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Archaeological Commentary on Genesis.

BY THE REV. A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD.

CHAPTER X.

8-12. Cush, or Ethiopia, has nothing in common with Cush, the father of the Babylonian Nimrod, except the identity of name.¹ While the one is the Egyptian Kas (Kasi in the Tel el-Amarna tablets), the other is the Babylonian Kassi (Kashi in the Tel el-Amarna texts). The Kassi, or 'Kassites,' were the Kossæans of classical geography, who lived in the mountains of Elam, where they were attacked by Sennacherib; but about B.C. 1780 they had conquered Babylonia, and established a dynasty there which lasted for 576 years and 9 months. In consequence of the conquest, the Babylonians came to be known to their neighbours as Kassi; this is the name by which the Babylonians are called in the Tel el-Amarna letters from Canaan, and classical writers spoke of Kissians not only in Elam, but also in Chaldæa. The chief god of the Kassi was termed Kassu, 'the Kassite.'

We learn from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that the Babylonians, under the Kassite dynasty, intrigued in Canaan after its subjugation by Egypt, and endeavoured to restore their old empire over it. Constant intercourse was still kept up between Babylonia and Canaan; the literary language and script of Canaan were Babylonian, and Babylonian literary works were studied as far west as the banks of the Nile. It was not until after the Hittite conquests and the fall of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty that an end was put to this intercourse with the kingdom of the Euphrates.

After its close the people of Palestine, whether Canaanites or Israelites, would have no longer been interested in the history of Babylonia, or have invented a proverb which had for its subject a Babylonian hero. For the proverb, 'Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord,' is of Canaanitish origin, as is shown, not only by the introductory formula ('wherefore it is said') and its language, but also by the expression 'before the

¹ His son bears a Babylonian name. The contract is dated in the year Terhen Rim-Agu or Eri-Aku, the Arioch of Genesis, destroyed Dur-ilu (Shassmaier, *Texte altbabylonischer Verträge aus Warka*, No. 18, l. 26, in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress at Berlin, 1882, vol. ii.).

Lord.' Such a proverb must have originated when Babylonia and Canaan were still in intimate relations with one another.

Nimrod is stated to have formed a kingdom in Babylonia, at the head of which was Babylon, and we are further told that out of Babylon 'one went to Assyria,' and there built Nineveh and Calah. The builder of Calah was Shalmaneser I., B.C. 1300, who also restored Nineveh and its temples (see *W.A.I.* iii. 3, Nos. 6, 8). His father was a contemporary of the Kassite king of Babylonia, Nazi-Maruddas, whose capital was Babylon. Contract-tablets show that the names of the Kassite kings were greatly abbreviated and transformed in the pronunciation of their Semitic subjects: thus we have Kanda and Gaddis for Kandas, Suzigās for Nazibugas, Sagaraktiyas for Sagarakti-Buryas, Nazi-raddas and (Nazi)-Maruda for Nazi-Maruddas (see Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, p. 90). It does not, therefore, seem improbable that in Canaanite Nazi-Maruddas may have become Na-Maruda or Nimrod. Nazi-Maruddas reigned twenty-six years (B.C. 1353-1327), and was a contemporary of Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression. More than one Assyrian king boasts of his prowess in the hunting-field; thus Tiglath-Pileser I. (B.C. 1100) describes the number of wild bulls, elephants, and lions he had slain in the neighbourhood of the Khabour.

Babel, Greek Babylon, is the Semitic Babylonian Bab-ilu, 'gate of God,' sometimes written Bab-ili, 'gate of the Gods,' itself a translation of the primitive Sumerian name Ka-dimirra, 'gate of God.' Another old Sumerian name was Din-Tir, which is explained in a lexical tablet as meaning 'the seat of life.' Erech, Babylonian Uruki, in Sumerian Unuki, 'the city,' now Warka, was famous for its temples of Anu, the sky-god, and Istar. Accad is usually found in the cuneiform inscriptions as the name of Northern Babylonia (in Sumerian, Kengi, 'the land'),² but it is once spoken of as a city (*W.A.I.* v. 59. 50). It seems to be the Semitic pronunciation of Agadê, the Sumerian name of a city near Sippara, which was the capital of Sargon and Naram-Sin, the founders of the first Semitic empire in Western Asia.

² Hilprecht, however, has shown that originally the name signified 'the land of canals and reeds' (*Ki-e-gi*).

(B.C. 3750). Calneh is the Kulunu of the cuneiform texts.

The name of Shinar is a puzzle. It is usually supposed to be the Babylonian Sumer, the name of the southern half of Chaldæa. In this case, as Babylon belonged to the northern half of the country, the use of the name would have been extended in Hebrew to denote the whole of Babylonia. Professor Hommel has lately proposed a new explanation, which, however, is questionable. The name really corresponds to the Sankhar of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the Sangair of the Egyptian monuments, Singara in classical geography, which was situated in Mesopotamia, midway between Nineveh and the Khabour; but how this district could have given its name to Babylonia among the Hebrews is difficult to understand. Perhaps the name was originally extended in Hebrew from the district of Singara southward, so as to include Babylonia, and was in later times restricted to the latter country. If so, the statement will be intelligible that 'one went out' of it to build Nineveh and Calah, which were separated from the district of Singara only by the Tigris, as well as the fact that Micah (v. 6) couples Assyria and 'the land of Nimrod' together. It may be noted that while Thothmes III. received tribute from Assyria and Sangair, he did not receive any from Babylonia; and Seti I. equally includes Assyria and Sangair among his conquests, but not Babylonia. Sangair, therefore, in the Mosaic age, was regarded as the limit of the Egyptian empire in the direction of Babylonia, so that the name may easily have been extended to the latter country.

Assur was a city and a god, not a man; consequently we must translate 'one went forth into Assyria.' Assyria took its name from the old capital Assur, now Kalah Sherghât, on the western bank of the Tigris, not far to the north of its junction with the Lower Zab (see Gen. ii. 14). According to the native etymologists, Assur was derived from the Sumerian *a-usar*, or 'water-meadow.' The city was personified as a god, who was confounded with the Sumerian elemental deity An-sar (pronounced Assûr in later days), 'the upper firmament.' Assur was abbreviated in pronunciation into Asur. The city of Assur was originally governed by high priests, but they became kings in course of time, and the kingdom of Assyria was founded by Bel-kap-kapu about 1700 B.C. The supremacy of Assur subsequently passed to Nineveh

and Calah. The Sumerian name of Assur seems to have been Paltilla, 'the Ford.'

Nineveh is the Assyrian Ninua, primitively Ninâ, perhaps a colony from the city of Ninâ in Babylonia, which derived its name from the goddess Nina. Its Semitic inhabitants connected the name with *nunu*, 'a fish,' and represented it by the picture of a fish enclosed in the walls of a city. It stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris, between that river and the Upper Zab, and its site is now marked by the mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebi Yunus, opposite Mosul. The stream of the Khoser flowed through it. A little to the south was Calah (Kalkhi), now Nimrud. *Rekhoboth 'ir*, mistranslated 'the city Rekhoboth' in the A.V., is 'the squares (Assyrian, *rebit*) of the city,' and refers to the open places outside the walls, which lay between Nineveh and Calah. Resen is Res-eni, 'the head of the spring,' mentioned in the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib. Sargon (B.C. 710) added to these cities Dur-Sargina, now Khorsabad. The passage in Genesis must have been written before the building of the latter city, and after the building of Calah in B.C. 1300. The note that Calah also was 'a great city' seems to imply that it was newly built, and had become a capital.

13. The Ludim seem to be the Lydian mercenaries of the twenty-sixth dynasty, sent to Psammelikhos of Egypt by Gyges of Lydia, to whom reference is made in Ezek. xxx. 5. Of the Anamim nothing is known; but it is just possible that the word may represent the hieroglyphic name of the Greeks, which is transliterated Unim in demotic, and which already denotes the inhabitants of the Greek seas in the age of the fifth dynasty. The Lehabim are the Libyan mercenaries of the Egyptian army, who played an important part in it from the time of the nineteenth dynasty onwards, and gave to Egypt the twenty-second dynasty (that of Shishak). In the Naphtuhim we may perhaps see, with Ebers, an Egyptian Na-Ptahu, 'the (people) of Ptah,' or Nu-Ptah, 'the city of Ptah,' i.e., Memphis, whose patron-god was Ptah. In this case they would represent the population of Northern Egypt, of which Memphis was the ancient capital.

14. The Pathrusim are the inhabitants of Pathros, Egyptian Pa-to-ris, 'the land of the south,' or Upper Egypt. Casluhim is written Kasluhet in hieroglyphics at Kom Ombos (age of Ptolemy Lathyrus), but their geographical position is unknown. The statement that they were the

ancestors of the Philistines is misplaced, as we see from Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4; Amos ix. 7, which informs us that the mother-land of the Philistines was Caphtor. Caphtor is written Kaptar in hieroglyphics at Kom Ombos, and since, in Ezek. xxv. 16 and Zeph. ii. 5, the Philistines seem to be identified with the Cherethites which the Septuagint translates 'Kretans,' it is generally believed to denote the island of Krete.

The Philistines, called Pulista on the Egyptian monuments, Pilstê and Palastu in Assyrian, first make their appearance in history in the reign of the Pharaoh Ramses III. (cir. B.C. 1200), when they formed part of the great confederacy of tribes from the Greek islands and the coasts of Asia Minor, who swept through Syria, and attacked Egypt by sea and land. Along with their kindred, the Zakkal, they occupied the coast of Palestine, which subsequently took its name from them. Though 'the leader of the hostile bands of the

Pulista' figures among the prisoners of Ramses III. at Medinet Habu, they succeeded in wresting Gaza from Egypt, and in establishing themselves there and in the neighbouring cities of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Gath, all of which had once been in Egyptian hands. The Egyptians were thus cut off from access to Canaan. It would seem, from Ex. xiii. 17, that the Philistine attack on the Egyptian possessions in the south-western corner of Palestine was already taking place at the time of the Israelitish Exodus. Professor Prašek connects with the Philistine conquest a statement of Justin that, in the year before the capture of Troy, the king of Ashkelon overcame the Sidonians, who fled southward to Tyre. Like the Zakkal and the Dânu or Danaans, the Pulista are represented on the Egyptian monuments as beardless, but with the European type of features, and wearing a curious cap, the upper part of which seems to be made of plaited felt.

Sermonettes on the Golden Texts.

BY THE REV. G. CURRIE MARTIN, M.A., B.D., REIGATE.

Luke xxiv. 51.

'And it came to pass, while He blessed them, He parted from them, and was carried up into heaven.'

THESE words describe the last event in the most beautiful and wonderful of stories, the earthly life of Jesus Christ; or rather, they form the opening words of the still grander sequel to that story—our Lord's life in heaven. How often sequels are disappointing, and we wish the author had never written them; but this sequel is that which gives power, meaning, and grandeur to the first part of the story, which, without it, would be a riddle with no solution.

Now the text tells us of three things, each of which is worth our attention: the Blessing, the Parting, and the Ascension.

I. THE BLESSING.—When the late Archbishop Benson was leaving Ireland just before his sudden death at Hawarden, the clergyman in whose house he had been staying asked for his blessing, and the request was readily granted. Do you think he can

ever forget these holy words? Will they not ever seem to him as a voice from the gates of heaven? Neither knew that parting was to be the last on earth, else its pathos would have been much deeper, but this fuller meaning fills it now. And perhaps some of you recall the touching scene in Dr. Paton's life, when first, as a lad, he left home, and his white-haired father accompanied him till they reached a stile, and then blessed him, and stood watching his son till they could see each other no longer.

Now such an hour had come for Jesus and His disciples. He had prayed with them and for them oftentimes, but never until after His resurrection had He thus blessed them. The traitor was no longer of the company, therefore He could set upon them this seal of love.

Then on each He setteth
His own secret sign,—
They that have My Spirit,
These, saith He, are Mine.

We do not know what words He used. Whether it was the hallowed form of the temple service,