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a granddaughter of Baron Bunsen on the one side, and of Samuel Gurney the Quaker on the other side. And the promise is deepened by the preface. There we are told that the 'conflicting opinions' of these two strains of heredity 'were but a school for the revelation of the inner meaning of all which by the grace of God has been vouchsafed to me, an ignorant woman, during these last years.'

But the promise is not redeemed. That is to say, it is not redeemed to our mind. It is not that we have been cut off from all interest in the book by the statement that the 'Notes' contained in it 'were given in automatic writing by Raphael, a messenger of God.' We have taken the book on its merits. So far as we can see there is nothing in it that is not found in the ordinary commentaries. If Hilda, Baroness Deichmann, never read a commentary or any description of the life of the Jews in the time of Jesus, then this volume is a wonder, and calls for some explanation. But we should have been more impressed by it if it had told us something we did not know already. How beautiful a book it is in outward appearance. The Theosophical Publishing Society, who have issued it for the author, have bound it in white

parchment, with silver lettering and purple edges (5s. net).

One of the most serious of the difficulties which confront the advocate of Christianity to-day is the fact that words which have hitherto denoted one thing are now deliberately used to denote the very opposite. The word 'divinity,' the word 'deity,' and now also the word 'unseen' are suffering this abuse.

Thus a book has just been published called *Social Idealism*, written by R. Dimsdale Stocker, and published by Messrs. Williams & Norgate (3s. net). In that book 'our outlook,' to use the author's own words, 'is directed exclusively to Man' (with a capital, of course); and yet he proceeds to say, 'Our supreme trust lies in the Unseen.' He then goes on to explain 'the Unseen' as 'the Social Organism, the *invisible*, but all-potent, factors of personality, individuality, will, society.' And the capitals and italics are all his own. We sympathize with the object of the book, which is to encourage us to live a better life than heretofore. But it is misleading and worse to use words which identify that object with faith in God.

## Recent Biblical Archaeology.

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D., LITT.D., OXFORD.

### Yahweh and Jerusalem.

IN THE EXPOSITORY TIMES (xix. 11, p. 525) I have already mentioned that in the Babylonian tablets of the Kassite period (1400 B.C.) the feminine Yautum is found by the side of the name of the male god Yaum or Yau, and that as Yau corresponds with the Hebrew יהו and יה, so Yautum would correspond with יהוה. The date to which the name of Yautum goes back can now be extended to the age of the Khammu-rabi dynasty, since in the tablets of that period recently published by Professor Ungnad we meet with the Amorite or West Semitic proper name Beli-Yautum, 'My lord is Yautum.' This makes it probable that the name Beli-yatum, found in the same tablets, which I

have hitherto regarded as a hypocoristic abbreviation, really represents Beli-Yautum.

Professor Clay in his suggestive book *Amurru*, p. 89, states that on two tablets, one dated in the reign of Rim-Anum of Larsa and now in the Pierpont Morgan collection, the other dated in the reign of Samu-abi, the founder of the Khammu-rabi dynasty, and now at Berlin, the name of Ya-wu-um interchanges with that of Uras, the god of Dilbat (or rather Dilmu), the modern Dailem. Uras is ideographically written UR, his female counterpart being NIN-IP. Nin-ip was borrowed from the Sumerians by the Semites, among whom she became a male deity, just as Istar became a male deity among the Semites of Southern Arabia and Moab. As Uras is Yawum or יהו, it is impossible

not to compare Nin-ip with יהוה, where the form of the word is feminine though it denoted, not a goddess, but the God of Israel. Thus we have:

Masc. Uras (IP) = Yawum, יהו.  
Fem. NIN-IP = Yautum, יהוה;

Nin-ip and Yautum alike becoming male divinities among the Semites.

In Assyria Nin-ip was usually known as Mas or Masu, 'the leader,' of which Biru, 'the illustrious,' is given as a synonym, Biru being elsewhere explained (*C.T.* xviii. 7. 39) as equivalent to *qarradu*, 'hero.' Biru, more exactly Biru, as I pointed out some years ago, takes the place of Nin-ip in certain of the Assyrian letters published by Professor Harper. Among the Semites of Babylonia, on the other hand, the god was called אנוש, where Professor Clay has convinced me that the third letter must be read ו and not ר. What the name precisely represents, however, is uncertain; on the whole, *En-nam(m)asti*, 'Lord of mankind,' seems to me the most probable. That the Sumerian name Nin-ip continued to be used along with the Semitic title of the god is shown not only by the name *Nvéψ* met with in a Cilician inscription, but also by the title applied in the Talmud (*Yoma*, 10a) to Nippur, the city of Nin-ip, namely, Nûphar Nînpî. Nin-ip is identified with the star Sakkut, who, as Schrader has shown, is termed the 'king' and 'god' of the Israelites by Amos (5<sup>26</sup>). As the destroying war-god he was called Sar-sarra (*C.T.* xxiv. 40. 62), and Sar-sar—a title also applied to Ea (*C.T.* xxiv. 14. 44)—is described as 'the god of the Suti' (Sheth), or nomad Semites, like Amurrû, 'the Amorite god' (*C.T.* xxiv. 42. 93). Sar-sar, indeed, was one of the names given to the land of the Amorites (*W.A.I.* ii. 51. 19). It may be added that Nin-ip was specially known as 'the god of the oracle' (*piristi*), while Mas and his wife Zamama were collectively called Astûwinu by the Amorites (*W.A.I.* ii. 57. 37).

Now in the Tel el-Amarna tablets the name of Bit-Nin-ip, 'the Temple of Nin-ip,' occurs twice. In one instance the Amorite king Ebed-Asherah is said to have mustered his forces in the temple of Nin-ip before attacking Gebal; in the other instance it is the name of a city near Jerusalem. In one of his letters Ebed-Kheba, the king of Jerusalem, refers to 'the city of the mountain of Jerusalem, whose name is Bit-Nin-ip' (KNUDTZON,

290. 15, 16). Other Assyriologists prefer to translate 'a city of the land of Jerusalem,' but, as Dr. Pinches remarks, this would require the insertion of *isten* before *alu*, 'city.' Moreover, the rendering is excluded by the usage of the Jerusalem letters. Elsewhere in them 'land of Jerusalem' is always written *mat ali*, *mat ali* . . . KI or *matât ali* . . . KI, while we have, on the other hand, *sad Sakmi*, 'the mountain of Shechem,' and (in KNUDTZ. 287. 61) *sad Uru-Salim-KI*, 'the mountain of Jerusalem.' Whether the ideograph KUR is interpreted *matu*, 'land,' or *sadu*, 'mountain,' is, however, a matter of indifference; the sense is the same in either case. The territory of Jerusalem did not extend beyond the mountainous region in which it stood. Hence Ramses III. at Medînet-Habu calls it Qau-n-Salm(a), 'the highlands of Salem.'

What was the Canaanitish name of this Nin-ip whose temple was built in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem? Nin-ip, it must be remembered, was a war-god; his Canaanitish correspondent, accordingly, must have been a god of battles also. Hence it was that the Amorite forces of Ebed-Asherah were ordered to assemble in his temple. Now in *C.T.* xviii. 8, col. a, we are told that *ba'ulu* was the 'Amorite' word for 'prince,' and that other synonyms of it were *biru*, [*bâ*]ru, and (AN) Ya-u, 'the god Yau.' We have already seen that Biru was a name of Nin-ip. As for *Ba'ulu* or Baal, the same form of the word is found in the names of places in Canaan on monuments of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty.

That the name of Yau was known in Canaan before the Israelitish conquest is no longer incapable of proof. As is well known, in the inscriptions of Sargon the name of the same king of Hamath is written Yau-bi'di and Ilû-bi'di, and in the Assyrian lexical tablets Yau is stated to be the equivalent of *ilu*, 'god.' We have exactly the same parallelism in Jos 10<sup>8</sup>, when in place of the Hebrew (Ye)ho-ham the Septuagint has El-am as the name of the king of Hebron. The writer of one of the cuneiform tablets found at Taanach was a certain Akhi-yawi, and in view of the discovery of the form Yawum by the side of Yaum in the Babylonian documents of the Khammu-rabi age, I can no longer refuse my assent to the opinion of Professors Hrozy and Rogers that in Akhi-yawi we have the representative of the Hebrew Ahijah. In a list of militia

furnished by the inhabitants of Taanach and its neighbourhood, we further find the name of 'Yiwi-banda the king,' where Yiwi may stand for Yawi. The reduction of the final *u* to *i* is an example of the general phonetic law of which the first syllable of Jerusalem for Uru-Salim is another example. This thinning of *u* or *w* to *i* or *y* was one of the marks of Hittite influence upon the language of Canaan, as has been made clear by the Cappadocian and Boghaz-Keui cuneiform tablets.

Uru-Salim is Babylonian, and proves that the city was founded by the Babylonians. It was, in fact, built to protect the route to the naphtha springs of the Dead Sea district, which were of special value in the eyes of the Babylonians who used the naphtha, not only for mixing with their mortar, but also for lighting and heating purposes. The name means 'the city of (the god) Salim.' In Assyro-Babylonian Salim usually appears as Sulmu, but the Sumerian Silim (with the first syllable affected by the law of vocalic harmony) implies a Semitic Salim from which it was borrowed. The divine name AN DI-*mu*, therefore, which occurs on a seal may be transcribed either Sulmu or Salimmu; the personal name, however, A-bu-Salim, which is met with in the Cappadocian tablets, settles the question as regards the Abrahamic age and the western portion of the Semitic world. In Assyria also the question is settled by the name of one of the early High-priests of Assur, Salim-akhum, 'Salim is a brother,' which corresponds with Hebrew names like Eliab or Joab. In Hebrew Abu-Salim, 'a father is Salim,' has become Ab-salom, 'father of peace,' for the same reason as that which has caused the change of Ish-Baal into Ish-bosheth. This makes it probable that in Is 9<sup>5</sup>, where the Messiah is called 'the Prince of Peace,' there is a reference to the old name of Jerusalem, the cuneiform equivalent of 'king of Jerusalem' being *sar (Uru) Salim*, 'king of (the city of) Salim.' Isaiah was a student of the older literature of the country (see Is 16<sup>13</sup>), and we know that in the reign of Hezekiah under whom Isaiah lived, the scribes of the royal library were employed in re-editing or translating earlier texts (Pr 25<sup>1</sup>).

The god Sulmu was also known as Sulmanu, a Babylonian form which seems to have been pronounced Salmanu or Salimanu in Assyrian. The name is familiar to us in that of Shalmaneser, Ass. Sulmanu-asaridu (or Salimanu-asaru), 'Shalman is

leader,' of which we have an abbreviated form in Salamanu, the name of the Moabite king in the time of Tiglath-pileser iv. as well as in the Shalman of Hos 10<sup>14</sup>. In *W.A.I.* iii. 66, *Rev.* 40, we are told that 'Sulmanu the fish' was the god of the city Kar-Silim, thereby identifying him with the fish god Ea, the Babylonia Creator, and on a seal from Arban on the Khabur we find the name of Sulmanu-nunu-sar-ilâni, 'Shalman the fish is king of the gods.' In the Greek inscriptions of Shêkh Barakât in Northern Syria, Selamanês forms one of a triad with Madbakhos and the goddess Simi (Seimios). That both the shorter and the longer forms of the name were known at Jerusalem we may conclude from the fact that the Septuagint reads Salômôn (Solomon) instead of the Hebrew Shêlômôh, implying that both Salimmu (Shêlômôh) and Sulmanu, Salimanu (Salômôn) were found in the Hebrew MSS. Shalman is found in a Phœnician inscription from Sidon.<sup>1</sup>

We can now understand why it is said (2 S 12<sup>25</sup>) that Nathan changed the name of David's son Solomon to Jedidiah 'because of the Lord.' The name would originally have been Yadud-Salim (Yedid-Shelomoh) with a possible reference in the first element to the name of David, of which the prophet of Yahweh would naturally have disapproved. In spite of Nathan, however, the non-Jewish population of Jerusalem was too numerous to allow his form of the name to survive; the name of the ancestral god of Jerusalem was too deeply rooted among them to be displaced by that of the Jewish conqueror, and it was not until the temple of Yahweh had been erected in the city of Salim that the ancient god of the city was compelled to retreat. Even in Jewish history the successor of David is known as Shelomoh or Solomon.

It is clear from 2 S 24<sup>16, 18, 25</sup> that the temple of Solomon was not built on the site of an older temple or high-place. The site of the temple of Salim must therefore be looked for elsewhere on the Temple-hill. Salim was known there as El Elyon, 'the Most High God' (Gn 14<sup>18</sup>). This would correspond with an Assyrian *ilu elênu* or *elâ*, and it deserves notice that *tizqaru elâ*, 'the highly exalted one,' was a title of Nin-ip. What was the relation that existed between Nin-ip and Salim?

As we have seen, 'the city of Bit-Nin-ip' was in

<sup>1</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, ii. pp. 1 sqq.; *Études d'archéologie orientale*, ii. pp. 36, 48.

the mountain of Jerusalem. Nin-ip, we have also seen, was Yau, and Mr. Tomkins was probably right in holding that the town of 'Batia,' which is placed by Thothmes III. in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, represents a Hebrew Beth-Yah. On the other hand, in Gn 22<sup>14</sup>, we have a saying quoted which, as I have shown elsewhere, is a transcription of a cuneiform original: *ina sad Yau urtu*, 'in the mountain of Yahweh is the oracle.' This mountain is identified by the Chronicler (2 Ch 3<sup>1</sup>) with the Temple-hill. Whether this is right or not, Har-el, 'the mountain of God,' occupies the place in which we should expect to find the name of Jerusalem in the list of cities in the south of Palestine conquered by the Egyptian king Thothmes III. That Har-el is the 'mountain of Yahweh' of Genesis is obvious when we remember that Ezekiel (43<sup>15</sup>) calls the altar of the temple in the new Jerusalem Har-el, with a reminiscence, perhaps, of the fact that the altar of the great temple of Bel-Merodach at Babylon was known as Du-azagga, 'the holy mountain.' Har-el has been changed into Ariel in the second half of the verse (Ezk 43<sup>15</sup>) through the influence of the well-known passage in Is 29<sup>1-2</sup>, where, however, the term is applied to the City of David on Mount Zion, and not to the Temple-hill. We have learnt from the Moabite Stone, where the Arel of Dodah and the Arels of Yahweh are mentioned, that they were armed champions attached to the service of a deity like the *qarradi ilâni*, or 'champions of the gods,' in Assyria; hence Isaiah calls the city of David the 'champion' or defence of the Temple and Temple-hill, and declares that though it shall be besieged and distressed it shall nevertheless be unto the Lord 'as a champion.' In the text of Ezekiel the Ariel or Arel would be entirely out of place. As we have seen above, Bîru is given as a synonym of *qarradu*, 'champion' or 'hero.'

The city of David stood on the site of the

Jebusite fort, from which it was necessary to climb up into Jerusalem itself (2 S 24<sup>18, 19</sup>). It was only after the fort was taken that Joab managed to ascend through a *zinnôr*, or rock-tunnel, into the city (2 S 5<sup>6-9</sup>, 1 Ch 11<sup>6</sup>). The position had been so strong that its defenders believed 'the blind and the lame' alone were sufficient to protect it. That this, however, was the actual origin of the saying, 'The blind and the lame must not enter the temple' (2 S 5<sup>8</sup>), is doubtful, since the Babylonian ritual texts show that a similar rule existed in Babylonia, where a blind or maimed person was not permitted to perform the priestly offices. But the connexion of the saying with the boast of the Jebusites makes it clear that the writer of the Books of Samuel believed that the Jerusalem which was captured by Joab and his followers was where the temple afterwards stood.

Putting all this together, we may conclude that the original Jerusalem occupied the Temple-hill; that its patronal deity was Salim or Sulmanu, who was addressed as 'the Most High god'; that Salim was associated with a 'Baal' whose temple stood in a neighbouring town, and who was already known as both Yau (Yeho) and Yautu or Yahweh (IP and NIN-IP) before the Israelitish conquest of Canaan; and that the Old Testament is right when it says (Gn 4<sup>26</sup>) that the name of Yahweh was known even in the antediluvian age. As at Shêkh Baraqât, Salim and Yau would have formed a triad along with the goddess Asherah—whatever the exact title of the latter may have been at Jerusalem,—the triad of the mother-goddess, who was identified with the earth on which the city stood, the father-god and the son-god, being one of the religious conceptions which the Western Semites owed to Hittite influence. The displacement of Salim and Asherah by Yahweh was a sign of Jewish conquest and the triumph of Jewish monotheism.