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The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis.

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Chapter x.

3. IN Jer 51²⁷ Ashkenaz is associated with Ararat and Minni, and must therefore have been to the north-east of Assyria. As I first pointed out many years ago, this agrees with the situation of the country called Asguza by Sargon. But in this identification we again have an instance of the transference of an unknown geographical name by the later geography to a country with a similar name but in a different part of the world. The Ashkenaz of Genesis belongs to Asia Minor, not to the far east. Hence we must fall back upon its old identification with the Ascanius of Phrygia and the Troad. Ashkenaz, in fact, represents a word of the same form as the Hittite Tarkhu-na-zi(s), 'son of the land of (the god) Tarkhu,' and refers us to a word Aska, from which Ascanius was a derivative. Sir W. M. Ramsay has shown that this word survives in Aska-ênos, a title of the god Mên at Eumeneia. Ascania was the Phrygian district which lay to the west of the Cappadocian plain.

Togarmah, if the reading is right, has been explained by Professor Delitzsch, who identifies it with the Til-garimmi of the Assyrian inscriptions in the north-east of Cappadocia, which was conquered by Sargon. The Assyrianizing of the name would be similar to that which transformed the Hittite Tarbusip on the Euphrates into Til-Barsip, 'the Mound of Barsip' (classical Barsampsê). But instead of Togarmah the Septuagint has Thorgama (here and in 1 Ch, as well as Ezk 38⁶, though not 27¹⁴), which would correspond with the territorial title Targha-miya(s), 'of the land of Tarkhu,' found in the Hittite texts. In either case, however, the situation of the country would be much the same.

Riphath is unknown, no similar geographical name having been met with anywhere, and in 1 Ch 1⁶ it is written Dîphath. It is therefore possible that the Hebrew text is a transliteration of a cuneiform *Askanazi adi patu* (or *pat*) *Tugarimmi*, 'Ascania as far as the frontier of Togarmah.'

4. Elishah is the Alasiya of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, the Alsa of the Egyptians. I have shown

(THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, xii. p. 29) that it is the Aleian plain of Homer, to the east of Tarsus, the Ionian Ἀλεῖος, 'Aleian,' presupposing an original 'Alasyan.' The supposition that it is Cyprus is untenable, since Cyprus appears in this verse under the name of Kittim, while in Egyptian it was called Asi. Letters passed between the kings of Egypt and Alasiya, and we learn from them that Alasiya exported copper, doubtless derived from the copper mines of the Taurus. After the rise of the twenty-first Egyptian dynasty (1100 B.C.) the name is found no more.

Tarshish, between Alasiya and Kittim or Cyprus, must be Tarsus, called Tarzi by Shalmaneser II. (834 B.C.). The final *sh* of Tarshish is the suffix of the Hittite and Cilician nominative; the first *sh* represents *z*, as in the Cilician Syennesis for Suanna-zis. As Sir W. M. Ramsay has shown, Tarsus was originally connected by a channel with the sea and was the centre of a great maritime trade. Later geography transferred the name to the west, when the silting up of the coast had destroyed the maritime character of Tarsus, and it is possible that in the prophetic age it denoted Tartessos in Spain.

Kittim is Kition, the modern Larnaka, the chief Phœnician seaport in Cyprus, which gives its name to the whole island in the O.T.

Dodanim must be corrected into Rodanim, as in 1 Ch 1⁷ and the Septuagint (which similarly has Ῥόδιοι for Dedan in Ezk 27¹⁵), that is to say, the Rhodians. It will be noticed that the Ionian territory thus extends from the Gulf of Antioch to Rhodes, including Cyprus, and that the Phœnicians have not as yet colonized either the latter island or Rhodes. The Greek dialect of Cyprus was allied to the Arcadian, but it was probably derived from a later Greek colony than the Yavan of Genesis,—if, indeed, the latter spoke a Greek dialect at all. The name of the Ionians continued to cling to Cyprus, which in the Assyrian inscriptions is accordingly called by Sargon *mat Yavnâ*, 'the land of the Ionians.'

The omissions in the list of the sons of Japhet are more remarkable than the names that occur in it. There is no mention, for example, of either Ararat or Lud, which appears so frequently in the prophetic books in association with the other Japhethites. The name of Lud or Lydia is first met with in the inscriptions of Assur-bani-pal, and it has been suggested that as the name of a kingdom it is not older than the foundation of the dynasty of Gyges. Ararat, Ass. Urardhu, was merely the Assyro-Babylonian name of a mountainous district before the rise of the kingdom of Urardhu, about 840 B.C. From that time forward, however, this kingdom played so important a part in the history and politics of Western Asia that it could not fail to have been noticed in a geographical table. The Lycians, again, called Lukki in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, are omitted, which points to an age later than that of the tablets.

5. 'Lyim, 'coastlands,' is the Babylonian *nagē*. A comparison of the verse with vv.^{5, 20, 31, 32} would show that the original had *annūti marē (Yapati) kī pī kimti(-sunu) ū lisānāti(-sunu) ina matāti-sunu ū pikhāti-sunu*, 'These are the sons of Japhet according to (their) families and tongues in their lands and districts'; or simply 'in their lands' if *בְּאַרְצֵיהֶם* and *בְּנוֹיֵיהֶם*, for which we have *לְנוֹיֵיהֶם* in v.³¹, are merely alternative translations of *matāti*.¹ Then would have come *sa yuparrīsu nagē matitān*. The variations in the phrase are instructive and point to variant paraphrastic renderings of the same phrase.

6. The sons of Ham are given in geographical order from south to north, Cush or Ethiopia, Kesh in Egyptian, coming first. The dual form, Mizraim, 'the two Mazors,' refers to Upper and Lower Egypt, 'the two lands' of which the Egyptian Pharaohs call themselves kings. Mazor, 'the wall of fortification,' which protected Egypt on its Asiatic side, and is also termed Shūr (Gn 20¹, etc.), properly signified Northern or Lower Egypt, and is used in that sense in Is 19⁶ 37²⁶, Southern Egypt being Pathros, Egyptian Pa-to-ris, 'the land of the south' (Is 11¹¹). In Babylonian, Mazor appears as Mizru, a name which can be traced back to the age of Khammu-rabi, but which was

¹ Semitic Babylonian had no exact equivalent of the Heb. *gōy*, 'people,' *uqu*, which is used for it in the texts of the Persian period, being borrowed from Sumerian, though it is found already in early Babylonian hymns.

assimilated by the Assyrians to their word Muzru, 'a borderland.'

Phut is mentioned in a fragment of the annals of Nebuchadrezzar, describing his invasion of Egypt in his 37th year, where it is said that in the course of the campaign he defeated 'the soldiers of the city of Pudhu-Yāvan (*i.e.* Phut of the Ionians), a distant land which is within the sea.' This seems to show that it denoted Cyrene, since Amasis, the antagonist of Nebuchadrezzar, was an ally of the Cyrenaic Greeks. At any rate, we may conclude that the old tradition is right which identifies Phut with Libya. Indeed, in the prophetic books it is difficult to see what else it can mean.

Canaan was the brother of Cush and Mizraim only so long as it remained an Egyptian province. With the fall of the Egyptian empire in Asia in the reign of Menepthah about 1250 B.C., and the conquest of Palestine by the Philistines and Israelites, it passed out of the zone of Ham. The name is written Kinakhna and Kinakhkhi (Greek Khna) in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, and probably means 'the lowlands.' In Nu 13²⁹ the Canaanites are described as inhabiting the coast and the valley of the Jordan.

7. Havilah was the 'sandy' desert of Northern Arabia, the home of the Ishmaelites, and extended as far as the Shūr or 'Wall' of Fortification which protected Egypt and ran pretty much along the line of the present Suez Canal (Gn 25¹⁸, 1 S 15⁷). It corresponds with the Melukkhha or 'Saltland' of Babylonian and Assyrian geography.

Saba may be Šabu, the mountain of Bel, 'a distant place,' to which the god Zu fled after the theft of the tablets of destiny, according to a Babylonian legend. Professor Hommel has suggested that Šabitu, 'who sits on the throne of the sea' or circumambient ocean, where she was visited by Gilgames, after his journey through the desert of Mas to the gates of the setting sun, was 'the woman of Šaba.'

According to Gn 25³, Sheba and Dedan were grandsons of Abraham by Keturah, whose descendants were to be found in the neighbourhood of Midian. Dedan, accordingly, bordered upon Edom, according to Jer 49⁸ and Ezk 25¹³; cf. Is 21¹³; similarly, the Sabæans made raids upon Uz (Job 1¹⁵). The actual home of the Sabæans, however, was in Southern Arabia, where was the kingdom of the queen of Sheba who visited

Solomon. But, like the Minæans before them, whose traders carried the incense of the south to northern lands, and whose kings have left monuments of themselves in Northern Arabia, the Sabæan kings extended their power to the north of Arabia and established colonies there. Tiglath-pileser IV. came into conflict with them on the Babylonian frontier, and Sargon, when in Palestine in 715 B.C., received tribute from Ithamar, the Sabæan king. In a Babylonian contract-tablet published by Dr. Strassmaier, which is dated in the reign of Samsu-iluna, the son and successor of Khammu-rabi, the name of Sabâ, 'the Sabæan,' occurs, but the Saba meant is more probably Seba than Sheba.

8. 'Now Cush had begotten Nimrod.' This must be an insertion, since the sons of Cush have been already mentioned, and Assyria and Babylonia were in the zone of Shem (v.²²) and not of Ham. The Cush of v.⁸, however, is not the Cush of v.⁹, but either the Kassites as in Gn 2¹³, or the city of Kis which played a leading part in the early history of Babylonia. 'He was the first to be a "hero" in the land,' *i.e.* as we learn from vv.^{10, 11}, the land of Babylonia and Assyria. This shows that we have here another extract from the 'book of Origins'; see 4²⁶ 6¹ and 9²⁰. In this fresh extract it is the origin of sovereignty that is described. As the statement that Nimrod was 'the first to be a hero' is not qualified by the addition of the words 'after the deluge,' it would seem that he must have been an antediluvian, and therefore born to one of 'the sons of Elohim' (6⁴), more especially when we remember that the antediluvian patriarchs of Babylonia were kings. On the other hand, the royal title is deliberately withheld from the Hebrew patriarchs, and from the position in which the account of Nimrod stands in the narrative we must gather that the Biblical writer regarded him as living after the flood. This certainly was the view taken by George the Syncellus, who identified him with Euêkhoos (Enwe-Êkua), the first of the postdiluvian kings of Babylonia. We cannot attain certainty, however, until we have discovered the name of Nimrod in the Assyro-Babylonian texts. The origin of sovereignty is given in the legend of Etana, in which the son of Etana appears to have been represented as the first king; but the legend has come down to us in so mutilated a state that we do not know even the latter's name. We read in one of the fragments of it:

'The great gods, the spirits of the earth, who fix destiny, were seated devising counsel for the world; the framers of the (earth's) corners, the creators of created things, the Igigi (angels of heaven), in opposition to man, were decreeing anarchy for men; no men in quiet seats had established a king; at that time no tiara or crown had been made, and no sceptre of lapis lazuli had been fashioned. Not a single shrine was resplendent; the seven demons bolted the door against mankind. The sceptre, the crown, the tiara, and the shepherd's staff lay before Anu in heaven.'

It was to obtain possession of them that Etana flew to heaven on the back of an eagle. But the attempt to storm the sky failed; the eagle and its rider fell together to the earth and were apparently dashed to pieces. Ælian erroneously transfers the adventure to Gilgames, *i.e.* Gilgames.

The four facts recorded of Nimrod are—(1) that he was the first *qarradu* or 'hero,' Heb. *gibbor*; (2) that he was a hero-huntsman 'in the presence of Yahweh'; (3) that he was the first ruler of Babylonia and Assyria, and (4) that he was the builder of Nineveh. The second fact may indicate that the notice of him ought to have come after 4²⁶, and that consequently he was really an antediluvian. That the marginal rendering in v.¹¹—'out of that land he went out into Assyria'—is right is shown by Mic 5⁶, where the parallelism requires that 'the land of Nimrod' should be Assyria.¹ The god Assur, moreover, was a city, not a man or hero, and the Babylonian deity with whom he was afterwards identified was *An-sar*, the upper firmament. Assur, too, was the older capital of Assyria from which the country derived its name, and ought to have been mentioned as a city before Nineveh. And, as Schrader has remarked, if the ordinary translation of the verse is adopted there is no country named in which Nineveh and its sister towns would have been built.

¹ V.⁵ as it stands is corrupt, and a *passage* has accordingly been set against the unintelligible *וה שלום אשר*. This is plainly a marginal gloss which has made its way into the text, and must contain the name of Shalmaneser. The original reading would have been *והיה כי אשר יבא*, 'and it shall be when Asshur comes into our land'; 'Asshur' or 'the Assyrian' was then glossed by 'namely Shalmaneser,' and when the gloss crept into the text *אשר* and *אשר* were confounded together, and *שלום* was written *שלום*. In v.⁶ *פתיחה* must be corrected into *פתיחה*, 'they shall shepherd the land of Asshur with the scimitar, and the land of Nimrod with the sword.'

Nothing corresponding with the name of Nimrod has yet been found in the cuneiform texts, but the correctness of the spelling (making allowance for a possible interchange of *d* and *r*) is certified by its occurrence in Micah.

9. The saying was current among the West Semites, whose deity Yahweh (Yahum) was; see 9²⁰. Perhaps the expression implies that Nimrod hunted in that part of Babylonia in which the West Semites were settled.¹

10. The foundation of sovereignty was naturally connected with Babylon when that city under Khammu-rabi became the capital of Babylon and absorbed the traditions of the other cities of the kingdom. Moreover, Babylon was close to Kis. That Babylon should head the list of Babylonian cities shows that the passage belongs to an age subsequent to the rise of Khammu-rabi's empire. On the other hand the mention of Akkad refers us to the age of Sargon and Naram-Sin when that city was the capital of a powerful empire. It was at that period that it gave its name to the whole of

¹ It is possibly worth noting that 'the god NI of Kis,' mentioned in the Babylonian inscriptions, may be 'the god Yau of Kis,' since the ideograph NI is explained by *Yau* as well as *izi*, 'god,' in S^a i. 18, 20.

Northern Babylonia. At an earlier date it had no existence, at all events as a city of importance, and at a later period it became a suburb of Sippara. Erech (Bab. Uruk) was one of the earliest seats of Semitic influence in Babylonia; it was the centre of the cult of Istar, and the capital of a dynasty. Its wall was said to have been built by Gilgames, whose history was closely associated with it. Calneh—Khalannê in the Septuagint—would seem to correspond with the Babylonian city Kul-unu, the Semitic name of which was Kullab. In the Talmud, however, it is identified with Nippur, now Niffer, where stood the chief and oldest sanctuary of Northern Babylonia. It is said to be 'in Shinar' in order to distinguish it from another Calneh,—the Kullâni or Kullania of the Assyrian inscriptions, which was in Northern Syria (Is 10⁹; cf. Ezk 27²³). Shinar is the Sankhar of the letters from the kings of Alasiya and Mitanni (Aram Naharaim) in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence, and is written Sangar in the geographical list of Seti I. The origin of the name is unknown, since it is not found in the Assyro-Babylonian texts, but the Tel el-Amarna tablets show that it was used by the nations who bordered on the Hittites in the Mosaic age.

The Bookshelf by the Fire.

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V.

John Donne.

Who or what was John Donne, it may be asked, that he should be given a place in this elect company? The question is not an easy one to answer. Not that I have any doubt it can be answered, but the fascination of Donne, though so real to all who have felt it, is yet so subtle and elusive, so defiant of definition, that it is very difficult to justify to the uninitiated even a very moderate enthusiasm. Donne was, it is true, an intimate friend and, in a sense, the master both of George Herbert and Izaak Walton; and on the principle of 'friends of a friend should themselves be friends,' it is hardly possible to be much in the

company of these two good men without desiring to know more of their friend. But this, though it may lead to an introduction and a nodding acquaintance, is obviously insufficient for admission to the closer fellowship of our bookshelf by the fire. What more, then, is there to be said?

I.

In the first place, few as are his readers to-day, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, in an age famous for its great men, John Donne, letter-writer, preacher, and poet, was one of the most famous of the subjects of James I. Indeed,