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Case Western Reserve University, Adjunct Professor of Religion, lecture notes, Gilgamesh, 1968.

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CHAPTER I

they were indisinguishable from other landless groups of semi-nomads who infiltrated the western lag of the Fertile Crescent during the second millennium B.C. They were organized by tribes. They traveled on donkeys in rather large para-military groups. They spoke a Western Semitic dialectara close relative of Aramaic. They treasured their chronicles in epic sagas, some of which were edited by their descendants and now form the nucleus of the Book of Genesis (Chapters 11-50).

They traded in grain, wine and wool; pastured their flocks of sheep and goats on unclaimed land outside the boundary stones of local city-states; hired themselves out as smiths, musicians and fieldhands, and their young men as mercenaries. If the local feudal lordswas weak the Hebrews were not above attack and plunder.

The term Hebrew is appellative not gentile. It comes from apirul (Heb. "IMri") which meant caravaneer and was applied by the settled folk of Syria-Palestine to certain of the landless tribes who came from beyond the boundaries. It is not clear that most or all of the Hebrews were conscious of a racial unity or common ancestry. The involved genealogies which are included in the Book of Genesis relate Abraham and his descendents not only to Western Semites but to North and South Arabian tribes. When the Israelites later talked about their progenitors they claimed for them neither purity of blood nor nobility of class. In later days during the Sukkot, the Fall Harvest Festival, when Israelites presented their thanksgiving offerings at the Temple, they recited a ritual formula which began, "A wandering Aramean was my father." (Deut. 26:5) The sixth century

prophet Ezekiel mocked the pretensions of some of his generation by reminding the prideful that their ancestors were not the bluebloods of ancient society. They could not even claim to be uniformly of Semitic stock. "Thy origin and nativity is the land of the Canashites; the Amerite was thy father and thyymother was a Hittite." (Ezek. 13:3) The Hebrew tradition did not provide the stuff out of which arrogance and ambition sculpt racial myths, and such pretensions remained largely foreign to the Jewish tradition.

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the early Church labeled these progenitors "patriarchs", the synagogue called them simply Avot-the fathers. The Bible claims for them neither a divine lineage not God-like qualities and portrays them with a full range of familiar human failings. When the Israelites later affirmed that they had been chosen by God, this choice had neither biological nor caste implications. The reasons for their election were God's and whatever His reasons they were not drawn from among those which would normally suggest themselves to men: "not because you were more in number than any other people did God set His love upon you and chose; for you were the fewest of all peoples but because the Lord loved you..." (Deut. 7:7-8)

These early Hebrews had little sense of being set apart. Ignorant of subsequent history they moved anonymously back and forth over the inner and least populated edge of the Fertile Crescent herding, trading; the general drift of their migration west and south — that is from Northern Mesopotamia across Syria to Palestine and Egypt. The exact route and the time of these migrations is not known, nor its impetus. During the early years of the second millenium there was a large scale movement of Semitic tribes from Mesopotamia west and south probably set in motion by the descent of Indo-European tribes from the mountains

Aerth and west of Mesopotamia into that well cultivated plain. The a forced by Semitic migrations may also have been the spread of farms and the enclosure of farm land which accompanied the growth of the newly settled states and kingdoms in the middle Euphrates area and in Syria at this time. Canaan was not as densely populated as Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. The area had not proposed melange of feudally-organized small city-states. into estilled kingdom. The local nobility had constant need of mercenaries, servants and harvesthands. Canaan at this time was known for its fertility and for its opportunity. Its reputation was not unlike the biblical designation as "a land flowing with milk and honey". An Egyptian adventurer of the 20th century, Sinhue, described its attractions.

> "Figs were iniit, grapes and grapes. It had more wine than water, plentiful was its honey, abundant were its olives. Every kind of fruit was on its trees. Barley was there and emmer. There was no limit to any (kind of) cattle" / A picture neatly complemented by the Biblical text: "the plains of Jordan were well-watered...before God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah ... as the Garden of God, as the land of Egypt." (Gen. 13:10)

It remained an attractive area until the 14th and 13th centuries when its prosperity failed under rather continuous Egyptian mistrule.

The Biblical account imposes a literary unity and a four-generation history of what was obviously a far more complex and lengthy event. is clear, however, that during the first stage of this migration the Hebrews settled near established cities and remained on relatively good terms with the Canaanites who allowed them water rights, pasture, to trade and even to make land purchase agreements which the Hebrews later insisted established their presumptive rights in the land. The first identified Hebrew, Abraham, purchased land near Hebron as a burial place for Sarah (Gen. 2:1-19) that she not be laid to rest on alien soil.

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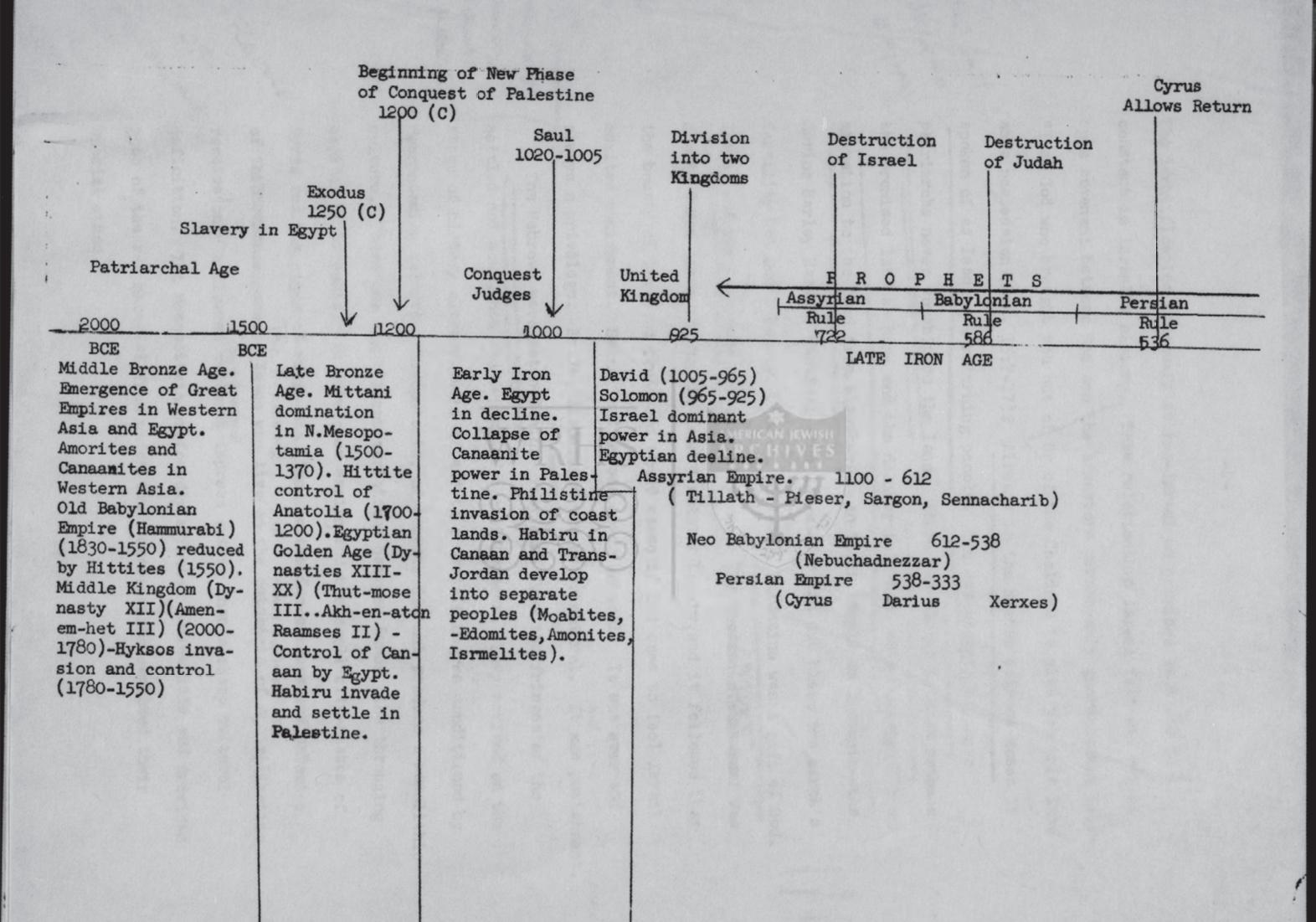
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The identification Canaan-Palestine-Israel as promised land was to be a constant in Israel's history. This relationship Israel felt was sealed by a covenant between God and the ancestors permanently guaranteeing title.

"I am God who brought you out of Ur of the Chaldees to give you this land as a possession (Gen. 15:7-17)? Already in the Exodus episode Moses is spoken of as leading a returning people. The descendents of these

BUTLIMITS OF LAND

the promised land as home and the deliberately kept alive memory of the migration to the land from elsewhere. In their temple on Shavuoth—the Spring Barley Harvest Festival—the Israelites did not bless the earth's fertility but God's Bounty. (Deut. 26:5-10) Palestine was a gift of God. Israel and the land were not naturally one. The parameter was due to God's grace not to the land's natural bounty and it followed that the bounty of the land could and would cease if God came to feel Israel merited punishment. Being in Zion was never natural. It was ever and always a privalege. Exile, dispersion was never natural. It was punishment.

Sends dends dende The Hebrews were not bedouin. They came from the fringes of the settled and sown, not the depths of the wilderness. They arrived on the stage of history already aware of and to a certain degree conditioned by Mesopotamian culture. Mesopotamia, of course, did not produce a monolithic culture, There are significant variations between Sumer, the thronging capital of Sargon's high developed empire and the small city-states of Syria and the ethos of those who lived in the for corner and colonies of this cultural area. Those who lived on the outskirts of civilization receive only a blurred cultural impress rather than a sharp cultural definition. Yet Mesopotamia profoundly affected Hebrew life and provided much of the raw material from which their descendents see that their special ethos.

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Tradition associates Abraham with Ur, an important city-state of the lower Tiger-Euphrates delta. Abraham'asfamily is more intimately associated with Haran and Nahor, two important cities in the Balikh Valley in north-western Mesopotamia. Lot was in semi-permanent residence in Sodom. Hebrew chiefs mingled freely with city folk and had business dealings properly registered in acceptable commeracal form on clay tablets in an Akkadian dialect set out in cuneiform script.

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The diffused Mesopotamian culture set the forms and often the norms of the lives of many peoples from Babylon to Syria and Falestine. The common calendar was lunar and to this day Jewish religous life is governed by a similar system updated only in that more sophisticated astronomical tables and computations have obviated the need for direct observation.

The practice of the intercalation (the insertion) of leap months, which begins play a significant role in rabbinic law, in Mesopotamian astronomy as does a wide spread popular interest in astrology which unofficially pervades the world of Jewish ideas down to modern times, surfacing even today in the familiar congratulation—mazal tov—"a good planet". The sample of the basis of many cosmologies including the Hebrew and its popular myths were told and retold in a hundred variations.

The Biblical stories of Creation, of the Garden of Eden, the Flood, and the Tower (ziggurat) of Babel are all of later redaction and have been edited to illustrate singular Israelite teachings, but they use outlines provided by the legends and lore of Mesopotamia.

The Hebrews were probably notificabiliar with the classics of Babylonian literature in their high form. Perhaps no Hebrew ever heard a priest recite the Gilgamesh epic exactly as it was ceremonially inscribed on clay tablets in the temple library of Nineveh, but Hebrew merchants and smiths certainly

gathered around troubadours who embellished these familiar epics in the market place of some provingal center. The Hebrews and their descendents knew something of these sages. They used their themes selectively as Shakespeare used the story forms of his day as raw material out of which to construct their own literature. One example will suffice. The Gilgamesh epic which was known from Egypt to Southern Mesopotamia contains a story within a story. The hero, Gilgamesh, has reached Utnapishtin who, he has been told, controls the power of eternal life which he has been so desparately seeking. Utnapishtin confessess that he lacks the secret of immortality and seeks to console Gilgamesh by telling him a tale of his youth -- of a flood which the gods once determined to bring upon the world because the mortals had not brought proper sacrifices or performed proper obedience. Utnapishtin was warned of the impening catastrophe by the goddess, Ea. He escapes with his family on a boat. It poured for six days. On the 7th, Utnapishtin had discovered that all the buildings had been reduced to clay and that all life had ceased. He and his family alone survive. His boat finally scrapes and is grounded. He lets fly a dove which returns to the boat because she can find no resting place. Later he sends out a swallow which also returns; and, finally, a raven which does not come back. Descent is now safe. Utnapishtin disembarks and offers an acceptable sacrifice.

This story was already well known in the 3rd millennium B.C. and the parallels to the Noah saga which the Hebrews edited at least a thousand years later are striking. There are obvious changes to be sure: A Western Semite hero, Noah, is acclaimed rather than a Babylon hero, Utnapishtin; a Syrian mountain, Ararat, replaces the Iranian mountain Misiras the port of debarkation and the Semitic preference for 40 replaces the Babylonian emphasis on 6 and 7, but in Hebrew hands, it is not the same

different theology. God alone and not a council of gods decides on a flood. The hero is saved not because efgeddess takes pity on him but because he is righteous and merits salvation. The animal world is preserved along with humankind. The point of the story is not the miraculous salvation of a particular man but the release of all men from the terror gods of capricious?—the creation of a "Covenant between Me and the earth" (Gen. 9:13) —the pledge that God will not willfully or spitefully destroy terrestrial life. In the Babylonian world, as in the Greek, theology saw men at the mercy of the gods. In the Israelite world order replaces fear and trembling. The rainbow rises high after each storm.

The image of these early Hebrews as primitive nomads will not stand inspection. Hebrew history does not begin in the vast emptiness of the wilderness among ignorant and illiterate peoples but in the trading outposts of the Mesopotamian cultural empire. This history is worth telling because Israel's teachers re-fashioned this cultural world in a unique way; but that is a far cry from the assumption that Judaism springs out of nothing and from nowhere.

Israelite law is not Mesopotamian law and in many instances it kept

procedures and formulae which had general Mesopotamian currency. The

hardness of cut stone and the chance of history has preserved from this

world and this time the codes of Ur-nammu, Lifit Isltar, Enshnunna, and

Hammurabi and the laws of the Hittites. The very concept of a written

law code is Babylonian. No where in the vast literature which remains

of Egypt has such a code been found. The procedure of inscribing the

law on a stone stell is also Babylonian. The two stone tablets of the

Sinai Commandments which Moses carved and placed in the sacred ark

represent a late example of this cultural form.

Israelite law is not a carbon copy or a pile echo of Babylonian law.

Mesopotamian had a separate and more severe set of penalties for crimes committed against the nebility than for crimes committed against peasants, and the distinction is entirely absent in biblical regulation. It is distinctive and unique but it is also conditioned by its ethos.

Similarity American jurisprudence is still colored by terms and practices taken from English law, which in turn took them over from the Roman codes, so Israelite rules continue of the forms of Mesopotamian rules which preceded them by a millennium or more and which may have come down to them only at third or fourth hand. Compare, for instance, these early Mesopotamian laws with the later Biblical ones.



These Mesopotamian codes seem to have been written to popularize the terms of the law. The better known the law the less likely of its purely arbitrary abuse. In Egypt, the Pharach was an absolute ruler and ruled by unconditioned fiat. In Babylonia, the Emperor was an absolute ruler but the rules were set forth and there was in a sense a social contract. Thus the code of Hammurabi (17th century B.C.) concludes:

Let any oppressed man who has cause come into the presence of the statue of me, the king of justice, and there read carefully my inscribed stele and give heed to my precious words, and may my stele make the case clear to him; may he understand his cause; and may he set his mind at ease. (Anet 175)

A familiar Mesopotamian myth envisages the high god revealing on his law to the king who becomes his legate in earth. Thus the king was bound, at least symbolically, by the terms of the divinely revealed instructions. In Mesopotamia this legend remained poetic. In Israel, much later, the prophets made it real; and confronted Israel's kings with the requirement that they abide the Torah law.

The Biblical word for a contract or legal document, sefer, is an

and the staff you carry." The use of the cylinder seal spread from Babylon

to the Middle East. The staff wasme bukannum, an object something like

a Marine officer's swagger stick, which changed hands at the end of a

transaction to symbolize its completion, much like our handshake. The

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Akkadian loan word. Akkadian was the language of international agreements and Babylonian legal forms, though not necessarily specific formulations are found throughout the Bible. Exodus, chapters 21 through 23, the so-called sefer (Book) of the Covenant and perhaps the oldest Biblical code which set out the conditions of a crime and then the prescribed punish in its casuistic rules, is in form akin to the code of Hammurabi and to hent other Hittite and Semitic formulations, wh Inhthe Biblical story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38) Tamar demands of Judah as his pledge, "your seal-cord"

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generalized influence of Mesopotamian legal customs is also illustrated by a number of Biblical stories which were not satisfactorily explained until modern research recovered a number of Mesopotamian law codes and the law libraries of Nuzi, Alalakh and Ugarit. Thus there is nothing in Israelite custom to explain Sarah's insistence that Abraham take Hagar as a breeding wife, but the custom of a barren first wife giving a concubine to her husband for the purpose of childbearing and the special responsibilities of the husband towards this concubine are detailed in the laws of Lipit Ishtar and in the Nuzi material (which is, by the way, very close to Harran), This material helps explain Sarah's decision and also Abraham's reluctance to take recriminative action against the concubine when Sarah was miraculously become a mother and bitterly regrets her decision. (Gen. 16)

The Nuzi material also explains Rachel's theft of her father's household idols after a family squabble over money and inheritance. It is now clear that possession of the household gods signified legal title to a given estate. Rachel apparently felt that her father would not transfer these proofs of title voluntarily so she appropriated them under the age-old understanding that possession is nine-tenths of the law. Thus through the Biblical code, and the rabbinic law which depended upon it, vestiges of ancient Mesopotamian practice remain alive even today for those who still follow the Torah law. In traditional Jewish practice, a man retains a special legal responsibility towards the widow of his deceased brother, and must perform a ritual act of release for her to be free to marry out of the family. This practice of levirate marriages can be traced back to ancient Mesopotamia.

The Hebrews adopted a diffuse pattern of Mesopotamian customs and wedded these to the patterns of their semi-nomadic tribal life in which authority was vested in a senior chief who apparently governed with the

and inheritance passed according to a definite schedule among the children of the first or breeding wife. Within the tribe justice was determined by the tribal chief and the entire tribe was responsible for the actions of its members towards outsiders. The principal of monetary compensation for injury was known. Slavery was assumed and the tribe was under heavy obligation to ransom any of its members who were captured and enslaved. There were definite rules of hospitality and hospitality was a prized virtue but there was always danger for the individual outside his tribe.

Mesopotamian culture made its least impress in the area of political organization and theory. Scholars now doubt that Sargon or Hammurabi deliberately fostered a theory of royal divine right, but it is certain that these men and their empires assumed the elemental rightness of the crown. The Hebrews never equated authority and divinity and were not satisfied with the crown as the central organization of the state.

Monarchy came to Israel much later and under the pressure of unique circumstance.

The Mesopotamian world was a world of casmie high gods who ruled in specific spheres and who were worshipped according to a highly formalized ritual. These gods were described anthropomorphically—an idiom which the Bible editors did not easily shake. The Mesopotamian world lacked the heavy Egyptian emphasis on death rites and personal immortality. There was no certain promise of immortality. The next world was a shadowy undefined place not unlike the Biblical Sheol. In the Gilgamesh epic the hero is moved by a morbid fear of death to seek immortality but despite strenuous efforts he does not win this boon and is advised instead to make the most of each day.

Gilgamesh, why dost thou run? Inasmuch as the life thou scekest,

Thou canst not find, for the gods on their first creation of mortals

Death allotted to man, but life they retained in their keeping.

Gilgamesh: Full be thy belly

Each day and night be thou merry, and ape hold holiday revel...

Let thou thy head be clean washed, and bathe, and the little one cherish

Holding they hand; and let also thy spouse be rejoiced in they bosom, this is the mission of man"

This worldliness inevitable raised the question of heodicy why do the righteous suffer -- and Job had his antecedents in Mesopotamian literature, which reach back as far as a Sumerian poetic discourse on theodicy and retribution (circa 2000).

The precise nature of the early patriarchal faith is much debated. Such evidence as later editors allowed in the Genesis narrative emphasize a rather simple and unpompous practice not specifically associated with a temple site or a priest class. There is not even a set ritual calendar. The clan god appears to the clan head in the places where gods appear (in sacred groves, on high places, beside venerated altars) and announced his special concern for their future, after which the grateful chieftan offers an appropriate sacrifice or builds a stone altar without benefit of clergy.

Whatever the actual fact the descendents of the Hebrews always associated their beginnings with a religious simplicity which was markedly different from both the royal cults of Babylonia and the sympathetic magic, the mime, and the orginatic elements of Canaanite fertility rituals.

Whom did the Hebrews worship as divine? Some argue that Hebrew piety centered on the worship of one high God-a supreme creator diety known as El Elyon or El Shaddai. These scholars argue that the Biblical narrative Particular Abraham worshipping the one God even before he leaves Harran for

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Canaan. 2.) that there is no explicit statement in the Bible that God shared his sovereignity with other gods or goddesses. 3.) that the altars and memorial stones raised by the patriarchs were dedicated only to the one God of heaven and earth. 4.) that Moses is reported as summoning the Children of Israel and speaking to Pharoah in the name of the one God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and 5.) that the religious of this area during the second millenium generally centered on such a high God who may be known by a variety of local manifestations and by a variety of names. According to this view each tribal chief entered into a personal relationship with one manifestation of El. EL was the God of the patriarchal tribes; (their)only God, but not yet (the only God. Folk faith set great store by tutulary disties like the teraphim (Gen. 31:19) and believed wholeheartedly in spirits and demons. Such attitudes were not seen as disturbing. The Hebrews were not iconcelests nor did they deny all power to the gods and idols of other tribes and peoples.

Others find little evidence, if any, of monotheism at this period.

They hold that El Shaddai, El Roi, El Olaman and El Elyon are not various manifestations of a single high God El evoked on different places or for different purposes but relics of a polytheism which has not been completely obliterated by later editors. They argue that each of the patriarchs established a covenant with his own special God: the El of Abraham (Gen. 28:13 31:42, 53); the pahad (kinsman) of Isaac (Gen. 31:42, 53) and the abir (champion) of Jacob (Gen. 49:24). According to the theory Gods were distinct protective dieties which later piety elided into one. Those who held the view argue 1) that since the editors of Genesis obviously considered Yahweh—the single God of Israel—as the God the who speaks with the patriarchs, it is revealing that he is so frequently given other names. 2.) that some of the names of the tribes of Israel reveal their worship of a special

protective god (Gad (possibly the god of fortune; Asher (the masculine counterpart of Asherah etc.) 3.) that there is no evidence in Genesis of a purely religous tension between the Hebrews and their polytheistic neighbors. Quite the contrary there is much evidence that the high & ? highest God of the Hebrews El was linked to long familiar pre-Hebrew cultic sites (El Betel (Gen. 31.13) El Elyon (God of Jerusalem (Gen. 14:18f.), El Olam Gen. 21:33 in connection with Beersheba). Such worship could not help identify El with the diety previously worshipped at these shrines most often it is believed Hadad, the high God the heavens -- the heights, and the storms among Western Semites. The issue is not resolved. can be said is that the later Hebrew tradition assumed that Abraham was the original monotheist and that even in its period of origins this faith different the mimetic agricultural fertility cults of Canaan erd the elaborate state cults of the empires with their shrines and pomp. The Biblical record contains no explicit statement of Hebrews worshipping female dieties either then or in any other period and it is clear that there was no dogmatic pledge by the Hebrews to any specifica Pantheon. The Hebrews seem not to have developed any elaborate ritual and/or set religous calendar. God was not associated with any single place -- a merchant people obviously moved from place to place and could not leave their God behind. God did make himself manifest in certain places. Men sensed or heard God on certain heights, under epecific trees, by certain fountains -in dreams or visions and monuments or altars were erected to commemorate the event.

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There was not separate priest class. Men prayed, the headmen offered sacrifices, and it was hoped that the God would enswer their prayers.

Tribes had their tutelary diety. An individual chief may have had his personal god who became the "God of the Father" to his dependents and

descendents. Already in the third millenium proper names evoke a god as "father" "brother" "kinsman". "The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Gen. 24:12ff.) is a God in relationship to a specific group of people. The piety of a god within history and intimate to man is apparently deeply rooted in Hebrew origins.

The Hebrews do not seem to have been deeply impressed by the elaborate cosmological myths of Mesopotamia which alloted various senior gods specific insists roles in nature and creation. To be sure Albright that Genesis reveals not only the worship of El, but also of the consort Anath and a son god Shaddai who is associated with mountains and probably to be elemented with Hadad. Perhaps some Hebrews did. There were clans and tribes, each with their separate practice; but the simplicity of described rites remains striking as is the absence of any elaborate mythology.

Those elements of the Babylonian myth language which remain testify only to the deep impression these stories made on the idicamand thought pattern of the time.

Patriarchal religion was neither the most and sympathetic magic of

Western Isian fertility cults. The Hebrews were not farmers. They were

landless. The power they need of God was protective—for the way.

The seasonal death and rebirth of the earth was not as crucial as the

shield—the covenant—which a tutelary diety woulded for the terrors of

landlessness and statelessness. Not unexpectedly it was their ties to

a God who was not tied to a particular place—the covenant—which pre
occupied their thought.

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The Hebrews owed much to their Mesopotamian background. They acknowledged this debt freely. By the 13th and 14th century the Hebrew's had had a long association with the cities and pasture lands of Canaan.

Some class seem to have established themselves within Canaan and to have remained there even during the period from Joseph to Moses when the Bible places them in Egypt. The transformation of the Hebrew tribes into a self conscious and unique community (Israel) awaited the Exodus and Sinai. These were the paramount and critical events on which all subsequent Judaism is founded. Still, the attitudes which the Tribes brought to Sinai remained important because they provided secretive way of life. There was neither approaching Judaism before Moses, yet many of the most important elements within Jewish life are to be traced back to gleanings which the Hebrews picked up in their wanderings about the Fertile Crescent.

The Babylonian Creation Story

As (Mar)duk hears the words of the gods,

His heart prompts (him) to create ingenious things.

He conveys his idea to Ea,

Imparting the plan (which)he had conceived in his heart:

"Blood will I form and cause bone to be;

Then will I set up lullu, 'Man' shall be his name!

Yes, I will create lullu; Man!

(Upon him) shall the services of the gods be imposed that they may be at rest.

Moreover, I will ingeniously arrange the ways of the gods.

They shall be honored alike, but they shall be divided into two (groups)."

Ea answered him, speaking a word to him,

To make him change his mind concerning the relief of the gods:

"Let a brother of theirs be delivered up;

Let him be destroyed and men be fashioned.

Let the great gods assemble hither,

Let the guilty one be delivered up, and let them be established."

Marduk assembled the great gods.

Ordering (them) kindly (and) giving instructions.

The gods pay attention to his word,

As the king addresses a word to the Anunnaki, (saying:)

"Verily, the former thing which we declared unto you has come true!

(Also now) I speak the truth under an oath(?) by myself.

Who was it that created the strife,

And caused Tiamat to revolt and prepare for battle?

Let him who created the strife be delivered up;

I will make him bear his punishment, be ye at rest. "

The Igigi, the great gods, answered him,

The 'Rking of the gods of heaven and earth, " the counselor of the gods, their lord:

"Kingu it was who created the strife,

And caused Tiamat to revolt and prepare for battle. "

They bound him and held him before Ea.

Punishment they inflicted upon him by cutting (the arteries of) his blood.

With his blood they created mankind,

He imposed the services of the gods (upon them) and set the gods free.

After Ea, the wise, had created mankind,

(And) they had imposed the service of the gods upon them-

That work was not suited to (human) understanding;