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He added the spiritually greater, and chose to reign over men through their hearts, having first won their love by bearing their sin. 'I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me,' He said. The cross was to be His throne; and through it He has reigned ever since. 'Wherefore also God highly exalted Him, and gave unto Him the name which is above every name.' He who was called Jesus because he should save His people from their sins, bears in a unique sense the name of Redeemer of mankind. Yet such is His grace that He calls believers to be fellow-workers

with Him in the work of redemption. The apostle who most of all, perhaps, had the mind of Christ, ventures to speak of 'filling up on my part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church' (Col 1²⁴). So though there has been only one who actually bore men's sins, only one who has made men righteous, yet it is a permanent truth that God-fearing men in all ages constitute a servant of the Lord, through whose sufferings mankind is brought to own and to love the sway of God.

Recent Biblical Archaeology.

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

The City of Enoch.

IN THE EXPOSITORY TIMES for May 1899 I have shown that a close connexion exists between the antediluvian patriarchs of Genesis and the antediluvian kings of Babylonia—so close, indeed, as to make it clear that the biblical account is as much dependent on Babylonian traditions as is the story of the Flood. As has long been recognized, moreover, the genealogy of the Cainites is but a variant form of that of the Sethites, though the reason of the variation in the order of the names does not seem to have been explained. Whereas in the Sethite line the order is Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, and Methuselah, it is reversed in the Cainite line, where we have Enoch, Irad, Mehujael, and Methusael. The fact is that the source, or sources, from which the writer of Genesis derived his materials did not indicate the links of relationship between the several names, which must have followed one another without any explanation, as is sometimes the case in the First Book of Chronicles (*e.g.* 2⁴⁷ 4³). They were taken from lists similar to those with which the cuneiform tablets have made us familiar, in which groups of words or names are arranged one under the other without comment, and it is left to the reader to supply the links of relationship that exist between them. Where the names stand in genealogical order, it is open to him to regard them as denoting either father and son or son and

father. Hence Mahalaleel-Jared might mean either that Jared was the son of Mahalaleel, or that Mahalaleel was the son of Jared. The twofold view that is taken of the relationship in the Book of Genesis points to a cuneiform tablet with its vertical columns as the source from which the names are derived.

Why Enoch heads the list in the Cainite genealogy is clear. Cain, 'the smith,' represents the civilized inhabitant of the Babylonian city, and must therefore have been the builder of a city in the country east of Eden,—or Edin, the 'Plain' of Babylonia,—to which he had migrated. Here was a district which figured a good deal in early Babylonian history, and usually bore the name of Khana. The proper names contained in a contract from the land of Khana published by M. Thureau-Dangin, show that it was inhabited by a Hebraic or West Semitic population similar to that to which the Israelites belonged (see my note in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, January 1899).

Now we learn from the inscriptions recently discovered by M. de Morgan at Susa, that in the early days of Babylonian history the Sumerian suffix KI, 'place,' was often pronounced by the Semites at the end of the geographical name to which it was attached, and which was consequently made to terminate in a guttural. Thus on the obelisk of Manistusu we have Zimana-k, Kharkhamuna-kki, Kazura-kki, Nana-kki, and in a text of

Meli-sipak (p. 99) we read of the city Tama-kku. In the same way Khana-KI would have been known as Khana-k.

Here, then, we have the name of the city of Enoch, which, like Khanak, lay on the east side of Babylonia, and was inhabited by members of the same West-Semitic family as Ur of the Kasdim where Abraham was born. Indeed, the Khana contract which I have already mentioned was drawn up in 'the city of the country of Kasdaim.'

If the city of Enoch is Khanak, the form of the name has been assimilated to the Semitic personal name, which meant a 'dedicated priest.' Those who will, however, may see in the Phrygian Annakos, or Kannakos, a survival of its original pronunciation, though for my own part I am more inclined to believe that these two variants of the name of the Phrygian Enoch have been conformed to the Asianic Nannakos.

Tarshish.

Tarshish has been so long identified with Tartessos, that in spite of the difficulties, both phonetic and historical, that lie in the way of the identification, the old supposition that it represented the classical Tarsos has been almost forgotten. But a closer examination of the tenth chapter of Genesis has now led me to believe that, after all, the old supposition was correct.

In Gn 10²⁻⁴ we are told that the sons of Japhet were Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan and Tubal and Meshech and Tiras, and that the sons of Javan were Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Rodanim. The Tel el-Amarna tablets have informed us what Elishah means. It is the cuneiform Alasia, the Al(a)sa of the hieroglyphs, where it is first met with in the list of the conquests of Thothmes III. in the extreme north of Syria. The name belongs to the epoch of the eighteenth and nineteenth Egyptian dynasties, and disappears from the geography of the post-Davidic age—a fact which deserves to be noticed in connexion with the date of the ethnographical table of Genesis. I have already identified it in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, xii. p. 29, with the Alëian plain of Greek geography, where Homer describes the Lycian hero Bellerophon as wandering. The Greek name implies an earlier Alâsion; and the Egyptian Government, in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, states that the Lukki or Lycian

pirates, who had made a descent on the coast of the Delta, were under the jurisdiction of the king of Alasia. In fact, Cilicia adjoined Lykaonia, which preserved the name of the Lycians, and Strabo makes the Alëian plain occupy that part of Cilicia which extended from Tarsus to Mallos and included the Saros, or Royal river, on which the city of Adana stood. Iapetos, the brother of Adanos, and son of heaven and earth, was one of the seven great gods of Cilicia, according to Stephanus Byzantinus, and in Iapetos it is impossible not to recognize Japhet.

Elishah is associated with Tarshish as a son of Javan; Tarshish accordingly must have been in Cilicia, adjoining Alasia, and have contained an Ionian population. As a matter of fact, the foundation of both Tarsus and Mallos was ascribed to Mykenæan Argos. Kittim and Rodanim, Cyprus and Rhodes, were also occupied by Greeks at an early period, and the 'Ionian' district of the tenth chapter of Genesis would thus have embraced the coast of Cilicia along with Cyprus and Rhodes. It was in Cilicia, however, that its chief centre was to be found. This results from v.², where Javan is associated with Tubal and Meshech, the Tabalâ and Muskâ of the Assyrian inscriptions, as well as with Tiras, which seems to be the Tursha of the Egyptian texts.¹

The fact has an important bearing on the language of the representatives of the Mykenæan age of culture. It looks as if some of them at least really spoke an early form of Greek. We should thus have an explanation of borrowed Greek words like *lappid*, λαπίδς, in the Hebrew of the age of the Judges, to which I have drawn attention in my *Higher Criticism*, p. 495. At all events, the form Tarshish seems to be derived from the Greek Tarsos (cf. also the Lykaonian Tarasis), since the native name is probably more correctly reproduced in the Tarzi and T-r-z of the Assyrian monuments and the Aramaic coins.

That a particular class of ships should be known in Canaan as 'ships of Tarshish' is not surprising when we remember the maritime fame of the Cilicians in the ancient world. The silver mines of the Bulgar Dagh provided the silver and lead

¹ I am tempted to read Tiras in Ezk 27¹⁰ in place of the corrupt 'Persia.' We should then have 'Tiras (perhaps the Taurus), Lydia, and Phut,' which is called 'Phut of the Ionians' by Nebuchadrezzar.

with which Tarshish traded, according to Ezk 27¹²; perhaps also the iron and tin mentioned by the prophet came from the same locality.

The name of Elishah, as I have already said, takes us back to the age of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. I have hitherto regarded the three names which precede that of Javan as later additions to the table; Gomer being the Gimirrà, or Kimmerians, who did not appear on the scene of Asiatic history till the seventh century B.C. But I may have been mistaken, since in a letter written to his father by Sennacherib while he was still crown-prince, and therefore at least thirty years before Esar-haddon defeated Teuspa, the Kimmerian leader, in Khubusna, on the northern frontier of Cilicia, Gamir is given as the name of a part of Cappadocia. This is plainly the Gamir of Armenian tradition, while the vowel of the first syllable seems to indicate that it has nothing to do with the Gimirrà. The names of the three sons of Gomer, moreover, belong rather to an early than to a later age, for the discovery that Gamir is Cappadocia disposes of the suggestion first put forward by myself that Ashkenaz is the monumental Asguza to the north-east of Assyria. We must fall back on the old theory which connected it with the Phrygian Ascanius, Askênos, etc. As for Magog, no light has been as yet thrown on the name by the monuments of any age, whether late or early. Madai, it is true, would naturally be the Medes of Matiana, but M. Th. Reinach has pointed out in the *Actes du dixième Congrès international des Orientalistes*, iv. pp. 13-28, that there was another Matiênê in Cappadocia, referred to by Herodotus (i. 72), in the land of the Halys, where the ruins of the Hittite city now called Boghaz Keui are situated. This is the Matiênê which is said in

one of the fragments (188) of Hecataeus to adjoin the territory of the Moschi, the Meshech of the Old Testament.

To return once more to Alasia, the final syllable of which, it will be noticed, is a Greek suffix.¹ The river Saros, it will be remembered, flowed through the centre of the Alëian plain. We are told that the name of the river meant 'ruler,' and consequently must be the Assyrian *sarru*, 'king.' This raises the presumption that Adana also, which stood upon it, is the Assyrian Adin (as in Bit-Adini). How Assyrian names should have been introduced into the country has been explained by the Cappadocian cuneiform tablets, which have shown that Assyrian or Babylonian colonies were established there at a very early period. The fact throws light on the connexion with Babylonia implied in certain Asianic myths and divine names (like Nana, Nineps, and Nineis), and it also suggests the mode in which the Cilician Iapetos came to be identified with a son of the biblical Noah.

¹ If the name is Greek, or at any rate related to Greek, it would represent an adjective Ala-s-ya, 'belonging to the (land of) Ala.' Ala signified 'horse' in Karian, and entered into the composition of several geographical names. Ala-banda, Hali-karnassus (?), Alinda, etc. The Tel el-Amarna tablets give, as the name of a native of Alasia, Pastumme, the termination of which may be compared with that of Tarku-dimme (Tarkondêmos) and Inda-limma. Bellerophon's wanderings in the Alëian plain were the result of his attempt to penetrate into heaven on the back of the winged horse Pegasos, and his fall from the horse seems like an echo of the Babylonian legend of Etana, which may have made its way to Cilicia through Cappadocia. The winged horse appears upon a Hittite seal first published by Lajard and reproduced in Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*. Another seal with a winged horse and Hittite inscription belongs to M. Le Clercq.

At the Literary Table.

THE BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

II.

THE MISSIONARY SPEAKER'S MANUAL. BY A. R. BUCKLAND, M.A., AND J. D. MULLINS, M.A. (*Nisbet*. Crown 8vo, pp. 368. 6s.)

This volume is described as 'A handbook for deputations and workers.' It is further said to

'comprise hints for chairmen, preachers, and speakers; outlines for missionary sermons and addresses; missionary facts, figures, illustrative anecdotes, and independent testimonies, a missionary calendar, a conspectus of British mission-