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'that' and the expression 'one named Sheshbazzar' (Ezr 5<sup>14</sup>). He quotes Nöldeke and Fraenkel to show that there is nothing so characteristic about these usages as to justify Meyer's conclusions. Upon the questions how the Aramaic translation, which Meyer postulates, of the Persian documents originated and was accessible to the Jewish writer, Löhr agrees with Wellhausen in rejecting as preposterous the notion that inquiries addressed to the king by officials were honoured with the same publicity as royal rescripts. At the same time he does not regard any of these considerations as closing the question of the genuineness of the documents.

As to the first of the documents, the alleged copy of the letter of Tattenai to Darius (Ezr 5<sup>6ff.</sup>), Löhr is disposed partly to agree with Meyer that there is no real contradiction between the issue of a permit or command by Cyrus (in 538) to rebuild the temple and the fact that according to Haggai and Zechariah the building was not begun till the second year of Darius (*i.e.* 520). Circumstances might well have prevented the carrying out of the original intention. But there is one of Wellhausen's arguments against Meyer which Löhr considers the latter has failed to meet. How, especially in view of the publicity given, according to Meyer, to official documents, were the Jews unable to produce the edict of Cyrus straight away? Surely a document like this, had it ever existed, would have been jealously guarded.

The arguments by which Meyer defends the second document (Ezr 6<sup>1ff.</sup>) appear to Löhr to be stronger than Wellhausen admits. In particular, he calls attention to one point which seems un-

likely to be due to a forger—that the edict was found not at Babylon but at Ecbatana, the summer residence of the Persian king.

The report of Rehun and the reply of Artaxerxes (Ezr 4<sup>7ff.</sup>) raise difficulties, to some of which Meyer has found it difficult to offer a plausible reply, and Wellhausen has here put his finger on some of the weakest points in the whole narrative, yet Löhr thinks that the latter has been a little too hasty in condemning the careful and well-weighed argument of Meyer.

And now for the last of the documents: the firman which Ezra received from Artaxerxes. Because Ezra never used the powers given to him, and allowed thirteen years to elapse before he introduced the law, Wellhausen infers that, while the scribe probably received some kind of firman from the king, yet the particular document that lies before us in Ezr 7 is not genuine. A conclusion which Löhr again thinks too hasty.

Much difference of opinion has prevailed regarding Sheshbazzar and his relation to, or identity with, Zerubbabel. Löhr thinks Meyer is right in viewing Sheshbazzar as a Jew and not a Persian, but cannot agree with him that he is the same as Zerubbabel.

A chief merit of Meyer's book, in the estimation of Löhr, is the way in which its exhibition of the general history of anterior Asia throws light upon the work of Haggai and Zechariah. It was the political crisis in the Persian empire at the beginning of the reign of Darius that stirred up these prophets, that awakened Messianic expectations and incited to the building of the temple.

J. A. SELBIE.

*Maryculter.*

## An Archaeological Commentary on Genesis.

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

XXV. 1. The descendants of Keturah, a name which means 'incense,' occupied the western coast of Arabia from the Gulf of Aqabah southwards. Along it passed the caravan-road from the incense-bearing countries of the south, and Minæan inscriptions have been found as far north as Medain Salih, near Teima, the Tema of ver. 15, in the north-west.

3. For Sheba and Dedan, see note on x. 7. The Asshurim are mentioned in an early Minæan inscription (Halévy, 535) from Barâqis, in which mention is made of 'Ammi-zadiqa, who was appointed by Abi-yada', king of Ma'in, governor of Zar, on the Egyptian frontier, of Ma'n Mizran or the Sinaitic Peninsula, and of Aasur or the Asshurim. We gather from the inscription that they

lived not far from the northern part of the Peninsula. See ver. 18.

4. Ephah is the Khayapâ of the Assyrian monuments, who are made a tribe of Northern Arabia by Tiglath-Pileser III. and Sargon. Khayapa is also met with as the name of an individual in the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

Abidah is the Minæan *Abi-yada'*. Two kings of the name are met with in the Minæan texts. Like El-daah, many Minæan names begin with the element El; see note on x. 26.

6. For Qedem, 'the east country,' see note on xv. 19. Here it is identified with that portion of Arabia which was inhabited by the Ishmaelites and the descendants of Keturah.

12-18. The Ishmaelite tribes inhabited Northern Arabia, and were a settled and commercial people, dwelling in 'walled enclosures and high-built castles,' such as exist in Southern Arabia to-day. They are to be carefully distinguished from the Amalekites or Bedouin. Inscriptions show that their language was Aramaic. The most important of them were the Nabatheans, who extended from Babylonia to Petra. The Nabatheans settled in Babylonia are called Nabatu on the Assyrian monuments, those of Arabia being termed Nabâtu and Nibahatu. In the second century B.C. they formed a kingdom at Petra, which had become in their hands a great centre of trade. It was of this kingdom that Aretas was sovereign (2 Cor. xi. 32), and it was destroyed by Trajan in A.D. 105. The so-called Sinaitic inscriptions, which have been found as far north as Petra, are of Nabathean origin; one of them was left at Pozzuoli in Italy by a Nabathean soldier. Kedar is the Qidri, Qidrâ, and Qadru of the Assyrian texts, whose king, Ammu-ladin, is commemorated by Assur-bani-pal, as well as Hazael, Bir-Dadda (Bar-Hadad), and Yautah. Adbeel is the Idibihilu and Idibahilu of Tiglath-Pileser III.; and if Professor Friedrich Delitzsch is right, Mishma' must be connected with the Isammeh of Assur-bani-pal. All these tribes were in Northern Arabia, 'the country of Aribi' of the Assyrian inscriptions. Massa is the desert of Mas or Arabia Petræa (see note on x. 23), perhaps also the Mashâ of Tiglath-Pileser III. and Assur-bani-pal. Tema (now Teima) is called Temâ by Tiglath-Pileser, who associates the tribe with the Mashâ. Jetur gave a name to Ituræa, and in Kedemah we have Qedem, 'the east

country.' For Havilah and Shur, see notes on x. 7 and xvi. 7. The Asshur mentioned here must be the Asshur of ver. 3, not Assyria.

20. 'Forty' represents an indefinite or unknown number in Hebrew as in the idiom of the Moabite stone, and must not be pressed. Thus in 2 Sam. xv. 7, 'forty years' signifies only a few months. Padan-aram, 'the field of Aram,' is a Babylonian, as Aram-naharaim is an Egyptian, mode of designating Mesopotamia. While the Egyptians called it Naharina,—a name borrowed from some Aramaic people,—in early Babylonian it was known as Padanu, 'the field' or 'acre.' In the lexical tablets of Nineveh, *padânu* is explained by *eklu*, 'a field,' as well as by the ideographs GIR-GIR, which are also stated to signify 'the country of the Amorites' (*W.A.I.* ii. 38, 28, 50, 59); but in the latter case the meaning attached to the word was that of 'the highway.' It was thus a synonym of Kharran. In the contracts of the age of Khammurabi, the word is used in the sense of 'an acre,' the modern Arabic, *feddân*. *Padânu*, in fact, was originally the amount of land a yoke of oxen could plough in a given time; hence the various significations which it came to possess. Agu-kakrime, one of the early kings of the Kassite dynasty, entitles himself not only king of the Kassites of Akkad and of Babylonia, but also of Guti (Kurdistan) and of 'Padan and Alman.' Alman is probably Arman, the land of the Aramæans, since an old Babylonian geographical list (*W.A.I.* v. 12, 47) states that Padin lies 'in front of the mountains of Arman.' The use of the term 'Padan-aram' in Genesis, therefore, implies the employment of an early Babylonian source, while that of 'Aram-naharaim' transports us to Canaan and Egypt in the Mosaic age. There is consequently no truth in the conclusion of the 'philological analysts' that Padan-aram is peculiar to the Elohist, Aram-naharaim to the Jehovist, both hypothetical writers being of a comparatively late period, any more than there is in a similar 'result' of purely philological criticism as to the use of the names 'Amorite' and 'Canaanite.'

25. The name of Esau has been connected with that of Usôos, who, according to Phœnician mythology, was born of the mountains Kasios and Lebanon, and was the first to invent a clothing of skins, to sail on the water in boats, to adore the

fire and winds, and to consecrate pillars of stone. But *Usôos* is merely the eponym of the town of *Usu* (probably *Palætyrus*) near *Tyre*.

26. Mr. Pinches has discovered the names of *Jacob-el* and *Joseph-el* in Babylonian contract-tablets of the *Khammurabi* period (written *Ya'aqub-il* or *Ya'kub-il* and *Yasupu-il*, with a few variants), and it is probable that *Iqib-il* in the cuneiform tablets of *Kappadokia* is another form of *Ya'aqub-il*. Such specifically Hebrew names demonstrate the existence of a Hebrew-speaking people in *Babylonia* in the age of *Abraham*. It has long been known that *Jacob* and *Joseph* are abbreviated forms of *Jacob-el* and *Joseph-el*, since places bearing these names are recorded by *Thothmes III.* among his conquests in the south of *Palestine*. The fact was first pointed out by *de Rougé*. The names are written *Ya'aqob-el* and *Yoshep-el* in the hieroglyphs. *Ya'aqob-el* is also mentioned among the conquests of *Ramses II.* and *Ramses III.*, and seems to have been between *Gaza* and *Hebron*. Quite recently *Professor Flinders Petrie* has found scarabs with the name of a *Pharaoh* '*Ya'aqob-el*,' or *Jacob-el*, called 'the good god' on one, 'the son of the sun,' 'the life-giver' on another, which he assigns to the period between the sixth and the tenth *Egyptian* dynasties. But how a king, with so specifically Hebrew a name, could have been ruling over *Egypt* at such an early period is difficult to understand, and he more probably belonged to the *Hyksos*.

26. Sixty years, the age of *Isaac* when *Jacob* was born, represents the *šoss*, the *Babylonian* unit of number, and corresponds with the decimal unit of one hundred years, the age of *Abraham* when *Isaac* was born.

30. The country of *Edom* derived its name from the city called *Udûmu* in the cuneiform texts. We find it first mentioned in one of the *Tel el-Amarna* tablets, where it is described, along with *Aduri* (*Addar*), *Magdalim* (*Migdol*), and other *Edomite* cities, as independent of *Egypt* and hostile to the *Egyptian* governor at *Ashteroth-Karnaim*. One of the 'fortresses' connected with it is *Khinianabi*, *i.e.* *Ên-han-nabi*, 'the spring of the prophet,' where the *Hebrew* article makes its appearance, showing that in this respect *Edomite* differed from *Phœnician* and agreed with *Hebrew*. *Esar-haddon* still speaks of 'the city of *Edom*'; but in the inscriptions of *Tiglath-*

*Pileser*, *Sennacherib*, and *Assur-bani-pal*, it is called 'a country.' In the time of *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Kaus-melech* was the *Edomite* king; in that of *Sennacherib*, *Â-rammu*, 'the god *Â* is exalted'; in that of *Esar-haddon*, *Kaus-gabri*. *Kaus* was the name of an *Edomite* god, which appears as *Kos* in *Greek* inscriptions. *Edom* was included in *Deshier*, 'the red-land' of the *Egyptian* monuments.

XXVI. 1. The name of the *Philistines* is used incorrectly here; see note on *xxi.* 32. The correct title is given in *xx.* 2.

22. *Rehoboth* is mentioned under the name of *Rehoburta* in the *Egyptian Travels of a Mohar*, between 'the lake of *Nakhai*' and *Raphia*. It has been identified with *Ruheibah*, south of *Beer-sheba*.

34. According to *xxxvi.* 2, 3, *Bashemath* was the daughter of *Ishmael*, *Adah* being the daughter of *Elon*, while *Aholibamah* the daughter of *Zibeon* the *Horite* (not *Hivite*) takes the place of *Judith*. In *xxviii.* 9, the daughter of *Ishmael* is called *Mahalath*. *Judith* (*Yehûdith*), 'the *Jewess*,' is somewhat out of place in the age of *Esau*, and perhaps we ought to read 'Adah the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Bashemath* the daughter of *Elon* the *Hittite*.' But it must be remembered that the *Tel el-Amarna* tablets have revealed the existence of *Yaudâ*, or 'Jews,' in *Northern Syria*, in the neighbourhood of *Tunip*, in the time of the eighteenth *Egyptian* dynasty, though these *Yaudâ* are probably to be referred to the land of *Ya'di* which the *Aramaic* inscriptions, recently discovered at *Sinjerli* (north of the *Gulf of Antioch*), have shown to have been the name of the country in which they have been found. *Beeri* would mean a 'native of *Beer*,' the well, so that it is noticeable that the list of the conquests of *Thothmes III.* places a *Beeroth*, or 'wells,' in the vicinity of *Hebron*.

XXVII. Here the philological 'analysis' seems to be justified. The account of *Isaac's* blessing not only interrupts the context, but makes the words of *Rebekah* in *ver.* 46, which ought to follow *ch.* *xxvi.*, unintelligible. Moreover in *ch.* *xxviii.* *Isaac's* blessing is of a wholly different character from that in *ch.* *xxvii.* (though the analysts pronounce both to be 'Elohistic'), and is given at a different time. We must therefore regard *xxvii.* 1-45 as an interpolation. This will explain

the words in ver. 40, which point to a period subsequent to the revolt of Edom from Judah in the reign of Jehoram (2 Kings viii. 20). Before their conquest by David the Edomites had always preserved their independence, even against the Egyptian Pharaohs. It may be added that in chs. xxxii. and xxxiii. there is no reference to the theft of the blessing, and that Jacob's fear of his brother was naturally occasioned by the approach of a great robber-chieftain with four hundred armed men. The same thing would happen to-day in districts infested by the Bedouin.

XXVIII. 12-13. Beth-el, now Beitin, was built on the slope of a limestone hill, from the summit of which there is a very extensive view. The bare rocks are naturally split and piled one on the other like a great staircase, doubtless suggesting the 'staircase' (not 'ladder') of Jacob's dream.

17. Beth-el, 'house of God,' was the name given to the stones consecrated with oil, in which the Semitic peoples believed the deity to be immanent, and to which, accordingly, worship was paid. In Greek the word was written *betyli*. Many of the stones are believed to have 'come down from heaven.' Even Mohammed was unable to extirpate the Arab belief in the sacredness of the 'Black Stone' of Mecca, and it is still venerated by Mohammedan pilgrims. At Medain Salih, near Teima, Mr. Doughty found three upright stones which, according to an inscription, were the *mesged*, or 'mosque,' of the god Aera of Bozrah. A Beth-el is mentioned, apparently near Hebron, in the list of the conquests of Thothmes III. in Palestine, where it is called Beth-sha-el, showing that the hieroglyphic name has been copied from a Babylonian document or scribe's memorandum, since the Hebrew Beth-el would be Bit-sa-il in Babylonian. The name is mentioned again in the *Travels of a Mohar*, under the form of Bit-sha-el. The other name of Beth-el, Beth-On (Josh. vii. 2; Hos. x. 5), may be derived from On or Heliopolis in Egypt. 'Gate of heaven' reminds us of the name of Babylon, 'gate of God.'

22. For the Babylonian *esrâ*, or 'tithe,' see note on xiv. 20.

XXIX. 1. Here the term 'sons of the east' is extended northwards, so as to include Mesopotamia. See note on xv. 19.

16. Leah is the Babylonian *litu*, 'cow'; Rachel means 'sheep.'

27. The 'week' of seven days was an institution familiar to the Babylonians from early times. The days of the week were dedicated to the seven planets, which included the sun and moon. Among the Ssabians of Kharran, in a post-Christian age, the order was: the Sun, the Moon, Nergal or Mars, Nebo or Mercury, Bel or Jupiter, Beltis or Venus, and Kronos (Kaivân) or Saturn.

30, 31. Compare the dirge over the dead hero at the end of the Chaldean Epic of Gilgames: 'The wife whom thou lovest thou kissest no more; the wife whom thou hatest thou smitest no more.'

33. Two places in Palestine of the name of Simeon (Shma'na) are mentioned in the list of the conquests of Thothmes III. One of them, as Mr. Tomkins has shown, must be identified with the modern Semûnieh, called Simonia in the Talmud, Simonias by Josephus, and Symoôn in the Septuagint (Josh. xi. 1, xix. 15, where Shimron, the reading of the Hebrew text, is corrupt); the other was near the Sea of Galilee.

34. The name of Levi probably comes from a Hebrew root, which signifies 'to attach,' 'adhere,' and so means one who is 'attached' to the temple and its services. Similarly in Assyrian, *sanqu*, 'a priest,' is literally 'one who is attached,' from *sanâqu*, 'to chain.' Ramses III. mentions a place called Lui-el, on the Phœnician coast, north of Beyrout.

35. For the Yaudâ, or 'Jews' of Ya'di, in Northern Syria, north of the Gulf of Antioch, see note on xxvi. 34. There was a town called Jehud in Dan (Josh. xix. 45), which seems to be referred to in the list of Shishak's Palestinian conquests at Karnak, where it is called Yehud-ha(m)-melek, 'Jehud of the king.'