The influence of the Adonis cult upon Hosea

Scarborough, William John

Boston University

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OUTLINE FOR THESIS
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General Bibliography on Hosea

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Section I

INTRODUCTION
A. Scope of Paper:

The scope of this thesis is necessarily limited. The available evidence concerning the Adonis Cult is taken from secondary sources, primarily Lucian, Theocritus, Bion, translations of Tammuz ritual texts, and the works of Farnell and Frazer. Biblical references to Tammuz and Adonis outside Hosea are examined; Hosea is evaluated internally for influences of the Adonis Cult. The thesis is intended to show that the Adonis Cult influenced Hosea's prophetic career.

B. Purpose:

The purpose of this thesis is to show that the Adonis Cult existed in the time of Hosea, to describe its primary rites and resulting myth patterns, and to evaluate the influence the cult had on the person and message of Hosea.

C. Method of Presentation:

The cultic pattern of the Adonis ritual celebration is examined, and the myth growing from the ceremony is presented. The relation of the Adonis-Tammuz Cult to the total myth-ritual pattern of the ancient Near East is noted. These cults represent the popular religions of Phoenicia, Palestine, Asia Minor,
Egypt, and Babylonia. Against the background of the Adonis Cult is thrown in perspective the contents of the Book of Hosea. The last sections of the thesis show the indigenous features of the Adonis Cult as it was practiced at this time and the consequent influence it had upon Hosea.

D. Assumptions: Presupposed materials and arrangement of Hosea.

In a thesis of this kind certain previous fundamental considerations must be affirmed in order to give a ground work for the study.

Concerning the critical problems in Hosea the following is assumed:

1. Date: The editorial introduction of Hosea 1:1 is not authentic. Internal evidence points to the fundamental division of the book into two parts, Chapters 1-3, which may be dated as coming from the reign of Jeroboam II, or c. 750-740 B.C.,(1) and of the remaining prophecies, Chapters 4-14, as coming from the disordered times between the death of Jeroboam II and the period of the Syro-Ephraimitic war, or 734 B.C.(2) There seems to be no reference in Hosea to this conflict.(3) Thus his prophetic career, in the records preserved for us in Hosea proper, comes from the years 746 to 735 B.C.(4)

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Note: (Code of references will be found at beginning of Bib.)

(1) Creelman, IOT p. 90,143; Harper AH p 204; Horton, MP 9; Gray, GIOT, 204; (2) Harper AH, cxli; McFadyen OTI 206. (3) Leslie, ABDG 108; Class notes Nov. 14, 1934. (4) Ibid.
2. **Authorship:** We must assume that the book is authentic and written by Hosea, unless it has been otherwise questioned and proved passages excluded. For the most part the book comes from Hosea, but may owe something to his disciples. It is certainly based upon the oracles he uttered. 

3. **Authenticity:** The text is poorly preserved; the arrangement evidently has been modified. Clearly, we have the book by reason of a later Judean editorship, which makes all references to Judah, in reality, references to Israel. These Jewish additions are: 1:1; 5:5; 10; 12b; 13:14b; 6:4b; 11; 8:14b; 10:11d; 12:12; (2) The hopeful passages for Judah are also later additions, notably, 1:7 (post Isaiahic); 3:5; 4:15a; 11:12b. (3) That there should be no hopefulness in Hosea at all, seems illogical. (4) Probably chapter fourteen is out of place; one explanation given for this misplacement is that the Judean editor saw that hope fitted his purpose more perfectly at the close of the book. (5)

The most reasonable rearrangement of the first three chapters in the book has been suggested by Melville Scott, to which he gives the following order: 1:1-9; 2:2-7; 3:1-5; 2:8-23; 1:10-2:1. (6)

The other problems connected with Hosea which must be faced are: Hosea was a native of northern Israel, probably living in the region between Bethel and Jerusalem. (7)

(1) Binns, NCHS p 556; (2) Gray, CLOT p 206 f; Leslie Class Lect., Nov. 14, 1934. PI.; (3) Leslie, CL, Nov. 14, 1934. PI.; (4) Gray, CLOT p 207; Horton, MF p 13; Smith, RI p 145; (5) Creelman, IOT p 145; (6) Scott, MH p 25ff; (7) Brown, BH, pxi ff (quoting Holscher).
Probably, also, he was a farmer. (1) His domestic tragedy was real, not figurative or imaginary. (2) His children were not his own, but products of his wife's unfaithfulness. (3)

The unique contribution of Hosea to the stream of early Hebrew prophecy, and consequently to the greater values of ethical religion, is the concept of love.

The book of Hosea is a most intimate revelation of the inner life of a prophet. The very warp and woof of the writing bears the stamp of the man himself; his great compassionate heart after struggling with a deep wound of marital infidelity stretched itself to God-like height, and was merciful. Out of the conflicts within his own nature he came to a fuller appreciation of the sufferings of others; he penetrated the lives of his fellow men and saw there a shallowness of inner life and a superficial religious code. He saw the nation going to a just destruction because of the failure to keep the covenant. But, most fundamental of all, he found that since his own heart had been merciful, the God of the universe would likewise be merciful. Boldly he took the sacred experience of a restored fidelity within his own home and made it normative for a nation.

The book of Hosea is more than the personal record of the intimate relations of a man to his family; it is also a graphic picture of Israel, the land in which the prophet lived. The national history, religious practices

business relations, and foreign policy all are drawn into
the narrative. Fragmentary and vague as to exact meanings
as some of the passages of Hosea are, they are pregnant
with significant truths of his day and age. Just as all
great religious interpreters and prophets have sought the
best for their own land which they love most dearly, Hosea
agonized over his own land and placed his own religious
condemnation first as pointing the reason for the equally
tragic moral and political degeneration.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow beautifully expresses the
spirit in which we must approach the study of Hosea when,
in his poem of "Gasper Becerra", he tells the story of one
who carved his masterpiece from the brand that burned in
the fire on his own domestic hearth.

"O thou sculptor, painter, poet!
Take this lesson to they heart:
That is best which lieth nearest;
Shape from that thy work of art."

SECTION II

THE NATURE OF THE ADONIS CULT
A. The Ritual of Celebration.

In a discussion of the nature of the Adonis cult it is advantageous for our present purposes to view first the ritual of celebration. W. R. Smith originally showed the primacy of ritual practice and its transference as the proper approach to the study of ancient religions. His belief was that principles of religious practice (ritual) preceded all religious theory. (1)

Before discussing the Cult of Adonis objectively it is well to grasp the relation of Adonis to Tammuz and Osiris. In Phoenicia and Greece Adonis was the God who corresponds to the Egyptian Osiris, the Babylonian Tammuz, the Phrygian Attis, and other more ancient dying-rising sons of "Mother Earth". (2) An even closer identification of Adonis and Tammuz is made by J. G. Frazer. Viewing first the cycle of death and revival of vegetation year by year as the primary motivation for all parallel cults, he proceeds to identify Adonis and Tammuz.

"Under the names of Osiris, Tammuz, Adonis, and Attis, the peoples of Egypt and Western Asia represented the yearly decay and revival of life, especially of vegetable life, which they personified as a god who annually died and rose again from the dead. In name and detail the rites varied from place to place; in substance they were the same." (3)

Professor Frazer goes farther and affirms the fundamental equivalence of Tammuz and Adonis as having been doubted by some scholars, notably, Renan and Chwolsohn, but having been attested by Origen, Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria,

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(1) W. R. Smith, R.S p 18f; (2) S. H. Langdon, TI p 3; (3) J. G. Frazer, GE v 5 p 6.
Theodoretus, the author of Paschal Chronicle, and Melito.

"Accordingly, we may fairly conclude that, whatever their remote origin may have been, Tammuz and Adonis were in the later period of antiquity, practically equivalent to each other." (1)

Baudissin believes that Tammuz and Adonis were two different gods sprung from a common root, yet having parallel characteristics and rites. (2)

Lewis Farnell, in *The Cults of the Greek States*, which is an analytical study of the Grecian era of religious practice, identifies Tammuz, and Attis with Adonis as "different local names for the same personage in her (Aphrodite's) religion." (3)

G. A. Barton, in *Hamitic and Semitic Origins*, believes in southern Phoenicia Adonis was known under the name Eshmun. (4)

Our clearest identification of all comes from Stephen Langdon who, in a recent work (1931), follows Frazer and Farnell by saying, "Tammuz was consistently identified by the early Christian writers with Adoni of Gebal (Byblus), and the Greek Adonis." (5)

The cult of Adonis-Tammuz was a worship closely associated with the fertility rites of death and resurrection. Possibly the true name of the God was Tammuz, (6) to whom the name Adonis (a form of Semitic title of honor with which the worshippers addressed him) became attached by transference and was later misinterpreted by the Greeks for the true name

(1) Ibid; (2) W. W. G. Baudissin, AE p 368; (3) L. Farnell, GGS v 2 p. 644; (4) G. A. Barton, HSO p 292; (5) S. Langdon SM v 5 p 539; (6) Frazer, G. B.; Langdon, TI pl.
of the deity. (1) The meaning of Adonis is "Lord" and is
frequently found in Biblical references to Jehovah.

Returning to our primary consideration in this
section of the thesis, we must state our approach to the
study. The identification of Tammuz with Adonis allows
us to use freely the later Greek sources of lamentation and
ritual connected with the cult, as reflecting substantially
the content of the earlier ritual-pattern (2) which we
believe existed in the time of Hosea, or, during the
eighth century B.C. Moreover, the identification of
Adonis with Tammuz as a single god-concept allows us to
draw from the new Assyriological evidence concerning the
rites of Tammuz. Stephen Langdon lays great emphasis upon
the available materials coming from recent research in this
field. (3) Researches at Gebal-Byblus are a source of
illumination. The Ras-Shamra discoveries are valuable. (4)

Now, to answer the question, "What is the nature of
the Adonis Cult as revealed in the ritual of celebration?"

In consideration of this question we must realize the
very close association of myth and ritual in the ancient
East. The two were so closely intertwined, that in the ritual
of celebration of the worship of a god or goddess, the myth
concerning his origin and his deeds was repeated as an act

(1) Baudissin, AE p 65; Frazer, GB p 6; J. P. Patterson, CA;
(2) Frazer, GB p 233; (3) S. Langdon, Tz pl; (4) Barton,
HSO p 295 f.
of cultic devotion. Here the spoken word often had the efficacy of an act. Hence it had magical value, as is abundantly illustrated in early Egyptian ritual texts. Generally the spoken part of the ritual consisted of a description of what was being done; the story which was being enacted in the ritual.

"The original myth, inseparable in the first instance from its ritual, embodies, in more or less symbolic fashion, the original situation which is seasonally re-enacted in the ritual." (1)

Reasoning on this basis, our clearest picture of the totality of the ritual pattern of the annual Adonis Cult comes from the Classical Greek writers. After we have seen the total pattern as they present it we may go back into the more remote records of the Tammuz cult brought to light by modern research.

"At the festivals of Adonis, which were held in Western Asia and Greek lands, the death of the God was annually mourned, with a bitter wailing, chiefly by women; images of him, dressed to resemble corpses, were carried out as to burial and then thrown into the sea or into springs; and in some places his revival was celebrated on the following day." (2)

Here our principal authorities are Plutarch, Zenobius, and Eustathius on Homer. The revival or resurrection is referred to specifically by Lucian, Jerome, and Cyril of Alexandria. Cyril of Alexandria testifies that the festival of the death and resurrection of Adonis was celebrated at Alexandria down to his own time, that is,

(1) H. S. Hooke, MR p 3; (2) Frazer, Op. Cit. p 224. (3) Ibid.
the fourth or fifth century A. D., long after Christianity was officially established. (1)

As we would expect from the fact of their very ancient origin, these Greek celebrations varied from place to place in manner as well as in season. Our two primary Greek sources are Alexandria and Byblus; the former described by Theocritus and Bion, and the latter by Lucian of Samosata.

Our most vivid description of the festival at Alexandria comes from Theocritus in his fifteenth idyl, the Adoniasse. It was for one of these annual festivals, called Adonia, that Bion probably wrote his "Dirge of Adonis." (2) Some modern scholars believe that these Greek writers, especially Bion, wrote much later concerning the Cult, and not for it. (3) However that may be, the content of their poetry gives us the general nature of the Adonis celebration at Alexandria. (4)

Probably Theocritus preceded Bion, and the latter based his longer work on the "Psalms" of the former. In both, the

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(1) Ibid; (2) Encyclopaedia Britannica (13th ed.), Bk I vol I p 212; J. L. Patterson, GALLA p 5; (3) Patterson, op. cit. p 5f; (4) An available translation of Theocritus is in A Library of the World's Best Literature, C. D. Warner (ed), translated by Andrew Lang, v 37, p 1478ff. Three translations of Bion are accessible, namely, E. B. Browning (the most popular) in any edition of her complete work; J. L. Patterson in The Cult of Adonis and the Lament of Adonis, and J. M. Edmonds, Greek Bucolic Poets, Theocritus 15.
traditional mythology colors the narrative. Theocritus describes the festival of the first day on which was celebrated the sacred marriage of Adonis with Aphrodite. Their images, or possibly human representatives, were viewed in the public ceremony on separate couches which were elaborately prepared. Before the pair thus exhibited, were placed offerings of ripe fruit of all sorts, cakes of meal, honey and oil, fashioned in many curious patterns after things that creep and fly, "Adonis Gardens" in silver baskets and boxes of myrrh inlaid with gold. (1) Adonis is described as a very young bridegroom of only eighteen or nineteen years. The actors for the god and goddess are surrounded by sensuous suggestions of love, every effort having been made to provide for their comfort.

Theocritus closes by telling of what will occur on the morrow, the mourning in the dew and the unloosening of hair and raiment, and the shrill sweet song. He concludes in mythology.

Bion's poem combines more skillfully the mythological elements with those of ritual. The death of Adonis, killed by a wild boar, is described in detail; the attempts of Aphrodite to retain his life are deftly portrayed. The ritual proceeds to dramatize the mythical death of Adonis and the preparations made for his burial. "The loves" are in all probability the mourners, beating themselves and

(1) Paragraph 3 of Lang's translation.
lamenting for the dead Adonis, and raising their shrill cries of, "Ah, Ah, Adonis!" Mrs. Browning's translation suggests the three parts to the dirge, the, "Ah, Ah, Adonis," the, "Hymen, Hymen," and the final "ai alas", and "ai Hymenaeus."

This analysis seems to show that Theocritus describes a possible first day of the ceremony, a sacred marriage; that Bion tells of the second day of mourning and beating of breasts and chanting of the dirge; and that Lucian suggests resurrection. Theocritus suggests that they did not sorrow without hope, for they sang that the loved but lost one would return. (1)

From the repeated mention of ripe summer fruits it may be inferred that the ceremony of Adonis at Alexandria took place in the late Summer. (2) In Attica, where the festival was a late importation, the festival of Adonis was celebrated in the high summer. Plutarch says that the sailing of the fleet for Syracuse interrupted the Adonis chants which were then in progress. The sailing was in mid-summer. (3)

From Lucian, in the second century A. D., we have direct information concerning the great Phoenician sanctuary of Astarte at Byblos. He writes:

"I saw too, at Byblos, a large temple, sacred to the Byblian Aphrodite: This is the scene at the secret rites

(1) Theocritus, 15; (2) Frazer, AAO 4 v 5 p 225; (3) Frazer, AAO 4 v 5 p 226.
of Adonis: I mastered these. They assert that the legend about Adonis and the wild boar is true, and that the facts occurred in their country, and in memory of this calamity they beat their breasts and wail every year, and perform their secret ritual amid signs of mourning throughout the whole country-side. When they have finished their mourning and wailing, they sacrifice in the first place to Adonis, as to one who has departed this life; after this they allege that he is alive again, and exhibit his effigy to the sky." (1)

In Byblos the annual mourning was accompanied by the shrill notes of the flute, weeping, lamentation, and beating of the breasts characterized the dirge. The next day he was believed to come to life again and ascend to heaven in the presence of the worshiping throng.

"The disconsolate believers, left behind on earth, shaved their heads as the Egyptians did on the death of the divine bull, Aphis; women who could not bring themselves to sacrifice their beautiful tresses had to give themselves to strangers on a certain day of the festival, and dedicate to Astarte the wages of their shame." (2)

The Phoenician festival of Byblos was a vernal one and occurred at the time of the discoloration of the Adonis river. Lucian also describes the spectacle. (3)

It has been observed by Neoderus. This river is five miles south of the site of Gebal; it flows down to the sea through a deep gorge in the mountain. Half way up the gorge and close to the river are the ruins of a very ancient temple, still called "The house of King Adonis." It was here, as we are told by Lucian, that the "Tombs of Adonis" were displayed in antiquity. Rock carvings showing Adonis in his struggle with the wild boar were supposedly displayed

(1) Strong+Garstang, S.G. p 45 f; (2) Frazer, op. cit. p 225; (3) Strong-Garstang, SG p 47 f.
there. Nearer the crest of Lebanon one comes to a great amphitheatre; above this three successive caves are reached, each of which contains a large spring from which pour quantities of rushing water. (1) This is the beginning of the Adonis river in the Aphek or cleft, similar to that mentioned in Joshua, thirteen, four.

"In this charming spot on the rocky slopes of Lebanon, far from the traveled roads, the ancients localized the story of the lady of Gebal and her lover, the "Lord Adonis", son of Cinyras, king of Gebal. Under these trees they loved, at these springs Adonis hunted the wild boar, here he was tusked by the beast, and was born, dying, to his sorrowing mistress. Each Spring the river ran red with his blood; rationalist moderns ruin the story by pointing to the purple soil washed down by the spring floods." (2)

Olmstead believes that the rites of Adonis were celebrated at the Adonis river as they were in Gebal. They lamented his death on one day.

"Next day Adonis was alive once more; wild with joy, his devotees carried his image in procession. Under the divine ecstacy women shaved their heads or sacrificed their honor and men their virility; dressed in female garb these self-made eunuchs henceforth served the sanctuary."(3)

Tradition says that to this day these springs are inhabited by a "lady" whose power and duty it is to aid the sick. Those in distress implore her aid by hanging rags on the sacred fig tree near the water.

Barton maintains that the scene of the Ras-Shamra poem, at the death of Alein, was laid in the same locality as the Adonis river, south of Gebal. He identifies the cults of Ras-Shamra and Gebal as Alein myths with parallel ritual.

(1) Barton, HSO p 295; (2) A. T. Olmstead, HPS p 70 f. (3) Ibid p 71.
He believes the poem is an earlier form of Lucian's myth of Adonis. (1)

The Ras-Shamra poem refers to El at the beginning who purifies the streams in "the cleft (apheq) of the two abysses." (2) These two abysses are the deep of the "subterranean" calling to the deep of the "supercelestial," as in Psalms, forty-two, verse seven.

"Here many scholars have seen a poetical description of the roaring of the waters as they rush forth from the caverns in which the river Jordan is born. The conditions at the Jordan's source and at that of the river of Adonis are similar and apparently called forth similar poetic descriptions. Thus the poem from Ras-Shamra, by this reference, reveals the kinship if not the identity of its cult with that of Gebal and presumably with the cults of other Phoenician cities." (3)

The archeological contribution aids in establishing more accurately the very ancient influence of the Adonis Cult. In 1929 F. A. Schaffer led an expedition to the site of a tomb at Minet-el-Beida, Ras-Shamra, opposite to the eastern point of north Cyprus. There Schaffer discovered a town of the kingdom of Ugarit. This town flourished in two periods. The first period extended from c. 1900 B. C. (or earlier) to its destruction by fire. The second period lasted from c. 1500 B. C. to 1200 B. C. In the 14th century B. C., the temple sponsored an ancient "theological school" of scribes who utilized syllabaries.

(1) G. A. Barton, HSO p 293 ff; cf also G. A. Barton, AB4 p 537 ff. (2) Ibid; (3) G. A. Barton, HSO p 295.
of Hurrian and Babylonian words. They constructed from the cuneiform a Phoenician alphabet.

"In this alphabet they inscribed on clay tablets an extensive myth of the death and resurrection of the Vegetation+God and numerous other religious texts." (1) Barton suggests that Adonis is the vegetation god.

"One of these myths relates the death and resurrection of Alein, the vegetation god; another gives an account of the building of his temple." (2)

In the light of the identification made above of Adonis and Tammuz we may view the Tammuz rituals as coming from Assyrian and Sumerian literature and as containing the fundamental ritual pattern upon which the later ceremonies were based. They also contain ritual practices and mythological background comparable to Adonis.

In Sumerian literature, the God Tammuz and his sister Innini, or Accadian Ishtar, occupy a very significant position in mythology and religious beliefs. (3) It is difficult to trace definite rituals practiced. Our only sources are various Sumerian texts, most of which are concerned primarily with mythology. However, we may glean some ritual practices from them.

Very little has been said concerning Attis, to whom reference was originally made as identified by some with Adonis. The Phrygian god has many points of similarity, as can be evidenced by any description of the ceremonies attending his festival. However, that there is no close

(1) W. F. Albright, Bu Am sc OR 3-32 p 15; (2) G. A. Barton, HSO p 288; (3) S. Langdon, SM v 5 p 335.
identification seems evident from Frazer's writings on the subject. (1) Frazer clearly points out that the myth-ritual of Attis is in a class similar to Adonis, yet, clearly in a class by itself. The fundamental linkage of all the Near-East ritual patterns will be briefly discussed in Section III.

At Harran, in Syria, an Arabic sect, called Ssabean, maintained the worship of Tammuz, otherwise known as Tamuz or Thamuz or Ta-uz, as late as the 10th century A. D. It was there known as "The Festival of the Weeping Woman" and took place on the first of the month Tammuz. The women of this Harran cult wept for the beloved Tammuz whom a king had slain, and after grinding his bones had scattered them to the winds. During the festival the women were expressly forbidden to eat anything which had been ground in a mill. (2) This practice has a close parallel to that of Osiris, the Egyptian god, whose death was many times planned, but never achieved until he was ground in a mill between stones.

The Babylonian poem describing Ishtar's descent into the under-world in search of Tammuz, shows that during her absence from the world (and Tammuz's as well) the fertility impulse was absent from man and beast. The poem suggests (as quoted by G. A. Barton from Rawlingson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vol. IV p. 931) that the

(1) Frazer, GB p 263-287; (2) ibid; Frazer GB p9230
worshippers pour out water and offer good oil, and clothe
the effigy in red garments, a magical inducement for him
to return. (1) The flute is a musical charm; a flute of
lapis lazuli seeming to have greater effectiveness. (2)

"The middle of the poem expresses the view of the
ancient Semites that the goddess of love once went down
to the under-world, and that as a result all propagation
of life ceased on the earth. The end of it alludes to
the later belief that the goddess went down every year
for her beloved Tammuz who had died." (3)

A lamentation for Tammuz, translated from Babylonian
tables in the British Museum, gives many possible names by
which the god Tammuz must have been called. The fertility-
reproduction motif is clearly in evidence. (4) A similar
dirge of the female consort seeking her lover is translated
from the late Assyrian-Babylonian period. (5)

In close connection with the ritual as evidenced in
the legends coming from early times, Adonis may have been
the divine lord of the city of the peoples of early Semitic
history. Often the ritual may have been personified by
members of the royal family. As these royal substitutes
of the God played their part of Adonis, they may have been
put to death for fertility ritual purposes. (6)

Professor W. Robertson Smith believes that the mourn-
ing for Adonis was not originally a nature-ritual-pattern
for the decaying of nature, "but simply the official mourn-

(1) G. A. Barton, AB3 p 587ff lines 126-128; (2) Ibid, lines
127 and 136; (3) Ibid p 532; (4) G. A. Barton, A.B.4 p 491 f;
S. Langdon, TI p 27.
ing over the slaughter of the theanthropic victim in whose
death the god died." (1) This points to the fact that in
all probability early rituals witnessed the killing of a
victim to stimulate fertility; those who mourned the god
had originally pierced him, as Farnell believes. (2)

As soon, however, as the meaning of the killing of
their own god (for such it was when the victim was identified
with the god) had been forgotten, the mourners came to
believe that his passing away was due to the same natural
law by which the woods and fields die yearly. The cruel
custom of an actual death fell into disuse and substitution
of an effigy or animal for the man became common. Sometimes
the victim was allowed to escape with merely a make-believe
sacrifice. (3) A later form of sacrifice must have been
the offerings of sacred swine to Adonis, the swine God, as
we shall see he was called in late mythology.

W. R. Smith shows that this ritual is a very ancient
form of the sacramental and piacular mystery, in which the
worshippers attest their fundamental kinship with the
animal god. In the mystery, swine to a swine-god would be
proper, but on all other occasions it was taboo for
sacrifice and general consumption of the people. (4)

Mythologically, a swine or boar was supposed to have
been responsible for the death of Adonis. Here it is that

(1) W. R. Smith, RS p 411 n4; Farnell, CGS v 2 p 654;
(2) Farnell, CGS v 2 p 654; (3) Frazer, GB p 223;
(4) W. R. Smith, RS p 412f; Farnell, CGS v 2 p 645.
the sacred victim has been changed by false interpretation to be the enemy of the god originally. (1) This is but a single instance of the fact that false interpretation of the sacred ritual had changed even the ritual itself.

The ceremony of resurrection in the Adonis Cult is clearly portrayed in the ceremony in Byblos as described by Lucian in *De Dea Syria*, section six. After they had finished mourning and wailing they sacrificed to Adonis, first as if to one who had left this life. Later they alleged he was alive again. In confirmation of his resurrection the worshippers exhibited his effigy to the sky. (2)

The Ras Shamra material also gives evidence of his resurrection. (3) The poems of Bion and Theocritus give clear implication of resurrection.

That the festival of the resurrection of Melqarth was similar to that of Tammuz (Adonis) Nerodotus indicates. (4) Menander refers to the resurrection of Melqarth. (5)

Throughout the Phrygian area there was a similarity of resurrection theme. (6) Frazer suggests the possibility of regarding the resurrection motif in the Attis rites as rooting in the Adonis cult but states that it has not yet been fully demonstrated. (7)

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(1) Farnell, CGS v 2 p 646; (2) Strong-Garstang, SG p 46; (3) W. F. Albright, Bu Am. Sc. Or. R. 3-32 p 15 ff; (4) Herodotus, II, p 44; (5) c.f. Josephus Antiquities VIII, 5, 3; (6) Farrell, CGS v 3 p 301; (7) Frazer, GB 3 p 272 v 5.
Attis was killed, mourned, and his resurrection was commonly celebrated in "The Festival of Joy" or Hilaria from March 25 to March 27, climaxing, as in the later Roman celebrations, with the procession to Almo.

One of the clearest identifications we can make of the resurrection motif in Adonis comes from the clear lineage he bears to the Egyptian Osiris whose resurrection is abundantly illustrated. That some of the inhabitants of Byblus seemed to believe that it was the ceremony of Osiris and not Adonis that was celebrated yearly is described by Lucian (part seven). In the Egyptian Osirian myth, his consort, Isis, was supposed to have revived him. Although the fact of resurrection was clear the method was variously described. (1)

The Adonis Gardens, which were used in the ritual of mourning, are adequate proof of the fact that Adonis was a vegetation deity, more particularly the corn god.

The Gardens of Adonis were baskets or pots filled with rich earth, in which slips or seeds of wheat, barley, lettuces, fennel, and various kinds of flowers were sown and tended for eight days. This activity was performed almost exclusively by women. (2)

"Fostered by the sun's heat, the plants shot up rapidly, but having no root they withered as rapidly away, and at the end of eight days were carried out with the images of the dead Adonis, and flung with them into the sea or springs." (3)

(1) W.M. Müller, EM viz p. 114 ff; (2) Plutarch as quoted by Frazer, GB v 5 p 236 (notes; (3) Ibid.)
These miniature gardens form the basis of the reference by Isaiah in the seventeenth chapter, verse ten following, which commentators have interpreted as being a direct reference to a custom common in Isaiah's day.

"...Therefore thou plantest pleasant plants, and settest it with strange slips: in the day of the planting thou hegest it in, and in the morning thou madest thy seed to blossom; but the harvest fleeth away in the day of grief and of desperate sorrow." (1)

Here it will be well to discuss the meaning of these gardens and the significance of the part they play in the ritual of the dying-rising god Adonis.

Because of the fact that the gardens were forced potted plants it is most suggestive to view them as a form of sympathetic, or coercive magic used to force the fertility god into action.

Many scholars believe that these gardens represented Adonis in his vegetable form even as the festive image represented him in the animal or human form. (2) The fertility principle is also involved in the fact that the gardens were tended solely by women; they were artificially stimulated with fertile soil, much water, and sunshine. At the end of their eight day period of cultivation they were thrown into the reviving waters of a stream or springs symbolizing the gift of the new life to them.

W. R. Smith quotes Sozomen and Zenobius to the effect that in all North Semitic religions, "living waters" evidently

(1) Isaiah, 17:10b,11. (Am. St. Version.)
(2) J. L. Patterson, A p 5; Frazer, G.B.5 v 5 p 236; W. R. Smith, RS p 197n.
have a special sanctity. (1) Professor Frazer believes that sacred waters have much to do with the connection of the god Attis with Adonis. Trees are the most characteristic mark of Attis' identification. (2) The Grecian myth of Adonis and his supposed birth from a tree has close fertility association with life-giving water. Frazer presents a body of material from many sources confirming the connection of the Adonis gardens with sacred waters and other ceremonies of cleansing in which water was used. (3) Smith lays special emphasis on the element of magic in the act of throwing both the effigy and miniature garden into the spring or water. He believes that the new fertilizing power gained by the water came from direct contact of the water with the symbolic presence of the god (animal and vegetable) in it. (4)

(1) W. R. Smith, RS p 177; (2) Frazer, op. cit. 264; 267; 277ff; (3) Frazer op. cit. p 242-259; (4) W. R. Smith, op. cit. p 177.
B. The Myth of Adonis.

Following the order of the first part of this section we shall examine the Greek myth of Adonis first, then that of Tammuz of the more ancient past.

Because of the significance of the ritual-lamentation in the worship of Adonis we have discussed at length the ritual content of the more important literary evidences from Adonis and Tammuz. The magical significance of the cultic rites and their embodiment in songs and dirges, furnished for us a logical basis for the more ancient cultic practices, in all probability as they were practiced in the 8th century B.C. at the time of Hosea.

The remaining task before us in this second section of the thesis is to describe the myth of Adonis-Tammuz as it grows up out of the more basic ritual foundation, (1) and to interpret the meaning of the Adonis-Tammuz ritual myth.

As has been suggested above, the linkeage of ritual and mythology is close. Myth-ritual transference was common in the ancient Near-East; as a result, some of the transferred patterns lost their original meaning, and while practiced in the original form, had an entirely different significance given to them. W.R. Smith's accepted explanation of religious practice in antiquity is a concrete illustration of this fact. (2) Although the

main influence of the Adonis Cult on Hosea would tend to come from ritualistic practices, mythology and deep set religious beliefs would also have influenced him.

In the Grecian form the myth, briefly stated, is somewhat as follows: The mother of Adonis (commonly known in Babylonian sources as Ma) was supposed to have had unnatural intercourse with her own father (Mot or Marduk of Babylonian sources) to whom she felt an obligation, after she had been urged to do so by Aphrodite, the goddess of love. When she was pursued by her father who sought to kill her for the crime, she transformed herself, or was transformed by the gods, into a tree.

Adonis was born when the tree was gouged by a boar. Aphrodite was so alarmed by the beauty of the infant that, after placing him in a chest, she secured Proserpine to care for him. But, when the goddess of the under-world found that the boy was so lovely she refused to part with him. Zeus, the "god of gods" was appealed to and his decree was that Adonis was to remain four months with Proserpine, four with Aphrodite, and four with Zeus himself.

A variant account parallels a Babylonian legend that Adonis was given six months on earth and six months under the earth. The classic version pictures Adonis as passionately fond of hunting. He died from the wound of a wild boar which had pierced his groin.(1)

(1) E.R.E., W. Crooke, p 189 v. XII; Mackenzie, DA, MBA, p 84.
Apollodorus (iii - 14:4) states that Adonis was the son of the Syrian King Theias, born by his own daughter Smyrna (Myrrh), who had been urged by the unnatural love at the behest of Aphrodite. It was only on discovery of the truth that Theias pursued her with intent to kill. According to the Apollodorian version, the tree, into which Smyrna had been changed by the gods, burst at the end of ten months. (1)

This, in broad outline, is the Grecian myth of Adonis. As we would naturally expect, the more ancient Semitic Tammuz myth has more significance for our study than the late Grecian Adonis myth. The logic of this interpretation has already been suggested. It is evident that the classical form of the Adonis Cult was changed considerably to fit the thought forms of the Grecian era. But that it contained the fundamental ritual of the earlier period embodied in its ritual songs seems a reasonable conclusion. If the Greek ritual poems come from the third or fourth century B.C., then some three or four centuries of cultic practice must be accounted for in a backward survey in our attempt to get at the meaning of the Adonis Cult in the time of Hosea.

Several factors must be taken into account in such a backward survey:

(1) Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13 Bk 1 v. 1 p 212 ff.
1. Myth-ritual practices do not change readily. Customs of ritual practice were carried on without change for many generations in primitive society even when their original meaning was forgotten.

2. We have, through the classical poems of Bion and Theocritus and The Syrian God of Lucian, a fairly complete picture of what took place in the Adonis-Tammuz Cult in Byblos and Gebal.

3. Tammuz liturgies, containing more mythology than ritual, come from a very much earlier time, c. 3,000 B.C. (1), and have within them the ancient beliefs of the Adonis-Tammuz Cult.

4. Between the ancient and the classic period we have but slight references to the cult as such. Therefore, our knowledge of the Tammuz-Adonis Cult in the time of Hosea must be derived from these two sources.

That the cultic pattern and mood would be closer to Greek ritualistic practices cannot be dogmatically affirmed, for the exile, and the Persian-Babylonian period followed the era of the eighth century prophets. Therefore, somewhat of a synthesis of the cultic Grecian Adonis pattern and the more ancient Tammuz mythological-liturgical texts ought to give us a composite picture of what the Adonis-Tammuz cult was in the time of Hosea.

(1) Stephen Langdon, TI p 3.
It seems wise to view the Tammuz texts under the heading of mythology, although some of their content may have described a ritual practice, because they are of such great age. To illustrate in comparative terms we might say that the Tammuz mythology may have been used in the cultic rites of the tenth-to-sixth centuries in Palestine in much the same way that the actual ritual practices may have been recorded in the eighth century and read in the Greek epoch.

One of the finest sources for our study of Tammuz, the Babylonian Adonis mythology, is a monograph by Stephen H. Langdon entitled "Tammuz and Ishtar." He here presents extensive extracts from the Tammuz liturgies. It is the belief of Professor Langdon that the Babylonian peoples were not religiously interested in magic alone but had pure ceremonies and a theology. (1)

Much controversy has taken place among scholars as to a proper interpretation of Babylonian religion. Heinrich Zimmern and Stephen Langdon have been exponents for a theological-thought content of Sumero-Babylonian religion, while most Assyrologists have emphasized its magical nature.

The phase of nature observed by the Sumerians which had influence on them was the seasonal recurrence of growth and decay. It was this observance which they saw in the death and eventual resurrection of the "Son of Mother-Earth."

(1) S. Langdon, TI v f.
It was he who was the incarnation of the grain, vegetation or beneficial floods. The son represented the life processes themselves. The "Mother-earth" represented the latent productive powers of the earth.

Of the Tammuz worship in early times we have descriptions of the desolate virgin mother, Innini, wandering through barren fields searching for her shepherd son, Tammuz. The later identification of Tammuz with Ishtar as a sister-mother-wife god concept is common in ancient ritual patterns. In the cultic observance of the Tammuz worship he was supposedly placed in a boat and when his effigy passed beneath the waves he was supposed to be a resident of Hades. One passage refers to the death of the god by perishing in a boat, or being carried away by wild wind and wave. (1) The rite corresponding to the Adonis gardens was the Babylonian custom of throwing grain on the water or effigy of Tammuz. "Among the garden flowers he slumbers, among the garden flowers he is cast away." (2)

One of the principle myths, having some part in the ritual observance, was that of the search of the mother goddess for her son and lover. This has commonly become legendary as "Ishtar's descent into the under-world." Many believe this myth fragment to be one of the most ancient epics. (3) Closely identified with this mythological downward descent of Ishtar into the lower world were the

(1) S. Langdon, TI, p 2f; (2) Ibid; (3) cf. A.S.Carrier in ERE v IX p 25; G.A.Barton, AB4 p 529f.
processes of the decay of nature vegetation's annual death. The fertility of man and beast were likewise effected.

Searching for Tammuz, Ishtar approached the realm of the dead which is described in dark colors. When she arrived at the gate of Hades she demanded entrance from the gate keeper, who by the persuasion of Evess-Kigal, the ruler of the dead, sometimes called Allat, allowed her to enter. As she entered each of seven gates a ritual took place and some article of her clothing was removed; each piece of clothing had some symbolical value. At last, after passing the seventh gate, where the final garment was removed, she entered naked into the land of the dead. Ishtar's imprisonment in Hades caused special concern to Ea, the high god, who by a special command sent Situshunamir to the underworld demanding the release of Ishtar. Namtara sprinkled Ishtar with "water of life" and led her out in reverse order through the seven gates, at each of which her lost garments were retrieved. On her arrival in the land of the living, life processes were restored and she mythologically was restored to her lost husband, Tammuz. In the poem no mention is made of Tammuz during Ishtar's descent or return, but at the close of the poem, as the liturgy of the priest begins, it reads:

"If she does not grant to thee her release, turn to her again; to Tammuz, the beloved of her youth, pour out water, offer good oil, etc." (1)

(1) G. A. Barton, AB4 p 231 lines 126 ff.
Stephen Langdon believes from the texts in his possession that the search for Tammuz is central in the poem and cult. He states that in older Babylonian texts the queen of the dead does not figure in the arousal of Tammuz nor does she appear for the difficult task of arousing the god from the deep sleep which fell on the souls of the dead. At his waking the dirges and wailings begin to show a note of joy and hope. The liturgies following do not describe Tammuz's ascent to the upper world but rise at once to the annunciation of the fact that the lord is risen. (1)

The meaning of the Adonis Cult has become apparent as we have viewed its ritual and myth. "The death and resurrection of Adonis is a mythical expression for the annual decay and revival of plant life." (2) His affinity to vegetation comes from his birth from a myrrh tree. Myrrh was used in the festival of Adonis, just as it was burned by idolatrous Hebrews to the Queen of Heaven as mentioned in Jeremiah, chapter forty-four, verses 17-19. The vegetation motif also is illustrated by the representation of Adonis as remaining for a half or a third of the year on earth and the remainder of the year in the lower world. Just as the seed of corn remained in the earth half the year and sprang into life for the Summer season, so Adonis was dead and then alive again.

(1) S. Langdon, TI p 20-23; (2) Frazer, GB3 v 5 p 227.
Father Lagrange suggested in 1905 that the mourning for Adonis was essentially a harvest rite, the purpose of which was to propitiate the corn-god, who was being killed either by the sickles of the reapers or crushed on the threshing floor by the hoofs of the oxen.

"While the men slew him, the women wept crocodile tears at home to appease his natural indignation by a show of grief for his death." (1)

Parallel substantiation for this theory comes from Egypt where reapers lamented to Isis for Osiris when the first corn was cut; in many hunting tribes great respect and even reverence is attached to the animals which are killed and eaten.

Thus interpreted, the annual myth-ritual of Adonis is not representation of death as resulting from natural processes such as summer heat and winter cold, but a lament for the violent destruction of the corn-life by man. Association of ancient totemistic-animistic conceptions with the rite make this view intelligible. Originally, Adonis may have been a spirit of fruits of edible roots and grasses, before he was later transformed by an agricultural people into the spirit of the cultivated corn. (2) In the primitive conception each plant or tree was thought to be inhabited by a spirit. Thus, each individual plant or tree had its Adon (lord) or an Adonis, each of whom might expect to receive a propitiatory ritual for damage or death.

(1) Ibid, p 231; (2) Ibid.
"Year by year, when the trees were deciduous, every Adonis would seem to bleed to death with the red leaves of autumn and come to life again with the fresh green of spring." (1)

We have spoken earlier of the personification of Adonis by a theanthropic victim. That these were propitiatory sacrifices to the corn spirit is evidenced in many agricultural peoples of the eastern Mediterranean area. Perhaps a fusion took place between this theanthropic victim and the worship of the dead when it was thought that the victims returned to life in the new ears of corn of the new season into whose production they had poured their life blood. In the cult of the dead, those who had perished by violence were believed to have had the ability of avenging their deaths. The attempt to avenge the souls of the slaughtered would be most natural.

Renan's theory of the meaning of the Adonis Cult was that it was a voluptuous cult of death. Death was not terrible but an insidious enchanter who lured his victims to himself and " lulled them into an eternal sleep." (2) Frazer's criticism of this view seems logical, for such an abstract view of death can hardly be ascribed to primitive Semitic peasants.

For all practical purposes, however, it is generally agreed that Adonis was a vegetation spirit whose annual death and return to life represents the decay of nature

in the fall and its revival in the spring. That the Adonis-Tammuz cult had its roots in the ancient past is not to be denied; the probable meaning of the cult in Hosea's day was not propitiatory, or a lamentation for violent destruction or even a dirge for a theanthropic victim, although these elements may have left their vestige remains in the cult. In the day of Hosea the Adonis-Tammuz ritual pattern was probably a surviving form of coercive magic with fertility motivation.

This, then, in general, is the mythology surrounding the Adonis-Tammuz cult.
SECTION III

MYTH-RITUAL PATTERNS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST
A. Myth-Ritual Patterns in the Ancient Near East.

After our consideration in the first two chapters it has become increasingly evident that there was a very close relationship throughout the whole Near East between Adonis, Tammuz, Attis, and Osiris. These deities represented the popular religious cults of the civilizations which we know today as Asia Minor, Babylonia-Assyria, Phrygia-Phoenicia, and Egypt. Each had his particular consort; each had his own peculiar rites. But fundamental to all of them, there existed, what has come to be known in recent years, as a Myth-Ritual pattern. One of the basic concepts of the pattern has become evident in our search for the fundamentals of the Adonis ritual and myth; Adonis as the dying-rising god, annually mourned, and annually expected to return. The fertility principle, closely associated with the sacred marriage, is also one part of the total Myth-Ritual pattern.

The annual festival, which came as a climax to the religious activities of the year included the following elements:

(a) The dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god.

(b) The recitation or symbolic representation of the myth of creation.
(c) The ritual combat, in which the triumph of the god over his enemies is depicted.

(d) The sacred marriage.

(e) The triumphal procession, in which the king played the part of the god, followed by a train of lesser gods or visiting deities. (1)

Although these rites varied in different localities, they formed the central core of ritual practices of not only the New Year's festivals common in the ancient Near East, but also the rituals of coronation, and initiation ceremonies. That the king played an important part in these ceremonies seems evident.

Behind the ritual pattern is the very ancient attempt to control the unpredictable element in human experience. (2) It is one form of the preservation of magic rites and acts which were done originally by the king to secure fertility and prosperity for the community in the year or season to come.

"Behind the dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the king lies the original custom of killing the king when his physical vigor should show signs of diminishing, a custom which still survives among the Shilluk of the upper Nile." (3)

The sacred marriage had at its root a fundamental fertility principle, as we have seen in section two, part A. In the marriage the ritual is clearly one of coercive magic, similar to that of the Adonis gardens.

(1) H. S. Hooke, MR p 8; (2) H. S. Hooke, M. R.; Frazer, GB (ab. ed.) 1923 p 293ff; (3) Frazer, Ibid; Hooke, MR p 8.
The evidence of the Myth-ritual pattern as existing in Hebrew literature has, until recent years, been doubted. The majority of Old Testament scholars have been rather reluctant to give credence to Mowinckel's theory that the Processional Psalms show the existence among the Hebrew peoples of a New Year festival for the enthronement of Yahweh. But that it did exist seems very probable in the light of recent research. (1)

A number of ritual prohibitions in early Hebrew religious legislation seem to bear out the premise of a kingly enthronement prior to the prophets, who by their vigorous denunciation, were responsible for its abatement in late Judaism. Anything of Canaanitish origin received their attack; these ritual practices had much in common with the cults of the high places.

"There is a group of ritual prohibitions, some of which belong to the earliest stage of Hebrew religious legislation, pointing to the existence of the king-god ritual pattern. This group includes certain laws which have offered considerable difficulty to commentators, but which appear in a new light when they are related to the ritual system which sprang from the conception of the divine king." (2)

Among this group of restrictions are: prohibitions against building steps up to the altar which might be used in the procession, against seething a kid in its mother's milk, against incest, sacred prostitution, interchange of clothing between the sexes, and other similar rites bearing resemblance to fertility rituals.

The myth-ritual pattern had an even greater influence in Egypt and Babylonia than can be proven in Hebrew tradition. H. W. Cartwright shows that, "Osiris was god of the fertilizing waters of the Nile, the fertile soil, and of vegetation in its growth and decay." (1)

In most of the ceremonies closely paralleling the Adonis-Tammuz Cult the Egyptians made the cultic-object Osiris, or equated it with Osiris. In nearly every case the chief priest or officiant is equated with Horus, who originally was the king-high-priest, but whose place was later taken by some priestly deputy. (2)

The Osirian myth fits into the Egyptian pantheon of gods as follows. The Sun-god sprang from the primordial water and created Shu, the god of the atmosphere, and Tefenet, the goddess of moisture. This pair were the progenitors of Keb, the earth god. They had four children; Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys. Isis was the wife of Osiris, Nephthys the wife of Seth. These divinities formed the Heliopolitan ennead.

The Osiris myth describes Keb as king of Egypt who gave his throne to his son, Osiris, who in turn aroused the jealousy of his brother Seth. Seth killed Osiris. The method of death was variously described as "felling to the earth," or drowning. Isis, the wife of Osiris,

searched for his body. When she found it, both she and Nephthys lamented over it; when the burial god had gathered his remains together in preparation for burial, Isis resuscitated the dead god by giving breath to him with her wings. A variant myth says that Osiris was resurrected by being washed. Following his resuscitation, Osiris entered on a second life in the land of the dead. He fathered a son, Horus, who avenged the death of his father by attacking Seth. The god of wisdom made peace between the gods and restored them. In the battle Seth wrenched an eye from Horus; after peace had been made the God of Wisdom restored the eye to Horus who gave it to his father, who, having eaten it, was restored to normal life.

Several of the myth-ritual ideas characteristic of Adonis-Tammuz cult are inherent in the Isis-Osiris cycle, notably, they are: The slaying of the god by an enemy, a search for him by his sister-lover, a lament for his death, the intervention of a higher god effecting his restoration to normal life, and productivity resulting, following the resurrection of the god.

The fertility motive was similar in the Egyptian myth to that of the Syrian Adonis and the Babylonian Tammuz.

"One of the main objects of the cults of the gods and of the dead was to give in order to get.---It was of great importance to impart vital force to Osiris, who was closely associated with fertility, that he might return vital force to his son." (1)

We have already seen the very close similarity of Adonis to Tammuz.

"Anthropology has now learned to recognize that a certain broad similarity prevails in the basic religious conceptions of agricultural peoples, the preoccupation with the due recurrence of times and their increase, finds wide-spread expression in their rituals and myths." (1)

That Adonis-Tammuz or Dumu-zi is the central figure of the Babylonian cult is now well established. But, in reality, little can be learned about Tammuz from his literature, which consists primarily of laments and wailings. What is available we have already examined.

(1)(Dr. C. J. Gadd) Ibid p 45.
B. The Sacred Marriage and Sacred Prostitution.

The fact that the sacred marriage was common throughout the ancient Near East religious ritual pattern is abundantly evidenced. The processional scene in the rock sculpture of Boghaz Keui has been interpreted by Sir James Frazer as portraying a sacred marriage.

"We may conjecture that it is the rite of a sacred marriage, and that the scene is copied from a ceremony which was periodically performed by human representatives of the deities... If this was so at Boghaz Keui, we may surmise that the chief pontiff and his family annually celebrated the marriage of the divine powers of fertility, the father god and the mother goddess, for the purposes of ensuring the fruitfulness of the earth and the multiplication of men and beasts." (1)

S. H. Hooke affirms that the sacred marriage was a part of the ritual of early times. (2) In Egypt it was the marriage of Hathor and Horus. (3) In Babylonia the marriage rite was closely associated with the New Year festival. The Tammuz-Ishtar sacred marriage ceremony was but a magical rite for fertility purposes in the annual festival. (4) In Canaanitic rituals Adonis married Aphrodite; the rite parallels the fundamental pattern for securing productivity. (5) In the Hebrew festivals it is suggested that the "booth" of the Feast of Tabernacles represents a survival of the sacred grove in which the divine marriage was consummated. (6)

In 1925 Professor Gressman said that he was satisfied in stating,

"That the Feast of Tabernacles is to be derived from a Canaanitic booth feast of Adonis, and that its ceremonies are to be explained as being originally publically exhibited mysteries of Adonis' resurrection or wedding and of his death." (1)

It is of further significance to note that ritual prostitution was carried on in connection with the rite of sacred marriage. Both of these rites were for fertility purposes; both rites represented the highest types of devotion a worshipper could offer to the fertility-god.

The ancient origin of prostitution in connection with religious worship has long been known. D. D. Luckenbill shows that temple harlots were common in the time of Hammurabi. These women occupied a respectable position in the society of the time. For a fee, one of the zikrum, or prostitutes, might care for an unwanted child; a daughter by designation might earn "bread" for the family by such a means; and parents might sell their children to such institutions. A priestess of Marduk (Shamash) was permitted to marry and live with her husband. (2)

In the temple of the goddess Astarte in Phoenicia, Lucian of Samosata tells us that following the rites of the Adonis cult of mourning and resurrection, the worshippers shaved their heads. But the women who refused

to conform were forced to stand in a space where only foreigners entered and offer themselves for hire for one whole day; the proceeds of their offerings were dedicated as sacrifices to Aphrodite. (1) Dr. Leslie believes that, "the sacred harlots sought by sacred magic to secure the blessing of fertility from the goddess." (2)

It is believed that Israel absorbed the practice of sacred marriage and prostitution from her Canaanitic environment. It was annually practiced, the men impersonating the god (Adonis) and the temple servants or prostitutes the goddess (Astarte). (3)

"They were a symbolic and mystical expression of a religious idea, and being of divine and sanctified origin (so thought by the people), were at least far removed from animal intoxication and wild passion." (4)

Luckenbill points out that the "vestal virgins" and also the temple prostitutes were recognized members of ancient society a long time before Hammurabi and even in Roman times.

"There is no particular reason why we should look on them as "bad characters." Their occupation had the sanction of church and state, but that it was "prostitution", though "sacred" cannot be denied." (5)

The fact that these rituals of sacred prostitution were practiced in the sanctuaries of the Hebrews seems to be evidenced in the following passages: I Samuel, chapter two, verse twenty-two; Hosea, chapter four, verse fourteen; Amos, chapter two, verse seven; Deuteronomy, chapter twenty-three, verse eighteen. (6) Farnell believes that these

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(1) Strong-Garstang, SG p 46 f; (2) Dr. E. A. Leslie, course, "Prophets of Israel", Lect. Nov. 15, 1934; (3) Ibid; (4) W. Mannhardt, quoted by Dr. Leslie. Ibid; (5) D. D. Luckenbill, op. cit. p 12; (6) Hooke, MR p 140 (W. O. E. Oesterley).
Sacred harlots served the function of human representatives of deity, "who diffused through the community the peculiar virtue or potency of the goddess, the much coveted blessing of human fertility." (1)

The creative influence of these practices of sacred marriage and sacred prostitution issues from the warmth of the Canaanitic religion. These rituals represented a god as dwelling within a man, even if for only the short length of time he played the part of the god. This thought was implicit in the ritual as will become more evident when we give more attention to Hosea. The in-dwelling god was made ethical by the prophets, but the germ idea was inherent in the early ritual pattern. (2)

(1) Farnell, Greece and Babylon, Dr. Leslie, Ibid.
(2) Kittle, RRI p 120.
SECTION IV

EVIDENCES IN HOSEA OF THE ADONIS CULT
A. Did the Adonis Cult Exist in Palestine at the Time of Hosea?

In order to be more certain that Hosea was confronted with the problem of the Adonis cultic pattern in connection with Baal worship we must view the evidence for the existence of the cult in the time of Hosea. Hosea lived and wrote in the eighth century B.C.

As has already been pointed out in the section dealing with ritual practice, a great deal of the poetry of the Greek period had its origin in the cultic observances of the period immediately preceding. The ritual often was accompanied by hymns or psalms telling in song what was actually taking place in the ritual observance.

Professor Frazer believes the Adonis Cult to be very ancient. "The worship of Adonis was practiced by the Semitic peoples of Babylonia and Syria; the Greeks borrowed it from them as early as the seventh century B.C." (1)

Adolphe Lods shows that the former thought of scholars was that the dying-rising god, Adonis, had not been found in Palestine proper in pre-Israelite times, but Tammuz, the Sumerian name for Adonis was recorded in a document in the 14th century B.C., coming from Byblos. (2) The Ras Shamra discoveries bearing on Adonis also come from the 14th century B. C. (3)

(1) J. A. Frazer, AAO 4 p 6; (2) A. Lods, I p 131; (3) W. F. Albright, Bu Am Sc O R 3 - 32 p 15 f.
"He (Tammuz) appears at the dawn of history, certainly before 3000 B.C., as a figure already established in the Sumerian pantheon. The cult evidently originated much earlier, for when our epigraphical sources for Mesopotamian history begin, we have already before us a highly developed religion. It would not be venturesome to affirm that this mystic cult of death and resurrection is one of the earliest forms of worship known to us, and so far as our sources permit us to speak, precedes the lower form of incantation and magic. "If in summer the original myth represented the mother goddess as the sister of Tammuz, and the mother idea was borrowed from the Western Semites, then the Western Semitic race and its cult of Adonis must go back to at least 4000 B.C." (1)

G. A. Barton has given illumination to the question of early references to various forms of the Adonis name. He believes that Adonis and Eshmun are to be equated because of the very probable fact that Adonis was the god worshipped in Eshmuny, a place name recorded in a temple series. (2) The name Damu may come from as early as 2100 - 2000 B.C. or earlier.

The mythological background of the Gebal-Byblos shows that here a "mother-goddess" was worshipped who was also called "Baalath Gebal" which meant "Lady (or mistress) of Gebal. (3) The Ras-Shamra cults and those of Gebal are to be identified as having the same Alein myths and invocations. From the documents of early centuries and the writings of the Philo period the worship of the Baalath-Gebal, who is in reality Astarte, the female patron of Adonis, can be traced to classic times.

(1) S. Langdon, TI p 2ff; 925; (2) G. A. Barton, HSO p 292 f; (3) Ibid.
"There are reasons for believing that Pepi I (c. 2500 B.C.) refers to the tree-god of Byblos when he, in his funerary inscription, compares himself, shut up in his wooden sarcophagus, to the god Hay-Tan of Nega." (1)

In the 13th century B.C. Ithobaal, son of Akhiram, king of Gebal in the time of Rameses II, declared that Hathor (an ancient usage for Baalat) would protect his father's tomb. That he referred to the goddess-protectress of Gebal cannot be doubted.

The El-Amarna letters show that in 1360 B.C. Rib-Addi ruled in Gebal. His name represents, in some texts, the ideogram for Adad, (Adonis) or Adados or Hadad. That the Amorite-Canaanites may have brought this god with them may be a possible explanation. It is clearly a masculine Ashtar in Phoenicia in the 14th or 15th century.

In the century following, Yekhemelek, another monarch, mentions Baal of Gebal and Baal Shamain. It may be that Baal Shamain is a name for the Masculine Ashtar. It is here that we have our first suggestion that a god was substituted for a goddess as the true possessor of Gebal. (2)

This transition now seems to be dated somewhere in the 12th century B.C., but direct evidence is lacking and our reasoning must be inferential.

However, it is significant that the next record of a king of Gebal, Elibaal, contemporary with Osorkon of Egypt in 924-895 B.C., made a prayer and votive offering to

(1) A. Lods, I p 134 f. (2) Barton, HSO p 294 f (note).
Baalat. Abibaal, from the same period, mentions the land of Gebal. (1)

Yakhumelek, a king of Gebal in the Persian period, consecrated an altar to Baalat. He also gave thanks to her for the favors she had bestowed on him.

Philo of Byblos identifies Baalat with Ashtart. It is he who states that Astarte was the greatest of the goddesses who with Adodos ruled the world. Philo also says that Astarte is Aphrodite. (2) Lucian substantiates the statement by telling of his visit to Byblos and viewing there the temple of Aphrodite in which he saw the rites of Adonis performed. (3)

The mourning rites of Adonis are mentioned by Sappho, whose activity is dated as about 600 B.C. (4)

In the references to Adonis external to Hosea we find Isaiah in the 8th century B.C. making clear references to the cult that must have existed in his day. Ezekiel's writing concerning Tammuz has been dated as coming from the early part of the 6th century B.C. or c. 591 B.C. (5)

That the so-called Baalism was a tremendous influence against which the prophets fought from the time of Ezekiel on, has long been recognized. In some cases writers

believe that Baalism and Yahwehism were closely connected.

"The very transference of foreign myths to Yahweh makes it possible to imagine the reception of foreign mysteries into the Yahweh religion in the earlier period before the exile, especially if they are assumed to have been in the Baalism which influenced the Yahwehism so deeply that for centuries the two religions were almost the same." (1)

Gressmann also believes, "that if there were Yahweh mysteries in ancient Israel, they sprang out of the Adonis mysteries in Canaan." (2)

Adolphe Lods states,

"It is difficult to believe that the cult practiced in the sacred city in honor of the god who was known in the Greek period as Adonis (my lord) and especially the mourning for Adonis, could have been a foreign rite. (to Palestine proper) Tammuz must have been assimilated to some native and analogous god (Eshmun according to Damascius) (vita Isidor 1, 302)" (3)

From the evidence we have examined, the Adonis-Tammuz-Eshmun Cult must have existed in Palestine proper in the time of Hosea. The close connection of Adonis with the Baal in the land already seems evident. If Baal were to be identified with Adonis, the influence on Hosea by the cult could be more easily proved. H. Gressmann makes this assumption, saying, "This is certainly an assumption, but a good one, as it seems to me, because it really interprets what otherwise lacks an explanation." (4)

External to Hosea there were several references to the Adonis-Tammuz Cult. We shall consider the more important

(1) H. Gressmann, "The mysteries of Adonis and the Feast of Tabernacles", Expositor v 3 p 413; (2) Ibid; (3) A. Lods, 1 p 134; (4) H. Gressmann, op. cit. p 420.
of these very briefly.

In Isaiah, chapter seventeen, verses ten and eleven, we have reference to the Adonis gardens. Isaiah's thought in the passage is clear and fits into the general interpretation we have made earlier of these cultic symbols. The people have forgotten that their strength is in Jehovah and have planted the fertility-Adonis gardens in order to have a productive harvest. From the passage itself one might see the total picture of planting gardens for coercive magic; but when the harvest time comes, (the time of lamentation and desperate sorrow) there is no abundance of crop. The "harvest shall be a heap". (1) Creelman dates this passage as coming prior to 732 B.C., for Damascus is still standing.

Jeremiah refers to the cultic phraseology in referring to the ignominous death of Jehoiakim for his failure to follow in the footsteps of his father, Josiah.

"Therefore thus saith Jehovah concerning Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, King of Judah: They shall not lament for him, saying; Ah my brother! or Ah sister! They shall not lament for him saying; Ah Lord! or Ah his glory! (2)

This has been interpreted as reference to contemporary mourning rituals for Tammuz+Adonis; the similarity to later Greek wailings is striking. Creelman dates this passage as coming from the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, or 608 f. f. B.C. (3)

(1) Creelman, IOT p 93; (2) Jer. 22:18; (3) Creelman, IOT p 107.
A similar mention of the lament "Ah, Lord!" is made by Jeremiah in chapter thirty-four, verse five. Here it is evidently a sign of approbation.

Much discussion has centered around the proper interpretation of Ezekiel's reference to the Tammuz wailings in the eighth chapter. The passage reads;

"Then he brought me to the door of the gate of Jehovah's house which was toward the north; and behold, there sat the women weeping for Tammuz." (1)

The passage is set amid others portraying "abominations" which are condemned. The context shows other fertility-cult symbolism, for in verse twelve it is suggested that "Jehovah seeth us not"--that is, that he is absent from the land, even as the Baals were in the time of Elijah's historic sacrifice on Mt. Carmel. (2) It was here that Elijah demonstrated that Jehovah was the superior earth and sky deity; the ritual of the Baal worshippers gives us insight into the common fertility cults of the period of Elijah's prophetic career, c. 876-842 B.C. (3)

Concerning the Ezekiel passage, Baudissin says that in the Massoretic text the eighth chapter is dated in 591 B.C., on the fifth day of the sixth month, that is Elul, August-September. The Septuagint has the fifth month, or Ale, July-August. Baudissin says that this reference is no authentic evidence for the date of the Tammuz wailings. (4)

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(1) Ezekiel 8:14; (2) I Kings 18:30-41; (3) Creelman, IOT p 138 f; (4) Baudissin, AE p 109.
Stephen Langdon believes that the wailings for Tammuz had been actually introduced into the temple in the early part of the sixth century B.C.

The final important reference external to Hosea is Judges, chapter eleven, verses thirty-four to forty, the story of Jephthah's daughter.

C. F. Burney sees in the women's festival of Judges, chapter eleven, verse forty, the existence in the narrator's time, c. 650 B.C., of a festival originating from mythology and not actual history. He cites many parallel ceremonies in ancient history. He believes that in all probability the ceremony is a mourning rite for the death of a god, (even as Adonis). The cult of Jephthah's daughter is closely resembled by that of Sphigenia of Greek mythology. This identification would bring the sacrifice into close connection with the Tammuz-Ishtar Cult. (1)

In recent years attention has been given to the fertility-cult influence on Canticles, or the Song of Songs. Authorities differ as to the extent of the dependence; the fact of relationship seems well substantiated. (2) It is the opinion of T. J. Meek that the Canticles had their origin in the Canaanitic fertility pattern.

"The prophets, especially Hosea and Jeremiah, were particularly severe in their condemnation of it (the fertility cult) and many people must have looked askance upon its licentious practices; but despite all, it continued down to late times." (3)

Canticles may be the love song of the marriage rite as it was celebrated in the Adonis Cult. It was able to be retained in the canon because of its allegorical interpretation; many identifications can be made in canticles which show fertility motivation, if not the actual early Adonis Cult pattern.

Other references in the Bible have been suggested as having a fertility cult background: Daniel, chapter eleven, verse thirty-seven; I Kings, chapter twelve, verse twenty-four; Numbers, chapter thirteen, verse twenty-three; Amos, chapter eight, verse ten; Zechariah, chapter twelve, verse eleven; and Joel, chapter one, verse eight. Numbers chapter seventeen has been thought to have a fertility background similar to the vine concept of Isaiah, chapter five, verses one to fourteen. In the Isaiah passage of the vine, W. C. Graham sees latent Adonis rites as causing Isaiah to condemn the cult and by contrast show Jehovah's superiority. For him, chapter five, verse seven is the climax of the passage, for within it is the principle which distinguishes true religion from the basic ideas of the fertility cults.

"His point is that Yahweh is interested in Israel, the social group, rather than in the natural environment in which he dwells. His prime concern is the fruit of human relationships, the fruit of the moral aspect of life, rather than the fruit of the soil or womb. Man is something more than an element in the natural order. He must produce spiritual values, which are to be radically distinguished from the products of physical fertility." (1)

B. Evidences of the Adonis Cult from the Text of Hosea.

This section is an attempt to answer the question, "What can we learn about the existence, pattern, and significance of the Adonis Cult from the Book of Hosea?"

The public cults of the high places are in evidence in the Text of Hosea. If we could assume that Adonis is the chief figure in the Baal worship of the high places the evidence of Adonis-Baal would be unquestioned. This assumption is made by Gressmann. (1) A more conservative attitude is taken by older commentators.

Hosea does give a vivid description of the Cults-of-Baal, the only religion many of the people of his day knew. By his denunciation of the cult of Baalism he discusses its nature. Perhaps one of the best ways to approach the textual problems of Adonis-Baal influence is to consider the writings of Hosea in chronological order, noting these characteristics as they appear. We shall use the sections as suggested in the introduction: 1. Chapters one through three, representing the story of the marriage of Hosea; 2. chapters four through fourteen includes a collection of various prophecies, delivered during the ministry of Hosea against the sinful nation, Israel.

1. In recent years the tendency has been to regard the narrative of Hosea's unfaithful wife and its application as actual fact. Such an explanation gives the only thoroughly

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(1) H. Gressmann, "Mysteries of Adonis and the Feast of Tabernacles," Ex v 3 pp 416-432.
satisfactory reason for Hosea's figure and the merciful attitude he took toward Gomer. Whether Gomer was herself a sacred prostitute of the Baal cult of the high places we shall consider in another connection; many have affirmed that she was.

The fact that "whoredom" is used no less than three times in the introductory verses helps to orient us to the message Hosea has in store. The total Baal-Adonis Cult for him was unfaithfulness and apostasy to his god, Jehovah. Using the powerful figure of marriage so characteristic of Hosea, he brings to focus the great abominations of the cult. Licentious practices were inherent in the popular cult. Adherence to the cult was disloyalty of the worst sort.

In chapter one, verses nine and ten, indication is given of Jehovah's repudiation of an unfaithful people. The Adonis Cult motive of the dying rising god is sharply contrasted by Hosea with the living god, Jehovah. Jehovah will forgive the people when they shall have ceased their whoredom of serving Baal-Adonis.

Clearly verse ten and eleven here are out of place; their message is hope. Melville Scott and Buttenwieser place them at the end of chapter two, after chapter three has been made to follow chapter one, verse nine. We are thus allowed to retain the passage which many older
commentators have discarded. In its present position it breaks into the content. Hosea's thought is that when the children of Israel will be without a leader and without the idolatrous externals of religion, they will go up from the land in a triumphant return to Jehovah, the living god. (cf. chapter three, verses four and five for content)

"Great shall be the day of Jezreel" now refers not to the day of bloodshed (as in chapter one, verse four) but to a time of great fertility among the peoples of the nation, whose god is ever living. It will be a time of increase of population, now coming from Jehovah, not Adonis. Now will be the time of god given fertility. (cf. chapter two verse twenty-three).

The phrase "sons of the Living God" will replace the dead idols of Adonis and the worship of them which had estranged the people from Jehovah. In place of idols the new people will stand in the closest possible relationship to their god as "sons". The common Semitic conception of a nation as offspring of the deity it worships (cf. Numbers chapter 21, verse 29) is transformed from a purely physical heritage to a moral and ethical sonship. "If the passage is Hoseanic, this is one of the earliest approaches in the direction of monotheism," we are told by S. L. Brown. (1)

The great hopeful section closes with chapter two, verse one; probably it is poetic. Here is the final climax

(1) S. L. Brown, BH p 11.
and summary of Hosea's total message. This mercy is from Jehovah who had now replaced Adonis; "Say to your brethren and to your sisters, My people have obtained mercy!!"

Examination of chapter two shows that it yields more direct information concerning the Adonis-Tammuz cult than does chapter one.

Verses two and three are probably a unit; Hosea's wife of chapter one is here obviously allegorized, becoming a symbol of Israel. By her whoredoms, Israel (or the land) has forfeited her right to be called "my wife" by Jehovah; but her children can plead with their mother to return to her true husband, their father. This is possibly an exhortation to righteous Israelites to preach and teach the renunciation of ritualistic practices of Adonis-Baal which were shameless. The passage may refer also to possible ritual prostitution common to Adonis-Baal into whose service Gomer may have been "allured." Verse three gives the great penalty for disobedience to the true living Jehovah. This penalty is in terms of the greatest failure a fertility motivated Adonis-Baal worshiper could experience; death, barrenness, no fertilizing water. Here is latent the Adonis-Tammuz myth of Aphrodite-Ishtar's descent into Hades, where, as a ceremonial rite, she was stripped naked. As long as she remained in the underworld there was no fertility at all on the earth. The other penalties are also
non-fertility, no vegetation as in a wilderness and no water
to produce any life.

Verses four and five of chapter two have been thought
by many commentators to prove that all the children of
Gomer were conceived out of wedlock. The children are here
spoken about, not addressed. Probably we ought to view the
passage as a unit, verses two to seven having the same
theme behind them, that is, a penalty upon Gomer-Israel
for her attempt to find fertility from Adonis+Baal rather
than Jehovah. Jehovah is speaking condemnation through
Hosea. "I will go after my lovers" is but a further
indication of the source from which Gomer-Israel thought
she was receiving her productivity. The gifts are those
common to fertility cults. The lovers, as is clearly
indicated in the marriage theme of the Adonis cult, were
sacred; their acts were viewed as religious duties. These
gifts may have been "love gifts" or wages paid to the
"Zonah" hired as a sacred harlot.

The sacred harlot was allowed to go out to seek
those who would sacrifice with her. But in verse six
Jehovah is represented as hedging up her way with thorns
and building a wall to prevent her passage. If we are to
interpret the cultic rites of sacred prostitution as
symbolizing, in each single act of fertility, sacrifice,
the search of Aphrodite for Adonis in order to restore fertility, it will not be difficult to see in this passage the underlying Adonis Cult motive. Gomer-Israel had sought her fertility mate, Adonis-Baal, but Jehovah continued to prevent the finding of him. This obstruction of the path of the searcher, be she Aphrodite, Isis, or Ishtar of the Near-East cultic pattern, was a very important detail of the myth-ritual search.

"The watchman of the city smote the maiden of canticles, stripping her mantle from her when she sought her lover." (cf. Canticles 5:6,7) (1)

But in the passage it is Jehovah who prevents her from following her old loves of the Adonis Cult and by so doing forces Gomer-Israel to return to her first and true husband, Hosea-Jehovah. She will return to Jehovah because the doom of sterility and non-productivity have shown her that Jehovah gave her what she thought came from the Adonis Cult. (c.f. Hosea 2:14-20 for parallel thought.)

In the passage Hosea, chapter two, verses eight to thirteen we find an explicit reference to what Jehovah will take away from Gomer-Israel, namely, products she had formerly thought came from Adonis-Baal. We see in rapid survey, elements of ritual gifts, the times of Adonis worship, and mythologically attributed results of the Adonis Cult.

(1) H. G. May, "The Fertility Cult in Hosea", AJSL v 48 p 82.
The ritual gifts were silver and gold, given to, or made in the image of Adonis. Corn, new wine, and fresh oil may have been accessories of the Baal-cultus. (1)

The material prosperity, believed to have come from the Adonis worship, included grain in the time of harvest, new wine in the vintage season, wool and flax in the time of shearing and spinning. All these things will Jehovah take away from her. He will point out her inability to bring fertility to her Adonis Cult lovers. Not even the Adonis-Baal himself can give her productivity if Jehovah withholds it.

The times of the Adonis Cult worship must have been closely connected with traditional Hebrew festivals.

"Worship in pre-exilic times was essentially joyful. It found its expression in a merry sacrificial feast to which the people came dressed in their gayest attire and marching joyfully to the sound of music." (2)

Verse eleven suggests this mirthful time connected with the worship of Adonis+Baal. "I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feasts, her new moons, and her sabbaths and all her solemn assemblies." (3) W. R. Harper places verse eleven following verse twelve, believing that cessation of mirth and feasting is logically and chronologically the climax following the destruction of the fertility symbols of the wine and fig tree. (4) All these feasts are later spoken of as "the days of the Baalim", showing that each had a close Adonis fertility linkage.

In verse twelve the fact that Jehovah will remove or lay waste Israel's vines and fig trees which she attributes to the results of lovers or Adonises would indicate that the fig trees and the Adonises were thus related. (c.f. Isaiah, 5:1-14) The vine has had very early fertility significance; the worship value of sacred trees in Semitic religious background is well known. (1) The vine and fig tree are the two principle fruit bearing trees of Palestine; they represent God's greatest blessing to many Old Testament writers. (c.f. Joel, 1:7, 2:22; I Kings, 4:25; Zechariah, 3:10) These fruits were Israel-Gomer's idea of payments which she thought came from the paramours, as did the bread and water, wool and flax, and oil and drink of verse five. But all these material gifts shall be laid waste to prove to Gomer-Israel that it is Yahweh, not Adonis or his sacred harlots, who has brought them to her.

In time of feast days, or the day of Adonis-Baalim, (verse thirteen) Gomer-Israel sacrificed to Adonis; she adorned herself with jewelry and fine clothes and sought out lovers of Adonis, forgetting Jehovah. These days, which were supposed to be feast days to Jehovah, were really heathen orgies to Adonis. The plural form of Baalim refers to local Baals as varieties of one national god, in all probability Adonis, who was especially worshipped in various places. (as Baal-Hamon, Baal-Meon, Baal-Shalisha, Baal-Tamar).

"To the popular mind there may have been as many Baals as there were places of worship, each with some special local quality. Such local cults were designed to meet popular needs, but Hosea would not tolerate the compromise which regarded them as forms of Yahweh-worship."(1)

In the externals of the cult of Adonis, Jehovah's true nature was forgotten. (c.f. 4:6; 8:14; and 13:6)

With chapter two, verse fourteen through verse twenty there begins another stanza reiterating the former charges made against the Adonis Cult but showing Jehovah's purpose to be redemptive and not retributive. Jehovah seeks the reformation of Israel.

Strangely enough, Jehovah utilizes the methods of the Adonis Cult to "allure" Gomer-Israel and win her back to him in the same fertility pattern with which she was so well acquainted. Under the new conditions Gomer-Israel will again call Jehovah, "my husband" rather than, "my lord"--(my Baal)--or my Adonis. Just as in the time of Moses and the Exodus from Egypt Israel had valued fidelity to Jehovah, she would do so again after renouncing the Adonis worship and all its ways. When this new covenant of redemption is made Baal-Adonis will be no more in Gomer-Israel's mind. (verse seventeen) Even Achor, formerly a "vale of trouble", would be fertile and give hope to the renewed union. (verse fifteen) Renouncing her old ways, Gomer would remain loyal to Jehovah forever.

(1) S. L. Brown, BH p 28f.
In this passage Hosea had in mind the original ideal age of the Exodus. (c.f. Jeremiah 2:2 where he adopts the Adonis cult symbolism, "Thou wentest after Me in the wilderness.") Evidently verse eighteen is in contrast to verse twelve; when Jehovah with-holds fructification, waste ensues, but when Jehovah gives his oath of multiplication to the land, beasts no longer devour it, there is plenty for all. An ideal Israel will be a peaceful one for both man and beast.

Verse nineteen and verse twenty presents the great contrast of the new covenant of ethical Yahwehism with the selfish-magical Adonis alliances. The fertility marriage sacrifice carried on in connection with the Adonis rites was always one of giving in order to receive. But, in contrast to the dead externals of the Adonis intermittent dead-alive yearly program, Jehovah will betroth Israel forever. The magical coercive rites of the Adonis marriages will be done away with; in their place will be the holy betrothal of Israel to Jehovah, based on the highest moral and ethical plane. Righteousness, justice, lovingkindness, and tender mercies, these are the evidences of the new marriage bond. The final assurance is that Gomer-Israel will KNOW Jehovah. Jehovah will no longer be worshipped or obscured by magical-mystical heathen rites of Adonis, but Jehovah's true character will be known as he expresses himself in lover-like tenderness to his beloved Israel.
Chapter two closes with a covenantal poem of God's continued fertility to all life. The threat of verse nine to twelve is here reversed and God will respond to the heavens (representing rain) and the earth (representing latent life capacity); all nature will co-operate to richly endow Israel.

"Jezreel (Israel) asks the plants to germinate; they call upon the earth for its juices; the earth beseeches heaven for rain; heaven supplicates for the divine word which opens its stores and Yahweh responds in faithful love." (1)

The meaning of the name "Jezreel" (God will sow) places the total parable in an agricultural atmosphere. Jehovah is sowing; his are the powers of fructifying nature; Adonis has no power. In contrast to the Adonis myth-ritual, this theme "God will sow" becomes even stronger. No longer need the people be in ignorance believing that the dead effigy lately mourned and lamented and even now thrown into the rivers or springs will bring a revitalization of life. No longer can they believe that sacred harlotry can coerce fertility for man or nature. Verse twenty-three continues the play on names, showing that now God will sow ("scatter"), not as in chapter one, verse four, where God scatters Israel in the face of an enemy, but now he sows for Himself a new crop of men in the promised land. (2) (c.f. Jeremiah 31:27 f.). Material prosperity, such as the people thought came from Adonis, comes from God; but that alone does not

satisfy him, he must have growth of character as well.
The names of Hosea's children will in that day be reversed, Ruhamah (uncompassionated) will be changed to Lo-Ruhamah ("I will have compassion on uncompassionated") and Lo-Ammi (not my people) will become Ammi (my people). He who did not have the way and who was "Not-my-people" but will become "My people" shall say "My God." Jehovah shall triumph over Adonis+Baal

Chapter three tells the omitted part of the domestic tragedy of Hosea's life. Hosea buys back his loved-but-lost wife, Gomer. Verse three b. suggests that Adonis is the "other gods" or Baal to whom allegorical Israel has turned. The cakes of raisins have been mentioned as a part of the Adonis marriage ceremony and are appropriately used here by Hosea in speaking of Gomer's unfaithfulness, "beloved of her friend, an adulteress." The Adonis way of worshipping Jehovah was unfaithfulness. The time of seclusion for Gomer seems all the more surely to indicate her degradation of life as a harlot. A watching and waiting attitude is assumed by Hosea, the same method in which Jehovah will deal with Israel.

Verse four has given considerable difficulty to commentators. That there is evidence of some fertility motive seems evident. The verse explains in greater detail the imagery of the verse preceding, which is now no longer a personal reference to Hosea-Gomer, but is a message to all Israel.
"For the children of Israel shall abide many days without king and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without pillar, and without ephod or Teraphim." (1)

The ephod has been variously explained to have been a garment worn for special oracle priests, (cf. Exodus 28; I Samuel, 2:18; II Samuel, 6:14.) or as an idol-image connected in some way with the giving of oracles. (c.f. Judges, 8:26f; Judges, 17-18; I Samuel, 2:28, 14:3, 22:18 as in LXX; I Samuel, 23:6 or 23:9-12; 30:7 f).

The Teraphim were usually plural, but did not necessarily have separate images (c.f. I Samuel, 19:13-16.) Their true meaning is obscure, but, that at one time they were gods seems likely. (c.f. Genesis, 31:30; Judges, 18:24.) It also seems evident that they were kept in houses, (c.f. Genesis, 31:19; Judges, 18:5; I Samuel, 19:13, 1b) and were under the direct charge of the father. (Genesis, 31:30, Judges, 17.) "It may be inferred that the possession of them was thought to place the family under the protection of the tribal deity and the spirits of dead ancestors," says S. L. Brown. (2)

In connection with the Teraphim, T. J. Meek draws information from S. R. Driver's Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible, to the effect

"that it (the Tammuz cult in Palestine) was very common in the early period, and, despite the polemic of the prophets against it, continued right down to late times. Excavations at Taanach and elsewhere show that the most common images in the houses of Palestine from the earliest times to the sixth century were Astarte figurines." (3)

(1) Hosea, 3:4; (2) S. L. Brown, BH p 31; (3) T. J. Meek, "Canticles and the Tammuz Cult" AJSL v 37 p 3f; C.f. W. R. Smith, PI p 170 ff.
Perhaps the Teraphim, in some cases, may have been Astarte figurines.

The fact that Hosea does not condemn the Teraphim as idols seems to show that they were commonly accepted as being Jahwistic and orthodox. Both the Teraphim and the ephod were used in conjunction with oracular divination; both had underlying fertility or Adonis significance.

The Messebbah, mentioned in Hosea, chapter three, verse four, and chapter ten, verse one f., was a Canaanitic symbol of the presence of deity. Some have given it phalic-fertility significance. As such it would be related closely to the magical-marriage rite of Adonis and his consort.

In chapter four, verses three and four, we have a definite suggestion of the dying-rising pattern. The description is vivid and reminds one of the lamentation dirges for Tammuz-Adonis. Although Hosea here draws on the common idea of the prophets, that nature reflects the moods of man, (c.f. Amos, 8:8; Isaiah, 16:8, 24:3-6; Jeremiah, 12:4) it seems to have a deeper meaning. "Everyone that dwelleth therein shall languish," (1) is very similar to "The man sleeps in his chamber; the maid sleeps by her ovens." (2) This is from the story of Ishtar's descent into the lower world. The rest of the verse shows that human fertility languishes even as that of the beasts of the field and birds of the heaven. Even the fish of the sea

(1) Hosea, 4:36; (2) G. A. Barton, AB 4 p 231.
will be no more. All this seems closely parallel to the Adonis rites, where, during his absence, all productivity ceases. The text is corrupt here; the reference to those who strive with the priests may be an ancient reference to a further rite of fertility, which, if we had it, might give us greater insight to verse five, where "I will destroy thy mother," may be a destruction of "mother earth," or the mother of fertility. Ancient legends equate Adonis' mother with his sister-lover, Aphrodite.

Verse six of chapter five is closely parallel to the key idea, "Jehovah hath withdrawn himself" when sought by the people. They sought him in order that their flocks might increase. This is similar to the withdrawal (as of Tammuz-Adonis) experienced in the Baal cults of the time of Elijah. (c.f. I King, 18:27; Hosea, 9:12b)

Chapter four, verses eleven to fourteen suggests again ritual prostitution in connection with the cultic worship. The leaders themselves have been guilty of the worst of sacrifices with prostitutes. Therefore, the daughters of the land cannot be blamed for falling into the ritual prostitution connected with the Adonis cult if the leaders participate shamelessly.

Chapter six opens with the suggestion of ritual flagellation and the subsequent binding by the priests. In the sacrifices to Adonis-Tammuz it was not uncommon that worshippers should cut themselves, as the modern dervishes
do, and look upon their wounds as inflicted by deity. In the cult of Attis, worshippers, in ecstasy, emasculated themselves and thenceforth served as priests of the Attis Temple. Ritual flagellation for purposes of reproduction and fertility are common in Europe. The ceremonial whip is found in the hand of a figure of Osiris in recent excavations. (1) But the most striking symbolism comes from verse two where a ritual motif of revival of the god on the third day seems clearly to indicate Adonis influence. The worshippers feel that they are to share in the resurrection; even the most ancient Tammuz texts convey the same fundamental ideas. Again Jehovah is contrasted with the unstable Adonis. “Jehovah; his going forth is sure as the morning.” (2) The method by which he will come has more Adonis Cult imagery in it. “He will come upon us as the rain; as the latter rains that water the earth.” (3)

The sensual nature of the debauchery of the Adonis Cult appears in chapter seven, verse three, (c.f. 3:4; 8:10, and 13:10) as being entered into by the leaders as well as the people. Those who were supposed to guide the people had not been faithful in their duty. Verse fourteen suggests again a ritual practice of the Adonis Cult of self-inflicted wounds, (c.f. 6:1-3) and gives specific references to this self-cutting, as taking place on "beds" where they "howl,"

(1) H. W. Cartwright, "Iconography of Certain Divinities." AJSL 45 p 179 ff.; (2) Hosea, 6:3; (3) Ibid, 3 c.
doing nothing to redeem themselves from the harlotry and idolatry of the cult.  

In chapter eight there is a suggestion of the Calf of Samaria as one of the central images of a cult. This may have been animal representation of a Baal, for such were common in the Semitic background. (cf. Exodus, 32) Verse seven takes the figure from the harvest field; because the worshippers have placed confidence in Adonis+Baal and not Jehovah, the stock of the grain will not bear true, fine fruit of heavy grain, but the yield, even if reasonable, shall be swallowed up by foreign nations. The same figure is used with great effectiveness in chapter ten, verse twelve. "The day of visitation" cf. verse seven suggests again no fertility, as in the absence of Adonis-Baal. (cf. 5:6)

Chapter nine, verses one and two, implies ritual prostitution in connection with the grain festivals on harvest floors and wine presses. (cf. 12:11) The "hire" of a harvest depended on the abundance of the harvest or wine in-gathering. The notable passage of chapter nine verses ten to seventeen, of God finding Israel as grapes in the wilderness, is parallel to Isaiah chapter five, verses one to fourteen. (1)

The great condemnation for unfaithfulness is repeated in symbolic terms of no fertility. (cf. 9:1, 12, 14, 16, 17,) Their fate will be dreadful when Jehovah departs from

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them. "No birth, no conception, and none with child" is the greatest curse that can come on a people who have a national tradition and a racial pride.

Chapter ten, verse one, uses the fertility symbol, the vine, as the vehicle of telling the story of an increasing idolatry. (cf. Psalms 80:8-11) This is an affront to Jehovah.

Chapter eleven, verses one to four, may have Adonis significance if we recall the infant-in-arms concept, common to some Tammuz-Adonis myth rituals. Here the mother cares for the child until it is old enough, then she becomes his consort. (1) (cf. also 9:10; 10:9) Verse nine b. shows that the poem of coercive magic is not binding on the true god. Human made ways of the coercive Adonis cult may be man's way of approach to deity; but "God is God."

Chapter thirteen, verses one to three, shows that the rites of the Adonis-Baal are foolish for they lead to death. The idols are man made and not gods. (cf. Genesis, 2:17; Proverbs, 9:18; and I Timothy, 5:6; Isaiah, 44) The oblations which normal minded men made to idols were regarded by Hosea as silly; they would be as of as little value as chaff driven from the threshing floor by the whirling wind, or as smoke rising out of a chimney.

Chapter thirteen, verse four c. may have Adonis rootage in

(1) cf. S. Langdon, TI p 27 f.
that Adonis is contrasted to Jehovah as the eternal savior; Adonis-Baal is temporary. Chapter thirteen, verses seven to eight refers to various animals that may have symbolic Tammuz-Adonis significance.

Chapter fourteen, verses one to three, repudiates things as symbols of God; even the bullocks of sacrifice shall be replaced by a "lip offering" of a righteousness pledge. Verses four to eight tells of new gifts, no longer for lovers hire, but as the fertility blessing of God's gifts to Israel. "I will be as the dew" gives a new meaning to the fertility of waters as Jehovah's gift to a thirsty land and people. Those blessings which Adonis was thought to have given were Jehovah's gifts. They were: beauty as compared to the lily, strength as compared to Lebanon, fruitfulness as compared to the olive tree, and fragrance as in relation to the attractiveness of goodness; all these gifts shall be Israel's for her adherence to Jehovah, who is now replacing Adonis-Tammuz. Adonis need no longer be a way to God, but Jehovah will give his gifts to Israel directly.

"I am a green fir tree" suggests Attis and the fertility symbol -- now Jehovah the god, not Attis. The climax of Jehovah replacing Adonis comes in chapter nine, verse eight d. "FROM ME IS THY FRUIT FOUND." Jehovah, not Adonis, gives life!!
C. Hosea's Condemnation of Evil Practices in the Adonis Cult.

The two charges Hosea presses against the cult of Adonis-Baal which constantly recur in his message to Israel are adultery and idolatry. In addition he insists that although symbolism and ritual have a place in religion, the truest sacrifice Jehovah can appreciate is loving kindness and tender mercy.

1. Adultery for Hosea covers a multitude of sins. Not only was ritual prostitution, taking place in connection with the Adonis Cults, included in the list, but departure from Jehovah in any form was called "whoredom" and "adultery". The uniqueness and superiority of Israel's religion was a heritage of thought which Hosea inherited from his predecessor, Elijah. By the contest on Mt. Carmel Elijah proved to the Adonis-Baal Cultus and their followers that Jehovah had more power than they. (cf. I Kings, 18 f) By continual reference to the period of Egyptian bondage as the "glory day" of Jehovah's betrothal to Israel, Hosea fixed a norm of fidelity. Since the time of the Exodus the Israelite nation had taken unto itself the principal local Adonis cults of the Canaanites. In Hosea's day the ceremony of worship was fashionable among the general population. Rites of mourning, resurrection, marriage, Adonis gardens, and all the Adonis-Baal ceremonies were meticulously performed by the priests of the people and the people. Worship of Adonis-Baal was carried on in the
high places, mountain tops, on the hills beneath the trees, near villages and on threshing floors. Altars were erected for the worship. (cf 9:1; 4:13; 10:8; 4:1a; 8:11; 10:1f and 8.) At the places of worship the Massebbah (3:4; 10:1) and Ashera were found. The stone pillar and the wooden pole, respectively, were the vestiges of the old sacred stones and trees of the Semitic religion. In some cases they were images of deity; (cf. 4:17; 8:4; 11:2 et. al.) at Dan and Bethel these took the form of calves. (cf. I Kings 12:28f; Hosea, 10:5; 13:2) On holy days there was much hilarity at the high places. (Amos, 5:23; Hosea 2:11; 9:1) The feasts of Jehovah, new moons, and the sabbaths were well celebrated. (2:11; 5:7; 9:5) At these feasts and rituals of Adonis, the women and girls donned festal attire, put on rings and jewels (cf. 2:13 et. al.) and made merry. There were libations to Jehovah (9:4), sacrifices of sheep and oxen to Adonis (5:6), and a feast time of roast flesh for all, probably the principal time of meat-eating in the community. (8:13) All these rites were in honor of the deity who gave fertility and productivity. (cf. 2:5, 12,) In time of famine and drought a ritual to bring fertility again was used, and wailings and moanings filled the air. (cf 7:14 LXX; 4:3 et. al.) The priests, who drew their income from the high places, encouraged laxness and immorality for it meant greater profit. Intercourse might be had with sacred prostitutes at any time by anyone who could pay the "love-
gift." Such practices were dignified by the name "sacrifice" and were mythologically supposed to induce human fertility. (cf. 4:8, 14; 8:9; 9:1)

Adultery for Hosea included most of the encumbrances of Baal-Adonis worship learned from the Canaanites. In the popular religion of the people this adultery was more pronounced because Jehovah had come to be practically synonymous with Adonis-Baal, the god of fruitfulness. It was to Adonis-Baal, in place of Jehovah, that love gifts for prostitutes, sacrifice of virginity (4:14), libations, and cultic rites were given and performed.

All these things Hosea condemned as disloyalty to the true Jehovah. The worship of Baal-Adonis was obscuring his true nature; he desired "goodness, and not sacrifice; the knowledge of god more than burnt offerings." (6:6) Loving kindness and tender mercy were being observed by the sensuality of the Adonis-Baal cult. Hosea scathingly denounces everything which took Jehovah farther away from Israel. Because the worship of Baal-Adonis gave to Jehovah Baal characteristics of sensuality, of earthly joy and dominion solely, and of close attachment to the land of Canaan, Hosea condemned it vigorously. In forgetting the Jehovah of the Exodus the Israelites had forgotten powerful political and religious traditions. Subtilely, Hosea substitutes the true god of the Exodus for the Baal-Adonis. (cf. 11:1-4; 12:9)
"Adultery, unfaithfulness, and desertion of their true Husband--these are pictures which Hosea uses to describe the popular worship of his day, and they are nowhere painted so beautifully as in that early poem, which seems to have been composed with the cult only in mind and without reference to the political events described in the latter chapters." (2:2-13) (1)

2. Idolatry, according to Hosea, was utilizing forms of man made images and symbols as substitutes for God. Israel's whole system of worship, because it was artificial, was a lie against the good name of Jehovah; the places of worship had so much sin in them that divine judgment was called down upon them. (4:15, 19; 5:1f; 8:11; 9:6; 10:1f; 12:11.) Most of all, the cult images were senseless and had no religious value. Amos saw the idols of the Adonis-Baal worship as a part of the vast ritual system which was non-essential in comparison with the fundamental religious requirement of right conduct. Hosea, however, recognized in the symbols idolatry itself. Possibly his own contact with the Adonis-Baal cult through the domestic tragedy of his wife and family made him realize more keenly the devastating result of ritualistic idolatry. For him idolatry was the very symbol of apostasy.

He scorns the idols and attacks them bitterly. (11:2; 13:1ff.) They are but the work of a common craftsman; they are unreal and artificial. (8:6; 13:2.) They will be carried as a mock tribute to King Jareb or broken into many pieces. (10:6; 8:6.) He imagines the great loss the people

(1) S. L. Brown, BH FXXIII.
and priests would feel at such a lack of god-images; he scoffs at men who kiss calves. (10:5; 13:2.)

Idolatry was terrible for him because it had no meaning. The local Baal-Adonises were powerless to protect or really aid their people. Jehovah supplies the fruits of the earth, not Adonis. (2:5, Set.al.) When the land is being made desolate, Adonis-Baal will look hopelessly and helplessly on. (2:10) All the people and leaders who trust in Adonis-Baal will be put to shame! (cf. 4:19.) Jehovah will then make his triumph over Baal-Adonis manifest.
D. Figures of Hosea taken from the Adonis Cult.

In our discussion of the evidences of the Adonis Cult from the text of Hosea we considered the various logical as well as figurative ways of influence. Here, however, we shall set down certain figures and symbols which occur both in the Adonis Cult and Hosea. Our reasons for believing that he may have taken them from the Adonis Cult are these: (a) The Adonis-Tammuz Cult is a great many years older than Hosea. The ideas were used long before Hosea was born. (b) That Hosea lived in contact with the Adonis-Baal Cult of Canaan seems evident from previous considerations. (c) Finally, a man does no live and teach, or work and preach, "in vacuo", that is, without ideas. It is most logical to believe that he seized upon that which was existant in his environment and by the genius of his own personality used it for his own religious teaching purposes. Our list is not exhaustive, but seeks to point out the more suggestive features of the symbolism Hosea acquired from the Adonis Cult.

1. Father-Son or Mother-Son relationship. (cf 11:1) The traditional Adonis-Tammuz figure of mother-son devotion is clearly inherent in Hosea's use of Jehovah as the tender father of Israel. The mother quality of the figure is clear; however, Hosea nowhere explicitly refers to the basic mother-son pattern. This relationship was common to Semites; Hosea gave it a clearly religious interpretation. Probably the figure had been in use for centuries in connection with the Adonis-Tammuz Cult. The mother goddess searched barren fields or wailed in her temple
for her lost son. (1) The picture of a mother bearing her child on her bosom is common throughout the Near East ritual pattern. (cf. Hosea, 11:3, 4.)

2. The husband-wife or lover-beloved relationship.
Sacred marriage and sacred prostitution were an important part of the Adonis-Baal Cult of the time of Hosea. The total concept of Hosea's marriage may have sprung from his defiance of local custom. The marriage of the god and goddess in a fertility ceremony was dramatized by sacred prostitutes as we have already seen. However, Hosea did not confine himself to the cult imagery; he took this latent symbol of a magical deity-in-man and remade it into a true prophetic symbol. (2) Throughout the whole book Jehovah seeks Israel as a husband or as a lover seeks his beloved. The figure, as it is used by Hosea, is no longer sensual but is purely ethical. (Hosea, 2; cf. Jeremiah 3; Isaiah, 54:5, 62:1-5.)

3. The symbol of Jehovah the healer of Israels wounds.
In the Adonis-Tammuz cult the god was the shepherd healer of the worshippers. He was healer in the sense that all life depended on his annual sacrifice and especially on his annual return from death. One available Tammuz ritual prayer was used as an appeal to the god in behalf of a very sick man. (3) Hosea uses this figure repeatedly as symbolizing Jehovah's continued care of Israel even from the

(1) Stephen Langdon, TI p 10 f, cf. 24, 42, 50; (2) cf. T. J. Meek, "Canticles and the Tammuz Cult" AJSL v 39 p 3f; (3) Stephen Langdon, TI 34 ff.
time of the Egyptian bondage. (6:1-3; 7:1; 11:3; 8e.) The final restoration of Israel will take place because Jehovah has the power and the compassion to give Israel a new chance. "I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely." (1)

4. The death of the god. We have discussed the ritual and myth of the death of the vegetation god, Tammuz-Adonis. Hosea frequently employs the symbolism of this death and resurrection. H. G. May reads chapter five, verse thirteen to chapter six, verse three as a complete passage and as definitely indicating this idea; (2) Baudissin considers this section as a unit and as an adoption of the cult symbolism of Adonis. (3) Hosea here clearly adopts the cult myth-ritual figure to portray his message.

"When Ephraim saw his sickness, then went Ephraim to Assyria, and sent to the great King Jareb: but he is not able to heal you, neither will he cure you of your wound. For I will be to Ephraim as a lion; I, even I, will tear and go away; I will carry off; and there shall be none to deliver. I will go and return to my place, till they acknowledge their offense, and seek my face; in their affliction they will earnestly seek me, (saying) come, let us return unto Jehovah; for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us; on the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live before him and let us know, let us follow to know Jehovah; his going forth is swift as the morning; and he will come unto us as the rain, as the latter rain that washeth the earth." (4)

The people of the land are here pictured as being destroyed or torn in pieces, even as the myth-ritual of Adonis pictured his death. (5) The hope of the people is

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(1) Hosea, 14:4a,b.; cf. 5:13 ff; Isaiah 1:5,53 & 5; Jeremiah, 6:7; 10:19; see also Frazer, AAO p 26, 184, 185, 221, 222; (2) N. G. May, "The Fertility Cult in Hosea" AJSL v 48 p 74; (3) Baudissin, AE p 402; (4) Hosea 5:13-6:3; (5) May, op. cit. p 75; Strong-Garstang, SG p45f; Frazer AAO p 8, 23ff.
cast into the symbolism of the cult when their life depends on the reviving spring rains. Vividly, Hosea takes the common cultic pattern of his day and fills it with Jehovah. The revival on the third day is interpreted as life being given as the reward of seeking to know Jehovah; this theme is Hosea's great contribution in opposition to blind mythical cult rituals. The knowledge of God as loving kindness is directly opposite to fear and superstition and death. (1) Jehovah shall rain goodness upon his people which shall be life for them. (2)

In the thirteenth chapter of Hosea, he again uses the dying-rising symbolism. Israel is dead in Baal. (13:1) That Jehovah has had something to do with Israel's death because of the following after Baal may be implied in verses four to eight. The verses following explain that this death and destruction came as punishment for rebelling against the help of Jehovah. Their turning away is very serious because Jehovah had cared for them in the wilderness. (13:5) The doom of Sheol is upon Israel. (13:12-14) The cult expected resurrection after death, as is implied in chapter thirteen, verse four, but Hosea tells them that the nation shall die.

Following the Adonis Cult imagery, the most tragic of all possible events would be death in place of an expected resurrection. An East wind coming hot from the desert will

(1) cf. W. R. Harper, H p 283 for an interpretation of "assumed" repentance; (2) Baudissin, AE p 310ff, 423f.
dry up all possibilities of life in the fountain springs of Israel. (13:15) Thus, Jehovah, the only true savior, (13:4) will have no compassion, (13:11) and Israel will die for her sin.

The power of Jehovah over the forces of nature is supreme. (2:11) When Jehovah withdraws from Ephraim the result will be lack of fertility or sterility. (9:11, 12, 14.)

5. The Mourning Rites. The mourning rites were held in close connection with those of the death of the god. These ceremonies were very similar to those of mourning for the death of a friend or relative. (cf. I Kings 18:28; Jeremiah, 16:6; Deuteronomy, 14:1; Joel, 1:8) H. G. May believes that these rites were an indication that the Hebrews were concerned with the rite of the dying god. (1) The departure of the god occasioned the death of animal and vegetable fertility and as such was an occasion for mourning. The people of Hosea's time did not wail unto Jehovah from their hearts, but only in a superficial way did they plead for mercy. (cf 7:14-16.) Accompanying the wailing the mourners lashed and lacerated themselves. May says that it is because of the close association of mourning with the Hebrew shrines that they were prohibited by the Deuteronomistic law. (cf. Deut. 14:1, 2.) Shaving of the hair was a sign of mourning in Hosea. (as Leviticus, 19:27) (2)

The bewailing of the calf-god of Beth-Aven may have been accompanied by ritual laceration. (10:5) The Zonah,

(1) G. H. May, op. cit. p 78; (2) cf. Strong-Garstang, SG p 46.
or sacred prostitutes lived at the sacred shrines; there is evidence that they participated in the ritual of mourning. (Jeremiah, 5:7; Joshua, 2:1; Hosea, 6:1; 7:14.) The cry may have been, "My God, we Israel, know Thee." (Hosea, 8:2, cf. Joel, 1:15; Hosea, 13:2.)

The imagery of the mourners is used by Hosea to describe the pitiful condition of the land. (4:3) The languishing of the land may be compared to Isaiah's description of the decay of the vine. (Isaiah, 24:7; Joel, 1:9 b.-10 a.) That this mourning is similar to that of the Adonis-Tammuz Cult may be seen from, "The gardens of themselves restrain this growth when Idin-Dagan sleeps." (1) "The very river ran red from Aphaca to the sea at the death of Adonis, and the red anemone dyed the face of nature with its blood." (2)

6. **The search for the god.** We have already seen the prominence of the search motif in ancient myth-ritual patterns. It took many forms. Ishtar searched the land-of-no-return for her beloved Tammuz. Demeter, the mother, sought everywhere for Eurydice. Isis, in searching for her consort, Osiris, crossed the waters from Egypt to Gebal yearly. Aphrodite, in hastening to her wounded lover, tore her flesh on the thorn bush, making the white flowers red.

On the basis of this widespread search motif, H. G. May generalizes by saying, "It is highly probable that many of the Old Testament references to seeking and finding Yahweh had their origin in the fertility cult conception." (3)

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(1) Stephen Langdon, TI p 26; (2) Frazer, op. cit. p 26; cf. p 4, 262-65; (3) H. G. May.
In a wonderfully creative and suggestive passage Hosea commands Israel to seek Jehovah in righteousness, even as they must have called on Adonis-Baal in the springtime, at the time of seed sowing. (Hosea, 10:12) The raining of righteousness by Jehovah is to be compared with the dependence of the harvest on the spring rains. The search for Jehovah would be successful if he would Bestow mercy and righteousness on his people. (cf. I Kings, 18:24)

The passage indicating the death of Ephraim also gives indication of the search for the god. (5:15ff.) Desolation will be on the land until the people seek him for forgiveness. Even great sacrifices will not atone, says Hosea, unless the people earnestly seek Jehovah.

Hosea chapter eleven, verse seven, gives a clear indication of the search for Adonis-Baal as being futile; until the people seek out Jehovah as true god there will be no fertility. Adonis-Baal is no real god; Jehovah alone is god and it is his return that brings blessing.

7. The Resurrection Theme. Whenever Jehovah is pictured as bringing blessing and fertility to Israel as a reward or revitalization it may be viewed as having its origin in the Adonis-Tammuz Cult. W. R. Harper believes that Ezekiel's version of the resurrection of the valley of dry bones had as its source of inspiration Hosea, chapter six, verse two. (1) Baudissin also believes that this

(1) W. R. Harper, AH p 283.
reference contains cultic imagery of the resurrection theme. (1)

The passages of Hosea, chapter six, verse three, and chapter ten, verse twelve, represent the return or resurrection of Jehovah in the fertilizing rains. That His resurrection had the power to restore Ephraim from Sheol is affirmed in chapter thirteen, verse fourteen. May suggests that whenever the symbolism used was that of a departing rather than a dying god, the return took the place of the resurrection.

Here, as in other cases, Hosea took over the symbolism and ideology of the cult and revitalized it with an ethical content unknown before him. Against the cultic theme of dying to rise again Hosea shows that Jehovah is the ever-living god. (1:10; 14:8) This is his great remolding of the symbolism of the Adonis-Tammuz Cult.

(1) Baudissin, HE p 450-570.
SECTION V

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ADONIS CULT UPON HOSEA
A. The Influence of the Adonis Cult on the Personal Life of Hosea.

Whether or not the Adonis-Baal Cult influenced vitally the personal life of Hosea depends to a large extent upon the interpretation one makes of the unfaithfulness of Hosea's wife, Gomer. If Gomer became a temple slave during her period of absence from the home of Hosea, the Adonis-Tammuz Cult would have given Hosea much cause for condemnation.

The Zonah was a temple slave; she was distinctly a religious prostitute. Her position in the society of Hosea's day was generally accepted, for she personified the goddess in the cultic rite. But the Zonah might be "hired" by any male worshipper who would pay the "love-price." In turn the sacred women could solicit whom they pleased. (cf. Ezekiel, 16:30ff; Jeremiah, 3:6; Proverbs, 7:6ff; Numbers 25:1ff; Isaiah, 57:3ff.) A Zonah, male or female, might be married, unmarried, or a widow. (4:14) The married zonah may have been less respected than the unmarried for they receive more condemnation. (Hosea, 2:4; 4:14; Ezekiel, 16:1ff; 23:1ff; Proverbs, 7:19.) Of the married prostitutes Hosea says they are adulterous. (2:4; 4:14.) It is evident that the female prostitutes made their living at the shrines, (2:4ff) and depended on their "lovers" to provide them with the necessities as well as the luxuries of life. (4:10, 11.)
Gomer may have experienced any or all of the experiences of a Zonah. She was bought back by Hosea from slavery. (3:2.) Was it temple slavery?

It is the contention of LeRoy Waterman that if Gomer were a loyal worshipper of Jehovah-Baal, as the populace practiced it, she would naturally be described as a harlot. (2:2-13; 4:10-14; 5:3,4,7; 6:9,10; 7:4ff; 8:9; 9:10,15.) The prophet condemns the adulterous practice of Adonis-Baal worship not as the worship of a god other than Jehovah, but for its own evil character. (1)

Arguing from the second chapter primarily, he seeks to show that although throughout the book Hosea equates Gomer with Israel, yet beneath the whole there lurks the repressed fire of indignation of the prophet. Waterman believes that chapter two sets forth the practices of the worship of the current Baalism in which his wife shared. This religious worship was not religion at all to Hosea, but whoredom and adultery. Hosea did not discover his wife's unfaithfulness, but found that she was a devotee of the cult and because of the nature of this association she had broken her marriage bond. In spite of Hosea's remonstrance Gomer continued to be "religious" in her affiliation with the Adonis Cult as it was sanctioned by convention. Waterman believes that very early in their married life Hosea discovered

(1) LeRoy Waterman, "The Marriage of Hosea" JB. Lit. v 38, p 197.
her unchastity in religious cultic devotion. (cf. 4:13-14, especially "brides," possibly representing Gomer.) But Gomer did not cease her sacrificing in the cult and receiving her rewards, especially at feast days. (cf. 2:11) Hosea watched the growing gap in his married life until the tension became too strong. Then he said, "You are not my wife, and I am not your husband;" you are a harlot. (2:1) (1)

The married relation became an example in Hosea's life of what the popular religion of the day was doing to the higher ethical religion of Amos and true Yahwism. Hosea came to the conclusion that the popular worship was not Yahweh worship at all but adultery.

If Gomer were participating in what the people of the day called religion it was a sham and an insult to the true god Jehovah who had brought the people up out of the land of Egypt. If his wife's practices were unchaste and it was distasteful to him, Hosea felt the cultic Baal-Adonis worship was also displeasing to Jehovah and was not his worship.

Even if we are reluctant to accept the position of Waterman in believing that Gomer actually became a temple prostitute and participated in the cultic rites of the Adonis-Baal Cult, there is still reason to believe that Hosea was influenced personally by the cult. If the Adonis-Baal cult is the background against which Hosea wrote, as

(1) Ibid. cf. also T.H. Robinson, PP p 76; (The literal view of Gomer's unchastity at the time of her marriage is supported by Volz, Duhm, Steuernagel, C. H. Toy, and G. M. P. Smith)
We have been seeking to show that it is, Hosea must have been deeply influenced by the cult personally, because he uses the figure of his own unhappy married life with Gomer as a parable to oppose the licentious cult of his day. This means that he was so vitally influenced by the Adonis-Baal Cult in the corruption of the worship of his day that he took his own personal experience of an unfaithful wife as the chief weapon with which to oppose it. It would take no less a man than a prophet to use so intimately revealing a figure as his own domestic tragedy to gain condemnation for the cult.

The fact stands that Gomer was unfaithful after her marriage. Whether or not she was a devotee of the cult before marriage need not concern us too greatly. (1) When it actually became a fact in Hosea's mind that Gomer had been unfaithful to him, Hosea saw the reflection of the tragedy that was even then befalling Israel and her experience with Jehovah. Hosea loved Gomer, but she proved to be unfaithful to him; Jehovah loved Israel but she had followed after the Baals and the Adonises. Even previous to this time Hosea had seen the unfaithfulness of Israel to Jehovah and had expressed some of the consequences this attitude in the names of his children. When the truth of Gomer's unfaithfulness was known to Hosea he was convinced that his was not a chance marriage doomed to despair as were other marriages of his day, but that this was God's way of speaking to him.

(1) cf. S. L. Brown, BH p 33-37.
Hosea was a prophet before the domestic tragedy occurred. He had seen the impure cultic worship of the Baals, and had recognized that these cultic Adonis worshippers were not truly worshipping Jehovah. When his sad experiences came "grief became his gospel." In reaching his philosophy of the situation two motives guided him: First, his grief was but similar to that of many in like conditions, whose homes were being broken by the adulterous worship of the Adonis-Baal; Second, he saw the fundamental connection between the wrong done to himself, and to other families in similar circumstances, with the great wrong done to the love of Jehovah by the adulterous idolatrous worship of the Adonis-Baals. (1)

Basing his message to Israel on the bold figure of Jehovah as the husband of Israel, he took the current symbolism and, rather than reject it because of its abominable association and it disastrous moral effect on the people of the day, "he deliberately appropriated it and made it the vehicle of his profoundest teaching." (2)

The basis of this union of Jehovah and Israel was not physical but moral. Thus he makes the relation one of inmost affection. The duty of conjugal fidelity was made to rest on the spouse; this trust of the wife was almost daily violated in the popular cults. (3)

The vividness with which Hosea portrays the concept of God's love for the people of Israel from time past (9:10; 11:1 ff; 12:9ff; 13:4 f.) plus his conception of the depth

(1) G. A. Smith BTP v 1 ch. 14; (2) S. L. Brown, BH p 35; (3) cf. Robertson Smith PL see. IV
of the agony and yearning in God's unrequited love shows that he must have passed through a soul trying experience such as he describes.

The influence of the Adonis-Tammuz Cult came to Hosea personally through two different channels. Both of these effects found their vehicle through the relationship of Gomer to Hosea; she focused his attention on the Adonis-Baal Cult and its effect on Israel.

(1) Growing out of his love for Gomer and her incapability of remaining loyal to him, Hosea saw a direct influence of the Adonis Cult on his own life. Had not Gomer allied herself with the cult, and had not this caused her to become estranged from him?

This personal anger which he held against the cult may have been the cause of his great emotional drive against it. The cult had taken the thing he loved most from him; it had turned his possible happiness into despair. Little wonder that he despised any of its manifestations.

(2) Whether consciously or not, Hosea found the scope of his personal ministry closely identified with the Adonis Cult. His great teaching of ethical love found its basic sensual rootage in the "whoredom" of the cult. All about him he saw his friends and loved ones being influenced by the cult and could do nothing to save them. The leaders, the priests, and the common folk were so deeply involved in the sensual rites that Hosea personally felt its impact.
At first the influence of the Adonis Cult must have bound him down and caused him so much trouble as to make him think that destruction by Jehovah could be the only outcome. Then came the light, through his own redemption of Gomer. If a human husband could love his own wife deeply enough to restore her to a normal life from a life of sin, so, too, would the God of the universe purge his chosen people, Israel.

The message of hope of Hosea is a direct result of his domestic life. The love of the prophet for Gomer, even after she had sinned in the Adonis Cult, became a revelation to him of God's love for mankind.
B. The Difficulties Offered by the Adonis Cult to Hosea's Message.

There were several ways in which the Adonis Cult detracted from Hosea's life and message and made it difficult for him to present his message to Israel.

(1) Hosea opposed a religious institution of long standing. Established customs, especially religious rites that have descended from father to son for generations are very difficult to change. Hosea sought to remake the popular religions of the Adonis-Tammuz Cults which had behind them centuries of tradition of ritual ceremony.

At best the opposition to the Adonis-Tammuz Cult was a difficult undertaking. The trend of the cult was directly opposite to the higher religious ideals which Hosea sought to proclaim. Probably Hosea was very wise to absorb as much of the cultic symbolism of the ritual as he did. This opened the way for him to reach the real message he sought to speak. How great were the obstacles Hosea had to overcome we do not know. We have his message; it indicates a clash and denunciation of the popular religion of his day.

(2) The fact that Hosea spoke in terms and figures with which his age was already familiar constituted a hazard to him. He used the weapons of the cult against the cult. The danger involved in such a method was that those who heard his message might not understand how he truly differed from the
Adonis Cult. But his use of the cult may also have proved a protection for him; we might not have his message today if it were not couched in terms and symbols which were not offensive to the leaders of his day.

(3) The Adonis Cult had a profound influence on the personal life of Hosea. He rebelled against its degrading elements and sought to drive it from his home. But Gomer's alliance with the cult forced Hosea to call her an adulteress. When he overcame the gap that separated him from Gomer and took her into his home again he clearly recognized the superficial nature and corrupt practices of the popular religious cults of his day.

There were many ways in which Hosea's message was enriched by his reaction against the Adonis Cult and by his absorption of its most fruitful concepts.

The Adonis Cult represented the greatest evil in Israel; against this evil Hosea exerted all his strength. Using the technique of a skillful fighter he appropriated the weapons of the thing which he fought. The opposition Hosea found to his ethical religion was a unifying force to crystallize his own principles.

The following list of positive contributions coming to Hosea from the Adonis Cult is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive.

(1) Against the Adonis Cult motif of the temporary residence of a god fructifying nature, Hosea caught the vision of Jehovah as eternally alive. Adonis was able to pledge only a half yearly harvest of nature; Jehovah pledged eternal fidelity to his people in terms of the highest ethical and moral guardianship. Jehovah was for him, "The Everliving."

(2) The Adonis Cult embodied ritual prostitution. Hosea, by reacting against sensual idolatry and adultery, found that moral and ethical principles of righteousness were more acceptable to Jehovah as offerings than ritual "sacrifice." Marriage did not imply the spiritual bond of
today; Hosea, by his reaction against the Adonis Cult, helped to elevate the meaning of marriage.

Officials as well as the common people participated in the prostitution. Against all this Hosea revolted; it symbolized for him apostasy from the true husband of Israel, Jehovah. Condemnation of Adultery had a large place in the message of Hosea.

Taking the raw material of marriage as symbolized in the cult, Hosea remolded it into an ethical conception. The total framework of the book is built on the ideology of a true marriage bond and departure from it. Discarding all the unworthy elements of a "sacred marriage" Hosea seized upon the idea as the vehicle for his ethical teaching of the love of Jehovah for Israel.

(3) The idols used in connection with the Adonis rites drew Hosea's attention. He condemned all forms of idolatry as being untrue to Jehovah. Idolatry was a curse because it obstructed goodness and the knowledge of God. Idols were but empty human attempts to represent deity; true religion for Hosea consisted of love, (hēzēd) as the expression of Jehovah's nature. By coming into direct conflict with the idolatrous Adonis worship, the ethics of Jehovah's love became a strong conviction for Hosea.

(4) The resurrection motif of the Adonis Cult was taken over by Hosea and utilized in two ways. In the earlier
part of his ministry he announced the inevitable condemnation of Jehovah in terms of no revival in direct opposition to the expected resurrection by the fertility worshippers. Again, later in his teaching, Hosea used the revival motif as portraying the certainty of mercy. If the dead can live, as Adonis did (6:2), then, even corruption and whoredom can be destroyed in a nation; destruction would be but a purging as if a new start for the nation were the true object of Jehovah. The whole tone of the thirteenth chapter is very suggestive in Hosea's absorption of the hopeful theme from the Adonis Cult.

(5) By reacting against the Adonis Cult theme Hosea was able to form his own ideas of the nature of Jehovah. The true Jehovah was not a sense-bound Adonis; he was filled with loving-kindness and tender mercy. He would deal with his people with righteousness and justice. Adonis was not able to save his people in time of drought; Jehovah, the all-powerful creator and sustainer of the universe, was the only true god. He would save his own beloved nation, Israel. He would descend on the land as the fresh spring rain. Jehovah would live forever; He would bring fertility of body and spirit to Ephraim.

Hosea boldly took the religion of his day and remade it with great ethical and prophetic insight. The originality of Hosea lay not in his creation of new religious ideas but in his ability to take ideas already germinant in the religion
of his day and remold them. He recreated the ideas latent in the Adon is Cult, and by recreating those ideas he gave them new and significant meanings they had not had before.

The courageous grappling of Hosea with the crude sensual religion of his day was heroic; he did not cast it aside because of its abominable practices or its corruptive effect on the morals of the people. The religion of the popular cults of Adonis was cast into the retort of the burning soul of Hosea; there it was purified, the dross of adultery and idolatry was sloughed off, and the residue, sparkling like a diamond fresh from the earth, was the ethical religion of love.

Love, as Hosea interpreted it, was something new under the sun. Love and marriage were not necessarily component parts of a domestic relationship such as Hosea knew. But he firmly insisted on their rightful place together in the home. Moving god-ward he ascribed an ethical love of devotion as descending from Jehovah to his people. Climaxing the new religion Israel was duty bound to return the affection. Jehovah and Israel were indissolubly bound in a love relationship. The idolatry of Baal-Adonis and the whoredom of heathen ceremonies were nothing other than adultery. The bride, Israel, did great wrong in offering sacrifices to her lord and master, Jehovah; his sole desire was true love.

Hosea, by reacting against the abominations of the Adonis Cult, pioneered the way toward a religion of the spirit.
Mystic that he was he saw more deeply into the heart of the sensual cults than Amos. He saw that the approach to religion was determinative. The approach of the Adonis Cults was sensual and issued in a superficial, material religion. As a corrective he prescribed an ethical and moral gateway to religion. Hosea's spark of an ethical love kindled the torch of spiritual religion. The flame grew brighter as it passed from the land of Hosea to Jeremiah, to the writer of Deuteronomy, and on to Deutero-Isaiah.

Carefully nourished through the centuries by the prophets, the fire of the spirit burst forth at the climax of its brilliance in the person of Jesus Christ.
SUMMARY

In the Introduction the scope and purpose of the thesis is set forth as being a study of the Adonis Cult as it existed in the ancient Near East and an evaluation of the cult's influence on the person and work of Hosea. The man Hosea and his book are assumed to be historical and authentic.

Approaching the limited materials available for a study of the Adonis Cult we sought to understand its nature by examining the ritual of celebration, following W. R. Smith's emphasis on the primacy of ritual practice in ancient religions. Various authorities are summarized as equating Tammuz, the dying-rising god of Babylon, with the Grecian Adonis. The Egyptian god, Osirus, is viewed as closely related but not identical; this position is also taken with reference to the Phrygian Attis. Our study then centers about the cultic rituals of the Adonis-Tammuz Cult as it was manifest in ancient and classical times. The Adonis-Tammuz Cult is a worship closely associated with the fertility rites of death and resurrection.

The myths and rituals in ancient religions give us insight into probable cultic acts as being embodied in the mythological poetry of a later period. Basing our consideration of Bion's dirge and Theocritus' poem on Adonis of the classical Greek period we find cultic practices embodied in the myth poetry. The content of their poetry gives us the general nature of the Adonis celebration as it was carried on in the time of Hosea in the 8th century B.C.
The festivals of the sacred marriage of Adonis to Aphrodite took place on the first day. At that time the Adonis-gardens were set before the pair, symbolizing the fructifying power of nature. Bion's poem showed us the mythological killing of Adonis by a wild boar and the futile attempts of Aphrodite to revive him. The death and preparation for burial were described in detail. From Lucian's suggestion of revival ceremonies on the third day, it was inferred that a resurrection ceremony climaxed the festivals.

Examining the writings of Lucian, relative to the Adonis River in Phoenicia, five miles south of Gebal, we find that this locality gave rise to the Ras-Shamra poem of Alein. From the Babylonian poem of the descent of Ishtar into the under-world we catch definite fertility significance. We interpret the Adonis ceremonies as having clear fertility-reproduction motives.

The myth of Adonis-Tammuz is described in detail, the close linkage of myth and ritual again being affirmed. The Grecian myth probably did not have its origin in ancient practice but fit the thought-forms of the late era. In reasoning back of the mythology of the Adonis Cult of the era of Hosea we examine the Tammuz-Ishtar ritual texts, finding that the fertility basis is evident in the myth of the death of Tammuz and the descent of Ishtar into hades. The various suggested meanings of the Adonis Cult are examined but the interpretation of Adonis as a vegetation
spirit whose annual death and return to life represents the decay of nature in the fall and its revival in the spring is accepted.

The relationship of the Adonis-Tammuz Cult to the total myth-ritual patterns in the ancient Near East shows us the close similarity of the Adonis myth to that of Osiris. They are similar in the slaying of the god by an enemy, a search for him by his sister-lover, a lament for his death, the intervention of a higher god effecting restoration, and productivity resulting from resurrection. The facts concerning the common practice of the sacred marriage in the Adonis cult leads us to an understanding of its coercive-magical fertility significance.

The various existing evidences of the relative dates of the Adonis Cult leads us to the conclusion that the cult is of very early origin, existing in the Phoenician-Palestine area in the Tel-el-Amarna era, and lasting until late classical times. Grossman's identification of Adonis with the chief Baal in the land of Canaan is presented and supported. The Cult must have existed in Palestine proper at the time of Hosea. Isaiah refers to the Adonis-gardens; Jeremiah uses cult phraseology; Ezekiel's vision saw the cult as an abomination; and C. F. Burney interprets Judges eleven-forty as a mythological festival of the women. The Adonis-Tammuz Cult was an important factor in the civilization of the eighth century in Israel.
The text of Hosea shows us much of interest concerning the existence, pattern, and significance of the Adonis Cult. In all probability Hosea’s wife, Gomer, was "lured" into the Adonis Cult ceremonies and thus left Hosea’s home. The whole book is filled with cultic imagery. The true picture, says Hosea, is of Jehovah as the husband of Gomer—Israel, and the thought which climaxes the book is, "From Me is thy fruit found—" Jehovah, not Adonis-Baal. Hosea’s condemnations of the evils of the Cult is that it is adultery and idolatry. The adultery of Adonis-Baal Cult symbolized disloyalty to the true god, Jehovah. Israel sinned in ritualistic idolatry by substituting wooden idols and other images for the spiritual sacrifice really demanded by God. The meaninglessness of the Cult of Adonis became apparent for Hosea because Adonis really was powerless to protect his worshippers; Jehovah only could supply fruitfulness and eternal helpfulness. Hosea appropriated some of his most vigorous figures from the imagery of the Cult; they were: the father-son or mother-son relationship, the husband-wife or lover-beloved association, Jehovah as the healer of Israel’s wounds, the death of the vegetation god as contrasted with the eternal life of Jehovah, morning rites pleading with deity to return, the search for the god in order that productivity might not cease on the earth, and, finally, the resurrection motif symbolizing Jehovah’s abiding presence in Israel.
The Adonis Cult influenced Hosea in several ways. Gomer's intimate relationship with the Adonis Cult helped to produce the deep domestic wound in Hosea's life. Reading his own experience into the national scene, Hosea saw Jehovah as the deserted husband of Israel filled with loving-kindness and willing to restore Israel to a position of favor in His house if she would repent and seek Him for forgiveness. The Cult offered many difficulties to the message Hosea sought to teach. Hosea opposed a religious institution of long standing; he preached his condemnation in terms already familiar to the people of the day; and the Cult's influence on his personal life tended to make his work more difficult. The positive contributions coming to Hosea's message from the Adonis Cult may be listed as follows:

1. Jehovah is eternally alive, not a dying-rising deity.

2. The true husband of Israel is Jehovah; any practice embodying ritual prostitution is idolatry and adultery.

3. The ethical love of Jehovah is far above the sensual externals of the religion of the Adonis Cult.

4. The hope of all life is in the saving-restoring god, Jehovah, who will not depart from Israel but preserve her from all evil.

5. The nature of God is loving-kindness and tender mercy.
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