The Weather God in the Ancient Near Eastern Literature with Special Reference to Hebrew Bible

Walter Gerhardt Jr.
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Abstract
Although many scholarly contributions have been made concerning the subject of the Weathergod, the material forthcoming has been for the most part concerned with the various fragmentary aspects of the phenomenon. The need arises to posture the Weather-phenomenon as it exists in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in the totus of its perspective.

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THE WEATHER-GOD IN THE
ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN LITERATURE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HEBREW BIBLE

by
Walter Gerhardt, Jr.

A Thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
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The Dropsie College
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Philadelphia
1963
APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled
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by
Walter Gerhardt, Jr.
Candidate for the degree of
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To Jean, my wife
with inexpressible
Love
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PREFACE

The undertaking of this dissertation is to satisfy partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Although many scholarly contributions have been made concerning the subject of the Weather-god, the material forthright has been for the most part concerned with the various fragmentary aspects of the phenomenon. The need arises to posture the Weather-phenomenon as it exists in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in the totus of its perspective.

I have attempted through comparative philology, historical development and religious comparison to present the Weather-god phenomenon in the total perspective as it appears. Thus, the framing of the Hebrew cultural adaptation of the Weather-god in the civilization of the Ancient Near East is a necessity. This framing provides the necessary orientation to present the standardized form patterns in Israel's religious literature as part of the genre of the Weather-god phenomenon in the Ancient Near Eastern Literature.
The seemingly irrevocable hiatuses of information concerning the Hebrew deity YHWH are numerous and perplexing. I have tried to present the problems in a refreshing manner with suggestive material to breach the somewhat insurmountable difficulties.

I have wherever available used original literary sources. I have made use of the prolific scholarly publications on the source material. All sources used are listed under the section entitled, Bibliography or appear in the footnotes of this dissertation if material is quoted from the source.

The establishing of a rapport of the Weather-god phenomenon in the Ancient Near Eastern Literature is one of the major considerations of this dissertation. This phenomenon which first appeared in the Sumerian culture has found fertile environmental adaptation in the cultures of the Ancient Near East. Thus, I have attempted to present the Identity and Difference of the Weather-god phenomenon. Identity: namely, that the Weather-god is an inter-cultural concept. Difference: due mainly to the cultural prismatic adaptation of the phenomenon. There is, I trust, in the final pre-
sentation of the subject under consideration, affinity of origin, development of concept and agreement of characteristics so that the Weather-god phenomenon may be observed in this dissertation as an universal religious concept arising within the matrix of the literature of the Ancient Near Eastern Cultures.

The appellative Weather-god has been selected because it conveys the larger conceptional capacity and demonstrable meteorological phenomena which is personified as deity. This designate, i. e., Weather-god, assumes the whole gamut of weather hierophanies and not merely one isolated form.

The term, Storm-god is limited in scope (certainly not limited in importance) and suggests only limited performance in the realm of meteorological phenomena.

To represent the genre of weather phenomena in the Ancient Near Eastern Literature I have selected the appellative Weather-god as the techicus terminus. I trust the importance of the choice will become increasingly more valid as the dissertation unfolds.
To Dr. Moshe Held, my friend and esteemed professor, I extend my heartfelt gratitude for his patience and perseverance during the arduous periods of compilation. His scholarly guidance and contribution to the formulation and completion of this dissertation are immeasurable.

To Dr. Theodor H. Gaster, my learned professor of Comparative Religion, I extend my warmest appreciation for his contribution and valuable suggestions in the preparation of this paper.
INTRODUCTION

The primary residence of human existence has been in the natural habitat. Here man has reflected, through the constant encountering - reciprocating process to environmental phenomena, a long linear progress. Man has encountered his phenomenology from the early periods of his emergence out of lower primate forms to the full projection of his own psychology.¹

Primitive's man imaginative thoughts are not spontaneously projected above his environment, i. e., transcendental, but remain for the most part involved in the experience of the natural processes in which he has encountered cosmic, meteorological and other forms of phenomenology.

Cosmic forces are so awe-inspiring, so indispensable to his preservation, that man shows great respect and veneration for them. The meteorological rhythms, often capricious, untrustworthy; yet, possessing and demanding because of their vitality and energy, withdraw from the mentality of man great magnitudes of divine forms.²


The sedentary deposits from the Palaeolithic age evidenced that natural forces impressed the mentality and behaviour of early man. From this fragmentary evidence to prolific literary examples, man clearly demonstrates in form his religious encounter with natural phenomena. (It is not, however, until the historical period that irrevocable evidence of the Weather-god is clearly presented.) With the development of writing man has recorded his thoughts and behaviours. These records have established a rapport of religious attitudes and behaviours which obviously reflect a much older tradition than the period in which they are given literary expression.

The primary setting of divine life was thus nature, and the life of nature was the life of the gods. In historical time (that is, after 3000 B.C.E.) however, the increasing complexity of society and national life meant that the gods of necessity took an increasing responsibility of a social nature, but, their primary relation to nature was seldom, if ever, lost.2

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The discovery of Ancient Near Eastern literary source material in recent years has provided new understanding of the culture complex which existed in the Ancient Near East. Biblical studies have benefited greatly from these discoveries. No serious scholar can now minimize, let alone ignore, the importance and value of this literature. Thus, these literary compositions provide not only historical references, but a rich and varied myth and legend of the accounts of history. This literary treasure has provided concrete evidence of the religious forms that existed in the cultures of the Ancient Near East.

Israel's religious expression has come primarily from the environment of its pre-historical culture. This presents many difficulties in attempting a reconstruction of the Religion of Israel. Thus, the difficulties encountered are often arduous and impossible. It is primarily through comparative (contemporary)

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5 Albright, loc. cit. (Refers to pp. 32ff.)

literary sources that reconstruction, with assurance and validity, of the original intent and form is possible. It is especially important to understand this methodology in recognizing that Israel has borrowed heavily from Ancient Near Eastern Literature in constructing her Religious Literature.7

Previous attempts on the part of some scholars to show all Hebrew religious forms and institutions as originating in the southern cultures, i.e., Egypt and South Arabia, has proved to be false.8 The Mesopotamian and Canaanite literature provide a wealth of material, which is of great value for its own intrinsic forms, with which to construct, evaluate and support Hebrew Bible. Thus, this wealth of comparative material has brought the Biblical material into its proper historical, linguistic and religious perspectives. Israel was indebted to the Ancient Near Eastern cultures for her pre-natal conceptional values and institutions. The multi-cultural sources of Israel's religious ex-

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pression requires correction. The processes of mythopoeic thought are decisive for many sections of the Old Testament.¹⁰

In many places Myth in the Hebrew Bible must be classified as "Submerged Myth". That is, Myth which appears in literature no longer pregnant with cosmic meaning, but which has been adapted to an environmental connotation which is involved in history. But, its existence is undeniable. Deity for the Hebrew mentality was not a transcendent being, but on the contrary, it/he was the very personification of those forces which played such a tremendous rôle in the early Hebrew environment. So impressed was this truth in the mentality of the Hebrews that the locations of many of the early hierophanies were never forgotten.

Israelite culture in the pre-Canaanite period clearly shows evidence of having been exposed to natural weather phenomena in the Sinai area. It is this exposure which provides the basis of later developments. Certainly Israel culture had a fertile womb

ready to be impregnated with ideas and traditions of the Canaanites. This accounts for the fact of Israel adopting so readily the Weather-god of the Canaanites, i. e., Ba'äl. Israel's mentality was not a tabula rasa, as has been suggested by Dr. Albright,\textsuperscript{11} upon entering Canaan, but on the contrary, it was prepared by the primitive imagination which had experienced the forces of natural phenomena.

Although many of the crystallized forms of religious experience have emphasized one or another of the tremendous confrontation of the "wholly other", none has so captured the imagination of ancient man and emanated such response as the energy experienced in the weather phenomenon. The Weather-god phenomenon plays a vital and vibrant rôle in the economy as well as the religious culture of society.

The Weather-god phenomenon is far reaching in importance and utility in the Ancient Near Eastern Cultures. The cultural forms the Weather-god assumes are most stimulating and interesting. The human response

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Albright, loc. cit. (Refers to p. 284).}
to this terrifying, yet at the same time fasci-
nating being, i.e., the Weather-god, provides an
elaborate mythology which is the basis of the lit-
erary form under consideration. It is the primary
purpose of this research to understand and inter-
pret this literary form as the final expression
of the process of religious experience that under-
lines the Weather-god phenomenon.

The origin of the Weather-god phenomenon
in the Hebrew culture is not very consorting with
the fragmentary information that we now possess.
There remains a hiatus in the conclusive evidence
of source material. However, it is becoming in-
creasingly clear that YHWH is the Hebrew adaptation
of the Canaanite Weather-god Ba’al (Hadad). I shall
expand this theory under the section entitled, "The
Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god". It is
most obvious that YHWH, the Hebrew god, is given
form and characteristic on the basis of Israel’s
inter-cultural exposure to the Weather-god genre as
it existed in the Eastern and Western areas of the
Ancient Near East. Thus, this observable genre in
literature is of primary importance - the civilization that long had matured in Southern Mesopotamia becomes an international factor, transcending the ethnic, geographic and political boundaries. It was able to achieve cultural unity where otherwise disparity would be the normal outcome. Since that religion was in all essentials Mesopotamian, i.e., the religion of the Sumerians, one must uncover the prototype of the Weather-god. The human attributes of its deities and their identification with the forces and powers of nature, i.e., meteorological and astronomical phenomena, constituted a pan-Mesopotamian theogamy. Bel, who is the Weather-god of the eastern matrix of weather phenomena becomes the Weather-god of the entire Ancient Near East. He is known by many different names, but each is the cultural adaptation of this deity. From this point I shall begin "The Origin and Development of the Weather-god".

12Dentan, loc. cit. (Refers to pp. 40-55.)
I. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEATHER-GOD

General Discussion of Theory of Origin
Historical Development of the Weather-god
General Discussion of Theory of Origin

The civilization of the Ancient Near East presents a complicated and complex chronology of progressive history. The fragmentary archaeological material of pre-historical cultures, although significant, is of varied quality. Large hiatuses of sufficient material with which to reconstruct a comparative stratigraphy and form a correlation between the various pre-historical sites prevents at the present time a precise chronology of Mesopotamian cultural achievements. However, the information that is known is extremely important and does provide the pre-historian a valid basis upon which to compare and evaluate pre-historical sites. Therefore, one must assert extreme caution in evaluating this material especially in relationship to the Weather-god phenomena.

Suffice to say that there have been many attempts by prominent scholars to fabricate the pre-historical cultural process of the Ancient Near East,

as well as overdraw interpretations, by inductive methodologies, of the religious significance of cultic forms, plastic statuary and archaeological material.² The pre-historic age in Mesopotamia will remain sluggishly inarticulate in some respects while in others it has presented brilliant evidence of its advanced characteristics. Thus, it is very unwise on the basis of historical evidence to reconstruct the pre-historical assemblage with dogmatic assurance.³

The primary intent of this section is to present the Weather-god phenomena in relationship to its conceptual matrix, i.e., "the environmental area and period in which the characteristic values of the environment were ideologically conceived in human psy-

²William Foxwell Albright, Archaeology and The Religion of Israel, (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1953), p. 12. "We are in the nature of the case, limited almost exclusively to literary sources on dealing with effective life of the Ancient Near East. It is only with the greatest of caution that we can draw representation from illustrative material." Dr. Albright expresses my conclusive opinion concerning the matter of reconstructing a pre-historical interpretative chronology. The historical period also presents many unsolved problems, although of minuté character, yet through written records gives sufficient evidence for accurate interpretative civilization.

³Perkins, op. cit., p. 110. I agree with Dr. Perkins concerning the so called "Anu ziggurat" is somewhat overdrawn. This monumental architecture of Warka square K XVII, A phase of Uruk temple, is not a
chological and physiological morphology, and its sociological emergence, i. e., 'the period in which the Weather-god phenomena reached maturation as a formalized social, political and religious being'.

A discussion of Origin, (Origins - whichever case may represent the factual observation), must logically coincide with the pre-historical and historical developments of the cultures in the Ancient Near East. The Weather-god phenomena did not develop independently of the cultural forms in which it is observed, on the contrary, these cultural forms afford an understanding of the collateral relationship of human psychology to meteorological forces which I classify as the Weather-god phenomena.

The energies of nature are alive and bristling with activity. These energies are distinguished in personal form, to my mind, which reflect the socio-economic patterns in the environmental complex. 4

zigurat in the true sense of the architectural form in historical time and gives no evidence of being used as a temple to any deity.

The material for my discussion on the Weather-god origin, although derived from a multiple of sources, is based primarily on the works listed below.  

The crucial question which confronts us is, when did the Weather-god phenomena arise within the cultural framework in which it is found, especially in the lower alluvial plain area? While the Weather-god phenomena belongs primarily to the highly specialized "irrigation culture" 6 (on the threshold of/or in the developing stages of urbanization) where precipitation, to some degree, irrigation, and other forms of water supply of this nature are needed to sustain and condition the economy with a measure of prosperity, nevertheless, we must evaluate the kratophanic 7 elements in the character of the Weather-god which I suggest date back to a pre-historical environmental orientation.

5 Perkins, op. cit., entire work.


7 Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion,
The alluvial plain due to its riverine character and its lack of appreciable rainfall in meteorological depth could not give birth to all the forms the Weather-god assumes, and are obviously demonstrable, in the literature of the historical periods after 3000 B.C.E. It seems that prior stages of environmental exposure, i.e., pre-Chalcolithic, are fused with the forms of the "irrigation culture" which constitute the weather-god phenomenon in Mesopotamia. 8

The case in point is clearly demonstrated in the example of the significant logograms used to depict the value characteristics of meteorological phenomena. 9 It is remarkably characteristic that most of the Weather-god phenomena is independently developed by cultural utilization of the process of environmentalization (which is clearly seen in the use of the many varied logograms to describe the experienced meteorological energies) but, it must be suggested that the Weather-god phenomena, i.e., independent weather-gods,

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9The following are primary logograms: (secondary logograms arise to compliment the initial primitive signs which reveal the impression of the environmental forces conceptualized) Lîl = zāqu(m), "stürmen," a violent
assumes a structural form that is basically similar in all the cultures of the Ancient Near Eastern Civilization. Certainly the evidence does warrant postulating the idea that the mononymity of the conceptual structure of meteorological phenomena is the unique process of the Sumerian culture, to the exclusion of other cultures, i.e., the Akkadians, Amorites, Hurrians, Hittites or the Canaanites, therefore I suggest that the Weather-god phenomena attributively characterized in the Ancient Near East on the distinctiveness of EN. Līl whom the Akkadians called Bēlu(m), 'Lord', on the basis that the Akkadians read EN as Bēlu(m). This apppellative with all its modifications and ramifications reflects or indicates the Sumerian cultural contribution to the Weather-god panorama. Certainly, the many cultures of the Ancient Near East possessed their respective Weather-gods who were worshipped in other districts under provincial names and

storming": the implication here indicates a turbulence. Zāqu(m), "to breathe, puff, blow" is also the basic meaning of the logogram. Līl = šāru(m), "wind", = šēru(m), "Steppe", ("plain"). UD = īmu(m), "(day)storm". IN = šēru(m), "wind". The use of the above logograms is far too complex to be fully discussed here. For complete presentation, cf. Chapter II. The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-God.

10 The Akkadians as a culture are as largely responsible for the Mesopotamian historical forms being developed as the Sumerians, however, it is the Sumerians who make History, and it is with them that preliminary considerations must begin.

11 Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis, Ritual, Myth and Drama
cultic roles. The fact that so many of these deities in the cultures of the Ancient Near East were Weather-gods and were for the most part identified with each other suggests cultural borrowing, and in many instances, cultural fusion and assimilation. Even YHWH, the Weather-god of the 'ib'rem, in historic times the god of the bsn yisrâ'îl,\textsuperscript{12} was regarded as sharing in this gamut of intercultural exchange.\textsuperscript{13} The cultural distribution of the Weather-god phenomena will be completed by the final intercultural corollary of Bêlu(m) via Ba'lu, the Canaanite Weather-god, with the Israelite transitory Weather-god YHWH.

It is evident that the pre-historical assemblage is definitely lacking in sufficient material with which to reconstruct with assurance the Weather-god's origin. One has to rely on archaeological material which may or

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\textsuperscript{13}Albert T. Clay, The Empire of the Amorites, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), p. 162. Dr. Clay makes a point of contribution here, although, I cannot accept, for the most part, his philological suggestions.
may not reflect a cultural form capable of producing the concepts that take literary form during the proto-literate period (Warka: Banna levels VIII-III). It would seem that meteorological forces begin to take significant roles in the Mesopotamian cultures before the proto-literate assemblage by only a few centuries. Certainly from analytical material the Weather-god is significantly formed by the Warka period (Uruk III) where EN.LIL appears quite frequently.

The first clearly defined culture of Mesopotamia is the Ubaid which achieved a cultural continuum even greater than that of the Halaf culture. All the sites in southern Mesopotamia investigated revealed that Ubaid South clearly underlines the oldest urban cultures and rests directly in virgin soil. There is little reason to question that the people of the Ubaid South culture were the first settlers on the alluvium.

14Perkins, loc. cit., p. 97.
16Perkins, op. cit., p. 73.
Dr. Braidwood suggests that the Ubaid assemblage successfully adapted itself to the riverine environment of southern Mesopotamia. The people of Ubaid South, whoever they were ethnically, laid the cultural foundation upon which the Sumerians developed a civilization. Recent excavations at Tell Abu Shahrain (Eridu) provide the first examples of monumental architecture which can be attributed to the Ubaid South culture.

Figurines, first discovered at Ur-Ubaid I and II below the "Flood" level, that are complete, are female, with slender, well modeled anatomy, holding a child to breast. It seems, although, there is evidence of an increasingly number of male figurines from Ubaid South, that the matriarchal religious form still dominates the mentality of man. If we can place much significance in these clay figurines, it would seem that on the threshold of the "irrigation culture" lower Mesopotamian society was still dominated by the "fertility spirit" epitomized in the "mother goddess" form ("em gštēḥē = magna mater, "The Great Mother", the plastic nudes which

18 Perkins, loc. cit., p. 87.
19 Ibid., p. 83.
which symbolize the physiological rites and cultic practices). The forms of the agriculture society that settled in the alluvial plain was able to establish a high culture, with a developed "village complex" and were able to make substantial contributions to the succeeding cultures in the proto-literate period. Yet, it is with the advent of the proto-literate period that the pattern of Mesopotamian society crystallizes as it were overnight. The proto-literate assemblage clearly demonstrates a cultural superiority that solidified the Ubaid cultural forms with its own to lay the foundation for a civilization that would last for several millennia.

The Sumerians were the catalytic agents of the several cultures existing within the geographic framework of the Mesopotamian plain. Although these cultures lacked the ethno-linguistic criteria to formalize their cultures into a civilization, nevertheless, the Sumerians assimilated many of the religious, economic, and agricultural forms of the "reed people".20

Meteorological rhythms become monumental in the

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20 Term used to designate the Ubaid South people because of "reeds" used in buildings, etc.
religious economy of the "irrigation culture" society. The Sumerian religious forms attest these developments through a newly deposited technique of writing. The Warka (Proto-literate) period, circa 3500-3300 B.C.E. seems to be the transitory stage in which cultural intensity far surpasses any previous development yet discovered. Thus, it is only when man is able to measure the rhythms in his environment by similar rhythms that have parallel relationships within his own mental and psychological makeup that he idealizes these parallels.

It is reasonable to suggest that the Weather-god's morphology took its present characteristics during the transitional stages of the proto-literate period mainly because of several important cultural developments: 1 - the rise of the male dominance as an active member of society - this clearly reflects itself in the changing forms of religious figurines from the plastic nudes of the Ubaid Culture to the Temple Deities of the Warka Phase, (Proto-literate).21

21 Braidwood, loc. cit., n. 5, pp. 38ff.
2 - Urbanization due to the ingenious invention of the "irrigation culture". I suggest that the Weather-god forms become significant due to this development. The Weather-gods are identified with urban culture in the Mesopotamian economy in historic times. Excavations at EN.LûL.\(^k1\) (Nibru(m)) reveal that irrigation systems became important for more than just water supplies, but also as systems of thoroughfare, along which passed commerce and travel of the city-states. Nippur obtained a stable form of religious importance as a central city of the Weather-god EN.LûL.\(^22\)

3 - Cultural specialization in which the Sumerians play a large rôle of formalization and by Uruk IV there is literary evidence of the cultural development. By Uruk III (Jemdet Nasr) there is undisputed evidence of cultural specialization attributed to the Sumerians.\(^23\)

We are encountering life-symbols, i. e., that which represents the very forces of life-giving abundance.


\(^{23}\)Childe, *loc. cit.*, n. 5, pp. 128ff.
The Weather-god who is the giver of the rain, the sender of the flood, the cultivator of the fields, does that which literally blossoms life from the parched, barren lands. The mentality of the Warka man is impressed by the transference of the barren to the beautiful, the waste to useable. The force of meteorological phenomena impacted its message upon his mentality and life. That the Weather-god phenomena should flower in literature is not surprising, but rather anticipated as one sees the tremendous importance "irrigation" plays in the development of the Sumerian civilization. The rôle assumed by the Weather-god in literature is brash, large and foremost.

In the literary material of the Ancient Near East the Weather-god phenomenon is clearly represented. My dissertation will concern itself with the literary forms and structures of the Weather-god observed in the genre of literature from the Proto-literate, Warka-Uruk III, to the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, 1530 B.C.E. in the eastern Semitic world. In the western Semitic world from Ugarit III to the Edict of Cyrus, 538 B.C.E.
Historical Development of the Weather-god

The historical development of the Weather-god phenomena in the Ancient Near East is a complicated and highly intricate composition. The difficulties involved, although the contributing factors are legion, are mainly due to the complexity of a multiple of cultures comprising the ethnic strata representative of the history of the Ancient Near East. These cultures with their static as well as their transitive Weather-god forms are of utmost importance for our study and must be investigated in the content material of the historical genre of Ancient Near Eastern Literature. Cultural attributives to these Weather-god forms must also be examined to provide a basis of cultural - intercultural comparison of the weather phenomenon/a in question.

It must be emphasised that due to the large amount of prodigious literature in the Ancient Near East, literary enclosures of a comprehensive nature would be physically impossible. However, representative material has been selected to illustrate the phenomenon/a under consideration. Omissions of important nature is mainly on the basis of the above reason.
Certainly by Jamdet Nasr, (Uruk III, circa 2800/2700 B.C.E.), the Weather-god seems to be highly formalized and sociologically specialized in the Mesopotamian area. The Weather-god's historical morphology is undergoing literary development which reflects the urbanization process of the heterogeneous groups in the Mesopotamian area. Although, the Sumerians are largely responsible for the invention of writing (the Weather-god forms are expressed through the Sumerian script) it is only during the Sumero-Akkadian cultural period that the weather-phenomena of Mesopotamia is presented with any historical clarity. Thus, it must be stated that the Semites (Akkadians) are as largely responsible for formalizing the historical morphology of the Weather-god as the Sumerians. The impact of this process (which I tend to designate as "intercultur- iza-tion") by the Sumero-Akkadian upon the religious mentality and orthographic representation of the Weather-god phenomena in the Ancient Near East is pro- digious and expansive.¹

Contrary to former opinion one must contest the idea that the Semites (Akkadians) were late arrivals into the ethnic complex of the Mesopotamian area.\(^2\) There were Semites (Akkadians) in Mesopotamia long before the Sargonic Dynasty (2350-2150 B.C.E.). Kings of Semitic origin appear in the Sumerian King list of Kiš in several pre-Sargonic Dynasties of Kiš.\(^3\) (Semitic names also occur in the Shuruppak Tablets (Fara) as well. These tablets are dated, circa 2700/2600 B.C.E.). Certainly there is little or no evidence of hostility between the Sumerians and the Semites (Akkadians), but on the contrary, the Historian must consider these cultures to be highly complimentary to each other. Dr. Kramer (although he may have modified his contention) is incorrect in suggesting the contrary.\(^4\)

Mesopotamia was divided into a number of relatively small city-states. These were scattered throughout the Tigris-Euphrates riverine plain. Independent assertions of the various city-state cultures is certainly not to be denied, but unifying elements, especially religious elements, provide some cohesion and cultural affinity for understanding the Weather-god in


\(^3\)Samuel Noah Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, (Lancaster:
the Early Dynastic Period, circa 2800/2700 B.C.E.

The Sumerians built upon an ethnic sub-strata (which is clearly demonstrable in the names of various occupations in Sumerian, but certainly belong to the proto-Sumerians) that was not of uniform stock, but represents several cultural groupings, one of which certainly was the Semites (Akkadians). This may be seen in various dialects spoken among the ethnic groupings in Mesopotamia. EME.KU and EME.SAL are at the present identifiable. The suggestion of Dr. Speiser that EME.SAL = lišan akkadi, "tongue of women"(?), on the basis of Deimel's reconstruction, cf. Sumerische Grammatik der archaischen Texte, Rome, 1924, p. 70; and EME.KU = lišan šumeri, "tongue of princes"(?). an agglutinative tongue spoken in southern Mesopotamia on the alluvial plain - on the basis of Bezdol's fragment #81, 7-27, 130 (ZA iv, 434) equating eme-ku = liš-an šu-me-ri.


5Benno Landsberger, Die geistigen Leistungen der Sumerer, Université d’Ankara, Revue de la Faculté de Langues, d’histoire et de Géographie 3 (1945), pp. 150-158.

6John D. Prince, Sumerian Lexicon. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1908), pp. xiiiff. (Also, cf. Speiser, loc. cit., pp. 46-58. I am not certain that pre-Sumerian language was Elamite as Dr. Speiser claims.) Deimel states (cf. above) that the northern dialect, EME.SAL is found in traces as early as the archaic texts of Šuruppak (Para), cf. Speiser, Ibid., p. 54.
Since Nippur (EN.LIL.ki) seems to be the border of the two dialects, thus, EME.KU is confined mainly to the south and EME.SAL to the north, there is a striking suggestion that possibly the difference in the origin of dIM and dEN.LIL may be identified on the basis of these two dialects. dIM (phonetically expressed as Iškur, cf. below) is dialetically EME.SAL and belongs to the sub-strata ethnic groups in Mesopotamia prior and during the Sumerian migration into the plain. dEN.LIL (always written logographically by the Sumerians) definitely represents the Weather-god of the Sumerians and belongs to EME.KU, the dialect reflecting the speech of the Sumerians. Thus, I believe that here is represented the two dialectal origins of the Weather-gods in Mesopotamia. Both of these Weather-gods are fused together during the Babylonian (Hammurabi Dynastic Period) Era, circa 18th century B.C.E. It must be noted that dIM and dEN.LIL enjoyed a fruitful relationship during the Sumero-Akkadian Dynastic Period, the Third Dynasty of Ur, circa 2060/50-1950 B.C.E.

Marduk (AMAR.UD) is the focal point of the fusion of the two earlier Weather-gods of Mesopotamia, dIM and
dEN.LİL. IR, 68, ii. 3 - Marduk (AMAR.UD) bēlu rabû
dEN.LİL ilānī, "Marduk, 'the great Lord', the Enlil
(Chief) of the gods." Marduk here is called bēlu rabû,
a title used often in connection with the position of
Enlil in the pantheon of Mesopotamia. This example
clearly represents the acquisition of this famous title
of the Bēlu(m) of Nippur, i. e., Enlil. BB VII, li. 117-
dEN mātāti šumu ittabi abu dEN.LİL, "His name, 'Lord
of the Lands', the Father Enlil has named (him)."7 Again
an example of this fusion, BB VII, Epilogue, li. 149-
lāggima ana dEN.LİL ilānī dMarduk (AMAR.UD), "Let him
rejoice in the Enlil (chief) of the gods, (even) dMar-
duk." (The verb is nagū(m), "to shine forth"; "to give
praise").) The fusion has taken place which supports the
idea of "interculturalization"; Marduk is called dEN.LİL
ilānī, "Enlil (chief) of the gods", to show his rise to
the position of prestige. Thus, he assumes the rôle of
Enlil who is the original dēn.kur.kur.ra = bēl mātāti;
and ad.dingir.dingir.ra,ka = abi ilānī, "father of the
gods."

7Tablet 91139 has dEN. The usual formula is bēl
mātāti, the Akkadian equivalent of the Sumerian dēn.kur.
kur.ra. The use of dEN suggests the importance of the
title in connection with the Weather-god of Mesopotamia.
There is a variant abi, but tablet 91139 has abu which is
closer to the idea of the title "The Father".
EE IV, 33, išimûma ša dE41 šimatuš ilâni abûšu, "the gods, his fathers, appointed the destiny of E41". Narduk has assumed the highest appellative of the Weather-god - he is now known as "the Lord".

In EE VI, nasima dÉN.JFL is[ ]me šumû iddi8, "Enlil raised,....... and cast .........". It is striking to find Enlil playing the rôle usually designated in this period for Narduk. Of course the original rôle was played by Enlil in the Sumerian version of the story.9

To further illustrate the above point of "inter-culturalization", cf. EE VII, li. 119, "addu shall be his name; may he cover the whole sky".10 There follows a poetic play on words with the idea that his rear shall cover the earth. Definitely this is a reference to the Weather-god of the Akkadians, Addu(m) = (Adad), and favors the name as a significant appellative for Narduk.

The Sumero-Akkadian culture therefore has become the raison d'être to the multiple cultures in the Ancient Near Eastern ethnic complex. All the cultural forms of

8P. Antonius Deimel, Enuma Eliš - sive Epos Babylonicum De Creatione Mundi, (Romae: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1936), VI, li. 82. Langdon, The Babylonian Epic of Creation, restores VI, li. 60 (same as 82 above), išu[miṭṭa-su u ina], "his toothed sickle". (?).


the Weather-god tend to be appraised in the light of the Sumero-Akkadian cultural Weather-god phenomena. Certainly, the use of various logograms, i.e., EN.LIL, IM, AMAR.UD, MAR.TU, etc., emphasizes the cultural autonomy represented by each form and dramatizes the fact that each cultural form underwent a natural process of "environmentalization" in regard to its own Weather-god phenomenon. But, it is extremely difficult to distinguish these forms, in regard to their cultural identity, due to the complex fusion of these forms during the Sumero-Akkadian Dynastic Period (cf. above) and the syncretism of forms during the Babylonian period, circa 1728-1686 B.C.E., the reign of Hammurabi.

However, it must be stated that dIN12 is the logogram which is used to represent Adad, Hadad, Tešub/p and X (= Hittite Weather-god) showing the fact that the western cultures utilized this logogram which was used in proto-Sumerian and Sumerian periods as the logogram to represent Iškur, and the EN (Bēlu(m)) became the appellative of importance depicting the principle social role of the Weather-god. This is demonstrable by the


12 dIN (to my knowledge) was never used to represent the Weather-god Enlil. Dr. Chiera is incorrect in making
use of the appellative $\text{Bilu(m)}$, among the cultures in Mesopotamia, and $\text{Ba'lu(m)}$, Ugaritic Ba'al, in the West; and especially 'adōn$^{13}$, reflecting this appellative "Lord".

From the previous statements about available evidence, it would seem that in the proto-literate period, circa 3500-3300 B.C.E., the great Temple E. AN,NA (E.AN.A(K) = "House of Heaven"), as well as the intervening periods of Uruk, played a very vital role in the religious life and economy of Uruk (possibly in other cities as well). However, I contend that the evidence has been overdrawn (cf. above, General Dis-

such a suggestion. cf. Edward Chiera, Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur, A Syllabary of Personal Names, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1916), pp. 38f. Dr. Chiera equates $\text{dIM}$ with $\text{dEn-lil}$, "A simple way of solving the difficulty could be found in the equation $\text{dIM} = \text{dEn-lil}$." Although, Dr. Chiera does offer some doubt the equation, nevertheless, he does make an incorrect parallel. Dr. Chiera does make a very important contribution. "Moreover, the attributes of all the deities which are represented by the ideograph $\text{dIM}$, are absolutely identical with those of Enlil, who is the god of the storm and atmospheric conditions."

For my comments concerning this statement, cf. Chapter III. The Hierophanies of the Weather-god, Literary Epithets and Theophanies.

$^{13}$CT XXV, 16, 32, $\text{dBa'-\text{U}-lu = dIM}$; cf. Hans Schlobies, Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien, (Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1925), p. 13. CT XXV, 17, 30, $\text{Ba'-\text{U}-lu = dAdad}$. $\text{dBa'Ulu = dIM}$ is a very significant equation. ("adōn/\text{ba'Ul}, I B vi, 11. 19-20, t'y nqmud ugrt, "Donated by Niqmadd, King of Ugarit"; adn yrzb b'l trmn, "Lord of Yrgb, Master (Ruler) of Trmn". (cf. below for fuller discussion of this parallelism.) The problem of $'=~$
Discussion of Theory of Origin, n. 3), I suggest that AN(NA) represented the heaven (sky) and was considered, for the most part, an impersonal deity (if a deity at all) which signified the passive and transcendental characteristics of the heaven. It is only during the Semitic (Akkadian and Babylonian) periods that AN(NA) becomes a significant deity when he is equated in form with dAnu(m), i.e., An = da-nu-um, cf. OT 24 (the famous list of deities) and Deimel, pp. 50ff. The religious, economic and political forms of the "irrigation culture" were too dominant and vibrant for the natural transcendental characteristics of the AN(NA), "sky(deity?)". I maintain that the original supreme authority and lordship was invested in EN.LIL, and that in many instances AN is misrepresented as a personalized form of the "sky god" sharing in EN.LIL's invested authority. Certainly by the period of Hammurabi, AN was invested with "god-

('4 = ' (Arabic 'Ain; West Semitic 'ayin), bēlu(m), "lord" /"ba'lu(m). In old Assyrian a form be'ālu(m), "rule", "prevail", "govern" /ba'ālu(m); e.g., note be'āl, "lord" /ba'āl, cf. University of Pennsylvania Publications, V 34, XXIV, 32. Ba'ālu is a past participle (may be also used as an adjective) of bēlu(m), "to rule", "to be master over -", cf. Wolfram Von Soden, Grundriss Der Akkadischen Grammatik, (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1952), pp. 11, par. 9.1; 24; par. 23.b; 60; par. 55.I.11-III; 130, par. 98ff.

14Antonius Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum, (Romae: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1914).
head authority. CH, Epilogue XXVI, 45-46 - AN rabûm abu ills, "The great AN (Anu(m)), the father of the gods", clearly demonstrates the elevation of AN. The earliest this title appears in the historical texts is in the Inscription of Gudea: Cylinder A 10, 12, an lugal dingir-ri-ne-ge, "AN (Anu(m)), king of the gods". I recognize the difference in the titles of Abu and Lugal, although both signify a prestige of office. The earliest historical text significantly showing AN as a personified deity is a vase inscription of Lugalzaggisi of Uruk, circa 2350 B.C.E., 1. I, 6 - išib an-na, "Priest of Anu(m)"; cf. Thureau-Dangin, SAK, pp. 154-155. This word ISIB = e1lu(m), "pure", could be considered as a title, i. e., "the pure one", išib an-na, "the pure one of heaven" as a royal title. (I have not come to any conclusion concerning the matter as yet.) What is significant is that An(na) is not, at least in the Royal Inscriptions, a very important deity much before the Babylonian period. On the other side, EN,LIL as early as the reign of Entemena of Lagaš, circa 2400‡ B.C.E., there appears in Text U805, Ur I.

15 F. Thureau-Dangin, Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsiinschriften, (Leipzig: J. G. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1907), p. 100; Gudae was King in Lagaš in the Ur III period, circa 2050-1950 B.C.E.

Col. I, 1, den-lil 2, ad 3, ding ir-dingir-ra-ka
4, en-te-me-na 5, ra-te-si 6, lagaški, "Enlil, the
Father of the gods, Entemena, Ensi of Lagaš, ...".
Certainly this title belonged to Enlil before it was
attributed to An(na).

Poebel has published a text which he calls,
"Creation and Deluge Text"17 which embellishes the idea
that AN may be an appellative of EN.LÎL. Col. I, 13,
an den-lil den-ki din-nin-har-sag-ga-ge, Poebel's trans-
lation, "(After) An, Enlil, Enki and Ninharsagga"....
Col. 3, 18-19, an den-lil din-nin-har-sag-g e......
dingir-an-ki-ge mu-an-den-lil mu-n i.................
Poebel's translation, "Anu, Enlil, Enki and Ninharsagga,
....The Gods of Heaven and Earth invoked the name of Anu
(and) Enlil." Col. 6, 3, an-den-lil zi-an-na zi-ki-a ni-
pâ-dé -en -ze-en, Poebel's translation, "Anu (and) Enlil
by the soul of heaven and by the soul of the earth ye
shall conjure"; Col. 6, 7, igi-an-den-lil-lâ-ša ka-ki-
su-ub-ba-tôm, Poebel's translation, "Before Anu (and)
Enlil he prostrates himself." Page 21, Poebel states,
"On the other hand, it would seem that the highest of

the gods, Anu or Enlil, or the Anu Enlil ....", and on page 37, "Our own text is likewise an example for this peculiar theological problem, for throughout the tablet neither An nor Enlil is mentioned alone, though six times their names are mentioned together (I.13 318,19 4.10 63,7); moreover, it will be observed that in 68,9 the verbal forms of which an-den-lil is the subject, are in the singular, so that it is very likely that an-den-lil has to be translated "the Anu Enlil," i.e., Enlil representing not only his own power, but also the authority of An." I came to this same conclusion before I read this above statement, but since Dr. Poebe1 says this fact many years ago, I thought it necessary to quote him in the context of his contribution. There certainly has taken place in history a fusion between Enlil, the Weather-god of Mesopotamia and An, the sky-deity of Uruk. My contention is that Enlil enjoyed the status of the most important deity in Mesopotamia until the rise and final fusion with Anu(m) in the later dynastic periods. Enuma Eliš clearly demonstrates that Marduk assumes the character and role of

18Poebe1's n. 2, Except An in zi-an-na zi-ki-a 61.
Enlil, but it also demonstrates the usurpation of the authority of Anu(m), who had attained the stature of Enlil by the Babylonian period, by Marduk. EE IV, 3-6, attēma ūktata ina ilāni rabūtim, "You (Marduk) are the most honored among the great gods"; Šimatka la šanān seqarka dA.NUM (anu(m)), "Your destiny (fate) is unequalled; your command is the highest" (literally, your command is dAnu(m) = "the highest"); dMarduk (ANAR. UD) ūktata ina ilāni rabūtim, "(Oh) Marduk, you are the most honored among the great gods"; Šimatka la šanān seqarka dA.NUM (anu(m)), "Your destiny is unequalled; your command is the highest" (cf. Above).

It is demonstrable in most situations that the Weather-god in his rise to supreme authority, with the exception of Enlil-Anu(m) relationship, does usurp the authority and position of the Sky-god. A good example of this phenomenon is I Kings 8:60, lašma'tan da'at kal-’ammā hē’āres kī YHWH hū’ hē’ōlehlm ‘ēn ‘ūd, "For the sake of the knowledge of all the peoples of the land (earth), that YHWH, he, is the highest, (there is) no

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19 Communication from Dr. Moshe Held, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1960:
other". (For fuller discussion of this phenomenon, cf. Chapter II, The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god, Canaanite - Hebrew Weather-god YHWH.) This above example represents the historical development of the Weather-god in the socio-economic complex.

Dr. Eliade is incorrect in suggesting that the "storm-god" (Weather-god in this dissertation) and the "sky-god", are identical in origin, and that the "storm-god" (cf. above) is merely a specialization of the "sky-deity". 20

Bach, i. e., the Weather-god and the Sky-god is distinct and possess individual specialized forms as well as each having its own history. Etymologically as well as historically, it is impossible to show a common origin for the Weather-god and the Sky-god in the Ancient Near East. 21

Certainly, in the dynastic periods (after the Sargonic Dynastic period, during Ur III, Gudea, and the Babylonian period) there is an attempt to fuse Anu(m) with Enlil, then Marduk with Enlil and Anu(m) in the Babylonian


21Ibid., p. 64, par. 19. "The same sign an is also used to express "the rainy sky", and, by extension, rain." The sign, to my knowledge, never means, "rainy sky" or rain in any sense; cf. René Labat, Manuel D'Épigraphie Akkadienne, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale de France, 1952), p. 49, an.
period, especially during the Hammurabi period, circa 1728-1686 B.C.E., when Marduk becomes well established as the supreme Bēlu(m) of the Kingdom of Babylon which is depicted as an everlasting Kingdom with foundations as firmly laid as heaven and earth. Even though Enlil is called bēl šamē a erṣetim, "Lord of heaven and earth", nevertheless, Marduk is given the Enlilship (dEN.LĪL₂ KĪŠ (kišsat) nišî, "The authority (supreme power) of the multitude of people") is bestowed upon him - the highest authority. An Inscription of Samsuiluna (cf. L. W. King, Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, pp. 97-99) gives record of the transferring of the authority over the four quarters of the earth by An and Enlil to Marduk who becomes the den-lil kalam-ma-na, "Lord of the land".

A simplification of the historical development of the Weather-god in the Ancient Near East would be most desirable, i.e., to trace the Weather-god phenomena as having originated from a common source and a common period. However, the literary evidence (which is of itself

23 Ibid., 11-12.
fragmentary) does not support or even entertain such a connotation. Many of the difficulties, which are unsolvable with our present literary evidence, are due to the multi-cultural expressions, cultural fusions and cultural assimilations. In an historical development of the Weather-god phenomena, serious question must be raised concerning the characteristic quality of the logograms which find multi-cultural economy and utility. Not only does one confront a fusion of cultural forms in the early cultural fusion of the Weather-god phenomena, but in the transfer of these forms from one culture to another in the later historical periods.

When these forms are utilized in cultures other than their cultural matrix, does a transference take place of their indigenous cultural qualities from the conceptual culture to the borrowing or secondary culture? Or, is there a specific cultural gravity which retains the indigenous cultural characteristics of the Weather-god phenomena and the borrowing merely reflects an or-

24Vergilius Ferm, et al., Ancient Religions, (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1950), p. 50, Kramer, "It is designated "Sumerian" because the archaeological remains of its later stages, that is of the second half of the third millennium, are accompanied by inscriptions written in the Sumerian language - is actually a product of the cultural and biological fusion of at least three ethnic groups, the earliest Iranians whose ethnic and linguistic affiliations are at present unknown, the Semites and the Sumerians."
thographic borrowing from the maternal culture? A case in point is the logogram (with its determinative) dIN which has a multiple of pheonetic readings indicative of their cultural environment. In the proto-historical assemblage, dIN has the pheonetic reading Iškur. Since dIN is dialectically EME.SAL = lišān akkadi, one would suggest that Iškur is the proto-Sumerian Weather-god in Mesopotamia. K 215 Rs. 6-24 = CT XXV, 20-6, d iš-kur

IN = dIN /d , , IN ...... and K 2100 I = CT XXV 16. -16, dAd-du /dIN Markī, 17, dDa- d u /dIN Markī, 18, dTe-eš-su-up /dIN Suki, 34, d iš-kur IN /dIN. Br. N 46559 = CT XXIX 43, II 18-24, 23, a-da-ad dIN d IN . Schlobies states, "Der name deutet auf Herkunft aus einem Berglung."25 Perhaps, Iškur meant, "the one of the mountain", thus, reflecting the hill country background location of the ethnic substrata resident in the Mesopotamian area before the Sumerians. Possibly Iškur may have referred to the "dust storm"(?) of the steppe region surrounding the plain. (Although, I am still doubtful about the origin and meaning of Iškur, I am certain he was not a Sumerian Weather-god, but is the Weather-god

of the proto-Sumerians.) My contention is that dIM had the phoenetic reading of Iškur in lišān akkadi, and that these ethnic groups selected this logogram because of its primary meaning (Akkadian, Šāru(m), "wind"; "wind storm"). Was dIM ever pronounced IN, or did it always have the phoenetic reading, Iškur? One is only able to speak with some assurance in these cases where there is a phoenetic complement which relates to what geographic brevity the dIM was extended. An example of this phenomenon is the use of the logogram dIM in a Hurrian inscription from Kargamīš, RŠ 17.226 (recueil, fig. 36-37). Cylindre à légende cun.: (1) na4 KIŠIB (2) mGAL dIM-up (3) LUGAL KUR Kar-ga-
miš (4) DUMU *IN-ni-\-dIM-up, "Sceau de Talmi-Tešub/p, roi de Kargamīš, fils d'Ini-Tešub/p.\) It is interesting that the Hurrian Weather-god is represented here with dIM, and the phoenetic complement -ub/p, showing that dIM is read Teš, thus, again showing the principle of cultural transfer, but cultural autonomy being asserted, (For fuller discussion of this phenomena, of, Chapter II. The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-

[26] Translation based on Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, U-
god, Akkadian-Adad; Syrian-Ḥadad; Hurrian-Tešub/p.)

There are several basic principles that must be observed in a study such as this, i. e., the Orthographic Utilization - that is the use of a particularized logogram in provincial areas of the Ancient Near East during specific periods of history which reflects the static representation of morphological structure of that logogram which must also be appreciated and understood through valid comparative literature that reveals the relative use of that logogram in various cultures during several time periods. The appearance of the Weather-god in various historic periods, i. e., Uruk III, Early Dynastic, Sargonic, Ur III, Semitic Dynasties of Isin, Larsa and Mari and the First Dynasty of Babylon as well as the Ugaritic, Amarna and Israelite periods. A progressive historical development is not the primary objective, but the primary object is to discuss the cultural form and status of the Weather-god in these periods. The various names and characteristics of the Weather-god reflect the variety of ethnic differences, dialectal shadings and geographical areas which exist in the Weather-god phenomena of the Ancient Near East. These are due to provincial exertions and adaptations of the Weather-god.
The supremacy of the patron deity becomes the important factor in the rise and decline of the social and political cultural prominence and importance of the multiple ethnic groups in the Ancient Near Eastern complex.

The Sumerian language (EME.KU) was dominant in the developing stages of Mesopotamian history. During the first half of the third millennium B.C.E., the earliest known tablets presently in our possession reveal that EN.LIL was well formalized and well known. He appears in these tablets with a great deal of regularity. These texts (Warka Tablets - Uruk III, Jamdet Nasr) seem to be written in classical Sumerian (?), although for the most part these texts are still unintelligible.27

The Ur Excavation Texts II, Archaic Texts,28 which must be considered as the first phase of the historical period, include several hundred clay tablets from Ur. These tablets represent the oldest known texts which can be read with some clarity of meaning. Dr. Albright dates these texts about 2800 B.C.E., and also he classifies

27Adam Falkenstein, Archaische Texte aus Uruk, (Berlin: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, 2, 1936), n. 15.

28Eric Burrows, Archaic Texts, (England: Harrisons & Son, Ltd., 1925), p. 3. Dr. Burrows relates that these texts are intermediate in character between the collections of Jamdet Nasr and Suruppak (Fara).
the period at the first phase of Classic Sumer. 29 These texts are extremely important for the historical significance of the Weather-god phenomena since the ethnic culture represented by these texts reflects a highly developed Agriculture Society (Animal Husbandry).

The ANA and AMAR names, cf. above, Burrows, ibid., p. 6, appear to be indicative of a culture which has domesticated a rather large complement of animals. Burrows suggests some of the names with ANA refer to the divine mother, and many of these names appearing, cf. above, Burrows, ibid., PN 76-144, are appellatives of a/the "mother-goddess". 30

Enlil does not appear in these texts from Ur as far as I am able to ascertain. However, several names do appear which are interesting for our study, Burrows reads, PN 234, (d.) IN-Gīg: text 143 i; PN 371, IN-Gīg text 128 iii (with ili (?)-gal); PN 463, LUGAL-(d.) IN-Gīg: text 128 v. After examination of these texts, it is my opinion that Dr. Burrows read some of the above signs incorrectly, being very anxious to find Gīg as a complimentary logogram to IN. In text 143 i (PN 234) the dingir sign is clearly written, however, the IN al-

29 Albright, loc. cit., p. 48.
though distinguishable, is somewhat blurred in the lower right hand corner. One would have to stretch his imagination to read GÎG as the next sign, although there are a few short lines following the sign IM. Unless one suggests a ligature, which Dr. Burrows does, the sign could not be read GÎG. I suggest the sign should be read I, thus, serving as a phoenetic complement to dIM. The signs would read, \( dIM \cdot i \), or \( dIM(I) \)

= šāru(m), "wind"; šamū(m), "violent storm"; zunnu(m), "rain" (torrential downpour). I suggest that here there is a reference to the storm-deity (Weather-god) which could be phoeneticised as Iškur (although there is no supporting evidence for this equation at this time).

In text 128 v, there is clearly written \( l(\text{one}) (?) \) GAL. LU IM, GÎG MI? . The GÎG sign is clearly written. Possibly this sign combination refers to a PN, and not a representation of the Weather-god Iškur. (At the moment I am not certain of the translation of the signs.)

\( IM, GÎG = "\text{storm cloud}" , \text{i. e., } "\text{dark cloud}" (?) \) on the basis that GÎG = šalāmu(m), "be dark"; salmu(m), "dark". 

In text 128 iii it is impossible to read the signs IM.

GfG as Burrows does, although I have no further suggestion to make concerning a clear reading of these signs. It is very possible that we have here in these texts a very early representation of the Weather-god phenomena in various descriptive or attributive characteristics.

There are in these texts sixty (60) names with the sign AMAR. These suggest the prestige of domesticated live stock. Animal husbandry provides a significant basis upon which to establish a very necessary relationship between environmental forces and phenomena and society. In PN 197, Text 341 ii, Dr. Burrows lists amar UD. In examining the text there is clearly represented the following, 1(one) (bur) UD,AMAR. On the basis of the constant use of AMAR in reference to animals in these tablets, I suggest the reading bûr šmi, "progeny of the storm", although, it may refer to some specie of animal and merely refer to it as a "small" or "newborn" animal. However, this may be an early reference to AMAR,UD (Marduk) who in the first Dynasty of Babylon rose to the position of the Patron Deity of the Kingdom. At least here is a very early appearance of the orthographic morphology of the Weather-god Marduk.

The Historian of the Ancient Near East might
rightly claim that history in this area begins with the Royal Inscriptions, circa 2500 B.C.E. The society represented by these inscriptions clearly demonstrates a formulated religious value, so that one is able to observe the Weather-god securely entrenched in the economic and political affairs of Mesopotamia. Enlil clearly dominates the historical periods in the early Kings of Kiš. Inscription of Urzage of Kiš, 32 Ur I(?), circa 2500 B.C.E. (?), at least the inscription is older than the Sarginic period, 1 den-lil 2 lugal-kur-kur-ra 3 den-lil 4 nin-an-ki-ra .... 6 dam den-lil-ra, "Enlil, king of the lands, (and) Ninlil, lady (Nin//EN and = bētu(m), "lady") of heaven and earth .... the mate (wife) of Enlil". Enlil is entitled lugal-kur-kur-ra, "king (lord(?)) of the lands", a title which is indicative of his role and prestige in Mesopotamia. Ninlil is already espoused to Enlil showing the highly developed domestic relationship. An inscription of Entemena of Lagaš, 33 Ur I, circa 2400± B.C.E., I, Col. I, 1 den-lil 2 ad 3 ding ir-dingir-ra-ka 4 en-te-me-na 5 PA-TE-SI 6 lagaški, "Enlil, (the) father of the gods; Entemena, governor of Lagaš". Enlil enjoyed great status during the Lagaš historical period, but this particular in-

33 O. J. Gadd and L. Legrain, Royal Inscriptions, (England: Harrison & Sons Limited, 1928), I.
scription demonstrates his occupation of the highest position in the economical pantheon of Mesopotamia.

An Inscription of Enšakušanna, King of Šumer, circa (?), probably before Sargon of Akkad, 1 den-lil 2 lugal-kur-kur-ra 3 en-ša-kuš-an-na 4 en ki-en-gi 5 lugal kalam-ma, "Enlil, king (lord(?)) of the country", (the relationship of ki-en-gi//kalam-ma, cf. Poebel, ibid., p. 153.) Enšakušanna later in his inscription presents Enlil with the trophies of victory over Kiš. This is an excellent example to show the Weather-god as a deity of war, or at least in this case sharing in the spoils of war. Lugalzaggisi, King of Uruk, circa 2350 B.C.E., calls Enlil, Lugal-kur-kur-ra, "king (lord(/)) of the lands": Šarru-kin, King of Akkad, circa 2350 B.C.E., calls himself, A. Col. I, 10 isag-gal 11 den-lil, (B. Col. II, 10 isag (iššak) 11 den-lil) "(the) great iššakku of Enlil". Nippur had such an important religious prestige that this title, iššakku(m), signifies the supreme authority maintained by Enlil. The Akkadian Kings reveal the importance of the Weather-god in Mesopotamia and the rôle played in the political affairs of the area. Throughout the Semitic Culture there is evidence that, especially the Akkadian per-

34 Poebel, Ibid., pp. 151-156.
iod, 2350-2150 B.C.E., Enlil enjoyed great status. The early Akkadians continued to absorb the religious qualities and forms of the Sumerians, so much so, that Enlil remained unchallenged during this historical period.

Maništusu, (son of Sargon) King of Kiš, circa 2285-2270 B.C.E., in the Cruciform Monument, XII, 31, dadad lfrḫiš, "may Adad flood it"; (lfrḫiš, raḫāšu(m) = raḫāšu(m), "to overflow"; in the case of the storm-deity, "to flood" (as it were a field). Adad is mentioned as early (of course) as this inscription, but did not rise in prominence until the later dynasties of Isin, Larsa and Babylon. Idin-Dagan, King of Isin, circa 1916-1896, B.C.E., l mu-us-sa di-din-dda-gan lugal-e 2 šīgu-za bara dadad INki-ra mu-na-dim, "(the) year after Idin-Dagan erected (made) a throne, a shrine to Adad of INki (Akkad(?))". Nūr-Adad, King of Larsa, circa 1800-1785 B.C.E., Col. II, 19 mu-du g sa-a 20 diimmer-ra-ge 21 ūl ni-tuk 22 u-ma-ni-di-di, "called with a good name by Adad, the warrior, who goes (walks) as a Lord (who walks lordly)". Rim-Sin, King of Larsa, King of Sumer and Akkad, circa 1758-1698, B.C.E., (obv.) 1 diimmer en ur-sag dumu an. . . .

37Gadd and LeGrain, op. cit., p. 61, Text 215.
38Ibid., p. 26, text 111, 19-22.
39Ibid., p. 44, text 145.
2 ufu-zi-mah ri-a 3 te-eš dug-ga-ni-ta 4 im-dir
erim(?)/ka-ser-ri 5...ga šar-ru 1al-e 6 ki-šar-ra
7 lugal-a-ni-ir 8 ri-im-dšin 9...nibruki (Rev.) 10...
ni 11 hur-su-am 12 dimmer lugal-a-ni 13 u-mu-un-ši-hul
14 u d-bal-a-na-šu mu-bi gid-di 15 im-he-gal-la 16 ab-
sin-zi-kalam-ma 17 sag-e-eš he-en-na-PA-KAS-DU, l *(for)
Adad, lord, warrior, son of An (heaven, or Anu(m))....
2 who goes upon the great rising flood 3 with the virile
strength of his command casting down 4 dark (storm) clouds
like warriors with fire (blazing) mouths, 5 .... into
full water-courses (?), 6 multiplying abundance over all
(the whole) land, 7 for his King: 8 Rim-Sin 9 .... Nippur,
10 (/) 11 over this 12 may Adad, his King, 13 rejoice
14 for the days of his reign, that his years be long,
15 (and) abundant winds (storms) 16 increase the life of
the land. 17 May he (Adad) graciously grant this (gift).

The historical development is more complex than
has been presented above due to the fact that each cul-
tural Weather-god phenomenon has its own indigenous cul-
tural history. Cultural expression of the Weather-god
phenomena on the basis of its own cultural literary ma-
terial, (with comparative analysis), will be given minute
attention. Thus, Chapter II, The Cultural Distinctions
of the Weather-god, paying particular attention to the
Weather-gods of the western Semitic world, i. e., The Canaanite Weather-gods, especially of this category the Israelite Weather-god YHWH, not only will present individual historical development of the Weather-gods, but will present them in the best possible advantage.
II. THE CULTURAL DISTINCTIONS OF THE WEATHER-GOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Equivalent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sumerian</td>
<td>Enlil</td>
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<tr>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>Nanduk</td>
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<tr>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>Adad</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>YHWH</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hittite</td>
<td>dU/IM</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hurrian</td>
<td>Tešub/p</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
EN.LIL, "Lord Storm", is the most important Weather-god, or cultural adaptation of the Weather-god phenomena, in the Ancient Near Eastern cultural complex. Not only is EN.LIL apparently the most archaic form of the Weather-god in the Ancient Near East, but he enjoys the distinction of having been morphologized in the most important culture of Mesopotamia, if not the entire Ancient Near East. Thus, his form, attributes, cultural significance and poetic (literary) expression will be (and of course is) the pattern for all subsequent cultural forms of the Weather-god phenomena. The poets never seem to become weary in eulogizing EN.LIL, nor at a loss in rediscovering his importance in the realm of humanity and society. The blessing of EN.LIL upon any and every phase of life was an essential quality jealously sought by gods and men alike.

EN.LIL seems to have enjoyed the superiority of

1Cf. Chapter I. The Origin and Development of the Weather-god. Historical Development of the Weather-god., for the importance of his rise to power and the role played in the Sumero-Akkadian period.

form and prerogative from the earliest historical period (EN.LIL appears frequently in the Uruk III (Warka period) until the late Assyrian period. Since many cultures tended to reduplicate the Weather-god EN.LIL in/through their own particular cultural adaptation of the Weather-god phenomena, i. e., AMAR.UD (Marduk) et al., much of the original literary legitimacy of EN.LIL's importance is lost in antiquity. There is little doubt that the rôle assumed by Marduk in Enuma Eliš was originally played by EN.LIL and that many of the pieces of literature dedicated to Ešu(m), although interpreted as being written to Marduk, were in reality written to the Weather-god of the Sumerians. EN.LIL was the most important deity in the Sumerian pantheon and is the Weather-god who dominates the religious attitude of the Sumero-Akkadian culture. EN.LIL plays the leading rôle in the rites, myth, prayer and the religo-social life of Mesopotamia. In the Hymn to Enlil (cf. below, n. 3, trans. by Kramer) several lines

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are very important to show the Weather-character of EN. LIL.

"The river, its flood-waters would not over-flow, ....
The fish of the sea would not lay eggs in the canebrake,
The birds of heaven would not set up nest in the broad earth,
In heaven, the drifting clouds would not yield their moisture,
Plants and herbs, the glory of the plain, would not grow,
In field and meadow the rich grain would not flower,
The trees planted in the mountain-forests would yield no fruit."4

In the Enlil (Enlil) and Labbu Myth,5 Rev., 1.
5, u-ša-aš-hi-it ur-pa mi-ša-a * , "he (Enlil) causes to spring up (storm)-cloud(s) (and) *....... a fierce storm"6, * - word is missing in the text, possibly the verb to describe the action of meḫ(m). There is no

4Original tablet is numbered Mi. 4150. (Hymns to EN. LIL are extremely rare.)
5CT XIII, pp. 33ff.

6cf. Gilgameš XI, 46-47, EN. LIL will cause a rain of misfortune (evil rain). There is a play on words in these difficult lines - kukkan(m)/kibāti(m); cf. 11. 87, 90; cf. also, ANET, p. 93, n. 190.
serious question concerning EN, LÎL as a personification of weather-phenomena so there is no demanding pressure to establish EN, LÎL through literary examples as a Weather-god. Jacobsen\(^7\) gives the translations to several very important texts (originally translated by Kramer, cf. below) where EN, LÎL is called "the storm", followed by a lengthy description of the weather phenomena in the land (Šumer). In EN, LÎL one finds the almost perfect example of the personifying of the Weather-phenomena. Jacobsen states, "As his name En-lil, 'Lord Storm', suggests, he was in a sense the storm itself. In the storm he 'reveals' himself. The violence, the force, which fills it and is experienced in it was the god, was Enlil.\(^8\)

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\(^8\)Frankfort, *ibid.*., p. 153.
The Babylonian Weather-god Marduk

The Weather-god of Bēb-ilānī/iilk (Gate of the Gods) whom Dhorme calls, "The National Deity" (Les Dieux Nationaux) becomes in the Babylonian period the "patron" deity of the Babylonian Empire. Since Babylon emerges in the 18th century (B.C.E.) as the most important state in the Euphrates valley the deity of the state naturally emerges as the most important god. The city of Babylon became a very important and influential religious center, possibly rivaling the cult center of EN.Līl at Nippur, the name gloss Bēb-ilānī/iilk seems to imply this trend. Marduk emerges as the supreme Bēlu(m) due to the consolidation of the various city-states under Hammurabi - city-states that had once (religiously) paid their homage to Bēlu(m) (EN.Līl) at Nippur.² (cf. Dhorme, ibid., pp. 142-143, Usurpations de Marduk; esp. p. 143, "Dans de longs poèmes bilingues, les traits d'Enlil et de Marduk sont


²cf. Chapter I, The Origin and Development of the Weather-god, Historical Development of the Weather-god, the rise of Marduk and the assimilation of EN.Līl into the characterization of the Babylonian Weather-god.
fondus de telle sorte qu’il est difficile de discerner ce qui convient à l’ancien ou au nouveau Seigneur, à celui de Nippur ou à celui de Babylone.

AMAR.UD (Marduk) is a personification of the elements and energies of the meteorological phenomena of a natural habitat. AMAR = māru(m), "child, offspring"; "son"; UD = āmu(m), "(day)-storm". I have suggested that possibly āmu(m) = "lightening storm" and really does not refer to the day specifically as much as it does to "light" in general. AMAR.UD = "Progeny of the (day/light(?))-Storm" (UD is not to be confused with UTU = Šamaš - thus, Marduk is not the "Son of Šamaš" the sun-god.)

Marduk dominates the Babylonian literature, although Enuma Eliš was originally written with EN.LIL in the title rôle, and it is in this literature that one is able to discern the weather characteristics of Marduk.

BE IV. 39, iš-kun bi-ir-qu i-na pa-ni-šu, "The lightening he place (set) before his face (before him)"; 45, ib-ni im-hul-la šāra lim-na me-ha-a a-šam-šu-tum, "He created


4G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 115-116. The Sumerian dingir AMAR-UD. Dr. Driver is incorrect in translating AMAR.UD 'the bull-calf of the sun'; he admits, "He was originally a solar deity (s. n. on xxvii 65-66) but this conception was not reflected in literary texts; in these he was the first-born of Ea."
(made) Imḫullu, 'the evil wind', the fierce storm, the thunderstorm" (cf. also, 1. 46.) - (cf. Chapter III. The Hierophanies of the Weather-god. Literary Epithets and Theophanies., Marduk.)

In the "Hymn to Marduk" several interesting lines occur, bēlu ša i-na ā-ki-it i-na qabal tam-tim āš-bu /
kimin ša 1škakka-šši, "der Herr, der am Akītu(m)-Feste inmitten der Tiāmatu(m) sitzt; Dessen Waffe der wütende abību(m) ist; ein Gott, der den Gösen tötet, ist seine Waffe."

Marduk, undoubtedly, was the most important deity in the Babylon pantheon. The myth Enuma Eliš clearly establishes his supremacy in the world of gods and men.6


6Henri Frankfort, et al., Before Philosophy, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1954), pp. 189-199. Dr. Jacobsen discusses the importance of Marduk, especially his dynamic rise to power in the myths,
The Akkadian Weather-god Adad

Adad, the Weather-god of the Akkadians was represented by the logogram dIN, which also was utilized for Iškur, proto-Semitic Weather-god; Tešub/p, Hurrian Weather-god; Hadad, Syrian (Aramaean) Weather-god; et al., and which had a large distribution among the cultures of the Ancient Near East, representing "weather-god en général" as well as representing "weather-god en local", thus, the logogram tends to present a severe problem of phonetics on the basis of equated cultural Weather-gods, and is one of the most important Weather-gods in the Ancient Near East. Adad seems to gain popularity during the Amorite dynastic period, especially during the reign of Hammurabi, as well as being one of the more important deities at Mari, (cf. below, The Syrian Weather-god Hadad - Archives Royales De Mari, etc.). Adad seems to have been known culturally under several different names. Among the East

1 cf. CT XXV, 20, 6-22; CT XXIV, 40, 38-48; CT XXV, 16, 1-41.

Semites be wa• known•• Adad (exact meaning of the name is not certain), among the West Semites (Amorites) he was also known as Adad/Addu(m), among the Syrians (Aramaeans) he was called Hadad/Haddu (and associated with Ba'ál, the West Semitic Bēlu(m), "Lord", especially in the literature of Ras Shamra-Ugarit - cf. below, The Canaanite Weather-god Ba'ál.); the Assyrians, and the Syrians (Aramaeans), during the first millennium B.C.E., called Adad/Hadad, Rammānu(m) - apparently a deity of rain and thunderstorms, i.e., Rammān Ba zu(n)i, "Rammān of the rain"3 - Schlobies states, "Ra-ma-an is nach KAV 64, V 5 ein Name des ḫMar-tu (hier als Gott des Westlandes zu verstehen). Raman-Rimmon ist ein wohl schon vorsemitischer Lokalgott von Damaskus un ist dann auch von den Aramaern verehrt worden."4 (For slightly different viewpoint, cf. Dhorme, ibid., p. 98, "De là son nom de Rammun (Rimmon), qui l'assimile à Mar-tu (Amurru) comme Adad du Déluge.") Hebrew vocalization of rmn as rimmān is a gloss or a Mesoretic vocalization due to the misunderstanding of rmn - cf. Aramaic, ri(m)mona'/ru(m)mana', "Pomegranate", cf. James A. Montgomery, The Book of Kings, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), pp. 280-281; although, I


disagree with the statement, ".. is properly rammān, a constant Akk. epithet of Addu-Hadad." - to my limited understanding, Rammānu(m) is an Assyrian epithet of the Weather-god Adad/Hadad(?), at least the Assyrians equated dIN (and in some instances dU) with Rammānu(m), (cf. Deimel, ibid., p. 44. dIN/U = Ram(m)ān -"dIN, et Rāmān remanere pro dU; at cf. sequentia. 3). 11U." and is not found as an epithet of Adad in Akkadian - at least I have been unsuccessful in my attempts to uncover such an epithet as Rammānu(m); Hebrew should be vocalized rammān and equated with the Assyrian rammānu(m) as an epithet of Adad/Hadad, the Akkadian/Syrian (Aramaean) Weather-god. In II Kings 5.18 Na'Bman, an important officer in the Syrian army wishes to worship in the temple (bē, "house") of Rammān (Hebrew Rammān, not Rimmān as in the textus receptus), (cf. Zec. 12.11 where the deity Hadadrammān5 is mentioned - Hadadrammān/rammān is a very important deity ("fertility deity") at Damascus and probably (?) was associated with the fertility deity Tammuz - cf. Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah, Julius A. Bewer, et al., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), p. 332, for the Targum and Syriac's version of Hadadrammān/

5Hebrew has Hadadrāmmān - again a gloss or misunderstanding. (cf. below, The Syrian Weather-god Hadad.)
Adad was known in the Ancient Near East for his ferocity and power as it was displayed in the storms and floods. From the literary descriptions of the Weather-god Adad, he seems to be the most dynamical represented as a pure personification (in the Ancient period) of meteorological forces and energies. An interesting equation is \( \text{dAdad (IN)} = \text{Marduk (AMAR.UD)} \) \( \gamma \) zumni, "Marduk of the rain(-storm)", cf. Chapter III. The Hierophanies of the Weather-god, Literary Epithets and Theophanies., n. 15., the equation seems to be a standard one in the literature.

CH, Epilogue, XXVII. 64-80, \( \text{dIN (Adad) be-el E} \), \( \text{G} \) AL (negallim) g-ul-gal \( \gamma \)-me-e \( \mu \) ir-ši-tim ri-šū-a zumni i-na \( \gamma \)-me-e mi-lam i-na na-ag-bi-im li-te-ir-šu masū i-na hu-ša-ah-hi-im \( \mu \) bu-bu-tim li-hal-li-iq e-li URU (āli)-šu iz-zî-îš li-is-si-ma ma-sū a-na DUL (til) a-bi-im li-te-ir, "May \( \text{dAdad}, \) 'lord of Abundance', sluice

6 There seems to be some confusion between ramāmu(m), "roar, rumble (Thunder)" and ram(m)ānu(m), "self, oneself", since IN (apparently) has both readings; although, IN = ram(m)ānu(m) as a logogram should be read MI - cf. Assyrian Inscriptions, (London: 1851). It is very significant that CT XXV. 16.24 has \( \text{dRa-mi-mu} = \text{dIN; dRāmimu(m)}, \) pto. of ra-māmu(m), - "The Roaring-(One)", or the personal name of \( \text{dIN}, \) Rāmimu(m).
controller of heaven and earth (land), my helper, 
deprive him of the rain(s) from (ina, literally "in" 
- here "from") heaven (and) the flood-waters (innun-
dations) from the springs; may he bring his land to 
desolation (destruction) through famine and starvation 
(hunger); may he thunder furiously over his city, and 
turn his land into the desolation of (the)/a flood.  Thus 
certainly one is unable to deny the tremendous role Adad 
assumes in the environment of Mesopotamia, cf. CH Col. 
xiii, par. 45.41-42; xiv, par. 48.2-3, wa-ar-ka A.ŠAG₄₄ 
eqlam) dIM (dAdad) ir-ta-hi-iš *(and) afterwards, dAdad 
has inundated (flooded) (it)*; A.ŠAG₄₄ (eqil)-šu dIM 
(dAdad) ir-ta-hi-iš, *(and) dAdad has inundated (flooded) 
his field.* Again the capricious and volatile character 
of Adad is demonstrated. I am reminded of the "Act of God" 
used in English idiom to express some calamity or disaster. 

In Ea and Atrakasis,7 Col. II.29; III.54, e-liš 
dIM (dAdad) zu-un-na-šu u-ša-qir,8 *(above (i. e., ina 
šamš, *in the heaven(s)*) dAdad caused his rain to become 
scarce* - in other words, Adad is reversing the procedure 
and through negative control exercising his prerogative  

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7CT, XV. pl. 49 - cf. Zimmern, Zeitschrift für 
Assyriologie, xiv. pp. 277ff., for the translation to the 
above quotation.

8(w)aqāru(m), "to be scarce, hard to obtain". (l. 
29 above is restored from l. 54.)
of controlling meteorological phenomena. In the tale of the "Seven Evil Demons", the demons seem to be the agents of Adad, if not the mighty Weather-god himself characterized through these seven elements. Line 1, ūmu mut-tak-pu-tum ilāni lim-nu-tum šu-šu, "the raging (day/lightening)-storms, they are evil deities (gods)" - to show relationship of the above remark, line 20, ri-ši-iš-ti dAdad te-šu-šu qar-du-te šu-šu, "The inundating of dAdad, they are elevated warriors" (the line presents several problems which at the present time I have not been able to solve, however, the translation reflects, I trust, the meaning of the line.) *naššu(m), "to exalt, raise up, etc.". Gilgameš XI.97-98, i-lam-ma iš-tu i-šid šam(e)-e* ur-pa-tim șa-lim-tum dAdad (IN) ina lib-bāša ir-tam-ma-am-ma, "And a dark (black storm-cloud) cloud arose from the foundation of the heaven(s) (i. e., the horizon), and dAdad continually thundered within it." *AN-e = šamš. *ramāmu(m), "to roar, growl, (here, thunder)". ABL 74.18, šumma .... dAdad (IN) irigi .... lu išati mimma uqallī, "If dAdad inundated (a field) .... with lightening (fire), (and) burns (cremates) everything ...." - (cf. also, JRAS, (1935) 463, 14ff., for

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9 IV R., 2nd ed., p. 5; CT XVI, pp. 19ff.
Adad withholding rain and consequently vegetation for the period of three years.) (Also, cf. Amarna (129), 11.13-15.).

Adad is without a doubt one of the most expressive examples of the Weather-god in the Ancient Near Eastern complex of cultures. Weber states, "Adad appeared related to YHWH as god of thunderstorms and warfare."¹⁰ - there is no literary documentation for the two deities appearing in parallel relationship, i. e., of YHWH being associated with Adad, but I agree with Weber that the characteristics of these two deities, i. e., YHWH and Adad are similar in weather ferocity and war mongering characteristics.

The Canaanite Weather-god Ba'al

mn ib yp ' 1b'1 qrt
lrkb 'rpt

"What enemy arose against Ba'al, foes against the Rider of the Clouds?"¹

From the literature of Ras Shamra Ugarit come examples of the Canaanite Weather-god who in my estimation is the Weather-god par excellence of the West Semitic array of Weather-gods. Ba'al is the Energizer of meteorological phenomena which, through his direct intervention, give life and vitality to a sedentary agricultural society.

The history of Ba'al is a very complicated one since the Ras Shamra literature date from approximately 1400 B.C.E.,² and leave us much in doubt about the periods prior to the literature; however, that the literature reflects a long history before compilation is practically assured.³

It is quite probable that Ba'al is the consumation

¹ imagination


of the syncretistic process of assimilating the various Weather-gods with each other. Here may be the final consummation between Ḫṣlu(m), who is the prototype of all Weather-gods, i.e., EN.LIL, the Weather-god of Nippur and his later counterpart, AMAR.UD (Marduk), the Weather-god of Babylon, and dIN (Iškur) in the proto-literate period of Mesopotamia, later identified with Adad, the Weather-god of the Akkadians in the Ba' Al/Hadad combination which is prevalent in the literature of Ugarit. Although I still lack the conclusive evidence, I have seen enough of the Mari literature to suggest that the elementary beginnings of the syncretism took place there and was transmitted via the Hurrians, resident at both Mari and Ugarit, sometime during the early part of the second millennium B.C.E.⁴ (cf. Chapter I, Historical Development of the Weather-god, n. 13, dBa- 'U-lu = dIN.) Hadad (Adad) emerges in the West Semitic environment as the mighty Ba’ al, "Lord", and by the per-

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iod of the Ras Shamra literature is firmly es-
tablished as the head of the Ugaritic pantheon.

Ba'\textit{al}/Hadad of Ugarit was known throughout the Canaanite ethnic complex, having various provincial ap-
pellatives attached to his supreme appellative Ba'\textit{iu}, "lord", to the edification of the importance of Ba'\textit{al}, the proper noun, "The Lord".

The assimilation (pre-supposed on the basis of Narduk/\textit{Anu(m)} relationship, seems to have taken place by the period of the literature of Ugarit) of Ba'\textit{al} - 'Il relationship evidences itself in the literature, but there is no literary evidence to show its develop-
ment.\footnote{Albright, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 71-74. cf. II Aqht i 22-23, where bt b'1//bt il; IV AB ii 4-5, where b'1//il \textit{hd} and Hadad ii 4-5, b'1//il \textit{hd}. cf. Kapelrud, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 117ff. Certainly Kapelrud is correct in stating that the texts reflect the power struggle between 'Il and Ba'\textit{al}. There is also reflected the surging power in the society of the importance of the Weather-god in an agricultural society.}  

Ba'\textit{al} is a personification of meteorological phenomena which is clearly demonstrated in the following literary selections:

V AB iii 23-25a.

\begin{verbatim}
'abn brq dl td' smm
rgm ltd' nsm wltbn
hmlt ar-xl
\end{verbatim}
"I know (?) lightening which the heaven(s) do not know, thunder (or, thundervoice) (which) men do not understand, and the people of the land do not discern." 6

The power and majesty go beyond the mere comprehension of mortal men. The great genius of the storm in secret creates the weather phenomena. The above text is extremely problematic. abn, "I know", from byn, "to know", "understand", etc. It would be and is, to some extent, tempting to take abn from bw/y, "to create, build", however, I feel the context does not warrant such a selection. Ba'al has a special discerning power to know the places of the storm. This is his prerogative as the originator of the weather.

II AB v 69-71.

wnap 'dn mtrh
b'1 y'dn 'dn trt bglt
wtn gh b'rpt
qrh lrg bqrm

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"And also, (therefore) a season of his rains will Ba'al appoint,
(yea), a season of .... with .......
and he (will) give his thunder in the clouds,
flashing lightening(s) to the land."

Gordon transliterates line 69, B'1 y'dn 'dn ttk bglt, but this offers no solution to the problem.7 Again, ql is poetic for "thunder", signifying the personification of the meteorological element as the voice of the Weather-god.

II AB vii 28-34: (35a) 27b p tḥ
b'1 bdqt [‘rp]t
qlh qdš b[l l y]tn
ytny b'1 ʂ [ŋ ʂp]th
qlh q dš ? r arš
[ ] ḩrm āhšn
rtq̄t [ ]
qdmym bmt [ ]
tṭṭn
"Ba'al (op)ens the clefts in (the cloud)s,
Ba('al gi)ves forth his holy voice,

Ba' al repeats the sound of his lips.
His holy voice ............... the land
.................. the mountains ...........
...........................................
(even) the ancient sea (Yām), (and) the high shrine of ........... shook.#8

Although the selection is fragmentary, it still affords a clear presentation of Ba' al as a Weather-god who through the elements of the storm is frightful and terrifying. Not only is Ba' al the genius of vegetation, but he is the personification of force. The tremendous ferocity of the storm elements are undoubtedly attributed to the character of Ba' al, and thus he is to be feared and respected.

III AB iii 2-9.

whm ḫy aliyn b'1
whm it zbl b'1 arṣ
bhlm lṭpn il dpid
bšt bny bnwt
šmm šmn tmṯrn

#8 qdmym - cf. Judges 5.21, ṭḥl qd(U)mym, which may be related to the Ugaritic passage and be a reference to the Ancient Sea in a mythological motif. qdmym = "The Ancient Sea-god Yām"(?), bmt = "high shrine", cf. Numbers 22.41; Joshua 13.17, where bmt = "great high shrine".
And behold, Aliyan Ba' al lives, and behold, Zebul Ba' al of the land is alive (exists);

in the dream of Lutpan, 'Il Dapid, (yea) in the vision of the Creator of Creatures
the heavens rain(ed) oil,
the wadies flow(ed) honey;
then I knew that Aliyan Ba' al lives,
that —, the Zebul Ba' al of the land is alive.

The agricultural prosperity of the society of Ugarit depended upon percipitation, especially rainfall, to insure the growth of vegetation. The above literary example presents an excellent picture of the relationship of the Weather-god with the rain cycle, including variations in that cycle. (cf. Chapter IV, Fertility and Fertility Myths., for a fuller explanation.) Ba' al is so closely correlated with meteorological phenomena that immediately one recognizes the identity of Ba'al was established only through the paralleling of human char-

acteristics with weather-phenomena. For the reverse
procedure to the above lines, cf. Hadad ii 43-44. The
lines are indeed fragmentary and too dubious to include
here.

III K iii 5-10.

larq m ʿ r bʾ l
wlʾ d mʾ r ʿ ly
nʾ m larq mʾ r bʾ l
wlʾ d mʾ r ʿ ly
nʾ m lḥʾ t bʾ n
bm nr- kmsm

"Unto the land rains Baʾal,
and unto the field rains 'Aliyy.
Good for the earth is the rain of Baʾa(1),
and also for the field is the rain of 'Aliyy.
(and also (good) for the field)
Good for the wheat by the spring, 10
.................................(?)"

The above lines poetically dramatize the importance
of Baʾal's role in providing the essential balance of pre-
cipitation for the crops. It goes without saying that the

10ʾn = "spring", or place of watering for the crops". By implication the rain helps in watering the crops by fill-
ing the watercourses. Of course this is a bias opinion.
Gray's translation of the entire passage is impossible, cf.
John Gray, The Kt  Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra,
(Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), p. 21, Col. iii, 11. 5-10.
rain is the most ominous weather element in the Ugaritic agricultural society.

The final selection also distinguishes the importance of the vitality of Ba’al as the Weather-god of Ugarit. The utter frustration and despair in the long seiges of a drought are set forth in the prayer (?) of Daniel the Rapha-man.

I Aqht i 42b-46a.

[Aramaic script]

sprk b’l ṣmn rkb
‘rpt b1 ṯ1 b1 rbb(?)
b1 ṣr’ thmtm b1
ṯbn q1 b’l

seven years
shall Ba’al cause want,\textsuperscript{11}
eight the Rider of the Clouds:
without dew, without rain(?),
without welling of the deep,\textsuperscript{12}
without the goodness of the voice (thunder)
of Ba’al

The literature of Ras Shamra depicts Ba’al as a

\textsuperscript{11}sprk = "to cause want"; certainly in this context it is implied that the causality of the drought is from the negative action of the Weather-god Ba’al.

Weather-god. The significance of this literature and the role played by Ba‘al will be presented later in this dissertation.13

13cf. Chapter VI. The Weather-god as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine.
The Syrian Weather-god Hadad

The cultural distinctions of the Weather-god known as Ḥadad (Ḫaddu)¹ is the Aramaean (Syrian) adaptation of Adad, the Akkadian Weather-god, who reached important popularity during the Amorite period. (cf. Chapter I. The Origin and Development of the Weather-god. Historical Development of the Weather-god; also, cf. The Akkadian Weather-god above.) Ḥadad is the Aramaic form of the Akkadian Adad, cf. Hebrew Bible where ʿadd and hdd occur, I Kings 11.14 - Ḥadad/
In the early first millennium the Aramaeans are known to have named their children "son of (god) Hadad", etc., and this custom later became very popular among the pagans of Syria and Mesopotamia in the early Christian age.

The Hebrew Bible contributes a very interesting and informative light on the problem of Hadad as the Syrian (Aramaean) Weather-god. In Zechariah 12.11, bayēm hahāyīyigdal hammad sīmāid haddarimmōn būbiq'at mēgiddōn, "On that day the mourning in Jerusalem shall be as great as the mourning on the plain of Megiddon." hddrmn is from Ḥadad/Adad and Rimmōn/Rammān and assimilation of three distinct cultural adaptations of the same deity dIN. dIN (Adad) is the Akkadian Weather-god who rose to popularity in the

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Amorite period. Hadad is the Syrian (Aramaean) adaptation of dIM (Adad), possibly introduced to the Aramaeans by the Amorites since dIM (Adad) was a very important deity at Mari - judgement made on the basis of Mari personal names compounded with dIM (Adad) - cf. Archives Royales De Mari, publiées sous la direction de André Parrot et Georges Dossin, XV Repertoire Analytique des Tomes I À V par Jean Bottéro et André Finet, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), B. Noms de Personnes, pp. 140-160; cf. also, p. 86.399, (DINGIR) IM for the listing of the cult cities of dIM and an extensive bibliography of the texts and authors; cf. also, p. 161, C. Noms de Divinites, Addu., for the temples (houses) dedicated to dIM - I am not certain that always the god dIM is Adad - cf. Chapter II. - The Hurrian Weather-god Tešub/p., esp. n. 8, "Thus, I am not in accord with the conclusions reached by Wiseman, op. cit., p. 9.". Runmân, an epithet of dAdad which in the Assyrian period was used as a proper noun for the Weather-god dIM, - "The Thunderer"//Hadad = "The Crasher" in meaning and scope, 5 Hadad appears in the Aramaic inscriptions of Zenjirli.

Panammu, Bar-rekub and Hadad

CT XXV 16.16 d_Ad-du = dIM Markī
.17 d_Da-(d)u = dIM Markī
.18 d_Te-es-su-up = dIM Suki
.24 d_Ra-mi-mu = dIM7

Hadad (dIM) plays an important role in the Amarna period. Hadad, the Syrian (Aramaean) Weather-god, is part of the entire cultural environment called Canaanite of which there are several distinctive adaptations of the Weather-god, i.e., Canaanite Ba‘al; Phoenician Hadad; Syrian Hadad; and the Hebrew Weather-god YHWH, and represents an important borrowing from the Amorites of the Akkadian Weather-god Adad—and later the fusion of Rammān, the Assyrian name for Adad.

6G. A. Cooke, A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1903), pp. 150-189; p. 164, "Nothing distinctive is known of his character; but he was probably regarded as a god of storm and thunder, for he was identified by the Assyrians as a stranger-god from the Amorite country with Rammān; see Zimmern KAt3 ii. 443f."

7Hans Schlobies, Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien, (Leipzig: 1925), pp. 8-9, for the comments on CT XXV 16, esp. p. 9, "Adad ist erst später unter assyrischen Einfluss zu den Aramäern gekommen"—and n. 1, p. 9.

The Phoenician Weather-god Hadad

The Phoenician culture belongs to the homogenous Canaanite civilization which extended itself geographically from Mount Casius, which is north of Ugarit, to the Negeb of Palestine.¹ The Phoenician culture shared a common cultural heritage with the Ugaritians as well as exhibiting a cross-fertilization of religious ideas and practices. Of course, ethnic peculiarities will tend to bring about shades of difference in the Canaanite ethnic complex, one may find local peculiarities which will not be shared the entire ethnic complex. Such is the case with the Canaanite Weather-god Ba‘al who has developed local characteristics which are indicative of the area in which he is resident.

I share the opinion of Albright² that the great activator of the Phoenician pantheon was Ba‘al (Haddu/Hadad). From the names in the Early-Bronze towns in Palestine and Phoenicia it appears that the Canaanites of the third millennium (B.C.E.) had the same deities that appear at Ugarit and elsewhere in the Canaanite complex.


Philo of Byblos equates Hurrian Storm-god (Telšub/p) with Phoenician Hadad (Zeus-Demarous) which is extremely important for this dissertation for the following two reasons, 1 - Philo shows the relationship between Telšub/p and Hadad (which I believe to be synonymously identifiable); 2 - He clearly demonstrates that Hadad was known among the Phoenicians as a storm(weather)-god.3

Since the most important examples of the Canaanite religious expression come from Ras Shamra-Ugarit, the equation of Baʿal and Hadad is of no small consequence in this literature. The close parallelism of these two appellatives (?), (cf. Chapter III. The Hierophanies of the Weather-god), i.e., Baʿlu/Had(d), clearly demonstrates the fact that Baʿal was known by the name of Hadad.4 (This


4Arvid S. Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts, (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad - Publisher, 1952), 3. Hadad., pp: 50-52; p. 51, 'In the case of ḫd and bʿl we have ac-
equation to my knowledge does not occur in the Phoenician inscriptions.) In a text numbered by Gordon, (cf. Gordon, loc. cit., pp. 107ff., and Pope, op. cit., p. 86 for their opinions and their significant remarks concerning this text), as 1075, the following lines are very important,

.9, 11 hś il add
.10, b'[1] qpn [b]'[1]
.11, ugrt.

The two lines are parallel to each other and present a striking similarity. add = Add(u), the Akkadian Weather-god. Since this text is a religious text it holds great significance and could possibly suggest that these four names (?) belong to only one deity, i. e., B'1/Had(d) - although, more study needs to be done in this direction.

In a letter from Abi-milki of Tyrus, a Phoenician king, the following lines occur,

.13, ša id-din ri-ig-ma-šu i-na ša-mi
.14, ki-ma Addu u ?-ku-up gab-bi

Actually two different gods who are identified. 5 This supports my theory that in Ba'ali - Adad and Eššu(m), EN.LIL, reach a consummate fruition, (cf. above, The Canaanite Weather-god Ba'ali, pp. 67ff.), cf. also, Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manuel, (Roma: Pontificioon Institutum Biblicum, 1955), p. 258, Gl. #341, hš = hdd--; alternate n. of Ba'1.

.15, mātī iš-tu ri-ig-mi-šu

*(he) who thunders (gives his voice(?))* in
the heavens,
like Adad (Addu), so that the entire land
(trembles?) from his thunder (voice)."6

* cf. Ugaritic rgm.

This again proves the statement that Adad/Hadad
was well known among the Phoenicians.

A good example of the storm quality of the
Phoenician Ba'al is from Hebrew Bible, I Kings 18, this
passage will be discussed later in relationship to the
Ba'al/YHWH assimilation - cf. Chapter VI. The Weather-god
as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine., although, the
author of Kings presents the Ba'al of Tyre in a negative
light.

The early Phoenician inscriptions are somewhat
rare,7 although excellent for linguistic purposes afford
little help in solving the problem of the Weather-god in
the Phoenician culture. The Karatepe Inscription (Azitawadda)8

6G. A. Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions, (Oxford:
At the Clarendon Press, 1903).

7Zellig S. Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Lan-
guage, (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1936), pp. 1-
6, par. 1. The Sources for the Study of Phoenician.

8Julian Oberman, Discoveries at Karatepe, (New Haven:
Ba'ål seems to be the patron deity of Azitawadda, cf. 11. 1, 3: Col. III, 17; Col. IV, 20. Col. III, 15c-16, wysb 'nk h 'lm z b'l krntryš (cf. Oberman, ibid., p. 30 - (h 'lm), "and I installed the god(?)", even (the god) Ba'ål KRNTRYŠ." In Col. IV, 9 there seems to be a very interesting parallel, b'l (..............) wb'1 š(.... ............), Oberman, ibid., p. 10, restores the line, b'l (krntryš) wb'1 š(mm), "Baal (KRNTRYŠ) and the Baal of the He(aven)s.", cf. Ibid., p. 40 and Commentary p. 32. Although, the comparison is very tempting I am not certain there is any basis for it. What is apparent is that Ba'ål is the supreme god of Azitawadda, as well as the Phoenicians. 9

9For the importance of Ba'al in the Phoenician Inscriptions, cf. G. A. Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1903), Index I: North-Semitic, p. 365, b'l, b'lu; Index VI: p. 393, Ba'ål-etc.
The Hebrew Weather-god YHWH

mi-kāmōḵāh bāʾēlīm YHWH - 'Who is like (equal to) you among the gods (pantheon of deities(?)), O YHWH?'

The religious form of the Hebrews, especially the Israelites, is seemingly derived from their proto-historical environment. The origin of the Hebrew Religion in relationship to its time position in the historical development of the Western Semitic Environment is largely ambiguous and highly controversial. The difficulties lie in attempting a valid reconstruction of the literary material, especially Biblical Literature, into a progressive religious history of the Israelites. Equally difficult is the attempt to understand and interpret the religious forms, by-products of the historical process, which are characterized on the basis of environmental and cultural experience.

The most difficult of these forms is the Weather-god YHWH. It is my contention, based mainly on Hebrew Biblical Literature, that YHWH was a tribal or inter-tribal

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1Exodus 15.11a.


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deity of the 'ibrim (Hebrews)\(^3\) who had nomadic residence in the Sinai-Edom area during the latter part of the 13th century B.C.E. Certainly Ex. 7.16 (cf. below, n. 3) holds some key to the problem of the origin of YHWH. That YHWH was known among the 'ibrim is attested several times in the Hebrew Bible and would tend to support the idea that YHWH was unknown among the bsn yisra'el until the migration into the Sinai-Edom area.\(^4\)

YHWH as the patron deity of Israel must be considered historical, i.e., belonging primarily to Israel's literary period, but must be understood that his primitive characterization is on the basis of the personification of meteorological energies which may be clearly seen from

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\(^3\)Exod. 7.16a. - YHWH 'sloch h'ibrim yisra'el. "YHWH, god of the Hebrews, sent me"; Ex. 5.1 - YHWH 'sloch yisra'el // 5.3 - 'sloch h'ibrim. It is significant that after identifying YHWH as 'sloch yisra'el Moses encounters Pharaoh's comments, m\(1\) YHWH, "Who is YHWH?", and l\(\) yada'ti 'et-YHWH, "I do not know YHWH!"; and then he identifies YHWH as 'sloch 'ibrim which seems to imply that the Pharaoh was familiar with the name 'ibrim, not knowing the particular name of the deity. YHWH must be considered as a deity of the Hebrews indigenous to the Sinai-Edom region who was embraced by the bsn yisra'el largely due to the efforts of Moses.

\(^4\)I do not support the theories that suggest that YHWH was of Kenite or Arabian origins, I disagree with Neek in his argument for the origin of YHWH, cf. Theophilo J. Neek, Hebrew Origins, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), pp. 109-110; p. 110, "He was anything but a native Hebrew god", and on that particular point practically all scholars are agreed." Mr. Neek states that YHWH was a foreign god most probably originating in Arabia.
the ancient poetic literature in Hebrew Bible which is the main literary source for the study of the Hebrew Weather-god. In the early stages of YHWH's morphological development he was a deity primarily conceived through nature. YHWH was recognized only through meteorological phenomena that was part of the habitat of the Israelites. YHWH, therefore, was at his early stages of conceptual reality conceived as a Weather-god. This conceptual reality remained identified with YHWH through archaic survivals well into the post-Exilic period. (cf. literary examples given below.) Bright seems to have completely overlooked the evidence when he states that YHWH was not identified with any natural force or localized at any point in heaven and earth.5

During the transitory stages in Israel's history YHWH is depicted as a Weather-god who exhibits all the primitive characteristics indicative in the primary development of the personification of meteorological forces. During the sedentary period in Israel's historical periods

5John Bright, A History of Israel, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), e. The Nature of Israel's God, pp. 141f., "Yahweh, on the contrary, was a God of wholly different type. He was identified with no natural force."........"he was neither a sun-god, nor a moon-god, nor a storm-god." cf. William Foxwell Albright, From The Stone Age To Christianity, (New York: Doubleday & Company,
when urbanization became the dominant social characteristic of the Hebrews, YHWH becomes formalized and emerges in static form. This process took place due to the assimilation of the literary material, religious rituals and social characteristics of Ba‘al, the agrarian deity of the Canaanites, who is the representative deity of a highly developed agricultural society. Thus, the primitive personification of meteorological phenomena which is clearly demonstrative in the YHWH of the Sinai-Edom area, and which is representative of Israel's proto-literate religious development, is refined in the socio-economic period of urbanization in Canaan. It is not until this period, i. e., urbanization, that the cultural supremacy of a sedentary agricultural society is idiomized in YHWH.6

Examination of the literary material in the Hebrew Bible will establish the fact that YHWH at the early period of conceptualization was a Weather-god. The material is

presented as it occurs in Hebrew Bible, although this occurrence by no means suggests an historical order. Genesis 2.5-6,

when all vegetation of the field was not yet on the land,

(and) when all cultivated herbs of the field had not yet sprouted,

because YHWH Elohim had not caused rain (had not rained) upon the land;

therefore, man was not able to work (till) the ground (dry land),

and (or, so) rushing water came up from the land and caused the whole face of the land to drink (i.e., watered the ground)."

7 'ad - "rushing water", (innundation), certainly not "midst" or "dew" in any case. cf. Job 36.27, yasoqqu mētār 'adā, "the rain-(drops) are refined(?) for his inundation (water-course which overflow)". cf. Akkadian idā(m), "rushing water, overflowing waves", etc. cf. Sumerian ID (fr. a-engur) = nāru(m), "water-course, canan, river". Akkadian idā(m) apparently is a Sumerian loan word. Hebrew 'ad could possibly be a Sumerian loan word in Hebrew via(?) Akkadian.
There is a definite connection between agriculture and the various means of irrigating the crops, YHWH sending precipitation as a vital means of procuring vegetation is not just a case of role playing, but suggests that he is the vitalizer of the crops. It is interesting that several concepts are fused together in the above selection which suggests a multiple borrowing. Of course the compound YHWH ' Elohim shows the adaptation of the story, which is of very early origin, to YHWH in the sedentary period in Canaan.

Exodus 9:23,

waYHWH nagan qosit 'abarad wattiholak- 'esh
'tarzsah wayyamtur YHWH barad 'al-'eroq misrayim:
'And YHWH sent thunder(ings) and hail, and fire
(poetic = "lightening") went earthward;
and YHWH rained hail upon (the) land of Egypt."

vs. 24a shows the significance of 'esh = (is poetic)
"lightening", wayshi barad wa'sh mitlaqqihat bstuk hab-
abarad kabad ma'od .........., "and there was hail; and
lightening flashing continually in the midst of the very heavy hail.........."

Exodus 15:8,

'abarulah 'appeka no'ermu-mayim
nissubu kemu-nad nozlim
qaphs'ū tıḥmōt bəlêh-yām:

"At the breath (wind) of your nostrils
the water(s) (were) dammed,

................................. 8
................................. 8

The Song of Moses (and the Israelites) is extremely archaic and contains at least in the above passage a submerged myth refering to the personification of these natural elements, e.g., =localhost 'appēkā is the personification of the meteorological element of wind and wind storms. Above, YHWH's nostrils are the agents of the rūāh (wind).

15.10,

nāʾsphtē bərūkēkā kissāmō yām:

"You (YHWH) blew your breath (wind); Yām (sea) covered them."

Obviously again a very archaic reference to the powers of the wind-storm and its affect upon the waters.

19.16b,

wayāšı qūlōt =localhost qīnām wašānān kāḇēd 'al-hāhār
waqōl šōphar ḥāzēq māʾād wayāšārad kāl-hā'ām

8I understand the vocabulary in these two lines, and could offer some acceptable translation, but there seems to be a very significantly submerged mythology in these two lines which warrants careful consideration. Possibly this text should be considered under Chapter V: The Weather-god in His Combat for Supremacy.
And there was thunder and lightening, and a dense (heavy) cloud was over (upon) the mountain, and (there was) a very loud (strong) thunder-peal, (qōl šōpher = "thunder-blast", or "thunder-peal", not a "trumpet blast" or "call". The English translations have been misled. The words are used poetically to describe a tremendous boom of thunder.) and all the people who were in the camp were thunderstruck" (lit., "trembled").

Yārad 'alāyī YHWH bā'ēś
"YHWH descended in the lightening (lit., "fire") unto (upon) it" (i.e., "the mountain").

wayšī qāl haššōphar hōlēk wēḥāzeq meʾād

Cf. Job 1. 16b, 'ēš 'šōlı̇m nāphālāh min-hāššāmāyīm - 'ēš here = "lightening", that which has the power to fire objects. Cf. Akkadian išātu(m), ORCT 6. pl. 8k. 5001. 9, šēg.izi.nā,bi.ta.gi.eri,ma (muṣṣaNim aNī išātī eli ayābī), "He (EN.LÎŁ) who makes (hail)-stones and lightening
mōsēh yqabbēr wēhāʾelōhīm yāʾennennū beqōl:
"and as the thunderpeal went out(?), it became very loud" (strong);
Moses conversed (i. e., talked with the qōl haššōphar); and the gods (god?) answered us(? with thunder-(voice)).

The line is extremely problematic, but nevertheless it does bring out the quality of the Weather-god's characteristics as they are associated with YHWH. I do not accept the theory that says YHWH's characteristics are indicative of a volcanic theophany. It is, i. e., the selection of Exodus 19, a perfect description of a very intense thunderstorm.11

In Exodus 15.3 a very important description of YHWH occurs in the Song of Moses,

YHWH 'īš mihāmāh
YHWH ʾēsmē
"YHWH is a man of War (battle).
..... (?) is his name."

(fire) rain upon his enemies." Gilgameš VIII. (iv) 17, (ibr)iq birqu innapih išātu, "lightening flashed, lightening-fire kindles"; birqu/išātu; cf. CAD - išātu(m)

The tremendous energy unleashed by the furious storms in the environment of the Hebrews (or, Israelites) had implanted its destructive power in the mentality of the Hebrews as the direct intervention of YHWH, the great Weather-god. One must constantly keep in mind that the conceptual mentality of the Hebrews concerning YHWH was that he was a deity of meteorological energies. These energies were always expressed through poetic idiom which are indicative of the various departments of weather-phenomena. YHWH is an 'YHWH milhāmāh',12 similar to the whole gamut of Weather-gods in the Ancient Near East, because of the victories claimed by the Israelites during severe storm conditions. Several examples are listed below, Joshua 10.11b–c,

waYHWH hišlik 'alāhem 'shanîm gadolî b'minhaššāmâyîm 'ad-'szēqān wayyamûtî rabbîm 'šēr-mêtî ba'abnî yîsřî'āl behāreb:

"And YHWH threw down upon them large stones from the heavens (heaven) (even) unto 'szēqān and they died; (there were) many more who died from the hailstones, than the ones whom the Israelites killed with the sword."

12cf. Chapter III, Hierophanies of the Weather-god. Literary Epithets and Theophanies. YHWH.
Whatever intensity the storm possessed, it apparently had the capacity and ferocity to strike with lethal fury. YHWH is connected with the storm and of course is considered as an 'Iš milhāmāh, "man of war". This spontaneity of appearance must have been coincidental with the battle explained in Joshua 10, but the example clearly expresses the mobility and identity of YHWH as a storm-deity in the occupation of Canaan.

I Samuel 7.10b,

UpšlištIm niggššū lammilhāmāh bšyifrē'ēl wayyar'ēm
YHWH bšqūl-gādēl .........

"And the Philistines drew near to war against Israel and YHWH thundered with a large thunderpeal (thundered with a large voice) ........"

The thunder routed the Philistines and turned the tide of battle toward the Israelites. It is most difficult to translate the above line due to the personification of the meteorological elements as speech faculties of YHWH.

Judges 5:4-5.

YHWH bšqē'tskā mišēš'īr
bšqā'dskā miṣṣdēh 'šdūm
'ērēš ra'āšēh gam-šāmāyīm nātāphū
gam-'ēbīm nātāphū māyīm
In comparison to the above lines, Psalm 69.8-9,

"O YHWH, in your march (out) from Seir, in your march (pace) from the field of Edom, (the) land shook, also, (the) heavens dropped (water);
yea, the clouds dropped water (i. e., rained), the mountains streamed before YHWH, even Sinai before YHWH, (the) god of Israel."

The above literary selections are very similar in poetic structure and present a number of striking syntactical parallels. Unless I have failed to see some hidden detail, I judge the selection in Judges 5 to be much older.
in origin than Psalm 68, however, they both represent a common poetic tradition which is preserved in its most archaic form in Judges 5. zĕh sīnai is not an epithet for YHWH, cf. Chapter III. Hierophanies of the Weather-god. Literary Epithets., but refers to hārīm in a particularized reference, i. e., "even" har sīnai nāzal is implied in zĕh sīnai. 14

Isaiah 30.30,

wăhišmi'a YHWH ĕt-hūd qōlō
wănāhāt zărū'ī yar'ăh
beza'aph 'aph ălahaḇ 'ēš 'ōkēlāh
néphēq wāzērēm wē'ēḇēn bārād:
"YHWH will cause his thunder-voice(?) 15 to be heard,
and the descent of his arm(?) shall be seen
in a fierce (wind)-storm(?) and devouring light-
ening; (beza'aph 'aph = is idiomatic and cer-
tainly refers to the furious wind-storms which
accompany rain, etc.; ălahaḇ 'ēš = "flashing flame",
or "lightening").
in a torrential rain-(storm) and hailstones." 16


15qōl = "thunder-voice" in the above line; regular word for "voice", or "sound", but the personification of the
Isaiah 66.15,

ki-hinnōh YHWH bā‘ēl yabā’
waṣṣūṣphāh markṣōṭāyō
lāḥaḇ bēšemāh ’appō
waṣṣārāṭ bēlahēbî-‘ēš

"For behold, YHWH will come in the lightening
(fire(?)),

and his chariots as a storm-wind (dust-storm(?)),

for the returning of his anger with vengeance, (?)

and his rebuke with flasing lightening(?)."

In comparison to the above concept, cf. Jeremiah 4.13a,

hinnāh ka‘anānīm ya‘āleh
waṣṣūṣphāh markṣōṭāyō;

"Behold, he will come up as clouds,

and his chariots as a dust-storm."

natural forces had been so complete in this instance of the Weather-god that the sound of the thunder was thought to be his voice - rā‘am is the regular verb in Hebrew for "thunder" - cf. II Samuel 22.14//Psalm 18.14.

16 cf. Nahum 1.3b, YHWH bṣṣūṣphāh Ûbîs‘ārāh. The archaic literary traditions preserve the primitive notion of the encountering of YHWH in the elements of the weather, especially the "storm". It is increasingly clear that YHWH in his most primitive literary characterization is a personification of meteorological phenomena and should be classed as a Weather-god. cf. Theophile J. Meek, Hebrew Origins, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), p. 101. Meek gives a full discussion of YHWH as a Weather-god.
Nahum 1.3c,

YHWH bəš(s)ephān ʿārāh darkō
waʾānan ʿāsq rāglāyun

"YHWH, his way is in (the) dust-storm and (the)
whirlwind,
and his two feet are (the) dust-clouds (cloud)."17

Lines 3a-8 are very significant in describing the
c character of YHWH as a Weather-god. It is most interesting
that a number of poetic lines in the Hebrew Bible describe
YHWH as the "whirlwind" and the "dust-storm". This is an
 expansion on the forms of precipitation, such as rain,
dew and snow, to the other forms of weather-phenomena.
Zechariah 10.1,

אשת מǝ'יר mǝYHWH mātār bǝ'šet malqōš
YHWH ʿēsōh hʾš̄ Iz̄ m ʿımstār-gēšēm
yitten lĕhem ʾēsōb bāṣādēh;

"Ask for rain from YHWH in a season of spring
rain,
(from) YHWH (who) makes the ...........
and the rain-showers, he will give (send), to them,
to man, the (cultivated) herbs in the field."

17Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961), p. 143, (2), "and a cloud is the
dust of his feet." Gaster's interpretative translation pre-
sents a different viewpoint than the author of this disser-
tation.
The above lines seem somehow to be broken verse, and thus, are extremely difficult to translate in the context of original intent. Although, the jest of the poetic thought still lingers, the lines seem to have been badly corrupted.

Psalm 18.2ff. // II Samuel 22.2ff. - the poem is entirely too large to quote in its entirety. The particular poetic selection dealing with the Weather-god’s activities is found in Psalm 18.7-15 which parallels II Samuel 22.8-16. It seems the poem in II Samuel is much older than the Psalm, although my opinion is not shared by many scholars. II Samuel 22.14-16, (//Psalm 18.13a-15b.),

yarēm min-Šāmâyīm YHWH
wē'elōn yitten qēḇē
wayyiḵlaš ḥāqqīm
wāyēphīqēm bārāq
wayyahomem (ʔ) / wayyērā’ū 'ēphiqē yēm
yiggālū mōṣdōt tēbel
bāgdērāt YHWH
minniṣmat rūḥāh 'appō;

18 cf. W. O. E. Osterley, Ancient Hebrew Poems, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1938), p. 65, for different viewpoint, “The Text of the poem as it appears in II Samuel is more corrupt than that of Ps. xviii, so that the former can, in some cases, be corrected by the latter.”

"YHWH thunders* from the heaven(s),
yea, 'Elyôn gives forth his thunder-(voice);
when he sends forth arrows,
and scatters lightening,
and ..... (?) / then are the straits (channels(?))
of the sea (Yâm?) revealed (seen),
(and) the foundations of the earth (?) uncovered,
at the rebuke of YHWH²₀
from the breath-wind* of his nostrils."

* - "rears"; * - the snorting blast of air emitted from
nostrils during a fit of anger. Thus, the great wind-storms
which accompany other forms of meteorological phenomena,
especially rain, snow, etc. I am certain the above lit-
erary selection has a submerged mythological element in
line 16a,b, 'aphiqô yâm and môsdît têbel.

9,

'âlôn 'ârân ba'appô
we'yë mippîw tâ'kôl²¹
gôhâlîm bâ'brû mimmênu:
"A cloud (smoke(?)) ascended from his nostrils,
and lightening-fire from his mouth which devours;

²⁰gâ'ar, cf. III *AB b 22 - bhm yg'r b'î and atg'rm 'îtrt.

²¹cf. Deuteronomy 4,24, kî YHWH 'âlohekâ 'ôš 'ôkînô,
"for YHWH, your god, is an 'eating (devouring) fire'!", i. e.,
lightening which through its striking ability to disintegrate
that which it strikes. Again a very significant description
of YHWH from the characteristics of meteorological phenomena,
brightness flashed before us(/)."22

The reference in 1. 9c is to some form of glowing metallic substance which is simulated in the appearance of YHWH in the violent storm theophany. It is becoming clear increasingly that YHWH is poetically conceived as a Weather-god.

Psalm 29, a magnificent piece of poetry, borrowed from the Canaanite literary genre, is an excellent example of the personification of the thunder as the qēl of YHWH. In this Psalm qēl should be translated, "thunder-peal", or "thunder-voice" to bring out the significance of the natural phenomena's rôle in the poem.23 (cf. Chapter VI. The Weather-god as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine., for full discussion of the importance of this poem as it applies to YHWH;

Job 36.27-30, (describes the weather-characteristics of YHWH, especially lines 27-28, which seem to describe the cycle of water evaporation and precipitation),

.27.

kî yāgāra' nitphē-māyîm

22qēl = "bright metal", or bright stone, certainly not black coal used to burn in a fire. cf. Akkadian guhlu(m) - some type of an element of metallic appearance with a crystal-like structure. (cf. Antimony.)

yāzoqqū mātār ลำ'ādē:
''For he sucks (draws(?)) up²⁴ water-drops, (i. e., raindrops // mātār)
(and) the raindrops²⁴ are ........ for his
innundation(s)'' (i. e., water-courses which
overflow.)

²⁴gr⁴ = "to draw up"; in the above text it may imply
the sense of "gulp" or "suck up". I think "swallow" from
the Arabic jariţā, "swallow" is too much for this verb in
the above context. mtr = "raindrops", although, the plural
verb is somewhat misleading.

²⁵Driver's translation of 1. 27 seems difficult. In
1. 28, he seems to mix metaphors, i. e., "pour down" does
not parallel "drop", cf. S. R. Driver, The Book of Job,

²⁶For a discussion of the meaning of the name of YHWH,
cf. Chapter III. Hierophanies of the Weather-god.
The Hittite Weather-god du/IN

In discussing the significance of the Weather-god of the Hittites many frustrating and complicating problems tend to cloud a clear presentation of the Hatti Weather-god. The Hittites did not represent a homogenous ethnic society, but were a composite of a multiple number of ethnic groups. In the possession of scholars is a large amount of Hittite literature. Much of this literature is extremely valuable for religious study, however, the large number of fragments, with a small number of texts published and translated, plus the factor of limited time span concerning the historical periods covered by the literature, only tend to confuse the efforts of scholarship.¹ Most of the extant Hittite texts belong to the New Hittite Empire and date historically circa 1400-1200 B.C.E. Therefore, no history of the Hittites can be traced, thus, one is extremely limited in attempting to reconstruct the religious history of the

Weather-god of the Hittites.²

The Weather-god of the Hittites is represented by the ideogram(s), dU/IM (which are the ideograms of the Weather-gods Iškur, Adad/Hadad, Tešub/p.). These ideograms represent the Hittite Weather-god in his ethnic peculiarities, i.e., Proto-Hattic = Taru, Luwian = Dattas, Hurrian = Tešub/p, Hattic = (?)-una.³ The Weather-god who attracts interest for this dissertation is the Hattic Weather-god dU/IM-una. Some scholars suggest the name of the deity is Hummuni/Hamani, while others disagree.⁴ The name of the Hattic weather-god still remains an open question. (cf. E. Laroche, Rescherches sur les noms des dieux hittites, pp. 49, 109.)

The Hattic weather-god seems to be the most important deity in the Hattic pantheon. He is considered to be "Lord of Heaven and Earth - Supreme King of the Land of Hatti".⁵ The problem arises in the application of the ideogram(s).

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³The Weather-god of Hatti was unquestionably identified with the Hurrian weather-god Tešub/p. This equation was a complete one since it probably was the Hurrians who introduced the Weather-god dU/IM to the Hattians.
⁴Hans G. Güterbock, The Song of Ulikummi, (New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1952), p. 4, n. 14. "Our Hittite version uses his Hittite name ....una(s) (complete reading still unknown; some scholars think of Hamuna which is however, not certain)."
⁵İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Bogazköy
grams signifying the Weather-god to a multiple of various locals in the cities of the Anatolian area. These local Weather-deities could very well be Patron deities of the various towns in which they are venerated and thus be local reflections of the great Weather-god of Hatti.  

The Weather-god of Hatti is well known for his battle with the great dragon Illuyanka. (cf. Chapter V, The Weather-god in His Combat for Supremacy.)

KBo IV = 2BoTU 59B

Rs IV 9c-10:

dU  uru-na-at-ti

dkal uru-na-at-ti du karaš dištar lil d.meš-ia

hu-u-ma-an-te-eš

"The Weather-god of Hatti, god(?) ....... of the city of Hatti, the Weather-god of the army (field-troops),

the Ilštar (fertilizer) of the steepes, the 'highest one' of the gods (pantheon)."

dištar lil = "the giver of fertility (or, life) to the vegetation of the field, or possibly steeps". I may be reading into the text a desire to attach the fertility rôle

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6Hethitische Texte in Umschrift, mit Übersetzung und Erläuterungen, Ferdinand Sommer - Heft IV - Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in Hethitischer Sprache, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1930), pp. 220-221. Indices, dU oder dIN der Wettergott. Here is the listings of the local Weather-gods and the various cities associated with them.
to du of Hatti, although, I am certain that du/IM assumed this role in the culture of Hatti.

KBo III 4 = 2BoTU 48 39

\ldots\ldots du nir.gal en-ia dme-iz-zu-ul-la-aš
d.meš hu-um-an-te-es pi-ra-an hu-i-e-ir

"The proud Weather-god, my lord, the highest one of the goddesses and gods, who stands before me."

KUB XIV 16 = 2 BoTU 50 Vs I 28b

\ldots\ldots du uruha-at-ti dkal uruha-at-ti du
karaš du mu 1-tar-ri-šu

"The Weather-god of Hatti, god(?) \ldots of the city of Hatti, the Weather-god of the army
(field troops), the all-powerful Weather-god."

du karaš = (?) "the warrior god of the army" - due to the fact of the Weather-god fighting battles through the storm.
(cf. above, The Weather-god YHWH, etc.)

The above formula/ae does/do not vary very much throughout the texts I have examined. I feel reasonable certain the main god of the pantheon of the land of Hatti was du/IM, and that he is equated, if not synonymous with Tešub/p, with the Hurrian Weather-god - and thus joins the whole gamut of Weather-gods in the Ancient Near Eastern Weather-god complement.
The Hurrian Weather-god Tešub/p

The ethnic complex in which the Hurrian culture is encountered is truly a syncretism of ideas and social practices. The ethnic complex although designated Hittite, is by no means limited to a single ethnic society.

The Hurrians seem to be a non-Semitic, non-Indo-European ethnic group who were very active in the Ancient Near Eastern complex during the second millennium B.C.E.¹

The Hurrians in the religious expression of the Ancient Near East played one of the more important roles. I suggest they were the catalytic agents in the cultural breakdown of indigenous ethnic religious expression and form. The Hurrians were extremely active in the Hittite ethnic complex which consisted of Sumero-Akkadian, Nesian/Nesian, Luwian, Palaic and Hattic stocks, and which also enfringed itself on the Canaanite cultures. The religious expression of the Hittite ethnic complex represents all the above socio-religious forms and expressions (with some unidentifiable ethno-religious elements) in a highly syncretistic civilization. However, the Hurrians are respon-

sible, and largely so, for exerting influence upon the Hittite civilization. Although, the subject is still under debate I suggest it was the Hurrians who carried many of the religious ideas and forms to the West Semitic area - introducing them to the Canaanites of Syria.2

The identification of Tešub/p with Adad is one of the most significant associations in the correlation of West Semitic and East Semitic Weather-gods. In CT XXV 16 the following parallels are given,

16.7 (d) A-da-ad = dIN
16 dAd-du = dIN Maršši
17 dDa-(d)u = dIN Markšš
18 dTe-eš-su-ub/p = dIN Sūśši
32 dBa'-u-lu = dIN
34 d(iš)-kur) IN = dIN


2 Claude F. - A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra - Ugarit, (London: Schwech Lecture, 29, 1936), p. 8 - Schaeffer implies that Baal’s presence in the Ugaritic pantheon is due to the Hurrians at Ugarit who worshipped the Weather-god under the name of Tešub/p. Also cf. Arvid S. Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts, (Copenhagen: G. E. E. Gad - Publisher, 1952), p. 136, “Personally I believe, however, that the influence from the Hadad cult came more directly. Hadad and Dagan were highly important gods in Mari, Terqa and Halab.”
The above equation, i.e., 16.18 dTe-š-su-ub/p = dIM Suki is confirmed in the texts since the Hurrian is invariable written with the same ideogram with which Adad is represented, i.e., dIM. Adad was well known and worshipped at Mari for his name is by far the largest used in personal names. From this area the Hurrians certainly identified their Weather-god, pronounced phonetically Te-eš(su)ub/p, with Adad utilizing Adad's logogram. dIM is used to represent Tešub/p in the cuneiform script. Although the people of Mari were predominately Amorite, as attested from the personal names at Mari, there is a significant number of Hurrian names to warrant our attention concerning their intermingling with the Mari society. The most significant factor is the number of fragmentary Hurrian tablets at Mari which certainly antedate the 18th century.

Mari represents an ethnic sub-strata, i.e., the Amorites which have assimilated the Akkadian culture into

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their ethnic folkways and socio-religious forms and practices. The Hurrians adopted the principal gods, heroes and the mythological narratives and poems of the Sumero-Akkadian culture. Thus, it must be stated that through the migration of the Hurrian peoples the Sumero-Akkadian culture was circulated among the Hittites, as well as the Canaanites, at least in Syria, and other resident ethnic groups of the Anatolian area.

Our knowledge of the Hurrian religion, especially the Weather-god Tešub/p, is from the Hittite tablets which have tended to preserve the original Hurrian rituals and mythological stories concerning this very important Weather-god. Of course Hurrian literary material has/is being discovered in the Canaanite and Akkadian periods in the scripts of these people.

Tešub/p seems to be the main deity in the Hurrian pantheon. For a comprehensive listing of the Hurrian pantheon, cf. E. Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux

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5Ibid., p. 155, "Mari thus represents, as exactly as could be expected, the result of the adoption of Accadian culture by a nomadic West-Semitic folk ..." - "The culture of northwestern Mesopotamia, the region around Haran, which often figures in these documents, was a mixture of Hurrian and Amorite elements, on a Sumero-Accadian foundation."


The Alalakh Tablets afford some understanding of the Adad/Tešub/p correlary and the problems evolved. The ideographic problem is somewhat severe since the use of dIN is applied to both Adad and Tešub/p seemingly without regard to the cultural identity of either deity. It seems that the ethnic strata of Alalakh was mainly comprised of Hurrians due to the overwhelming majority of Hurrian personal names found in the tablets. Also, there are attested Amorite personal names at Alalakh.

Alalakh #1. ATT/39/83, Obv., ll. 1-3,

*i-nu-ma a-hu-šu mab-ba-an be-el-šu-nu ib-ba-ak-tu

mab-ba-an LU GAL?..... i-na tu-ku-u 1-t i dIN
dHeš/pat à išŠUKUR .... a-na alir-ri-diš i1-lík-ma

"When his allies (lit., "brothers") failed Abban their lord,
Abban the king(?), with the aid of dIN (= Tešub/p);
Heš/pat and the (divine) weapon, went against the


8Ibid., p. 9. For a different viewpoint, cf. I. J. Gelb, The Early History of The West Semitic People, JCS, Vol. XV, #1, (1962), pp. 27-47. Esp. cf. pp. 38ff., Syria and Palestine in Old and Middle Babylonian Periods, p. 40, "The third ethnic element is represented by the Hurrians; its late appearance on the Syrian scene is indicated by the fact that no Hurrians are attested from Syria in the Mari sources
city of Irridi."

*Since dIM is in relationship with dHeb/pat, who is the Weather-god Tešub/p's consort, the reading would only seem to be Tešub/p. This is only one example of what seems to be several other cases of the same phenomenon. Wiseman admits, "Since many of the divine names are written only in ideographs (e.g., IN, IŠTAR, (d)X, (d)XXX, and AN for ili?) it would not be wise to attempt to disentangle the possible racial groups represented." This suggests that the ideograms can not be glossed with the familiar Akkadian god-names, but each case must be considered for its individual merit. It is very possible that dIM = Tešub/p in a larger number of instances than we realize. Further study needs to be done in this area. (cf. Édouard Dhorme, René Dussaud, Les Religions De Babylonie et D'Assyrie and Les Religions Des Hittites et Des Hourrites Des Phéniciens et Des Syriens, (Paris: Presses Universitaires De France, 1945), p. 96, "L'idéogramme qui le représentait, le signe IM, signifiait "le vent". On l'employait, précédé du déterminatif divin, pour désigner

and by the growing, not waning, Hurrian influences in Syria, as time went on, from Alalah VII - Ugarit. Thus, I am not in accord with the conclusions reached by Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets, p. 9."

9Wiseman, op. cit., p. 9.

10Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, et al., Ugaritica III, (Paris: Librarie Orientaliiste Paul Geuthner, 1956), Reis De Kargamiš et D'Amurru, pp. 121-153, where examples are given of Tešub/p
suivant les textes, le sumérien Ishkur ou l'accaadien Adad. Même les dieux étrangers qui, dans leur pays d'origine, étaient considérés comme dieux de la foundre, tels le casite Buriash, le hurrite Teshub, le cananéen Baal, furent représentés par le signe IN.

Tešub/p occurs with some regularity in the Mitanni correspondence. In most instances Tešub/p is represented by the logogram dIM. In several cases the name is written phonetically, e.g., dTe-e-eš-šu-pa-as. Tešub/p certainly seems to be the chief deity of the Mitannians as well as the Hittites(?) - at least it is through Hittite literature that we learn a great deal about Tešub/p.

Tešub/p is beyond question one of the more important Weather-gods in the Ancient Near Eastern ethnic complex. However, literary examples of his exploits and importance to the Hurrian society are not in abundance. To establish his weather identity the following literary selection is given,

dU-as-kan gi-sti-ia-da-as sa-ra-a ga-ga-as-ti-ia-as

being represented by the several logograms and especially dIM with/without -up in the following manners, all meaning Tešub/p: dU-up; dIM-up; dIM; all in personal names of Kings.


ma-a-an wa-at-ku-ut na-as-kan te-et-hi-es-na-za
kat-ta a-ru-ni a-ar-aš na-an sa-a-hi-eš-ki-is-si
du-aš našku-un-ku-nu-zi-in:

"The Weather-god* upon his ........ like ........
sprang, and with thunder down to the sea he
descended,

And fought him, the Weather-god (against) the Kun-

kunizzi."13

*Although the Hittite rendition gives the Hittite form
of the Weather-god, the reference is clear that the text
is the Hittite adaptation of the Hurrian myth, and the
Weather-god is undoubtedly Tešub/p.14

13Hans G. Güterbock, The Song of Ulikumi, Revised
Text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian Myth, (New Haven:
21-22.

14Ibid., p. 4, Summary of the Epic; n. 14.
III. THE HIBROPHANIES OF THE WEATHER-GOD

Literary Epithets and Theophanies
Iconographic Representations
Literary Epithets and Theophanies

Cultural identity of the various Weather-gods in the Ancient Near Eastern Cultures tends to emphasize or highlight the indigenous cultural qualities of the Weather-gods. If one only examined the literary clichés from this viewpoint, there would arise an impression that each Weather-god was highly individualistic and thereby unrelated to Weather-god/s of other cultures. Thus, wherever similarities of epithets and Theophanies occur between the cultural forms of the Weather-gods, these similarities will be given. This will show the cultural cross-fertilization which has taken place between the cultures in the Ancient Near Eastern Civilization.

Many of the cultural epithets will have universal (inter-cultural) significance and will tend to emphasize the fact that in many instances the same meteorological phenomenon is under consideration, even though the phenomenon comes from more than one cultural matrix.

The names of the Weather-gods are extremely important in depicting the characteristics resident in each Weather-god, and will be given consideration in this section.

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1 Epithet: "An adjectival statement attributing a specific quality or qualities - or relationship of qualities appropriate and contributive to an individual's character and personality." (A term which will be interchanged with epithet is Appellative - denominative of a class, which has a slightly larger connotation than epithet.)
Special attention will be given to YHWH as a Weather-god with literary epithets, and YHWH as the name of the deity.

EN. Līl in literature assumes many titles which are indicative of his status and position in the Sumero-Akkadian Culture of Mesopotamia. His name is a most significant title of his weather personification. EN = Bēlu(m), which is Akkadian, and means in the noun form, "Lord, master, owner", etc., cf. below. In its verbal form it means, "to rule, govern, control". Bēlu(m) is the contracted form from Old Akkadian Be'al(u)(m) = "Lord", and in Old Akkadian, Old Assyrian (and Middle Assyrian) in the verbal form - the Infinitive, Be'al(u)(m) = "to rule, govern". As it applied to the Weather-god of the Sumerians, Bēlu(m) = "The Lord". In its relationship to Līl, it simply means "Lord Storm". Līl, contrary to Kramer, \( ^3 \) = Šāru(m), "windstorm"; zāqu(m), "to storm"; zaqīqu(m), "wind-breath"; and in some instances, šēru(m), "steep", although the major meaning

\[ ^2 \text{For fuller explanation, cf. Wolfram Von Soden, Grun-} \]
\[ \text{driss der akkadischen Grammatik, (Roma: Pontificium Insti-} \]
\[ \text{tutum Biblicum, 1952), p. 11, par. 9.1; p. 17, par. 16.1; p. 130, par. 98.m; cf. esp. p. 24, par. 23.b and p. 12, par. 10.a, for Be'al = Ba'al; also, cf. Chapter I, The Origin and Development of the Weather-god. General Discussion of Theory of Origin, p. 16; Historical Development of the Weather-god, pp. 31f., n. 13.} \]
is connected with the storm or other various types of weather-phenomena. This personal name is somewhat difficult to translate, even though I suggest the reading is Bēl Šāri, "Lord of the Storm", there is the possibility that it should be read Bēlu(m) Šāru(m), "Lord Storm" as suggested by Jacobsen. From the literature addressed to ENLIL one is impressed with his power and authority.

EN.LĪL is called LUGAL.KUR.KUR.RA (Šar mātāti), "King of the Lands". KUR = mātu(m), "land", thus, KUR.KUR = mātātu(m), "lands", or the entire known world at that period in history. The universality of this title is apparent and shows the tremendous authority EN.LĪL commanded as the most important deity in the Sumero-Akkadian political and social structure of Mesopotamia. He is also known by the title of ab-ba dingir-dingir-rī-ne-ge, "Father of the Gods (Pantheon)". Variations to this title are ad-da dingir-ra-ka; ad dingir-dingir-ra-ka. This title, "Father of the Gods", is a theological apppellative and ex-

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tremendously important because it shows that EN.LÎL is the highest of the vast and various array of gods in the Mesopotamian pantheon - and I believe the most important.5

EN.LÎL was also called EN without the LÎL and in the Akkadian period was addressed as Belu(m), (cf. below) an appellative which was later applied to Marduk, then Adad, and passed later to dU/IN (Hittite Weather-god); finally becomes the appellative of Hadad the west Semitic Weather-god in the title Ba'al. (cf. below for examples of this development.) Literary examples clearly spell out the important rôle played by EN.LÎL in Mesopotamia, 1 d'en-lîl en ad-da dingir-ra-ka
1 dšar-ga-ni-šar-âli 2 šar 3 a-ga-deki 4 bâni (BA-GIN)

The above example is one of several examples from this period. An another important title is, II. 1 ðen-lil 2 nun-an-ki-ra, "ðEN.LIL, lord of heaven and earth."// CH, Prologue, Col. I. 3-5, ðEN.LIL be-el ṣa-me-e à ir-ṣi-tim, "ðEN.LIL, lord of heaven and earth." Certainly nun-an-ki-ra = bēl ẓamā à irṣītim and suggests that NUN = Bēlu(m). EN.LIL was supreme in the cosmic realm as well as in the economy of society. So important was this title that it implied the authority to mete out the responsibility of government, prosperity to the rulers of the land. The Semitic culture eagerly proclaimed this status of the Weather-god of the Sumerians.

EN.LIL is called LUGAL A.MA.RU (šar abūbi), "King of the Flood(s)", a-ma-ru/bru = abūbu(m), "floods". Also, he is called LUGAL UD.GU.SILIM(/DI(?)) - "King of Fierce Storm(s)"(?). Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., p. 115, 23.20, trans. "der König der 'brausenden' Wirbelwinde En-lil". (Barton’s trans., "The-king-who-is-the-day-of-judgement-of-Enlil" is impossible, cf. Barton, op. cit., p. 229, n. 6. XXIII. 20.) Although there is an implied sense of

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judgement here, it is only because of the ferocity of the great "Storm" which bears judgement upon the hearts and souls of mankind. Certainly UD = Šumu(m), "day/light-storm" and not Šumu(m), "day". These two words were confused constantly by the early scholars in this field. KA, the second Sumerian logogram, here read GÙ = Šasū(m), "cry, roar, shout" and would tend to govern UD. It is the fierce storm/s which "thunders/thunder" judgement upon mankind. This is EN.LIL, en gab-rî, "The Lord of the Storm, 'The Lord', the highest one (without equal)." In support of the idea that EN.LIL speaks with authority in the storm he is called IM.SAG.GÂ, or the reading NÎ.SAG. GÂ = "The Loud Thunderer", Barton, op cit., p. 48, Rev. I. 6. Thureau-Dangin, op cit., p. 30, Rückseite 1. 6, does not translate this title. The title certainly has to do with the superiority of the storm (EN.LIL) which has the power to establish authority over humanity. Of course, this is an interpretation and is in no way to be understood as a translation of IM.SAG.GÂ. There are many titles and dialectical representations of EN.LIL, many of which will be discussed in relationship to the titles of the various Weather-gods, especially Marduk (ANAR.UD).

8Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., p. 229, 23.21, "der Herr, der nicht seinesgleichen hat".
What has been given above I consider to be the classical titles (Epithets) of EN.LIL in the Sumero-Akkadian historical period.\footnote{Antonius Beimel, \textit{Pantheon Babylonicum}, (Romae: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1914), p. 74, \#356, il\textit{Bēlum}, esp. p. 76, 2) Monima \textit{dEnlil.}}

Marduk (AMAR.UD), the Babylonian Weather-god, patron deity of Hammurabi, circa 1728-1686 B.C.E., who rose to be the national god of Babylon in the aforementioned period of Mesopotamian history. The very name of this Weather-god reveals his weather personification. AMAR.UD = mār ūmi, "Progeny of the (day/light)-storm".\footnote{UD has the quality of urru(m) - UD,DA = urru(m), but equally has the quality of nūru(m), "light" - this sense of "light" may have more to do with UD = ūmu(m), (Day or Light(?)) in the sense of "lightening-storm", than merely a storm of the day. I have not been able to parallel UD with}

The most coveted title in the array of the gods was Bēlu(m), "Lord". Incorporated in this title were embodiments of political, social and religious destinies. The one to hold this title, Bēlu(m), could enforce his will, unobstructed by human desire and purpose, on the people of the lands. Certainly, the will of 'The Lord' is the law of mankind.

Marduk, the new and dynamic Weather-god of the Babylonian kingdom, assumed this title of Bēlu(m), "Lord", by the direct will of EN.LIL. The older or elder deity passing on the rites of rulership to his younger protégé...
Marduk, CH, Prologue, I. 3 dEN, LIL 4 be-el šam-me-e
5 ù ir-ši-tim 6 ša-i-im 7 ši-ma-at KALAN (mātim) 8 a-na
dAMAR, UD (Marduk) 9 DUNU (mārim) ri-š-ti-im 10 ša dEN,
KI 11 dEN, LILUT (Illilütu(m)($) 12 KIŠ(i) (kiššat) ni-
ši 13 i-ši-mu-šum, "dEN, LIL, Lord of Heaven and Earth,
who determines the destiny of the land," to dMarduk, the
first-born son of dEN, KI, appointed the Illilütu-ship11
of all people (over the whole of mankind)."
*KALAN usually equals the territory of Sumer proper, but
here it has the value of mātu(m), "land". Marduk is called
Marduk (AMAR, UD) bēlu rabū dEN, LIL ilāni, "Marduk, 'the
great lord', the Enlil (chief) of the gods."
- IR, 68, ii, 3. (cf. Chapter I. Historical Development of the Weather-
god for discussion of this text.) So complete was the Bēlu(m)
identification (and assimilation) that Tiglath-Pileser I
calls EN, LIL, as opposed to Marduk, Bēl labāra, "Bēl, the
older(one)?", (cf. Rawlinson, TP., 1,14, viii. 87.). The
Assyrians were responsible for a great deal of syncretism
in the relationship of EN, LIL and Marduk. So great is the

with GIR. I completely reject all the theories and sugges-
tions which connect Marduk with Šamaš, or suggest that he is
/was a Sun-god. There is a serious confusion between UTU and
UD which are not identical or related in meaning.

11dEN, LILUT = "Dominium", cf. Von Soden, op. cit.,
n. #2, p. 190, par. 135,f - aB Illilüt kiššat nīṣi, "die
Illil-Herrschaft über die Gesamtheit der Menschen." Also, cf.
assimilation that Marduk becomes Eél mātāti, "Lord of the Lands".\textsuperscript{12}

From Enuma Eliš, originally written to EN,LIŠ — cf. Frankfort, \textit{op. cit.}, n. 4, pp. 182-184., and now dedicated to Marduk, come many interesting and depictive epithets and appellatives of Marduk. There are so many titles that a complete citing would be physical impossible here. Of course many of these titles come from the highly syncretistic religious attitude of the Babylonians. EE IV,28, dMarduk-ma šarru (VI,32, (dMarduk) šarruma), "dMarduk is King" (has become king) is a very important title, especially in relationship with YHWH, (cf. below.). EE IV,126, dMarduk qardu, "Marduk, the hero", of VI,141, māru qarradu, "The son, the greatest hero". This is an important title, i. e., "Hero" (or, "Warrior") as it is assumed by other Weather-gods, EE VI,48b, dMar-
duk dEN,LIŠ dE.A, "dMarduk who is dEN,LIŠ (and) dE.A", Marduk is the superior deity of the upper and lower areas of the economy of mankind,\textsuperscript{13} EE VI,139, dIugal-dim-mer-ir

\textsuperscript{12}EE VII,117; IR. 9, Col. i, 3-4, etc. (cf. Chapter I. Origin and Development of the Weather-god.) (The verb šēmu(m)I. "ap-
point, determine" is used to portray the prerogative of EN, LIŠ, šīmu(m), "destiny", "fate", šīmat KALAN (mātim), "the destiny of the land", Bēlu(m) as an epithet implies the au-
-thority and executive power to constitute a sovereign state.

\textsuperscript{13}For Marduk/EN,LIŠ, cf. VAB. iv 60, 2, and CT 24, 50,
an-ki-a(k) = LUGALDIMMERANKIA(K), "Lord God of Heaven and Earth", cf. VAB. iv 72, 50. 1. 119 - K. 2107, 19 bēl iilāni* ša šamâ 4 irsi-tim = "Lord God of Heaven and Earth". *iilāni = "god", an incorporation of the entire pantheon, such as YHWH 'šlohim, cf. YHWH, below. This title was the initial prerogative of EN.LÎL, cf. EN.LÎL, above.)

BE III.10, dMarduk mutirri* gimišišunu, "(For) dMarduk, their avenger". *(King, ii, pl. 25, has this reading.)

For the complete listing of the fifty names of Marduk, cf. BE VI. 123, 134, 136, 138, 140, 144, 148, 152, 156; VII. 1, 3, 5, 9, 15, 19, 33, 35, 41, 43, 47, 51, 55, 57, 61, 62 - gugallu(m), GÚ.GAL, "Controller of the Dykes", a technical term for an important occupation in an "Irrigation Culture" such as Mesopotamia. cf. ANET, p. 71,

Speiser, n. 136, "The term starts out with the value of "inspector of canals" and is thence transferred to the weather-gods (Adad; cf. Ennuge in GAlg., XI, 6." Also, cf. Thorkild Jacobsen, JNES, V, (1946), p. 130. 14 65, 68, 70, 75, 77, 80, 83, 85, 86, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97.

47406 Obv. 6. Some scholars read above, dEN.LÎL (and) dE. A established ..... cf. ANET, p. 69, Speiser trans., "They set up in it an abode for Marduk, Enlil, (and) Ea."

14CH, Epilogue XXVII. 64-66, dIM (Adad) be-ēl HÉ. GÁL (heqallim) GÚ.GAL ša-me-e 4 ir-ši-tim, "dAdad, the lord of abundance, sluice controller (Irrigator) of heaven and earth." (cf. Chapter II. The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The Akkadian Weather-god Adad.)
99, 101, 102, 104, 106, 108, 115, 119 (very important reference to Addu(m)/Adad), 123, 124, 136 - the very important Bēl mātāti, this the fiftieth name and the most important (cf. Above for explanation). I have listed fifty-one names only to show the important name of Guggallu(m), "Sluice Controller", cf. 62, but it is not considered to be one of the list of fifty names. EB VI. 147, ana Šu-me-šu* ilāni liš-tar-i-bu li-nu-šu ina šub-ti, "at his names let the gods (pantheon) tremble and quake in the council-room (in the sitting-place)."

*Šumēšu, "names", not as Speiser trans. "name", cf. ANET, p. 70, l. 147. Šubtu(m) - "sitting-place", or the "Council House of the Gods".

To further illustrate the important fact that a great number of the epithets of Marduk are derived from the highly syncretistic religious attitude of the Babylonians and thus, not only reflect a syncretism, but also, illuminate our understanding of the consumate rôle that was assumed by the Weather-god in the economy of the gods and mankind.

dTu (?)

Marduk ša e-ri-šu

DLugal-a-ki

ša naq-bi

dNIN-ib

ša al-li

dNergal

ša qab-lu
dZa-ma-ma

\* ša ta-ha-zi

\* ša be-lu-tu u

\* mit-lu-uk-tu

\* ša nikasi

\* (ša) mu-nam-mir mu-ši

\* ša ki-na-ati

\* ša zu-un-nu

\* ša um-ma-nu

\* ša kir-ši-zi

\* ša pi-sa-an-nu

\* ša kul-la-ti

dEn-1fl

\* dTu(?), is dMarduk of the planting;

\* dLugalaki (.....), is dMarduk of the spring;*

\* dNinurta is dMarduk of might;*

\* dMergal is dMarduk of battle;*

\* dZababa is dMarduk of (fierce) battle;*

\* dEnlil is dMarduk of lordship and government;

\* dNabû is dMarduk of (tablet) keeping (to keep the accounts);

\* dSin is dMarduk (the) shining one of the night;

\* dŠamaš is dMarduk of truth (purity);

\* dAdad is dMarduk of rain;

\* dTišpak is dMarduk of the army (troops);

\* dGal(?) is dMarduk of kiržizi(?)

dNabû

dSin

dŠamaš

dAdad

dTišnu

dGal

dŠu-ka-mu-nu

d.........

dTu(?) is dMarduk of the planting;

dLugalaki (.....) is dMarduk of the spring;*

dNinurta is dMarduk of might;*

dMergal is dMarduk of battle;*

dZababa is dMarduk of (fierce) battle;*

dEnlil is dMarduk of lordship and government;

dNabû is dMarduk of (tablet) keeping (to keep the accounts);

dSin is dMarduk (the) shining one of the night;

dŠamaš is dMarduk of truth (purity);

dAdad is dMarduk of rain;

dTišpak is dMarduk of the army (troops);

dGal(?) is dMarduk of kiržizi(?);
\[d\bar{\text{\text{Suqamunu}}} \text{ is } d\text{Marduk of pisannu(?)};\]
\[\text{d......... is } d\text{Marduk of everything.}^{15}\]

*naqbu(m) = "source", but has the implication of the
source of flowing water. *dMarduk ṣa qablu = "dMarduk,
the one who wars." *tēhēzu(m), "fight fiercely, slaughter
in battle", root, ahēzu(m), "seize, take". *allu(m),
"strength, might", root, alēlu(m), (?), "bind, take up".
there is evidence of monotheism in the above text. The
author of these lines is extolling the virtues of Marduk
to show that these various deities are in reality only
Marduk in different roles.\(^{16}\) Obviously this text repre-
sents a highly refined syncretism and would tend at a very
early period in religious history to promote the Weather-
god as the supreme deity of the cosmic realm as well as
the earthly environment. (cf. Chapter VI. The Weather-god
as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine.). Marduk never reached
the status of Unidaemonism that was reached by YHWH, the
Hebrew Weather-god.

Adad, the Akkadian Weather-god, is extremely im-

15Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the
British Museum, XXIV (1908), pl. 50, #47406, and p. 9.
Also, cf. Henri Frankfort, et al., The Intellectual Ad-
venture of Ancient Man, (Chicago: The University of Chicago
(New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), pp. 196-198, for dis-
cussion of the above text.

16For presentation of the titles (epithets) of Mar-
duk, cf. Deimel, op. cit., n. 9, pp. 173-177, #3078. 1\text{Marduk.
Also, cf. Johannes Hehn, Hymen und Gebete an Marduk,
(Leipzig: Druck von August Fries, 1903).}
portant for our understanding of the Weather-god not only in the Eastern Semitic World, but equally as well in the Western Semitic Environment. Adad’s epithets will dramatize his importance and vitality in the panorama of the Weather-god in the Ancient Near East.

Adad is represented in literature by the logogram 𒉺𒄩 (cf. Chapter II. The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The Akkadian Weather-god Adad.) which has a large distribution over multiple cultural forms with many indigenous phonetic values. The Akkadian read 𒉺𒄩 as Adad, although the logogram was originally read 𒃹škur. Adad is represented in literature by the logogram 𒉺𒄩, "storm" ("wind-storm").

Adad was extremely popular during the Amorite period and it is from this literature (from the Amorite period) that many of the important appellatives come. CH, Epilogue XXVII. 64, 𒉺𒄩 be-Šu 𒈷𒈠.GAL = 𒉺𒈷 Adad Bēl hegallim, "Adad, Lord of Abundance" (cf. above, p. 127, n. 14); 65, GÚ.GAL ša-me-e à ir-ši-tim, "Sluice-controller".


18Driver, op. cit., p. 299, 65-66, I do not accept Driver's suggestion that these signs should be read GÚ.GAL, "great bull".
of heaven and earth", GU.GAL = gugallu(m), "sluice inspector or controller" - technical term for the office of controlling the water that flows through the irrigation sluice. Adad is considered very much in the program and prosperity of the land of Babylon by Hammurabi. He claims special consideration from Adad for he calls the god, CH, Epilogue XXVII, 67, ri-sú-û-a, "my helper". CH, Prologue III.59, dIM qû-ra-di-im, "dAdad, the Warrior"., (here it is really, "The Warrior dAdad".) - cf. C. J. Gadd & L. Legrain, Ur Excavations, Texts: I Royal Inscriptions, p. 44, #145 Obv. 1 dimmer en ur-sag dumu an(........), "dAdad(?), 'The Lord', 'The Warrior', son of heaven" - an(na) = Anu(m) according to Gadd and Legrain. I am not certain about this translation. It could be a reference to the impersonal area, namely heaven. UR.SAG = qarrādu(m), "hero, warrior". (cf. Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, EM #85, pl. 112, #60, bilingual inscription, Col. IV. a. 5, Hammurabi LUGAL UR.SAG = Hammurabi šarrum qarrādum.) The epithet of "Hero/Warrior" is a very important one and has been passed down from EN.Lîl through Marduk to Adad(?) and the Weather-god of Ugarit. cf. I* AB ii. 17-18, aliyn*b'1//aliyn qrđm (*bn b'1); V AB iii. 28-29, aliyn b'1//aliyn qrđm; V AB iv. 7-8, aliyn b'1// aliyn
qr.dm.19 (cf. below, Ba'al for discussion of this epithet as it is applied to the Weather-god of Ugarit.) In the above quoted line from Gadd and Legrain, Adad is entitled with the highest epithet in the Ancient Near Eastern complex of the Weather-god, i.e., EN = Bêlu(m). dIM-MER, the Sumerian dialect for dIM (Adad),20 is also known as Bêlu(m), "Lord", which is very significant in the consideration of the relationship of Ba'al/Âadad = dIM (Addu/Adad). Gadd and Legrain, op. cit., p. 26, 111. 20-22. dIM-ra-ge (dimmur-ra-ge) šul ni-tuk u-na-ni-di-di, "Adad, the warrior, (the one) who walks reverently."

Gudea of Lagas, Cylinder A, 26.21, dIM an-ta gû-nun-silim (/di-)da-âm, "Like dAdad, the thunderous one, in heaven" (or, "like the thunderous dAdad in heaven.") - cf. EN,LîL above, LUGAL UD, GUR.SILIM (/DI(?)). Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., p. 119, 26.21, "waren wie Immer, donnernd am Himmel."21

To provide a basis for an interculturalization

Adad is equated with Marduk, CT XXIV, 50.10, dAdad is

19H. L. Ginsberg, ANET, p. 138, "Puissant Son Baal - Powerful Hero"; other references, "Puissant Baal - Powerful Hero".

20Hans Schlobies, Der Akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien, (Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1925), p. 7, "der sumerische Gott Mer, etc."

21cf, RA X, 70. dud-gù-ud-dé = dAdad, "the storm of heaven." - cf. Schlobies, ibid., p. 10.15) - "Sturm vom Himmel".
Marduk ša zunni, "Marduk of the rain.", cf. above, Marduk, p. 130, n. 16.

Adad is called dAdad bēlu qardu, "Adad, the lord, the hero", cf. above, en ur-sag, and Schlobies, op. cit., p. 24. Adad is repeatedly called gu-gal šamāŠ à irtīti, "Premier (Lord) of heaven and earth", cf., Schlobies, op. cit., p. 24. A late Assyrian text has Adad as dAdad gu-gal šamāŠ à irtītim bēl naqbi à zu-unnī ....... dAdad, Premier of heaven and earth, Lord of the spring(s) and rain.1 zu unni = zunni, "rain". (cf. Schlobies, op. cit., p. 24.) gu-gal = gu-gal, "Premier" (Lord).

Since the distribution of dIM is so very extensive and covers a rather large period of history in the Ancient Near East the equations of appellatives between dIM and other Weather-gods are very complex and laborious.22 Adad inherits in the Amorite and early Assyrian periods many of the titles of EN.LIL and Marduk (AMAR.UD).

The appellatives of Ba'āl, the Canaanite Weather-god with the Phoenician and Syrian distinctions Hadad,23


23I consider YHWH, the Hebrew Weather-god, to be
are most important and illuminating for this dissertation, as well as for the gamut of Weather-gods in the Ancient Near East.

Ba'al assumes a position in the complex of Weather-gods equal to EN.LÍL, who was the original Bālu(m), and is the Weather-god par excellence in the West Semitic World. Ba'al, infinitive of Bālu(m), "to rule", master, lord of/over, as a substantive is "Lord". As an appellative, i.e., the important title of the Weather-god in the Ancient Near East, it has the character of absolutism, i.e., "The Lord". "In practice, however, from an early period (not later than the fifteenth century B.C.) the ancient Semitic storm-god Hadad (Accadian Adad) became "the lord" par excellence. So important did this appellative become that the Weather-god became known by the title Ba'al - in this sense it has become the name of the Weather-god of Ugarit (and the Canaanite cultural complex, even applied to YHWH, cf. below) and thus it is used as a proper noun.25

part of the Canaanite Weather-god complex, but because of the importance of YHWH, I shall discuss YHWH's epithets under a separate section. YHWH is only a cultural distinction of Ba'al, the Canaanite Weather-god.


25The difficulty lies in the use of b'l in the Canaanite literature, esp. Phoenician literature, where reference to Ba'al, "The Lord (par excellence)" may not be in-
Ba'al's appellative, if Ba'al is used as a proper noun and has lost its verbal quality altogether, then is ḫd(d)/Haddu/(Hadad) and would be in parallel position to the noun Ba'al as the second most important appellative/epithet of the Canaanite Weather-god. The substantive Hadad was used as a proper noun and as an alternate name of the Weather-god of Ugarit. This is clearly understood from the Ugaritic literature. (cf. above, pp. 82, n. 3; 69, n. 5; b'1//ḫd - II AB vii. 35-36; I* AB i. 22-23; I* AB iv. 6-7; IV AB ii. 4-5; b'1//Ḫdd ii. 4-5; IV AB iii. 7-8, 33-34. It seems that the alternate name is ḫadd(u). Gordon has published a text he numbers 133, 26 11. 5-6, b'1//Ḫdd - possibly here there is the representation ḫadad (Hadad). In text 107. 9-11 there occurs a very important, but difficult, parallel. 27


The above text is a clear reference to the Weather-god Adad (add) in close proximity to b'il - there could be a possibility that il hē = b'il qpn, and il add = b'il ugrt. However, this equation may be only wishful thinking at this time since a complete understanding of the text is not in order.

A famous epithet of Ba'âl is rkb 'rpt, "rider of the clouds". (cf. YHWH, for the identical significance of this epithet in connection to the Hebrew Weather-god.) For original discussion of this appellative, cf. H. L. Ginsberg, _JBL_, 62 (1943), p. 112, n. 3.) Ba'âl rides the ferocious storm, the storm clouds being his chariot of destruction. Ba'âl was experienced in the storm clouds by his worshippers and thus received the title "cloud-rider". 28

Ba'âl is called Zabûlu, "Prince", and the formula usually being, zbl b'il arš - and usually found in parallel with aliyn b'il, aliyn b'il//zbl b'il arš in I* AB vi. 10-11; III AB i. 13-14; III AB iii. 3-4, 8-9, 21-22; III AB iv. 4-5, 16-17. zbl b'il//rkb 'rpt in III* AB A. 8; B. 36 - bsbl* b'(1), 41 - zbl b'il, *bsbl is the trans-

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28 rbk 'rpt, cf. I* AB ii. 11, 18; III AB a. 8, 29, 33; IV AB i. 7; IV AB iii. 22, 27, etc.
iteration of Gordon, *ibid.*, p. 168, 137:38. In the Ugaritic literature it seems evident that the formula is used mainly in connection with the death of Ba'al. Kapelrud is correct is stating this factor.29 zbl b’l arq = "Prince Lord of the earth".

There are several appellatives which appear in the literature of Ugarit, although are not of major importance (that is they do not occur with regularity) have significant bearing on the character of Ba’al to be mentioned. Ba’al is b’l knp, "Ba’al of the Wing" (possibly could mean, "Ba’al of Flight").30 In reference to flight, cf. IV AB ii. 10-11 - where Ba’al flies. ‘p, (‘wp, "to fly"), b’p = "in flight". ‘wp is the regular word for "flight". (I have found no passage where knp// ‘wp). Ba’al is listed only once as B’l ugrt, "Ba’al of Ugarit".31 A very important association which certainly


30Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 132, text 9.6. (cf. Hebrew kānāph; Akkadian Kapp(m). Both are used metaphorically to signify "flight", i. e., "to wing" = "to fly". (Although, the forms above are nouns.)

reveals the classic residence of the Canaanite Weather-god. Another appellative sparsely mentioned in the literature but of some importance is b'l 'nt mərh 32 An interesting parallel occurs in a text published by Gordon, ibid., 133. 1-11, p. 167 - abl b'l 𒈹𒈹𒄀𒆜 hd wr(........), "Prince Baʿal, the lad, (yea) the youth Hadd(u)". The text is entirely too fragmentary to make any comments about the importance of this parallel, except to stress the fact that the lines dramatize the "youthfulness" of Baʿal/Hadad.

An interesting parallel is aliyn b'1// aliy qrdm.33 aliyn b'1 is one of the most important and most occurring epithets in the Ugaritic literature. It occurs in relationship with b'1 and is used synonymously for the Weather-god Baʿal. Aliyn b'1 is not the designate of another god, i.e., the son of Baʿal.34 The two epithets are related to each other, having to do with the overwhelming character of the destructive forces of decay and destruction wielded

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32Kapelrud, ibid., pp. 59-60. cf. ANET, p. 141, (iv). 26 - "Baal neglects the furrow of his tillage."

33cf. I* AB ii. 17-18; V AB iii. 28-29; V AB iv. 7-8. The occurrence of aliyn (bm) b'1 could be a variation, i.e., 'the 'son' Baʿal" or a mistake in the scribe's copy(?)

34Kapelrud, ibid., pp. 47-50.
by the Weather-god Ba'āl, aliyn b'1 = "The Proficient"35 Ba'āl" (cf. ANET, p. 138, Ginsberg trans., "The Puissant Baal"). Albright vocalizes Al'īyān(u) and states this is an important contraction for the longer formula 'āl'yu qurādīma qurāyāya ba'argī malḥāmati, "I prevail over the champions who encounter me in the land of battle."36 aliyn qrdm = "The Powerful (in the sense of conquering?) Hero", qrdm = "hero", or in the sense of "warrior". Albright is correct, qrdm is not related in meaning to Hebrew qardom, "axe". (cf. Albright, ibid., p. 232, n. 41) Gordon makes the mistake of connecting Ugaritic qrdm with Hebrew qardom, cf. Gordon, op. cit., p. 231, 1717, "A connection with qardom, 'axe' is possible ....". qrdm, "hero", "warrior" is a common epithet of the Weather-god in his militant exploits. He is considered a warrior. (cf. above, EN.LĪL, UR.SAG; Adad and Narduk, qurādū(m), "hero", "warrior"). Thus, aliyn qrdm = "The Powerful Hero (Warrior)". aliyn and aliyn are from the same root, l'y, "to be able, self-pro-

35 Gordon, op. cit., p. 283, 997. l'y - although I am not certain that l'y means exactly "prevail", as it does to be "proficient" in the performance of one's occupation or responsibility, cf. Akkadian lē'ā(m), "to be able, or proficient". Kapelrud, ibid., p. 49, is incorrect is saying the Scholars agree in deriving the name from the root l'y, "to prevail, to be strong". The root is l'y.

ficient", possibly, "strong or powerful": aliy/aliyn are verbal adjectives which modify b'l the substantive.

'aliyan(u) reflects the superlative idea, "The 'all proficient one", i. e., Ba'al, the most powerful one.

'aliy(u) reflects the positive idea, "the proficient (powerful) one", i. e., aliy qrdm, "The Powerful Hero".

The above epithets are not to be confused with the epithet 'ly in III K iii. 5-9. (cf. Chapter II. The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The Canaanite Weather-god Ba'al.) 37 The parallelism b'l/'ly occurs twice in this literary selection. To my understanding it is the only occurrence in the Ugaritic literature.

'Aliyy = "The Exalted One". 'ly comes from the root 'ly, "to go up, ascend". cf. Hebrew '1h, Akkadian ʾalū(m).

(cf. Psalm 57.3, 'qr') l'ihym 'iyn ʾl gmʾ 'ly: "I shall cry (I cry) to the god 'elyʾn, (yea) to the god gimʾ(?) 'aliyy." l'ihym 'yn/ lʾ gmʾ 'ly and is a reference to the same deity. 'elyʾn//gimʾ(?) 'aliyy. 38 ('ly could be vocalized 'eliyy instead of 'aliyy.) 'Aliyy = "the Exalted (High) one". It is used in a parallel with Baʾal. (Further

37 The spithet is not 'ly nʾm as Kapelrud supposes. cf. Kapelrud, op. cit., p. 62. "As a poetical expression must also be considered 'ly nʾm, "the exalted good one." This is incorrect, cf. Gordon, op. cit., p. 80, 126.6,9 for the same incorrect translation.

study needs to be done in this area.

Ba' al was associated with the sacred mountain Ṣapān. The epithet b'l ਸ pn, "Ba' al of Ṣapān", or "Lord of Ṣapān" occurs several times in the literature - V AB i. 21-22, b'l ṣqrṭ  qp, "Ba' al in the heights of Ṣapān"; 'nt III. 61-82, b'l wrym  qp, "Ba' al of the summit(?) of Ṣapān"; (Gordon, op. cit., "Lord of Ṣapān's crest", p. 33.) The formula occurs in II K i. 6-7; II K ii. 39-40, 贳 b'l _qp, "the mountain(?) Ba' al Ṣapān", 贳, cf. Gordon, ibid., p. 309. 1471: 贳: 贳, = "mountain". (I am not certain of the correct translation of 贳 b'l  qp.) It would seem that b'l  qp is a place name of a certain local.(?) ṣqrṭ is somewhat problematic if one accepts the formula as b'l  ṣqrṭ  qp. There are in the Ugaritic literature several other interesting and important epithets or epithetic formulae, but I feel they will contribute more to the study discussed under Chapter VI. The Weather-god as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine.

The epithets of YHWH, Weather-god of the Hebrews and a resident deity of the Canaanite Weather-god complex, present a most profound insight into the mentality and emotions attributed to this deity. (Since YHWH is to receive special consideration in subsequent chapter, I

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39 Gaster, ibid., pp. 156, 183, 198, 238, etc. Also, cf. Kapelrud, op. cit., p. 57, n. 3.
shall limit the number of epithets in order to best use them here and later without the labor of redundancy.)

Due to the literary proficiency of the Hebrew culture, the literature abounds with literary epithets and theophanies of YHWH.

The name of the Hebrew Weather-god, although it has eluded scholarly interpretation for generations, is nevertheless very important for this study. The perennial search to uncover the etymology of the form YHWH, as well as discover the name of YHWH outside Hebrew literature, has only proven false and erroneous. The name of the Weather-god YHWH is a dialectical peculiarity of the West Semitic Dialects, particularly the Hebrew dialect, and even more specific, the ethnic members of the Hebrew cultural complex called Israelite, thus, to consider the tetragrammaton as a loan word from Akkadian, or even more tragic Arabic, is at this stage of our limited comparative analytical status not scholarly, but foolhardy. Most scholars have been groping for that famous needle in the haystack. I agree with my professor, Dr. Moshe Held, that the name of YHWH does not occur outside of

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40 Dr. Moshe Held, Communication at Dropsie College, 1962.
Biblical literature, except in the Meša Inscription, Elephantine Papyri, etc., and all previous attempts to etymologically discover the name outside Biblical literature before the 10th century B.C.E. have proven false. The concepts, i.e., the semantic qualifications, of the personal name of the Hebrew Weather-god belong to the narrow framework of orientation which is called Hebrew/Israelite, and is limited to the geographical area of Palestine. 41

Since the personal names of the Weather-god in the Ancient Near East have for the most part been derived from a characteristic of the weather or some specific element of the storm, I suggest the same phenomenon has taken place in the name of YHWH. The storm vocabulary must have provided the activity of experience from which the proper noun (i.e., name of YHWH) has been derived. Exodus 3:6 is an early attempt at Biblical philology, and is as the other attempts, completely erroneous. 42 The oldest form of the name is YHWH which occurs in the Meša Inscription, the earliest occurrence outside of Hebrew Biblical literature. 43

41 Palestine is used here to represent a larger land area than the name usually implies.


43 Meša Inscription, 1. 18. James Meek, Hebrew Origins,
There are several suggestive selections in the Hebrew Bible which tend to support the idea that YHWH is more than just the personal name of the Hebrew Weather-god, but also still reflect an apppellative application. Exodus 15.3, YHWH 'Iš milḥāmāh// YHWH ṣāmē. The second YHWH seems redundant if it is translated as the personal name of the Weather-god. I suggest that it is in parallel, i.e., YHWH//YHWH for the very fact that the second YHWH attributes the activity of YHWH 'Iš milḥāmāh; "YHWH is a 'man of War', the 'Dropper' (?) is his name." *hwh, "to drop", a verb completely lost to usage, or assimilated into the verb hyh, "to be(-come)". If one examines the selections carefully where YHWH fights Israel's battles one is impressed with the method employed. In most cases YHWH hurls large stones or sends heavy rainstorms which completely rout the enemy. (cf., Chapter II, The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god, The Hebrew Weather-god YHWH; also, Joshua 10.11b,c; I Samuel 7.10b; Judges 5.4-5; etc.)44 It is most significant that the above literary

44 Albright, op. cit., p. 287.
passage under discussion appears in the very archaic "war song" attributed to Moses. Another important passage with a suspicious reduplication of YHWH is Exodus 34.5-6,

wayyëred YHWH bê‘anân
wayyitqaṣṣêb 'immê ṣâm
wayyiqrâ' bê‘âm YHWH
wayydâber YHWH 'al-panâyw
wayyiqrâ' YHWH YHWH 'el raḥûm
wê hannûn 'êrêk 'appayîm
wêrab-ḥâsêd wê’êmôt:
"And YHWH descended (came down) as(?) a thick cloud,
and it/he positioned itself/himself there before him,
and he called (Moses called) in a name of YHWH(?) - possibly reflects a primitive connotation
and YHWH(?) - again reflects a primitive meaning
passed before him;
and he (Moses) cried, YHWH(?), 'YHWH 'EL RAḤûM'
yea, 'Favourable', 'Longsuffering',
yea, even 'Abundantly Compassionate' - yea,
'Trustworthy'."
raḥûm - belongs to the epithet of YHWH. The following
adjectival appellatives are reiterations of the title, YHWH 'EL RAḤŪM, "YHWH, the Compassionate God". YHWH definitely here reflects the idea of having a desirable relationship with bēʾānān and would imply that Moses shouted the apppellative when he saw YHWH in the cloud, if not shouting at the cloud itself whom he considered to be the deity YHWH. (For this reason I translated bēʾānān, "as(?) a cloud" instead of the traditional, "in a cloud". It is very possible that the name YHWH reflects some element of the weather-phenomenon.

YHWH is called by extolling appellatives concerning his war valour. In Psalm 24.8, YHWH 'izzūn wa-gibbōr YHWH gibbōr milḥāmāh, "YHWH, the mighty and heroic (-warrior), YHWH, the heroic one of battle." - It is little wonder that YHWH was known as an 'YHWH, "man of war". In Psalm 99.1, YHWH mālāḵ, "YHWH is (is become) King"; 46 29.3, YHWH/"šl-hakkābōd - YHWH is called, "The god of honour".

45 I am most tempted to connect raḥūm with rāʾam, "to thunder", but I have not the slightest scrape of evidence to do this. Even so, the context does not show this since the adjectives imply rāʾam, "to love", even though bēʾānān could suggest a "thundercloud".

46 of. Psalm 29. 10-11; Isaiah 52. 7; Psalms 93-99; etc. It is very similar to EE IV. 28, 'Marduk-ma šarru, "Marduk is (become) King" - of. Chapter V. The Weather-god in His Combat for Supremacy. (of. III* AB a.32, bʾlm ymlk, "Baʾal is (shall become?) King."
YHWH is called 'el qannā'. Exodus 34.14, kî 18' tištāhavōh 18'el 'ahar(?)' kî YHWH qannā' šēmō 'el qannā' hū', "for you shall not worship (bow down) before another 'EL (God), for YHWH is QANNĀ', his name is 'EL QANNĀ'. 47 'el qannō/ā' was an epithet originally applied to 'EL/'IL, the head of the West Semitic pantheon. I cannot agree with Pope, op. cit., p. 25, that there is a play on two verbs, i.e., qny and qn'. When YHWH usurped the authority of 'EL/'IL it was only natural for YHWH to assume the titles of 'EL/'IL. qannō/ā' comes from the root qn', "to be zealous" - the idea of jealousy seems to be somewhat late. (I am certain that qnh/y is not used in the word qn' and there was no confusion of the verbs.) 'el qannā' = "the zealous god".

In Judges 5.5 an important epithet occurs. YHWH is called, YHWH 'šîhāy yîšrā'ēl, "YHWH, god of Israel". This title certainly limits YHWH to the small ethnic group who called themselves Israelites.

YHWH is called "a rider on/of the clouds". Psalm 68.5, solū lārōkēb bā'ārāhōt b'yiyn šēmō, "Praise (give praise) to the rider of the clouds". 48 by(?) his name


YH(WH)." Isaiah 19.1, hinnəh YHWH rōkeh 'al-'ēb, "Be­hold YHWH, the rider upon the (swift) cloud." Certainly, rōkeh 'ēb is directly borrowed from the epithet of Ba'āl­ (cf. Ba'āl above; also, Psalm 104.3; 68.34; 18.11).

The epithets of Genesis 14.22, YHWH 'el 'elyôn qōneh šāmâyîm wā'ārēq, "YHWH is 'el 'elyôn, creator of heaven and earth"; 21.33, YHWH 'el 'ēlām, "YHWH is 'el 'ēlām (the eternal god(?))"; Exodus 17.15, YHWH 'issî, "YHWH is my war-memorial(?)"; Judges 6.24, YHWH īlām, "YHWH is the perfect-one(?)"; Isaiah 54.5, YHWH šēbêṭ, "of the army", cf. I Samuel 17.45; Amos 3.13; 6.14; 9.5; etc. For fuller discussion of the significance of YHWH and his rôle in the Canaanite Cultural Complex, cf. Chapter VI. The Weather-god as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine.

dU/IM, the Hittite (and Hurrian) Weather-god is extremely problematic. Several epithets occur in the liter­ature which I shall list without much comment. In KBo IV 4 = 2 BoTU 58B, Rs IV 10 - dU karâš = "dU (the Weather­ god) of the fieldtroops"; dištar lil = "the Ištar (fer-


tilizer) of the steepes"; d.meš-ia humanteš = "the Highest (one) of the Gods". KBo III 4 = 2BoTU 48 39, 
dU nir-gál = "dU, the proud one"; en-ia = "my Lord" 
(Tešub/p in the Amarna tablets is called Tišub/p bi-
i-li, cf. Amarna 16.33; 17.15,75; etc.; cf. Chapter II. 
The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The Hit-

The epithets only tend to support the thesis that 
the Weather-god in the cultures of the Ancient Near East 
was highly venerated, important, dynamic and of veracious 
character with war-like reciprocity upon the enemies of 
his particular ethnic and cultural complex.
Iconographic Representations

The primary consideration of this study is the Weather-god of the Ancient Near East in the literature of the cultures which comprise the socio-religious complex of that area. Thus, to give consideration to an area of study outside of the literary environment would be somewhat out of tenor with the thesis of this dissertation. However, since statements have been made by leading scholars concerning the relationship of the plastic and sculpturesque figures uncovered by archaeology having a bearing on the literary morphology of the Weather-gods, I feel some consideration must be given to this area.¹

The opinion among many scholars is that the iconographic representations of the Weather-gods, especially in the case of Ba'āl, Tešub/p, agree with amazing accuracy to the literary presentation of the Weather-gods. To my limited knowledge there is no literary description of any Weather-god which describes that Weather-god exactly as he is supposed to appear on the reliefs and in the plastic and sculp-

¹For statements representative of the above, cf. C. F.-A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica II, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1949), pp. 121-130; O. R. Gurney, The Hittites, (Suffolk: Richard Clay & Co., 1954), pp. 14ff.; pl. 28; H. L. Ginsberg, BA, Vol. VII, 2, (1945), p. 53, fig. 6; other scholars, such as Albright, Bright, Kapelrud are based on the statements of Schaeffer, ibid.)

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turesque representations. It is very tempting, I admit, to label these iconographic pieces as the Weather-god, although at this time of investigations I see no literary evidence for this action.

The supposed representation of the Weather-god in Mesopotamia from the cylinder seals is likewise a highly speculative gesture.²

(cf. Chapter IV. Weather-gods: Fertility and Fertility Myths. Cult and Cult Practices, for the significance of the bull and its morphological representation in relationship to the Weather-god - since I have chosen to discuss this fertility phenomenon on the basis of its literary merit and not on the synthetic supposition of archaeological conjecture.)

IV. WEATHER-GODS; FERTILITY AND FERTILITY MYTHS

Vitality of the Progenitive Process
Cult and Cult Practices
Vitality of the Progenitive Process

Fertility, the reproductive process which is evident in the animal and vegetable environments, is extremely important for our study of the Weather-god. The aspect of fertility which interests this dissertation is represented in the literature of the Ancient Near East as taking place in the vegetable kingdom. However, one must emphasize that in the mind of the resident in an agricultural society there doesn't seem to be any dissociated relationship between the reproductive processes in the animal and vegetable realms. Nevertheless, a large amount of conservative caution must be exercised in presenting the subject of fertility, not for any moral purpose, but for the very reason that a scholarly presentation of the literature associated with this subject is important and merely a hypermetrical reconstruction of reproductive rites and rituals based on a fabricated hermeneutical technique is most undesirable and unwanted.

1Sir James G. Frazer, ed. by Theodor H. Gaster, The New Golden Bough, (New York: Criterion Books, 1959), pp. 283-284. "To them the principle of life and fertility, whether animal or vegetable, was one and indivisible."

The aspect of fertility associated with vegetation and in some cases with animal life, is seen represented in literature as the prerogative of the Weather-god. This is due to the "irrigation" and "agricultural" societies being dependent upon irrigation, inundation and precipitation in the form of rain. The seasonal rhythm of meteorological forces play a very vital rôle, if not a monumental one, in the life of the residents of a sedentary society still primarily dependent upon agriculture for its main economic sustenance. The rhythm of rainfall played an important rôle in the Syrio-Palestinian agricultural societies. The harvest yield in Syrio-Palestine was for the most part dependent upon rainfall and not irrigation as was the agricultural society in Mesopotamia. Thus, there will be a difference of methodology of water application to the crops and vegetation, but not a noticeable difference in the concept of fertility. An interesting example of this is supplied from the Hebrew Bible, Deuteronomy 11:10, ki hā'āres 'ăšer 'attāh bā'-šammāh lēreštāh lō' kā'ēreš mīrāyim hīw' 'ăšer

The method of water supply is clearly shown to be drastically changed for the Israelites. *wôhišqîtâ bêrag-lôkâ* - "artificial irrigation" - the method employed by the Egyptians for watering their crops since the water supply in Egypt was mainly dependent upon the inundations of the Nile river. Thus, for the new generation of Israelites the experience of precipitation (rainfall) as the means of providing good crops becomes significant in their mentality and economy. It is little wonder that YHWH becomes very important in the occupation and settling of the area of Canaan, and why YHWH slowly was assimilated as the Ba'al of the Land.⁴ Although YHWH in the early stages of his conceptual morphology is basically a pure personification of meteorological energies, he does in the more sophisticated character of Ba'al acquire the

⁴cf. Chapter VI, The Weather-god as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine. Ba'al - YHWH Assimilation. Ba'al is called in III AS iii 9, zbl b'l arq which is certainly connected with Ba'al's fertility power over the basic vegetation of the land.
responsibilities of fertility in the agricultural society of the Israelites in the land of Canaan. Cf. Deuteronomy 11.11-17 for the full significance of YHWH's identification with the agricultural area of Canaan and its seasonal precipitation. YHWH regulates the water supply by controlling the rainfall in the land, thus insuring good crops. I suggest that YHWH would have been of little utility to the Israelites in Egypt due to the method employed in irrigating the crops, since YHWH is primarily a Weather-god who controls precipitation (rainfall) to insure good vegetation in the tradition of Ba'āl. Deuteronomy 11.12, 'ērēs 'aššr-YHWH 'sloḥēkā dōreš 'ōtāh tāmīd 'šnē YHWH 'sloḥēkā bāh mērešīt haššānāh we'ad 'ahā- rīt šānāh: "a land for which YHWH your god (deity) cares (assumes the responsibility); the eyes of YHWH your god (deity) are continually on (upon) her (it), from the first season even until the last (end) season." (There is here what seems as an alligning of YHWH with agricultural rhythms ex post facto.)

In Psalm 65.10-14 there appears a beautiful eulogy to the Weather-god. Although the name YHWH is not specifically mentioned in the text, there is a reference to 'sloḥīm bāṣiyyōn, unless there was a resident before YHWH,
which I regard as a reference to YHWH who is in the period of Israelite nationalism a resident deity in Mount Zion. This eulogy reflects the fertility power and energy of YHWH. In line 10, pāqādā hāʾārāš waṭāʾēqqānāh rabbāt taʾārānnāh pēlāg 'slohīm mālē' mā-yīm tākīn dāgānām kī-kēn tākīneāh: "You cared for the land and overflow upon it (or, give abundance to it), you greatly enrich it (with flora); the canal (for the rain)⁵ of the deity is full of water; you metered grain (for them), yea, you proportioned it." *The problem is ṣqq, "rush, rush about(?)" and ṣwq, "overflow(?)" - cf. Joel 2.24b. (It is most difficult at times to distinguish between the '/] and the '/'.* plg = "canal" - possibly has some reference indirectly to the water-courses located in the Šāmāyīm - cf. Genesis 1.6-8b; 7.11; 8.2; Isaiah 24.18. The 'ārubbōt are sluices (openings) in the raqt'a and are opened to let water through, i. e., "rainfall". It is conceivable that the pšlāgīm could also be part of the heavenly reservoir of water which carry the water to the earth after the 'ārubbōt are opened. (I have no parallels where this occurs, so my suggestion is merely

⁵cf. Job 38.25, mî-pillag 1aššēṭṭēph. cf. Akkadian palgu(m), "Canal". Usually has to do with artificial means of irrigation in the Hebrew Bible, but above it refers to the "water-courses" of rain. It is a metaphorical use of the idea of water-course irrigation.
at this point only speculative.) pəlēq 'Ĕlohim refers
to the water-course of the deity who is responsible
for rain. The remainder of the eulogy reveals the
direct characteristics of fertility of the Weather-god
during the rainy season when the ground is soft, the
plowed ridges settled and the precious growth of vege-
tation beginning.6(Cf. Psalm 68.10f., for examples of
the fertility power of YHWH in the agricultural society
of Canaan.

One of the most potent pieces of fertility poetry
is found in the work of Ḥōsē'ā. YHWH's characteristics
seem to identify him with the economic interests and
responsibilities with which Ba'al, the Canaanite Weather-
god, assumes. (Cf. Chapter VI. The Weather-god as Su-
preme Deity in Syria-Palestine, Ba'al - YHWH Assimilation.)
The writings provide the reader with a stimulating under-
standing of YHWH as assuming the rōle of fertility. Ḥōsē'ā
should be read in its entirety for a full appreciation of
its literary content, however, only the lines which have
a bearing on fertility will be cited.

Ḥōsē'ā's idiom is based upon an agricultural environ-

6Psalm 65.11-13.
ment and depicts the importance in the mentality of
the prophet that Israel came to an understanding of
the vital fertility energy of YHWH. Hosea
2.10, "and she (Israel) did not
know (understand) that I gave the grain, the must (and
the must) and the fresh oil .......". A vivid description
of the fertility energy of YHWH is presented in 11. 23-
25 where YHWH, on the basis of his progenitive power,
will cause himself to be recognized by the society of
Israel. 11. 23-25a, "and it shall be on that day I will answer,* says YHWH, I will
answer the heaven(s) and they shall answer the land; and
the land shall answer the grain, the must and the fresh
oil, and they (i. e., the grain, must and oil) shall an-
swer, 'god (i. e., YHWH) fertilizes (sows seed)'; and I
will sow her (i. e., Israel), myself, in the land." *an-
swer - here in the sense of answering some charge that has
been hyper-thetically presupposed. (The above is poetical.)
YHWH is responsible for the economic sustenance and prosperity of his society. He is directly responsible for the fruitful bearing of the land. It is little wonder that Hosea calls him in line 18a, "whāyāh bayyōm-hahū nê'um-YHWH tiqrê'I 'Isî, 'and on that day says YHWH, you will call me, 'Husband' (or, 'my husband')." *cf.

Chapter VI. The Weather-god as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine. Ba'al - YHWH Assimilation, for the significance of this title in lieu of Ba'al, since there is a magnificance about the play on these two appellatives. Without the fertility energy of YHWH the crops will fail - cf. Hosea 8.7; even more important is the relating of human birth to the direct progenitive powers of YHWH. Hosea 9.11b, millēdāh Umibbêtēn Umēhērāyēn, "from birth, and from belly (womb), and from conception" - the idea is that Ephraim will not enjoy the fruits of reproduction without the stimuli of fertility provided by YHWH. Line 14 is suggesting the effect of the withdrawal of YHWH's progenitive powers. All reproduction ceases. YHWH has positive and negative control over the fertility of the land and society of Israel. The prophetic purge, which resulted in the delineating of YHWH according to the prescribed prophetic formulae, had the tendency to reduce the potency of
the literary selections which emphasized the fertility character of YHWH, nevertheless, one is able to recognize that in the mentality and economy of the populace of Israel YHWH was very much regarded as a fertility deity. This popular belief still remains in isolated literary passages of the Hebrew Bible.7

Ba' al, the Canaanite Weather-god par excellence, who is the prototype of YHWH, has incorporated within himself all the aspects and energies commonly associated with fertility. In the literature of Ras Shamra Ugarit Ba' al plays a very vital role in the economic fruition of the society.8 It is apparent from the tenor of the literature that Ba' al is completely identified with the vegetation process of the agricultural society. (I cannot support the idea that Ba' al is identified with the vegetation cycle - that is, having a yearly occurrence of birth and death - cf. below, Cult and Cult Practices.)

The most dramatic literary representation of the fertility powers of Ba' al is in III K iii 5-10 - cf.

Chapter II. Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The

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7 cf. Chapter II. Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The Hebrew Weather-god YHWH, for the literary selections dealing with YHWH as the Weather-god who brings precipitation for abundant vegetation.

8 The utility of the Ras Shamra literature will be discussed below - cf. Cult and Cult Practices.
Canaanite Weather-god Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l, for text and translation.)

Since fertility of the crops in the Syrio-Palestine area was largely dependent upon precipitation in the form of rain Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l's role as the progenitor of vegetable life is monumental in insuring the continuency of the process. It is little wonder that the poet sings that the rain of Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l is good for the earth and the fields - III K iii 7-8, n'm lar\textsuperscript{a} m\textsuperscript{b}r b'(l) wi\textsuperscript{b}d m\textsuperscript{b}r 'ly. Although there is some difficulty in III K iii 11-15,\textsuperscript{9} it would seem that a drought was coming to an end. The farmers in the fields looking appreciatively toward the heavens because of the rain of Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l. To further emphasize the negative aspect of fertility in connection with the powers of Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l, I Aqht i 42b-46a (cf. Chapter II, ibid., for the text and translation of this prayer of Daniel the Rapha-man.)\textsuperscript{10}

A most interesting aspect of Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l's fecundity is found in I* AB v 18-22,

\begin{verbatim}
  yuhb 'glt bdbr prt
  b\textsuperscript{\textdagger}d h\textsuperscript{\textdagger}lmm\textsuperscript{\textdagger}t \textsuperscript{\textdagger}kb
  'mn\textsuperscript{\textdagger}h \textsuperscript{\textdagger}k '1\textsuperscript{\textdagger}b'm
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{9}ANET. p. 148, n. 31.

\textsuperscript{10}To my knowledge this is the only mention of a drought for a specific number of years, and then the 7/8 formula is used which has no literal bearing, but is a literary device to emphasize the completeness of activity or emotion, etc., \textsuperscript{+}1 - it is numerical parallelism. Communication
( )ly šmn ltmnym
w(th)rn wtln mšt

"he (Ba‘al) loves a heifer (young cow) in Dbr(?),
a young cow in the field of Šlmmt;
(he) lies with her for seven (and) seventy (times),
( ) for eight (and) eighty (times).
She (Anāt) * (conceives and gives birth (bears)
a lad."

*cf. IV AB iii 9-35. (For the importance of the Bull/Heifer relationship, cf. below, Weather-gods and Their Consorts.)

Fertility is undoubtedly assured by the ability of Ba‘al to impregnate Anāt who in this instance is able to bear an offspring (mšt).

The identity of Ba‘al with the dry seasons and the rainy seasons also distinguishes his fertility role in the society of Canaan (Ugarit) - in the dry seasons Ba‘al is inactive (a negative application of fertility, cf. above, YHWH) - and in the rainy seasons when vegetation is plentiful, Ba‘al is active. Fertility is a prerogative of the

Dr. Moshe Held, Dropsie College, 1957 - x + 1 is the real number, and x is given in the parallel position. cf. I K i 8-9, d šb¹ ahm lh//šmmt bn um.

II Ba‘al is called bn dgn, "Son of Dagan" in the Ras Shamra Texts - cf. Arvid S. Kapeirud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts, (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad - Publisher, 1952), pp. 52-
Weather-god Ba'al.

\textit{dU/IN}, the Weather-god of Hatti, has a very important fertility appellative which is repeatedly used in the Hittite literature. In KBo IV 4 (2 BoTU 58B) Rs IV 9c, dištar lil (of. Chapter II. The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god, The Hittite Weather-god \textit{dU/IN})., also appears with dištar, in the above reference seems to imply that ištar lil (dištar lil) is an appellative of \textit{uḫa-at-ti} - "The Weather-god of Hatti".\textsuperscript{12}

\textit{Enlil} (EN.LĪL), the supreme Weather-god of the Sumerians and of Mesopotamian proper, is largely responsible for the process of fertility in the society of man. The Sumero-Akkadian cultures in the Mesopotamian area recognized the generative force of natural phenomena in their environments; the most potent of these was expressed in the thunderstorms and the beneficial rains which provided the society with fruitful vegetation. The most important principle in the mentality of the Mesopotamians was the continual renewal of vegetation, the productive

harvest of crops, the growth of the flocks and the reproduction of society to perpetuate itself. (cf. Jacobsen's very fluent description of the power of fertility in the Mesopotamian society - Henri Frankfort, et al., Before Philosophy, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1954), p. 158 C. The Power in the Earth: Fertility; p. 159 D. The Power in the Water: Creativity.) The power of fertility was distributed over several areas of natural phenomena, but from the literary material available it is basically demonstrable that the 'Storm' is the most important element in the reproductive process of the Mesopotamian agricultural environment. So imbued in the mind of the resident of the Mesopotamian culture was the idea of fecundity that the process was projected into antiquity - thus, the Weather-god becomes an agent of creativity. Enlil is responsible for all seeds, flora. He artistically fashioned the implements of agriculture, i. e., the pick-axe and the plow. (cf. the Sumerian "Myth of the Pickaxe")

The introduction to the "Myth of the Pickaxe" reveals the

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tremendous fertility power of Enlil, lines 1-5,

en-e níg-du₄-e pa na-an-ga-âm-mi-in-è
en-nam-ta-ra-na-šu-nu-bal-e-dè
dën-li₄-numun-kalam-ma-ki-ta-e₁₁-di
an ki-ta bad-du-dì sag na-an-ga-âm-ma-an-sì
ki an-ta bad-da-dì sag na-an-ga-âm-ma-an-sì

"the lord, that which is (useful) verily he caused
to appear (or, brought forth),
the lord whose decisions are unchangeable (unalterable),
dEN.LIL, who brings up the 'seed' of the 'land'
from the earth,
(provided means) to move away heaven and earth,
(provided means(?)) to move away heaven and earth"¹⁴

Adad, the Akkadian Weather-god, is also very much
characterized with the attribute of providing the means of
fertility. One of Adad's appellatives characterizes the
Weather-god as a fertility deity. This appellative Bêl
hegallim,* "Lord of Abundance". CH, Epilogue XXVII. 64,
dMUR be-el ÎN.GÂL, "Adad, the lord of abundance". (cf.
Chapter II. Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The

¹⁴Kramer, ibid., p. 78 for the translation of the
opening lines of the myth "Creation of the Pickaxe".
Akkadian Weather-god Adad, for full citing of the above text. *Hegallu(m) is a Sumerian loan word to Akkadian, being written in Sumerian ḫé-ğál = "great quantity, plenty". In the Epilogue of the Code of Hammurabi the negative aspect of fertility is expressed. If a person disobeys the laws of the land, may Adad withhold the abundance which is his prerogative to bestow upon humanity. CH, Epilogue XX-VII. 66-70, zu-ni i-na ūa-me-e mi-lam i-na na-aq-bi-im li-te-ir-šu ma-su i-na hu-ša-ah-ḫi-im à bu-bu-tim li-hal-li-iq e-li URU (āli)-šu iz zi iš li-is si ma ma-su a-na DUL (til) a-bu-bi-im li-te-ir, "may he (i. e., Adad, cf. lines 64-67) deprive him of the rains from heaven(s) (and) the flood-waters (innundations) from the springs; may he bring his land to desolation (destruction) through famine and starvation (hunger); may he thunder furiously over his city, and turn his land into the desolation of (the) a flood."

In the Middle Assyrian Laws the rain-water is called "The water of Adad". This is very significant since the laws are primarily dealing with agriculture and thus portray (signify)

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the importance of the Weather-god Adad in connection with fertility.

Marduk, the Babylonian Weather-god, is clearly depicted in literature playing the rôle of fertility. It is to be understood that Marduk assumes most of the prerogatives of EN,LiL, even though the literature sometimes does not provide the necessary tools with which to make a distinction between EN,LiL (the older Bēlu(m)) and Marduk (the younger Bēlu(m)), and that Marduk is the Babylonian version of the Sumerian Weather-god EN,LiL.17 (At least assumed the rôle of EN,LiL during the Babylonian period of Mesopotamian history, cf. Chapter I. The Origin and Development of the Weather-god. Historical Development of the Weather-god.) The fruition of the rôle of creator is consummated in Marduk. The tablets of Enuma Eliš dramatize this fact. (cf. EE VII for the glowing characteristics of this Weather-god.) EE VII. 130-131, li-ig-gi-ma a-na dEN,LiL ilāni dMarduk mat-su lid-diš-ša-a šu-u lu-ú šal-ma, "Let him rejoice in Marduk, the Enlil of the gods (i. e., "the chief of the pantheon"), (so) that his land

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17In many of the later Assyrian hymns it is almost impossible to attribute the literature to EN,LiL or Marduk since many times the writings are addressed to Bēlu(m) or some dialectical equivalent, cf. Antonius Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum, (Romae: Sumptibus Pontificii Institutii Biblici, 1914), Marduk, p. 173, II. Textus: A) Ante Hegemoniam Babylonis; Bēlu(m), p. 76, 2) Nomina dEnlil resp. deorum, quibus-cum identificatur.
may be fertile (so) that he may prosper (the idea of having perfect wealth, etc.)." Marduk is the giver of the right to possess economic status and prosperity. EE VII. 20-21, ili ša-a-ri ša-a-bi\textsuperscript{18} be-el taš-me-e u ma-ga-
ri mu-šab-ši ši-im-ri u ku-bu-ut-te-e mu-šihegalli* (Mi.
GAL), "(Marduk), god of the sweet breath, lord of compassion and compliance (lit., who hearkens and complies); who pro-
duces riches and treasures, who establishes abundance."

*Hegallu(m).\textsuperscript{19} EE VII. 57, 61-69, Marduk is called En-bi-
lulu-šu = "dMarduk ša ḫattati" (cf. CT 24, 42. 99 - Deimel,
op. cit., p. 115. 904.) Gugallu(m) - "Sluice Controller" -
certainly a fertility occupation, since the waters are used to irrigate the land. In the above literary selection Mar-
duk is the "Lord" who sprinkles the field, irrigates the land and plants (establishes) the seedrows, takes care of the plowed and grazing land, regulates the dams and takes care of the furrows. He is the "Lord" who provides for the economic and social needs of humanity. Marduk is called En-
bilulu and in consecutive order is called (through Enbilulu)

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19}Hegallu(m) - cf. Chapter III, The Hierophanies of the Weather-god. Literary Epithets and Theophanies, p. 127, n. 14.
\end{itemize}}
Hegal (Hegallu(m)) an important fertility appellative.

The Babylonian religious writers were so desirous to laud Marduk they presented their Weather-god in a highly syncretistic context. He (Marduk) assumes every rôle and most of the appellatives of the deities of the Sumero-Akkadian pantheon. Thus, Marduk becomes the epitome of the Weather-god in the economy of Mesopotamia. It is little wonder that the poet (or, poets) could laud the fertility work of Marduk. In the 'so-called' "Bilingual Text of Creation" the complete work of creative fertility is depicted. The text, being some forty lines in length, is too long for full reproduction in this dissertation. (cf. Bibliography for listings of works where this text occurs.)

Lines 16ff., Marduk creates the earth and inhabitants who reside there; he causes the deities to dwell in places of solemnity; he forms humanity. In lines 23-24, nardiglat u narpurattu ib-ni-ma aš-ri ḫš-ku-un šum-ši-na ṭa-biš im-bi,

"The rivers Tigris and Euphrates he created, and he set them in their place (i. e., the courses which each river takes in the Mesopotamian plain.), their names he did well call (or, name)." The very important rivers of agricultural

20Originally published in CT XIII, pp. 35ff., by King.
sustenance in the Mesopotamian area, Marduk is credited with creating. In lines 25-34, Marduk creates the grass, marsh rushes, the reeds and the forests, the green plants of the fields, abundant fauna (cow and calves, wild calves, ewes and offsprings, lambs, goats, etc.). All life is the work of Marduk bēl hegallim, "Marduk, the 'lord' of abundance".

Another aspect of fertility or fecundity is the biological reproductivity of human species or sexes. The female counterpart of the Weather-god, commonly called "The Consort(s) of the Weather-god(s)", is a most vital part of the role played by the Weather-god in the area of fertility. Man attributed to the environment of the gods his own physiological characteristics as well as his own psycholology. Thus, the gods are a projection of the psychological and physiological traits of mankind, except with uninhibited or unlimited behaviour, and tend to reduplicate human behaviour on an ideal level. Although, it is the general characteristic of the societies in the Ancient Near East to personify their meteorological phenomena as masculine, nevertheless, there are certain energies connected with

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21EE V-VII; esp. V.1; VI.1-5; VII.1-9; etc.

22Man used above in the generic context. The term includes both members of the sexes, male and female.
meteorological phenomena which were logically conceived as being better characterized as a female principle. Thus, the male principle of meteorological energies were supplemented by female principles, many of which were highly recognized deities in their own sphere of activity.23

The Weather-gods are espoused to goddesses of fertility who bring to the union great characteristics of sexual promiscuous behaviour and indulgence in perverted sexual intercourse. Hierogamy becomes the primary prerogative of the Weather-god and his fertility spouse. The Weather-gods assume a specialization in this fertility role so that many of their activities were not originally part of the meteorological phenomena/non which was personified.

The Weather-god of the ancient world was espoused through cultural expression, the following are the cultural forms,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sumerian</th>
<th>EN.LIL / NIN.LIL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akkadian</td>
<td>ĐIN(Adad)/ Ištar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babylonian</td>
<td>AMAR,UD (Marduk) / $/sarpanitu(m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canaanite*</td>
<td>Ba'al / 'Anāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the above goddesses listed in correlation with the Weather-gods are cast by their respective cultural literature in roles of fertility - each represents some phase of the fertility cycle (if not the entire cycle.). Although, there are degrees of differences between the goddesses, their characteristics are generally identifiable with each other's particular cultural attributes and roles. It is possible to generalize on the characteristics of the spouse of the Weather-god. She is, à fond, in her cultural forms an aspect of the same phenomenon, i.e., sexual enjoyment (nymphomania) and displays great delight in sadistic war-like behaviour. The goddesses are voluptuous, youthful, and have the ability to reproduce with astronomical proportions. (It would be physically impossible to examine every cultural character(istic) and phase of the fertility goddesses, but essential roles and appellatives will be illustrated from the literary genre in the Ancient Near Eastern Cultural Complex.) #Includes the Phoenician and Syrian distinctions of Ba'al.

NIN.LIL, "Lady of the Storm", called, bēle/it matāti, bēle/it ʾekur, Bēltu(m), "The Mistress"//EN.LIL as
Bēlu(m), "The Lord",\(^{24}\) Ninlil is often called nin-lili-an-ki.\(^{25}\) **NIN/EN; = Bēlu(m) - (Ninlil sera le doublet féminin d'Enlil").\(^{26}\) "The Myth of Enlil and Ninlil: The Moon and His Brothers" introduces the reader to the relationship of Enlil and (finally(?)) his spouse Ninlil. (cf. Samuel N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, op. cit., p. 80, for the best explanation of the myth; cf. Henri Frankfort, et al., *Before Philosophy*, (London: Butler & Tanner LTD., A Pelican Book, 1954). A. Details of Origins, pp. 165-170.) The wild sexual affair, the progeny born out of lust (rape), the desire of Enlil for Ninlil all suggest the potency of the Weather-god and the violence of the cosmic force which displays its fertile power in the economy of mankind.

Ištar, known in pre-Akkadian times a Innana (In-nan-na, etc., cf. Deimel, op. cit., p. 150. 1617. \( ^{11} \)Ištar - Pro pronuntiatione Šumerica a. d. occurrunt hae variantes:), is the fertility goddess par excellence. The literature abounds with her feats of love and sexual ability.\(^{27}\)

\(^{24}\)Deimel, op. cit., pp. 214f. 2636. \( ^{d} \)Nin-lili-lâ/â/î; esp. I. Textus: 1).


\(^{26}\)Ibid., p. 29.

\(^{27}\)Deimel, op. cit., p. 150 - II. Textus arch.: 1);
Ištar's sexual love is not limited to the Weather-god Adad, but is far reaching in scope and area as well as male companions. Her common idiograph, although she had several - cf. René Labat, *Manuel D'épigraphie Akkadienne* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1952), signs 103, 252, 418-470., is mūš read nīn (the sign also used to represent Innana, the Sumerian goddess of Uruk,). It is interesting that mūš = zimu(m), "trait, image", is NIN. dIN û Ištar does not occur in the texts, although as I have intimated above, Ištar was not restricted to Adad, but enjoyed hierogamy with a multiple of deities in the eastern and western Semitic areas, and for all intent and purposes in the Akkadian cultural environment is the spouse of Adad.28 (cf. ANET, p. 531, Ištar for the listings of her literary appearances - far too many to quote here.)

In the Code of Hammurabi there occurs an interesting contrast in the personalities and characteristics of the main goddesses, Ninlil and Ištar. CH, Epilogue XXVI. 81-97, d nin-līl AMA (umnum) ra-bī-tum ša qī-bī-sā i-na š.KUR (škur-rim) kab-ta-at NIN (bēltu(m)) mu-dam-mi-qā-at i-gi-ir-ri-ia a-šar ši-ip-ṭi-im û pu-ru-sf-im i-na ma-ḫar dden-1īl a-wa-sī li-li-mi-in šu-ul-pu-ut ma-ti-šu ha-la-aq ni-ši-šu ta-ba-ak

p. 151 - III. Text. rec.: I); esp. cf. IV. Conclusio: I) "il Ištar est dea amoris, voluptatis et partus; haec est I. mulie-bris; simul est dea bellii et pugnae; et ut talis virilis (non est andrigryna!)."

28 Compare with V AB 11. 3b-35, certainly 'Anāt is in the tradition of Ištar and not Ninlil. (cf. below, 'Anāt).
na-piš-ti-šu ki-ma me-e i-na KA (pI) dEn-lil šar-ri-im
li-ša-aš-ki-in, "d Ninlil, the great mother, whose word
(command(?)) is honored in Ekur, 'The Mistress' who blesses (brings good) my desires, may she make his word evil
before dEnlil in the place of judgement(?) and decision,
may she place in the mouth of dEnlil, the king, (to decree)
the disease (destruction) of his land (and the) annihilation
of his people, the pouring-out of his life like (as) water."
CH, Epilogue XXVII. 92-XXVIII.23,29 dNINNI (dIštar) be-li-it
AG (meš-tāhāzim) à ŠEN.ŠEN (qabli)-(qabli(m)) pa-ti-a-at GIS,
KU (gištukul = iškakka)-i-a la-ma-sf da-mi-iq-tum ra-i-ma-at
BAL (palš)-ia i-na li-ib-bi-sà ag-gi-im i-na uz-za-ti-ša
ra-bi-a-tim šar-rus-sú li-ru-ur dam-qā-ti-šu a-na li-im-ne-
tim li-te-ir (li-te-ir) a-šar AG (meš-tāhāzim) à ŠEN.ŠEN
(qabli) GIS,KU (gištukul = iškakka).šu li-iš-bi-ir i-š-tim
sā-ah-ma-aš-tam li-iš-ku-un-šum qar-ra-di-šu li-ša-am-qī-it
da-mi-šu-nu ir-ši-tim li-iš-qf gu-ru-un ša-al-ma-at um-ma-na-
ti-šu i-na ši-ri-im li-it-ta-ad-di ŠRIN (qābi)-šu (ri-m)a-am
a-šar-ši šu-a-ti a-na qa-at na-ak-ri-šu li-ma-al-li-šu-ma
a-na ma-at nu-ku-šir-ti-šu ka-mi-iš li-ru-šu, "May dIštar, 'the
mistress of battle and conflict', who bears my weapon(s), my

For Adad and Ištar together, cf. Deimel, op. cit., p. 150, II.
Textus arch.; 6); dIM à Ištar; 1. c. 172, 13 1, 13 sqq.

29Ibid., V AB ii. 3b-35.
gracious protecting spirit, who loves my reign, curse
his kingdom in her great rage(s) from (in) her wrathful
heart; may she turn his good fortune into evil-(fortune);
may she smash his weapon at the place of battle and con-
flict; may she raise disorder and confusion against him;
may she set (strike down(?)) down his heroes (warriors)
and let the earth drink their blood; may she throw (up)
a heap of corpses of his troops on the plain; may she
show his soldiers no mercy; as for himself, may she deliver
him into the hand of his enemies and may (she) carry him
bound to a hostile land to him (to his hostile land(?))."30

Another goddess is listed as the spouse of Adad.
Her name is Šala and she appears to be the spouse of the
Weather-god dIN(?).31 Since the idiom dIN had so wide
a geographic application and could be applied to many of
the Weather-deities in the western as well as the eastern
portions of the Ancient Near East, it is most difficult
to determine if Šala was the spouse of Adad in the classical
Akkadian period. She is known in the Hammurabi period, cf.
King, LH III. 236, 29; Hans Schlobies, Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien, (Leipzig: 1925), p. 19, lists a

30 For a discussion of Ištar, cf. G. R. Driver & John C.
Miles, The Babylonian Laws, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press,
1955), pp. 128-129 - In 1. 47.

31 Deimele, op. cit., p. 248, 3048. 11Ša-la, uxor 11Ram-
man. Deimele gives the complete textual listings where the god-
text (KAV 43b 11 u. RA XIV 173 rs 29) in which Adad and Ša-la appear together; also, at Šallâte there was a cult of Adad and Šala - "sur Zeit Tiglatphileser I. Marduk-nadin-Anna v von Babylon raubte die Gotterbilder, die erst Sanherib wieder zurückgefuhr hat (Bavtan 48 ff.); p. 21, Suh; p. 22, Hammurapi 20. Jahr (Thron des Adad) - 29. Jahr (Bild der Šala)."

The spouse of Marduk is Š/sarpanitu(m). In the "Processional Hymn to Marduk" (cf. IV R., 18, #2 and F. H. Weisbach, Babylonische Misszellen, (1903), pl. 13f., trans. pp. 36ff.) the spouse of Marduk is called in line 20, (dSar-pa-ni-tu)m kal-lat ap-si-i, "dŠ/sarpanitu(m), the daughter-in-law of Apsu(m)." CH, Epilogue XXV. 42-44; 55-57, dAMAR.UD (Marduk) be-1f.ia dSar-pa-ni-tum be-el-tia, "dMarduk, my 'Lord' (and) dŠarpanitu(m), my 'Mistress'." Šarpanitu(m) receives the famous title Bēltu(m), "Mistress": 'Amēš, the consort of the Weather-god Ba'al, figures largely in the literature of Ras Shamra Ugarit. She is certainly depicted as a goddess who is primarily concerned

dess appears with Adad(?), at least with dIN; esp. 2) In serie An/11A-num 1lŠala est uxor ilAdad, qui pertinet ad familiam il Sin, etc. 11Ša-la ša Šadi i. e., probabiliter montis Libanon, cum ilAdad probabiliter esset il Bēl occidentis.

32Dhorme, op. cit., p. 101, Épouse d'Adad. "L'épouse d'Adad est d'origine étrangère."

33Dhorme, ibid., pp. 1146-1147; Dhorme says the name of the goddess - "dont le nom signifie 'brillante' comme l'argent." (cf. Deimel, op. cit., p. 131.1326. ilŠarpanitum, uxor il Mar- duk; esp. p. 132 II. Text. arch. 1) C. Ham.)
with saddistic war-mongering and licentious love-making. (cf. V AB ii. 3b-35; William Foxwell Albright, ARt, (1953), pp. 84ff., p. 197, n. 39, for a description of the feats of the goddess; Ferm, op. cit., pp. 126-127 - an excellent discussion of the goddess by T. H. Gaster; Kapelrud, op. cit., pp. 66-75.) The most famous title, or the title most frequently used in the Ras Shamra literature, is btil 'nt (Batültu 'Anät), "the Maiden 'Anät" - Albright, op. cit., p. 75, "batültu which also means 'virgin'". I do not believe that btilt was used in the strict sense of Hebrew bêtülāh, "virgin". 34 (cf. the above list of references for a description of the goddess - a further explanation would be somewhat redundant, since so much has been written about the goddess' love and war characteristics. 35 It is most interesting that Albright suggests that 'Anät-bêt'el = 'Anät-Yahu. 36 (For fuller discussion in this dissertation

34 Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manuel, (Roma: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1955), Glossary 377, p. 249, btilt - "girl, virgin".


cf. Chapter VI. The Weather-god as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine. Ba'al - YHWH Assimilation.)

Although YHWH is apparently without a consort in Hebrew Bible, except for II Samuel 22.36 (=Psalm 18.36), w'ntk trbn, "and your 'goddess' (?) made me important (or, enlarged me)." Albright, ibid., p. 373; 'nt is certainly used as a surrogate (an agent or substitute) for YHWH. The poetic passage is certainly very old and would tend to reflect a very archaic (pre-prophetic) religious viewpoint. (It is still my contention that YHWH was conceived in the tradition of the Weather-god of the Ancient Near East and enjoyed all of his characteristics and prerogatives, as well as his nuptial relationships. As yet, I have no substantial documentary proof of this assumption, but small scraps of evidence which point in this direction.

Arinna, the Sun-goddess of Hatti, was a very important figure in the Hittite pantheon and was so designated as the consort of the Weather-god dU/IM of Hatti. Arinna was clearly the supreme patron of the Hittite state and probably the most important member of the Hittite monarchy. Her titles are, "Queen of Heaven and Earth", "Queen of the land of Hatti", "Mistress of the Kings and Queens of the land of Hatti". She holds a position of great prestige and

Heb/pā/i(t), the consort of the Hurrian Weather-god Tešub/p, (cf. E. Laroche, Revue Hittite et Asianique, Tome VII, 46, (1946-1947) for listing and discussion of the goddess.) Heb/pā/i(t) seems to have shared equally in the affairs of mankind.

The consort of the Weather-god, although having distinct cultural characteristics, does tend to fulfill the natural biological energies as prevalent in the reproductive cycle of humanity. The tradition needs serious reconsideration in bearing out the suggestion that YHWH possessed a female counterpart. Though evidence is lacking, nevertheless, archaic survivals suggest that possibly in cultic practice this was a reality at the cult center of Bēt-šēl.38


The subject of Cult and Cult Practices is a most complicated and laborious one to discuss. The disagreement among scholars concerning the what is/what is not "Cultic Texts", and the reconstruction of rituals and cult practices by scholars of all disciplines present a most complicated task for this dissertation. The difficulty lies in economically examining the literature and, on the basis of subjective judgement, making a decision whether the literature is/was written "l'art pour l'art" or "pour le cérémonie". I am not able to see in every literary passage some cultic rite or ceremony, thus synthetically presenting a rapport of "Cultic Rituals" commonly existing in the culture of the Ancient Near East.¹

To illustrate the problem, with some problems attached to the literature, the following text is an example of the confusion,

barṣ mlḥmt št
b′pr(t/m: ) ddym
sk šlm 1kbd arṣ

¹The Comparative Religionist many times overdraws the literary comparisons in order to provide examples in every culture of a certain preconceived religious category or ritual, cf. Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1958), pp. 4-7, 2. Difficulties of Method.
From the land, set aside (take away) war,
from the ground (dust), strife(?),*
mould* peace for the glory of the land,
tranquility for the honor of the fields."

*ddym = "strife"(?) on the basis of parallelism - ddym//
mlhmt, "war" - (certainly has nothing to do with bread or
an offering of meal,) *sk is from nsk, "to pour, cast (me-
tal)"; thus, I have taken some liberties with the text-
in the sense of "pour out" = "to make". The text logically
follows the statement of Ba'αl, aliyn b'il hwt//aliy qrdm
qrry, "word of the proficient Ba'αl/message(?) of the
powerful hero." Due to the find by Schaeffer of ritual de-
posits, i. e., "a large baked clay pipe was buried in the
ground, and through it libations were poured deep into the
earth, exactly as required by the rite. Etc." (Schaeffer,
there is, in general, only a vague relation between the di-
vinities which figure most prominently in the mythological

2V AB iii 29b-32. cf. Cyrus Gordon, UL, p. 19; C. Vir-
colleaud, La déesse 'Anat, Poème de Ras Shamra, (Syria XVIII,
1938), p. 111; C. F.-A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Text of Ras
Shamra-Ugarit, (London: 1939), p. 46; John Gray, ZAW, #62,
(1949-1950), p. 212, (Gray's trans. is again impossible,); A.
Kapel, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts, (Copenhagen: 1952), p. 19;
A Goetze, BASOR #93, (1944), pp. 17-20; H. L Ginsberg, ANET,
p. 136. (Goetze's and Ginsberg's translations are the only
acceptable ones of the above lines besides the author of this
dissertation.)
text reads:

185
tablets at Ugarit and the most popular deities wor-
shipped in the city itself, we can scarcely be far wrong
in supposing that the myths were more or less common to
all Canaanites and were in no way peculiar to Ugarit." I
feel it is extremely dangerous to translate the lit-
erature to coincide with the findings at Ras Shamra.

The building of the (bt 1b'1, "The temple (house)
for Ba'al)\textsuperscript{3} temple of Ba' al seems somehow to reflect a
"cultic" attitude, at least it has some aspect of fer-
tility.\textsuperscript{4} The "cultic feast" of the deities of the Ras
Shamra literature takes place in the palace of Ba' al,
and seems to suggest the superiority - or at least the
notoriety of the Weather-god and his temple (bt). (What
"cultic significance" this had in the society of Ugarit
and the Canaanite culture cannot be understood without
further textual evidence.) It seems that the AB cycle
literature does not reflect cultic life, or were the texts
used for cult practices and rituals. I accept the school
of thought which suggests that these texts are high forms
of "mythology". (cf. Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis, (New York:

\textsuperscript{3} II AB iv 62-vi 61.

\textsuperscript{4} II AB v 6-9; vii 24-35a; Because of the building of
the bt b'1, Ba' al shall give an agundance of rain and other
forms of precipitation. (Also, cf. II Aqht i 32f.; ii 4f.;
ii 21f.; Dan' l wants his son (or, a son) to eat a meal in the
house of Ba' al.)

Oberman suggests that, "And we have seen already how incalculably close a bond must be recognized as having existed between the mythology of Ugarit and that of pre-Israelite Palestine." What was the religion of Ba'āl? - possibly from the close study of the assimilation that took place between YHWH and Ba'āl, one might be able to reconstruct (in part) the Religious Cult of the Weather-god in the Canaanite culture. (cf. Chapter VI. The Weather-god as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine. Ba'āl - YHWH Assimilation.)

YHWH, contrary to Albright's statement, "Still another equally original characteristic of Yahweh is that he is not restricted to any special abode.", op. cit., p. 262, was localized in several provincial areas. Due to the nomadic character of the Israelites, encountering weather phenomena at many localities during their migrations, YHWH was incorporated at several regions. Early Hebrew poetry

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5Claude F.-A. Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra, (London: 1939), p. 8, "Indeed Baal did not figure in the original pantheon of the Semitic Canaanites." (II'nd levels of Ras Shamra twin temples of Dagan/Ba'āl were uncovered.) "He was only added to it when the latter penetrated into northern Syria, the early home of the god of thunder and rain. He was worshipped there by the Hurrites under the name of Teshup."

refers to YHWH as the deity of Seir and Edom (Judges 5.4), Teman and Paran (Habakkuk 3.3), Sinai, Seir and Paran (Deuteronomy 33.3). Whether these couplets, i.e., Judges 5.4; Habakkuk 3.3, and the triplet Deuteronomy 33.2 represent the old "cultic" areas dedicated to YHWH is most difficult to know. They do suggest a strong tradition which associates YHWH with these areas. I do not think this is literary anachronism or license, but a representation of areas were YHWH was venerated. In the archaic period (before the settlement in Canaan) the Israelites show no evidence of a fertility cult associated with YHWH (at least there is no literary evidence to that affect.),

EN.LIL's cult center was located at Nippur and seems to have been occupied in the pre-Sargonic period as a "cult" center for EN.LIL. ("The original simple shrines had developed into an elaborate pantheon in which Bēl of Nippur at a very early date took the chief place.") In Myth, Nippur seems to the center of worship for the gods.

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7Exodus 32 associates YHWH with the 'gl mskh and hg 1YHWH. It would seem that the "calf" tradition had been early associated with YHWH as a Weather-god. (This may be an exception to the statement above.)


9Ibid., p. 2.
(cf. Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 47, "To the Sumerians of the 3rd millennium, Nippur was the spiritual center of their country ....... And so, the blessing of Enlil was a prime essential for the establishment of prosperity and abundance in the other important cities of Sumer, such as Eridu and Ur. To obtain this blessing, the Tutelary Deities of these cities were conceived as traveling to Nippur laden with gifts for its god and temple." The temple of EN.LÎL was called ê.KUR.10 It seems to be the most important temple in Sumer even through the Babylonian period. (cf. Édouard Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylone et D'Assyrie*, (Paris: Pressus Universitaires de France, 1945), pp. 30-31, *Culte d'Enlil*, p. 30, "Pour les sacrifices sanglants, très nombreux dans la maison d'Enlil et de Ninlil, les victimes étaient fournies par un pare à bestiaux dont les archives ont été retrouvées à Drâhom (anciennement Puzurish-Dagan.), etc.").

Adad, at least the deity dIM, "Jede Stadt hat ihren Gott, mit dem sie in Mythus un Kult eng verbunden ist. So

10ê.KUR - Kramer, *ibid.*, p. 47, says it is (bît šadÎ)* the most important temple in the land. KUR = šadÎ(m); mât(m); iršitu(m)? *This is the usual meaning given for ê.KUR, however, it could mean (although, KUR = šadÎ(m), and is the determinative used to represent mountains) bît mâti, "the temple(-house) of the land". KUR, also, = šēru(m), "plain, Steep"; = dadÎ(m), "dwelling". Bît šadÎ, "the mountain house" is too interpretive on the basis of the Ziqqurratu(m), "hochtempel". 
hat es auch eine Stadt des Wettergottes gegeben. 8 9 - Hans Schlobies, Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien, (Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeifer, 1925), p. 15, par. 3. Die Kultorte. On pp. 15-32, Schlobies lists (and comments) the cities where dIM (Adad(?)) was worshipped. The list is so comprehensive, I refer the reader to it. dIM seems to be located in the cult city called uruIMki (which seems to be a gloss for the name of the major cult city of Adad) which still does not seem to be correctly identified. 11


CH, Prologue iii. 55-64, ru-bu-um el-um ša ni-iš qa-ti-su dIM (Adad) i-du-š mu-ne-iš li-li-bi dIM (Adad) qū-ra-di-im i-na uruIMki (bīt karkara(?)) mu-uš-ta-ak-kin su-ma-tim i-na Š.UM.GAL.GAL (Ešugalgalim), "The pure Prince of whose hands uplifted (whose prayer(s)) Adad knows (recognizes); pacifier of the heart of the heroic in uruIMki (bīt Karkara(?)), who is continually maintaining the property in Ešugalgal." Adad, the hero - although above it is in the genetive - qurādim, used in the adjectival sense, "heroic, war-like", etc. dIM had an extremely wide distribution in "cult" adherence and practice. I cannot agree that every appearance of the logogram (with the deity determinative) dIM should be represented as the deity Adad. (cf. Chapter II. The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The Hurrian Weather-god Tēšub/p).

AMAR.UD (Marduk), the chief deity of Babylon, rose from an insignificant provincial deity to the dittochrome duplication of EN.LIL, Bēlu(m) of Nippur. The "cult" city of Marduk was Bēb-ilāniki. His temple, cf. EE VI, 35-50; line 48b, a-na dAMAR.UD (Marduk) dEN.LIL dšA bīta-šu di-kin-

nu šub-tam, "For Marduk, who is dEN.LÎL (and) dê.A, they established a dwelling (for him), (even) his temple (house)." Marduk's "cult house" was called StandardItemText in ILA/IL (Èsagil), "The house whose head is raised(?)." Dhorme, op. cit., p. 147, "A Nippur, le Bel de Babylone prenait naturellement la place de l'ancien Bel, Enlil."

Marduk seems to have been the central figure (although the feast was celebrated to other deities, or at least these other deities assumed some important rôle in the feast) - cf. Kapelrud, op. cit., p. 34, n. 11 - Victory Stele from Arrapha, i-sî-in ak-kit-tim a-na dšamaš ù dAdad i-na Ar-ra-ap-hi-imki-ma, "the festival of Akîtu(m) to dšamaš and dAdad in Arrapha., in the Akîtu(m) festival celebrated in Babylon. (cf. Gaster, op. cit., pp. 62-64, par. 2.; p. 69, Notes 1-5; p. 502, Index - AKÎTU FESTIVAL; Dhorme, op. cit., pp. 242-250; p. 251, Notes, Le Culte, Le repas des dieux, etc.; S. A. Pallis, The Babylonian akîtu Festival, (Copenhagen, 1926), esp. the rôle played by Marduk.

13II AB v 6-9; vii 24-35a.

14G. R. Driver, op. cit., p. 122, "In 1. 12 the Sum. Š.SAG,ILA, etc." (Driver lists the variants in orthography.)

15The celebration of akîtu(m) to deities other than Marduk depended on the location of the feast. The "cult" deity of a various city would play the leading rôle in the festival.
V. THE WEATHER-GOD IN HIS COMBAT FOR SUPREMACY

Dramātis Persōna
Dramatis Personae

The Myth, or Myths, which presents the Weather-god's supremacy (life/death struggle) is extremely important for our understanding of the rôle played by the Weather-god/s in the economy of the gods and the economy of the environment of an agricultural society. Although, there seems to be a literary form similarity between the corresponding myths dramatizing the struggle of the Weather-god to assume or maintain his supremacy among the pantheon of deities, there is evidence from close examination of the cultural myths dealing with this subject a very definite literary application to each cultural form in the Near East, and thus, indigenous cultural differences are apparent.

Although this dissertation will concentrate mainly upon the literary myths without attempting to relate each myth with some corresponding cultural ritual, nevertheless, mention should be made of the suggestions that the "Supremacy Myths" (especially Enuma Eliš) are "Cultic Myths" depicting some form of agricultural rites which were celebrated at the "New Year Festival". It is not my purpose to discuss the corresponding ritual in presenting the "Supremacy Myths", but to discuss the rôle of the Weather-god as it appears in the extant literature of the Ancient Near
East. For a presentation of the myth/ritual correspondence in the Ancient Near East of the "Supremacy Myths", cf. below, I do not share in the enthusiasm of the Myth and Ritual School, however, I do see some corresponding relationship between the literary myths of the dramatic persona played by the Weather-god in the "Supremacy Myths" and the agricultural rites fostered by the changing seasonal patterns in the dramatic struggle between various forms of meteorological and geophysical energies and forms. Whether the myth/s of the Weather-god's fight for supremacy reveal/s an universal myth with cultural adaptations, or merely reflect/s an universal (inter-cultural) phenomenon which takes place in all agricultural societies and is projected into mythological levels and expressed in literary form (of which there occurs some inter-cultural similarity between the various cultural myths of the Weather-

god's fight for supremacy) is still an unsettled question. Thus, wherever similarities occur in the literature of the "Supremacy Myths" the author will tend to contract them to present some unity of these myths. An example of merit is set forth by Stephens, "The theophany in Habakkuk 3 lends itself readily to the hypothesis that the background for it was furnished by an ancient Semitic legend, one version of which is found in the Babylonian Creation Epic. Allusions are made to the appearance of YHWH and his deeds which parallel the account of Marduk in the fourth tablet of the Creation Epic. 'There is nothing that can be called direct quotation or literary dependence, but the background of the allusions is scarcely to be doubted.' 2 Thus, great caution must be exercised in discussing the "Supremacy Myths".

The Sumerian literature dealing with the Weather-god in his combat for supremacy is, for the most part, still largely fragmentary and unavailable. 3 Kramer, of. below, pp. 78-83, suggests three versions of the famous motif, "The Slaying of the Dragon". Each of these three


3 Samuel N. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology, (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1944), Chapter III, Myths of Kur, pp. 76-96. Kramer discusses the possibility of three 'slaying-of-the-dragon' myths in the Sumerian area in the third millennium B.C.C.
stories seems to be an innovation of the very common theme, and the leading heroes/heroines include, EN.KI, NIN.UR.TA, and IN.NA.NA, all of whom are in some way related to the Weather-god and have to do with war, fertility and irrigation (or, some form of water used in agricultural irrigation.). *IN.NA.NA (Semitic Ištar) is the 'dragon slayer' in the myth entitled "Inanna and Ebih", cf. Kramer, ibid., p. 188. This is significant in the comparative light of the Ugaritic goddess 'Anāt who vigorously fights 'the monster' in the literature of Ras Shamra. (cf. Below, Ba'al.). Jacobsen⁴ is correct in stating that EN.LIL was the original dramatis persona of Enuma Eliš. "Behind our present version with Marduk as the hero undoubtedly lies a still earlier version wherein, not Marduk, but Enlil of Nippur played the central role." - Ibid., p. 183. (Gaster, op. cit., pp. 137-149; pp. 150-151 (Conspectus of Motifs), gives a listing of similar cultural motifs of the 'god and the dragon'.)

The legend entitled "The Slaying of 'Labbu'",⁵

⁴Henri Frankfort, et al., Before Philosophy, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1954), p. 183, "Whereas the central role in Enuma Eliš is that of a god of the storm such as Enlil was."

⁵L. W. King, CT XIII, pls. 33f., The Seven Tablets of Creation, I, pp. 116-121; (the Assyrian version of this legend is extremely fragmentary and of little or no help in an attempt to reconstruct the drama - cf. E. Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts, #6."
although still difficult to understand and evaluate as to its literary period of composition, is an important piece of literature which shows EN.LIL in a parallel relationship (= 'the god and the dragon') with Labbu, a most ferocious and immense mythological beast (text-ṣeru(m), "serpent, dragon(?)") - belongs to the class of large mythological dragons which represent large bodies of water, i. e., the ocean or the sea, cf. below, tannûm, etc.). The story is somewhat fragmentary and does not state who fights the Labbu, at least it seems to imply that Tišpak does wish to enjoy the honor. Whether EN.LIL, himself, has to do combat with Labbu is not made clear in the extant text. I suggest that possibly it was EN.LIL who finally had to subdue the dragon, since the gods, as well as mankind, were terrified of the great Labbu.6 Lines 5-7* reveal the victory for the slayer of the dragon Labbu,

\[\begin{align*}
\text{u-ša-aš-hi-it ur-pa mi-ha-a} & \quad (\ldots\ldots\ldots) \\
\text{ku-nu-uk-ku na-piš-ti-šu ina pa-ni-šu} & \quad (\ldots) \\
\text{is-su-kam-ma lab-bi} & \quad (\ldots\ldots) 
\end{align*}\]

6Labbu(m) - should not be translated "lion"; ṣeru(m) is used as a synonym for Labbu(m). Labbu(m) seems to be some sort of 'beast' whose physical dimensions are huge, but with so little information are not demonstrable in art form. (cf. Alexander Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2nd ed., 1954), pp. 83-89. Heidel discusses the relationship of Labbu and Ti'amat as dragons.
"he sprang up clouds (and) ........ a fierce
storm,
the emblem of his life (possibly could mean his
banner, or his life-protecting shield(?)) before his face (before him) .............,
and before him* he threw (slew)* down Labbu ...

"The Slaying of 'Labbu'", Rev., 11. 5-7. *nasāku(m),
"to throw-(down), to lay down, etc." *ventive = "before
him, or in front of himself(?)." The victory belongs to
the Weather-god(?) in this instance, if not to EN.LIL
who finally defeats the dragon.

The pièce de résistance of the "Supremacy Myths"
is, without fear of contradiction, Enuma Eliš. (cf. Henri
Frankfort, op. cit., pp. 182-199 for Jacobsen's presenta-
tion of the value and importance of the literary myth
contained in Enuma Eliš, esp. pp. 192-195 where Jacobsen
discusses the rôle played by Marduk in the literature.)
The important element of Enuma Eliš for our considera-
ion is the drama which depicts the combat between Marduk, the
Babylonian Weather-god, and Ti'āmat,7 the (dragon)-goddess
of the ocean (tāmtu(m)). EE IV dramatizes the close combat
that takes place between Marduk and Ti'āmat. At close ex-

7Antonius Deimel, Pantheon Babylonicum, (Romae: Sump-
tibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1914), pp. 262ff., 3275.
ilTi-āmat.; esp. 4) De Symbolis et Imaginibus.
amination one is able to understand that each, i. e., Marduk - Ti'Amat, represents a personification of some environmental form which represents and expresses natural environmental forces and energies. The fury unleashed in a storm over a large body of water is indeed frightening and certainly would suggest physical combat. The most primitive element of the mythological drama of Enuma Eliš based on the physical forms in the environment of the Mesopotamian, in direct counter-relationship with each other, lays the basis for the mythological drama between the deity Marduk and the deity Ti'Amat who in anthropological terminology and form represent and reflect the diametrical opposed forces and energies in the natural environment of the resident of the Mesopotamian area. When the process of personifying meteorological and marine energies took place in the pre-historical environment of humanity is still an open question. (cf. the Introduction of this dissertation for discussion of this problem.) Since so much material is available to the reader concerning the Enuma Eliš Myth, it would seem somehow redundant to reduplicate the material here for the mat-

8Frankfort, op. cit., pp. 187ff. B. Fundamentals of World Order - Jacobsen discusses the verity of principle above, "Just as observed facts about the physical origin of his own country form the basis for the Mesopotamian's speculations about the origin of the basic features in the universe ...."

EE IV.13, dNarduk at-ta-ma mu-tir-ru gi-mi-li-ni,

"O Marduk, you are our relentless avenger" - thus, Marduk is the champion of the gods who in themselves are terrified of the 'dragon's' ferocity - cf. above, Labbu, where all the gods seem to be afraid to combat the huge, ferocious beast of the sea. - and it is Marduk who is willing to combat the goddess Ti'āmat, the chaotic, uncontrollable sea. Marduk is given the absolute authority of gods and men. This authority is invested in him by the supreme council of deities - the right is his (will be his) by the 'right' of divine conquest. Thus, Marduk is obligated to defeat the enemy Ti'āmat to achieve his supremacy over the entire economy of divinity and mankind. EE IV. 28-31,

ih-du-ud ik-ru-bu dMarduk-ma šar-ru
u-uṣ-ṣi-pu-su ʾišḥaṭṭa ʾiškussa ʾa pala-a
id-di-nu-šu kak-ku la ma-har-ra da'-i-pu za-a-a-ri a-liq-ma ša Ti-amat nap-ša-tu-uš pu-ru-'ma

"They (the gods) rejoiced, they did (paid) homage:

9Cf. Bibliography for works on Enuma Eliš.
'Marduk is (has become) King!'

they (the gods) added unto him (invested him)
scepter, throne and (the) seal of authority; they (the gods) gave him a weapon, without equal,
a repeller of the enemy;

Go now, and cut off the life of Ti'Amat.'

Marduk employs a series of weapons to aid him in his combat against Ti'Amat. EE IV. 35, GIS.PAN = 1šqaštu(m), "bow"; GIS.MUL - MUL, "mace"."Sumerian loan word in Akkadian - cf. René Labat, Manuel D'Épigraphie Akkadienne, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1952), p. 97, 129a MUL(-MUL.).; 37, GIS,MIDDA (TUKUL = kaku(m), "weapon") = me/iššu(m)/mēšu(m), "weapon"11/iššu(m); 39, birqu(m), "lightening"; 41, saparu(m),12 "net" - (Sumerian loan word - the net seems to be the most important weapon of the Weather-gods of Mesoopotamia); Marduk then makes use of the various areas of wind and storms - these obviously are used to completely surround Ti'Amat and prevent her from escaping - cf. 1.42;


11ANET, p. 66, 1. 35, Speiser translates meštu(m) as "mace". Possibly it is some type of club, since Marduk grasps it in his hand.

12P Thureau-Dangin, Die Sumerischen Und Akkadischen Königsinschriften, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1907), pp. 63ff., Cone of Entemena, where EN.LIL commissions his son NIN.GIR.SU to battle UN.MA, NIN.GIR.SU captures UN.MA by using a šuškallu(m), "snare-net". I am not aware of the difference between a saparu(m) and a šuškallu(m), although I am certain there is a distinction.
.43, TU₁₅.GÂL.LU = šētu(m), "south(-wind)"; TU₁₅.SI.SÂ - iltēnu(m), "north(-wind)"; TU₁₅.KUR.RA = šadē(m), "east(-wind)"; TU₁₅.MÂ.RU - amurrē(u)(m), "west(-wind)"; .45, im- hēnu(m) which is called šēru(m) limnu(m), in the above text it is in the accusative case, šēra limna, "the evil wind", mehu(m), "furious storm" (wind-storm), ašamša/- utu(m), "thunderstorm"; .46, IN.TÂTÂB (LIMÂ)-ba - Šâr erbēba = (labat, op. cit., p. 185, reads TU₁₅.TÂB.BA - tubqāt erbetti (dans) les quatre directions,) "the four directional wind",¹³ IM.IMÂN - Šāru ū/mē, ibē, "the seven-fold wind", IM.SUH - isubhu(m), "the cyclone", IM.NU. SÂ-a - Šâr la šanēa, "the unequalled (matchless, cf. below) wind". The final battle equipment is the great weapon and the storm-chariot. L. 49, abūbu(m), "the storm-flood",¹⁴ it is little wonder that is entitled in the same line kâkkû(m) rabû(m) = (text, iskakkašu râba-a (GIŠ.TUKUL-su GÂL-a) ) "the great weapon". The storm-flood (is also, the flood-storm) was the most potent weapon in the repertoire of the Weather-god's dramatis persona through various meteorological media. L. 50, GIŠ.GI.GIR.

¹³ANET, p. 66, Speiser translates, "The Four-fold Wind".
¹⁴Frankfort, op. cit., p. 327, where Frankfort explains the same myth in Assyrian culture with Assur assuming the rôle of Marduk; also cf. p. 411, n. 56.
UD-mu = ᵗnarkabta Šmu, "the storm-chariot" - the four (team of four) (?) Marduk hitched to his chariot were terrifying beasts who were sadistically trained to kill, cf. 11. 52-56. Marduk is prepared for combat. He utilizes every available instrument within his command to assure his ultimate triumph over the uncontrollable Ti'-Âmat. It is little wonder that the deities invested in Marduk not only tangible symbols of supreme authority, but invoked upon him the divine right of power. EE IV. 3-4, (cf. also, 11.5-6)

at-ta-ma kab-ta-ta i-na ilâni ra-bu-tum
Ši-mat-ka la Ša-na-an se-kar-ka dÂnum
"You (i.e., Marduk) are the most honoured among the great gods,
your decree is unequalled, your word is the highest" (Anum = "highest").

These intangibles "honour of the highest degree" and "verbal decree" without equal or challenge assures the ultimate ascendancy of Marduk to the dais of "Kingship". EE IV. 14, šar-rum kiš-Šat kal gin-ri-e-ti, "Kingship, over all the universe." The ascension to absolute power is the price of Marduk's vanquishing of the chaotic Ti'Âmat, who is represented in the powers of the undisciplined waters. (cf. EE II. 123-129 where Marduk established the condition of his victory. Reflected in the above lines is the socio-
religious community and its struggle against the var-
ious forces which seek to disestablish its authority and
order.) "Mythology is a function of religio-social be-
haviour, not a department of literature or art; the
latter are merely its vehicles or instruments."15 One
must be constantly cognizant of the myth which reflects
not only the theological and cosmological struggles en-
volved in its literary content, but which also reflects
the problems and antithetical struggles of the society
projected in the struggle/s of the gods.16

The final victory is found in EE IV, 93-146 where
Marduk defeats Ti'amat. Marduk's status is secured, world
order is achieved, the state is supreme.

The Song of Ullikummi,17 a mythological composition,
depicts the Hurrian deity of Kumarbi challenging the au-
thority and rulership of Tešub/p. Ullikummi is a mons-
terous stone-creature which has reached maturation by
growing in the sea. Tešub/p has to do combat with the mons-
ter. "As far as the contents are concerned, I still think

15Gaster, op. cit., p. 25. I would slightly adjust
Gaster's statement, -not merely a department of literature
or art. I recognize "Mythology" as having literary value
apart from its socio-religious association.

16Samuel N. Kramer, ed., Mythologies of the Ancient
World - Mythology of Sumer and Akkad, (Garden City: Double-

17Hans G. Güterbock, The Song of Ullikummi - Revised
Text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian Myth, (New Haven:
that the end of the story must have been the final victory of the Storm-God over the stone. For Tešub could not have been the ruling god of the Hurrian pantheon had he not won the victory over all adversaries.  

\[ dU-as-kan gîšti-ia-ri-da-as sa-ra-a ga-ga-as-ti-
\[ ia-as ma-a-an wa-at-ku-ut na-as-kan te-et-hi-
\[ es-na-za
\[ kat-ta a-ru-ni a-ar-as na-an za-ah-hi-es-ki-iz-
\[ zì dU-as naiku-un-ku-nu-zi-in \]

"The Storm-God* upon his cart like a .......... sprang, and with thunder down to the sea he went. And he fought him — the Storm-God* (fought) the kunkunuzzi."

*Weather-god in this dissertation. (cf. Preface, for discussion stating reasons why Weather-god was chosen over Storm-god.) The major theme of the drama which takes place between Tešub/p and the monster Ulikummi, or rightly, between Tešub/p and Kumarbi, father of the gods; 11. 5-8 reveal the intent and purpose of the mind of Kumarbi. Col. I (A). 5-8,

\[ dKu-mar-bi-iš-za ha-at (ta)-tar ZI-ni pa-an da( (-aš-
\[ ki-iz-zi

\[ 18\text{Güterbock, ibid., p. 6. I agree wholeheartedly with his suggestion. Tešub/p is a victorious god.} \]

\[ 19\text{Ibid., pp. 48-49. Ll. 21-22. Translation by Güterbock.} \]
nu HUL-du-un UD.KAM-an LÚ.HUL-an Šal-la ((nu-ush-ki-iz-zi))
nu dU-ni IGI-anda i-da-la-wa-tar Ša-an(-hi-is-ki-iz-zi)
nu dU-ni tar-pa-na-al-li-in Šal-la-nu-((uš-ki-iz-zi))

"(and) Kumarbi wisdom into his mind takes, and a bad 'day' as evil (being) he raises. And against the Storm-God evil he plans, and against the Storm-God evil he plans, and against the Storm-God a 'rebel' he raises."

The theme is one where the old powers, disestablished in authority and power, are challenging the right of rule of the new authority which is invested in Tešub/p. (For the Hittite version in which Illuyankas is the dragon, cf. Gaster.)

The Ugaritic material is vividly dramatic concerning the dramatic persona of the Weather-god Ba‘al. The Weather-god of Ugarit is engaged in several combats with more than one adversary. Ba‘al combats Môt, whom I describe as Ba‘al’s perennial enemy, for supremacy within the flux of the agri-

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cultural patterns of seasonal change. I do not consider the battles fought with Môt to be in the major stream of the dramătis persona, i. e., 'the god and the dragon' motif, but are mainly characterized because of the rôle played by Ba'al as a 'fertility' deity — not merely the cause or the genius of vegetation, but the very incorporate, or the embodiment, of the process of vegetation. This seems to be a new rôle of the Weather-god, not only to be the genius of the fertility cycle, i. e., of flora and fauna, but to be identified with the actually occurring seasonal process that takes place in the natural environment of humanity and society. Thus, the battles with Môt (the god of sterility and mortality) are basically due to the Weather-god's rôle dramatized in the vegetation cycle. This cycle does not necessarily have to coincide to a yearly pattern of 'death' and 'revivement', but could be extended over several years or seasonal periods. Ba'al successfully defeats his adversary Môt, cf. III AB vi. 15b-35.

The dramătis persona is really depicted in the

22I desire to express my conservatism in this matter of the 'vegetation cycle'. I see no evidence in the literature that this 'cycle' was in any way related to a continual cult program that took place in the recurring vitality of vegetation every year.
struggle which takes place between Ba'\textsuperscript{al} and Yamm, who is the god of the sea and the river/s. (\textit{yamm/ym} = "sea" in Ugaritic; however, one of the important epithets of Yamm is \textit{tp\texttt{t} nhr} = "Judge River(?)", I am not certain of what is implied in this epithet, aside from the fact that it certainly implied importance and authority among the pantheon of the gods of Ugarit, cf. \textit{III} \textsuperscript{a} AB a. 19-20, \textit{ym//nhr}; 22, zbl \textit{ym//\texttt{tp} nhr};\textsuperscript{23} this clearly establishes the fact that in the Canaanite religious culture, Yamm was thought to have control of the rivers as well as the seas. Yamm is certainly the genius of ground waters, no matter whether the water was contained as a large body of water, i. e., 'the sea', or flowing water, i. e., 'rivers' and 'springs(?). Yamm and Ba'\textsuperscript{al}, genius of rain and other sundry forms of precipitation, are arch-rivals fighting for the honour status of providing water supply, or at least the control of water supply, in an agricultural society. In the mentality of the community they are natural enemies from the very foundations of antiquity. The combat that takes place between Yamm and Ba'\textsuperscript{al} is certainly part of the 'god and the dragon' motif, and should be classified with the 'supremacy myths' circulated in the Ancient

Near East. Since Yamm is closely aligned with 'Il, high god of the Ugaritic pantheon, at least before the ascension of Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l to the highest position of authority in the Ugaritic pantheon at Ugarit, one is justified in suggesting that Yamm is not only combating Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l for the highest honour and office in the pantheon of gods, but he is the very champion of 'Il. I agree with Kapelrud, there is a similarity here with the Kumarbi myth in the "Song of Ulikummi".\textsuperscript{24} It is very possible that the same cultural problem existed at Ugarit that is prevalent in the Kumarbi myth. The 'supreme deity' has been replaced/displaced from the active role of authority in the 'cult' society and in the 'economy of the gods' - replaced by a new and vigorous deity, in this cultural example the Weather-god Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l, who has assumed/usurped the throne of supremacy in the socio-religious society of Ugarit. The chosen 'champion' to wrest back the authority of the 'high god' is the 'water-god', zbl \textit{ym}/**m, who is in this case himself a pretender to the throne of the gods. zbl \textit{ym}/**m, Zab\textsuperscript{u}lu Yamm = "Prince Yamm", which seems to be a very challenge to Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l, who is called Zab\textsuperscript{u}lu Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l = "Prince Lord (Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l)". It would seem that Zab\textsuperscript{u}lu Yamm is the original

\textsuperscript{24}Arvid S. Kapelrud, \textit{Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts}, (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad - Publisher, 1952), p. 91; esp. 1 and 2 for references where the same idea occurs among other scholars. (cf. the "Song of Ulikummi" above.)
heir to the throne of 'Il, and that Ba'al is the intruder representing the new authority and the new order.\footnote{I have suggested above that Ba'al is an 'import' into the pantheon of Ugarit, representing the western expression of the eastern Ba'lu(m). (cf. Above, Chapter I, The Origin and Development of the Weather-god. Historical Development of the Weather-god.)} The champion of the society was the 'water-god', sea and river, and is a natural enemy of any other means of providing water to an agricultural society. Yamm is called mdd 'Il, "beloved of 'Il", cf. II AB ii. 34; vi. 12; vii. 3-4; V AB d. 35-36.\footnote{\textit{For an excellent description of Yamm, cf. Gaster, op. cit., pp. 124-126.}}

The drama between Yamm and Ba'al unfolds in Literary Style in III* AB a. 1-40; 1. 32 is most significant to show the victory of Ba'al over Yamm and Ba'al's ascension to the 'throne' (Kingship),

\begin{quote}
ym l mt b'lm ymlk

"Surely, Yamm is dead; therefore, Ba'al is King/is become King."
\end{quote}

(cf. text 129. 21-22, Gordon, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 166, where 'Il abh, 'Il, his father, calls Yamm, "King" - 22. (tp)\# nhr mlnk ( )m lmlkt, "(O Judge) e River, you are King, ...... certainly, you are King."; Gordon, ibid., text 137.36, (wy'n) tr abh 'il 'bdk y ymm 'bdk b'1, "(and) the Bull, his father 'Il, (answered), 'Your servant (slave), O Yamm, your servant (slave) is Ba'al.'"; 137.17, .... ym b'1km adnkm t(p)}
nhr), "Therefore, Yamm is your Master, yea, your Lord is Judge River." The literature is quite explicit in stating the challenging role and status of Yamm in the pantheon of Ugarit. In VI AB iv. 13-15,

\[\begin{align*}
wy'n & \text{it(p)n il dp(id)} \\
\text{šm bny y? il(} & \\
\text{wp'r šm ym(} & \\
\text{"And Luṭpan, the beneficent god, answered,} & \\
\text{the name of my son is 'the offspring of god',} & \\
\text{and he proclaimed the name of Yamm."} & ^{27}
\end{align*}\]

Thus, it is very simple to understand the reason Ba'al in his fight for 'supremacy' must defeat Yamm and establish his own rule (Kingship). This combat with Yamm is Ba'al's 'dramatis personae'.

The Hebrew Biblical account(s) of the 'god and the dragon' motif is/are somewhat fragmentarily presented in Biblical literature. (cf. Gaster, op. cit., pp. 142-147, for the principal passages dealing with YHWH combating the

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^{27}I read šm bny yr il - yw is not in the texts. The idea that yw = YHWH, the Hebrew deity is sheer nonsense. Gordon, op. cit., Glossary 806. yw, p. 272, still seems to be bent in that direction, although most scholars have long since discarded the idea. (cf. JBL, LXXII, pp. 125-128 for his opinion.). cf. William Foxwell Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), p. 259, n. 83; also, cf. BASOR, #63, p. 29, n. 36; #71, p. 39, n. 38. I agree with Albright, cf. above, and Dr. Moshe Held, Communication Dropsie College, 1961, "read yr, "offspring" instead of yw."
dragon.) The passages emphasizing YHWH's supremacy declare that he has obtained complete authority (kingship) by virtue of his victory over the wayward waters. YHWH is King by conquest in the tradition of the Weather-god in the Ancient Near East. Psalm 29, 10, YHWH lammab-būl yāʾāb wayyēšeb YHWH mēlāk 19ʾūlam, "YHWH was enthroned* over the 'storm-flood', and YHWH will reign (sit enthroned) as King forever.* *enthroned, in the sense of having obtained a victory over the 'storm-flood', and now is able to claim 'kingship' by virtue of that victory. (Also, cf. Psalm 89; 93.1; 99.1, YHWH malāk, "YHWH is become King".) Psalm 89.11, 'attāh dikkāʾ tā kehālal rahāb bizrōʾā 'uzzākā pizzartā 'yābēkā, "Rahab, you have smashed (crushed) in pieces, as one that is slain, you smashed your enemies with your strong arm." Rahāb, Hebrew rāhab, "to act stormily, to storm fiercely"; Akkadian, raʾābu(m), "to be enraged, to be furious". Rahāb is a mythological storm-monster who dwelt in the sea.28 Job 26.12 rḥb//hym, which definitely seems to suggest that Rahāb was some type of sea-dragon, or possibly was a name of the sea-deity depicting the sea during a storm. The

28 G. A. Barton, JAOS XV, I, (1891), pp. 22f.
Hebrew line, *Ibid.*, bəkōhō rāga' hayyām ʿubitbūnatō māḥas rahāb, "With his strength (or, by his strength) he combatted* the sea, and with his understanding* he smote (struck) Rahāb*. *rāga', "to stir up, to fight, to combat", on the basis of the context of this line, not, "still". *byn, "to discern"; bynh, "understanding".

The line is problematic and difficult to translate, but I trust the idea expressed is somewhat clear, i. e., that YHWH defeats the 'sea', the great 'dragon', cf. Isaiah 51.9-10 where rhh//tnn; ym//thm; cf. Gordon, *op. cit.* text 52.30, where the same parallel (ym//thm) takes place. For tnn, cf. I AB vi. 13 where 'arṣ//tnn, Kätir and Hasis throw the 'monster-dragon' into the sea. It seems that the Hebrew Bible has utilized the Ugaritic literary motifs and associated them with YHWH. Many of the ancient myths found in Job are not really associated with YHWH'istic literature, but are attributed to someone else, cf. Job 26, etc. In Job 40.15, a new name of the dragon is given, bəhēmōt, "a monsterous beast(?)" - some type of water animal - he seems to be related to lwytn, cf. Ugaritic 1tn = Leviathan, 'great dragon'.

Job 41 gives an extensive and somewhat terrifying description of Leviathan. (cf. I* AB i. lff., which gives a description of the 'dragon'. Again the idea of the ferocious

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29 Gaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-202, says, "the coiled one",
character of the beast is brought out, so terrible that no one is able to control the beast, not even the gods—cf. above, Labbu(m), Ti‘amat, etc.) It would seem that the traditions established in the Hebrew Bible are certainly from antiquity, dating back at least to the latter part of the second millennium, although the god fighting the dragon seems to have a revived popularity after the seventh century and certainly is popular in the Apocryphal literature, cf. Enoch 60. 7-9, II Esdras 6.49-53, Baruch 29.4, to mention only a few sources, and indeed enjoyed great status in the Rabbinic literature, cf. below; Gaster, op. cit., p. 234, n. 1, etc., and have utility in the Hebrew culture at a very early period, certainly before the 10th century B.C.E. The 'god and the dragon' motif is a recurring theme in Biblical literature, cf. Isaiah 51.9-10; Nahum 1.3b-4, 8b-9, 12; Habakkuk 3.8; Ezekiel 29.3-5; 32.2-6; Micah 7.7; II Samuel 22.34; Psalm 74.13, 'attāh pōrartā ba‘azzōkā yām ʾibbartā rāʾšāh tannāmîm al-hammāyīm, "You did divide the sea (Yamm) with your strength, you smashed in pieces the heads of the Dragon/s(?) upon the waters." 14, refers to the many heads of Leviathan, (root, 1-w-y). Also, cf. William Foxwell Albright, BASOR #63, (1941), p. 39, n. 5; FSAC, p. 271, "After the seventh century B.C. we find such references becoming more and more frequent and the myth of the victory of Yahweh over Leviathan ultimately obtained wide popularity in rabbinic literature."; esp. cf. n. 97.
14a, 'attāh rāṣṣaštā rā'sē liwyatan, "You crushed in pieces the heads of Leviathan." (cf. V AB iii. 53-59, where Ba'al reiterates his victory over Yamm, the great dragon. Here Yamm is paralleled with the 'seven-headed dragon', 1. 57, šlyt d šb't rašm, "Šalyāṭ (= "the Tyrant") of the 'seven-heads'."); I* AB i. 3, the same formula occurs, but in this passage the parallel is with 1tn = Leviathan. There is little doubt immediately in my mind that the Biblical literature has borrowed heavily from the Canaanite literature, and that the Hebrews are deeply indebted to the Canaanite Culture for the concepts of the 'god and dragon' motif. YHWH is in reality assuming the same rôle in the Hebrew Culture that Ba'al played in the culture of the Ugaritians. (cf. Chapter VI. The Weather-god as Supreme Deity in Syria-Palestine. Ba'al - YHWH Assimilation, for the full significance of this thesis stated above.) * Hebrew Culture - Term limited to pre-Exilic Israel.
VI. THE WEATHER-GOD AS SUPREME DEITY IN SYRIA-PALESTINE

Ba’al - YHWH Assimilation
YHWH as Ba’al
Ba'al - YWH Assimilation

The rise and development of YWH as the supreme deity of Israel is most involved. YWH, conceived from a personification of the natural forces and characteristics of weather-phenomena¹ indigenous to the environment of the ethnic/cultural complex called Hebrew ('ibrà),² was given maturation within the more particular ethnic group called Israelite (bĕnî yisra'ēl). However, this maturation is not the primary form of a monocultural development which has exclusively taken place within the Israelite environment, but is mainly due to the centripetal forces and influences of the religio-social expressions of the Canaanite peoples. YWH as the supreme deity of Syria-Palestine is a highly syncretized form due to the long and continuous process of assimilation and fusion of the characteristic of the Canaanite deity Ba'al. YWH would have remained for the most part an obscure, locally significant deity of the Israelite clan, primarily resident in the Sinai area, were it not for the infiltration of the Israelites into the cultural environment of the

¹Chapter II. The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The Hebrew Weather-god YWH, "In the early stages of YWH's morphological development he was a deity primarily conceived through nature."

²Ibid., p. 87, n. 3. 'Ibrā is a gentilic from the substantive 'ēber - 'br. All Israelites are Hebrews, but not all Hebrews were Israelites. Thus, 'ibrà is the ethnic designate used by the Biblical authors to identify Israel. By
Canaanites in the central and south Palestinian areas during the period of the 12th and 11th centuries before the common era. The thesis of this section is that YHWH is a Weather-god in the tradition of Ba'al, the Canaanite Weather-god, with an Israelite cultural flavoring. It is true that the Prophetic cultural movement, which I tend to call the Prophetic Reactionary Movement, within Israel's culture during the 9th centuries following, has tended to obliterate the comparisons, i.e., the similarities between YHWH and Ba'al, and thus also has tended to present YHWH as a pristine deity conceived without the benefit of external concepts and forms. However, one must be aware of the fragmentary factions within YHWH'ism (i.e., the cult worship of Israel's deity YHWH) and realize that the prophetic movement as successful as it seems to be in literature of the Hebrew Bible only represents a minority viewpoint which is by no means reflected in the popular belief of the masses. The difficulty in understanding this

the period of the Book of Exodus, it seems that the regular (and more particular tribal, than an ethnic/stock designate) term bānî yisrā'ēl is used to describe the Israelites.

3William Foxwell Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 285-286. P. 286, "Since Yahweh and Baal were both lords of heaven and senders of rain, were both storm-gods and givers of fertility, it is only natural that they should have been assimilated, especially in Northern Israel where the pagan pre-Mosaic religion of remained dormant, constantly awaking
fact arises from the magnitude of the voluminous prophetic literature extant in Hebrew Bible. Although the literary contributions of the Prophetic Movement is extremely large, nevertheless, the viewpoint reflected is not indicative of the evolutionary development of the concept of YHWH within the Israelite/Canaanite cultural complex. Albright argues for the purity of the early expressions of YHWH'ism by stating that the influence on YHWH'ism by Ba'alism took place sometime after the 7th century B.C.E. He seems to be caught up in the fallacy which is a running theme in the reconstructed Biblical Literature as it now appears of the A - B - A formula. A - the simple; B - the complex. One begins with the simple expression which in this example is formalized as the Mosaic expression of YHWH, a simple uncompounded expressed monotheism. Mosaic religious expression = A; the intervening Canaanite accretions represent the complex, in this instance polytheism or a low form of religious

and compelling men to adapt elements of Baalism to the worship of Yahweh." Even Albright who champions the cause of the purity of the cult worship of YHWH cannot conscientiously overlook the evidence in favor of the Ba'al - YHWH assimilation. (cf. above, Chapter II. The Cultural Distinctions of the Weather-god. The Hebrew Weather-god YHWH, p. 88, n. 5.)

4 Ibid., p. 271. "There is no clear trace of any West-Semitic influence of characteristically Canaanite type on the earliest religion of Israel."
expression, = B. The nēḇi'īm (prophets of the traditional prophetic movement in Israel) are dramatized in the Biblical Literature as the restorers of the pristine religious expression of the Mosaic period, i.e., monotheism which equals A. Thus, the prophetic movement = A₁, a restoration of the original expressed monotheism of the Mosaic period. (Of course this process could be repeated a number of times, the formula would only be changed by adding to the second letter A, a numerical sequence of numbers to represent the occasions of frequency, i.e., A₁; A₂; etc.) This theory does violent injustice to the historical process as well as the literary evidence which seems to present the contrary position.⁵ Due to the social heroism of Moses the later writers have tended to idealize the period, especially in the area of the Mosaic religious form and expression. I seriously challenge the viewpoint that Moses was a monotheist and that YHWH, who was conceptionalized in the

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⁵Theophile J. Meek, Hebrew Origins, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), pp. 219ff. (cf. pp. 220-221, "If the prophets idealized the Mosaic religion with respect to its ritual, we have every reason to believe that they idealized it in other respects as well, and this is what scholars have long since maintained. More or less unconsciously the prophets read back into the past what they wanted for their own time, bolstering up their own ideas of what ought to be with the sanctity and authority that always belong to the past." (Ritual - cf. Amos 5.25; Isaiah 1.11; Jeremiah 7.21ff.; Deuteronomistic Isaiah 43.23f.; esp. Jeremiah 7.22, kî lê' dibbarı̂ yë́-
late prophetic period as a transcendent universal deity, was originally conceived by Moses in this highly philosophic form. What is closer to the reality of Moses' contribution may be described by the term "descriptive monolatry" which I have coined. Moses discovered at the har ha'šloḥīm (mountain of the god/s.) - cf. Exodus 3: 1ff.; 19:1ff., a new concept of the resident deity of the mountain known to the Hebrews for generations - this is the reason Moses calls the deity at the early encounter 'šloḥā hā'ibrīm (cf. Exodus 5.3a.). In his traumatic encounter with the deity through a storm hierophany, Moses discovered the reality of the deity whom he calls YHWH. It is in the hierophany of a mountain-storm that one should search for the semantic quality of the name of Moses' concept of divinity. The attempt by the writer (or compiler) of the Mosaic account to etymologize the name of 6

'abōṭākēm wəlō qîvvītīm bəyōm hōqî'I* 'ōtām mē'rēq miśrēm 'aî-dibrē 'ōlāh wāzābāh, "For I conversed not with your fathers and I instructed (i.e., to give an order to be obeyed) not concerning oracles of burnt-offering and animal-sacrifice in (the) day I caused them to go out from the land of Egypt." (cf. Exodus 5.3, wənizbēhāh laYHWH, "and let us slaughter animals (sacrifice) to YHWH."").

6cf. (Deutero)-Isaiah, an atrue monotheist, Chapters 40ff.

7Descriptive Monolatry - the acceptance of one deity, as against many deities, to receive the special cultural adaptation of a particular group or society. This adopted deity may be redefined by the adopting group, as in the case in point, to express the particular experience of the adopting
the Hebrew (Mosaic) deity YHWH as an expanded form of
the verb hāyāh (hyh) is completely erroneous. Exodus
3.14, 'ēhyēh 'āšēr 'ēhyēh / 'ēhyēh yāšānI // 3.15,
YHWH (' Elohe 'āshōtēkem ' Elohe 'ābrāhām ' Elohe yāshaq wē-
'Lohē ya'ąqob) yāšānI, is primitive etymology which
shows that at the time of authorship (or, compilation
of the material) the derivation of YHWH was not known. Moses' concept of deity is extremely primitive (rudimentary) and represents the initial stages of the deity
of the bānē yīśrā'ēl. YHWH was conceptualized as a
Weather-god, recognized in the storms of the har hā-
' Elohim, which seems to have possessed numinous qualities
before the Mosaic encounter, by Moses who in all proba-
bility had some rather highly developed social concepts
which he validated as the desire of the deity (YHWH) for
this small, insecure band of people (bānē yīśrā'ēl). There
arises no occasion to doubt the genuineness of the Mosaic
origin of YHWH, but the mature status of YHWH as an agrarian deity, influential in the urban center of Palestine,

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group, i. e., ' Elohe 'ibrīm is adopted as ' Elohe bānē yīś-
rā'ēl and given a descriptive designation which expresses
the experience of the group/individual, e. g., YHWH.

Modern scholarship has advanced no further concepts
of any serious scholarly merit in attempting to uncover the
derivation of the name of Israel's deity YHWH. I disagree
with all attempts presently to uncover the etymology of
YHWH; especially the concept set forth by Albright - YHWH =
Yahweh, hiph'il imperfect, cf., William Foxwell Albright,
cannot be attributed to Moses, thus, YHWH must be viewed against the backdrop of the Canaanite religious expressions of the Weather-god in his functional rôle/s as an agrarian deity. It is only in this frame of reference that one may understand the cult practices and literary forms of YHWH in the periods of the Judges and the Kings.

The dramatic episode of the feast to YHWH (cf. below for corrected translation) established by 'aharon (Aaron) seems to reflect the same cultic practices and literary traditions as the feast/s established by yarab'ām (Jerobo'am), cf. I Kings 12.28-33. I suggest that these two feasts represent a common tradition which express a highly developed Weather-god cult in the tradition of the Syrio-Palestine cultural complex. Exodus 32.4, 'ēgel massekāh, "a cast (poured-(golden)-statue) bull(?)-calf" - made by Aaron as a representation of YHWH, 1.5, wayyar' 'aharon wayyyīben mizbē'āh lēphānāyō wayyiqrā' 'aharon wayyyē'mar ḥag laYHWH māhār, "When Aaron observed (the activity) he built an altar in front of it (i. e., the 'ēgel massaḵāh), and Aaron declared and spoke, 'a feast to the YHWH(?) on the morrow'." There is little doubt that Aaron had reference to the 'ēgel massaḵāh as a visual represen-

tation of the deity YHWH. I suggest that this tradition is very early and reflects the early (if not the earliest) Canaanite religious cult practice observable in the primitive Israelite culture.9 This is further reinforced by the statement in 1.4b, wayyō'mer* 'ĕlēh* 'ēlohekā yiš-
rā'ēl 'ăḇēr hē'slūkā mē'ĕrēḵ mishreyīm, "and he (i. e., Aaron) spoke, 'this is your god which brought you up from the land of Egypt'." There are many problems in this entire section - an emendation seems the logical way to correct the literary impasse - *text has wayyō'mrū which I have emendated to the singular third person, wayyō'mer, "and he spoke", implying that the statement was given by Aaron and not the populace. *'ĕlēh presents a further problem, but I suggest that this an addition to the original story - compare this phrase with 1 Kings 12.28c, hinnēh 'ēlohekā yišrā'ēl 'ăḇēr hē'slūkā mē'ĕrēḵ mishreyīm, "Behold your god, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt.", where the same phrase occurs except hinnēh is used instead of 'ĕlēh.10 Nehemiah 9.19, 'ēgel massēḵāh wayyō'mrū* zēh* 'ēlohekā 'ăḇēr hē'elkā* mimmisreyīm. *way-


10*'ĕlēh presents a problem not yet solved.
yō'merū, cf. above. *zēh is used for 'ēlēh and gives the quality of the 'ēgel massēkāh being the deity in question. *hē'elkā for hē'elūkā which definitely shows the idea of one deity and the plurality of deities that is erroneously mentioned in Exodus 1:4b. The Aaronic tradition seems to represent a very important aspect of YHWH worship (cult practice) which gives hints to the early influence of Canaanite cult practice on the religious practices in the Mosaic period. It is my contention that the Canaanizing of Israel's cult worship of YHWH took place before the Palestinian occupation. After the occupation of Canaan certainly one is able to see the influences and assimilations of the Ba'āl cult into the Israelite religious complex more clearly, but the initial contacts took place before the period of the Judges. Numbers 25.3, wayyīṣṣāmēd yīṣrā'ēl lāBa'āl pā'ēr, "and Israel joined (i. e., adopted the cult practices at the shrine of Ba'āl Pe'ēr." Albright has underestimated the pre-Palestinian cultural associations - and in some instances the resulting assimilations of the Canaanite worship of Ba'āl, especially in its local cult centers of which Ba'āl-Pē'ēr is only one example - in order to support his theory of the pristine character of the Israelite worship of YHWH under the Mosaic leadership.11

To appreciate the prolixity of the "Ba'al-Pōr" incidence, cf. Numbers 31.16; Deuteronomy 4.3; Joshua 22.17; Hosea 9.10, ... rā'īti 'ʾbōṭēkēm / hēmāh bāʾū baʿal-pōʾr wayyinnazērū ʾabbēṣēt* / wayyihṣyū šiqqūṣ‫ָּיִם‬ kē-ʾāḥābām, "I saw your fathers - they came to (worship at) / to Baʿal-Pōʾr and they pledged (vowed) themselves before / to Baʿal (Hosea's commentary follows), and they became ceremonially unacceptable(?), (i.e., to the Mosaic form of worship) like (the one/thing) they loved." *bēṣēt = Baʿal; substituted for the name of the Canaanite Weather-god by the later YHWHʾistic authors, cf. Jeremiah 3.24; 11.13; II Samuel 11.21; Judges 6.32; II Samuel 21.8; I Chronicles 8.23. The above clearly demonstrates to what lengths of assimilation the cult of Baʿal worship was practiced by the Israelites. Psalm 106.28, wayyīṣṣāḥmēdū ʾēbaʿal pōʾr wayyōʾkēlū zīḇḥā metīm,* "and they joined (cf. above) Baʿal-Pōʾr and they ate (ceremonially) animal-sacrifices of men" (i.e., "mortals" which shows the Canaanite influence upon the Israelites.). *mt = "man"; cf. Job 11.3, metīm (mētīm) = "men", seems to be an instance where the form means "men". (Ugaritic mt/mēt).12 The use of metīm as

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12I am unable to accept the translations which say that mtm refers to "dead/dead things". cf. Meek, op. cit., p. 89, "Ps. 106,28, we have references to rites of worship to the dead, and these continued even as late as the time of Is. 65."
it appears in context of Psalm 106.28 - "cult men", i.e., those who were 'celebrants' of the deity worshipped at Ba' al-Pe' or. Israel joins in the "communal meal", thus, takes part in the cult program. The assimilation of the characteristics of the Weather-god of the Canaanites into the being of YHWH and the acceptance of cultic practices of the Canaanites certainly takes place in the culture of Israel before the sedentary settlement in Palestine. Although the evidence for such a statement is fragmentary, nevertheless, I believe the literature we do possess does support the contention.

The literature of the Hebrew Bible which discusses the events, especially the religious expression of the Israelites, during the period of the Šōphātīm (Judges in the English translation of the Hebrew Bible; cf. Martin Noth, The History of Israel, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), pp. 97-108, for the description of the important institution of the Šōphātīm in Israel. The concept of the institution, i.e., Šōphēt has been borrowed from the Canaanites, cf. Phoenician špḥ; Albright, op. cit., p. 283.) gives evidence of the Ba' al - YHWH As-

4. "RSV translates Psalm 106.28, "Then they attached themselves to the Ba' al of Pe' or, and ate sacrifices to the dead." RSV takes met'īm from māvēt, "death"/ mút, "(to) die"; which I completely reject.

13Judges 2.11-15 for the description of the period of the Šōphātīm, esp. 1. 11b, wayya'ābdū šē-habbās'ālīm, "and
simulation in the religio-social culture of the Israelites. *cf. Ugaritic ṭpt, esp. the personal name ṭptb'1 (cf. Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manuel, (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955), texts 119.13; 300. rev. 2.24; 302.2; 319.2) and ṣpḥṭyḥ, the fifth son of David, cf. II Samuel 3.4, ṣṭḥṭyḥ - (I Chronicles 3.3); cf. also, Jeremiah 39.1; Ezra 2.4//Nehemiah 7.9; etc. The close proximity of ṭptb'1/ṣpḥṭyḥ is important to show the similar roles each deity assumed. The impact of the Canaanite/Israelite religious syncretism is seen in the story of Judges 6.25-32. Although I do so with reluctance, I must question the veracity of the Gideon narrative. There seems to be some question in my thinking concerning the climatic naming of an individual (in this instance Gideon) with the name of a deity with whom he has little respect or has given little consideration. The Gideon account seems to be highly apologetic for the cause of YHWH as against the already seated deity of the community Ba'alu. So many inconsistencies appear in the material, that I feel justified in questioning the entire story.¹⁴

¹⁴Noth, op. cit., p. 152, n. 1. Noth contends that...
The name yrb‘1 (MSS ysruba‘al/ysrubba‘al) was/or seems to have been misunderstood by the author/commentator or compiler of the Gideon/Jeru(b)ba‘al accounts. His attempt at etymology is somewhat along the popular line. The secondary theme of the account is to show the justification of the name of Ba‘al as it was applied to a defender of YHWH‘ism, thus, yrb‘1 is suggested in the account; 32, wayyiqrā‘-lā bayyēm-hahū ysruba‘al lā‘mor yārōb bō habba‘al kī nātaq ’ēt-mizbēhū, "and he named (called) him in that day, Jeru(b)ba‘al saying, 'Let Ba‘al (i. e., the statue) contend against him, for he (Gideon) pulled down his altar". yrb‘115 is difficult and needs further study. The fact that a devoted one of YHWH should have a Ba‘al name seems to present an anachronism. There must be a confusion between Gideon and Jeru-(b)baal, cf. above, n. 14. I am not able to accept the

there are two sources, i. e., Gideon and Jeru(b)baal which have been equated due to the fact that Gideon’s home was also in Ophrah. Certainly there are two traditions represented in the Gideon account.

15cf. yryhw, I Chronicles 23,10; 26,31; yryh, I Chronicles 24,23. I suggest that yryhw/yryh are similar in structure to yrb‘1 and seem to represent the same semantic quality. It seems that the MSS are responsible for the doubling of the b, i. e., yrrbb‘1 on the basis of the etymology of the compiler or author of the Gideon account.
explanation afforded in Judges 6.). The sacrifices of
the bull (cf. 1. 26) to YHWH on the same altar which had
been used for the worship of Ba'al suggests the similarity
in the worship of these two deities.

Judges 8.33, ..... wayyāšīmū lāhēm ba'al bērît
lō'lohim, "and they established for themselves Ba'al
bērît for (in the sense of 'as') their god." cf also,
Judges 9.4; and .46, 'el bērît. The worship of Canaanite
deities, especially Ba'al by the bēnê yiśrā'ēl (Israel)
is again apparent by the statements appearing in Judges
10.6, where a listing of the various deities include hab-
bē'ēlīm, 'ēlohē 'āram, 'ēlohē mō'ab, 'ēlohē bēnē 'amōn
and 'ēlohē pēlištīm; especially 'ēlohē ḡidōn. The list is
rather comprehensive and definitely reveals the expance
of Israel's functional cult identity with the Canaanite
deities. There seems to be little doubt that the Northern
Palestinian region dominated by the Ephraimic entourage
formulated the theological and functional cult behaviour
of the worship of YHWH from the positive characteristics
and qualities of the important Canaanite deity Ba'al. There
really seems to be no serious contradiction in cult theo-
ology and ideology and practice between YHWH'ism and Ba-
'alism in the mentality and behaviour of the populace. The
frequent oscillation between the worship of YHWH and Ba'al
pictured in the early literal account of the occupation and
settlement of Canaan by the Israelites has more of the tone of literary propaganda than an historical documentary of the events of the period.
YHWH as Ba‘al

The dramatic statement of Deutero-Isaiah, undoubtedly himself a confirmed monotheist, is indicative of the tenor/theme of this section of the dissertation. Isaiah 54:5,

ki bō'ēlāyik 'ōsāyik
YHWH ŝāḇā‘ēt ŝāmō
wēgō'sēlēk qēdōš yisrā‘ēl
'Shōḥē kal-hā‘ārēq yiqqārē',
"For your Ba‘al is your Maker,
YHWH ŝāḇā‘ēt is his name;
and your (Kinsman)-redeemer is the 'Holy-One'
of Israel,
he shall be named (called), 'God of the entire (whole) land'".

It has occurred to me that Isaiah is attempting to consolidate the various components of the YHWH/Ba‘al relationship into its now highly developed and refined theological stature. The consolidation of these two deities into one deity by the name of YHWH ŝāḇā‘ēt who has emerged as the supreme deity in the area of the Syrio-Palestine cul-
tural complex represents the epitome of the Weather-god in the Ancient Near East. The final transcendental characteristics of Israel's supreme deity are a matter of ascending theology.¹ The cult formulation of the Weather-god as the supreme deity among the people has been achieved. This supremacy of YHWH was only achieved however, by assimilating the characteristics of Ba' al, the Canaanite Weather-god, into the cult development of YHWH.

The naming of progeny from YHWH worshippers with names that are definitely compounded with the name of the Canaanite Weather-god Ba' al are very significant in dramatizing the thesis that the YHWH/Ba' al assimilation was done with little or no confrontation. Jacob stresses the point that the Theophoric element in the name compounded with Ba' al in all probability represents the deity worshipped by the individual.² The naming of Saul's son with a name which could only imply a rather ecumenical attitude by Saul who really shows no inconsistency in this act. These names are very important for our study. cf. II Samuel 2.12,

¹Isaiah 66ff., etc.

'Iš-bašet///I Chronicles 8.33; 9.39, 'ešba’al = "man of Ba’al".3 (cf. II Samuel 2.8, 10, 12, 15; 3.8, 14, 15; 4.7, 8, 12.) I Chronicles 8.34, mšrIbba’al appears twice and in 9.40, mšrIb ba’al, but the second is written mšrI ba’al; compare these with II Samuel 4.4, mšphIbšet (which is obviously a gloss of mšrI ba’al) attest to the fact that names compounded with Ba’al were not forbidden or considered incorrect. I Chronicles 14.7, bš'elyāda; "Ba’al knows (understands)", is one of the sons of David. In II Samuel 5.16, 'elyāda' is listed as one of the sons of David; 'elyāda'///bš'elyāda' and definitely shows Canaanite influence. Probably the most convincing compound name which includes Ba’al is found in I Chronicles 12.5, bš'alyāh, "Yah is Ba’al" (Yah is Master(?), this personal name is extremely difficult to translate.) Nevertheless, it is a good specimen to clearly show the syncretism which had taken place. (The name does not appear in the list of warriors given in II Samuel.) An interesting correlation to bš’alyāh is 'AdōnIyāh, "Yah is 'Adōn" (Yah is Lord/Master) which also represents a Canaanite syncretism.

3Albright, op. cit., p. 113; p. 207, n. 62, 'iš ba’al, "Ba’al exists"; further states that Ugaritic 'it = iš in later Canaanite, (cf. Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manuel, (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955), p. 244, 292. It 'there is/are'.)
A very important feature of the assimilation of YHWH/Ba’al relationship is found in the story of II Samuel 6.1ff. The bringing of the 'arōn hā’ēlohim, ("the chest/container of the god"), 1.2b, 'arōn hā-ēlohim 'ēser-piqrah ūmem YHWH ūshēb hakkārubīm 'alāyw, ...."the chest (cf. above) of the god, which name he/it is called, YHWH ūshēb 'ēt, the one sitting (as) the kārubīm upon it" (i. e., "the chest"). cf. above, Ba’al - YHWH Assimilation; I Kings 12.28-33, where YHWH is represented as the 'ēgel massēkāh. *MSS text has ūmem ūmem which seems to be a reduplication of ūmem. It seems that YHWH was represented visually in some physical form. However, Archaeological investigation has yet not uncovered any statuary which may be identified as a representation of YHWH. The question still remains open. The important feature of this story is that the "chest" was located at ba’al Yqūdāh which seems to be a Canaanite stronghold and cult center. (cf. 1. 16 where David dances before YHWH.) There is little recognizable difference in the behaviour (which is vividly dramatized in the story)

4William Foxwell Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1957), pp. 264-267; esp. p. 265, "Equally vital to Mosaic religion was the aniconic character of Yahweh, who could not be represented in any visual or tangible form."
of David, than Canaanite worship before a statue erected to Ba’al. David certainly danced naked before the "chest", cf. 11. 16ff., and it seems as if he performed some physical act of sexual relationship with the ‘amhōt ‘bādāyw (maids of his servants), the justification of the act to Michal’s criticism is that David did it in honour of YHWH - cf. 1. 21a.

Even in the stories which have a negative or nulifying philosophy of the YHWH/Ba’al assimilation, e.g. I Kings 18, the Elīyāhū (Elijah) of the story seems to be a devout YHWH’ist who is opposed to the Tyrian cult of Ba’al, there seems to be no appreciable difference in the representation of YHWH and Ba’al - for each case represents YHWH as a Weather-god with the same characteristics and rôle-playing as Ba’al. (cf. Hosea 2.16f., where ‘Īšī is used as a replacement for ba-’āli, although the same fertility concept is retained.

Meek sums up this matter with an excellent discussion of the Hosea literature. "Thus Hosea disengaged the life of agriculture from the perils that threatened the religion and succeeded in making an alliance between civilization and the religion of Israel, and he succeeded also in commending Yahweh to his people, divorced from all licentious
practices, idolatry, and magic rites. It was syncretism of a sort, more properly eclecticism. 5 Although I agree with Meek, nevertheless I must state that Hosea achieved his syncretism only as a philosophic synthesis which was not practiced (had become a cultic reality) until the period of the first Commonwealth beginning in the 5th century B.C.E. following. 6 The Judaean experiment provided at long last the environmental matrix from which to give cultic birth to the philosophical conceptions and transcendental speculations about YHWH that were fostered by the relatively few prophetic statesmen from South Palestine.

A remarkable example comes from the community of Yeb (Elephantine on the banks of the Nile) showing the perseverance of the Ba’al/YHWH syncretism during the last half of the fifth century B.C.E. 7 The evidence seems to clearly point to the syncretistic elements which have


6 Norman K. Gottwald, A Light to the Nations, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), pp. 428ff.; p. 436, "The isolation of the Jerusalem community as the bearer of a purified Judaism was by all odds the major development of the period."

survived from the Israelite (Ephraimic) tradition.

Perhaps the most convincing argument for the YHWH/Ba'al syncrétism is the Ugaritic literature which has been adapted to YHWH, yet still retains the authent­ic Canaanite cultural and religious character. Psalm 29 according to Ginsberg is a complete Canaanite poetic composition which reflects a geography which is cer­tainly Phoenicia. ¹

Psalm 68.33-34,

mamlākōt hā'ārōš šīrū lē'lohim
zammārū 'ādōnāy šēlāh
lārōkeb bišmē šēmē-qūdēm
hēn yittēn bēqōl qōl'ōz

"O Kingdoms of the land, sing before (the) god,
sing praises unto 'Adōnāy - šēlāh
before the Rider of the (in the) Heavens, yea
the heavens of old (ancient times);
Listen! he gives forth his thunder-voice, his mighty thunder."

The consummate of the drama has unfolded to re­veal the Weather-god as the Supreme deity in the Syria­Palestinian area. It is little wonder that the Deutero-

¹H. L. Ginsberg, Ugaritic Studies and the Bible, BASOR, Vol. viii, #2, (May 1945), p. 53. It is my es­timation that Judges 5 is also representative of Canaanite and reflects the Canaanite literary form and expression. To the ever growing list should be added Psalm 68, etc."
nomist could pen these immortal words,

šōma' yišrā'ēl YHWH 'šlohēnū YHWH 'ēḥād
wā'āhabtā 'ēt YHWH 'šloḥēkā bškal-šēḇābkā
ūškal-naphṣēkā ūškal-meʾēḏēkā

"Hear! O Israel: YHWH our god is YHWH 'ēḥād

and therefore you shall love YHWH your god

with your whole understanding (heart),

and with your whole life-being (vitality),

and with your whole abundance (prosperity)."

9'ēḥād - presents a very serious philosophical problem, thus I have not attempted to translate the word.


BASOR. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*


CT. Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.


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JBL. Journal of Biblical Literature.


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