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

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

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

7 In Assyrian salāmētu (whence Aram. ʾezāddī) is corpse, and salām ʾezādī is sun, properly death of the sun (Albright, AJSL, XXXIV, 142). Ar. salām means wounded to death.

8 Elsewhere I will discuss the question of these tombs, especially on its topographical side.
THE BABYLONIAN TEMPLE-TOWER AND THE ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERING

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The studies of my friend Mr. Feigin have placed the old problem of Ariel in a much clearer light, though I am not able to agree with all his suggestions. There can be no doubt that the balance of probability is now in favor of the Assyrian etymology long maintained by Jeremias and others. In Mesopotamian cosmology Mount Aralûn, Sum. Aralî (for etymology cf. AJSL, XXXV, 191, n. 1), in the far north was the home of the shades, whence Hades was called in Sumerian kûr, mountain, and in Assyrian tiurân, mountain, as Zimmern has recently shown. Aralû is written ideographically E-KûR-UŠ (BAD), House of the mountain of the dead. Aralû is also the mountain of the gods, E-garsag-gal-kûr-kûr-va, House of the great mountain of the lands, and is further identified with the fabulous mountain of gold in the land of the gods. As E-kûr and E-garsag-kûr-kûr-va were two of the most popular names of zîkhûrûti, or temple-towers, we may safely suppose that the latter, being the terrestrial representations of the mountain of the gods, shared its name Aralû. Originally, of course, the mountain of the gods and the mountain of the shades were distinct conceptions, but since both were placed in the far north they were naturally confused.
In Is. 29, אֲדֹריַּת clearly means Hades:

***

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

The denizens of the underworld were supposed to become birds, clad in feathers (Descent of Istar, line 10). The conception that the soul of a dead man is embodied in a bird, especially an owl, is almost universal. Is. 337,

ַחַנַּא אֲרָאֵלוֹעֲלָל אָנָאָלָוֹעֲלָוֹזַח מָרְרִיַּבְוַא

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

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

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

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

1 Pronounce metrically šālūrēs.

2 For the etymology of מַבֵּר see Haupt, *AJSL*, XXXIII, 48; the stem is מַבּּא = safi, set, of the sun. Similarly מַבּּא may be connected with Ar. ʿanāla, set, of the stars (cf. *AJSL*, XXIV, 142). This is, of course, very doubtful, but is at least more likely than the old combination with ʿanāla, long-necked.
Ex. 43:15 means mountain of god, like Arallû. That the word should be a genuine Hebrew compound is impossible, as we have no parallels. Moreover, the rendering hearth of God is excluded by the fact that there is no word išāb, hearth, in Arabic, as lightly assumed by all the commentators. The word supposed to mean hearth is one of the many forms of the word išri, āriš, āriši, āriša, āriš, stall, enclosure (cf. Barth, ZDMG., LVII, 636), a pre-Islamic loan from Aram. āriš, itself derived from Assy. urš, stall, enclosure, another loan from Sum. ir (Sumerisches Glossar, p. 40, in VI), with the same meaning.

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

The reconstruction of the altar of burnt-offering (Ex. 43:15-17) given in the commentaries (cf. Knutsen, Handkommentar, p. 279, and Toy, Ezekiel, p. 191) requires a slight modification. The בָּנָיֶיהוּ (bânî'ë) is not the lowest of four stages, but is the foundation of the altar, just as rendered by the Targum, which gives בָּנָיָהוּ. Since its surface was then on a level with the

3 The name Zion probably means mountain rather than necropolis; Ar. śāqāb means mound as well as stone-heaps = Heb. pîy, and Eg. dy means mountain.
4 Restore בָּנָיֶיהוּ after בָּנָיָהוּ in 15; it has fallen but before בָּן by haplography.
surrounding pavement it becomes clear why the הבן, boundary (13, 17), was necessary to mark the limit of the sacred altar-area. Thus, while the total height from the bottom of the foundation to the top of the horns was twelve cubits (1 + 2 + 4 + 4 + 1), the actual elevation of the surface of the ar’el above the pavement was ten cubits (2 + 4 + 4), agreeing exactly with the ten cubits stated in II Chr. 4:1 as the height of the altar of Solomon’s temple, the cubit being here also presumably the Babylonian cubit of 21 inches specified by Ezekiel. Moreover, the boundary (16) was half a cubit (one span) from the base of the lower stage, another span in width (17), while the יד projected a cubit beyond the boundary, so the total length and width of the altar would be 12 + 1 + 1 + 2 + 4 = 20 cubits, just as stated in II Chr. 4:1.

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

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

The term ינדנ, generally misunderstood, and even combined with Assyr. usurtu, means properly terrace, terrace-platform. Ar. ṣāṭirah is terrace court before a house, and South Ar. ינדנ has the same meaning (contrast Weber, MYAG., 1901, p. 66). The primary sense is what is supported, upheld from the stem ān, support, help. The ינדנ of Solomon’s temple (II Chr. 4:6:12) corresponds exactly to Assyr. higallu, the terrace-platform in front of the temple. Here Solomon erected his bronze ינדנ (also Babylonian, as pointed out JAOS, XXXVI, 339) on which to address the multitude assembled before the temple.
whence Aram. ekurrā, shrine, idol. The cosmic symbolism appears clearly in the four horns, or rather four mountains, if we may judge from the four "horns" on an altar at Petra. If there were any possible doubt regarding the correctness of our interpretation, it should be removed by the variant har-ēl, mountain of god, in verse 15 (see above).

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

* For the relation between the obelisk and the pyramidion cf. Breasted, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, p. 70ff. The bn was further combined by paronomasia with the bnq, phoenix, also symbolizing the sun. For the etymology of bn, bnbnt see AJSL, XXXIV, 223, note. Here also belongs Ar. bandān, fingers, extremities of the body; cf. Assy. žibūnu, mountain peak, Lit. finger (žibūnu > būnān is not etymologically connected with bnbnt) of the mountain.
whole obelisk, just as in the case of the Babylonian zurat.
One pyramidion called bn, which stood in the temple of the sun
at Heliopolis, corresponds to the masshebah or hamman of Samaq
or Ba'gul, just as the wooden dd pillar of Osiris is parallel to the
A'hirat post, as pointed out by Ember. While the pyramidion
was originally only a specialized type of masshebah, in the course
of time it certainly came to represent the mountain of the earth.
Though the obelisk had other symbolism also, one can hardly
doubt that the two obelisks flanking the pyla of some Egyptian
temples, reappearing as architectural loans in Phoenician and
Syrian temples, represent primarily the mountains of dawn,
figuring so often in West-Asiatic and Egyptian literature and
art. As is well-known, these obelisks finally appear as Ialim
and le'oz (?) in the temple of Solomon, also facing the east, the
šit Samaq. All this cosmological symbolism is comparatively
recent, even though appearing in our oldest monumental sources.