RELATION BETWEEN CANAAN AND BABYLONIA IN THE HAMMURABI EPOCH.[1]

ACCORDING to the fragments of Berossus, a Babylonian priest who wrote the history of Babylonia down to the death of Alexander 323–2 B.C., the Babylonian chronologists placed the beginning of their authentic history at 2232 B.C. A fragment of Porphyrius preserved in Simplicius places the beginning of the first historic dynasty 1903 years before the first year of the reign of Alexander 330 B.C.; this results in the same date 2233–2. Evidently, then, there was a general consensus of opinion among the Babylonians as to the date of the so-called first Semitic or Hammurabi dynasty. We have now other chronological data which confirm this date, and as we possess the date lists for all of the eleven kings of the first dynasty, their separate reigns can be correctly fixed. Hammurabi, sixth king of this dynasty, reigned 2130–2088; he is generally agreed to be the Amraphel of Genesis xiv., in whose reign the kings of Elam and Larsa made war upon Canaan in the days of Abraham. We are, therefore, for the first time in Old Testament tradition upon apparently safe historical ground, and the question arises, can the characters mentioned in Genesis xiv. be further identified, and if so, what political and religious influences surrounded the father of the Hebrews in Canaan? In regard to the second aspect of the problem I intend to discuss only such influences as may have been exercised by Babylonia on the west or such conceptions as may have been carried from Babylonia to the west.

Let me state briefly those facts which are not undisputed in regard to the first dynasty. We now know that Baby-

[1] Read before the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, October 29th, 1909.

lonia had already seen the rise and fall of several Sumerian and Semitic dynasties before the Hammurabi period. In fact dynastic lists for Ur and Isin exist carrying us back several centuries before the so-called first dynasty. A Semitic dynasty existed at least 1000 years before Hammurabi, and these early Semites, or first invading wave of Semites, came apparently from Arabia or Canaan. At any rate their phonetic system shows distinct traces of Arabic pronunciation and they introduced the Arabian deity Athtar and the Amorite Adad into Babylonia. But if certain indications lead us to infer that the primitive Semitic culture of Babylonia came from the west, the indications of the South Arabian origin of the second wave of Semitic migration are much more numerous. The date at which they actually founded a dynasty at Babylon we have already learned from Berossus. But there were two rival dynasties in Chaldea before Sumu-abu, the Arabian, occupied Babylon, one at Isin, a city still unidentified, and one at Larsa, the Biblical Ellasar, far to the south near Ur of the Chaldees. The Isin dynasty, founded nearly 100 years before the Amraphel dynasty at Babylon, seems to have been Semitic but of the earlier strata. At any rate the name of their first king, Išme-Dagan, contains the name of a Phoenician deity [2306–2286], and their second king Libit-Aštar contains the name of the South Arabian deity Athtar.

The people of Isin, however, seem to have been mostly Sumerian, to judge from the early hymns and liturgies used in the cult of Isin and the names of common people who lived there. This dynasty of Isin was not conquered by the Babylonians until just before the accession of the famous Hammurabi; in other words, it was contemporary with the Babylonian dynasty for about eighty years.

Of the Larsa dynasty, which evidently controlled the

ancient Sumerian cities Ur and Erech, we have no list of kings: the historical situation which I am about to give has been put together from a large number of notices on contracts, some of which have been generally attributed to Sippar, but which I have reason to think came from Larsa.[1] About the time of the founding of the South Arabian dynasty at Babylon a line of kings appears at Larsa who have also South Arabic names, Sumu-ilu, Buntahtun-ilā, and Immerum. One of these names contains the west Semitic divine name, *ilā*, אלה, Biblical אֵל, which was evidently a *special* god, not a general name for "god."

So then a west Semitic dynasty had firmly established itself at Babylon before Hammurabi, and a branch of the same people ruled apparently at Larsa, near Erech and Ur. It would, therefore, not be astonishing to find western Semites at Ur. So far as the name Abrâm is concerned, it has just been found on several tablets from Dilbat, a short distance south of Babylon[2] all dating from the latter half of the Hammurabi dynasty. There should be absolutely no reason to doubt the Biblical tradition of an Abrâm at Ur before the reign of Hammurabi. The name itself is good Arabic. Now shortly before Hammurabi, Eriagu, son of Kurdurmabug, an Elamite, usurped the throne of Larsa. If, as I have supposed, western Semites were ruling in Larsa and Ur, a migration northward to Babylon and Assyria would be natural enough. In fact

[1] I refer to the contracts dated in reign of *Immerum* and *Buntahtun-ilā*, see Ranke, BE, VI,[1] 65 f., and the same author's *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, p. 45, for lists of contracts in the reigns of these so-called usurpers. For the few kings which are known from this Larsa dynasty see Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerisch-Akkadische Inschriften*, 206–221. Immerum is known to have been a contemporary of Sumu-lā-ilu [2218–2183]: he must have reigned somewhere in the *south*, for a certain Sin-rabî [Ranke, no. 5] is a landowner in a contract dated in his reign, and the same person (son of Hubu) acts as a witness under Ilumailā, who certainly reigned in the south, not at Sippar.

[2] Published by me in the *Expository Times*, November, 1909.

the Elamitic conquest of Larsa by the father of Eriagu or other Elamites may well have been the cause for the migration of a certain western Semite Abrâm north to Harran and even west from there to the traditional home of the race. At any rate historical conditions favoured such a movement.

Kudurmabuk's sons, Eriagu and Rim-Sin (the latter bearing a Semitic name) ruled at Larsa, the younger (?) Rim-Sin, succeeded his brother (?) Eriagu [1] soon after the accession of Hammurabi. In other words, Amraphel and Arioch were contemporary kings in Babylon and Larsa [Ellasar] for a short time.[2] It has been commonly supposed that the Semitic kings of Babylon and the Elamitic kings of Larsa were rivals, but as a matter of fact both

[1] It is, of course, possible that *Eri-agu* and *Rim-agu* (Sin) are two names for the same person, in which case all chronological difficulties would disappear.

[2] Rim-Sin was still alive and able to oppose Samsu-iluna after the death of Hammurabi, who reigned forty-three years. Hammurabi claims to have conquered Rim-Sin in his thirty-first year [2100], and in the introduction to the *Code* he claims to be in possession of Ur, Larsa, Erech, Isin, and Nippur, formerly possessed by Rim-Sin. Tablets are dated in Nippur in the twenty-fifth year after Rim-Sin captured Isin, and in the thirty-third year of Hammurabi [*Poebel*, p. 146j. This would place the capture of Isin in the seventh year of Hammurabi. Five other dates of Rim-Sin are known which, if placed *before* this period, would compel us to date the accession of Rim-Sin as early as the second year of Hammurabi. It is not necessary to suppose that Rim-Sin's dynasty came to an end in the thirty-first year of Hammurabi, for the latter does not say that he *captured* Larsa in the date formula of that year. Hence those years dated as late as the twenty-eighth and thirtieth years of Rim-Sin may well come *after* the thirty-first year of Hammurabi. It is not at all improbable that the five date-formulae known from his reign [see Th. Dangin, *Sumerisch-Akk.-Konigs Inschriften*, p. 237] are identical with certain of those dated by the fall of Isin. Hammurabi mentions the capture of Isin in his seventh year, which must refer to its capture by Rim-Sin, who is known to have been in possession of that place for at least twenty-five years before the thirty-third year of H. If Rim-Sin had not been an ally of H., it is unlikely that the event would have been mentioned in an official date in Babylon. Sinmuballit seems to have captured Isin in his seventeenth year, but to have lost it, or at least Isin rebelled and was recaptured by the allies H. and Rim-Sin; the latter apparently attached it to Larsa.

Eriagu and his successor Rim-Sin seem to have been allies of Hammurabi, at least in the early part of the latter's reign. We would then have the following situation. An Elamitic dynasty ruled in Larsa, Ur, Erech and Nippur, whose king Arioch was an ally of the west Semitic king Amraphel in Babylon. The Elamites had displaced western Semites at Larsa, Erech and Ur, so that we must assume hostility between the two west Semitic branches at Babylon and in the south. If we accept the authenticity of the Biblical account of the migration of the Terahites from Ur of the Chaldees, the historical situation would give an excellent reason for this migration. They were forced out by the Elamites aided by the connivance of their own race at Babylon.

That these same western Semites were strong in the south would seem probable from the fact that *Iluma-ilā*, whose name is evidently west Semitic, founded a dynasty in the south after the death of the Elamite Rim-Sin of Larsa. This dynasty, in fact, secured control of the entire south, constantly opposed its kindred in Babylon and survived the fall of the line of Hammurabi.

In Genesis xiv. the kings of Canaan paid tribute to the Elamites in the days of Amraphel. According to that account Chedorlagomar was the Elamite overlord who in his invasion of the west was aided by Arioch of Larsa and Tidal of Gojim, both probably Elamites, and by Amraphel. We have already seen that Arioch of Larsa and Amraphel of Babylon were probably allies. Moreover, the father of Arioch, Kudur-mabug, bears the title "Adda of the land of the Amorite." The Babylonians, in fact, always spoke of Canaan and the west as the Amorite land. It would be difficult to identify Kudur-mabug with Chedorlagomar philologically. *Kutur* in Elamitic means priest. The goddess *lakamar* is well known. In case Elamitic *mabuk*

be another name for the same divinity, then the names would be identical. Professor George Hüsing, of Breslau, has informed me that this is possible but not proved. At any rate, two of the kings, Amraphel and Arioch, can be identified. The identification of Arioch's father with Chedorlagomar is a possibility. As to Tidal, king of Gojim, there seems to be no certain information.[1] An Elamite, Kudur-mabuk, father of Arioch, seems to have held the land of the Amorites under tribute according to his title in the inscriptions of Larsa. We have, however, no evidence in the inscriptions that these Elamites and their ally, Hammurabi, invaded the west. It would seem at least reasonable to accept the Biblical account of Genesis xiv. as truthful, for the support from the inscriptions is so very great. Notice also that the Hebrew tradition defines the period as the "days of Amraphel," and we know that this same Amraphel stood out in Babylonian history as synonymous with a great epoch.

I shall, therefore, regard this point as proved. A group of Terahites, led by one Abrâm, migrated from Ur about 2150 B.C. They belonged to a group of western Semites who perhaps found the Elamitic oppression in the south intolerable, and hence returned to the west.

[1] Dr. Pinches published three texts in vol. xxix. of the *Transactions* of the Victoria Institute which refer to the pillage of Babylon by the Elamites. The invading king is called *Ku-dur-KU-KU-mal*, and two other Elamites are mentioned, viz., *Eri-^{d}é-a-ku* [var. *eri-é-ku-a*] and *Tu-ud-hul-a*. Pinches and Sayce also find the name of Hammu[rabi] in the text. The reading of the king of Elam as Kudurlagamar offers difficulties, but should not be rejected, since we may be dealing with an ideographic writing *KU-KU-mal* for *lagamar*. Arioch might possibly come from either of the forms given, and Tudḫul תִּדְעָל is exactly what is wanted. My objection to using these texts in this connexion is twofold: (1) The Elamites (so far as we know) did not attack Babylon in the days of Hammurabi, and (2) Babylon is called Karduniaš in one place, a term which came into vogue first in the Kassite period. Prof. Sayce has ably edited these texts in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, 1906, 193–200, 241–250, and 1907, 7–17.

Western Semites also founded a line of kings in the province of Hana at the city Tirka.[1] From this dynasty the names of three kings have been preserved, Išarlim,[2] son of *Ihi*^{ilu}*Kakka*, *'Ammu-rabih*,[3] and *Tikulti-mer*,[4] also Šamši-Adad patesi of Aššur, who built a temple to Dagan at Tirka.[5] The latter was a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon, and as Hana had passed into the power of Aššur in his time we assume that the three kings ruled before him. 'Ammurabi of Hana must not be confused with 'Ammurabi of Babylon.

I now pass to the religious aspects of the problem. It would seem evident that Canaan or Amoria was in close contact with Babylonia in this period. Semites from the west established dynasties in Hana, Babylon, and in the extreme south, and a portion of them from the extreme south returned to the west. Since we possess but scanty notices concerning the religion of the Terahite branch in the Biblical records the rich evidence from their inscriptions in Babylonia is all the more welcome. I have implied that the whole group came originally from South Arabia, in the region of Sabea, modern Yemen. The Arabian origin of the group must be assumed for two reasons: (1) their proper names reveal the Arabic pronunciation of the sibilants, and the vocabulary used is distinctly Sabean and Arabic; (2) a considerable number of Sabean gods appears in these names.

The Sabean god *'Ammu* appears in the name *Hammu-*

[1] Located certainly north of Sippar, possibly near Aššur.

[2] *Revue d'Assyriologie*, iv. 85.

[3] PSBA, 1907, 177. The same king occurs apparently on a tablet published in *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, vii. 204, *'Ammu-ma-rabi*, where *rabi* is written *MAH*; he is there called son of Sumuh-rammu. Ungnad reads *'Ammu-ma-el*, with which cf. Biblical עַמִּיאֵל. If the latter reading be correct we should have the names of four kings of Hana.

[4] Mentioned by Thureau-Dangin RA, iv. 85, but without reference.

[5] ZA, 21, 248.

rabi, "Ammu is great," both at Babylon and Hana. This group must have possessed a special god *Ilā*, אֵלָה, for the term is found in several names of the period and in a connexion which leaves no doubt on this point. I cite here three names which are decisive: *I-la-ilu*,[1] son of *Abirâḫ*; "Ila (or Elōah) is god": *Iluma-ilā*, founder of the Sea Dynasty; *Abi-mara-lā*,[2] "My father is the lord Ilā." This is, of course, the same deity that appears in Abrâm's god אֵל עֶלְיוֹן,[3] "El most high," or more correctly in the Canaanitish form אֱלוֹהַּ, which later took on the general meaning *god*, as in Sabean. The deity survived as a special god in the region of Mecca, and was evolved into a monotheistic conception by Muhammed. Here, then, is one phase of religion which the Terahites had in common with the western Semites who occupied Babylonia. In Genesis xiv. 22 Abrâm speaks of a god *Jahweh* as the special name of his god, and uses *El Eliṣon* as though it were a descriptive term; he says, "I have raised my hand unto Jahweh El the most high"; the later Hebrews probably understood "Jahweh, god most high."[4] The god *Ilā*, *Eloah*, seems to have been a special god of the Terahites. If we could prove that Jahweh appears as a god in Babylonian names just as we have *'Ammu* and *Ilā*, then the inference would follow at once that both gods Elōah and Jahweh were common property of both the Canaanitish and Babylonian branches.[5] This problem as to whether the Hebrew divinity *Jahweh* occurs in Babylonian inscriptions of the

[1] VS viii. 14, 36.

[2] *Ibid.* 37. Cf. also *Šumma-ᵈᵘla-ili-ṣa*, *Šumma-la-ilu*.

[3] Gen. xiv. 20.

[4] So the Septuagint.

[5] The god *Jahweh* appears in the Canaanitish name *Aḫi-ṣami*, the writer of a letter to Aštar-wašur, governor of Taanach, near Megiddo, in the fourteenth century. The tablet containing this name is published by Hrozný in Sellin's *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 115.

time of Abrâm is of very great importance in the history of religion. If Eloah occurs why not Jahweh ?[1]

If one may judge from the frequency with which deities occur in proper names and from the numerous seals which represent the Amorite god *Adad*, it was this god whom the Babylonian invaders regarded as their patron deity. Now Adad, the Amorite god of rain and thunder, seems to be native in the region of Damaskus and the Lebanon. At any rate he was not prominent in the pantheon of South Arabia. Moreover *Ašrātu*, Canaanitish *Ašērāh*, is Adad's consort in Babylonia and the Babylonians called Adad, ^{du}*Amurrū*, or the "Amorite god," simply. The lexicographers interpreted *Ašratū* as "lady of the desert," i.e., the Syrian desert.

Evidently, then, the Semitic group to which the Terahites belonged, although Arabian by race, worshipped Canaanitish gods. Their own records show them in the possession of two gods, Ilā and Jahweh, when they enter Canaan. Now Jahweh occurs along with Adad and Aširat in Canaanitish names in the region of Megiddo before the Hebrew occupation. Their ancestors in Babylonia regarded Adad as their patron deity; they themselves adopted or possessed the related Canaanitish Jahweh. We would expect by all means to find Jahweh in Babylonian names, for there is no reason to suppose that he is later or less important than Adad, Aširat and Dagan, all Canaanitish deities who were adopted and taken to Babylonia by the Arabian migration.

Jahweh cannot in any case be looked for among the Sabean gods, five of whom appear in names of this period. This divine name has not been found in Sabean and the verb הוה, "to be," does not exist in Sabean and Arabic.

[1] The following South Arabian deities are also found in proper names of the period, *Erah*, the moon, *Samsu*, the sun, *Ilimaqīha* [VS viii. 14, 4], *Atar* for *Athtar* in *Ili-atar* [viii. 14, 44].

He belongs to the Canaanite group Adad, Dagan and Ašratu. Curiously these are the only Canaanitish gods adopted into the Babylonian pantheon. Adad was identified with the Sumerian Immer, god of thunder, and Ašratu with Babylonian Ištar. For Dagan the native pantheon had no equivalent. But Jahweh does not appear in the Babylonian pantheon; his character as god of thunder and storms was so allied to Adad that the Babylonians might not have distinguished them. The attributes of Jahweh, as he appears in the oldest documents, remind one strongly of the Amorite god of storm and rains.

The following names occur in contracts of this period. *Ia-'-pi-ilu* at Sippar,[1] *Ia-pi-ilu*[2]; *Ia-pi-um*, father of Ḫali-ia-um[3]; *Aštar-ia-pi*, a priest of god[4]; *Ia-u-um-ilu-ma*.[5] It will be noticed that *Iapi* occurs five times; *Ia-u-um* occurs once. The name *Aštar-iapi* recently found on a Berlin text evidently rules out the form *Ia-pi*, *Ia-'-pi* as a divine name; for if Jahweh were present here we would have the difficult name "Aštar or Ištar is Jahweh." A good Sabean root יפי, "to succour, help," exists, whose Arabic imperfect would be *iapi*; I would therefore translate all these names, "God helps, delivers," "Aštar delivers."

To find Jahweh in *Ḫali-ia-um* would be difficult, for *ia* is a well-known hypocristic ending used also in *Ḫali-ia-tum*.[6]

When the Babylonians of the Neo-Babylonian period wrote the names of Hebrews who lived in Exile or who settled in Chaldea they reproduced יה or יהוה at the beginning of names by *ia-a-ḫu*.[7]

[1] *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, viii. 20 A 3.
[2] *Ibid.* 34 A 4, and Ranke, 17, 38.
[3] *Ibid.* 44, 8. [4] VS vii. 157, 7.
[5] CT iv. 27 A 3. Cf. also *Ia-pa-ilu*, VS vii. 16, 39.
[6] But cf. *Nadbi-iau*, in Assyrian transcriptions, Johns, *Deeds*, etc. vol. iii., Index.
[7] The method of reproducing יה at the *end* of names by *iama* does not concern us here.

The Assyrians, however, reproduced the name of king Ahaz by *Ia-u-ḫa-zi*=יְהוֹאָחָז. An Aramean of Hamath, where the worship of Jahweh had been borrowed from the Hebrews in the eighth century, is named *Ia-u-bi'di*.[1]

The Assyrian usage certainly favours the identification of *Ia-u-um-ilu-ma* with *Jaweh*-ilu-ma* or "Jahweh is god." A name *Ia-u-ba-ni* has been found on a tablet of the Cassite period (circa 1450–1300) from Nippur, also another suggestive name, *Ia-u-tum*, possibly an hypocoristicon of *Iau*.[2]

I am inclined to think that the name Jahweh is really present in *Iaum-ilu-ma*, in *Iaubani* and *Aḫi-iami*, but not in *Iapi-ilu*, nor in *Ḫali-ia-um*. In other words, the god Jahweh seems to have been known in Canaan before the Hammurabi dynasty, and known in Babylonia at the time of the Terahite migration. Canaanites, who belonged to his cult, lived in Babylonia in the Cassite period, contemporaneous with the Egyptian captivity, and his worship in Canaan at the same time is vouched for by the Taanach tablets.

I see no reason to reject the general scheme of patriarchal tradition where Jahweh appears as god of the Terahites, or Hebrews, in Canaan at the end of the third millennium. He was to them what Adad was to the Amorites, and to him they assigned the great cosmological *rôle* which the Babylonians assigned to Ninib, the warrior of the gods.

The problems of Old Testament religion must now be carried into a wider field than heretofore. Hebrew tradition takes us back to the age when the Babylonian myths and epics were being written down, and when their great theo-

[1] Contracts in which Israelites appear in Assyria in the eighth century reproduce Jahū by *A-u*; see Schiffer, *Keilinschriftliche Spuren der in der zweiten Hälfte des* 8. *Jahrhunderts von den Assyrern nach Mesopotamien deportierten Samarier*.

[2] Clay, *Babylonian Expedition*, vol. xv. p. 32.

logical schemes were being worked out. Since the theologians did not adopt Jahweh into the pantheon it is necessary to study their method of treating the parallel god Adad if we wish to gain an adequate idea of the conceptions which the Terahites borrowed from the Babylonians.

It seems clear that Jahweh and Adad were so nearly identical that the Babylonians could not distinguish them. The pre-Mosaic reflections of Jahweh in the Hebrew records reveal him as a god of the mountains who presided over rain and storms. He manifests himself chiefly in thunder and lightning. The animal symbolic of him is the steer. We need not dwell upon this point, which is now generally adopted by students of comparative religion.[1] These are likewise the special characteristics of Adad-Rimmon. He is represented in Syrian and Babylonian art standing upon a steer, hurling the trident lightning and with a huge club; on a few seals he walks over the mountain tops in a way to remind one of Jahweh in the passage, "The mountains shall be molten under him," or "The mountains quake because of him and the hills melt."

Such, then, was the Canaanite conception of this storm god when the western Semites, his worshippers, invaded Babylonia. Here by identification with the Sumerian *Iškur* [Immer] he was taken into the pantheon and received attributes not originally Canaanitish. It is this new Jahweh or Adad who returned to Canaan with the Terahites. They now had a god of the mountains and the storms who had received the impress of Babylonian culture. He becomes a theological and cosmological conception. During his Babylonian sojourn the Nippurian system of theology saw its complete evolution and acceptance. Babylonian culture must have spread to the west; at any rate in the Cassite period the

[1] See an instructive article of William Hayes Ward in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xxv. 175–187.

Canaanites used the Babylonian language and script. In the Taanach tablets the storm god is written with the Sumerian word. Evidently Babylonian theology spread throughout the west. This influence was directly favoured by the fact that the great western god had been identified with a Sumerian deity.

The Canaanites, having but one great god, attributed to him several theological conceptions which did not properly belong to his counterpart in the pantheon. When they assimilated Babylonian culture the Nippurian Sumerian system dominated all others. About Enlil, the earth god, was grouped a powerful pantheon representing the spring and winter sun, the moon and the planet Venus. The god of vegetation, who sojourns part of the year in the nether world, already formed part of the system, the so-called Tammuz cult. The elements of fire, storm and wind, agriculture, war, science, and industry, all had been spiritualized and adopted into the cults. The firstborn child of Enlil, Ninib, personification of the spring sun, gradually displaces his father as the active principle of creation. The spring sun symbolized the triumph of light over darkness, he became the god of war and champion of the gods. In the primeval conflict he slays the dragon of chaos, creates the world and causes light to be. I cite here a passage from a temple liturgy of that period :—

He who launches the bolts of light, to the word [of his father Enlil] gave heed,
He uttered a loud cry, to the word he gave heed ;
To the monster advancing without a lord of order he gave heed.
* * * * *
Oh lord of the encompassing net, lord who is self-exalted,
* * * * *
Advance, ride forth ; oh lord, ride forth.
* * * * *
Oh lord, establish thy foundations, yea, lord, thou alone over thy foes.

Thou whose feast is glorious before thee, ride forth.
* * * * *
At the cry of fear our lord moaned.
* * * * *
Upon the haughty he rained torrents as a storm, he reduced them.
* * * * *
The heroic lord who smote on the right hand, and on the left,
He who launches the bolts of light, smote.[1]

This passage refers evidently to the conquest of *Tiamat* or *Tehom*, dragon of chaos.

The theologians attributed the control of nature and natural forces to Ninib. Although the word of his father is regarded as the source of the divine régime, Ninib becomes the active agent who ensures the divine régime. The father of the gods retires into a hazy pantheistic concept who has no concern with the universe other than to utter the *word*. This nascent monotheism shines throughout the liturgies of the various cults of the Hammurabi period; the mighty Ninib, son of god, seems to have completely overshadowed the other members of the pantheon. I cite another liturgy in this connexion.

Thou who like heaven and earth art exalted,
* * * * *
Honoured one who from the womb didst not issue,
What in the deeps, what that thou rulest not?
What in the deeps, what that increases thee not?[2]
What of earth and sky that completes thee?[3]
The terrible stone thou didst smite, the terrible plant thou didst subdue.
* * * * *
When thou hast cried over the watered valleys, with blood they were filled,

[1] The writer's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 233–7.

[2] This line is a learned gloss on the previous line. The text has *îb-nu-kum* "builds thee." I am not sure that the translation renders the original correctly. One might find a subtle pantheism here if the word *banû* be pressed to mean *create*, in which case the scribe would mean that nature combines to produce god! This would contradict the following line.

[3] Literally, "fills thee up."

When thou hast cried over the land, thou didst account it heaps of ruins.

Ninib appears as the god of war in the ancient pantheon, but this characteristic was attributed also to Adad especially in Assyria. As such his symbols are the chariot, spear and great net for entrapping his foes. The chariot of Jahweh is not unknown in Hebrew mythology.

Although imitation of Ninib may have been the chief source for the more theological and cosmological ideas attributed to Jahweh, yet the Babylonian *Iškur* [Immer] is the deity to which he was assimilated and from whom he chiefly borrowed. In the priestly schools the native and western elements of the thunder god were not confused, but we may perhaps infer that in popular theology Adad combined both elements, and was transferred to the west as such. A recently published text gives forty-one names or terms descriptive of this divinity. 1. Lord of the hurricane. 2. God of the chamber in Halab.[1] 3. *PA-ŠID.* 4. (*ḫaniš*) *lugal.* 5. (*šugar*) *lugal.* 6. Protecting genius. 7. Adad. 8. Pir.[2] 9. He that advances on the pure waters. 10. The smithy (?)[3] 11. *Damuka.* 12. Creative consort. 13. The princely son (?)[4] 14. The crying storm. 15. *Illahab.* 16. Addu. 17. *Da*-[*da*].[5] 18. Teššub, the Hittite Ramman. 19. The councillor.[6] 20. *Kunzibami*, the Elamitic Ramman. 21. *Buriaš*, the Kassite Ramman.

[1] Uncertain; *ḫalab* may be an unknown Sumerian word. *Hallab* was a part of Erech; another Hallab is known at Babylon.

[2] This name of Ramman, to judge from its position after Adad, may be Aramaic. The existence of an Aramaic god *Bir, Pir* has been maintained by Winckler, Hommel and others, and cautiously by Zimmern. Cf. below, *ilu-pir*, l. 30.

[3] The title *zabar-dib-ba* occurs as *zabar-tub-ba* on tablets of the Sumerian period. See especially *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, v. 12218, 8, where a person bears the title *zabar-tub* of Ningirsu.

[4] *dumu-dur.*

[5] *Addu* and *Dada* are designated as western names.

[6] His title in *Suh.*

22. God of Hallab. 23. *Ašširsig.* 24. The thunderer. 25. The roarer. 26. *Murtaznu.*[1] 27. The roarer [a Canaanite form of the Babylonian word used in 25]. 28. The raging. 29. The tempest. 30. *Ilupir.* 31. The devastator. 32. The lordly. 33. The ram.[2] 34. The mountain crier (?). 35..... *girgirri.* 36. The hurricane. 37. *Dubur.* 38. Rihab [Biblical Rahab]. 39. *Ešše̊ku.* 40. .... *akhaš,* an Elamitic name. 41. .... *aš-du.*[3]

Other epithets of Adad are, "Lord who speaks in the storm," "The storm in the lower regions, i.e., near the earth," "The horned ox," and "Lord of the mountains."

In this list the scribes have analysed the mountain thunder god into his native and foreign elements. The composite Babylonian character includes the Sumerian, Canaanitish, Hittite and Elamite god. This combination must have been made before the Terahite emigration. [The Hittite Te̊ssub, also a thunder god and scarcely to be distinguished from Adad, may not have reached Babylonia and Canaan until after 2000 B.C.] The above list probably gives an adequate idea of the original character of Jahweh. He is a type of thunder god pre-eminent in the west from Asia Minor to Central Palestine, and it is this god who through the influence of Babylonian theology and the religious genius of Moses became the Biblical Jahweh.

We possess but one hymn to Adad from the ancient period. It is composed in classical Sumerian and reflects the religious ideas of the age when the western Semites invaded Babylonia. This remarkable composition, first translated by me in Babyloniaca [1908] and reprinted after

[1] The root *razānu,* here a western gloss on *ramāmu,* is unknown; cf. *murtaimu,* from *ra'āmu,* to thunder, a western gloss on *ragāmu,* l. 27.

[2] *Nuraḫu,* generally a title of Ea, god of fresh water and the sea. Ramman, as god of pure water, appears in the title *dᵘ aǰur-ziba* above line 9. We have here an explanation of the source of fresh waters in the rains, not in the nether sea as the ancients believed.

[3] Text in CT xxv. 16–7.

my edition by Ungnad in Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* [1909], has been re-edited with some improvement in my *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 280–3. The Nippurian pantheon represents Adad as the son of Enlil, but this means little more than representing him as one of the agents of a pantheistic earth spirit. I repeat here this entire hymn.

"Glorious Adad" is thy name, eminent god.
"Lord(?) Adad, gigantic steer and glorious," is thy name, eminent god.
"Adad, child of Heaven, gigantic steer and glorious," is thy name, eminent god.
"Lord of Karkar, gigantic steer and glorious," is thy name, etc.
"Adad, lord of plenty, gigantic steer and glorious," etc.
"Companion of the lord Ea,[1] gigantic steer and glorious," etc.
"Father Adad, lord that rideth the storm," is thy name, etc.
"Father Adad that rideth the great storm," is thy name, etc.
"Father Adad that rideth the great lion," is thy name, etc.
"Adad, lion of heaven, gigantic steer and glorious," is thy name, etc.
Thy name doth enthral the land.
Thy splendour covereth the land like a garment.
At thy thunder the great mountain, father Enlil is shaken.
At thy rumbling the great mother Ninlil is made to fear.
Enlil addressed his son Adad.
"Who, oh my son, directeth the storm, sendeth forth the storm?[2]
Adad directeth the storm, sendeth forth the storm.
The storm, like the seven demons (?) flieth; he sendeth forth the storm.
Storm spirit, may thy sonorous voice give forth its utterance; he sendeth forth the storm.
The lightning thy messenger goeth before (thee);[3] he sendeth forth the storm.
Who, my son, beareth splendour! what that rageth shall make itself like (thee)?
The foe doeth evil against the father thy creator; what shall make itself like thee?

[1] God of the nether sea, whence, according to ancient speculation, come the waters of springs and rivers.
[2] Read *mu-lu dumu-mu ud um-me-ši-si-sig ud um-me-ši-la-lal.*
[3] Read *igi-šú.*

The little hail thou holdest ;[1] what shall make itself like thee ?
The great hail thou holdest ; what shall make itself like thee ?
Thy little hail, thy great hail, let be upon him.
Thy right arm destroy the foe ; thy left arm[2] pluck him away."
Adad gave ear to the words of the father, his creator,
The father Adad who went from the house, storm spirit of the sonorous voice,
Who from the house, from the dwelling went forth, the youthful lion.
Who from the dwelling, from the . . . (?) turned away (?) storm spirit of thunderous voice.

The special importance of this hymn consists in the theological implications involved. Here the Sumerian thunder god, originally a minor deity in the ancient pantheon, becomes the warrior son of the father of the gods. In fact, he is already evolved into a god of war ; at least the tendencies to such a conception are clear. He is brought into connexion with the two other members of the trinity, Heaven and Sea, as son of the former and companion of the latter. This sudden growth of the Adad cult, his advance in the pantheon until he becomes a figure capable of developing into a monotheistic conception, must be due to western influence. The western Semites became masters of Isin, Babylon, Larsa and Ur, and at last of Nippur itself. Their god Adad-Jahweh, a god of the mountains, assimilated to the inferior thunder god of Sumer, a land of low plains, caused the latter's advance in the pantheon. The priests could not have failed to assign to him the *rôle* of Ninib, the creator of heaven and earth. As lord of the *abubu* or storm he was easily worked into the story of the flood as its author instead of *Ninib-Marduk*.

The cult of this god seems to have enjoyed immense popularity among the western Semites who had settled in Babylonia. On the clay tablets which bear record of

[1] Read [ni] *mur-tur-tur-e ḫu-um-me-ti*.
[2] Read *kab-bu-zu*.

their business transactions the west Semitic witnesses often impressed seals bearing their names and the title, " Servant of the Amorite god," or " Servant of the Amorite gods." [1] Sayce has ingeniously conjectured that the plural, which seems to be a mere variant for the singular, reveals a western tendency to use *gods* for *god*. If the plural on these seals really be the *pluralis majestatis* [*Elohim*], then we must conclude that the form was already current before the Terahite emigration.

LIST OF CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES IN BABYLONIA
2306–1712 B.C.

Isin.	*Babylon.*	*Larsa.*
20 Išme-Dagan, 2306–2286 [2]		Gungunu [2300 ?] [3]
11 Libit-Aštar, 2285–2274.		
28 Ur-Ninib, 2273–2245		
21 Bur-Sin, 2244–2223.		Sumu-ilu (?)
5 Iter-kaša, 2222–2217.	14 Sumu-abu, 2232–2219.	
7 Uru-imitti, 2216–2209	36 Sumu-lā-ilu, 2218–2183.	Buntahtun-ilā (?) [4]
½ .... 2209.		Immerum (?) [4]
24 Enlil-bani, 2208–2184		Nûr-immer (?)
3 Zambija, 2183–2180.	14 Zabum, 2182–2169.	
5 .... 2179–2174.		
4 Ea 2173–2169		Sin-iddinnam (?)

[1] Cf. *Aḫḫu-waḳru*, son of *Ukuša*, servant of the Amorite gods; *Naṣir*, son of *Dariḳu*, servant of the Amorite god, VS vii. 5. *Aḫam-uša*, son *Ibiḳu-Aštar*, servant of the Amorite gods, VS vii. 11. The form " Amorite gods," occurs also on seals in VS vii. 89.

[2] Four kings preceded Išme-Dagan, who was a contemporary of Gungunu of Larsa.

[3] Evidently an Elamite. The Elamitic invasion of Kudurnakkundi, who pillaged Erech north of Larsa in 2290 (?) according to Asurbanipal, may indicate Elamitic supremacy at Larsa and Erech in this period.

[4] Both contemporary with Sumu-lā-ilu.

11 Sin-magir, 2168–2157.
23 Damik-ilišu, 2156–2133.
[Sin-muballit seized Isin in 2133, but loses it to an usurper (?) Conquered by Rim-Sin and Hammurabi in 2123]

18 Abil-Sin, 2168–2151.
20 Sin-muballit, 2150–2131.
43 'Ammurabi, 2130–2088.

38 Samsu-iluma, 2087–2050.
28 Abi-ešuḫ, 2049–2022.
37 'Ammi-ditana, 2021–1985.
21(?) 'Ammi-zaduga, 1984–1964.
35 Samsu-ditana, 1963–1929.

Sea Dynasty rules at Babylon for 167 years.

Kassite Dynasty.

16 Gandaš, 1763–1748
22 Agum, 1747–1726.
22 Bitiliaš 1725–1704.[1]

[*Šimtišillak in Elam*]

[*Kudur-mabug in Iamutbal*]
Eri-agu, ruled also at Nippur.
Rim-Sin 2123–2080 (?)

Sea Dynasty.

60 Iluma-ilā 2079–2020.
55 Itti-ili-nibi, 2019–1965.
36 Damki-ili-šu, 1964–1929.
15 Iškibal, 1928–1914.
27 Suški, 1913–1887.
55 Gulkišar, 1886–1832.
50 Pešgal-daramaš, 1831–1782.
28 Adar-kalama, 1781–1754.
26 Akur-ul-ana, 1753–1728.
7 Melam-kurkura, 1727–1721
9 *Ea-gamil*, 1720–1712

S. LANGDON.

[1] End of the Sea Dynasty is here placed in his thirteenth year.