

*THE MYSTERIES OF ADONIS AND THE FEAST  
OF TABERNACLES.*

I.

1. WERE there any mysteries of Adonis in Israel ?

What are mysteries ? In brief they are divine plays, mimodramatic scenes from the life or the myth of a deity, performed by priests and laymen, later also by professional actors ; one part is given in public, another in secret. Where the history of the mysteries is to be recognized clearly, as with those of Osiris in Egypt, there is seen a considerable change in the course of development. In earlier times the laity has a share only in the common spectacles which may be seen by every one ; the secret plays acted in the temple may be of greater importance, but they are reserved for the priests exclusively. As far as one can observe, there is no change before Hellenistic times. Henceforth, it is true, the public processions and spectacles remain, but even to the laity the chief element is now participation in the secret exhibitions in the temples or outside, in which they may be initiated, or in the acting of which they hope to win religious privileges. Often the term "mysteries" is used in the narrower sense in which it applies to the Hellenistic-Roman age ; but in this paper it is employed in the wider sense of the earlier period, as that alone can be taken into consideration in dealing with Israel.

We must ask more exactly : Were there public exhibitions taken from the life or the myth of a deity in Israel ?

We are inclined at first to answer in the negative ; for nowhere in the Old Testament is there any tradition of such mysteries, and if, nevertheless, their existence is asserted, the supposition which is put forward must always be uncertain. But such a theory is not only attractive, but is

scientifically justified if there are arguments in support, and it is even necessary if there are facts which can only be explained on this hypothesis.

Now, as is clear at the outset, life and Scripture need not always be identical; there is much *in vita* which is not to be found *in actis*. The traditions of the ancient culture of Israel are very deficient; the Old Testament—only one book—is all that survives of the Israelite library. Moreover we know from many examples that the writings collected in it have been worked over and transformed in the prophetic interests of the Deuteronomists or in the orthodox interests of the priestly Judaism. As far as possible all pagan or scandalous elements have been rejected, and amongst these must be included looking on at mysteries, because the plays draw down the deity into the sphere of mankind and therefore might injure the finer religious or ethical feeling of a later time. The absence of traditions in the Old Testament is no argument for the non-existence of mysteries in Israel. Mowinckel's recent general assertion that cultus always originates in drama, gives no help at all; for it may be exaggerated and its application to the religion of Israel may be disputed. Certainly in Israel also man's ideas have been conceived in mythical form, because mythical thinking and primitive or pre-scientific thinking are the same. But however many mythical ideas there are in the Old Testament, there is no trace of a specific Yahwe myth. This fact is the more remarkable as there are various survivals or echoes of myths, but all these hints must be derived primarily from other gods; they are only transferred to Yahwe secondarily. Thus it is most probable that there never was a specific Yahwe myth, and, in consequence, that there never were any specific Yahwe spectacles in Israel.

Nevertheless that very transference of foreign myths to Yahwe makes it possible to imagine the reception of foreign

mysteries into the Yahwe religion in the earlier period before the exile, especially if they are assumed to have been in the Baalism which influenced the Yahwism so deeply that for centuries the two religions were almost the same. Indeed, Adonis is known by his mysteries which are like those of Tammuz in Babylonia and Assyria or those of Osiris in Egypt. If, therefore, there were Yahwe mysteries in ancient Israel, they sprang out of the Adonis mysteries in Canaan.

2. We confine ourselves to the Feast of Tabernacles.

First of all there is a difficulty in the English name of this feast. The word "tabernacle" is inaccurate and confusing, because it is also employed for the tabernacle of the congregation. Now the tabernacle of the congregation was a tent of goats' hair (Ex. xxxvi. 14), but on the feast of tabernacles all that are Israelites born are said to dwell in "booths" (Lev. xxiii. 42). Since there is a marked difference between *tents* of goats' hair and *booths* of boards, branches and leaves, it is not permissible to associate the one with the other. Therefore we had better speak of a "Feast of Booths."

Like all the other agricultural feasts it must have been derived from the agricultural religion of Baal; but the agricultural origin has been recently attacked by Torczyner. Certainly in all traditions it is fixed by the calendar at the year's end as the festival of the New Year, falling upon the day of the full moon in the first autumnal month; according to the later custom of beginning the year in the spring it was celebrated on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Yet it is not to be separated from the other agricultural feasts with which it is enumerated. Its name is also "the Feast of the Ingathering" and therefore it is a harvest-feast without doubt, but it is kept after, not during, the ingathering, as the Revised Version of the English Bible rightly translates: "When thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the fields" (Ex. xxiii. 16); just on this account it could be fixed in the

calendar. Thence, belonging to September or October, it opens suitably the period of rain and the new harvest year.

Therewith accords the main and much discussed rite in the Feast of Booths, the rite of pouring water upon the altar, the intention of which is clear from many parallels collected by Frazer and from the Jewish traditions themselves ; for it is said : " Pour out the water before me on the feast that the rains of the year may be blessed to you," and even to-day special prayers for rain are connected with the Feast of Tabernacles in Judaism. The pouring out of water is a kind of sympathetic magic, or rather has a demonstrative character, causing the Lord also to pour out His rain. While in magic the demon is forced, in religion man is contented to remind the deity of his duties ; divine service is named in Hebrew and in Arabic *dhikr*, " reminding."

The solemn procession with *lulab* branches has likewise but one meaning, corresponding to the papyrus-maces and the lotus-flowers in the cult of Osiris or to the thyrsos-staffs in that of Bakchos, or to modern maypoles, the aim of which is generally recognized as the fertilization of the plants. When at the Feast of Tabernacles the branches are shaken and beaten so that the leaves fall off, then there is perhaps an imitation of the storm, with the intention of calling one (Torczyner)—storm and rain are always associated in the nearer Orient—or an admonition to the deity to produce new leaves ; at all events the rites hitherto discussed are connected with vegetation and are to be derived from the Baal religion.

The same explanation is probable for the booths. With what purpose were they erected ? The Tradition knows only that the Israelites dwell in them during the days of the Feast. They are often explained as rooms to provide lodgings for the festive strangers approaching in legions. The texts do not speak of them, but the lawgiver ought to

have mentioned them, because their meaning is by no means self-evident. Moreover, as we know from Hosea xii. 10, tents and not booths were set up for the foreign guests at the festival. There is no doubt that the Israelites, instead of living in houses, lived in booths during the feast of "Tabernacles." The fact would be intelligible at once if the huts had been erected, not inside the town, but outside in the fields or vineyards. Yet there is no mention of this. It is only said (Neh. viii. 16): "So the people made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the street of the water-gate, and in the street of the gate of Ephraim." A change in the custom is often assumed when, in post-exilic times, the old practice of the country may have been transferred to the life of the towns; so the huts may have come from the country, where they were in place, into the courts and even on to the roofs of the houses. But the Palestinian agricultural towns are not to be confused with the gigantic cities of modern times and with the roof gardens of their "sky-scrapers"; for there the city men—even if bankers like the famous Tobias of the Zenon Papyri—remained in the closest touch with agriculture.

Now, to explain the strange feast of these booths, let us assume Baal to be identical with Adonis. This is certainly an assumption, but a good one, as it seems to me, because it really interprets what otherwise lacks explanation. Although the traditions are very scanty, we know in the first place that there were in fact booths of Adonis; one of them is fully described in the *'Αδωνιάζουσαι* of Theocritus. And secondly, these booths were erected on the roofs and in the courts; for the mourning for Adonis is kept there (Ezek. viii. 14; Plut., *Nicias* 13). Therefore the Feast of Tabernacles in Israel seems to be derived from an Adonis festival in Canaan.

3. In order to ensure success let us view the difficulties and examine certain details.

We may begin with the mourning for Adonis. This was observed in the courts and on the roofs. Why there? Because being the god of vegetation, he cannot be worshipped inside a house, but only in the open air. From the earliest times he dwells in Heaven, like Tammuz in the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic, not in the fields or vineyards, like the chthonic deities of the Greeks; the mourning for Adonis corresponds to the cult of the Assyrian astral goddess, which is also performed upon the roofs.

But how is the mourning for Adonis compatible with the Feast of Tabernacles, the most joyful and free festival in Israel? No exact description of it or detailed law has been handed down to us from the pre-Deuteronomic period; there is therefore nothing to prevent our assuming, if we wish to do so, one day of mourning before (or after) the seven days of rejoicing. We do not, of course, expect to hear of Adonis or of his death on the feast of Yahwe, but are there no traces at all of solemnity or repentance? As a matter of fact such traces may be detected in no less than three passages:—

(i) In 1 Samuel vii. 6 the rite of pouring out water before the Lord—a rite not known except during the Feast of Tabernacles on a day not certainly fixed—is connected with fasting and confession of sins. The Deuteronomic tradition tells us that, as an immediate consequence of Samuel's cry, "The Lord thundered with a great thunder on that day, and discomfited the Philistines." The thunder is the answer of the vegetation-god (originally of Baal-Adonis, here of Yahwe) in whose honour the rites are carried out.

(ii) According to the law of the Priestly Code (Lev. xxiii.), the Day of Atonement on the 10th of Tishri precedes the Feast of Tabernacles on the 15th to the 22nd of Tishri, being

its introduction. Even on New Year's Day the 1st of Tishri, the blowing of trumpets serves as a reminder of the coming Feast of Tabernacles. So the whole period from the 1st to the 15th of Tishri is valid as a time of repentance. This does not seem to be an accident. The Day of Atonement, as the day of deepest contrition, belongs necessarily to the Feast of Tabernacles, as the feast of greatest joy, answering to the death of Adonis on the one hand with its excessive mourning, and to the resurrection of Adonis on the other hand with its excessive indulgence. There is, however, one difficulty, as we shall see; in the cult of Adonis the feast of his death follows his "resurrection."

(iii) Indeed, in Nehemiah viii.-ix. the Day of Atonement is absent. But there is a day of fasting and confession of sins after the Feast of Tabernacles on the 24th of Tishri, and it has long been supposed that this day of repentance was the precursor of the Day of Atonement. Therefore originally the mourning for Adonis would have been at the end of the period of rejoicing. Later, in order that the connexion with the death of Adonis might be unrecognizable, the festival was transformed, and the day of repentance (or atonement) placed before it.

4. Another difficulty arises from the other side, that of the Adonis religion. The Feast of Tabernacles is without doubt in the main a feast of rejoicing, but, as is said by Baudissin (*Adonis und Esmun*, p. 508 f.), the cult of Adonis may have been in the main of a serious character. In his opinion the chief ideas of the Phœnicians were bound up with the death of Adonis, who was mourned every year in spite of the conviction that he would not remain dead. He denies, not the idea, but the festival of the god's resurrection. I am not convinced. As we learn from Theocritus, our best guide, every festival of Adonis has two sides, at first that of joy, then the other of mourning. The same is true of the older

period. Baudissin's view contradicts two facts fundamental to Phœnician religion. (a) The satisfaction of the sexual instinct, although explained by Lucian as punishment in accordance with the finer feelings of the Roman period, is in the earlier age of natural and unbroken paganism an outlet for lust; the cultic intention was to cause the deity also to beget, and so to call forth fertility and growth in the whole world of vegetation—in short the "resurrection" of Adonis out of death into new life. (b) This is confirmed by the Adonis gardens, which Baudissin misunderstands. Frazer (*Adonis, Attis and Osiris*<sup>2</sup>, p. 194) is right in saying: "They represented him, true to his original nature, in vegetable form, while the images of him which were carried out and cast into the water, portrayed him in his later human form. All these Adonis ceremonies, if I am right, were originally intended as charms to promote the growth or revival of vegetation; and the principle by which they were supposed to produce this effect was homœopathic or imitative magic. . . . The rapid growth of the wheat and barley in the gardens of Adonis was intended to make the corn shoot up; and the throwing of the gardens and of the images into the water was a charm to secure a due supply of fertilising rain." From this point of view we understand the booths as a parallel to the "gardens" although not imitating the growth itself; but the god of the green must naturally dwell in a green booth or hut.

5. If, however, this was so, then the booth was that of Adonis-Baal and afterwards of Yahwe. In that case Yahwe ought to have dwelt in it and not the Israelites. But why not both, the god and his worshippers? The god is present in his symbols; in the "gardens" or in the booth itself. The principal features of the Feast of Tabernacles are the eating, drinking and rejoicing before the Lord, i.e. with the god. The abundance of food and of wine is not accidental—Yahwe



was originally "a good god who does not like the vine" like the Arabian Shai' el-qaum—but the lord of the vine is honoured with drunkenness, and the worshippers demonstrate to their god what they want, that he may give food in abundance for the new year. May we not go a step further and suppose that the dancing and the cries of lust (Ex. xxxii. 18), the voice of joy and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride (Jer. xxxiii. 11) were magic imitations of the god's wedding feast, the *ἑρὸς γάμος* between Baal-Adonis and Baalath? Was the booth at the same time a nuptial booth? Indeed, the "resurrection" and the "wedding" of Adonis may be variant conceptions of the same fact.

As is easily understood, the law of Moses makes no mention of such an idea, for the wedding of Yahwe was a mythical conception too scandalous to be handed down in later times.

It is not said "You shall dwell in *my* booth," nor is the booth named "the booth of Yahwe." (The tent of Yahwe, the tabernacle of Yahwe, the tabernacle of the congregation, is quite another thing.) But are there no survivals in the Psalms or in the Prophets? There are, as a matter of fact, more than one. I will not insist on the well-known betrothal of Israel-Canaan to Yahwe-Baal (in Hosea and elsewhere), although the idea is to be derived, not from the marriage of the prophet and his wife, but from the marriage of the heaven-god with the earth-goddess. Here the booth is wanting.

The most instructive poem is the promise in Isaiah iv. 2-6, which has a very badly preserved text, but is very old and very interesting. As far as I understand, the Lord will come to Mount Zion, and will hang over it as once He hung over Mount Sinai in cloud by day and in fire by night like a "bridechamber" or like a "booth" for shadow from heat and for refuge and covert from storm and rain. This is a

description of a theophany of Yahwe, when he has washed away the filth of the daughter of Zion and has purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst of her. Then "the branch of the Lord" shall be beautiful and glorious, and "the fruit of the earth" shall be excellent and comely for all the escaped of Israel.

The conception of the cloud as the "booth of Yahwe" is found also elsewhere (Ps. xviii. 11, "pavilion," cf. cv. 39). The booth here and in the Feast of Tabernacles can hardly be meant as an imitation of the Sinai cloud, as Torczyner supposes. Originally, and even in Psalm xviii., the poet probably had in mind not the special Sinai cloud, but the thunder-cloud in general. If the god of vegetation sometimes dwells in a booth, it is easy to understand how this thunder-cloud in which he sometimes makes his home is also called a booth. But in Isaiah iv. the thunder-cloud is combined with the Sinai-cloud. Perhaps there were, not in the Old Testament yet in the time of the Prophet, phantastic legends about the cloud of Sinai protecting the people from heat and rain; so he is inspired to take the cloud of the Lord for the refuge and the covert of the holy remnant. Through this combination the original idea of the thunder-cloud has been slightly obscured, but is yet clear enough. In the first place "the branch of the Lord" or the "sprout of Yahwe" corresponds to the parallel "fruit of the earth" and indicates therefore the corn, although it is a very strange term. It will lose its strangeness if we assume that it had its origin in the Baal religion: the corn, the gardens, the booths were really "sprouts of Adonis" or Adonis himself. Then the idea is transplanted into the Yahwe religion, and so there can be no doubt that Yahwe here represents in the main the god of vegetation, not the God of Sinai. In the second place, with the figure of the "booth" is connected that of the "bride-chamber" (the Hebrew word is employed in the same sense

in Ps. xix. 5 and Joel ii. 16, but it never means "defence" as it is translated in the English Bible). This term cannot be explained from Mount Sinai or the Sinai-cloud, for there were no bridechambers there; but the thunder-cloud of Baal-Adonis may well be named a "bridechamber," like the booth of the Adonis festival in which the worshippers celebrate his "resurrection" or begetting by their own prostitution.

Reflecting on the traditions of the Old Testament about the Feast of Tabernacles and the figure of the booth, we may say that there are signs which are, perhaps, best interpreted as survivals of the Adonis festival. The mysteries of Adonis performed by his worshippers were, as it seems, the wedding and the mourning of the god in his booth. This "perhaps" will be changed into "certainly" if our supposition derived from indirect tradition is confirmed by direct accounts of the pagan religion of Adonis.

## II.

1. What do we know of the pagan Adonis mysteries, and especially of his booths?

The most vivid description of a public performance is to be read in the *'Αδωνιάζουσαι* of Theocritus. It was celebrated at Alexandria in 273 B.C., furnished with great splendour by Queen Arsinoe, because her dead mother Berenice had been received amongst the goddesses. In the centre of the royal palace court stood a bed of state upon which Aphrodite and Adonis reclined. The sense of the scene requires only one bed; for the *ἑρὸς γάμος* is acted (instead of the Dual in v. 127 the Singular should be read, as I learned verbally from the late Hermann Diels). This has now been confirmed by an Ionic-Etruscan relief of the sixth century B.C. newly published in *Rassegna d'arte, antica e moderna* (1919, VI., p. 187, Fig. 3). The bedstead, in v. 84, inaccurately or clumsily

called "silver," was made of ebony, gold and ivory (v. 123), exactly like the beds of state now found in the grave of Tutankhamen. As we assume from these examples, in the wall at the foot of the bed Ganymede was to be seen in filigree work, borne upwards to Zeus by two eagles, an allusion, it seems, to the apotheosis of Adonis. On the couch were spread purple-coloured tapestries, and a slight bolster for the two lovers sleeping in each other's arms. Beside them were set ripe fruits, "Adonis-gardens," i.e. plants growing in baskets of silver, golden boxes of Syrian musk-salve, also pastry and cakes in the shapes of various birds and animals. Round about the bed went a bower of fresh verdure twined with anise. Young cupids played in it, fluttering from bough to bough like nightingales. A female singer came out, as Theocritus tells us in his *Eidyllion*, celebrating in song the love of the divine pair. At the same time she announced the harsh fate of Adonis; even on the next day his body must be thrown into the sea. Women attired as mourners, with streaming hair and bared breasts, would bear his image to the shore and would commit it to the waves with the liturgic cry: "come back again," hoping that the lost one would come back again a year later in new beauty of youth.

So here are distinguished two acts in the festival of Adonis; the feast of marriage in the bower, and then the mourning procession from the bower to the sea-shore. The attitude of mind in one part is the opposite of that in the other; here the marriage rejoicings, there the death lamentation. If life is devoured by death, the marriage-bed has become the bier. In the cult the one will be suddenly changed to the other, as the carnival is changed to Ash-Wednesday. Adonis is still living when the scene closes, and only the skill of the poet allows us to hear the undertone of the mourning song in the wedding hymn. The date of the ceremonies is not stated,

but the ripe fruits indicate the autumn. On the basis of a bill in the Flinders Petrie Pap. III Gustave Glotz assumes with ingenious and brilliant but unsound arguments that the feast took place at the end of October or in the beginning of November, and lasted three days.

The feast here described which provokes the curiosity of the people was of royal splendour but not a new one ; nothing is said about new ceremonies. The elements in their most simple form will have been the same in Alexandria wherever the Adonis festival was celebrated by the people. After the ingathering of the harvest bowers were erected in the courts of the houses, with two images of the deities on a couch surrounded by "gardens," fruits, myrrh and cakes. Probably the images were most like the vegetative "corn-bodies" of Osiris, or, still more simply, there were only "gardens." At all events the idea was always the same. In those booths the wedding of the divine pair was celebrated during several days. On the last day the death of the god was acted ; women performed the mourning rites and threw the Adonis-image into the sea, because the god found his death or "dwelt" there.

But are we right in supposing that the Adonis festivals had the same character outside Alexandria and in pre-Hellenistic times ? According to the Phœnician myth Adonis is torn by a bear or a boar ; the drowning in the sea is secondary, and is transferred from Osiris to Adonis. The mourning acted on the sea-shore at Alexandria and at Byblos (influenced by Egypt) belonged originally to the mountains, the rivers and the springs ; the best known is the *Nahr Ibrahim*, the Adonis river, with its various rock sculptures and with the famous sanctuary at its spring near Aphaka. Thus the Phœnicians and the Canaanites threw their Adonis "images" into the rivers and the springs so as to bring them near to the god himself.

But if the mourning of Osiris has somewhat influenced the Adonis ceremonies at Alexandria, the question of the wedding rites arises. Here too Egyptian colouring is not to be denied. Not that the idea of marriage was an offspring of the Osiris religion, quite the contrary; we know nothing or only a little of it in Egypt. The *λερός γάμος* is rather an old Sumerian and Semitic conception; the wedding bower belongs certainly to the Adonis religion from the earliest times. But where the begetting of the god in the booth and the growing of the plants is represented, there the man could hardly have been wanting; indeed prostitution is a characteristic feature of the Adonis cult in Phœnicia, acted at Aphaka till the time of Constantine. Yet it is a marked feature of the Egyptian spirit that the especially Semitic paroxysm of sex in the worship of the deity is not evident in Theocritus. So the Adonis cult has undergone the same changes as generally in Israel; the original holy intercourse between the sexes is in some places offensive, and is condemned by religious feeling as lasciviousness, sometimes—and last of all—in Phœnicia and Syria according to Lucian. From that point of view we understand the polemic of the Prophets against cultic prostitution as a polemic against the chief rite of the Adonis festival, never to be extirpated till the time of Ezra and Nehemiah; then the old custom at the Feast of Tabernacles was radically changed, “for since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so” (Neh. viii. 17).

This is the only extant example of bowers in the pagan Adonis cult, but it is a sufficient argument, certified, as we may now say with some certainty, by the Canaanite-Israelite Adonis-Yahwe feast of “Tabernacles.”

2. Let us now briefly review the bowers of other religions. They are of the greatest importance in the Egyptian religion as we have learned from W. B. Kristensen. The leaf-hut

is there an indispensable element in funeral rites. It is not to be explained, as it usually is, as due to the desire of the dead to refresh himself and to recover his strength in a bower as the living do, but as due to the identification of the dead with Osiris. The plant-pavilion is a vegetation temple, and therefore the natural dwelling of the vegetation-god, not only of Osiris, but also of Ptah, the earth-god of Memphis. So we understand the abundance of food, of branches and flowers in the leaf-hut as food and leaf offerings to the god of vegetation. The kings, and sometimes others of the dead too who are represented in the holy tree, are identified with the god of life. Instead of the dead, or rather instead of Osiris, now and then papyrus or lotus stalks are used; these are not only "symbols" of resurrection but the god himself, they are Osiris or the young Horus born in a lotus-flower. Similar customs are known in the Attis cult; the *cannophoroi* and *dendrophoi* carry reeds and trees which are Attis himself. In the growth of the plants the imperishable life of the earth is to be seen manifesting itself; with this divine life the dead is identified. The leaf-hut in the Osiris and funeral cults is not Semitic, but the ideas are nevertheless the same as those which appear in the booths of the Adonis cult.

According to Kristensen the hieroglyph for Upper Egypt does not represent, as is usually supposed, a prehistoric dwelling-house, but probably the holy hut of the earth- and death-god twisted of reed. In form and idea this hut was most closely related to the bower in the funeral cult, whose erection was a holy action intended to give material being to the resurrection or the future life of the deceased.

Lastly, the *Sed*-feast too is, according to Kristensen, a feast of tabernacles, on the first of Tybi, on the day of the ascension to the throne and of the new year celebrated in honour of the rising Horus, who, in the figure of the king,

ascends to the throne of his dead father Osiris. This ascension takes place in "the white hut of the Great Ones," i.e. of the dead, or in a pavilion erected on the hill appearing from the flood water in which Osiris has found his death. Sometimes the pavilion is set up on the roof of the temple where the Osiris mysteries are celebrated. Amongst the offerings is especially remarkable the offering of the king to his father, the dead god of vegetation, existing in the products of Egypt like the plant- and food-offerings in the funeral cult.

In the Babylonian Tammuz mysteries the same two rites of mourning and wedding are to be recognized as in the Adonis mysteries. However, whether there were bowers we no longer know, but I do not doubt that there were.

In the Attis cult we should compare the feast of the pyre known to us from Tarsus and from Hieropolis in Syria. The coins of Tarsus often exhibit an altar adorned with wreaths and figures, and resting on it the funeral pile like a bower in conical tent form, with the figure of Sandon-Heracles in the middle of it, standing on a horned lion and holding in one hand a flower and in the other an axe. An eagle with outspread wings perches on the top of the pyre to bear the soul of the burning god to heaven. The Baal of Tarz is only another form of Adonis-Attis. At Hieropolis, as we learn from Lucian (*Dea Syria*, c. 49), "they cut down tall trees and set them up in the court; then they bring goats and sheep and cattle and hang them living to the trees; they add to these birds and garments and gold and silver work. After all is finished, they carry the gods around the trees and set fire under; in a moment all is in a blaze" (Strong's translation). The god himself is burnt also, as is obvious from the corresponding rite at Tarsus and from the tradition of Firmicus Maternus (27, 2) that the pine as representing the god whose image was fixed on it, was burnt a year later. Frazer has shown how the parallels of the Maypole in modern



folklore explain the customs of the Attis religion. The ideas are always the same as in the Attis cult, with the chief difference that the offering is transferred to the heaven-god by fire. Perhaps in Israel too there were burnings for Adonis, as may be assumed from Jeremiah xxxiv. 5 (cf. 2 Chron. xvi. 14 and xxi. 19).

But there would be many more problems to be solved if I were to take into account all the direct or indirect allusions in the Old Testament to Adonis (e.g. Isa. xvii. 10-11, Jer. xxii. 18 and xxxiv. 5, Dan. xi. 37, 1 Kings xii. 24 *m* LXX. Swete), and the Adonis motives, the branch with the cluster of grapes borne by two men upon the staff (Num. xiii. 23), or the legend of Aaron's budding rod (Num. xvii.), or the mourning of the daughters of Israel in the mountains (Judges xi. 40). I am quite satisfied if I am right in stating that the Feast of Tabernacles is to be derived from a Canaanite booth feast of Adonis, and that its ceremonies are to be explained as being originally publicly exhibited mysteries of Adonis' resurrection or wedding and of his death.

*Note on the Literature.*—J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*. London, 1907.—Wolf W. Graf von Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*. Leipzig, 1911.—Paul Volz, *Das Neujahrsfest Jahves (Laubhüttenfest)*. Tübingen, 1912.—Gustave Glotz, "Les fêtes d'Adonis sous Ptolémée II" (*Revue des études grecques*, XXXIII, 1920, p. 169 sq.).—Sigmund Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien II: Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie*. Kristiania, 1922.—P. Saintyves, *Essais de Folklore Biblique*. Paris, 1922: "La verge fleurie d'Aaron, ou le thème du bâton sec qui reverdit," pp. 61-138. Harry Torczyner, *Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israels*. Berlin, 1922.—Hugo Gressmann, "Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris nach Festbräuchen und Umzügen" (*Der Alte Orient*, XXIII, 3). Leipzig, 1923.—W. B. Kristensen, "De Loofhut en het Lofhuttenfeest in den Egyptischen Cultus" (*Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde*, Deel 56, Serie B, No. 6), Amsterdam, 1923, pp. 179-198.—Erich Ebeling, *Ein Hymnenkatalog aus Assur*. Berlin, 1923.—Rudolf Kittel, "Osirismysterien und Laubhüttenfest" (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1924, XXVII, Nr. 7), pp. 385-391 and "Das Adonisfest in Alexandria" (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1925, N.F. 2, No. 9), pp. 431-435.

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