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The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis.

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Chapter x.

II. As we have seen, we must translate 'From that land he went forth to Assur.' Assur, now Kal'at Sherqat, on the west bank of the Tigris, a little to the north of its junction with the Lower Zab, was the original seat of the high priests of Assur, who eventually made themselves independent of Babylonia and assumed the title of kings. It was of Mitannian foundation, unless Nineveh, which seems to have been a Semitic colony from the older Ninâ or Nineveh in Babylonia. The name of Nineveh, which stood on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite the modern Mossul, is written both Ninâ and Ninua in the inscriptions, the second form being the origin of the Biblical form of the name. Ideographically the name is punningly expressed by a fish (*nunu*) inside a town; etymologically, however, *nunu* and *Ninua* have no connexion. The Semitic builders of Nineveh dedicated it to the goddess Istar (or Nina), around whose sanctuary the city rose. Nimrod, it will be remembered, was a 'hero-huntsman before Yahweh,' the God of Shem (Gn 9²⁶), and Shem was the father of Asshur.

Schrader and Delitzsch have pointed out that Rehoboth 'Ir is the *Rêbit Uru (Ninâ)* of the inscriptions of Sargon and Esahaddon, above which were the 'Marchland (*Muzri*) mountains.' The name means 'the open squares' or marketplace 'of the city' which stood in front of the gates.

Calah (Ass. Kalkhu), now *Nimrûd*, about 18 miles south of Nineveh at the junction of the Tigris and Upper Zab, was built by Shalmaneser I. (1300 B.C.), who also built a palace at Nineveh which he made a royal residence instead of Assur. Calah subsequently fell into decay, but was restored by Assur-natsir-pal (885-860 B.C.), who enclosed it within a wall about 5 miles in circumference and peopled it with the captives he had brought from his campaigns. Under him and his son Shalmaneser II. it became for a time the capital of Assyria.

12. Resen is the Assyrian Res-eni, 'the Source

of the Spring,' a place from which Sennacherib in the Bavian inscription states that he brought water to Nineveh. It seems to be the Larissa (*al Reseni*, 'town of Resen') of Xenophon.

If the note—'the same is the great city' or 'capital'—refers to Calah, as grammatically it ought to do, it should belong to the age of Assur-nazir-pal and Shalmaneser. It cannot refer to the great fortified triangle of the Second Assyrian Empire which was enclosed between the Tigris and Zab, and included Nineveh, Calah, and Dur-Sargina (Khorsabad), since Dur-Sargina, which was built by Sargon, is not mentioned in the text. The note, however, appears to have been originally marginal like the note in v.¹⁴, and like the latter may therefore have made its way into the text in the wrong place.

13, 14. In the prophetic books (Jer 46⁹) the Ludim that are associated with Egypt are the Lydian mercenaries sent by Gyges to Psammetichus I., the founder of the twenty-sixth dynasty, by whose aid, according to Assur-bani-pal, the Egyptian king succeeded in freeing his country from the Assyrians. By Herodotus they are more specifically called Carians and Ionians, who at that time were Lydian subjects. But the prophetic use of the name must be another illustration of the adaptation of an old geographical term, the meaning of which had been forgotten, to more modern conditions; here in Genesis the Ludim are the first-born of Mizraim, and therefore ought to be the native Egyptians themselves in contradistinction to those who were merely Egyptian subjects. Hence it is probably the Egyptian *lodu*, 'men,' more especially the 'members of an Egyptian family,' which is used of the Egyptian people generally in the hieroglyphic texts.

Professor Naville is doubtless right in seeing in the Anamim the 'Anu of the Egyptian monuments, that is to say, the Semitic Beduin on the eastern side of Egypt whose subjection is recorded on the earliest monuments. The first *m*, however, is difficult to account for, and it is therefore possible

that we have in the name a combination of the 'Anu and the 'Amu or Semitic Asiatics. If so, the word would resemble a 'conflate' text.

The Lehabim are the Lebu or Libyans who occupied an important place in Egyptian history as mercenaries, and eventually under Sheshonq or Shishak founded the twenty-second dynasty.

The two foreign elements in the Egyptian population are followed by the two divisions of that population itself. The Pathrusim are the inhabitants of Pathros (Is 11¹¹), Egyptian Pa-to-ris, 'the South land,' and in the Naphtuhim, therefore, we must have the inhabitants of Northern or Lower Egypt. The capital of Lower Egypt was Memphis, the sacred name of which was Hâ(t)-ka-Ptah, 'the House of the Double of Ptah,' which is written Khikuptakh in the Tel el-Amarna tablets, thus verifying Brugsch's suggestion that it was the origin of the Greek Ἀἴγυπτος, Egypt. In Naphtuhim we clearly have the name of Ptah, the god of Memphis; the initial nasal is more difficult to explain. Ebers makes it the Egyptian plural article *na* and supposes the name to mean 'they of Ptah.' The Septuagint 'Nephthaleim' is corrupt.

The last pair of Mizraim's offspring are Kasluhim and Caphtorim. Instead of Kasluhim the Septuagint has Khasmônîeim; Kasluhim, however, is shown to be right by the Ptolemaic geographical list at Kom Ombo which contains Kasluhet as well as Kaphtar. The discoveries of Dr. A. J. Evans and others in Krete have made it clear that the Caphtorim are the Kaftiu or Kaftu of the Egyptian monuments, and that the latter are the Kretans of the 'Minoan' age. The final *r* of Caphtor will be a suffix. The Philistines came from Caphtor (Jer 47⁴, Am 9⁷); consequently the marginal note which is attached to Casluhim has been introduced into the text in the wrong place. The early Jewish Aramaic papyri of Elephantinê explain how this could have happened. A marginal note or correction is written over the line to which it belongs, and a scribe could therefore easily attach it to the last word over which it stands instead of the first word to which it actually belonged.

The Philistines took possession of Southern Palestine after the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons during, or immediately after, the reign of Menepthah, the son and successor of Ramses II. The Pulasta, as they are called, were one of the northern nations who, along with the Danaans and others, were overthrown by Ramses III. Their

defeat saved Egypt itself, but henceforth they blocked the road to Canaan through their occupation of Gaza and the neighbouring cities. That Casluhim and Caphtorim should be mentioned instead of them implies that they had not as yet settled in Palestine. In that case they ought to have been included in the sons of Canaan. Why Casluhim and Caphtorim should be called the offspring of Mizraim we do not yet know. The lid of an alabaster vase with the cartouches of the Hyksos king Khian has been found at Knossos, and a hymn in honour of Thothmes III. seems to imply that Pharaoh claimed sovereignty over Krete, but nothing has been discovered in the Delta which would show that there was a Kretan settlement there. However, both in the Fayyûm and at Kaṛnak, Kretan pottery and figurines of what Dr. Evans terms 'Middle Minoan II.' have been found among remains of the twelfth dynasty.

15. According to this verse, Zidon, 'the fishing-town,' would have been the first built of the Canaanite or Phœnician cities. In the Homeric Poems the Phœnicians are still known as 'Sidonians.' But in the Tel el-Amarna age, Tyre, Gebal, and Arvad were already on a footing of equality with Sidon; indeed, Gebal seems to have been a more important place. Since, however, Herodotus (ii. 44) states that the temple of Melkarth at Tyre was erected about 2700 B.C., there would have been plenty of time for the sister-cities of Sidon to have become its rivals. After the reign of Hiram I., the contemporary of David and Solomon, Tyre became the leading state in Phœnicia.

Next to the premier city of Canaan, and before the other Canaanitish towns, comes Heth, that is to say, the Hittites. The prominent position thus assigned to Heth, among the offspring of Canaan, has been explained by recent archaeological discovery. In the Mosaic age the Hittites were the leading power in Syria and Palestine. A stele in the Louvre (C 1), dated in the reigns of the first two kings of the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, refers to the destruction of 'Hittite' settlements in the southern part of Palestine (see Sayce, *Archæology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 206), and Professor J. L. Myres has shown that the painted pottery found in the pre-Israelitish strata at Lachish and Gezer is of Hittite origin (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1903, xxxiii. pp. 367-400). Hittite mercenaries were in the pay of the governors and petty princes of Canaan in the Tel el-

Amarna period, and their leaders from time to time made themselves masters of its states. They were followed by the regular army of 'the great king of the Hittites,' and the Tel el-Amarna tablets enable us to follow the Hittite advance and the substitution of Hittite for Egyptian rule in Syria. The cuneiform tablets discovered at Boghaz Keui, the Hittite capital north of the Halys, prove how completely Syria and the larger part of Canaan fell under Hittite domination; the king of the Amorites became a Hittite vassal, and was appointed or deposed at the will of his Hittite overlord. For a while the Hittite advance was checked by Seti I. and Ramses II. of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty, and the boundaries of the Hittite and Egyptian empires were fixed pretty nearly where the northern border of Palestine was afterwards drawn; but in the reign of Menepthah, the successor of Ramses II., the Egyptian garrisons were withdrawn from the south of Palestine, and from that time onwards to the invasion of the northern nations (about 1200 B.C.) the Hittites had a free hand in Canaan.¹

¹ Menepthah was still in possession of the district of Jerusalem in the third year of his reign when the Egyptian government received a letter from one of its officials on the Canaanite frontier announcing the arrival of 'the captains of the archers of the Well of Menepthah which is in the highlands' (*Select Papyri of the British Museum*, Pl. V. and VI.). The Well or Fountain of Menepthah is named in Jos 15⁹ 18¹⁵, where מַיִן נֶפְתּוֹחַ has been pointed מַיִן נֶפְתּוֹחַ, 'waters of Nephtoah.' We gather from these passages that the place was a little to the west of Jerusalem.

The Hittites were not Semitic either in race or in language, and consequently though the leading people in the Canaan of the Mosaic age—but, be it noted, not later—could not be described as 'the first-born' of Canaan. They had retreating chins and foreheads, large protrusive nose and jaws, scanty beard, black eyes and hair, and yellow skin. They wore 'pig-tails,' and even in Syria retained their snow-shoes with upturned ends. Linguistically their language was of an 'Asiatic' type, like that of Mitanni and the cuneiform inscriptions of pre-Aryan Armenia.

With the invasion of the northern tribes of Phrygo-Thracian origin, and the conquest of Palestine by the Philistines and Israelites, Hittite power and influence disappeared, and after the Mosaic age Heth could no longer be described as a son of Canaan. But so completely had Canaan been dominated by him, that the Assyrians, who first became acquainted with it in the days when it had already passed under Hittite influence, continued to the last to call it 'the land of the Hittites.' Shalmaneser II. terms the kings of Israel, Arvad and Ammon, 'kings of the country of the Hittites'; for Sargon the inhabitants of Ashdod are 'Hittites,' and Sennacherib describes his campaign against Hezekiah as made against 'the land of the Hittites.' While Canaan was 'the land of the Amorites' for the Babylonians, it was 'the land of the Hittites' for the Assyrians, who first knew it when the Hittites had become the dominant power.

In the Study.

What is Faith?

Towards an Anthology.

BENJAMIN JOWETT—Faith may be spoken of, in the language of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as the substance of things unseen. But what are the things unseen? Not only an invisible world ready to flash through the material at the appearance of Christ; not angels, or powers of darkness, or even God Himself 'sitting,' as the Old Testament described, 'on the circle of the heavens'; but the kingdom of truth and justice, the things that are within, of which God is the centre, and with which

men everywhere by faith hold communion. Faith is the belief in the existence of this kingdom; that is, in the truth and justice and mercy of God, who disposes all things—not, perhaps, in our judgment for the greatest happiness of His creatures, but absolutely in accordance with our moral notions. And that this is not seen to be the case here, makes it a matter of faith that it will be so in some way that we do not at present comprehend. He that believes on God believes, first, that He is; and, secondly, that He is the Rewarder of them that seek Him.—*The Epp. of St. Paul*, ii. 268.