

# The Semantics of Azazel in Leviticus 16

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# Abbreviations

Most of the abbreviations in this thesis are according to: Collins, Billie Jean et al., eds. *The SBL Handbook of Style for Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*. 2nd edition. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014.

MT —	Massoretic Text
S —	Peshitta
SP —	Samaritan Pentateuch
LXX —	Septuagint
α' —	Aquila
θ' —	Theodotion
σ' —	Symmachus
LXX <sup>a</sup> —	Codex Alexandria
VL —	Vetus Latina
Vg —	Vulgate
Tg <sup>PsJ</sup> —	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Tg <sup>O</sup> —	Targum Onqelos
Tg <sup>N</sup> —	Targum Neofiti
ANE —	Ancient Near East
P —	Priestly (source)
H —	Holiness Code
GN(N) —	Gentilics
DN(N) —	Divine name(s)
PN(N) —	Personal name(s)
SAHD —	Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database <a href="https://sahd-online.com/">https://sahd-online.com/</a>
BDB —	Brown, Francis; Driver, Samuel R. and Briggs, Charles A. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907. <a href="https://www.sefaria.org/BDB?tab=contents">https://www.sefaria.org/BDB?tab=contents</a>
DCH —	Clines, David J. A., ed. <i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . vol. 1—5, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-2001; vol. 6—9, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007-2016.

- DDD*— Toorn, Karel van der, et al., eds. *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. 1st edition. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- DULAT<sup>1</sup>* — Lete, Georgio del Olmo and Sanmartín, Joaquín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. vol. 1. Handbuch der Orientalistik 67. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003.
- GELS* — Muraoka, T. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Louvain, Paris, Walpole: Peeters, 2009.
- HAHAT* — Donner, Herbert. *Wilhelm Gesenius Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. 18. Auflage, 6 Lieferungen. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, 2007.
- HALOT* — Koehler, Ludwig and Baumgartner, Walter, Hrsg. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: Study Edition*. 2 vols. Translated and edited by M. E. J. Richardson. Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001.
- HAWAT* — König, Eduard D. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1969.
- KAHAL* — Dietrich, Walter and Arnet, Samuel. *Konzise und aktualisierte Ausgabe des Hebräisches und Aramäischen Lexikons zum Alten Testament*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013.
- NIDOTTE* — Gemeren, W. A. van., ed. *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
- ANETOT* — Walton, John H. *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006.
- BHS* — Elliger, Karl and Rudolph, Wilhelm, eds. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. 5th edition. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997.
- DSS.SE* — Martínez, Florentino García and Tigchelaar, Eibert J. C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1999.
- HdO — Handbuch der Orientalistik
- KTU<sup>2</sup>* — Dietrich, Manfred; Loretz, Oswald and Sanmartín, Joaquín. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*. KTU: second, enlarged edition; Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens 8. Münster: Ugarit, 1995.
- WUNT* — Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

# Introduction

From antiquity to our days, the meaning of the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל, as well as the possibility to restore it has been debated,<sup>1</sup> and discussions resulted in no consensus. Even though, dictionaries suggest possible meanings of the word עֲזָזֵל, these are based on analysis of the word from a syntagmatic point of view, failing to present proposals based on comparative philological analysis.<sup>2</sup> What we mean by comparative philology, can be summarized by James Barr, who in his book on comparative philology and the Old Testament (1968) wrote:

This term has meant the comparative study of language groups within which signs of a common historical origin can be detected; ‘comparison’ is not a general discussion of similarities and differences, but the construction of an historical common scheme within which the material of related languages can be placed.<sup>3</sup>

In practice, this means, that words of languages of a shared origin can be compared to one another, when we want to find the historical origin of a word, thus coming closer to the meaning of the word עֲזָזֵל. This method is useful in our case, as the ancient Hebrew language is a member of the Semitic language family, providing us other comparable languages in its historical—cognitive environment, such as Akkadian and Ugaritic.

Thus, the assumption that the meaning of the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל is restorable (be it partial) due to the relation and interconnectedness with neighboring languages of the ancient Hebrew language, seems well-founded.

We see this in practice, in the case of SAHD, which has already provided us with proposals based on comparative philological analysis, regarding words as ‘problematic’ as עֲזָזֵל.<sup>4</sup> However, the database still lacks an entry on this word. Given the ongoing scholarly discussion regarding the meaning of the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל, – and the unsurprising lack of consensus—, the ongoing debate is alerting, since it shows us, that there are still not well explained aspects

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<sup>1</sup> Blair, Judit M., *De-Demonising the Old Testament: An Investigation of Azazel, Lillith, Deber, Qeteb and Reshef in the Hebrew Bible* (FAT 2/37; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 14, 24, 62. See also. Tawil, Hayim, “Azazel: The Prince of the Steppe,” *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92 (ed. Georg Fohrer; Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 1980), 43-59, esp. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Williamson, H. G. M., “Semantics and Lexicography: A Methodological Conundrum,” in *Biblical Lexicology: Hebrew and Greek Semantics—Exegesis—Translation* (ed. John Barton, Reinhard G. Kratz and Markus Witte; Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 327-328.

<sup>3</sup> Barr, James, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 77.

<sup>4</sup> Williamson, “Semantics and Lexicography,” 327-328.

and details of scripture. Thus, the objective of this research is to open up pathways to the etymology and the meaning of the Hebrew word עֲזָזֹל, supplying future research, by critically selecting the useful proposals and those, that lead to no convincing result.<sup>5</sup>

To present a well-structured and conceptualized, pure research,<sup>6</sup> we follow the well-tested sets of methods of SAHD.<sup>7</sup> Throughout this research, we critically answer the question: “What can be known about the Hebrew word עֲזָזֹל in Lev 16, based upon a comparative philological analysis?”. For this, four questions need answers, regarding the word עֲזָזֹל in its Hebrew context, as supplements of the comparative philological analysis.

First, the question, “What are the characteristics of the textual context of the word עֲזָזֹל (scripture, source, chapter)?”, is important to answer, since the author(s) of these texts used their words consciously, in their writing. In our case, since we are dealing with a word, that we no longer understand, this starting point is crucial to assert. Here, even though one might expect, we will not deal with the identity of the author, rather we will analyse the text(s) in which the word עֲזָזֹל is present.

Second, the question, “What etymology seems to be the most possible in the given context?” needs to be answered by examining dictionaries and commentaries, and then by critically selecting the etymologies presented for עֲזָזֹל in the scholarly discussion. This way, the connection between the context of the word and the most likely etymology of the word can be tested by the reception historical approach by examining the ancient versions (i.e., early translations) of scripture.

Third, answering the question “How is עֲזָזֹל translated in the ancient versions?” is important, since: a) the ancient versions provide us with early translations of the word and its context; b) the ancient versions might present form(s) and understandings of the word, that stand closer to the original intention behind the usage of the word עֲזָזֹל. This way, we not only test the durability and validity of our asserted etymology of the word עֲזָזֹל, but, vis á-versa, we can also assert what etymology the majority of the ancient versions support.

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<sup>5</sup> The phrase ‘to open up pathways’ might seem of no value in the scholarly debate, however, the given length and time of the research prevent us from providing an ultimate etymology and meaning of the word עֲזָזֹל.

<sup>6</sup> Booth, Wayne C. et al., eds., *The Craft of Research* (4th ed.; Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 54, 57.

<sup>7</sup> For the structure of an SAHD article, See. <https://pthu.github.io/sahd/store/contribution/> and Williamson, “Semantics and Lexicography,” 327-339.

Fourth, when answering the question “How can we interpret the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל?” we will do the exegesis of the word. This includes a) the presentation of the biblical evidence— if there are other texts in the Old Testament, that might contribute our understanding of the word עֲזָזֵל; b) the evidence of the non-biblical Qumran texts; c) the texts of the ANE – where we use the comparative philology, aided by the application of the ten rules of comparative study,<sup>8</sup> looking for comparable languages and texts in the ANE, meaning: the appropriate Akkadian, Hittite and Ugaritic texts.<sup>9</sup>

By this, we will find an answer to the question: “Is there comparable material in the ANE that can further enlighten the meaning of the word עֲזָזֵל, and if so, how?”.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, we need to be aware of the limitations of our research. The given time attested to the research prevents us from giving a final answer to the question of the etymology and the original meaning of the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל. Hence, we use the phrase “to open up pathways”, since what we can achieve with our research, using the methods discussed in the following, is restricted by not only by the time, but also by the amount of data to be processed and critically evaluated and the overflow of scholarly discussions, suggestions.

This is why, during the comparative study, we will rely on the suggestion of Bernd Janowski,<sup>11</sup> regarding how the word עֲזָזֵל might have entered the ancient Israelite ritual text. We will use his suggestion as an outline, a guide to examine the ancient Near Eastern texts. Here we also have to assert, that our choice of guide, until we reach the final part of our research, will be considered with restrictions regarding his suggested etymology, since we will only agree with him (and the others) after we have examined the scholarly suggestions, asserted a likely etymology and tested it in the light of the ancient versions and the non-biblical Qumran texts. This way, our research will avoid any bias towards his suggestion of etymology, and by the time

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<sup>8</sup> Walton, John H., *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 1-25.

<sup>9</sup> The question might rise: “Why the Hittite texts?” To this our answer is that we acknowledge that the Hittite language is indeed not part of the Semitic languages, but the ancient Hittite empire, due to its closeness to the Levant and its cultural and political significance we need to examine the Hittite texts too during our research.

<sup>10</sup> Rashkow, Ilona, “Azazel: The Scapegoat in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near East,” *JBQ* 51 (2023): 85—89, esp. 85. The formulation of this question is necessary, since Ilona Rashkow, who recently provided a possible comparable rite in the ANE, concludes with the observation, that we need to be cautious in our comparative study, since the parallels of ANE are regarding the ritual and not the word.

<sup>11</sup> Janowski, Bernd, “Azazel,” *DDD*, 240-247. See also. Janowski, Bernd and Wilhelm, Gernot, “Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt. Zur Religionsgeschichtliche des Azazel- Ritus Lev 16, 10.21f.,” in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 129; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1990), 109-169.



we reach the comparative analysis, we will know where to start looking for the word עזאזל among the ancient near eastern literature.

## Methodology

In this research we are facing a conceptual problem, that is need to solve with a pure research.<sup>12</sup> It is not a practical problem, in the sense, that we are presented with a concept, that we need to observe and analyse, in order to get closer to a better understanding.<sup>13</sup> As it was indicated before, we will be looking for the presence, as well as the meaning of the Hebrew word עזאזל in the ancient versions and the ancient Near Eastern literature, to have a wider spectrum in different social registers and regional-dialectic settings,<sup>14</sup> while following the well tested methodological approach of SAHD.<sup>15</sup> Here we have to state, that we will not deal with each sub-question in different chapters.

In Chapter 1: we will introduce the P source as well as the book of Leviticus, finally Lev 16. In Chapter 2: we present the specific etymological proposals with their arguments, and we critically evaluate which is the most likely.

In Chapter 3: we will examine the most relevant ancient versions, namely: LXX; SP; S; Tg<sup>O</sup>, Tg<sup>PsJon</sup>, Tg<sup>N</sup>; VL/V. Finally, we evaluate what etymological proposals they support, if they support any.

In Chapter 4: we examine the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, the ones which present the word עזאזל.

In Chapter 5: We will examine the selected texts of ANE, that have been previously proposed, and possibly present a new line of texts, on the basis of the genre of Lev 16. Next, we will explore two cultural factors that could explain the origins and meaning of the word עזאזל. By identifying a likely source (be it cultural, archaeological or textual), we may better understand how the concept of עזאזל was used in ancient Israelite rituals and why it eventually appeared in Lev 16.

Underlying the chapters, sub-questions help us find answers to the main questions presented in the introduction part. Answering the sub-question of Chapter 1 “What does the context tell us about the word עזאזל?” is important, since the position of the word and how other concepts reflect on it can show us the function of the word within its narrow and wider context. Then, the sub-question of chapter 2, “What might be the most likely etymology of the word עזאזל?”

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<sup>12</sup> Booth et al., *The Craft of Research*, 54, 57.

<sup>13</sup> Booth et al., *The Craft of Research*, 54-56.

<sup>14</sup> Williamson, “Semantics and Lexicography,” 327-328.

<sup>15</sup><http://www.sahd-online.com> ; <https://pthu.github.io/sahd/store/contribution/> ; Williamson, “Semantics and Lexicography,” p. 327-339.

will be answered by the investigation of etymological proposals. This way, we are not only looking for the possible root of the word, but also for the useful comparative material, found in texts of other languages than Hebrew. To this comes the sub-sub question, “How dictionaries and commentaries deal with the word עֲזָזִיל?” This step requires consultation of the most relevant dictionaries, such as: *DCH*,<sup>16</sup> *NIDOTTE*,<sup>17</sup> *BDB*,<sup>18</sup> *HAHAT*,<sup>19</sup> *HALOT*,<sup>20</sup> *KAHAL*,<sup>21</sup> *HAWAT*.<sup>22</sup>

Then, the sub-question of Chapter 3 “How is עֲזָזִיל translated and how is it understood in the Ancient Versions?” needs to be answered. The method here is the collecting of known ancient translations. This is due to the dynamics of meaning, because finding differences and connections is a way of looking for meaning, thus translations are essential tools in our case.<sup>23</sup> Then, by answering the sub-question of chapter 4, “How does the word עֲזָזִיל appear in Qumran?”, we take a look at the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. This way, by examining the most relevant texts from Qumran, –namely: 4QAgēsCreat<sup>a</sup>; 4QEnGiants<sup>a-b</sup>ar; 11QT<sup>a</sup>–<sup>24</sup> we will see what textual tradition(s) of the word עֲזָזִיל has been present in Qumran.

Finally, the sub-question of chapter 5, “Is there any comparable material in the ANE that can further enlighten the meaning of the word עֲזָזִיל, and if so how?” will be answered by the method of Comparative study.<sup>25</sup> Here, we will also examine the relevant archaeological reliefs, and take a look at the understandings of goats in the ANE.

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<sup>16</sup> Clines, David J. A., ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (vol. 1—5, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-2001; vol. 6—9, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007-2016).

<sup>17</sup> Gemenen, W. A. van., ed., *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. 5 vols. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997).

<sup>18</sup> Brown, Francis; Driver, Samuel R. and Briggs, Charles A., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford, 1907. <https://www.sefaria.org/BDB?tab=contents>

<sup>19</sup> Donner, Herbert et al., *Wilhelm Gesenius Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*. 18. Auflage, 4. Lieferung (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> Koehler, Ludwig, Baumgartner, Walter and Stamm, Johann J., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: Study Edition*, vol.1 (trans. and ed. M. E. J. Richardson; Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001).

<sup>21</sup> Dietrich, Walter and Arnet, Samuel, Hrsg., *Konkise und aktualisierte Ausgabe des Hebräisches und Aramäischen Lexikons zum Alten Testament* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013).

<sup>22</sup> König, Eduard, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig, 1969).

<sup>23</sup> Wurth, Kiene Brillenburg and Rigney, Ann, *The Life of Texts: An Introduction to Literary Studies* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 243-244. Cf. Williamson, “Semantics and Lexicography,” 330.

<sup>24</sup> At first, some might say that Leviticus has many other manuscripts in Qumran. Even though this is true, the only relevant manuscripts are the stated ones, due to the presence of the word עֲזָזִיל. More specifically, the texts that we will examine are: 4Q 180 f1:7, f1:8 (4QAgēsCreat<sup>a</sup>); 4Q 203 f7a:6; 4Q 530 f2ii+6-12: 14 (4QEnGiants<sup>a-b</sup>ar); 11Q19 26:4 and 11Q19 26:13 (11QT<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>25</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 1-25.

## State of Research

In this part, the state of research, we take a look at how scholars tried to explain the word עֲזָזָל. We will discuss the research in a diachronic order to show the development in several areas — regarding the grammatical, etymological, semantic and philological understanding— of the word עֲזָזָל. Even though, the earlier scholars and traditions are dealt briefly here, we acknowledge, that theologians in the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century have done thorough study in the Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic languages, thus making their insights still valuable for us.

Gesenius in his Hebrew and Chaldee lexicon (1860) proposed, with the help of the Greek, Latin and Arabic languages, that the word עֲזָזָל might be the name of an idol, who is inhabiting the desert,<sup>26</sup> that needed to be appeased, deriving it from the Arabic عزازيل and he noticed the juxtaposition of ליהוה and לעזאזל as well.<sup>27</sup>

Brown, Driver and Briggs in their dictionary (1907) translated עֲזָזָל, as ‘entire removal’ without any argument for their translation.<sup>28</sup>

In the 1960s, scholars started to understand and identify the word עֲזָזָל in two ways, either as a proper name, or as a description of a place. Dalman in his dictionary (1967) said that the word is a modification of עֲזָזָל,<sup>29</sup> without any further explanation, probably basing this on the critical apparatus of *BHS*,<sup>30</sup> where the apparatus suggests a reading based on the version of S. Porter in his commentary (1976) without any explanation the word said that the word עֲזָזָל meant ‘Precipice’, and that it was the name of a place, from the Arabic word عزراح ‘rough ground’.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand he noted, that the parallelism in Lev 16: 8, 10 would invite another divine name after the goat for the Lord.<sup>32</sup>

König in his dictionary (1969) notes that עֲזָזָל is an evil ghost, who was believed to live in the desert, and as an explanation noted, that probably the word was originally meant ‘fortis decedens’, as a combination of the words עז ‘goat’ and אזל ‘to go away’.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Lamparter, *In Gottes Schuld*, 49.

<sup>27</sup> Gesenius, Wilhelm, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures* (trans. Samuel Pirdeaux Tregelles. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1860), 617.

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.sefaria.org/BDB?tab=contents>

<sup>29</sup> Dalman, Gustaf, *Aramäisches- Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1938; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967).

<sup>30</sup> Elliger, Karl and Rudolph, Wilhelm, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (5th edition; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997).

<sup>31</sup> Porter, J. R., *Leviticus* (CBC; London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge, 1976), 127.

<sup>32</sup> Porter, *Leviticus*, 127.

<sup>33</sup> *HAWAT*, 321.

In the 1980s, scholars started to turn their attention to the ancient Near East, ancient sources and medieval interpreters, in their search for the etymology and meaning of the word עֲזָזֵל, however, scepticism appeared among scholars regarding the restorability of the meaning of the word עֲזָזֵל. Lamparter in his study (1980) said, that עֲזָזֵל remains a mystery, and we can only guess, that עֲזָזֵל was a desert demon.<sup>34</sup> Harrison in his introduction and commentary on Leviticus (1980) mentioned the three possible, and previously presented suggestions, namely: 1) עֲזָזֵל is an abstract concept of removal; 2) עֲזָזֵל is a proper name, synonymous with the powers of evil to which the 'sin-loaded' goat was sent to; 3) עֲזָזֵל is a name of a wilderness demon, which needed to be appeased.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, he also noted, that any mythological explanation can be dismissed, as it would have not fit into the characteristics of the Hebrew cultic practices, thus the term might have been a rare technical term describing 'complete removal', and the personification of the word עֲזָזֵל might have come with myths and legends in Jewish writings.<sup>36</sup> The first exhaustive work on עֲזָזֵל was done by Tawil in his comparative study on עֲזָזֵל (1980), where for him it seemed clear that the phrases המדברה 'to the open country' and אל ארץ גזרה 'to a cut-off land' modify the meaning and the form of עֲזָזֵל, and probably it was an epithet of the Ugaritic god of death Môt.<sup>37</sup> Knight in his commentary on Leviticus (1981) noted, that the word might refer to a name, which no one knows who it is, where it came from and what it meant, but what is really important is the role of the goat, to which it was connected.<sup>38</sup>

In the 1990s, the view that עֲזָזֵל would refer to a demon was still carried on, however, not without challenges, in the means of the reception historical analysis of the word. Janowski in his article on Azazel (1995) suggested: 1) a South Anatolian-North Syrian origin, in a Hittite-Hurrian elimination ritual, 2) and that the word עֲזָזֵל is a product of a scribal metathesis.<sup>39</sup> Gerstenberger in his commentary on Leviticus (1996) understood the word as a name that is not clarified, but noted that it might have been some sort of 'wilderness demon'.<sup>40</sup> Levine in his commentary on Leviticus (1996) explained, that the Jewish source Talmud Bavli:

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<sup>34</sup> Lamparter, Helmut, *In Gottes Schuld: Ausgewählte Texte aus dem Dritten und Vierten Buch Mose*, BAT 7/8 (1980), 49.

<sup>35</sup> Harrison, R. K., *Leviticus* (TOTC; Leicester, London: Inter-Vanity, 1980), 170.

<sup>36</sup> Harrison, *Leviticus*, 171. Cf. Hertz, J.H., ed., *The Pentateuch and Haftorahs: Hebrew Text English Translation and Commentary* (Hindhead, Jerusalem: Socino Press, 1960), 481.

<sup>37</sup> Tawil, "Azazel," 43.

<sup>38</sup> Knight, George A. F., *Leviticus* (DSB; Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 91.

<sup>39</sup> Janowski, "Azazel," 240-247.; Janowski and Wilhelm, "Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt," 109-169.

<sup>40</sup> Gerstenberger, Erhard S., *Leviticus: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, London: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 221.

Yoma 67b, translates עזאזל as ‘fierce, difficult land’ based on the word עוז ‘strong, fierce’.<sup>41</sup> Budd in his commentary on Leviticus (1996) said, that the word עזאזל referred to a deity or spirit, that is distinct from יהוה, based on the turn of the phrase in the context of casting lots, due to the juxtaposition of יהוה and עזאזל, which supports the assumption, that the latter was originally a deity or desert demon.<sup>42</sup> Pelt and Kaiser in their article on עזאזל (1997) concluded, that the translation of עזאזל as ‘scapegoat’ and as a personal name of a demon are the solutions that are supported by sound evidence.<sup>43</sup> Mordechai Cogan in his article (1998), even though not dealing with the word עזאזל, presented important information for future research, that the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE Judean seals with the phrase למלך ‘belonging to the king’ have been found in many sites of Judah.<sup>44</sup>

In the early 2000s, scholars started to make sense of the previous proposals of the meaning of עזאזל, looking for similar rituals in the ancient Near East, and some has dealt with the difficult question: If עזאזל meant a ‘demon’, how does the word make sense in the Old Testament? *HALOT* (2001) translated עזאזל as a personal name of a demon.<sup>45</sup> Bellinger in his commentary (2001) understood the phrase לעזאזל as ‘for the scapegoat’ without any argument, as he connected the word with the goat that was sent into the wilderness.<sup>46</sup> He also noted, that עזאזל may have been a spirit or demon in the early practice of the ritual, and by the time of the priestly tradition was collected, it has lost its meaning.<sup>47</sup> Balentine in his commentary on Leviticus (2002) provided three explanations of the meaning of the word: 1) LXX and V understands עזאזל as the combination of ‘goat’ and ‘to go away’, so the word scapegoat gives the function of the word, namely ‘escape-goat’; 2) according to the rabbis, עזאזל is a geographical term that designates the place: a rocky precipice;<sup>48</sup> 3) עזאזל is a personal name, which for him seemed to be the strongest theory, given that: a) Goat for עזאזל is the counterpart of the goat for the Lord, b) the sending away rite is in connection with the Hittite banishment

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<sup>41</sup> Levine, Baruch A., *Leviticus* (The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 102. To this he adds, that it is also possible, that originally, עזאזל was made of two words, אזל ‘to go away’ and עז ‘goat’.

<sup>42</sup> Budd, Philip J., *Leviticus* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 227-233. esp. 228. It is also important to mention, that he agrees with Wright: “Azazel has no longer any active reality in the priestly rite.”

<sup>43</sup>Pelt, M. V. van, and Kaiser, W. C. Jr., “עזאזל,” *NIDOTTE* 3:362-363.

<sup>44</sup> Cogan, Mordechai, “Into Exile: From the Assyrian Conquest of Israel to the Fall of Babylon,” in *The Oxford History of the Biblical World* (ed. Michael D. Coogan; New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 242-275, esp. 246.

<sup>45</sup> *HALOT* 1:806.

<sup>46</sup> Bellinger, W. H. Jr., *Leviticus, Numbers* (NICOT; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2001), 99.

<sup>47</sup> Bellinger, *Leviticus, Numbers*, 103.

<sup>48</sup> Balentine, Samuel E., *Leviticus* (IBC; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 130.

rites (as in Kizzuwatna).<sup>49</sup> Hartley, in his article on the Day of Atonement (2003), also gave three suggestions: 1) עֲזָזָל is the scapegoat; 2) עֲזָזָל is the name of a remote place in rabbinic tradition; 3) עֲזָזָל is the name of a demon, symbolizing: death and destruction—to which he added, that the word *Satyr* comes from the Hebrew שְׂעִיר for ‘hairy one’, thus עֲזָזָל must be a ‘goat like demon’.<sup>50</sup> Walton in an article on “Serpent” (2003) noted that in the Apocalypse of Abraham, the Syriac Baruch and the Apocalypse of Ezra, the word עֲזָזָל is understood as a seductive angel, but how this relates to the עֲזָזָל of Lev 16 he gave no argument or explanation.<sup>51</sup> Gane in his commentary on Leviticus (2004) gave a new direction to the עֲזָזָל research, as he understood עֲזָזָל as the owner of the goat.<sup>52</sup> This was based on the observation, that the syntax of לִיהוָה and לְעֲזָזָל is the combination of the preposition ל and a proper name, as it can be seen on ancient Israelite seals, that identify objects as belonging to individuals, the preposition is clearly carrying a possessive meaning ‘belongs to’.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, he concluded, that the dynamics of the live goat ritual imply that עֲזָזָל is the Lord’s enemy, thus it cannot be a place, the ‘scapegoat’ is a mistranslation, עֲזָזָל is representing a demon, as in a possible biblical parallel (Isa 13,21), and noted that the uninhabited land represents demons.<sup>54</sup> Alter in his commentary on the Pentateuch (2004), observed, that עֲזָזָל can not be understood as a competing deity (or demon) rivalling יהוָה, but the ritual depends on a polarity between יהוָה and עֲזָזָל, or in other words, between the people of human civilization and the remote wilderness, which was seen as the realm of disorder and raw formlessness.<sup>55</sup> He also noted, that the name appears to reflect עֵז ‘goat’.<sup>56</sup> He also joined Gane, as he further elaborated, that seals and inscriptions suggest the use of a proper name or title—that prefixed by lamed is a lamed of possession (auctoris)—, so the name עֲזָזָל is one of a goatish demon or deity, associated with the remote wilderness.<sup>57</sup> Bailey in his commentary on Leviticus and Numbers (2005) noted in the line of possible rituals in the ancient Near East, that presumably, עֲזָזָל was part of an ancient revamped ceremony, possibly preserving the name of a demon, but he gave no arguments to

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<sup>49</sup> Balentine, *Leviticus*, 131.

<sup>50</sup> Hartley, J. E., “Day of Atonement,” in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch* (ed. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker; Leicester, Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 54-61, esp. 59. This seems to be supported by scripture: Lev 17:7; 2 Chron. 11:15; Isa 13:21; 34:14.

<sup>51</sup> Walton, John H., “Serpent,” in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch* (ed. T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker; Leicester, Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 736-739, esp. 738.

<sup>52</sup> Gane, Roy, *Leviticus, Numbers* (NIV Application Commentary; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 274, 288.

<sup>53</sup> Gane, *Leviticus, Numbers*, 288.

<sup>54</sup> Gane, *Leviticus, Numbers*, 288, 290, 299, 300.

<sup>55</sup> Alter, *The Five Books of Moses, The Five Books of Moses: A Translation with Commentary* (New York, London: W.W. Norton, 2004), 612-613.

<sup>56</sup> Alter, *The Five Books of Moses*, 612.

<sup>57</sup> Alter, *The Five Books of Moses*, 612.

support this idea.<sup>58</sup> He also gave three suggestions regarding the etymology of עֲזָזֵל: 1) The place to which the animal is sent to: rugged-desert place; 2) the animal that is sent away, becoming ‘scapegoat’; 3) עֲזָזֵל is the name of the desert-demon to whom the goat is sent to.<sup>59</sup> He rejected that the goat for עֲזָזֵל is referring to a sacrifice, given that the presentation before יהוה prohibits this view.<sup>60</sup> HAHAT (2007) translated עֲזָזֵל, as a personal name of a demon, without any given explanation or argument.<sup>61</sup> Kiuchi in his commentary on Leviticus (2007) brought forward an unexpected element of the details surrounding עֲזָזֵל, namely, that the goat, to which the word was rendered, is holy, challenging the view of עֲזָזֵל as a demon.<sup>62</sup> Radner in his commentary on Leviticus (2008) connected the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל with the עֲזָזֵל of Enoch, and originated it to the Babylonian New Year Festival.<sup>63</sup> Blair in her publicized dissertation (2009) studied demons in the Old Testament, but after finding no clear results from examining the meaning of עֲזָזֵל, she focused on its context of the word, but concluded that the exact meaning is still unknown, its role within Leviticus 16 is in contrast to that of יהוה.<sup>64</sup>

DCH (2011) suggested the translation of עֲזָזֵל as: 1) Proper name, demon in the steppe; 2) it is a noun, meaning jagged rocks; 3) it is the ‘scapegoat’ or ‘the goat that goes’ from עָז ‘she-goat’ and אָזַל ‘to go away’; 4) it is a noun, meaning ‘entire removal’; 5) it means ‘wrath of god’, presenting a metathesis, the combination of עָזַל ‘strength, wrath’ and אֵל ‘god’.<sup>65</sup> Orlov in his book on Azazel and Satanael in Early Jewish Demonology (2011) treated עֲזָזֵל as a demonic being, according to his examination of the selected apocryphal literature, in his case the Apocalypse of Abraham and 1 Enoch, 11QT<sup>a</sup> and 4QAgasCreat<sup>a</sup>.<sup>66</sup> KAHAL (2013) stated that עֲזָזֵל is a desert demon, derived from the word אָז ‘anger’ without any argument or explanation.<sup>67</sup> Hieke in his thorough commentary on Leviticus 16-27 (2014) discussed four suggestions, namely: 1) עֲזָזֵל is a desert demon, originating from a demonized Canaanite deity (after the exile), or coming from Jewish rural beliefs, or an Iranian entity under El, or ‘fierce god’ describing the Ugaritic Môt; 2) עֲזָזֵל is a geographical description, meaning ‘rough cliff’, which

<sup>58</sup> Bailey, Lloyd R., *Leviticus-Numbers* (SHBC 3; Macon: Smyth & Helwys Press, 2005), 192.

<sup>59</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 192-193.

<sup>60</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 192-193.

<sup>61</sup> HAHAT 4:942.

<sup>62</sup> For the explanation of this new insight, See. Kiuchi, Nobuyoshi, *Leviticus* (ApOTC 3; Nottingham: Apollos; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2007), 297-298, 305.

<sup>63</sup> Radner, Ephraim, *Leviticus* (SCM Theological Commentary on the Bible; London: SCM, 2008), 167-168.

<sup>64</sup> Blair, *De-Demonising the Old Testament*, 14, 24, 62.

<sup>65</sup> DCH 6:326.

<sup>66</sup> Orlov, Andrei A., *Dark Mirrors: Azazel and Satanael in Early Jewish Demonology* (New York: Suny Press, 2011), 11-84, 85-106.

<sup>67</sup> KAHAL, 398.



is coming from rabbinic tradition; 3) Egyptian interpretation: the word is made up of two elements, *dz* ‘the culprit’ and *dr* ‘to go away’, giving the meaning ‘the culprit who has been eliminated’, probably referring to the Egyptian god Seth, as the embodiment of evil; 4) the preposition *l* indicates the name of a ritual.<sup>68</sup> Korpel and Moor in their book on Adam, Eve and the Devil (2015), while coming across *לזאזל*, they connected the word with *šrgzz* ‘the Prince who is generous’ which might have been an utterance about the god Ḫorranu who in the Ugaritic texts clearly had received the role of divine executioner of rebels, and who himself might have been the first rebel, showing traces of a kind of ‘Devil’.<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, they also connected *šrgzz* to an Ugaritic deity, Adammu, but without any argument or explanation.<sup>70</sup>

In recent years, scholars have provided more specific suggestions regarding the connections between the ‘goat rite’ of scripture and the ancient Near Eastern banishment rituals. Ayali-Darshan in her article on The Scapegoat Ritual and Its Ancient Near Eastern Parallels (2020) suggested, that even though to draw connection and influence from the Hittite culture is tempting, it is unlikely, rather, Israel inherited from the predecessors of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium Syro-Anatolian religion.<sup>71</sup> To this, Rashkow in an article on the scapegoat (2023) suggested three meanings of *לזאזל*, namely: ‘physical location’, ‘foreign deity’ or a ‘wilderness-dwelling demon’ (based on the parallelism), and finally concluded, that parallels are comparable only with the ritual, the word *לזאזל* has no parables.<sup>72</sup>

To conclude, at the end of the line of scholars’ contributions to the research, we can see that we are far from asserting consensus regarding the etymology, philology and meaning of the word *לזאזל*. Throughout this chapter we have seen, that even though the ‘demon’ interpretation seems to be the most likely, it is not without critique and doubt among scholars, as well as the suggested comparisons with the ancient Near Eastern rituals.

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<sup>68</sup> Hieke, Thomas, *Leviticus 16-27* (HThKAT; Freiburg, Basel, Wien: Herder, 2014), 577-578.

<sup>69</sup> Korpel, Marjo C. A. and Moor, Johannes C. de, *Adam, Eve and the Devil: A New Beginning* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2015), 212.

<sup>70</sup> Korpel and Moor, *Adam, Eve and the Devil*, 266.

<sup>71</sup> Ayali-Darshan, N. (2020) “The Scapegoat Ritual and Its Ancient Near Eastern Parallels” TheTorah.com. <https://thetorah.com/article/the-scapegoat-ritual-and-its-ancient-near-eastern-parallels>

<sup>72</sup> Rashkow, “Azazel,” 85.

# Chapter 1: Introducing P, Leviticus and the word עזאזל

## 1.1. General Introduction to Leviticus

The name of the third book of the Pentateuch has many versions among the ancient versions (i.e., translations) of the Pentateuch. LXX and V titled it as *Levitikon* ‘Priests’, its rabbinic title is תורה הכהנים the ‘manual of the priests’ or ‘priestly guidelines’ S titled it as ‘the book of the priests’.<sup>73</sup> Even though we might expect from these titles that the book’s main concern are the Levites, other than one explicit mention,<sup>74</sup> and three reserved laws for the Levites,<sup>75</sup> we hardly see them in the book—due to the fact, that its guidelines are intended for the Israelite society as a whole.<sup>76</sup> The title of the book in MT is ויקרא ‘and he proclaimed, called’, which is simply the beginning phrase of the book.<sup>77</sup>

Leviticus is divided roughly into two parts and sources— P (Lev 1-16) and H (Lev 17-27)<sup>78</sup>— and since Lev 16 is part of P, we will deal with the P source explicitly. Some argue that the P source uses such a language, with an authorial intention, that is intended to make it seem older than it is (archaizing). However, Milgrom refutes this idea, as he provides a list of vocabulary from P, that suggests that it is originated not in the post-exilic period, but in the pre-exilic period, possibly even before the prophetic era.<sup>79</sup> This is supported by P being a representative of the Tabernacle tradition, which culminates in the settling of the Tabernacle at Shiloh, a central sanctuary, agreeing with Milgrom, P’s origin can not be linked to the First Temple (period), but rather to the pre-monarchic era.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Milgrom, Jacob, *Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York, London, Toronto, Sidney, Auckland: Doubleday, 1991), 1.; Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 7.

<sup>74</sup> Lev 25:32-34

<sup>75</sup> Lev 6:1-7:21; 10:8-15; 16:2-28

<sup>76</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1.; Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 7.

<sup>77</sup> Gane, *Leviticus, Numbers*, 1.

<sup>78</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1-2, 13-26, 30. This separation of Leviticus, as we see it is Milgrom’s presentation of Israel Knohl’s thesis: H is P’s redactor. It is also important to mention, that P is not restricted to Leviticus, but scattered not only in the Pentateuch.

<sup>79</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 3-8. Such words in the vocabulary of P are: משמרת, עבדי, עדה, מטא, אלה, נשי. Cf. Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 20-22.

<sup>80</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 30-33. This argument is important since it predates P (or its base text) to the pre-temple period. This argument also follows the argumentation of P not historicizing, as it was discussed in regard to the vocabulary of P. The usage of ‘ancient’ words would mean that (if we assume a late completion) that the audience would have had a hard time understanding the text. Consistently, if P was created during the exile or Second Temple period (of which the Temple would have the major importance), the writer(s) of P going back in time to write about the tabernacle seems unlikely. Cf. Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 12-13, 15. Whereas Bailey presents six possible dates, and dates P (or better: its development) in the exilic or early post-exilic period. However, this derivation is regarding the final composition of the source. Cf. Gane, *Leviticus, Numbers*, 4.

### 1.1.1. *The Theology and Theological Interest of the P source*

It is safe to say that the main interest of the P source is theology itself. Priestly theology stands in contrast with the ‘pagan’ religion(s) (i.e., not Israelite) and its premises.<sup>81</sup> It becomes clear, when, in P, we observe the attributes of יהוה which are:

- 1) not dependent on any metadivine<sup>82</sup> realm;
- 2) there are no (valid) entities other than יהוה;
- 3) most importantly, humans can not reach the ‘realm’ or presence of יהוה (unless he presents himself), the will of יהוה is sovereign and unalterable by any human deed— such as ‘magic’.<sup>83</sup>

Even though, P is clearly opposing the non-Israelite religion(s), we see the tendency of P often use the features of these cults.<sup>84</sup> To name a few, this can be observed in the creation story (Gen 1-3) and the flood story (Gen 6-9) and in the case of Leviticus, the concept of the burnt offering, meaning that priestly writer(s) were using certain aspects and features of their cognitive environment— regarding literature and ritual practice.<sup>85</sup> A striking feature of the religion(s) or cults of the Levant and the ANE is the presence, and the role of the demons, and the rituals surrounding them. P differs in this regard. This can be illustrated by the bird ritual in Lev 14:4-5. While the rite may have originally been an exorcism in the ancient Near East, in P, it serves a symbolic purpose.<sup>86</sup> Here, the sanctuary’s impurity is not physical, therefore purity is restored through a ritual that symbolizes cleansing rather than a literal cleansing.<sup>87</sup> Demonic activity is absent from P, since seemingly, humans have taken the places— or even the roles— of demons, in the concept of the struggle between pollution and the purity regarding the sanctuary of the deity.<sup>88</sup> In Lev 16, purity and impurity are not seen in a physical sense, as they are in earlier

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<sup>81</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 42. These premises according to Milgrom are: 1) its deities are dependent on and influenced by a metadivine realm; 2) this realm spawns malevolent and benevolent entities; 3) humans by tapping into this realm can acquire magical power to alter the god’s will, to do as the humans want them to.

<sup>82</sup> Even though, the word seems strange, Milgrom, as he aims to highlight, in many cases the major-, in this case, the minor difference between the Israelite and non-Israelite understanding of the location of the deity, and the ability to contact with the deity. In the understanding of ANE, the priest is able to get into contact with the deity, even have an effect on it. The Israelite understanding is the opposite of this. This obscure word’s purpose is to draw attention to the differences in the foundations of the ANE and Israelite religions.

<sup>83</sup> These points and claims are based upon, partly, my personal observations, supplemented by Milgrom’s structure of pagan religion(s), and stand in contrast to it.

<sup>84</sup> This has been supported by the endless amount of comparative research since the attention of biblical scholarship turned to the ANE texts.

<sup>85</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 43.

<sup>86</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 43. i.e., exorcism from demonic possession, influence or impact.

<sup>87</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 45.

<sup>88</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 43.

chapters and ancient Near Eastern cults, but as resulting from demonic activity, while purification is a form of healing, P views impurity as caused by humans, thus purification can be restored through purification, which is a process.<sup>89</sup> The expulsion of demonic beliefs in P is continuous, not only to provide a clear separation between the Israelite beliefs and the ones of the ANE, but also to present, that impurity caused by humans has a potential (and unwanted) impact on the sanctuary.<sup>90</sup>

As indicated above, traces of P can be found in the Pentateuch— or at least in the first four books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers— and it presents an overall theological concern, without which Israelite theology would be unimaginable.<sup>91</sup> Thus, we observe the following theological concerns of P:

- 1) The world is characterized by chaos, and יהוה the creator produced order and maintains the creation.<sup>92</sup>
- 2) Public worship is a key element for maintaining the order of society, the identity of the individual\* and community.<sup>93</sup>
- 3) However, on its own, public worship is insufficient, constant reminders were needed regarding the everyday life, as we see these in Lev 1-15.<sup>94</sup>
- 4) When worship involve sacrificial- ritual acts, proper preparation is needed both mentally and spiritually.<sup>95</sup>
- 5) Out of this recognition comes the concept of ‘Holy’, which is a contrast between יהוה and all else, the holy and the profane.<sup>96</sup>
- 6) From this concept of holy and identity comes the tendency to separate from the neighbouring cultures, cults.<sup>97</sup>
- 7) Forgiveness of sin and transgression is available for all, who prepare themselves, attend the worship (and sacrifice) and repent.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 42-44.

<sup>90</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 42-44.

<sup>91</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 25.

<sup>92</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 26-29.

<sup>93</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 29-30. The ‘\*’ siglum stands here to note the awareness, that in ancient times, it is debated whether individuality was the main concern of the people, since the basic element of society was the institution of the family, and individuality as a concept is a modern construction.

<sup>94</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 30-31.

<sup>95</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 31.

<sup>96</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 31-32.; Hartley J. E., *Leviticus* (WBC 4; Dallas: Word Books, 1992), lvi.

<sup>97</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 33-35. As indicated above, this is observed in the case of the concept of demons, demonic powers and their impact.

<sup>98</sup> Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 35-36.; Hartley, *Leviticus*, lxxvii-lxxii.

These theological concerns are the authorial intentions. It is safe to say, that this is the message, that the author(s) intended for the reader(s) or audience to understand. So to say, these points lead us to the examination of the context and connections of Lev 16, to see how the chapter fits in the narrative of P, and if there is any connection within P.

## 1.2. Lev 16: context and connections

This chapter introduces the ‘Day of Atonement’, also called ‘Day of Purgation’, as well as יום כפר ‘Yom Kippur’.<sup>99</sup> The name of this chapter is coming from its content, namely, the prescription of the annual ritual for the purification of the Israelites, the priests,<sup>100</sup> and the sanctuary. However, it is important to mention, that the phrase ‘Day of Atonement’ never occurs in Lev 16, rather in Lev 23 among the introduction of festivals.<sup>101</sup> In the following, we have a look into the connections of the chapter in Leviticus. Here we do not deal with the specific structure of Lev 16, rather we turn our attention to the context and surrounding concerns of Lev 16.<sup>102</sup>

Lev 16 seemingly stands in the centre, both theme-wise and content-wise of the book of Leviticus, as it creates a ‘barrier’ between the sources: P and H. The most obvious aspect of Lev 16 is the narrative framework in which the narrative is set, as in the first verse, where a clear connection is made with Lev 10:1, where Adab and Nabihu, sons of Aaron, “present themselves before the Lord”, a mistake causing their deaths.<sup>103</sup> Thus, alongside the first verse of the chapter, the concluding part—Lev 16: 29-34—is proved to be an addition, clearly connecting these verses to Lev 23: 26-32 especially 23:27, where the cultic calendar is being introduced.<sup>104</sup>

Preceding the chapter, we see the types of sacrifices and the purification procedures, the inauguration of the priests. Following the chapter begins H, where the processes of achieving the purity of the people (i.e., the congregation, עם ישראל) is being described.

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<sup>99</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1009.

<sup>100</sup> Kiuchi, *Leviticus*, 291.

<sup>101</sup> Adu-Gyamfi, Yaw, “A Literary and Ritual Analysis of Leviticus 16,” *Scriptura* 122 (2023): 1-21, esp.1-2.

<sup>102</sup> For a more detailed structure, See. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1059-1061. Cf. Watts, James W., *Leviticus 11-20* (HCOT; Leuven, Paris, Walpole: Peeters, 2023), 262-263.; Sherwood, *Leviticus-Numbers-Deuteronomy*, 70-72.

<sup>103</sup> Watts, *Leviticus 11-20*, 263.; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1061. However, as the introduction of Lev 16 does not serve the purpose to elaborate on their mistake, but to introduce the following procedures on the Day of Atonement. Cf. Adu-Gyamfi, “A Literary and Ritual Analysis of Leviticus 16,” 4-6.

<sup>104</sup> Watts, *Leviticus 11-20*, 263, 265. Where another name is given to the calendar: the priestly festival calendar. Cf. Adu-Gyamfi, “A Literary and Ritual Analysis of Leviticus 16,” 2-4.

Further connections and contrasts can be observed in the cases of Lev 4-5; 8-10; 11-15.

In the case of Lev 4:1-5:13— where the *זִבְחֵי הַתִּזְבָּח* sacrifices of the anointed priest are introduced—, we see that Lev 16 aims to overcome the insufficiencies latent in the rituals, that have been given to the priests.<sup>105</sup> Also, a movement of the rituals can be observed in both narratives, but they are the opposite of one another, so in Lev 4:1-5:13 we, and the rituals, move from the outer curt to the inner sanctuary, in Lev 16 we move the other way around.<sup>106</sup>

In the case of chapters 8-10, further connections are present.

1) Lev 16:18-19 contrasts with Lev 8:15 as the achievement of rededication of the altar happens, Aaron's garments are less extravagant in the verses of Lev 16; 2) in Lev 9, the order of rites are similar to the ones of Lev 16; 3) the connection between Lev 10 and 16— i.e., the need for propitiation for the priestly house— presents the idea, that the priests are the ones bearing the guilt of the people, thus we can also see the connection between the priest and the *עִזָּאזֹל* goat as a key element in the 'kippur' procedure.<sup>107</sup>

Concerning Lev 11-15, we come to a key point in our research, that will be important later. Lev 16 seems to be the application of the rules presented in Lev 13-14, and the act of the removal of guilt in Lev 14, in the two bird rites show a promising connection with the *עִזָּאזֹל* goat.<sup>108</sup> However, we have to mention here, that Lev 11-15 might have been later additions, since Lev 16: 1 suggests a state of scripture or P, where Lev 10 was followed by Lev 16.<sup>109</sup>

Thus, we see that no real connection can be drawn to the *עִזָּאזֹל* rite within P, therefore we examine Lev 16 itself, and see what is the function of the rite in the Day of Atonement.

### 1.3. Leviticus 16: 8, 10, 26.

This way we get to our main concern in the stated verses of Lev 16. Now that we are aware of the aspects of P and Leviticus, we can turn our attention to the staggering Hebrew word, *עִזָּאזֹל*. This word is a hapax legomenon in the sense, that it is present within scripture only in Lev 16:8, 10, 26, and only four times. This creates tensions in the establishing of the meaning of the word

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<sup>105</sup> Kiuchi, *Leviticus*, 292-293.

<sup>106</sup> Kiuchi, *Leviticus*, 292-293.

<sup>107</sup> Kiuchi, *Leviticus*, 293.

<sup>108</sup> Kiuchi, *Leviticus*, 293-294.

<sup>109</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1061.

עזאזל, and also its function in its context. In the following, I present my own translation of the verses of Lev 16 in MT.

### 1.3.1. Textual tensions surrounding the word עזאזל in Lev 16

In Lev 16 we observe that

Verse 5 indicates:

ומאת עדת בני ישראל יקח שני שעירי עזים לחטאת ואיל אחד לעלה:

“And from the congregation, of the sons of Israel, he shall take two male goats as sin offering and one ram as burnt offering.”

—that the two goats that were given by the people, are both taken, and later presented as sin offering.

Verses 7-8 indicate:

ולקח את שני השעירים והעמיד אתם לפני יהוה פתח אהל מועד:

“And he shall take the two goats, and present them before the Lord, at the door of the Tabernacle of Meeting”

ונתן אהרן על שני השעירים גורלות גורל אחד ליהוה וגורל אחד לעזאזל:

“And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats, one for the Lord and one for עזאזל.”

—that 1) the text is speaking of the disposition of the lots;<sup>110</sup> 2) The method of selection’s purpose is to let the Lord decide which goat he wants, he must decide the role of the goats.<sup>111</sup>

Even though these verses indicate that both goats are to be destroyed, we see a different fate for the chosen goat for עזאזל in verse 10:

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<sup>110</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1019-1020. Here Milgrom presents the idea of lots, which were made of boxwood, on both of them, the names were written in the same manner, with the lamed preposition, as we see it on ANE seals. Then the lots were put on the heads of the goats. The lots seem to resemble the urim-thummim, the connection between them seems possible. The Urim-Thummim were cast as dices in divination rituals, and for us to understand the lot casting ritual during the Day of Atonement as a divination ritual, seems sound. See. Hertog(†), Kees den, and Paul Sanders, ותמים אורים – *Urim and Thummim*, Semantics of Ancient Hebrew Database (<https://pthu.github.io/sahd>), 2022 (update: 2024). Cf. Adu-Gyamfi, “A Literary and Ritual Analysis of Leviticus 16,” 6.

<sup>111</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1020. This way, scripture tries to eliminate the assumption of the Israelites sacrificing to a deity. See also. Adu-Gyamfi, Yaw, “The Live Goat Ritual in Leviticus 16,” *Scriptura* 112 (2013):1-10, esp. 6.

והשעיר אשר עלה עליו הגורל לעזאזל יעמד חי - לפני יהוה לכפר עליו לשלח אתו לעזאזל המדברה:

“But the goat upon which the lot has fallen shall be presented alive before the Lord to make atonement upon it, and let it go to עזאזל into the wilderness.”

Thus, we see that the goat chosen by lot for עזאזל is not a sacrifice, since the goat is to be sent out in the wilderness.<sup>112</sup> This observation is coming from the Israelite nature of sacrificing the substitute as a חטאת in the form of an עלה sacrifice. The עלה practice, or as we translate it as ‘burnt offering’, in reality describes the procedure of slaughtering the animal, and then burning it, thus the channel of the sacrifice is the smoke with which the sacrifice is being delivered to the deity. This follows the Hittite sacrificial custom.<sup>113</sup>

However, the text only discusses what to do with the goat in Lev 16: 20-22, where Aaron shall put both of his hands upon the head of the goat, confessing their sins, and then send it away with an appointed man. It is interesting, that here scripture is silent in the case of whether the Lord has made atonement through the goat or not. Certainly, it would not make sense for the atonement-expiation to be done on the goat, when it does not bear the guilt and sins of the people. The tension here in the narrative is that it is not clear how atonement is being done upon the goat. In Lev 16: 10 the goat is in the presence of the Lord, but does not bear the sins of the people, while in Lev 16: 20-22 Aaron transfers the sins, but it is not clear if this way atonement is achieved.

In the case of Lev 16: 26, we do not learn whether the atonement was achieved, or the goat was set free or slaughtered. It is a regulation for the appointed person with whom the goat was sent out.

Verse 26 reads:

והמשלח השעיר לעזאזל יכבס בגדיו ורחץ את- בשרו במים ואחריו- כן יבוא אל- המחנה:

“And he who released the goat for עזאזל shall wash his clothes and bathe his body in water, and then he may come into the camp.”

It is notable that in MT, the form of the word עזאזל is consistent, meaning that all four appearances are identical. However, the critical apparatus of *BHS* notes a different form of the word עזאזל, that is found in S. This begs the examination of not only S, but also, the other early translations as well. Before that, we need to assert the most likely etymology of the word עזאזל, which is

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<sup>112</sup> Adu-Gyamfi, “The Live Goat Ritual in Leviticus 16,” 5-7.

<sup>113</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 108-109.



based upon its form in MT to see if the ancient versions support that etymology, or they show different version(s) of the word as well.

## Chapter 2: The most likely etymology of the word עֲזָאזֵל

### 2.1. Etymological proposals of the word עֲזָאזֵל

The problem at hand revolves around the fact, that we are not certain regarding the meaning and etymology of the Hebrew word עֲזָאזֵל, in the form as it is presented in MT. From antiquity, five major suggestions evolved in scholarly discussion, in many cases based upon the ancient versions (i.e., translations), presented in dictionaries, commentaries, and even studies, however, many of the scholarly suggestions were not supported by sound arguments. In this chapter we systematically present the attempts of scholars, in dictionaries, commentaries and studies with the goal of asserting the most likely etymology and meaning of the word עֲזָאזֵל.

### 2.2. The translations of the word עֲזָאזֵל

The recent, and relevant dictionaries give us the raw data, the result of their translation. Generally, commentaries work with these translations as they present multiple possibilities, by translating עֲזָאזֵל as 1) scapegoat (escape goat);<sup>114</sup> 2) precipice, rough ground;<sup>115</sup> 3) entire removal;<sup>116</sup> 4) wrath of God;<sup>117</sup> 5), fierce god, personal name (of a demon).<sup>118</sup>

### 2.3. The presented etymologies in the scholarly discussion

When we search for the etymology of a word, we are looking for 1) other words, root words, out of which the researched word or concept might have emerged, 2) possible and/or previous customs, practices, that might have influenced the writers of scripture, or even the early-middle period of the Israelite religion, cult, practices. In advance, it is also interesting that all

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<sup>114</sup> Pelt and Kaiser, “עֲזָאזֵל,” 3:363.; *HAHAT* 4:942.; *DCH* 6:326.; Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, 221.; Balentine, *Leviticus*, 130.; Hieke, *Leviticus 16-27*, 577-578.

<sup>115</sup> *DCH* 6:326.; Balentine, *Leviticus*, 130.; Hieke, *Leviticus 16-27*, 557-578.; Porter, *Leviticus*, 127.

<sup>116</sup> *BDB*, עֲזָאזֵל ([sefaria.org](http://sefaria.org)); *DCH* 6:326.; Harrison, *Leviticus*, 170.; *HAHAT* 4:942.;

<sup>117</sup> *DCH* 6:326.; Hieke, *Leviticus 16-27*, 557-578.

<sup>118</sup> Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, 617.; *HAWAT*, 321.; Pelt and Kaiser, “עֲזָאזֵל,” 3:363.; *HALOT* 1:806.; *HAHAT* 4:942.; *DCH* 6:326.; *KAHAL*, 398.; Harrison, *Leviticus*, 170.; Gerstenberger, *Leviticus*, 221.; Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 192.; Porter, *Leviticus*, 127.

etymologies presented in the following, agree in the word עזאזל is a word made out of two components.

### 2.3.1. עז אזל – '(e)scape goat'

In the line of proposals regarding the etymology, this suggestion, assuming that the word עזאזל is the combination of the word עז 'goat' and אזל 'to go away' gained much support over the time. The argument for this etymology comes from the ancient versions, namely the Greek and Latin translations. Davidson in his *Lexicon* (1978) derived the word from the combination of עז 'goat' and אזל 'to go' meaning 'scape-goat' or 'goat of departure'.<sup>119</sup> Van Pelt in his article on עזאזל (2000) discusses its possible original meanings and defines עזאזל as the male goat upon which all the people's transgressions and sins are placed on the Day of Atonement.<sup>120</sup> DCH (2011) gave 'scapegoat' as a possible translation, or 'the goat that goes' from the combination of the words עז 'goat' and אזל 'to go away'.<sup>121</sup> Hieke in his commentary on Leviticus 16-27 (2014), while examining the four suggested etymologies of the word, mentioned an interesting, but unconvincing Egyptian origin, whereas the word is made up of two elements 'dz 'the culprit' and 'dr 'to go away' meaning 'the culprit who has been eliminated', probably referring to the Egyptian god Seth, as the embodiment of evil.<sup>122</sup>

### 2.3.2. עזזא – 'precipice, rugged hard place/ terrain'

This etymology gives meaning to the word: "hard, rugged place, precipice", meaning that the word is referring to the destination of the goat. This view is based on the Midrashic interpretation<sup>123</sup> of ארץ גזרה.<sup>124</sup> These interpretations are: the Mishnaic literature; the rabbis of the Talmud; Tg<sup>PsJon</sup> on Lev 16:10; Sa' adya's commentary on the Pentateuch and Ibn- Jahāh.<sup>125</sup> Gaster in his article on עזאזל (1962) suggested that the Arabic عززا 'rough ground' is the origin of the word עזאזל.<sup>126</sup> Driver in his article (1956) advocated this view, and provided an interesting argument for an Arabic etymological equation: in the word עזאזל the א is not part of the root and

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<sup>119</sup> Davidson, Benjamin, *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1978), 593.

<sup>120</sup> Pelt, Miles V. van, "Azazel," *EDB*, 132.

<sup>121</sup> *DCH* 6:326.

<sup>122</sup> Hieke, *Leviticus 16-27*, 577-578.

<sup>123</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1020.

<sup>124</sup> Tawil, "Azazel," 43-45.

<sup>125</sup> Tawil, "Azazel," 44-46. Meanings rendered to עזאזל in the mentioned literature: 'Steeple cliff', 'rough and difficult place', 'cliff-Bet Harori', 'a hill of a rough ground (לג'בל עזאזל)', rough land (from Arabic عززاح cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1020.

<sup>126</sup> Gaster, T. H., "Azazel," *IDB* 1:325-326.

the formative ל is an addition.<sup>127</sup> Even though Porter in his commentary on Leviticus (1976) suggested two etymologies of the word, one of them was in fact the name of a place, coming from the Arabic word عزرا 'rough ground'.<sup>128</sup> For Wakely in his article on עזז (1997) pointed out, that in the Aramaic language, the verb עזז 'be hard, strong, sting, be pointed' has the nominative form עזזאל.<sup>129</sup>

### 2.3.3. עֲזֹז אֱל – 'Wrath of God'

*DCH* (2011) suggested, that עזזאל means 'wrath of god', presenting a metathesis, the combination of עֲזֹז 'strength, wrath' and אל 'god'.<sup>130</sup> This derivation however would lead to others, meaning that the word עֲזֹז is coming from the Hebrew word noun עֹז 'fortitude, strength, majesty', or the verb עוז 'to take or seek refuge' as seen in Isa 30:2 (from the Arabic عدها), and ultimately from the verb עזז 'to be strong' (Arabic عَزَّ 'be mighty, strong'; Ethiopic *OHH*; Assyrian *ezêzu* 'be furious', *ezzu* 'fierce').<sup>131</sup>

### 2.3.4. עֲזֹזֵאל – 'fierce god', personal name, 'demon, deity'

Scholars of this view noticed an underlying metathesis, as well as the role of the ל preposition, and provided comparable rituals in the ANE that might serve as the origin of the word עֲזֹזֵאל. Gesenius in his Hebrew and Chaldee lexicon (1860) proposed, with the help of the Greek, Latin and Arabic languages, that the word עֲזֹזֵאל might be a name of an idol, who is inhabiting the desert,<sup>132</sup> that needed to be appeased, deriving it from the Arabic عزازيل and he noticed the juxtaposition of ליהוה and לעזזאל as well.<sup>133</sup> Dalman in his dictionary (1967) said, that the word is a modification of עֲזֹזֵאל,<sup>134</sup> probably basing this on the critical apparatus of *BHS*, where the apparatus notes the version of the S reads: לעזזואל. Porter in his commentary on Leviticus (1976) suggested two etymologies for the word, one of them was the name of some wilderness deity or spirit, since, in Lev 16:8 due to the juxtaposition, another divine name might be expected

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<sup>127</sup> Driver, G. R., "Three Technical Terms in the Pentateuch," *JSS* 1 (1956): 77-78. Deriving the etymology of the word עֲזֹזֵאל from the Arabic عزازيل or عزازون. In support of Gaster's and Driver's theory see. Porter, *Leviticus*, 127.

<sup>128</sup> Porter, *Leviticus*, 127.

<sup>129</sup> Wakely, Robin, "עזז," *NIDOTTE* 3:375.

<sup>130</sup> *DCH* 6:326.

<sup>131</sup> *BDB*, עֲזֹז, 1 with Lexicon (sefaria.org)

<sup>132</sup> Lamparter, *In Gottes Schuld*, 49.

<sup>133</sup> Gesenius, *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, 617.

<sup>134</sup> Dalman, *ANHT*, 309.; cf. Budd, *Leviticus*, 227-233. esp. 228.

after ליהוה.<sup>135</sup> Milgrom suggested in his commentary on Leviticus (1991), that the etymology עזז and אל is the most possible of all, and provided comparable sources in the ANE.<sup>136</sup> Janowski in his article on עזאזל (1995) supports this derivation, while presenting the process of a consonantal hypothesis (עזאזל < עזאזל < עזז and אל) as an explanation of the form in the MT.<sup>137</sup> Gane in his commentary on Leviticus (2004) gave a new perspective to the עזאזל research, as he understood עזאזל as the owner of the goat.<sup>138</sup> This was based on the observation, that the syntax of ליהוה and לעזאזל is the combination of the preposition ל and a proper name, as it can be seen on ancient Israelite seals, that identify objects as belonging to individuals— as in ליהוה, the preposition is clearly carrying a possessive meaning: ‘belongs to’.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, he concluded, that the dynamics of the live goat ritual imply that עזאזל is the Lord’s enemy, thus עזאזל is representing a demon, as in a possible biblical parallel, the uninhabited land represents demons.<sup>140</sup> Alter (2004) joined Gane’s idea by explaining that seals and inscriptions indicate that a proper name or title prefixed by the preposition ל is a lamed of possession. He suggested that עזאזל is the name of a goatish demon or deity, which is linked to the remote wilderness, and that the name appears to be related to the word עז ‘goat’.<sup>141</sup> Dietrich and Arnet in their dictionary (2013) state that עזאזל is a desert demon, derived from the word אז ‘anger’.<sup>142</sup> Hieke in his commentary on Leviticus 16-27 (2014) while examining the four possible etymologies, gave an explanation of this view. He said that עזאזל is a desert demon, coming from the post-exilic period, a demonized Canaanite deity, or coming from Jewish rural beliefs, or an Iranian entity under El, or ‘fierce god’ describing the Ugaritic Môt.<sup>143</sup> Angelini (2021) suggested, that עזאזל is the combination and the correction of two Semitic roots, זזא meaning ‘enraged, fierce, strong’ and אל referring to either the Ugaritic El or a generic term of God.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Porter, *Leviticus*, 127.

<sup>136</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1020-1021, 1071-1079. The satisfying parallel rituals: Ambazzi, Hurwali. However, he names the four main differences between the rituals of Mesopotamia and the one of the scripture’s עזאזל.

<sup>137</sup> Janowski, Bernd, “Azazel,” *DDD*, 128. Cf. Angelini, A. (2021) “Is Azazel a Goat, Place, Demon, or Deity?” *TheTorah.com*. <https://thetorah.com/article/is-azazel-a-goat-place-demon-or-deity>

<sup>138</sup> Gane, *Leviticus, Numbers*, 274, 288. Prior to him, Mordechai Cogan in his article (1998), gave basis for the future research, and to Gane, since he noted, that the 8<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE Judean seals played an important role in the עזאזל research, by excavations, seals with the phrase למלך ‘belonging to the king’ have been found in many sites of Judah. See. Cogan, “Into Exile,” 246.

<sup>139</sup> Gane, *Leviticus, Numbers*, 288.

<sup>140</sup> Gane, *Leviticus, Numbers*, 288, 290, 299, 300. The locus is Isa 13:21.

<sup>141</sup> Alter, *The Five Books of Moses*, 612.

<sup>142</sup> *KAHAL*, 398.

<sup>143</sup> Hieke, *Leviticus 16-27*, 577-578.

<sup>144</sup> Angelini, A. (2021) “Is Azazel a Goat, Place, Demon, or Deity?” *TheTorah.com*. <https://thetorah.com/article/is-azazel-a-goat-place-demon-or-deity> cf. Janowski, Bernd and Wilhelm, Gernot, „Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt”, 109-170.

#### 2.3.4.1. *šrǧzz*

In the past decade Korpel and Moor (2015) suggested that the solution for the origin of the Hebrew word עזאזל could be *šrǧzz* ‘the prince is generous’,<sup>145</sup> also associated with Adammu<sup>146</sup>— thus the assumption that עזאזל would be an epithet, an Ugaritic deity seems sound. Also, grammatical connection is possible between *šrǧzz* and עזאזל.

#### 2.3.4.2. *Môt*

Tawil (1980) proposed that עזאזל is the combination of עזז ‘strong, fierce’ and אל ‘god’ and provided a likely etymology, namely, that the word עזאזל, as it is in MT, is the epithet of the Ugaritic god of death, *Môt*— the reason of the metathesis, as he understood it, is to conceal the true demonic nature of this supernatural being.<sup>147</sup> Before dealing with the exact texts that have been proposed, an assessment should be made regarding the results of Tawil, an influential scholar in the עזאזל research. His work on עזאזל, even though it resulted in the epithet *Môt* (the god of death in the Ugaritic- and Canaanite pantheon), was the first that dealt explicitly with עזאזל and the possible origin of this tradition. To me, it seems like his emphasis on Lev 16:22, namely on the phrase אֶל-אֲרֶץ גְּזֵרָה ‘to a cut-off land’ led him in a direction to *Môt*—alongside the consultation of the Targumim and the Ethiopic book of Enoch— that his etymological designation in the end is a result, that is debatable.<sup>148</sup> However, part of his research proved to be beneficial for our understanding. By him analysing Akkadian and Sumerian texts, he showed that indeed, in the ANE understanding, the steppe or wilderness was seen as the dwelling place of divine malevolent entities.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Korpel and Moor, *Adam, Eve and the Devil*, 211-212.

<sup>146</sup> Korpel and Moor, *Adam, Eve and the Devil*, 266.

<sup>147</sup> Tawil, “Azazel,” 58-59.

<sup>148</sup> Tawil, “Azazel,” 57. Even though this might be a haphazard comment at first, this is based on the line of argumentation provided by Tawil. On the indicated page, his attention turns to the Akkadian descriptions and adjectives of the netherworld: *ezzu/šamru/nadru/gaššu/ dannu* ‘fierce furious/ raging/ ferocious/ overbearing/ savage’. This way, he makes the connection between the descriptions in Ugarit regarding the god of Death, *Môt*. The weak point of his research is that he is looking at incantation texts—and one might argue that he treats Lev 16 as such—and as it is observed, the literary genre of the עזאזל rite in Lev 16 is not an incantation, rather a description of a ‘driving away/ outcasting/ purifying— some might say exorcism—ritual’. Based on these, we can not rely completely on Tawil’s study.

<sup>149</sup> Tawil, “Azazel,” 52-57. Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1071-1072. The Hebrew ארץ גזרה or מדבר corresponds with the Akkadian *šēru/mudabirul erēb šamši* ‘to the west’.

## 2.4. The most likely etymology

Asserting the most possible etymology of the Hebrew word עֲזַזֹּל is essential, due to the aim of this chapter. According to the observation of scholars, supported by convincing arguments, we conclude, that the most likely etymology of the word עֲזַזֹּל seems to be a divine name, of which the place of the origin is somewhere in the ANE, and its ritual-cultic texts. This way, it seems to be safe to suggest, that it is likely, that the word עֲזַזֹּל is a combination of two words עֲזַז and אֵל, suggesting the original meaning of this word ‘strong, fierce god’. Therefore, we also note, that the word might have been the product of a scribal metathesis, which is supported by the juxtaposition of the words לִיהוָה and לְעֲזַזֹּל, and the presence of the ל auctoris,<sup>150</sup> in which case the original form of the word might have been עֲזַזֵּל. Thus, we also take into consideration the proposals of *šrgzz* and *Môt*, as specific origins of the word עֲזַזֹּל, but not without doubt.

Regarding the specific suggestions, in the case of *šrgzz* and עֲזַזֹּל, we would have to say that in the Israelite ritual understanding, sin and transgression is like the venom of the snake that infected the body of Adammu. Against this, we already presented that in the Israelite understanding, or at least of P and how we understand it, this was not the case regarding ritual impurity. However, the fact that *šrgzz* appears in KTU 1.107 in an incantation against snakes<sup>151</sup>— while missing from the other incantations against snakes, such as KTU 1.100,<sup>152</sup> even though KTU 1.100 and 1.107 were found in the same spot, the 10<sup>th</sup> room of the Hittite priest’s house— they do not involve any animals as ritual substances, thus not presenting the same genre as Lev 16. On the basis of the rules of the comparative study and what we have seen so far, we have to look for another suggestion or solution—due to the high probability of the linguistic correspondence, but because of the difference in genres and features, we can not reject nor support this proposal.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Opposing this view, See. Adu-Gyamfi, “A Literary and Ritual Analysis of Leviticus 16,” 14.

<sup>151</sup> Dietrich, Manfred; Loretz, Oswald and Sanmartín, Joaquín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (KTU: second, enlarged edition; ALASP, 8) (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 1995), 122-124.

<sup>152</sup> *KTU*<sup>2</sup>, 112-115.

<sup>153</sup> Korpel and Moor, *Adam, Eve and the Devil*, 211-212, 266. We have to note, that the phrase is promising linguistically. In the word *šrgzz*, it is a valid argument that the *g* is *ʿ* in Hebrew, thus it is tempting to read it as עֲזַז, which would make a clear connection between the Ugaritic *šrgzz* and the Hebrew עֲזַזֹּל. It is also notable, that *šrgzz* is also understood as Adammu.

## Chapter 3: Ancient Versions

Now that we have asserted a very likely etymology of the Hebrew word לַזְזַע, we can examine the word in the Ancient Versions, or, in other words, the early translations of the Pentateuch, and in our case, Lev 16. As one might expect, examining the Hebrew word לַזְזַע in the early translations requires a reception-historical approach, and one might question the legitimacy of this method in our study. However, the argument supporting the relevance of this method in our study is the fact that certain versions are based on a Vorlage, that might have had an earlier version or form of the word לַזְזַע in MT, thus a different understanding of the word as well. To test this and to see if the Ancient Versions support our previously asserted possible etymology, we examine the LXX, Vg and VL, S, and the relevant Targumim: Tg<sup>O</sup>, Tg<sup>P<sup>sj</sup></sup> and Tg<sup>N</sup>.

### 3.1. LXX and other Greek translations

The name Septuagint is derived from the Latin language as an abbreviation of: interpretation secundum Septuagint seniors, ‘the interpretation of the seventy elders’.<sup>154</sup> The earliest manuscript and fragment of LXX, 4Q119 that translates Lev 26, was found at Qumran, and can be dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or first century BCE.<sup>155</sup> In the following, we present the text of LXX and my own translations.<sup>156</sup>

Verse 8:

καὶ ἐπιθήσει Ἰσαακ ἐπὶ τοὺς δύο χιμάρους κλήρους, κλήρον ἓνα τῷ Κυρίῳ  
καὶ κλήρον ἓνα τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ.

“And Aaron shall cast lots on the two he-goats, a lot for the Lord and a lot  
for the scapegoat.”

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<sup>154</sup> Boyd-Taylor, Cameron, “What is the Septuagint?,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint* (ed. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 13-16. This title comes from the legend surrounding LXX, however since the letter of Aristeas would suggest a 3-2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE dating, but what is certain, is that it was sponsored by the Ptolemaids (305 BCE-30 BCE) and was composed in Alexandria for the Jewish diaspora. This view, however, regarding the dating of LXX, due to the fictional nature of the Letter of Aristeas, has been long deemed unreliable.

<sup>155</sup> Boyd-Taylor, “What is the Septuagint?,” 16-17.

<sup>156</sup> For the text of LXX, See. Rahlfs, Alfred, ed., *Septuaginta: Id et Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, Editio sexta, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1960).

Verse 10:

καὶ τὸν χίμαρον, ἐφ’ ὃν ἐπῆλθεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὁ κληρὸς τοῦ ἀποπομπαίου, στήσει αὐτὸν ζῶντα ἔναντι Κυρίου, τοῦ ἐξιλάσασθαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, ὥστε ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν, καὶ ἀφήσει αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον.

“And the goat upon which the ‘scapegoat’ has fallen, he shall stand it alive before the Lord to make atonement on him, and send it to the wilderness.”

Verse 26:

καὶ ὁ ἐξαποστέλλων τὸν χίμαρον τὸν διεσταλμένον εἰς ἄφεςιν πλυνεῖ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ λούσεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ὕδατι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν.

“And the one, who sent the goat determined for dismissal shall wash his clothes and bathe his body in water, after that, he shall enter the camp.”

σ’: τράγος ἀπερχομενος ‘the goat to depart from one place to another’.<sup>157</sup>

α’: τράγος ἀπολελυμένος ‘the goat that departs’.<sup>158</sup>

LXX<sup>a</sup> and θ’: τῷ ἀποπέμπομενῳ ‘the one that is sent away’.<sup>159</sup>

The root of first three terms is ἀποπομπαῖος, -α, -ον ‘the bearer of evil’.<sup>160</sup> The phrase τὸν διεσταλμένον is coming from the root διαστέλλω ‘to separate’, giving the meaning of the sentence ‘the goat determined for dismissal’.<sup>161</sup> Other Greek translations give similar meaning to LXX.<sup>162</sup> The philology of this seems to be that Septuagint reads לְחַיִּיבֵי of MT ‘as לְחַיִּיבֵי < ‘as the goat that is sent away, separated’ < ‘as the goat that bears the sin’, ‘the goat that carrying evil away’,<sup>163</sup> meaning ‘(e)scapegoat’.<sup>164</sup> This reading was further supported by V, and as we

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<sup>157</sup> Muraoka, T., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain, Paris, Walpole: Peeters, 2009), 68. The word τράγος means ‘goat’ and the word ἀπερχομενος is coming from the word ἀπερχομαι ‘to go away’.

<sup>158</sup> GELS, 79. The word ἀπολελυμένος is coming from the word ἀπολυω ‘to depart, dismiss’.

<sup>159</sup> GELS, 543. The word ἀποπέμπομενῳ is coming from the word πέμπω ‘to make go, send’.

<sup>160</sup> GELS, 81.

<sup>161</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1020.

<sup>162</sup> Gesenius, Wilhem, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae et chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*. vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1829-1842), 1012. Cf. Field, Frederick, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive Veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta, tomus I: Prolegomena, Genesis – Esther* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), 193-195.

<sup>163</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1020.; GELS, 81.

<sup>164</sup> Pelt, “Azazel,” 132.



have seen it:  $\theta'$ ,  $\alpha'$  and later Ibn Ezra.<sup>165</sup> This version would also suggest a vorlage in which the form of the word might have been similar if not identical to the one of MT.

### 3.2. SP

SP offers a variant of the Hebrew text, and it presents the canon of the Samaritan community, and also editorial changes to the text in order to harmonize it, aiming to perfect the texts by removing perceived inconsistencies, however, Leviticus was seemingly left out of this harmonization.<sup>166</sup> Its vocalization for the most part is similar to the one of MT, and is based on a version of the Pentateuch, that has been circulating during the end of the first millennia in Palestine.<sup>167</sup> The most recent critical edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch (2018) uses manuscript D<sup>1</sup> as its base text.<sup>168</sup> In the following three verses of SP, I present my own translations.

Verse 8 reads:

ונתן אהרן על שני חשעירם גורלות גורל אחד ליהוה וגורל אחד לעזזאל:

“And Aaron shall put lots upon the two goats, on lot for the Lord, and one lot for עזזאל”

Verse 10 reads:

והשעיר אשר עלה עליו הגורל לעזזאל יעמד חי - לפני יהוה לכפר עליו לשלח אתו לעזזאל המדברה:

“And the goat upon which the lot ‘for עזזאל’ has fallen, stand it alive in the presence of the Lord to make atonement upon it, by sending it to the wilderness to עזזאל.”

Verse 26 reads:

והמשלה את השעיר לעזזאל יכבס בגדיו ורחץ את בשרו במים ואהרי כן יבוא אל המהנה:

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<sup>165</sup> Pelt and Kaiser, “עזזאל,” 3:363.

<sup>166</sup> Crawford, Sidnie White, “The Text of the Pentateuch,” in *The Oxford handbook of the Pentateuch* (ed. Joel S. Baden & Jeffrey Stackert; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 47-48.

<sup>167</sup> Crawford, “The Text of the Pentateuch,” 49.

<sup>168</sup> Schorch, Stefan, *The Samaritan Pentateuch: A Critical Edition Maior*, vol. 3 (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), xxxiv- xxxv. “Ms Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 751 (1225).”

“And the one, with whom the goat was sent away for עזאזל shall wash his garment(s)”, and bathe his body with water, and after that shall he come back to the camp.”

It is notable, that the form of the word עזאזל is consistent, and the position of the ל preposition is matching. Thus, regarding the word at hand, Abraham Tal defined the word עזאזל as a proper noun, a specific name.<sup>169</sup> It is also notable that this early version’s presented form supports the etymology of the word עזאזל as a DN.

### 3.3. S

S is important in our research, because the text of S from Genesis to Leviticus does not differ from the P source, supposing an older textual witness than MT — despite some assuming a late dating of the manuscripts.<sup>170</sup> In the following three verses of S, I present my own translations.

Verse 8 reads:

והנח ארמוה פני תר חל היתר י פתח. פני אר סה לחכר. פני אר סה לחכר.

“And Aaron shall give lot(s) on the two rams, one lot to the Lord<sup>171</sup> and one to Azazel.”

Verse 10 reads:

פני פתח העלה חלמו, פני אר דחכרל נפסר ח סר סגס חכר  
והנח ארמוה פני תר חל היתר י פתח.

“And the goat which (the lot) has fallen unto it, the lot that belongs to Azazel, stand it (at) the very same abyss, east of Morijja,<sup>172</sup> that is limited unto him, and send it towards Azazel to the desert.”

<sup>169</sup> Tal, Abraham, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 629.

<sup>170</sup> Koster, Marinus D., *A New Introduction to the Peshitta of the Old Testament* (AS 1.2.; New York, London: Continuum, 2003), 231.

<sup>171</sup> Sokoloff, Michael, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann’s Lexicon Syriacum* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009), 34, 1089.; Cf. Payne, Jessie Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903, repr. Winona Lake: Eisenbraus), 823. The phrase לחכר could also mean ‘to the master, owner’.

<sup>172</sup> Sokoloff, *SLB*, 823. The word חכר could also mean ‘the owner, master of the east’.

Verse 26 reads:

וַיִּשְׁלַח אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַעִזִּים לְאֶזָּזֵל וְיִטְהַר וְיִבְרַח בַּמַּיִם  
וְיָשׁוּב אֶל הַמַּחֲנֶה

“And he, with whom the goat was sent to Azazel, clean himself and bathe in water, and then he shall return to the camp.”

S does not seem to take into consideration the interpretation of עֶזְאֵזֵל as a goat or a precipice. The word אֱלֹהִים is clearly referring to ‘God’<sup>173</sup> and יִטְהַר means ‘to gain strength, become intense, become strong, to attack’.<sup>174</sup> It is notable that the word אֶת־אֱלֹהִים does not have an entry in *SLB*. Finding other roots, than those mentioned above, leads to no result.

However, another interesting aspect is the change of the preposition אֶל to אֵל. In verse 10, where the word אֶת־אֱלֹהִים appears in an unexpected form, אֶל changes to the relative particle אֵל which is the equivalent of the Hebrew אֲשֶׁר or its shorter form אֲשֵׁר, differing from the other appearances of the word אֶת־אֱלֹהִים.<sup>175</sup> אֵל is a preposition meaning ‘towards, at, with, following, according to, in front of’.<sup>176</sup> This leads us to assume, that S understands עֶזְאֵזֵל as a DN.

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<sup>173</sup> Even though the word אֱלֹהִים could also mean, according to its Hebrew match אֵיל ‘ram, goat’, this reading, however, seems not satisfying, due to the context and the tension that it generates within the text itself, and in its interpretation.

<sup>174</sup> Sokoloff, *SLB*, 34, 1089.; Cf. Payne, *CSD*, 1089.

<sup>175</sup> Sokoloff, *SLB*, 268.

<sup>176</sup> Sokoloff, *SLB*, 682.

### 3.4. The Targumim

Flesher and Chilton's critical introduction to the targums (2011) has provided a comprehensive investigation of the history, nature and characteristics of the targumic literature.<sup>177</sup> Here, we will give a brief introduction to the targums, and then we present the targums that we will examine. The meaning of the Aramaic word *targum* is simply 'translation'.<sup>178</sup> It is important to note here, that the term targum not only mean translation, but as such, a translation of scripture, from ancient Hebrew to Aramaic. As we refer to the Aramaic language, as we will see, we also have to note that the targums are translated not to a 'unified' Aramaic, but to dialects of Aramaic, which help us not only to classify the targums, but to provide a relative dating as well. There are three types of Pentateuchal targums, a term referring to targums that provide translations of the Pentateuch: 1) Palestinian Targums: a) that contain manuscripts of the entire Pentateuch, b) Fragment Targums that contain passages selected from the Pentateuch, c) fragmentary remains of manuscripts of collection of selected passages; 2) Tg<sup>O</sup>, presenting a type of targum, that is accepted as authoritative and supported by evidences of many whole and fragmentary manuscripts; 3) Tg<sup>PsJ</sup> representing type three, which is known by a single manuscript and a slightly different printed edition.<sup>179</sup> Palestinian Targums were composed in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, which is said to be stemmed from a common translation, the Proto-Palestinian Targum source.<sup>180</sup> Tg<sup>O</sup> was composed in Jewish Literary Aramaic, and it has its own distinctive translation.<sup>181</sup> Tg<sup>PsJ</sup> was composed in Late Jewish Literary Aramaic, and is a translation the comprises a recasting of the rendering of Tg<sup>O</sup>, and it presented a collection of additions of Palestinian Targums, and its own as well.<sup>182</sup>

In the following we will present the texts and translations of Tg<sup>O</sup>, Tg<sup>PsJ</sup> and Tg<sup>N</sup>. At first, the reason behind choosing these targums is simply their translation of the Hebrew word עֲזָאזְלֵי. Second, the reason behind our choice is the wide range of characteristics and dating of these targums.

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<sup>177</sup> Flesher, Paul V. M., and Chilton, Bruce D., *The Targums: A Critical Introduction* (SAIS 12; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011).

<sup>178</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 7.

<sup>179</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 72-73.

<sup>180</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 73.

<sup>181</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 73.

<sup>182</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 73. The additions are regarding the Proto-Palestinian Targum source, the base text of the Pentateuchal Targums.

### 3.4.1. Tg<sup>N</sup>

The Tg<sup>N</sup>, is a Palestinian Targum written in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic dialect, and presents a previously unknown, but complete text of the Pentateuch.<sup>183</sup> The manuscript contains a variety of alternative readings written in the margins or between the lines, and presents some readings, that are only known from this source.<sup>184</sup> These ‘expansions’ are regarding texts, that needed further explanation and clarification.<sup>185</sup> These readings later appeared in Tg<sup>PsJ</sup>, the Fragment Targums and the Cairo Geniza fragments.<sup>186</sup> As part of the Palestinian Targums, it was created between the late second century CE and the early third century CE. In the case of Tg<sup>N</sup>, we present the translations of Martin McNamara.<sup>187</sup>

Verse 8:

ויתן אהרן על תרין צפיריה עדוין ועדיוו#2# / חד לשם ממריי דיי ועדיו/ועדיוו#2# / חד לעזאזל:

“And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two young he-goats: one lot ‘for the name of the word of the Lord,’ and the other lot ‘for Azazel’.”

The Margin of Tg<sup>N</sup> on verse 8 notes:

"עדיו . . ." : עדב חד לשמה דיי לכפרה על עמא ועדב חד למפטור למדבר צוק לעזזל

“Cast one lot for the sake of the Lord, to make atonement upon the people, and one lot to release to the desert, to the pinnacle of עזזל.”

Verse 10:

וצפירה די סלק עלוי עדוה לעזאזל יקים יתה לחיים/בחיין#2# / קדם יי למכפרה/לכ#2# / עלוי למשלחה יתיה לעזאזל למדברה:

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<sup>183</sup> Fleisher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 74.

<sup>184</sup> Fleisher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 75.

<sup>185</sup> Fleisher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 13-15. As examples, see the expansions in Gen 4:8 and Ex 34:26, and in our case, in Lev 16:8.

<sup>186</sup> Fleisher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 75.

<sup>187</sup> McNamara, Martin et al., ed., *Targum Neofiti 1: Leviticus and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Leviticus* (ArBib 3; Collegeville: The Liturgical Books, 1994).

“And the he-goat on which the lot ‘for Azazel’ fell he shall place alive before the Lord to make atonement over it, to send it to Azazel to the desert.”

Verse 26:

וּמִן דְּמִשְׁלַח וּדְמִי' / ית צפירה לעזאזל יהוור/וחו' / לבושו ויסחי ית בשריה במיא ובתר כדין  
ייעול \לגו משריתה/למשרייתה:

“And whoever sends out the he-goat to Azazel shall wash his garments and shall bathe his body in water, and afterward he may come within the camp.”

In the case of Tg<sup>N</sup>, the earliest targum that deals with עזאזל, we see that around the end of the second century and the early third century, the form of the word עזאזל became consolidated. This can be observed in the cases of Tg<sup>O</sup> and Tg<sup>PsJ</sup>, and later even in the case of MT. We do not say that the form of the word עזאזל in MT is based upon the targumim, but we observe, that from the 2-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE on, the form of the word עזאזל is the same. We see in Tg<sup>N</sup> that the only exception is the margin on verse 8. Here, the word צוק means ‘pinnacle, mountain top, mourning, distress, abhorrence, pressure’<sup>188</sup> and is also present in Tg<sup>PsJ</sup> Lev 16:10b. Then comes the word עזול. We are not sure what the margin means by this word. We can only assume that an א is missing from the word, but then again, we are not sure of the position of the missing letter. However, it does not seem to matter that much, since we are facing two possibilities. 1) From the word, unintentionally an א is indeed missing, in which case the word would seem to support our asserted most likely etymology, namely that the word עזאזל is the combination of the words עזז ‘fierce, strong’ and אל ‘god’, providing the meaning ‘fierce god’. 2) The idea of Driver, that originally the א was not present in the word and the ל at the end is a formative ל like in כרמל < כרמל as in the case of לעזול < לעזז would make sense,<sup>189</sup> a name of a mountain is given, but in this case the identity of the mountain would remain uncertain.

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<sup>188</sup> Sokoloff, Michael, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), 267, 410, 429, 460-461. Cf. Tal, *DSA*, 728.

<sup>189</sup> Driver, “Three Technical Terms,” 97-105.

### 3.4.2. Tg<sup>O</sup>

The Tg<sup>O</sup> is often cited by the Babylonian Talmud (or Talmud Bavli), and post-Talmudic Judaism had given this targum a quasi-official status,<sup>190</sup> thus it was copied frequently, but it was not the most literal Targum in terms of how accurately it replaces the Hebrew text, as it substituted new words during translation, without altering or adding to the surrounding translation.<sup>191</sup> The dialect of Aramaic it translates the Hebrew text to let us assume, that it was composed sometime prior to the end of the fourth century CE.<sup>192</sup> In the case of Tg<sup>O</sup>, we present the text and translations of Lev 16 by Metsudah Chumsah.<sup>193</sup>

Verse 8:

וַיִּתֵּן אֱהֲרֹן לֵעַל תְּרֵין צְפִירֵין עֲדָבִין עֲדָבָא חַד לִשְׁמָא דַּיְיָ וְעֲדָבָא חַד לְעִזְאֵזֶל:

“Aaron shall put lots upon the two he-goats; one lot [marked] for [the Name of] Adonoy and one lot [marked] for Azazel.”

Verse 10:

וַצְפִירָא דִּי סְלִיק עָלוּהִי עֲדָבָא לְעִזְאֵזֶל קַפִּית כַּד חֵי גְדָם יְיָ לְכַפֵּרָא עָלוּהִי לְשַׁלַּח יְתִיהָ לְעִזְאֵזֶל לְמַדְבָּרָא:

“The goat upon which came up the lot [marked] for Azazel shall be placed, alive, before Adonoy, to achieve atonement with it to send it to Azazel, in the desert.”

Verse 26:

בִּילֻדְמוּ יְתָ צְפִירָא לְעִזְאֵזֶל יִצְבַּע לְבוּשׁוֹהִי וְיִסְחֵי יְתָ בְּסַרְיָה בְּמַיָּא וּבְתַר כֵּן יִיעוֹל לְמִשְׁרֵיתָא:

“He who [brings] the goat to Azazel shall wash his garments, and bathe his body in water, and afterward he shall come into the encampment.”

As we have seen, out of these three verses, it is not clear what the Hebrew word עִזְאֵזֶל means. The translation of Tg<sup>O</sup>, even though it presents the word עִזְאֵזֶל as it later appears in MT it fails to further elaborate on the meaning of the word. The English translation provides no basis for

<sup>190</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 71.

<sup>191</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 83.

<sup>192</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 85.

<sup>193</sup> Chumsah, Metsudah, *Onqelos: Leviticus 16*. Metsudah Publications, 2009. [https://www.sefaria.org/Onkelos\\_Leviticus.16.8?lang=bi](https://www.sefaria.org/Onkelos_Leviticus.16.8?lang=bi)

understanding the word עזאזל as a scapegoat, rough place or wrath of God, as there are no references or remarks that resemble any mountain, animal or the anger of the deity. Rather, the context of the word and how עזאזל functions in the text, support the already asserted most likely etymology, namely that the word עזאזל is the combination of the words עזז 'fierce, strong' and אל 'god', providing the meaning 'fierce god'.

### 3.4.3. Tg<sup>PsJ</sup>

The Tg<sup>PsJ</sup>, due to new discoveries, it can no longer be considered a Palestinian Targum, due it's deriving from Tg<sup>O</sup> and the fact that the dialect in which it is written is later than the ones of Tg<sup>O</sup> and the Palestinian Targums.<sup>194</sup> It is a complete manuscript of the entire Pentateuch, however, it is mixing literal translations with expansions.<sup>195</sup> Regarding its dating, the two main views are: 1) the scholars who date it to the fourth century CE; 2) the scholars who see it as medieval, dating it to the post-seventh century CE.<sup>196</sup> In the case of Tg<sup>PsJ</sup> we present the translations of Tov Rose.<sup>197</sup>

Verse 8:

ויתן אהרן על תרין צפירין עדבין שוין עדבא חד לשמא דיי ועדבא חד לעזאזל  
ויטריף בקילפי וינפיקינן ויטלקינן על צפיריא

“And Aaron shall put upon the goats equal lots; one lot for the Name of the Lord, and one lot for Azazel: and he shall throw them into the vase and draw them out, and put them upon the goats.”<sup>198</sup>

Verse 10:

וצפירא דסליק עלוי עדבא לעזאזל יתוקם בחיין קדם יי לכפרא על סורחנות עמא בית ישראל לשדרא  
יתיה ליממת באתר תקיף וקשי דבמדברא דצוק דהוא בית הדורי

“And the goat on which came up the lot for Azazel he shall make to stand alive before the Lord, to expiate for the sins of the people of the house of

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<sup>194</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 72.

<sup>195</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 87-88.

<sup>196</sup> Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, 87-89.

<sup>197</sup> Rose, Tov, ed., *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*, 2016. <https://archive.org/details/targum-pseudo-jonathan-by-tov-rose-2016/mode/1up>

<sup>198</sup> Cf. McNamara, *Leviticus*, 167.



Israel, by sending him to die in a place rough and hard in the rocky desert which is Beth-hadurey.”<sup>199</sup>

Verse 26:

ודיפטור ית צפירא לעזאזל יצבע ית לבושווי ויסחי ית בישריה בארבעין סווין דמוי ומן בתר  
כדין יעול למשריתא

“And he who led away the goat to Azazel shall wash his clothes and bathe his flesh in forty seahs of water, and afterward he may enter the camp.”<sup>200</sup>

Regarding Tg<sup>PsJ</sup>, it is remarkable that we do not see any major differences between this targum and Tg<sup>O</sup>. One might say that it is not a surprise since, as we stated above, Tg<sup>PsJ</sup> is relying heavily on Tg<sup>O</sup>, and its composition is much later than that of Tg<sup>O</sup>. We also stated that Tg<sup>PsJ</sup> presents additions, as can be seen in Lev 16:8b, 10b and 26b. In 10b, the choosing of the goats by drawing equal lots from a vase or an urn,<sup>201</sup> seems to support previous observations regarding the juxtaposition of יהוה and עזאזל. In 10b the addition regarding the place and the function of the destination of the goat chosen for עזאזל is not the translation of the word itself. As we see in the text, in 10b the word only appears one time, not in the addition. If we examine 10b, “by sending him to die in a place rough and hard in the rocky desert, which is Beth-hadurey”, it seems to be a better solution, that this addition is translating the phrase אל ארץ גזרה ‘to a cut-off land’. The addition, in 26b, provides no information regarding our case. Tg<sup>PsJ</sup> also seems to support our asserted most likely etymology, namely that the word עזאזל is the combination of the words עזז ‘fierce, strong’ and אל ‘god’, providing the meaning ‘fierce god’.

### 3.5. VL and Vg

In the case of the Old Testament, two disjunctions have to be made. The Old Latin versions were translated from the LXX and Jerome’s new Latin version is based on the Hebrew

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<sup>199</sup> Cf. McNamara, *Leviticus*, 167.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. McNamara, *Leviticus*, 169.

<sup>201</sup> Jastrow, M., *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*. vol. 1 (London: Luzac; New York: Putnam, 1886-1903, repr. Peabody: Hendricson Publishers, 2003), 1381.

version.<sup>202</sup> However, Jerome's version is dated around 390 CE.<sup>203</sup> Here I present my own translation.

Verse 8:

*mittens super utrumque sortem unam Domino et alteram capro emissario.*

“And casting lots upon them both, one to be offered to the Lord and the other to the emissary goat.”

Verse 10:

*cuius autem in caprum emissarium statuet eum vivum coram Domino ut fundat preces super eo et emittat illum in solitudinem.*

“But that whose lot was to be the emissary goat, he shall present before the Lord, that he may pour prayers upon him, and let him go into the wilderness.”

Verse 26:

*ille vero qui dimiserit caprum emissarium lavabit vestimenta sua et corpus aqua et sic ingreditur in castra.*

“But he who let the emissary goat go, shall wash his clothes and his body with water, and so shall he enter into the camp.”

Here, we read *caper/hircus emissarius*, meaning ‘the goat that departs’.<sup>204</sup> However, this reading would give the etymology of the word, the Arabic عزلا ‘to banish, remove’.<sup>205</sup> It is also notable, that V differs from LXX and MT in the case of v. 10, since here the word עזאזל is only translated one time.

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<sup>202</sup> Houghton, H. A. G., “The Earliest Latin Translations of the Bible,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible* (ed. H.A.G. Houghton; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 1-19, esp. 2.

<sup>203</sup> Kamesar, Adam, “Jerome and the Hebrew Scriptures,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Latin Bible* (ed. H.A.G. Houghton; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 49-65, esp. 49-50.

<sup>204</sup> Gaster, “Azazel,” 1:325-326.; cf. Glare, *OLD*, 269, 604, 796. Where the word *caper* means ‘a he-goat, billy goat, goatish smell’ and *hircus* means ‘he-goat’ but can be applied to persons as a term of abuse, implying lack of refinement, *emissarius* means ‘a person sent out on a specific mission, an agent or an emissary’.

<sup>205</sup> Gaster, “Azazel,” 326.; Pelt and Kaiser, “עזאזל,” 3:363.

### 3.6. Ancient Versions and the word עזאזל

Ancient versions do not seem to support the interpretation of עזאזל as ‘entire removal’<sup>206</sup> or ‘wrath of God’. Among the line of Ancient Versions, only the Targumim, namely Tg<sup>O</sup>, Tg<sup>PsJ</sup> and Tg<sup>N</sup> support the form of the Hebrew word עזאזל of the MT. LXX and the Latin versions do not seem to translate the word, but rather provide a meaning and function in the context of the Day of Atonement, thus trying to harmonize the text. In the case of S, it seems that the different prepositions of the word are trying to indicate that the ‘fierce god’ translation, or etymology that understands the word עזאזל as a personal name, is the most likely. SP presents a form of the Hebrew word עזאזל that also supports the suggested and asserted etymology, namely, that the original form of the word might have been indeed עזאזל.

The examination of these targums proved to be beneficial for our study. They show that the form of the word עזאזל, even if it is slightly different from the form found in SP and S, the meaning, or the etymology seems similar. The case of the targums also showed, that in the first millennia CE Aramaic translations did not understand, and what is most important, they did not use the word עזאזל any different from SP and S. The function of the word within the texts remained the same from the first millennia BCE to the first millennia CE. Finally, we can conclude that even though the additions to the presented targums mention a ‘hard and rough place’ and Beth-hadurey seemingly translating the word עזאזל, these additions are aiming to harmonize the texts, trying to eliminate the difficult readings, and ultimately, to explain the fate of the goat that was marked for עזאזל.

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<sup>206</sup> Harrison, *Leviticus*, 170.

## Chapter 4: Non-Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

### 4.1. The importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Now that we have examined the Ancient Versions, we have noted that the likely etymology we previously suggested can be detected in those versions. These versions stand closer to the original date of P and likely contain the original form of the word עֲזָאזֵל. What is the case with the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls? Analyzing the fragmentary findings at Qumran demands respect towards the fragments and their examiners as well.<sup>207</sup> Regarding the Non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, we come across six supposed appearances<sup>208</sup> of the word עֲזָאזֵל.<sup>209</sup> The Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered in the late 1940s and early 1950s at Qumran, a settlement founded by a community in the Maccabean or Hasmonean period.<sup>210</sup> The identity of the community is uncertain, even though for many years scholars have identified it with the Essenes.<sup>211</sup> In fourteen caves numerous manuscripts were found in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek: Hebrew scriptures, Old Testament apocrypha; Pseudepigraphical works (external sources such as sections from 1 Enoch); commentaries on the Hebrew Scriptures (pescharim); Targums of Job and Leviticus; and unique documents to Qumran, such as the War Scroll, the Hymn Scroll and the Temple Scroll.<sup>212</sup> The significance of these findings, is that they reveal that at the turn of the era, the biblical texts were not yet standardized.

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<sup>207</sup> [The Dead Sea Scrolls - Browse Manuscripts](#) The footnote here is dedicated to the digitalized fragments found at Qumran. The version that we use in this part presents reconstructions of the fragments and their lost words/ letters. Thus, in the cases of: 4.1.1., 4.1.2. and 4.1.3. See. Martínez, Florentino García and Tigchelaar, Eibert J. C., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*, 2 vols (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1999). In the case of 4.1.3. See. Charlesworth, James H. et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, vol. 7: Temple Scroll and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011).

<sup>208</sup> With the phrase ‘supposed appearances’ we draw attention to the challenge, that we will face when determining what the word עֲזָאזֵל means and functions in the ‘sectarian’ context of Qumran. It might happen that they understood the word עֲזָאזֵל differently than the ancient versions did, and the form of the word might change as well.

<sup>209</sup> DSS.SE 1:370, 372, 410, 1062-1064, esp. 1062, 1064, 1248. These fragmentary findings are: (AgesCreat<sup>a</sup>) 4Q180 f1:7; 4Q180 f1:8; (EnGiants<sup>a</sup>ar) 4Q230 f7a:6; (EnGiants<sup>b</sup>ar)4Q530 f2ii+6\_12(?):14; (TempleScroll)11Q19 26:4; (Temple Scroll) 11Q19 26:13.

<sup>210</sup> Levine “Vision of Kingdoms,” 367-369. For further information on the latest dating of the scrolls, See. Dounda, Gregory L., “Dating the Scroll Deposits of the Qumran Caves: A Question of Evidence,” in *The Caves of Qumran: Proceedings of the International Conference, Lugano 2014* (ed. Marcello Fidanzio; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 238-246. Esp. 240-241.

<sup>211</sup> Greenspoon, “Between Alexandria and Antioch,” 342-346.

<sup>212</sup> Levine, Amy-Jill, “Visions of Kingdoms: From Pompey to the First Jewish Revolt,” in *The Oxford History of the Biblical World* (ed. Michael D. Coogan; New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 365-368.

The texts presented below are from editions that in many cases use the “[ ]” sign, an indicator of lacuna, or gap(s) in the manuscripts.<sup>213</sup> These are texts not preserved in the manuscripts.<sup>214</sup> Letters contained in the lacuna sign are restorations of the editions, and are sometimes minimally preserved in the manuscript.<sup>215</sup> Letters and texts outside the lacuna sign are legible texts, preserved in the manuscript, with varying degrees of certainty.<sup>216</sup> In the case of every non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls’ manuscript, we present the translations of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*.

#### 4.1.1. 4QAgēsCreat<sup>a</sup>

The following two manuscripts are part of a source with combined layers of interest. First, 4QAgēsCreat<sup>a</sup> is part of the general *pesharim*. The nature of this exegetical genre is that it represents the apocalyptic world view and seeks to uncover divine messages in ancient biblical prophecies.<sup>217</sup> Second, it has an interest in the final periods of human history, with a distinct dualistic perspective.<sup>218</sup> It is פֶּשֶׁר in a sense that the phrase פֶּשֶׁר עַל ‘interpretation on’ does not introduce the interpretation of a particular verse (e.g. in Gen), but of certain subjects and events, or in our case, ‘time periods’, and serves as the introduction of the Book of the Watchers.<sup>219</sup> The manuscript can be dated back to the late Herodian period,<sup>220</sup> or the late Second Temple period.<sup>221</sup>

The word עֲזָזוֹל is attested in this manuscript two times. First,

4Q 180 fl:7<sup>222</sup> reads:

<sup>213</sup> Charlesworth et al., 2011: xiv.

<sup>214</sup> These gaps are, in many cases, not the result of scribal errors but of the damage to the manuscript itself. However, as we will see, Editions are somewhat able to restore the lost data based on the length of the missing corpora.

<sup>215</sup> DSS.SE 1: xxii—xxiii.

<sup>216</sup> DSS.SE 1: xxii.

<sup>217</sup> Nitzan, Bilhah, “The Continuity of Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls and Rabbinic Literature,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John C. Collins & Timothy H. Lim; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 337-351, esp. 337-338.

<sup>218</sup> Tzoref, Shani, “Peshar and Periodization,” *DSD* 18 (2011): 133.

<sup>219</sup> Tzoref, “Peshar and Periodization,” 147-149.

<sup>220</sup> VielHauer, Roman, “Sodom and Gomorrah: From the Bible to Qumran,” in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scroll* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz; Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 147-171, esp. 158.

<sup>221</sup> Campbell, Jonathan G., *The Exegetical Texts: Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 4* (London, New York: T&TClark, 2004), 67-78, esp. 76.

<sup>222</sup> DSS.SE 1:370, 372.

[ו]פשר על עזזאל והמלאכים אש[ר בוא בנתו האדם]

“... Interpretation on Az<sup>a</sup>zel and the angels that/which/ who came to the daughters of man/ humanity.”<sup>223</sup>

Second, 4Q180 fl:8<sup>224</sup> reads:

[וי]לדו להם גברים ועל עזזאל [כתוב...]

“... And they bore their children, the mighty men, and upon/on Az<sup>a</sup>zel it is written...<sup>225</sup>/ and sired themselves giants. And concerning ‘Azaz’el is written [...]”

The עזזאל in these fragments seem to refer to the עזזאל or ‘goat figure’ in scripture in Lev 16:8, 10, 26.<sup>226</sup> We see that the form of the term is the same in both instances and share the על preposition ‘on, unto, upon’ instead of the ל preposition. This change can be explained by the different genre and context that of MT.

#### 4.1.2. 4QEnGiants<sup>a-b</sup>ar

The two manuscripts of 4QEnGiants<sup>a-b</sup>ar that we will examine are part of a copy of a narrative— 1 Enoch, esp. The Book of the Giants, the third composition of the Enochic corpora<sup>227</sup>— that present a version of the explanation for the origin and cause of evil, as in the narrative in Gen 6: 1-4.<sup>228</sup> The Book of the Giants recounts two series of dreams, which were given to the giants, that foreshadow, that their punishment is inevitable, and without doubt, the story associates the biblical giants with a Babylonian Tradition.<sup>229</sup> The earliest fragments of this composition date

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<sup>223</sup> DSS.SE 1:371.

<sup>224</sup> DSS.SE 1:372.

<sup>225</sup> DSS.SE 1:372-373.

<sup>226</sup> Stuckenbruck, Loren T., “The Book of Giants among the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences* (WUNT 360; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 133.

<sup>227</sup> VanderKam, James C., “The Book of Enoch and the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John C. Collins and Timothy H. Lim; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 254-281, esp. 256-257.

<sup>228</sup> Middleton, Paul. “Overcoming the Devil in the Acts of the Martyrs,” in *Evil in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity* (WUNT II 417; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 357-375, esp. 364. On the deeper connections, see Machiela, Daniel, *A Handbook of the Aramaic Scrolls from the Qumran Caves: Manuscripts, Language, and Scribal Practices* (STDJ 140; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2023), 72-73.

<sup>229</sup> Stuckenbruck, Loren T., *The Myth of Rebellious Angels* (WUNT 335; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 19-20.

back to the late Hasmonean period,<sup>230</sup> more precisely 4Q203 to the last third of the first century BCE and 4Q530 to first half of the first century BCE.<sup>231</sup> The book is written in Aramaic,<sup>232</sup> and roughly belongs to the testamentary genre.<sup>233</sup>

Fragment 7 of 4Q203 preserves an unusual form of the word עזאזל as

4Q203 f7a:6 reads:<sup>234</sup>

לנא [אל]ה לעזא[ז]ל ועבד ל[ה...בני] עירין

“For us, [bu]t Aza[ze]l and made [him... the sons of] watchers.”<sup>235</sup>

Problems arise from 4Q203 f7a:6, namely, the uncertain ז, as indicated in the text brings not only uncertainty in the reading of the Book of the Giants, but the letter could determine whether we deal with a form of the Hebrew word עזאזל. Who is the subject of this fragment: *Azazel* or *Asael*? It is important to have clarity in this question, because the supposed missing ז from the word might tell us, that here we do not deal with the Hebrew word עזאזל of Lev 16. As we have seen, fragment 4Q230 f7a:6 presents the searched word עזאזל in another form: לעזא[ז]ל. The letter ז in the lacuna is an attempt at the restoration, however, it presents us an interesting feature of the Qumran texts, whereas the word עזאזל was used to refer to *Azazel* and *Asael*, as these names in the Book of the Giants merged into one after the early Second Temple period.<sup>236</sup> This becomes more clear, when we confer the punishment of *Asael* with the wording of Lev 16.<sup>237</sup> This, however, would not mean that the author of 4Q230 took the form of the word from Lev 16. The word *Asael* as a personal name might come from either the Prometheus Myth or the *Shemihazah* tradition.<sup>238</sup> In this case, however, we are not sure who is the fragment referring to. Further examination of the Book of the Giants complicates this topic, as we turn our attention to fragment 4Q530 f2ii+6\_12(?):14.

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<sup>230</sup> VanderKam, “The Book of Enoch,” 257.

<sup>231</sup> Wright, A.T., *The Origin of Evil Spirits* (WUNT 198; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 109-110.

<sup>232</sup> Machiela, *A Handbook of the Aramaic Scrolls*, 6-9.

<sup>233</sup> Joosten, Jan, “Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John C. Collins and Timothy H. Lim; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 351-377, esp. 364.

<sup>234</sup> DSS.SE 1:410. Cf. Machiela, *A Handbook of the Aramaic Scrolls*, 74.

<sup>235</sup> DSS.SE 1:411.

<sup>236</sup> Orlov, *Dark Mirrors*, 60.; Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits*, 112. Some might point out that even though the letter ז is a product of restoration attempt— which is necessary because of the missing part of the word— and the word would suggest resemblance with the עזאזל of Leviticus 16, we have to say that if the missing part in the lacuna was indeed the letter ז, the tendency of the manuscript remains the same, and the word would be much better connected to עזאל, rather than the עזאזל of Lev 16, based on our information of the Qumran fragments.

<sup>237</sup> Orlov, *Dark Mirrors*, 78. Cf. Fletcher-Louis, C., *All The Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 40.

<sup>238</sup> Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits*, 106-118.

4Q530 f2ii+6\_12(?):14<sup>239</sup> reads:

חלמ[א] ואמר לעזזאל חל[מ]א דן תנתן [לחנן]ך לספר פרשא ויפשוור לנא

“[the dream ... to Enoch,] the scribe of distinction, and he will interpret.”<sup>240</sup>

Here seemingly, לעזזאל refers to *Enoch* himself. Due to the fact that the text is restored, and the difficulty of the context, we can draw only a few conclusions regarding 4Q530. 1) The form of the word resembles other ancient versions; 2) because of the context, where we can only guess that the dream was ‘meant’ for Enoch, we can not say for sure what the scribe meant to say here. In the end, this fragment added one more candidate for the identity of עזזאל. Both fragments, 4Q203 f7a:6 and 4Q530 f2ii+6\_12(?):14 seems to understand the word as a personal name, in the case of the latter it is not sure if the word would refer to *Enoch*, in the first it seems clear that it refers to *Azazel*.

#### 4.1.3. *11QT<sup>a</sup>*

The Temple Scroll<sup>241</sup> is the most important halachic composition of the Second Temple Period.<sup>242</sup> This Scroll follows the order of Pentateuch from Ex 34 and ends with the prescriptions in Deut 18-22, presenting relevant materials of the biblical documents.<sup>243</sup> Paleographic analysis showed, that 4Q524 fragments 5 and 5-13, the closest extant manuscript related to the Temple Scroll, can be dated around 150-125 or 140-100 BCE.<sup>244</sup> This scroll indicated a vision of an alternative Temple system (in the light of the loss) of the first Temple in the sixth century BCE.<sup>245</sup> Even though, scholars tend to define this document, alongside others, as rewritten scripture, while presenting convincing arguments,<sup>246</sup> it is still valuable for us, since it reveals a certain form of the Hebrew word עזזאל, while showing us, that the other verses of Lev 16 in MT might also have had different versions of the word עזזאל.

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<sup>239</sup> DSS.SE 1:1062, 1064.

<sup>240</sup> DSS.SE 1:1063.

<sup>241</sup> [Digital Dead Sea Scrolls at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem - The Temple Scroll \(imj.org.il\)](http://imj.org.il)

<sup>242</sup> Charlesworth et al., 2011:1.

<sup>243</sup> Charlesworth et al., 2011:1.

<sup>244</sup> Charlesworth et al., 2011:2, 4-5.

<sup>245</sup> Levine, “Visions of Kingdoms,” 359, 384.

<sup>246</sup> Zahn, Molly M., “Rewritten Scripture,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John C. Collins & Timothy H. Lim; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 323-337, esp. 323-326. The arguments that are convincing are: 1) the not-corresponding description of sanctuaries; 2) a rewritten version of the festivals of the Pentateuch (cols. 13-29); 3) additions, rearrangements and paraphrases.



The first fragment,

11Q19 26:4<sup>247</sup> reads:

[השעידים גורלות] גורל א[חד ליהוה וגורל אהד לעזזאל]

“... [he-goats:] o[ne] (will fall) by lot [to yhwh, the other to Azazel;]”<sup>248</sup>

However, we acknowledge that in the case of col. 26 row 4 as we present it here, is a reconstruction following row 13.<sup>249</sup>

The second fragment,

11Q19 26:13<sup>250</sup> reads:

לעזזאל המדבר ביד איש. עתי ונשא השעיר את כול עוונות

“...to Azazel, (to) the desert, from the hand of the man indicated. And the he-goat will take with itself all the sins.”<sup>251</sup>

This row seems to follow MT Lev 16:21, however, there the word עזזאל or עזזאל does not occur.<sup>252</sup>

## 4.2. Non-Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls and the word עזזאל

In the conclusion part of this sub-chapter we deal with the already presented texts, that present the Hebrew word עזזאל not as part of the lacuna sign but as an attempt at restoration. In this sense, the useful manuscripts are: 4Q180 f1:7; 4Q180 f1:8; 4Q230 f7a:6\*; 4Q530 f2ii+6\_12(?):14; 11Q19 26:13. The fragment 11Q19 26:4 is not useful for us, because it is a reconstruction based on 11Q19 26:13. In these texts, the form עזזאל is dominant.

The other manuscripts: 4Q180 f1:7; 4Q180 f1:8; 4Q530 f2ii+6\_12(?):14; 11Q19 26:13 seem to represent a vocalization of the Hebrew word עזזאל, that is similar, if not identical to the SP and the S.

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<sup>247</sup> *DSS.SE* 1:1248.

<sup>248</sup> *DSS.SE* 1:1249. Cf. Charlesworth et al., 2011:73.

<sup>249</sup> Charlesworth et al., 2011:72.

<sup>250</sup> *DSS.SE* 1:1248.

<sup>251</sup> *DSS.SE* 1:1249. Cf. Charlesworth et al., 2011:73.

<sup>252</sup> Charlesworth et al., 2011:72.

Thus, we conclude with the observations, that: 1) in the early Second Temple period's apocalyptic literature, the Hebrew word עזזאל started to be understood as an angelic-celestial being עזאל; 2) the manuscripts 4Q180 fl:7; 4Q180 fl:8; 11Q19 26:23 support the idea, that the form עזזאל is the more ancient one, since the word appears in the context of Leviticus 16 and not just reminiscent of the appearance in scripture, in the manuscripts the forms are not debated, well-preserved. Following the examination of the fragments found at Qumran, we can name three names that could the word עזזאל refer to. The *Azazel* of MT, *Azazel* of the Book of Enoch, *Asael* of the Book of Enoch, and finally (the non-biblical) *Enoch* himself.

# Chapter 5: Ancient Near Eastern Parallels

## 5.1. The basis of Comparative Study

In extent, John Walton's book on the connection between Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament (2006) we are presented with the ten rules of Comparative study,<sup>253</sup> which serve as the backbone of this chapter. In the following, we will take a look into some religious texts of the ANE and assert which text or texts might have served as a base for the Hebrew word עֲזָאזֵל in Lev 16. Here we give an in depth presentation of the rules, to be transparent in by what rule what we mean, and to be clear what we are looking for when we turn our attention to the ANE. Walton defines the rules of comparative study as follows:

A single culture rarely be monolithic, either in a contemporary cross section or in consideration of passage of time.<sup>254</sup>

This rule is based on the observation, that certain features, elements and concepts in the Old Testament— as representatives of the state of the Israelite cult, worship, sacrifice, roles in the cult, laws—are not unique, not only present in the Israelite texts, culture and religion. Take for example the priesthood as a concept.<sup>255</sup>

When literary or cultural elements are borrowed they may in turn be transformed into something quite different by those who borrowed them. The significances and differences between two pieces of literature minimized if the works are not the same genre.<sup>256</sup>

In our case, this rule would mean three possible areas/ aspects of our interest of our search: 1) according to/ in the case of Leviticus 16:8, which present the juxtaposition of the two 'divine names', we would look for divine names in the ritual texts of the ANE (may they be Hittite, Ugaritic, Babylonian, Assyrian), that present either a name with similar set of consonants, or present a similar juxtaposition of the name of the head of the pantheon and a(n) (opposing) 'lesser divine being'; 2) in the case of Leviticus 16:10 we might be looking for a text that is a goat/ or any animal's-sending away-ritual, that present the transfer of impurity in order to achieve ritual cleanness, success of intention; 3) in the case of Lev 16:26 we would search for

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<sup>253</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 14- 36, esp. 24.

<sup>254</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 24.

<sup>255</sup> Ayli-Darshan, Noga (2020). [The Scapegoat Ritual and Its Ancient Near Eastern Parallels - TheTorah.com](#); Walton, *ANETOT*, 108.

<sup>256</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 24.

the presence of the practitioner in the ritual or act, and the prescription regarding this person, regarding the aftermath of the ritual. Hence, the aspects that we are looking for when encountering ritual texts of the ANE, lead us to the following rules.

The following rules asserts the difference between a culture borrowing a literary element, or a literary element being imbedded in the same cognitive environment.

A case for literary borrowing requires identification of likely channels of transmission.

Proximity in time, geography, and spheres of cultural contact all increase the possibility of interaction leading to influence. All elements must be understood in their own context as accurately as possible before cross-cultural comparisons are made (i.e., careful background study must precede comparative study). Similarities may suggest a common cultural heritage or cognitive environment rather than borrowing.<sup>257</sup>

These rules invoke the awareness of connections between the two cultures (Israelite and 'x') that might have been present prior to the account in Lev 16. This can be detected in what is a basis for our research, which is the possible path provided by Janowski and supported by Ayali-Darshan<sup>258</sup> as in: 1) South Anatoly- North Syria according to the Hurrian material in Kizzuwatna; 2) Ugaritic cult served as a mediator; 3) the presence in the Israelite practice.<sup>259</sup>

1) To move on, we have to see if this channel proves to be propriate in the sense, that either political or cultic connections or involvement can be detected in the cases of the Hittites and Ugarit, and then in the case of Ugarit and the Canaanites, and then the Israelites. This would mean that the era of our interest is around the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550-1200 BCE), and the region of the supposed origin of the Hebrew word עֲזָאֵל is the Levant and its northern parts.<sup>260</sup> This era is important, because the rise and fall of the Hittite empire, and the subjugation and extermination of Ugarit occurred in this period.<sup>261</sup> The region in which political channels we

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<sup>257</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 24.

<sup>258</sup> Ayali-Darshan, N. (2020) "The Scapegoat Ritual and Its Ancient Near Eastern Parallels" *TheTorah.com*. <https://thetorah.com/article/the-scapegoat-ritual-and-its-ancient-near-eastern-parallels>

<sup>259</sup> Janowski, "Azazel," 243.

<sup>260</sup> Janowski, "Azazel," 243-244.

<sup>261</sup> Redmount, Carol A., "Bitter Lives: Israel in and out of Egypt," in *The History of the Biblical World* (ed. Michael D. Coogan; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 58-90, esp. 79-83.; Stager, "Forging an Identity", 117-119. For an in depth list of rulers and their overlapping ruling, and for the list of Kings and the Hittite Tributary demands of Ugarit and the regular letter exchange, See. Beckman, Gary, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), xiv-xv, 153-154, 159-160, 164-165, 167, 167-168, 168-169, 169-171.

want to discover lays in the Canaan area—modern scholars using this term to refer the wider region of Syria- Palestine—, where even though the adjective given unto the inhabitants ‘Canaanite’ might imply a cultural continuum, politically Canaan was never a single, unified, sovereign block, rather an area of neighboring and connecting nations (e.g. through trade and in many cases through subjugation).<sup>262</sup> Thus we refer to Canaan as a political territory, and Canaanite as the similar culture of this larger region.

From the Amarna letters—found at modern el-Amarna and parts of them at the city of Ugarit, modern Ras Shamra— we know that rulers of the settlements in Canaan, Mitanni, Hatti, Cyprus were in contact with the Pharaoh of Egypt, signifying a period (ca. 1352-1336), when the Egyptian influence reached its peak in Canaan and the Levant. Thus, these letters also give us an insight into the schemes of the vassal rulers of the region.<sup>263</sup>

The Mitanni kingdom, which was an overlord of the Hittites, signed a treaty with the competing Egyptians, setting the kingdom’s border in southern Canaan—to the Damascus region, and along with Ugarit, Qadesh, Amurru, Amqa—the Biqa valley in Lebanon— became Egyptian territory. The reason behind this agreement from the Mitannian point of view was the Assyrian and Hittite increasing will for independence.<sup>264</sup> The Amarna letters also support that the Egyptians have divided this region into three provinces, among which Palestine, from Gaza to Beruta (Beirut), is in our interest.<sup>265</sup> The letters also imply that this was the period, when the Hittites under Suppiluliumas I.’s reign expanded its territories, as indicated in the political description of the Levant and Canaan. The final king Tushratta was the one to face the king of Hatti, Suppiluliumas I., a potent ruler, and after marching on Washukani, took over the kingdom.<sup>266</sup>

Afterwards, he conquered Ugarit, Amurru and Qadesh, and as such, breaking the treaty that was made between Mitanni and Egypt.<sup>267</sup> This also means that Hittite influence reached the northern

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<sup>262</sup> Pitard, “Before Israel: Syria—Palestine in the Bronze Age,” in *The History of the Biblical World* (ed. Michael D. Coogan; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 25-57, esp. 30-31.

<sup>263</sup> Pitard, “Before Israel,” 46-50.

<sup>264</sup> Pitard, “Before Israel,” 44.

<sup>265</sup> Pitard, “Before Israel,” 48. The other provinces: the kingdom of Amurru within the sphere in the coastal town Sumur. East from the Lebanon mountains and Northward towards Qadesh to Hazor was ruled by the commissioner at Kumidi, in the Biqa valley, Lebanon.

<sup>266</sup> Pitard, “Before Israel,” 45.

<sup>267</sup> Singer, Itamar, *The Calm Before the Storm: Selected Writings of Itamar Singer on the Late Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Levant* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 7.

part of Canaan. His son and second successor Mursilis II.<sup>268</sup> suppressed a revolt that was supported by the pharaoh Horemheb.<sup>269</sup>

Ugarit was in between the two major powers fighting for the control over the Levant region in the Late bronze age, Egypt and Hatti. Evidence shows that a vassal treaty was made between the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I., and the king of Ugarit, Niqmaddu II (1350-1315<sup>270</sup>). which lasted till the decline of Hatti.<sup>271</sup> What is interesting, is the ‘special’ status of Ugarit, since during the excavations, many traces suggested, that the city had good relations with Egypt.<sup>272</sup> However, Hatti and Ugarit faded away in the decline of the Late Bronze age, leaving Canaan in its old and new inhabitants’ hands.

Thus, politically the connection between Hatti and Ugarit is secure. The next step would be to find a political channel between Ugarit and the Israelites. This however becomes problematic, to draw a direct connection, since between the destruction of the city of Ugarit and the establishment of the Israelite kingdom is separated in time by at least three hundred years.<sup>273</sup> The first recorded mention of the Israelites, as a tribe or unsettled people, is the Stele of Merneptah II the pharaoh of Egypt (around 1215 BCE).<sup>274</sup> There the determinative sign is used to describe the Philistines (descendants of the sea peoples) as city-states— however, the mention of the Israelites used a hieroglyph which was reserved for foreign people, specifically nomadic groups, without a fixed city-state.<sup>275</sup> Even though this gives a promising sight into the history of the Israelites, the unfortunate fact is that the kingdom of the Israelites and their mention is also separated by centuries. This, however, also opens up a new ‘frontier’ where we can look for connections.

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<sup>268</sup> Singer, Itamar, *Hittite Prayers*, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 58. He is famous for his so called plague prayers and him guessing what could have been the reason for the gods to hit the Hittites. “[I found] two old tablets: one tablet dealt with [the ritual of the Mala River]. Earlier kings performed the ritual of the Mala River, but because [people have been dying] in Hatti since the days of my father, we never performed [the ritual] of the Mala River. [...] The second tablet dealt with the town of Kurustamma: how the Storm-god of Hatti carried the men of Kurustamma to Egyptian territory and how the Storm-god of Hatti made a treaty between them and the men of Hatti, so that they were put under oath by the Storm-god of Hatti. Since the men of Hatti and the men of Egypt were bound by the oath of the Storm-god of Hatti, and the men of Hatti proceeded to get the upper hand, the men of Hatti thereby suddenly transgressed the oath of the gods.”

<sup>269</sup> Pitard, “Before Israel,” 45.

<sup>270</sup> Singer, *The Calm Before the Storm*, 37.

<sup>271</sup> Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, xv, 30-32, 59-64.; Singer, *The Calm Before the Storm*, 37, 45-46.

<sup>272</sup> See the Ivory products excavated in the port of Ugarit Minet el-Beida. Also see Pitard, “Before Israel,” 50-53.; Singer, *The Calm Before the Storm*, 8-9, 11-12, 60-61.

<sup>273</sup> Traditionally, the destruction of Ugarit is dated to the Late Bronze Age, around 1250 BCE, and the Israelite kingdom around the early first millennia. See the Moabite Mesha Stele and the decline of the Late Bronze Age due to the Sea Peoples.

<sup>274</sup> Redmount, “Bitter Lives,” p. 79-81.

<sup>275</sup> Redmount, “Bitter Lives,” p. 81-83.

2) This is the channel of culture. The cultural layout of the Levant and of Canaan is staggering. First is the ‘language’ of the Levant. It is intriguing is the language of the Amarna letters, where the scribes did such a poor job—using Canaanism, in Akkadian, not even in Egyptian— that we received information of the Language of the Levant, thus supplementing our knowledge regarding biblical Hebrew.<sup>276</sup> Ugarit served as a vassal state and an important trade centre, and also as a place of an archive,<sup>277</sup> from which we gained much information of the Canaanite culture.<sup>278</sup> From the Amarna letters and the archive of Ugarit we can say that the area’s Canaanite population, in a sense, formed a geo-cultural alliance with the Anatolian populace.<sup>279</sup> This is supported by the local language, Semitic. The Ugaritic language has an alphabetic writing system, the texts are written in west Semitic, relating to Canaanite. Biblical Hebrew is part of the North-West Semitic family, making it a close ‘relative’ to Ugaritic. The closeness of the languages leads us to another crucial point that serves as a possible channel, namely religion.

3) After describing the political history of the Late Bronze Age and the culture of the ANE, we are now coming across the characteristics, the similarities and differences between Ugaritic (Canaanite) and Israelite religions. Even though the beginning of the Israelite presence in Canaan is highly debated, it is certain that the Israelite nation, language, and religion did not come into existence in a cultural vacuum, but rather as a part of the culture(s) of the ANE. In the ANE, we do not find a word for religion, rather a distinction between the heavenly and the earthly realms, — which quite frankly resembles the understanding that is in Scripture— however the concept of divine intervention in the ANE thinking was obscure, since all aspects of life had religious and spiritual nature, all acts were in many cases parallels between the two realms.<sup>280</sup> Even though it would be fascinating to have an in-depth look at the many differences and similarities, the research here is not concerned with the endless list of correspondences.<sup>281</sup> What we are interested in is the rituals of the cults and the texts concerned with rituals.

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<sup>276</sup> Pitard, “Before Israel,” 50-51.

<sup>277</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 73-74. Such important archives also: Ebla. Mari, Alalakh, Emar and Nuzi.

<sup>278</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 74.

<sup>279</sup> Ayali-Darshan, N. (2020) “The Scapegoat Ritual and Its Ancient Near Eastern Parallels” TheTorah.com. <https://thetorah.com/article/the-scapegoat-ritual-and-its-ancient-near-eastern-parallels>

<sup>280</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 77.

<sup>281</sup> For an in-depth description, See. Walton, *ANETOT*, 77-107. From such a list, see the Divine assembly in Ugaritic ritual texts (e.g. KTU 1.40: ln 34) *mphrt . bn . il* ‘the assembly of the sons of Ilu’ and in scripture (Gen 6:2) בנייהאלהים ‘the sons of the Lord’.

Eventually the combination of all three aspects is the ideal one. The question of borrowing aspects is important, since what it means is if the suspicions stands of borrowing, it would mean that the searched aspect is not based in the religion/ culture behind the base text.

It is not uncommon to find similarities at the surface but differences at the conceptual level and vice versa. Both similarities and differences must be considered. Similar functions may be performed by different genres in different cultures.<sup>282</sup>

These final rules are the ones that make comparative study and method possible and valid. It is important to detect in the ritual texts, how they engage in similar rituals, what literary tools are being used, and how traditions understand the different or similar functions of different or similar registers. These rules help us determine how texts relate to others and also which texts to examine and which not to.

## 5.2. The Texts of our Interest

As mentioned in the introduction, we are now ready to explore Bernd Janowski's theory.<sup>283</sup> This is a crucial step, as we need a solid starting point for our research before delving into the ANE. Janowski's proposals, supported by scholars like Hieke<sup>284</sup> and Ayali-Darshan,<sup>285</sup> are convincing. He suggests that the concept of עֲזָזֵל may have originated in the South-Anatoly, North Syria area, specifically at Kizzuwatna, traveled to Ugarit via the Hittites, and then reached the Israelites.

However, even though the proposal of Janowski<sup>286</sup> would suggest so, we do not deal with the ritual material from Kizzuwatna. The reason behind this, lies in the content of the ritual texts of Kizzuwatna. The ritual material of Kizzuwatna at hand contains CTH 404 1. I-III.; 479 1., 2.1, 3., 641 1-2; 757.<sup>287</sup> Even though Janowski places the origin of the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל both etymologically and culturally to Kizzuwatna, textual evidence does not support it other than the

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<sup>282</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 24.

<sup>283</sup> Janowski, "Azazel," 243.

<sup>284</sup> Hieke, *Leviticus 16-27*, 577-578.

<sup>285</sup> Ayali-Darshan, N. (2020) "The Scapegoat Ritual and Its Ancient Near Eastern Parallels" TheTorah.com. <https://thetorah.com/article/the-scapegoat-ritual-and-its-ancient-near-eastern-parallels>;

<sup>286</sup> Janowski, "Azazel," 240-247.

<sup>287</sup> For the texts and their translations, See. [https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/txhet\\_besrit/textindex.php?g=besrit&x=x](https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/txhet_besrit/textindex.php?g=besrit&x=x)



title: the AZU priests. The textual evidence differs in genre and interest, regarding what we asserted before, and according to the rules of comparative study, we are not examining the texts of Kizzuwatna any further. On the other hand, we agree with Janowski in the area of origin. Not based on philological evidence, but more on the genre and ritual understanding of South-Anatoly, North Syria. This is why we do not deal with the rituals of Kizzuwatna, and in our further research, we will examine the more comparable texts, namely two Eblaite texts, and CTH 391; 480.

### 5.2.1. *The Eblaite archives*

In the following, we examine two Eblaite texts, ARET IX 1-2, due to the involvement of the goat in the ritual and after that, a multi-animal ritual from Hatti (CTH 480), a mouse ritual from Hatti (CTH 391), and finally an Ugaritic goat ritual (KTU 1.127).<sup>288</sup>

The two Eblaite texts are suggested by Ayali-Darshan.<sup>289</sup> The texts in the archive(s) at Ebla can be dated back to 2400-2300 BCE—making them more ancient than the Hittite-Hurrian texts. The two texts presented here are from the time of Eblas two last kings wedding and enthronement—the first text is the older, due to the fact that it was composed after the death of *Yigriš-ḫalab*, and the second on the occasion of the wedding of *Yišar-Damu* and queen *Tabur-Damu*.<sup>290</sup> These texts present us an ancient goat ritual with an elimination aspect of the ritual substance (i.e., a goat). The text and its translation, in both cases, are based on the study of Ida Zatelli (1998).<sup>291</sup> Due to the lack of any grammatical speciality, we only present the translations of the texts.

*ARET XI 1 v. I 19-II 7:*

“(And) we purge the mausoleum. Before the entry of Kura and Barama a goat, a silver bracelet (hanging from the) goat's neck, towards the steppe of Alini we let her go.”

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<sup>288</sup> Ayali-Darshan, N. (2020) “The Scapegoat Ritual and Its Ancient Near Eastern Parallels” TheTorah.com. <https://thetorah.com/article/the-scapegoat-ritual-and-its-ancient-near-eastern-parallels>

<sup>289</sup> Ayali-Darshan, N. (2020) “The Scapegoat Ritual and Its Ancient Near Eastern Parallels” TheTorah.com. <https://thetorah.com/article/the-scapegoat-ritual-and-its-ancient-near-eastern-parallels>

<sup>290</sup> Zatelli, Ida, “The Origin of the Biblical Scapegoat Ritual: The evidence of Two Eblaite Texts,” *VT* 48/2 (1998): 254-263, esp. 256-257.

<sup>291</sup> Zatelli, “The Origin of the Scapegoat Ritual,” 254-255.

ARET XI 2 v. I 7-21:

“And we purge the mausoleum. A goat, a silver bracelet (hanging from the) [goat's] neck, before the entry of Kura and Barama, towards the steppe of Alini we enclose /confine (her).”

What is interesting in these texts is that—alongside the *ùz* goat is not being sacrificed, rather *Nu-wa-sa-ra-si* ‘sent away to the wilderness’,<sup>292</sup> because the temple of Kura and the mausoleum of *Ne-naš* has to be purified before the celebrations.<sup>293</sup> Furthermore the presence of the sumerograms show us that the concepts, such as *ùz* and *ŠE+NAGA:A* — parallel to the *Ne-à-la-a* ‘to become pure’ in the first text, which later changed to the word *elalu*— are indicating an even older tradition of this rite. However, the direct connection between the texts and the עזאזל rite is not likely, due to a number of differences. Here, the context is a preparatory work for the wedding and enthronement ceremonies. Also, there is no occur of transfer of anyone’s sins or transgressions. The bracelets seem to be some sort of ‘payment’ for the purgation.<sup>294</sup> The strength of these texts in our research lies in the evidence, that goats as ritual substances were used in purification rites.<sup>295</sup> Additionally, Ebla might have been a starting point of a cultural channel. Excavation there uncovered a tomb of ‘the Lord of the Goats’ dating back to 1800 BCE, suggesting the presence of the Amorite culture at Ebla, which could have acted as an intermediary culture.<sup>296</sup>

### 5.2.2. *The Hittites*

At this point, it is evident that we examine the most relevant Hittite ritual texts, in the light of what we have asserted before. Among the Hittite rituals, we find many similar texts to the two Elbaite ones, in the sense that animals, not solely goats, are ritual substances of the purification rituals, and no physical contact is required between the ritual patron and the ritual substance

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<sup>292</sup> Zatelli, “The Origin of the Scapegoat Ritual,” 256.

<sup>293</sup> Zatelli, “The Origin of the Scapegoat Ritual,” 257.

<sup>294</sup> Zatelli, “The Origin of the Scapegoat Ritual,” 257-258.

<sup>295</sup> For an in-depth study of the ancient Near Eastern understanding of the role of animals in rituals, where some sort of ‘transfer’ occurs, may it be a living animal or an effigy, See. Verderame, Lorenzo, “Means of Substitution. The Use of Figurines, Animals, and Human Beings as Substitutes in Assyrian Rituals,” *Rivista Studi Orientali Supplemento* (2013): 301-322, esp. 313-317.

<sup>296</sup> Zatelli, “The Origin of the Scapegoat Ritual,” 258.

during the ritual.<sup>297</sup> In the following we will not present the original texts, since they show no grammatical speciality. CTH 480 reads as follows<sup>298</sup>:

*CTH 480 I v. 189-199.*

But he says as follows:

“Whoever has spoken evil before the Deity,  
and the dark earth swallowed this like water,  
that evil thing shall also swallow the earth down!

[This] thing shall be clean and sealed.

But the deity and the ritual master shall be pure from that matter!

[As a scapegoat] he releases a bull for [the king], and for the queen's utensils  
a cow, a female sheep, and a goat.

But he says as follows:

“Whatever evil word, perjury, curse (or) [impurity], has been uttered before  
the Deity,

these representatives shall carry it away from the deity!

But the deity and the ritual master should be clear from this matter!

In this text we observe, that the vehicles of the ritual are not solely goats, meaning that in the Hittite ritual world, no special position was attributed to the goats, it was not the only animal that was able to ‘bear’ the curses and ‘evil things’, as the text suggests. It is also notable, that the transfer of these ‘impurities’ are being transferred without any physical contact. Thus, drawing direct connection between CTH 480 and the עֲזָזָל rite is also not likely.

In the following, we see a text where some sort of physical contact is present between the ‘ritual patron’ and the animal.

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<sup>297</sup> Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1071-1079. Cf. Wright, David P., "Day of Atonement," *ABD* 2:72-76.; Wright, D. P., *The Disposal of the Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 15-74.; Janowski and Wilhelm, "Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt," 109-159.

<sup>298</sup> The translation is not mine. For the original text and translation, See. Görke, S. and Melzer, S., ed., [hethiter.net/ CTH 480.1 \(INTR 2016-02-03\), https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/txhet\\_besrit/exemplar.php?xst=CTH%20480.1&expl=-&lg=DE&ed=S.%20G%C3%B6rke%20E2%80%93%20S.%20Melzer](https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/txhet_besrit/exemplar.php?xst=CTH%20480.1&expl=-&lg=DE&ed=S.%20G%C3%B6rke%20E2%80%93%20S.%20Melzer)

*CTH 391 Iv. 34-42: a mouse ritual*<sup>299</sup>

In the following we will also not present the original texts, since it shows no grammatical speciality. It is important to examine this text, since it presents another animal banishment ritual. CTH 391 reads as follows:

[And] she wraps a little tin in a bowstring

[a]nd wind it around the right hand of the lords and their [feet].

[T]hen she takes it away from them

and winds (Text B: wraps) it around a mouse.

“I have removed the evil from you/them

and wrapped it around a mouse!

[Now] this mouse shall carry it over high mountains, through deep valleys,  
on wide paths!"

[And] you let the [mouse] go:

“Zarn[iza], Tarpatassa, take these for yourself!

But we will give you another to eat!

This text proves to be promising. Above, we already saw that the ritual substance is not necessarily a goat, in this case a mouse. We also see here, that the channel of the transferring material of evil is a thread, and even though partly, an abstract sense of physical encounter is present in the text between the ritual patron and the ritual substance. This abstract sense means a non-direct contact, as through it to transfer the evil is also possible. Here the idea of the complete departure of the animal is present, which means that the removal of evil (and impurity) is complete and final.<sup>300</sup> The concluding line of the text makes the ritual challenging to be directly connected to the עֲזָזָל rite, since in Lev 16 we do not know the fate of the ritual substance, while it is clear: the evil and the animal is to be consumed by the deity/ deities, as it reaches its destination.

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<sup>299</sup> For the text and its translation, See. Christiansen, B., ed., hethiter.net/: CTH 391.1 (Expl. A, 27.03.2017) [https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/txhet\\_besrit/exemplar.php?xst=CTH%20391.1&expl=A&lg=DE&ed=B.%20Christiansen](https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/txhet_besrit/exemplar.php?xst=CTH%20391.1&expl=A&lg=DE&ed=B.%20Christiansen)

<sup>300</sup> As the line: “[Now] this mouse shall carry it over high mountains, through deep valleys, on wide paths!" suggests.

### 5.2.3. Ugarit

KTU 1.127.<sup>301</sup>

From the time of the publication of Janowski's article of "Azazel" in *DDD* (1995), KTU 1.127 was considered as a main text regarding the עֲזַזְאֵל rite in the comparative study of Lev 16.<sup>302</sup> However, the connection between the texts is not without complications. KTU 1.127 was found at the 10<sup>th</sup> room of the Hurrian priest's house in Ugarit and the genre is an omen.<sup>303</sup> The text was written in Ugaritic and, as the text itself shows, many lines are not reconstructable. Before we can assert whether the text might have served as a base for the עֲזַזְאֵל rite, an in depth translation and analysis of the original text, with the lines that are not damaged to the point that they are unreadable, is essential. Here, I present my own translation.

1	<i>dbḥ kl yrḥ</i>	Sacrifice at the completion of the month <sup>304</sup>
	<i>ndr</i>	Make a vow <sup>305</sup>
	<i>dbḥ</i>	Sacrifice
	--	--
	<i>dt nat</i>	The ones who sacrificed unleavened bread <sup>306</sup>
5	<i>w ytnt</i>	and a gift offering <sup>307</sup>
	<i>trmn w</i>	Breaking of/cutting and <sup>308</sup>
	<i>dbḥ kl</i>	The sacrifice of all
	<i>kl ykly</i>	all to consume <sup>309</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Also known as RS 24.277.

<sup>302</sup> Janowski, "Azazel," 240-247.

<sup>303</sup> *KTU*<sup>2</sup>, 137.

<sup>304</sup> Lete, Georgio del Olmo, and Sanmartín, Joaquín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. vol. 1 (HdO 67, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003), 259-261, 432, 963-964. Here in the case of the Ugaritic *dbḥ*, the letter *d* transforms into the Hebrew י. The word *kl* has a similar meaning to the Hebrew כָּל 'all, whole'. The word *yrḥ* means 'moon, new moon, Moon ("as a heavenly body of a deity")'.

<sup>305</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 612-613. The word *ndr* means 'to make a vow, promise'.

<sup>306</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 252-256, 280, 604. The word *dt* could mean two things: 1) the mythical ancestor of Ugarit, the founder of the city- or even a bison; 2) determinative-relative functor introducing nominal causes. The word *nat* can also mean 'to lament'.

<sup>307</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 974-977. The word *ytnt* could also mean 'grant, bestow'.

<sup>308</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 917-919. The word *trmn* could mean 'meat, victuals', however we gave the translation that is derived from *√trm* 'to break, cut, carve'.

<sup>309</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 437. The word *ykly* also has the meanings 'to banish, empty, destroy'.

	<i>dbḥ k. sprt</i>		the sacrifice according to the instructions <sup>310</sup>
	--		--
10	<i>dt nat</i>		The ones who sacrificed unleavened bread
	<i>w qrwḥ</i>		And offered <sup>311</sup>
	<i>l k dbḥ</i>		To as sacrifice
	--		--
	<i>[db]ḥ</i>		[sacrifi]ce
	<i>[nd]r bt</i>		[vow]ed the house of <sup>312</sup>
15	<i>[bn] bnš</i>		[the son(s)] of the people <sup>313</sup>
	--		--
	<i>š š[rp]</i>		A ram bur[nt offering] <sup>314</sup>
	<i>w š[lmm]</i>		And as a commu[nion sacrifice]
	<i>dt [nat]</i>		The ones who [sacrificed unleavened bread]
	--		--
	<i>yph[ ]</i>		Witnessed(?) [ ] <sup>315</sup>
...			
22	<i>tr dgn[ ]</i>		The bull Dagan[ ] <sup>316</sup>
	<i>b btk . s[ ]</i>		In your house s[ ] <sup>317</sup>
	<i>w l dbḥ[ ]</i>		And for sacrifice[ ]
25	<i>š[ ]</i>		a ram[ ]

<sup>310</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 758. The word *sprt* on its own would mean ‘inscription, instruction’.

<sup>311</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 703. The word *qrwn* means ‘offering’ (as in the Hebrew קרבן) or a PN (=Personal Name/noun).

<sup>312</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 241-248. The word *bt* means ‘to stay the night (vb); daughter-damsel; house, building, palace, temple; woven dress’.

<sup>313</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 227-230. The word *bnš* could also mean ‘man, and individual, someone, person; people, personnel; service personnel; mankind’.

<sup>314</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 783, 832-833. The word *š* means ‘ram’, *š[rp]* means ‘burnt offering’ and combined with the following line *w š[lmm]* we translate it as ‘A ram burnt offering and as a communion sacrifice’.

<sup>315</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 959. Since the text is damaged, based on the visible letters we translated it as ‘witness’, even though it would mean that the word was *yph* in the plural form *yphm*.

<sup>316</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 265, 916. Even though the text is damaged, the word *dgn* could mean ‘grain, wheat; DN’. The reason behind choice of translation is the preceding word *tr* has the other meaning ‘bull’, but can also represent a divine title, attribute ‘the divine and horrific’.

<sup>317</sup> The only difference is that the word *bt* received a Sg.2 possessive suffix.

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[            ]x att yqh 'z	[            ]x a woman takes a goat <sup>318</sup>
30 hm qrt tuhd . hm mt y'l bnš	if the city is captured, <sup>319</sup> if someone dies, <sup>320</sup>
--	--
bt bn bnš yqh 'z	(From) The house of the family of someone takes a goat,
w yhdy mrhqm	And we will observe (it) in the distance. <sup>321</sup>
--	--

The 'completion of the month', as indicated, could also mean 'moon'. This indicates a full lunar year, thus making the text a description of a new-year ritual.<sup>322</sup> The text is promising due to: 1) the presence of a ram as a sacrifice is indicating the involvement of a burnt offering,<sup>323</sup> 2) the

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<sup>318</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 35, 120, 192-193. The word *att* provides an example of how Ugaritic relates to Hebrew, as in the word the letter *t* transforms into a *š*, providing the form תשא, 'woman' singular construct form of תשא. The word *yqh* follows the form of the Hebrew תקל in the Qal Imperfect Sg.3. The word 'z means 'might, strength; caprine, animal, kid, goat; strong, powerful (adj.)'.

<sup>319</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 334-335, 382, 712-713, 842. The word *hm* could also mean 'the personal noun in the forms of Du 3c. or Pl. 3masc. In our case we used its particle translation'. The word *qrt* could mean 'city (specifically Ugarit); glory-honour; "The City of Highness". The word *tuhd* is derived from the word 'hd in which case it would mean 'to collect, take, seize'. In this case, the phrase *hm qrt tuhd* would mean 'if the city is taken' (i.e., lost to a siege).

<sup>320</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 160. The phrase *hm mt y'l bnš* would literally mean 'if Death/ DN attacks someone'. The word *y'l* is coming from the verb '-l-y 'to go up, rise; attack, launch oneself upon; rise, raise; to fire, shoot'.

<sup>321</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 351, 567. The concluding phrase resembles the possible end of a sending away ritual. See also Ayali-Darshan, N., (2020) "The Scapegoat Ritual and Its Ancient Near Eastern Parallels" TheTorah.com. <https://thetorah.com/article/the-scapegoat-ritual-and-its-ancient-near-eastern-parallels>; The word *yhdy* might be derived from the Arabic root حدى 'to lead (away)'.

<sup>322</sup> This corresponds with the interest of Lev 16, however, but not without restrictions. For the argument against the presence of new year rituals in Ugarit and Israel see Fischer, Loren R., "A New Ritual Calendar from Ugarit," in *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970): 485-501, esp. 496, 500. Supporting the view, in which the 'Day of Atonement' is either a new year ritual, see Porter, *Leviticus*, 124.; The description of the autumn priestly festivals (and collection of purging rituals) around September and October, see Bellinger, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 98.; Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers*, 192.; Knight, *Leviticus*, 78.; Wenham, Gordon J., *The Book of Leviticus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 236.; Rylaarsdam, J. C., "Atonement, Day of," *IDB* 1:313.; Wright, "Day of Atonement," 72.; Bibb, Bryan D., *Ritual Worlds and Narrative worlds in the Book of Leviticus* (New York, London: T&T Clark, 2009), 117. See also the possible connection with the akitu festival: Wright, D. Pearson, *Ritual in Narrative: The Dynamics of Feasting, Mourning and Retaliation Rites in the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat* (Wiona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001), 4, 5, 88, 171.; Walton, *ANETOT*, 109. See also the possible connection with the Babylonian new year festival (even though held during spring) and its presence around Ugarit, See. Walton, *ANETOT*, 109-110.; Radner, *Leviticus*, 167-168.; For the possible connection to the Ugaritic New Year Festival, See also. Korpel and Moor, Adam, *Eve and the Devil*, 53-56.

<sup>323</sup> Lines 16, 24-25.

divine name Dagan is present,<sup>324</sup> 3) the presence of the goat and its role,<sup>325</sup> 4) the sending-away element at the end of the text.<sup>326</sup>

However, problems arise from these points. 1) Even though we know that the burnt offering is originally a Hittite practice<sup>327</sup>—and the Hurrian priest’s presence indicates the ritual connection between Ugarit and Hatti—,<sup>328</sup> it is not clear why this sacrifice is needed, what is aimed to be achieved with this act. 2) Even though the divine name Dagan is present, we are not sure what the text is trying to say with the name, what is the purpose of the mentioning. 3) We do not know what the text tries to achieve with sending away a goat.

Despite of these problematic points, the merit of this text is the ritual idea: a goat can be a vehicle in a sending-away ritual in the Ugaritic ritual understanding— the presence of this sending-away might be due to the presence of the Hurrian priest in the city, or an Ugaritic feature, by the goat’s involvement. Thus, further examination of the Ugaritic texts is necessary, since on its own, KTU 1.127 does not seem to be enough to assure the Ugaritic connection of the עֲזֹאזֵל rite of Lev 16.

### 5.3. KTU 1.40, a supplementary Ugaritic text to KTU 1.127

The clay tablet labelled as KTU 1.40 was found at the first room of the library of the High Priest and can be connected to KTU 1.84; 1.121; 1.122; 1.54.<sup>329</sup> Due to the genre of the text being a purification rite, it is preserved in a better state, and it is introducing the idea of the ‘ritual impurity’ in Ugarit, by the appearance of the concept of sin, and transgression against the sacrifice. This makes KTU 1.40 a promising text in our research.<sup>330</sup> Also, it shows us that the ritual practices started to combine with the ones of the Hittites—i.e., the presence of a burnt offering, and its method. Furthermore, the opening line *w npy* ‘and may it be purification’ makes a promising comparison with Lev 16, since the genre of the two texts are identical. An in-depth

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<sup>324</sup> Line 22.

<sup>325</sup> Lines 26, 31-32.

<sup>326</sup> Line 32.

<sup>327</sup> Walton, *ANETOT*, 108.

<sup>328</sup> Hurrian influence not only on the Hittites, but upon Ugarit and Canaan proper is supported by evidence. See Pitard, “Before Israel,” 40-46.

<sup>329</sup> *KTU*<sup>2</sup>, 75. It is also notable, that KTU 1.54 is a Hurrian text. Furthermore, since these texts contain parts of KTU 1.40, a strong argument could be made, that KTU 1.40 was not only copied, but also transferred, may it be within Ugarit or outside, to its surrounding area as well.

<sup>330</sup> Even though, the previously observed, CTH 480 also lets us assume that the ritual impurity was present in Hittite thinking, the method of how to achieve ritual impurity might have been combined in KTU 1.40.



look at the original text itself alongside our own translation might further enlighten us. Here, I present my own translation.<sup>331</sup>

KTU 1.40

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1	[            ] w npy [            ]	[            ] And may it be purification,[            ] <sup>332</sup>
	[            w] npy . u[grt ]	[ And] may it be purification for U[garit],
	[            ]y . ulp . [            ]	[and may it be purifi]cation according to the customs of [            ] <sup>333</sup>
	[            ] ġbr . u[lp            ]	[            ] ġbr <sup>334</sup> , according to [the customs of            ]
5	[            ]n            [            ]	[            ]n            [            ]
...	[                       hw . t' . nt' ]y	[This is the offering that we off]er, <sup>335</sup>
	[hw . nkt . nkt . ytši . l ab . bn . il . ytši . l d]r . bn [ . il]	[this is the victim, that we immolate. <sup>336</sup> Rise, to the father of the sons of gods, rise <sup>337</sup> to the genera]tion <sup>338</sup> of the sons [of Ilu,]
	[l mphrt . bn . il . l tkmn . w šnm . hn š]	[to the assembly of the sons of Ilu, <sup>339</sup> to the roaring gods. may it ascend to

<sup>331</sup> KTU<sup>2</sup>, 75-77.

<sup>332</sup> DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 638-639. The word *npy* also has the following meanings ‘expurgation atonement’.

<sup>333</sup> DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 63. The phrase *ulp* could also mean ‘chief’, however in the cases of KTU 1.40; 1.84; 1.154 we translate it as the combination of *u*, *l* (I) and *p* (II) giving the translation as indicated.

<sup>334</sup> DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 317. The word *ġbr* could be a GN, however, if we were to translate it as ‘Habiru’, it would refer to a certain strata of ancient society: the ones that fell out of society.

<sup>335</sup> DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 892.

<sup>336</sup> DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 631.

<sup>337</sup> DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 279-280. To translate the word *ytši* as ‘to rise’, is being suggested specifically to this ritual context.

<sup>338</sup> DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 279-280. The word *dr* could also mean ‘circle, association, cycle’. In this case, it refers to the Ugaritic pantheon.

<sup>339</sup> DULAT<sup>1</sup>, 280. The word *mphrt* literally means ‘assembly’.

		<i>tkmn . w šnm</i> , <sup>340</sup> behold a ram] <sup>341</sup>
--		
	[ <i>w šqrb . š . mšr . bn . ugrt . w npy (?)</i> ] <i>x . w npy</i>	[And offer it <sup>342</sup> , to be made as justification <sup>343</sup> for the sons of Ugarit, and may it be purification of (?)] <i>x</i> and may it be purification
10	[ <i>w np</i> ] <i>y . ugrt</i>	[and may it be purifi]cation for Ugarit
	[ <i>u thtu . ulp . qty . ulp . ddm</i> ] <i>y</i>	[ <i>But/ Because you</i> have sinned according to the customs of <i>qty</i> <sup>344</sup> and of <i>ddm</i> ] <i>y</i> , <sup>345</sup>
	[ <i>ulp . hry . ulp . hty . ulp . alty . ulp . gb</i> ] <i>r</i>	[according to the customs of the <i>hry</i> , <sup>346</sup> of <i>hty</i> , <sup>347</sup> of <i>alty</i> , of <i>gb</i> ] <i>r</i> <sup>348</sup>
	[ <i>ulp . hbtkm . ulp . mdllkn . ulp qrzbl</i> ]	[according to the customs of the pillagers, <sup>349</sup> of the oppressors, <sup>350</sup> of the city of Highness] <sup>351</sup>
	[ <i>u thtu . b apkm . u b qšrt . npškm . u b qt</i> ] <i>t</i>	for you have sinned in your

<sup>340</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 903. The DNN *tkmn . w šnm* could be translated as ‘the roaring gods’.

<sup>341</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 794. The word *š* means ‘ram, sheep’.

<sup>342</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 709-710. The word *šqrb* is coming from the word *qrb* ‘to approach’ in the S stamm.

<sup>343</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 593-594.

<sup>344</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 721. The word *qty* could refer to a GN, in which case the translation ‘Qadita’ seems possible, it could also be a PN.

<sup>345</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 266. The word *ddmy* could refer to a GN, or a region, in which case the translation ‘Didima’ seems possible.

<sup>346</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 409. The word *hry* could refer to a GN, namely ‘Hurrian’, which corresponds with the Hebrew *חַרְרִי*.

<sup>347</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 414. The word *hty* could refer to a GN, and we could translate it as ‘Hittite’.

<sup>348</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 317. The identification of the word *gbr* is unclear, the word only appears in cultic context.

<sup>349</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 385.

<sup>350</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 270-271. The word *mdllkn* is coming from the word *dll* ‘to oppress, subjugate; messenger, mediator(I); PN(II)’.

<sup>351</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 715. We follow the suggestion of Moor and Sanders, by translating the word *qrzbl* as ‘The City of Highness’.

		anger, <sup>352</sup> and in the shortness
		of your spirit <sup>353</sup> and for the repun]gance
15	[ <i>tqtt . u thtu . l dbhm . w l . t' . dbhn . ndb</i> ]h	[you have felt, <sup>354</sup> and You Have committed transgression and you have sinned with the sacrifice, <sup>355</sup> and with the offering sacrifice, that we have made to sacri]fice.
	[ <i>hw . t' . nt'y . hw . nkt . nkt .</i> ]yt[ <i>ši . l ab . bn . il</i> ]	[This is the offering that we offer. This is the victim that we immolate.] Ri[se to the father of the sons of Ilu!]
	[ <i>ytši l dr . bn . il . l mph</i> ]rt . [ <i>bn . il . l tkmn . w šnm . hn š</i> ]	[Rise to the generation of the son(s) of Ilu, to the assemb]ly [of the son(s) of Ilu, to the roaring gods. Behold, a Ram!]
--		
	[ <i>w n</i> ]py . g[r . hmyt . ugrt . w np]y	[ and may it be purifi]cation of the gu[est of the walls of Ugarit, <sup>356</sup> and may it be purifi]cation
	[ <i>x . u . thti</i> [ <i>n . ulp . qty</i> ]	[]x and may it be purifi]cation ]x for you have sin]ned according to the customs of <i>qty</i>
20	<i>ulp . ddm</i> y . <i>ulp</i> [. <i>hry . u</i> ]lp . <i>h</i> ty . <i>ulp</i> [. <i>al</i> ty . <i>ulp</i> .] <i>gbr</i>	of <i>ddmy</i> , of [the <i>hry</i> , of]

<sup>352</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 86-89. The word *apkm* can also mean: 'also, even, besides (I); nose, muzzle, break, anger, front entrance (II).

<sup>353</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 717. The phrase *u b qsr*t . *npškm* is the combination of *qsr* (I) and *nps* with the suffix *-kn*.

<sup>354</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 720-721.

<sup>355</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 262-263. The word *dbhm* could also mean '(sacrificial) banquet, offering, month name(?)'. The word corresponds with the Hebrew כָּבַח.

<sup>356</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 364-365.

		<i>ḥty</i> , of [ <i>alṭy</i> , of] <i>ḡbr</i>
	<i>ulp . ḥbtkn . ulp . md[llk]n . ulp . q[rzbl]</i>	according to the customs of the pillagers, of the opp[resso]rs, according to the customs of the Ci[ty of Highness]
	<i>u th̄ṭin . b apkn . u b [q]srt npš[kn . u b qtt]</i>	for you have sinned in your anger, <sup>357</sup> and in the [short]ness of your spi[rit and for the repugnance
	<i>tqṭṭn u th̄ṭin . l -d-bḥm w l ṭ' . db[ḥn . ndbh]</i>	you have felt], and you have sinned in connection with the sacrifices, and in connection with the offer[ings, that we have made to sacrifice] <sup>358</sup>
	<i>hw . ṭ' . nṭ'y . hw . nkt . n[k]t . ytši . [l ab . bn . il]</i>	This is the victim that we im[mo]late, may it rise [to the father of the gods.]
25	<i>ytši . l dr . bn . il . l mphrt . bn . i[l . l tkmn . w š]nm . hn š</i>	rise to the family circle, assembly of the sons of I[lu, to the roaring] gods. Behold a Ram!
--		
	<i>w šqrb . 'r . mšr . bn . ugrt . w np[y . ]ugr-t-</i>	And offer a donkey <sup>359</sup> of justification, for the justification; of the Sons of Ugarit, and may it be

<sup>357</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 86-89. The word *apkn* can also mean 'also, even, besides (I); nose, muzzle, break, anger, front entrance (II)'.

<sup>358</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 892.

<sup>359</sup> *DULAT*<sup>1</sup>, 178-179.

	<i>w npy . yman . w npy . 'rmt . w npy . x[ ]</i>	purify[cation for] Ugarit. and may it be purification for/ of <i>yman</i> , <sup>360</sup> and may it be atonement for/ to <i>'rmt</i> <sup>361</sup> and may it be atonement for x[ ]
	<i>w npy nqmd . u šn . ypkm . ulp . q[ty . ulp . ddm]y</i>	and may it be purification for <i>nqmd</i> ; and whether your dignity has been sullied according to the customs of <i>q[ty</i> of <i>ddm]y</i> ,
	<i>ulp . hry . ulp . hty . ulp . alty . ul[p . gbr] . ulp</i>	of the <i>hry</i> , the of <i>hty</i> , of <i>alty</i> , the of <i>gbr</i> , according to the cus[toms
30	<i>hbtkm . ulp . m[dl]lkm . ulp . qrzbl . u šn [.] ypkm</i>	of the pillagers], of the oppre[ssors], according to the customs of the city of Highness, and whether your dignity has been sullied,
	<i>u b apkm . u b q[s]rt npškm . u b qtt tqtt</i>	for you have sinned in your anger, <sup>362</sup> and in the short[nes]s of your spirit and for the repungance you have felt
	<i>u šn . ypkm . l d[b]hm . w l . t' . dbhn . ndbh . hw . t' . nt'y .</i>	and whether your dignity has been sullied, with sacri[fi]ces and with the victim of the sacrifice that we immolated, this is the victim that we sacrifice
	<i>hw . nkt . nkt . y[t]ši . l ab . bn . il . ytši . l dr</i>	this is the sacrifice, that we

<sup>360</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 966. The word *yman* is coming from the word *ym* 'day'.

<sup>361</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 183. The word *'rmt* appears in other contexts as 'cloak'. The vocalisation of the word is *Armatu*.

<sup>362</sup> DULAT<sup>l</sup>, 86-89. The word *apkm* can also mean 'also, even, besides (I); nose, muzzle, break, anger, front entrance (II)'.

*bn . il . -l mḫrt . bn . il- l tkmn . w šnm . hn . ʿr*

--

35 *w ṭb . l mspr . m[šr] . mšr . b-n-t . ugrt . w nḫy . gr*

*ḫmyt . ugrt . w[ḫp]y . a[[x]] ṭt . u šn . ḫpkn . ulp . qṭy*

*ulp . ddmy . ul[p . ḫ]ry . ulp . ḫty . ulp . alṭy*

*ulp . ḫbr . ulp . ḫ[ḫtk]n . [u]lp . mdllkn . ulp . qrzbl*

*l/u šn . ḫpkn . b ap[kn . u b qš]rt nḫškn . u b qṭt*

40 *tqṭṭn . u šn . ḫp[kn . l dbḫm .] w l . ṭʿ . dbḫn*

sacrifice. R[is]e, to the  
father of the sons of gods,  
rise to the genera]tion

of the sons [of Ilu,] to the

assembly of the sons of Ilu,  
to the roaring gods. Behold,  
a Donkey!

And now repeat: Jus[tice],

justice for the Sons of  
Ugarit! and may it be  
purification for the guest

of the walls of Ugarit and

purification for a[[x]] ṭt

and whether your dignity

has been sullied, according

to the customs of *ddmy*, of

the *ḫ]ry*, of *ḫty*, of *alṭy*

of *ḫbr*, according to the

customs

of the pil[lage]rs,  
[accor]ding to the customs  
of the oppressors, according  
to the customs of of the city  
of Highness

and whether your dignity

has been sullied,

for you have sinned in your

an[ger],<sup>363</sup> and in the  
short]ness

of your spirit and for the

repungance

you have felt, and

<sup>363</sup> *DULAT*<sup>l</sup>, 86-89. The word *ap[kn]* can also mean: ‘also, even, besides (I); nose, muzzle, break, anger, front entrance (II)’.

*ndbh . hw . t' . n[t'y . hw . nkt . n]kt . ytši . l ab bn il*

rev.

*ytši . l d[r . bn . il . l ] . bn . il*

*l tkmn [ . w šnm . ] hn . [r]*

whether your dignity

[has been sullied with the sacrifices,] and for the offering the sacrifice

that we sacrificed, this is

the victim that [we immolate, this is the sacrifice that we sacri]fice, rise to the father of the sons of Ilu

rise to the gene[ration of the sons of

Ilu, to the] family circle of the sons of Ilu

to the roaring [gods.] Behold, a don[key!]

An interesting aspect of this text is the word *ulp*. Could the phrase *ulp* ‘according to the customs of’ refer to minorities under the Hittite empire?<sup>364</sup> To this, for now we have to say that we are not sure. Another interesting aspect, is the indication of the burnt offering by using the word *ytši* ‘to rise’. This ‘rise’ was achieved by burning the ritual substance, in this case a ram, and in the end the donkey. In line 28, the PN *nqmd* might refer to one of the Ugaritic kings. Which Niqmaddu would it be, was answered by the comparison of the rulers of the Hittites and Ugarit. This shows that it is none other than Niqmaddu II, with whom the Hittites had vassal treaties under the rules of Suppiluliumas I. and Mursilis II.<sup>365</sup> Ritual impurity is supported by line 23:

*u thtin . l -d-bhm w l t' . db[hn . ndbh]*

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<sup>364</sup> Stager, Lawrence E., “Forging an Identity: The Emergence of Ancient Israel,” in *The History of the Biblical World* (ed. Michael D. Coogan; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 40-46.; James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 37, 84, 262. We find the following names of possible ‘nationalities’ under the Hittite empire: *Alashiya*, modern Cyprus (after the destruction: *Yadanana*); Hatti; Hattusa; *Hubur* (bit-Hubur); *Qatna*; *Alalakh*; *Amurru*; *Amqa*. However, we note that this is a mere suggestion of mine, and is based on observing the background of the words: *alty*, *ugrt*, *hry*, *hty*, *gbr*. In this case, it seems to be a promising pathway for future research.

<sup>365</sup> Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 30-32, 59-63, 119-120. In the Case of Mursilis II, the treaty is ‘signed’ with king Niqmepa of Ugarit.

“And you have sinned in connection with the sacrifices, and with the offering that we made to sacrifice.”

What was the sin against the sacrifices is not stated in the text. However, the purpose of the ritual seems clear, the pleading for justice, as we see it in line 35. The means in which justice is achieved is by a burnt offering. Notable, that the ritual's probable effect: justice or purification is also valid for the population, let it be local, city dweller or guest. Even though the goat sending away ritual is absent from the text, the context and the genre of the text makes it comparable to Lev 16. We are not saying, that KTU 1.40 in itself was supplying ancient Israelite religious practices, but certain aspects can be found in both texts. One striking aspect, is that the destiny of the animals (in KTU 1.40: a ram, a donkey) was *l tkmn . w šnm* ‘to the roaring gods’. This phrase seems promising. We have concluded in Chapter 2, that it is likely, that the original form of the word Hebrew word עזאזל might have been עזאזל ‘fierce, strong god’. In our translation, we tried to translate *l tkmn . w šnm* as ‘to the roaring gods’, however, another translation is also possible, ‘to the teeth scratching gods’. This would correlate with the likely etymology of the Hebrew word עזאזל. Therefore, even though KTU 1.127 presents the banishment of the goat, KTU 1.40 might have served the destination of the goat, or in other words, the ritual substance.

In the end, what we propose, is alongside KTU 1.127, as the main text, KTU 1.40 also played a role not only in shaping the ancient Israelite Day of Atonement, but also serves a likely text as the origin of the Hebrew word עזאזל not on the basis of grammatical observations, as in the case of *šrgzz*, but on the basis of genre and the aspects pointed out in the text. Furthermore, we presented such texts, that are more ancient than the Ugaritic texts, and that could also explain the original meaning of the rite, as well as the Hebrew word עזאזל.

#### 5.4. Goats in the archaeology of the ANE as other likely keys to עזאזל

Janowski has concluded in his article (1995), that the path of the rite from Ugarit to the Israelites has not been worked out in detail yet.<sup>366</sup> In this part of our research, we aim to open up a new pathway, based upon the archaeological reliefs of the ANE.

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<sup>366</sup> Janowski, “Azazel,” 243.



Goats were domesticated as early as the Paleolithic- Neolithic era (ca. 9000- 7000 BCE), and in the ANE, including the Levant region was a perfect habitation for the goats, which were an essential food supply.<sup>367</sup> Goats prefer high, preceptious terrain.<sup>368</sup> The presumed ancestor of the domesticated goats was the scimitar-horned mountain goat (*Capra aegagrus*) or Bezoar, to which ibexes (*Capra ibex*) is closely related, they habited the land of today's Turkey to Pakistan, with a southern extention to the Levant.<sup>369</sup> As early as the peak of the Hittite empire (ca. 1400-1300 BCE), we see from a relief, on which a priest leading a ram and a goat to sacrifice is depicted,<sup>370</sup> thus we have evidence, that the domesticated goats were not only part of the everyday life of the people of the Levant and Anatoly, but in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BCE they were 'participants' of the ritual world. As such, goats often appeared on figurines and other objects, and often they appeared as exemplifications of important deities—among other animals, such as: stag, lion, bull, deer, just to mention the Anatolian depictions.<sup>371</sup>

Evidence also shows, that animals, and goats in particular, , were not only carved unto objects,— such as statues, in the Uruk period could have been parts of temple furniture<sup>372</sup> — but this artistic style was passed on from the pre-urbanized period.

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<sup>367</sup> Gilbert, Allan S., "The Native Fauna of the Ancient Near East," in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 3-79, esp. 11.

<sup>368</sup> Gilbert, "The Native Fauna," 12.

<sup>369</sup> Gilbert, "The Native Fauna," 13.

<sup>370</sup> Gunter, Ann C., "Animals in Anatolian Art," in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 79-97, esp. 81.

<sup>371</sup> Gunter, "Animals in Anatolian Art," 83, 87. On Anatolian seals from the Old Assyrian Colony period, we see beside the depiction of the war god a lion and a goat.

<sup>372</sup> Breniquet, Catherine, "Animals in Mesopotamian Art," in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 149.



Figure 2: Wand decorated with heads of ibexes from Nahal Mishmar<sup>373</sup>

In the Sumerian period goats were also used as iconographic stereotypes.<sup>374</sup> Later, in the Neo-Assyrian art, craftsmen used these stereotypes in their iconographs.<sup>375</sup> A Mesopotamian text also preserved a record of an Elamite goat structure from Ashan.<sup>376</sup> In the ANE, sheep and goats possessed a symbolic value, of fertility and wealth, signs that the gods were favorable— and strikingly: they could also represent gods, in a theriomorphic form.<sup>377</sup> The composition of Mesopotamian artists also reached the Levant, whereas horned animals are also depicted—to

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<sup>373</sup> Pritchard, James B., ed., *The Ancient Near East: Supplementary Texts and Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 354. For the ritual purpose and uses of such wands or effigies, figurines, See. Verderame, “Means of Substitution,” 302-306.

<sup>374</sup> Breniquet, “Animals in Mesopotamian Art,” 152-153. See also Foster, Benjamin R., “Animals in Mesopotamian Literature,” in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 271-289, esp. 278, 280, 286, 287.; Borowski, Oded, “Animals in the Literatures of Syria-Palestine,” in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 289-309, esp. 290, 294. Whereas goats also appear in fables and proverbs.

<sup>375</sup> Breniquet, “Animals in Mesopotamian Art,” 165.

<sup>376</sup> Root, Margaret Cool, “Animals in the Art of Ancient Iran,” in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 169-211, esp. 184.

<sup>377</sup> Caubet, Annie, “Animals in Syro-Palestinian Art,” in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 221-222.

which a striking evidence is the mistress of animals/ queen of wild beasts, depicting Anat or Astarte,<sup>378</sup> a relief from the 14<sup>th</sup> BCE Ugarit:

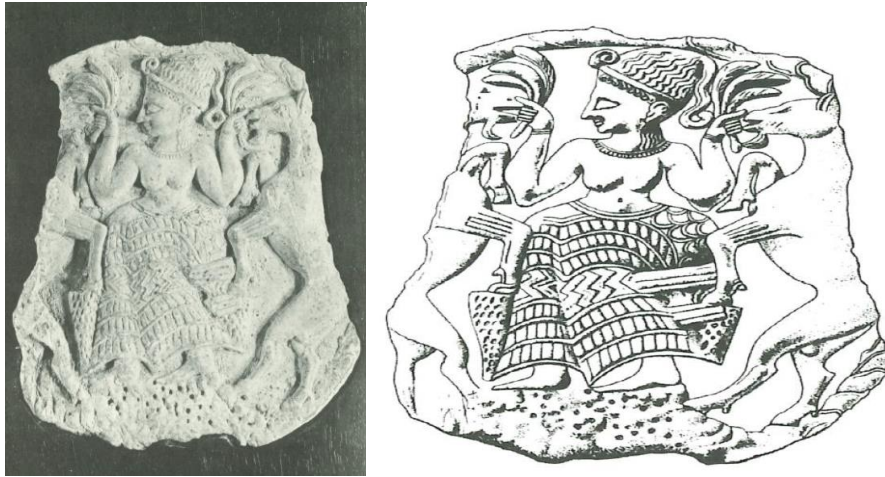


Figure 3: Ivory relief from Minet el Beida, from the fourteenth century BCE<sup>379</sup>

Even though reliefs as such from the Israelites are non-existent, scripture in many cases also connects goats to the cults outside Israel.<sup>380</sup> Associating animals with the gods were common among the Hittites, to whom the burnt and blood offerings involving goats were introduced by the Hurrians.<sup>381</sup> Also, in Hittite ritual thinking, goats were able to absorb evil.<sup>382</sup> Goats, especially she-goats were also ‘effective’ against demonesses.<sup>383</sup>

<sup>378</sup> Borowski, Oded, “Animals in the Religions of Syro-Palestine,” in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 410.

<sup>379</sup> Pritchard, James B., *The Ancient Near East in Pictures: Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954), 160. See also. Schroer, Silvia, “Ancient Near Eastern Pictures as Keys to Biblical Texts,” in *Torah* (ed. Irmtraud Fischer, Mercedes Navarro Puerto and Andrea Taschl-Erber; Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2012), 35.

cf. Caubet, “Animals in Syro-Palestinian Art,” 222. The goddess can also appear on jewelry, riding lions.; See also. Borowski, “Animals in the Religions of Syro-Palestine,” 410.

<sup>380</sup> Borowski, “Animals in the Literatures of Syria-Palestine,” 289-309, esp. 306. See: Lev 17:7; 2Chr 11:15; Isa 13:21; 34:14. The words used to describe these creatures, to which goats are connected: satyr, or goat-demons, שעיר.

<sup>381</sup> Collins, “Animals in the Religions of Anatolia,” 313, 321. Cf. Scurlock, JoAnn, “Animals in Ancient Mesopotamian Religion,” in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 369. The surrogate for *Ereškigal* is a billy-goat.

<sup>382</sup> Collins, “Animals in the Religions of Anatolia,” 323.

<sup>383</sup> Scurlock, “Animals in Ancient Mesopotamian Religion,” 364. Effective against *Lamaštu*.



Figure 7: Probably a nude goddess from Ugarit<sup>384</sup>

Archaeological evidence, as presented above, showed that goats in ANE understanding, were not only ritual substitutes, but representatives, in the form of theromony. The goat figure is a well attested form of art to depict the goddess *Anat*.<sup>385</sup> In this case, however, we are not sure if this relief depicts the goddess *Anat*.

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<sup>384</sup> Pritchard, *Ancient Near East in Pictures*, 161.

<sup>385</sup> For more reliefs, See. Collins, Billie Jean, "Animals in the Religions of Anatolia," in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (HdO, 64; Boston, Köln, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 309-335, esp. 313. Sealing from Kültepe, showing a goddess seated on a goat over two lions.; Schroer, "Pictures as Keys," 31-53. esp. 34. A cylinder seal from Kerma (ca. 2500 BCE).; Schroer, "Pictures as Keys," 60. A classical Syrian cylinder seal (ca.

Furthermore, it is notable, that traces of the goat depictions can be found among the pre-Israelite archaeological reliefs as well.

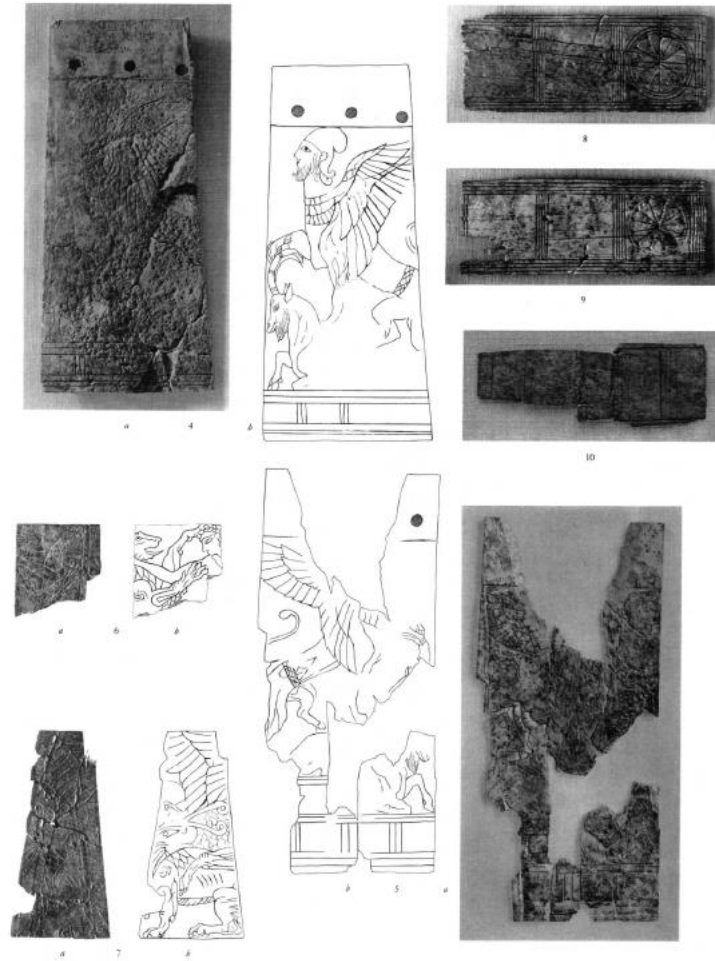


Figure 9: Ivory relief from Megiddo, plate 5<sup>386</sup>

The plaque from Megiddo, presumably depicts a cherub on a goat figure.<sup>387</sup> One might connect this relief to the goat rite of Lev 16, however, this would be a haphazard statement. The reason why we presented this relief is to show that the figure of a goat in the channel of art travelled from the ANE to the pre-Israelite city Megiddo, thus to a Canaanite city.<sup>388</sup>

1750 BCE).; Pritchard, *Ancient Near East in Pictures*, 197. A nude priest offering libation to a god. The relief is from Nippur.

<sup>386</sup> Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, 32.

<sup>387</sup> Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, 13.

<sup>388</sup> For an in depth examination of similar depictions of goats, See. Janowski and Wilhelm, “Der Bock, der die Sünden hinnausträgt,” 120-126.



Figure 10: Conic stamp seal from Taanach (1000-900 BCE)<sup>389</sup>

This stamp seal was found at Taanach, a northern settlement of the Israelites, originated during the ‘early monarchy’ period, which lasted from David’s estimated ascension to the throne, ca. 1005 BCE to the estimated death of Solomon, ca. 928 BCE).<sup>390</sup> On the seal, the nursing goat figure is a popular one in Canaan, representing the growth of life and prosperity, while the scorpion figure on the left expresses sexuality.<sup>391</sup> It is safe to say that this is a fertility symbol, that have been present in Israel.

On how can the archaeological reliefs enlighten us in our research, can be determined by the following subchapter. Here what was notable, that the flow of ideas, even in art in the form of archaeological finds, are continuous, even so, that the depiction of the goat (and also its religious- existential connotation) reached the Israelites, who recreated this artistic stereotype. Based on the ivory reliefs in and out of Canaan, we can say that Megiddo and Taanach are important stations of the symbol of the goat reaching the Israelites. This way, we point towards another pathway, on which future research can be started.

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<sup>389</sup> Schroer, “Pictures as Keys,” 53.

<sup>390</sup> Campbell, “A Land Divided,” 206.

<sup>391</sup> Schroer, “Pictures as Keys,” 53.



## 5.5. A likely missing link between Ugarit and the Israelites

The goat figures in the pre-, or early Israelite archaeological reliefs seem to point towards a likelihood of artistic ideas moving within cultures. However, in our case, especially in this sub-chapter, we want to find a likely link between the Ugaritic and the Israelite culture and religion, as a likely channel through time and areas. The problem here is that there are centuries between the destruction of Ugarit and the earliest mention of the established Israelite state. If we assume that the Israelites borrowed artistic features, as well as religious ideas, we need to find cities or regions within the borders of the ancient Israelite state, where these ideas and artistic features could have survived the centuries. This is also an important task, since as we have already mentioned, Janowski has concluded in his article, that the path of the rite from Ugarit to the Israelites has not been worked out.<sup>392</sup>

Shechem from the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE was a Canaanite town, and it contained the largest Canaanite temple preserved from ancient Palestine, also it is striking how Israel's forebears have visited Shechem on many occasions.<sup>393</sup> The town was later a Levitical city and a city of refuge.<sup>394</sup> The decline of Shechem began with the purging of the Omri-Ahab dynasty,<sup>395</sup> and was final with the Assyrian destruction of the town and Samaria itself in 722<sup>396</sup>—thus it is safe to say, that the city survived the collapse of the Levant during the Late Bronze Age, probably due to its layout, thanks to its surrounding hillside, and location far from the Mediterranean Sea. Connection between the Canaanite population—regarding their culture and religion—seems sound. Scripture's own report supports this idea, since, from the account of Jacob getting in touch with the city dwellers of Shechem, and the tradition that arose from the city, namely, the integration of the name *El*, with a descriptive epithet—providing evidence that a cultural and religious exchange between the Canaanites and Israelites occurred with great impact.<sup>397</sup> Also, alongside the rising of Yahwism, during the period of the Judges, central sanctuaries began to rise, strikingly at Shechem and Shiloh, which settlements shifted from Canaanite to

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<sup>392</sup> Janowski, "Azazel," 243.

<sup>393</sup> Campbell, Edward F. Jr., "A Land Divided: Judah and Israel from the Death of Solomon to the Fall of Samaria," in *The History of the Biblical World* (ed. Michael D. Coogan; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 206-241, esp. 216.

<sup>394</sup> Campbell, "A Land Divided," p. 216

<sup>395</sup> Campbell, "A Land Divided," p. 212.

<sup>396</sup> Campbell, "A Land Divided," p. 239.

<sup>397</sup> Pitard, "Before Israel," 53-54. Such names appear in the ancestor accounts, such as: *El Elyon* 'El, the Exalted One', *El Olam* 'El, the Eternal One'. At the naming of the altar at Shechem: *El-elohe Yisrael* 'El, is the God of Israel' and the name *Yisra'el* 'El contends'. The most striking example is *El Shadday* 'El, the Mountain One', which creates a resemblance to the Ugaritic *Baal*, if not a clear connection.

Israelite in the early Iron Age.<sup>398</sup> Shechem also proved to be the stage of many turning points in the early history of the Israelites, for example Joshua’s covenant, the end of the ‘United monarchy’—if it ever existed. The town proved to be a religious center in the north.<sup>399</sup> Thus, we suggest, that the city of Shechem might be one of the missing link(s) between Ugarit and the Israelites.

## 5.6. The Hebrew word עזאזל and the ANE

Concluding the ANE part we find ourselves in a situation, in which we have to assert, based on the ANE texts, and the cultural—ritual understandings of goats, and in the light of the presented data, how our understanding of the Hebrew word עזאזל might change.

We found four possibilities, with which we can identify עזאזל: *Dagan*, *ṭkmn w šnm*, *Anat – Astarte* and *šrgzz*.

*Dagan*, on the basis of its presence in KTU 1.127, which text might have served as basis for the elimination ritual of Lev 16.

*Anat*, since it proved to be culturally imbedded in Ugarit—also associated with goats (theromony)—, and as in many instances, scripture not only mentions *Anat-Astarte*, but has a negative voice against it.

We also suggest *ṭkmn w šnm* ‘the roaring gods’, on the basis of KTU 1.40 and the connected texts, whereas the ritual substitute is to be delivered to the roaring gods, the assembly of the sons of Ilu, i.e., the members of the Ugaritic pantheon, or in the words of KTU 1.40: *ṭkmn w šnm*.

At last, we suggest *šrgzz*, on the basis of KTU 1.107, where it is the venom, that is dispatching, connecting to the dispatching of impurity in Lev 16.

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<sup>398</sup> Hackett, “There was no king,” 145-146.; Stager, “Forging an Identity,” 100. The shifting of populace can be explained by an influx of people of ‘unknown’ origin around the twelfth and eleventh centuries BCE.

<sup>399</sup> Stager, “Forging an Identity,” 112. Alongside Shechem, we see Shiloh and Bethel as other central sanctuaries. Shechem is also close to Bethel, See. Campbell, “A Land Divided,” 213.



# Conclusion

At the end of this research, the only thing left is to evaluate our results.

First, we have examined scripture, the P source and then the chapter itself, in which we find the only occurrences of the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל. After that, we revealed what problems emerge from the enigmatic nature of the word, and after finding no reliable connections within scripture, we turned our attention to the etymological proposals of scholars.

Second, we examined the five general proposals of scholars regarding the etymology of the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל. Here, we concluded, that the original version of the word could have been affected by the scribal metathesis, and alongside the juxtaposition of Lev 16: 8, 10, we might deal with a DN, a divine name, or some sort of epithet. We also concluded that the original form of the Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל, based on the most likely etymological proposal, was עֲאֲזֵל and mean ‘fierce/ strong god’.

Third, after examining the relevant ancient versions, we concluded that the most likely etymology of Hebrew word עֲזָזֵל is not supported by all versions, but is supported by SP and S—to which the critical apparatus of *BHS* refers—, which versions are closer in time to the final version of the P source.

Fourth, we examined the non-biblical Qumran scrolls. In these we found, that among the manuscripts, which present the form of the word עֲזָזֵל, which is not only different from Lev 16: 8, 10, 26, but also differs from many ancient versions, presenting identical form of the S and SP. We concluded that the Dead Sea Scrolls present multiple understandings of the word עֲזָזֵל. These are: *Azazel* of MT, *Azazel* of the Book of Enoch, *Asael* of the Book of Enoch and finally (the non-biblical) *Enoch* himself.

Fifth, we discussed and explained the rules of comparative study, and presented the texts that could have had impact on the elimination rite in Lev 16, if not served as the base of the rite and the word עֲזָזֵל. Even though we did not find a text, in which the word identically appears, we agreed that KTU 1.127 could have served as the base text of the elimination rite in Lev 16, and it might have been connected to KTU 1.40. Then we turned our attention to the goats of the ANE, and as a result of our research, we found that goats were integral parts of the ANE societies, and ritual world and suggested a promising, and missing link between the Israelites and the ritual world attested in Ugarit. Regarding our proposal of the missing link between

Ugarit and the Israelites, future research has to pay careful attention to the importance, and the roles of the Canaanite city, cities of Shechem, Bethel and Shiloh.

Then finally, we have established four possible Ugaritic—Canaanite connections, in means of etymology, of the Hebrew word עֲזָזָל, based on our findings in the ANE.

In the end, even though we still lack the text of the ANE, which would ultimately enlighten us regarding the Hebrew word עֲזָזָל, our research is a success in a sense, that lines of possible pathways were opened during, and based upon this research, as well as many previous views became less likely. These suggestions are ‘scapegoat (escape goat)’, ‘precipice, rough ground’, ‘entire removal’, ‘wrath of God’.

Hence, our observations in the end are:

- 1) The form of presents a scribal metathesis, the original form of the word is עֲזָזָל ‘fierce, strong god’.
- 2) The rite in which the Hebrew word עֲזָזָל is present can be traced back to Ebla, modern Tell Mardikh, around the second millennium BCE.
- 3) Originally, the rite’s purpose was to get rid of physical impurity, and combined with the appearance of goats as ritual substitutes, the ritual transformed into getting rid of ritual impurity.
- 4) In Ugarit, the original rite might have undergone a separation, meaning that ritual purity was achieved in the means of a burnt offering—KTU 1.40—, and the leading away of the goat served the purpose of getting rid of the ‘enemy’—KTU 1.127.
- 5) Canaanite presence in Syria-Palestine in the pre-Israelite era suggests, that the Ugaritic texts were not only copied, but in the form of practice, reached at least the northern part of the later Israelite territories, i.e., Taanach, Megiddo, Shechem, probably Shiloh and Bethel as well.

Last, as we conclude, based on the most likely etymological suggestion and supplied by our own observations, we suggest the four most likely etymons of the Hebrew word עֲזָזָל: *Dagan*, *īkmm w šnm*, *Anat – Astarte* and *šrgzz*.

These suggestions beg the question: How does these ‘alter’ the meaning of the rite and Lev 16?

In the narrative, no changes occur. Regarding the meaning of the rite, we would have to conclude, that it is another example of Scripture’s—more specifically P’s— self-separating feature, regarding the Israelite culture and the Canaanite culture, cult. Since in many cases the

narrative of scripture presents the struggle of the Israelites in their freedom from invaders and in their cultural-cultic independence, none of the four suggestions change this scheme. However, this would also mean, that the elimination rite is a sort of exorcism. We have seen that in ANE, goats can not only represent deities, but they are also effective against demonic possession, and demonic power, sin and transgression, and these can also be transferred unto them.<sup>400</sup> In this sense the עֲזָזָל rite is a complex rite, with at least three stratas of meaning.

1) The goat is the perfect vessel for getting rid of the transgressions of the people—thus achieving ritual purgation— and by leading it towards עֲזָזָל, the goat as an epithet returns to its origin, either to *Anat* or to *tkmn w šnm*.

2) Scripture is clear that the cult/ cultic practices other than the Israelite, has no place in the camp (as in the narrative we are in the wilderness), and no place among the Israelites, the separation has to be final, in order to achieve total purity.

3) Israelite understanding of sin might have been supplemented by the understanding of KTU 1.107's *šrġzz*. In which case, connection can be made between the Ugaritic New Year Festival<sup>401</sup> and Lev 16.

Throughout this research, despite the difficulties, we can finally conclude that the work presented here is useful for future research, since it draws attention to texts, and sheds light on details, that might have been overlooked previously. Our observations in this research can and should be challenged. As it became clear, trying to engage with difficult words of the Hebrew Bible as such, can be rewarding, but also demanding. However, we presented what can be known about the Hebrew word עֲזָזָל, and opened up such pathways, that will hopefully supply a more extensive, future research.

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<sup>400</sup> For further means and aspects of the transfer in detail, See. Adu-Gyamfi, “The Live Goat Ritual in Leviticus 16,” 2-4.; Verderame, “Means of Substitution,” 302-322.

<sup>401</sup> Korpel and Moor, *Adam, Eve and the Devil*, 53-56.

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