁵ or 'ilht ktrt²³⁶, one might conclude that 'il is here an appellative rather than a proper name²³⁷. In consequence, 'il špn would be « the god of Šapān » or « the god Šapān ». But to answer the question with more accuracy, it is necessary to know the meaning of the word špn. Its Hebrew use in the sense of « north » is certainly a secondary one²³⁸. Since Mount Šapān was the northern border of Canaan, its name has been used to designate the north, just as Negeb signified the south and yām, « sea », the west. The Hebrew vocalization šāpōn or šepōn²³⁹ seems to indicate that

βράθυ is indeed a transcription of the Aramaic b'rāt and corresponds to the Hebrew b'erōš and the Akkadian burāšu, all designating trees of the *Juniperus* family. Cf. I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, III, Wien, 1924, p. 15 and 33-36; M. ZOHARY, art. b'erōš, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (in Hebrew), II, Jerusalem, 1954, p. 339-341; *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 2, B, Glückstadt-Chicago, 1965, p. 328; W. VON SODEN, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, I, p. 139b. PEDANIUS DIOSCORIDES, *De Materia Medica*, I, 76 RV, writes: βράθυ · οἱ δὲ βόρατον, 'Ρωμαῖοι ἔρβα Σαββα (M. WELLMANN, *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De Materia Medica*, 2nd ed., vol. I, Berlin, 1958, p. 75). The same correspondence is established by PLINY, *Natural History*, XXIV, 61, § 102, who says that the « savin is called brathy by the Greeks ». According to him it grows in Elam: « Consequently they send to the Elymaei for the wood of the bratus, a tree resembling a spreading cypress, with very white branches, and giving an agreeable scent when burnt » (*Natural History*, XII, 39, § 78. Translation of H. RACKHAM, *Pliny: Natural History* [The Loeb Classical Library], IV, London, 1945, p. 59). But the tree also grew on the Amanus and Lebanon ranges; cf. A. MALAMAT, *Campaigns to the Mediterranean by Iahdunlim and Other Early Mesopotamian Rulers*, in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* (Assyriological Studies, 16), Chicago, 1965, p. 365-373 (see p. 368-369); Sh.M. PAUL, *Deutero-Isaiah and Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions*, in *JAOS*, 88/1, 1968 = *Essays in Memory of E.A. Speiser* (AOS, 53), New Haven, 1968, p. 180-186 (see p. 183).

²³³ UT 'nt III, 26 and 63.

²³⁴ Ch. VIROLLEAUD, in *Ugaritica V*, p. 558.

²³⁵ CTA 10 (IV AB), III, 9; 12 (BH), I, 41; II, 6 and 23; UT 75, I, 41; II, 6 and 23; 76, III, 9.

²³⁶ CTA 24 (NK), 11 and 40; UT 77, 11 and 40.

²³⁷ As against U. OLDENBURG, *The Conflict between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion*, p. 104-106.

²³⁸ P. GRELOT, art. cit., in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 37 (cf. p. 62, n. 2), seems to consider « north » as the original meaning of šāpōn and to regard its identification with Gebel el-Aqra' as secondary and mythological.

²³⁹ The vocalisation šepōn in Ba'al-šepōn (Ex. 14, 2 and 9; Numb. 33, 7) is already

the original uninflected form was *ṣapān*²⁴⁰ and the inflected form *ṣapānu/i/a*²⁴¹. This is confirmed by an Akkadian letter found in Ugarit itself and published in 1956 by J. Nougayrol²⁴², in which we must probably read ^dIM [ḥur-sag^{ṣa}]p-pa-ni²⁴³. Now, the nominal pattern *ṣapān/ṣapānu* points to a biconsonantal root *ṣp* with the ending *-ān/-ānu*, which occurs especially in abstract nouns²⁴⁴. The

attested in the transcription of the Septuagint *σενφων* or *σεφων*. The reduction of the short unaccented vowel in the first syllable is conditioned by the strong stress on *-ōn*. Cf. H. BAUER, *Die hebräische Eigennamen als sprachliche Erkenntnisquelle*, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 48, 1930, p. 73-80 (see p. 79). This phenomenon is actually attested in Late Phoenician. Cf. Z.S. HARRIS, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (AOS, 8), New Haven, 1936, p. 25. The biblical vocalization reflects thus the real Phoenician pronunciation of the name in a later period.

²⁴⁰ For the sound change *ā > ō* in Canaanite, see now E.T. KUTSCHER, *Canaanite - Hebrew - Phoenician - Aramaic - Mishnaic Hebrew - Punic* (in Hebrew), in *Léšonenu*, 33, 1968-1969, p. 83-110. The pronunciation *ṣapōn* seems to be attested already in the XIIIth century B.C. by the Egyptian inscription carved on a stele found in Ugarit and published by C.F.-A. SCHAEFFER, *Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra. Deuxième campagne (printemps 1930)*, in *Syria*, 12, 1931, p. 1-14 and pl. I-XIV (see p. 10-11 and pl. VI); Id., *Ugaritica I*, Paris, 1939, fig. 30. A reproduction can also be found in J.B. PRITCHARD, *ANEP*, 2nd ed., No. 485, and a brief study of the stele is given by R. STADELMANN, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten* (Probleme der Ägyptologie, V), Leiden, 1967, p. 37-39. The name of the god is given on the top of the stele as *B'yr. D'ṣpwn?*, and the inscription beneath mentions him again: [... *B'yr. D'ṣpwn?*. *ntr. nfr* ..., «[Ba'al] Ṣapon, the great god». On Ba'al-Ṣapān in Egypt, one may see N. AIMÉ-GIBON, *Ba'al Ṣaphon et les dieux de Tahpanhès dans un nouveau papyrus phénicien*, in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 40, 1940, p. 433-460 and pl. XL-XLII; R. STADELMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 32-47.

²⁴¹ Cf. M. WEIPPERT, review of J. AISTLEITNER, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 216, 1964, p. 182-195 (see p. 194, n. 66); Id., *Elemente phönikischer und kilikischer Religion in den Inschriften vom Karatepe*, in *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag. Vorträge*, 1 (ZDMG, Suppl. I, 1), Wiesbaden, 1969, p. 191-217 (see p. 202).

²⁴² J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*, IV, *Textes accadiens des archives sud* (Mission de Ras Shamra, IX), Paris, 1956, pl. XI, lines 2'-3'.

²⁴³ This restoration is almost certain, since this name is followed by that of ^dPi-id-ra-i, known from the mythological literature of Ugarit as daughter of Ba'al. W.F. ALBRIGHT, in *BASOR*, 146, 1957, p. 35, and *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 109, n. 38, restores ^dIM [ṣa ḥur-sag^{ṣa}]pa-ni, but the traces noticed by J. NOUGAYROL point to ERIM (*ṣap*) rather than to ZA (*ṣa*), whereas the usual Akkadian name ^dIM ḥur-sag^{ḥa}-zi makes the presence of *ṣa* between IM and the name of the mountain very doubtful. — One may compare *Ṣap-pa-ni* with the Aramaic *ṣippūn*, both pronounced with a reduplicated *p*.

²⁴⁴ Cf. S. MOSCATI, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Wiesbaden, 1964 (reprint, 1969), p. 82, § 12.21.

verb would be *šūp*, « to float », and the noun *šāpōn* would accordingly mean « floating »²⁴⁵.

The word seems to have still that sense in Ez. 32,30, where the *nesīkē šāpōn* are paralleled by the *šidōnī(m)*, which are here the Phoenicians in general. The *nesīkē šāpōn* are thus likely to be the « princes of floating », i.e., « of navigation »²⁴⁶. The original meaning of *šāpōn*, in a concrete acception, may be attested also in Job 26,7, where *šāpōn*, paralleled by *'eres*, would characterize the earth as « floating » on the waters²⁴⁷:

“ He stretches out the floatage on the emptiness,
he hangs the earth on nothing. ”

It may reasonably be inferred therefore that *'il špn* was the « god of floating », i.e., the divine patron of navigators. Similarly, *b'l špn* was the « lord of floating ». This explains the presence of another spot called *Ba'al-Šapōn* on the northern sea-shore of the Sinai²⁴⁸,

²⁴⁵ Other etymologies have been proposed. One derived *šāpōn* from the root *špn*, « to hide ». It is a popular etymology which is already attested in the Aramaic fragments of the Book of Enoch found in Qumrān, 4Q Hen. astr.^d and 4Q Hen. astr.^e, which correspond to I Enoch 77. Line 6 is restored as follows by J.T. MILIK, *art. cit.*, in *Revue Biblique*, 65, 1958, p. 76: [*wgryn lšpwn' špwn*] *bdy bh špnyn wmtknsyn wšhryn kl 'rby smy'*, « and they call the north *šippūn*, because there are hidden (*šape'nīn*) and gathered and making their revolution all the vessels of the heavens ». Instead, H. BAUER and P. LEANDER, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes*, I, Halle, 1922 (reprint: Hildesheim, 1962), p. 499, attached *šāpōn* to the root *špy*, « to look out », and attributed to the noun *šāpōn* the meaning « look-out », and henceforth « direction ». They have been followed, among others, by L. KÖHLER - W. BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 2nd ed., Leiden, 1958, p. 812; M.H. POPE, in H.W. HAUSSIG (ed.), *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, p. 258; W.F. ALBRIGHT, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 109, n. 38. O. EISSFELDT, *Baal Zaphon*, p. 17-18, accepts this etymology, but considers *šāpōn* as a concrete noun meaning « look-out point », i.e., « mountain ». Such a sense suits perfectly the nominal formations of the pattern *mqtł*, as *mispe(h)* or *misṣpā(h)*, but is less justified for a word with the ending *-ān* > *-ōn* as *šāpōn*. The third radical *y* would in any case have left a trace, as can be seen, for instance, in the case of *ḥezyōn* or *ḥizzāyōn* from *ḥzy*.

²⁴⁶ That the meaning « north » does not suit in Ez. 32,30 has already been noticed by O. EISSFELDT, *Baal Zaphon*, p. 12, who suggested to consider here *Šapōn* as the name of the mountain *Ġebel el-Aqra'*.

²⁴⁷ Several authors have already noticed that the translation « north » does not suit at all in Job 26,7. Cf. O. EISSFELDT, *Baal Zaphon*, p. 13-14.

²⁴⁸ Ex. 14,2 and 9; Numb. 33,7. Cf. O. EISSFELDT, *Baal Zaphon*, p. 39-48; N. AIMÉ-GIRON, *Ba'al Šaphon et les dieux de Tahpanhès dans un nouveau papyrus phénicien*, in *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 40, 1940, p. 433-460 and pl. XL-XLII.

as well as the mythological theme of the struggle between the Sea (*ym*) and the Lord of Floating (*b'l špn*). Under his Greek name *Ζεὺς Κάσιος*, Ba'al-Šapān was still venerated in Greek-Roman times as the god of sailors. Procopius of Caesarea, in the sixth century A.D., mentions indeed an inscription carved on a votive ship and dedicated to that god by some Phaeacian merchants :

« Such is the case of the ship which stands by the shore of the island in the land of the Phaeacians, made of white stone and supposed by some to be the very one which carried Odysseus to Ithaca at the time when he had the fortune to be entertained in Phaeacia. And yet this boat is not a monolith, but is composed of a very great number of stones. And an inscription has been cut in it and cries aloud that some merchants in earlier times set up this offering to Zeus Casius. For the men of this place once honoured Zeus Casius »²⁴⁹.

It must, however, be borne in mind that the myths of Ugarit imply beyond any doubt the identity of the Lord of Floating with the Storm-god, who had become the master of the holy mountain.

According to earlier mythological texts from Ugarit, the full name of the mountain itself was during a certain period *'il špn*. It occurs only in a stereotypical formula pronounced twice by Ba'al and applied once to him : *btḳ ḡry 'il špn*²⁵⁰, *btḳ ḡrh 'il špn*²⁵¹, « in the midst of my/his mountain, El-Šapān ». In later texts the mountain is called *Ba'li-Šapōn*²⁵². These names have obviously a religious character and a Canaanite origin, just as the name *Hermōn*. The name *Hazzi*, preserved in Hittite and Akkadian documents, and transformed in *Kάσιος* or *Casius* in Greek-Roman times²⁵³, was most likely the

²⁴⁹ PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*, VIII, 22,23-26 = *The Gothic War*, IV, 22,23-26. Critical edition by J. HAVRY - G. WIRTH, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, II, *De Bellis Libri V-VIII*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1963, p. 606-607. Translation of H.B. DEWING, *Procopius* (The Loeb Classical Library), V, London, 1928, p. 285.

²⁵⁰ CTA 3 (V AB), c,26; D,63; UT 'nt III,26; IV,63.

²⁵¹ RS. 24.245, line 2, edited by Ch. VIROLLEAUD, in *Ugaritica V*, No. 3, p. 556.

²⁵² CTA 16 (II K), I,6-7; II,107; UT 125,6-7 and 107. Further, in Assyrian texts of Tiglat-pileser III and Sargon II: P. ROST, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III.*, Leipzig, 1893, vol. I, p. 20-21, line 127; vol. II, pl. XXI, line 6 : *kurBa-a'-li-ša-pu-na*; H. WINCKLER, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Leipzig, 1889, vol. I, p. 34-35, line 204; vol. II, pl. 16, line 9, or A.G. LIE, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria*, I, *The Annals*, Paris, 1929, p. 38-39, line 230 : *kurBa-'i-il-ša-pu-na šadūū rabūū*, « Ba'l-šapōn, the great mountain ». The slightly damaged context has been studied by J. LEWY, *Tabor, Tībar, Atabyros*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 23/1, 1950-1951, p. 357-386 (see p. 385).

²⁵³ References to *Kάσιον ὄρος* are given by E. HONIGMANN, *Historische Topographie*

former appellation of that mountain dominating the Ugaritic seashore. The first Canaanite population which established itself in that region gave the mountain the name of *'il špn*, devoting it to El considered as the protector of navigators. This *'il špn* is mentioned at the beginning of a list of Ugaritic deities²⁵⁴. The consort of the « God of Floating » was *rbt 'atrt ym*, « the Lady traversing the sea »²⁵⁵. Both had a sanctuary on the top of the mountain²⁵⁶. But it does not appear that this spot has ever been considered as the Mount of the divine Assembly, even if Ġebel el-Aqra' was actually the highest mountain of Northern Syria.

Špn became soon the current name of Mount Ĥazzi among the Canaanite population of Syria. Under the influence of Hurrian and Hittite beliefs, the mountain itself was then conceived as a god. The ritual texts mentioning *Špn* reflect that situation²⁵⁷. After Ba'al had become the prominent deity of Ugarit and the master of the mountain, the latter was named after him. The myth of the struggle between the Storm-god and the Sea supposes, however, that the name *B'l špn* was originally understood as « Lord of Floating ». But the later meaning was most likely « the Storm-god of Mount Šapān ». The rituals have preserved in the meantime the souvenir of a distinctive deity *Špn*, identified with the mountain itself.

In conclusion, the modern Ġebel el-Aqra' seems to have been dedicated to El before it became the mountain of Ba'al. But there are no positive elements which should allow to characterize it as the Mountain of the divine Assembly. In any case, it does not correspond to the nature of El's abode as described in the Ugaritic myths.

von Nordsyrien im Altertum, in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 46, 1923, p. 149-193; 47, 1924, p. 1-64 (see p. 7-8, No. 248).

²⁵⁴ CTA 29,1; UT 17,13.

²⁵⁵ Cf. W.F. ALBRIGHT, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 4th ed., Baltimore, 1956, p. 77-78; Id., *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 105 with n. 24; M.J. DAHOOD, *Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine*, in *Le antiche divinità semitiche* (Studi semitici, 1), Roma, 1958, p. 65-94 (see p. 80); M.H. POPE, in H.W. HAUSSIG (ed.), *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, p. 247.

²⁵⁶ CTA 3 (V AB), E,46-51; 4 (II AB), IV,51-57; UT 51,IV,51-57; 'nt V,46-51. Cf. U. OLDENBURG, *The Conflict between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion*, p. 105.

²⁵⁷ See here above, p. 58.

IV

THE NATURE OF EL'S ABODE

The most extensive description of El's abode in the Ugaritic texts is found in a formula which occurs five times ²⁵⁸. When a god or a goddess visits El, the departure and arrival are regularly presented in the following way :

'idk l y/ttn pnm	« Then indeed he/she/they set/s face
'm 'il mbk nhrm	towards El at the sources of the rivers,
qrb 'apq thmtm	midst the springs of the two Oceans.
y/tgly dd 'il w y/tb'u	He/she/they disclose/s the horror of El and
	enter/s
qrš mlk 'ab šnm	the glacier of the king, Father of Šunamī».

This translation needs justification. The expression *mbk nhrm* has a parallel in Job 28,11, *mibbekē nehārōt* ²⁵⁹, from which it appears that *mbk* is a plural. There are no reasons to think that *nhrm* is a dual. The expression may also be compared with « the mouth of the rivers », *pī nārāte*, which designates the region where Utnapištim lived his post-diluvium eternal life ²⁶⁰, and with « the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep », which Enoch saw near « the mountains of the darkness of winter » (I Enoch 17,7-8).

The exact meaning of *qrb 'apq thmtm* is clarified by the parallel passage of RS. 24.244, lines 2-3, *'m 'il mbk nhrm b'dt thmtm* ²⁶¹, « towards El at the sources of the rivers, at the confluence of the two Oceans », and also by the *mağma' al-bahrain*, « junction of the two seas », which designates in the Qur'ān ²⁶² the mythological sources of waters at the borders of the known world.

The basic meaning of *gly* is « to disclose ». This sense suits perfectly the context, since the aqueous environs of El constitute a hidden place ²⁶³. The word *dd* is most likely cognate with the classical Arabic

²⁵⁸ CTA 2 (III AB), III,4-5; 3 (II AB), E,13-16; 4 (II AB), IV,20-24; 6 (I AB), I,32-36; 17 (II D), VI,46-49; UT 49,4-8; 51, IV,20-24; 129,4-5; 2 Aqht VI,46-49; 'nt V,13-16.

²⁵⁹ Cf. M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 62.

²⁶⁰ Gilgamesh epos, tabl. XI, 195, 196.

²⁶¹ RS. 24.244, lines 2-3, edited by Ch. VIROLLEAUD, in *Ugaritica V*, No. 7, p. 567.

²⁶² Sura 18,59-63. Cf. here above, p. 47.

²⁶³ Cf. Job 28,11; 38,16-17; II Sam. 22,16 = Ps. 18,16.

dawd, « defense, protection », *dāda*, « to drive away, repel, defend »²⁶⁴. Since the primitive sense of the root is rather « to repel », the *dd*, probably pronounced **dōdu* < **dawdu*, shall be a « repellent place ». This is confirmed by the parallel term *qrš*, which belongs to the same root as Middle Hebrew *qāraš* and Middle Aramaic *q^eraš*, « to become solid, congeal », and as the classical Arabic *qarisa*, « to be glacial, grim, severe », and, in stem II, « to freeze, make torpid »²⁶⁵. The most suitable translation of *dd* would thus be « horror », in the sense of a horrifying thing, and that of *qrš* « glacier ». This would be, of course, an allusion to the perennial snow of the mountain which was believed to be the abode of El. A confirmation can be found in El's title *'ab šnm*, which occurs only in this context.

It is useless to recall here all the interpretations of the word *šnm*²⁶⁶. What is sure, is that the only occurrence of *šnm* in the Ugaritic texts besides the epithet *'ab šnm* is in the pair of divine names *tkmn w šnm*²⁶⁷, intimately associated with El²⁶⁸, and identified by H. Bauer²⁶⁹ and O. Eissfeldt²⁷⁰ as the Cassite deities Šuqamuna²⁷¹ and Šumaliya²⁷².

²⁶⁴ This has already been suggested by F. LØKKEGAARD, *Baalsfald*, in *Dansk teologisk tidsskrift*, 19, 1956, p. 65-82 (see p. 77). Cf. also U. OLDENBURG, *The Conflict between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion*, p. 106, n. 6.

²⁶⁵ This connection has already been suggested by M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 67.

²⁶⁶ For the different suggested meanings, see M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 32-33; U. OLDENBURG, *The Conflict between Baal and El in Canaanite Religion*, p. 17-18. Add now A. JIRKU, in *ZAW*, 82, 1970, p. 278-279.

²⁶⁷ CTA 30,4; 32,9", 17,26,35; 34,3,6; 35,31; RS. 18.56, lines 14, 17, 33-34 (CTA, p. 137); RS. 24.258, lines 18-19 (*Ugaritica V*, No. 1, p. 546); RS. 24.271 R°, line 8 (*Ugaritica V*, No. 10, p. 583). Cf. *UT* 1, 3 and 6; 2, 26 and 35; 3, 31; 107, 4; 173, 14, 17, and 33-34.

²⁶⁸ Cf. CTA 30,4-5 and RS. 24.258, lines 18-19 (*Ugaritica V*, No. 1, p. 546); cf. *UT* 107,4-5. According to J. GRAY, *Social Aspects of Canaanite Religion*, in *Congress Volume, Genève, 1965* (SVT, XV), Leiden, 1966, p. 170-192 (see p. 184), *tkmn w šnm* would be « the attendants of El ».

²⁶⁹ H. BAUER, *Die Gottheiten von Ras Shamra*, in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 51, 1933, p. 81-101 (see p. 99).

²⁷⁰ O. EISSFELDT, *Ugaritisches 4. tkmn w šnm*, in *ZDMG*, 99, 1945-1949, p. 29-42, reprinted in Id., *Kleine Schriften*, II, Tübingen, 1963, p. 528-541; Id., *El im ugaritischen Pantheon*, p. 66-69.

²⁷¹ The identification of *tkmn* with Šuqamuna has first been proposed by R. DUS-SAUD, *Brèves remarques sur les tablettes de Ras Shamra*, in *Syria*, 12, 1931, p. 67-77 (see p. 70). The change *q > k* appears also in the personal names Šu-ku-ma-na and Šu-ka-na-na, where also a regressive assimilation *m > n* occurs. Both contain the divine name, as already pointed out by C.H. GORDON, *Observations on the Akkadian Tablets from*

These deities were the holy patrons of the Cassite dynasty of Babylon and were probably entitled as such to have a place in the Ugaritic ritual and sacrificial texts. But there was a special reason why El was called the father of Šunamī/Šumaliya in the passages describing his abode. According to the Babylonian-Cassite mythology Šumaliya was indeed «the Lady of the glittering mountains, that dwells on the peaks (and) walks upon the sources», *Šumaliya bēlet šadē ellūti, āšibat rēšēti, kābisat kuppāti*²⁷³. This epithet characterizes Šunamī/Šumaliya as the goddess of the snow-capped mountains and of the sources emerging at their feet²⁷⁴. Since El resided precisely in such snowy and aqueous environments, he is proclaimed in the pertinent passages «Father of Šunamī», a title which involves a superiority of El upon the Cassite goddess.

Ugarit, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 50, 1956, p. 127-133 (see p. 131). They are found in the texts published by J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*, III, *Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales* (Mission de Ras Shamra, VI), Paris, 1955, respectively p. 161, line 6, and p. 155, line 5. We must here mention, too, the place-name *Šu-ka-mu-na-timki*, attested on the Mari tablet A. 4634, Tr. lat., 3, which has just been published by G. DOSSIN, *Archives de Sūmu-iamam, roi de Mari*, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 64, 1970, p. 17-44 (see p. 43). No doubt, it contains the name of the god *Šuq/kamuna*, whose origin might therefore be Pre-Cassite.

²⁷² The derivation of Šunamī from Šumaliya can be explained by metathesis and dissimilation. Šumali(ya) could be pronounced also Šulami(ya), just as we have in Hebrew *šimlā* and *šalmā*, «mantle», as «ladder» is called *sullām* in Hebrew and *similtu* in Akkadian, and as «louse» is *qaml* in Arabic and *qalmā* in Aramaic. On the other hand, the interchanges between *l* and *n* are especially frequent; cf. C. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin, 1908, p. 222; S. MOSCATI, *Il sistema consonantico delle lingue semitiche*, Roma, 1954, p. 50-51, § 64; Id., *Lezioni di linguistica semitica*, Roma, 1959, p. 34, § 95; Id., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 32, § 8.26. Excellent parallels are those of the biblical personal name *Šunammīt* (I Kings 1,3 and 15; 2,17 and 21-22; II Kings, 4,12, 25, and 36) and *Šulammīt* (Cant. 7,1), and of the biblical place-name *Šūnēm* (Jos. 19,18; I Sam. 28,4; II Kings, 4,8), to-day *Sōlēm*; cf. Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography*, London, 1967, p. 111, where other examples can be found under *Lamedh* and *Nun*. In the same way, Šulami(ya) might change to Šunami(ya), and *vice versa*.

²⁷³ The phrase is found in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I (1124-1103 B.C.), first edited by Th.G. PINCHES, in H.C. RAWLINSON, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, V, London, 1880-1884 (reprint, 1909), pl. 55-59, and then published again by L.W. KING, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1912, No. VI, p. 29-36 and pl. LXXXIII-XCI; see col. II, 46-47.

²⁷⁴ Cf. O. EISSFELDT, *art. cit.*, in *ZDMG*, 99, 1945-1949, p. 34, and *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 533. In Akkadian, *šadē ellūti*, literally «shining» or «glittering mountains», are in fact «snow-capped mountains».

This conclusion suggests several important corollaries. First of all, the title of «Father of Šunamī», attributed to El in the passages describing his abode, proves that the Ugaritians located the latter not on Mount Hermon, but at the sources of the river Māla, i.e., the Euphrates, where El dwelled according to the Canaanite myth in the Hittite version. The Armenian mountains were thus also the realm of the Cassite goddess Šumaliya, which indicates that one of the successive homelands of the Cassites was that region of the Near East. This is also supposed by Gen. 2,13, according to which the second river originating in Paradise flows around the country of the Cassites²⁷⁵. The mention of Šunamī/Šumaliya in the Ugaritic myths implies the existence of economic, political, and cultural relations between Ugarit and the Cassite Babylonia. It can reasonably be inferred therefore that the final redaction of the bulk of these myths is not prior to the XIVth century B.C.

It has already been observed that the nature of El's abode is similar to that of the Sumero-Akkadian god Enki-Ea, who dwelled in the subterranean deep *apsū*²⁷⁶ and nourished the earth with the streams that forced their way upwards. But the explicit identification of both deities is only attested at Karatepe, in the VIIIth century B.C. The Phoenician name 'l qn 'rš²⁷⁷ is translated in the bilingual inscription found on that spot with the pseudo-hieroglyphic louvite name *da-ā-s*²⁷⁸, which corresponds to the cuneiform spelling *A-a-aš* of the nominatif²⁷⁹. The presence of the Babylonian god Ea in Anatolia reveals a Hurrian influence²⁸⁰. It is impossible, however, to specify how old this identification of 'l qn 'rš with Ea is. Most likely it is based

²⁷⁵ Cf. E.A. SPEISER, *The Rivers of Paradise*, in *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich*, Heidelberg, 1959, p. 473-485 (see p. 475), reprinted in *Oriental and Biblical Studies. Collected Writings of E.A. Speiser*, Philadelphia, 1967, p. 23-34 (see p. 25); E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Nimrod et Aššur*, in *Revue Biblique*, 73, 1966, p. 77-93 (see p. 80).

²⁷⁶ M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 71-72, cf. p. 43 and 55; O. KAISER, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres*, 2nd ed., p. 50-53.

²⁷⁷ Cf. H. DONNER - W. RÖLLIG, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, No. 26 A, col. III, 18.

²⁷⁸ The text of the inscription can be found in P. MERIGGI, *Manuale di eteo geroglifico*, II/1, *I testi neo-etei più o meno completi* (Incunabula Graeca, 14), Roma, 1967, No. 24, fr. LXIX, p. 89.

²⁷⁹ Cf. A. GOETZE, *Kleinasien*, 2nd ed., München, 1957, p. 130.

²⁸⁰ Cf. E. LAROCHE, *Études sur les hiéroglyphes hittites*, in *Syria*, 31, 1954, p. 99-117 (see p. 99-103); E. OTTO, in *Religionsgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I. Abt., VIII/1), Lief. 1, Leiden-Köln, 1964, p. 117; M. WEIPPERT, *art. cit.*, in *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag. Vorträge*, 1. (ZDMG, Suppl. I/1), p. 200-201.

not only on the similarity of the abode of both deities and on some features of their figure, such as wisdom and non-violence ²⁸¹, but also on the meaning of the name EN.KI, « Lord of the Earth ». This was probably one of the main reasons why Ea-Enki has been identified with 'l qn 'rs, which name accordingly meant at that time « El owner of the earth » rather than « El creator of the earth ». The aqueous abode of El seems to have been present in the memories as late as the first century A.D., when 'l qwn ('r' was identified with Poseidon in a bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription of Palmyra ²⁸².

CONCLUSION

Reassuming thus briefly the main points of our study, we may confidently conclude that, from the XIVth century B.C. on, the abode of El was located in the far-off mountains of Armenia, where El was supposed to live in a subterraneous and aqueous environment. Mythological traditions situated there too the Mountain of the divine Assembly, with which the Land of the Living was connected, as appears from the Ninivite version of the Gilgameš epic. However, El was earlier venerated as the patron of navigators on Ġebel el-Aqra', the ancient Mount Šapān, which became subsequently the mountain of the Storm-god Ba'al. It does not seem, nevertheless, that this mountain was ever conceived as the Mount of the divine Assembly. This quality was instead attributed to Mount Hermon, at least from the Old Babylonian period on, so that, in the second half of the IIth millennium and in the Ist millennium B.C., we must deal at least with two Semitic Olympus. The spot of Afqa, on the other hand, does not appear to have any special connection with El, but there was in Afqa a well-known sanctuary of Astarte, echo of which we find even in the Ninivite version of the Gilgameš epic.

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²⁸¹ M.H. POPE, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 43 and 45. See, however, P.D. MILLER, *El the Warrior*, in *The Harvard Theological Review*, 60, 1967, p. 411-431.

²⁸² J. CANTINEAU, *Tadmora, 31° : Un Poséidon palmyrénien*, in *Syria*, 19, 1938, p. 78-79. Cf. E. LIPÍŃSKI, *La Royauté de Yahvé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël*, p. 418-419.