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or literary, which arise out of the text.' The whole work is well done, critically, exegetically, historically. The maps and illustrations are as scholarly as the Notes.

The Resurrection, and even the Resurrection of the Flesh, is one of the matters of keenest discussion at the moment—thanks more immediately to the Modernists. So Professor Alexander Souter has issued his translation of *Tertullian concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh* opportunely (S.P.C.K.; 12s. 6d. net). He is not altogether ignorant of its opportuneness, but it is not the Modernists he has in mind, it is the War. 'At the present time its reading may be especially commended to the bereaved, at least to such of them as value Scripture teaching, as being likely to afford them much more solid comfort than they will get from spiritualistic séances.'

But the treatise *De Carnis Resurrectione* is worth reading at all times. 'It is one of the most significant and valuable of its author's writings.' And again: 'I cannot name a more suitable introduction to the study of his works.' And this is the edition to use. Dr. Souter has annexed Tertullian as surely as Davidson made Job his own.

A popular biography of John Williamu, the

missionary, has been written by Ernest H. Hayes. The title is *Williamu, Mariner - Missionary* (Teachers and Taught; 1s. 6d. net).

What is to be done with Africa? What policy is to be pursued by the British Government, to which so vast a part of that continent has been assigned? It depends on the understanding and attitude of the British people. And that the British people may understand and take up the right attitude a small volume has been prepared by the United Council for Missionary Education. The writer is the Rev. H. D. Hooper, and the title *Africa in the Making* (2s.).

Take the question of alcohol. The mischief it has done hitherto is appalling. How is it to be dealt with now? The natives want prohibition. And they could enforce it with little difficulty, as the coast has few harbours where smuggling could be successful. But the British residents want their 'spirits,' believing that they are beneficial and even necessary. The immediate movement is with the doctors. Let them say at once and emphatically that alcohol is harmful, not helpful, and the difficulty would be solved. Some of the provinces would suffer in revenue, but only for a time. A rebound in prosperity would follow and would be maintained.

The Chaldee Father=God and the Pillar of Cloud.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL L. A. WADDELL, C.B., C.I.E., LL.D.

THE title of the Father-god of the Semitic Chaldees of the lunar cult, namely, *An, Anna, or Anu*, was probably, I find, a title of the god of the early Israelites; and presumably explains the metaphor of 'The Pillar of Cloud' in the early manifestations of that deity.

This Father-god An of Ur of the Chaldees was essentially a lunar deity, as Abraham's conception of God is considered to have been (Sayce and others). He was regarded by the polytheistic Semitic Chaldees, from about 3000 B.C., as the primordial god, the head of their pantheon, and father of all the other gods and goddesses and mortals, and was placed in the sky; whilst the Earth and the Deep with all beneath the earth were placed in charge of his sons Baal (or Bel)

and Ea, who formed with him a triad. Previous, however, to An's first appearance in inscriptions, about 3000 B.C., the chief deity of the early Chaldee and Akkadian Semites was the Earth-Mother with her son, who were expressedly lunar and residing in the Earth, Hell, and Darkness. The substitution for this Mother-Son dual-deity of the idea of the Father-god in the sky was presumably borrowed from the civilizing Sumerian invaders of Chaldea, whose god or gods were essentially masculine and solar in character, with the idea of residence in the Heavens, and in the realms of Light.

Although in the later developments of his cult An was promoted to be 'King of Heaven,' it is clear, as I observed from the word-sign for his

name and other evidence, that originally he was not located in heaven. His word-sign has the primary meaning of 'One,' and is the ordinary sign for that unit of number; and nowhere amongst the varied definitions of the secondary meanings of that sign is there any suggestion of heaven.¹ On the contrary, the secondary meanings, though including 'King' and 'Water-god' (Ea), comprise 'sadness,' 'lamentation,' and 'darkness,'² the latter being an epithet of 'Cloud.' His name thus presumably designated him originally as 'The One (primordial Father or King)' of the Semitic Chaldees of the lunar cult, whose religious outlook at the time of his evolution does not appear to have extended skywards beyond the clouds and changing moon. The mystical astral and planetary ideas appear only later.

The lunar character of An or Anna is disclosed in the official Akkadian rituals for his service, which have been preserved in contemporary cuneiform tablets.³ These rituals even in their later developed stage of his cult, when his functions were extended to heaven and the planets, still describe his most intimate retinue as consisting solely of the lunar Mother-Earth goddess Ishtar (or Ashtar, who is called 'Lady of Anna'⁴), and her reflexes An-tu his wife, and Nanā, 'the shepherdess of the celestial Flocks (Rain-Clouds).'⁵ And significantly his ritual prescribes that when the images of the solar divinities, the solar Father-god and his son of 'The Fire-Torch,' enter his great temple at the solar festival, *the images of An, Ishtar, and his other lunar satellites are to be veiled*,⁶ thereby emphasizing their lunar and anti-solar character.

An's cloud and lunar character is further evidenced by his titles and the name of his abode. This latter was called 'The house of the Flocks (Rain-Clouds) of Sin (the Moon-god)';⁷ and im-

¹ Compare G. A. Barton, *Babylonian Writing*, No. 439, p. 223; and J. D. Prince, *Sumerian Lexicon*, 32 f.

² *Ibid.*

³ F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, Paris, 1921, 61 f.

⁴ *Nin-Anna*. Cp. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1881, 116; and S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 1914, 48 f.

⁵ T.-Dangin, *op. cit.* 76 f. ⁶ *Ibid.* 94 (text p. 66).

⁷ The '*Bit Ri-es*' of T.-Dangin, 74, 77 f.; but the last word-sign in this name, which has the doubtful phonetic value of *El* adopted by T.-Dangin in his transliteration, is the ordinary word-sign for the god Sin with the value 'Sin' (The Moon-god); cp. Barton, *op. cit.* 221, No. 432; and Prince, *op. cit.* 293.

plying his former identity with the Moon-god. This original residence for An in the Rain-Clouds of the lower atmosphere, and not in the solar heavens beyond, is confirmed by his votaries having no idea of a paradise in the Heavens and Light, and by his cloud-titles of 'King of the Anunaki' (or 'water-laden clouds of heaven'),⁸ and 'Anu the Overflow with Water.'⁹

Now it seems not improbable that this An or Anna, Father-god of the Rain-Clouds of the Semitic Chaldees, is the source of the Hebrew title of '*Ann*'¹⁰ applied in the O.T. to the 'Cloud' of 'The Pillar of Cloud,' in which the Father-god of the Israelites manifested himself to his chosen people. For this '*An*' or 'Cloud' of the Hebrews is actually identified with their God. This *Ann*-cloud, in which the Lord came to Moses,¹¹ and which led the Israelites in their wanderings, we are told actually itself 'talked with Moses,'¹² and through it 'the Lord (Yahvh) spoke unto Moses, face to face,'¹³ and the people worshipped it (as God).¹⁴ It remained always with the people throughout their wanderings;¹⁵ and it continued with them at Jerusalem.¹⁶ And this same intimate relationship of the Cloud to the God of Israel is reflected by the Psalmist: 'His (God's) excellency is over Israel, and his strength is in the clouds (*Ann*).'¹⁷

Like the Semitic devotees of An or Anna in Chaldea, who frequently named themselves and their children after their god, several Hebrews in the O.T. also bear the divine Cloud-name of An or Anna compound in a precisely similar manner to those of the Chaldees. Thus, for instance, in the Semitic personal names found in the voluminous temple-records of the old imperial metropolitan temple at Nippur, the modern Niffer, to the south-east of Babylon, over one hundred are found to contain the name of the god An or Anu.¹⁸ Examples of such names are:

⁸ See Prince, *op. cit.* 35, after Hrozný.

⁹ *Ilu Anu raxu*. Prince, *op. cit.* 35.

¹⁰ In spelling Hebrew words, the Massoretic marks are generally omitted as late and often arbitrary.

¹¹ Ex 16¹⁰ and Ex 13²¹, ²², which significantly are 'Jehovist' intrusions into an Elohist chapter.

¹² Ex 33⁹. ¹³ Ex 33¹¹. ¹⁴ Ex 33¹⁰. ¹⁵ Ex 13²¹.

¹⁶ Is 4⁵. ¹⁷ Ps 68³⁴.

¹⁸ *Personal Names from Nippur*, by E. Chiera, Philadelphia, 1916, 125-130. The stellar sign of the Sumerians which was latterly adopted for him by the Semites is used for Anu here.

'Anu (the Lord) is my Shepherd.'	'Anu has brought me.'
'A. is my Strength.'	'A. has heard me.'
'A. is my Protector.'	'A. has given me Possessions.'
'A. is merciful.'	'A. is my Dwelling.'
'A. has helped me.'	'A. is my Provider.'

And the numerous other An or Anu personal names in this ancient Babylonian series are also likewise literally identical with the familiar phrases in praise of God used by the ancient Israelites and the Psalmist.

Similarly in the O.T. we find Hebrew personal names framed on the same Chaldean model, of which at least the first cited has already been recognized by Biblical scholars as based upon this divine 'Cloud'-name 'Ann':

<i>Anniah</i> or <i>Ananiah</i> , meaning 'Jehovah covers or guards (i.e. protects) as with a cloud.'
<i>Anaiah</i> , or 'Jehovah has answered.'
<i>Anthothijah</i> , or 'Jehovah answers prayers.'
<i>Anniel</i> or <i>Ananiel</i> , 'Ann is my God.'

And analogous O.T. names appear to be *Anan*, *Anah*, *Anani* or *Anni*, *Anna* or *Hannah*, *Anub*, and *On*, *Onan*, and *Onam*, wherein the *O* arbitrarily used in our English version is written *A* in both the Hebrew and Septuagint texts. The title of the Hebrew hero 'Son of *Anath* or *Anth*' also is supposed to mean 'Son of An-tu' (the wife of the Chaldean Father-god An).¹⁵ And in the Greek occupation of Palestine, the Grecianized *Onias* form of *Anah* (or of the aspirated *Hanih*) was the name of various Jewish persons, mostly Talmudic priests in the third and second centuries B.C., referred to by Josephus.¹⁶

Indeed the title of this Chaldean Father-god An or Anna actually occurs unequivocally, as is already known, in the O.T. during the period of

the Exile. It is given there, however, as the name of a Babylonian god imported into Samaria by the Sepharvites (presumably from Sipar, the ancient temple-city to the north of Babylon), who were transplanted there by Sargon II. to replace in part the Jewish population exiled thence by him to Chaldea. He is called in the O.T. '*Ana-melik*' or 'King Ana'¹⁷ as he was also styled in Chaldea. By this time, however, he was treated by the Hebrew compiler of the Book of Kings merely as one of the foreign gods of the polytheistic Babylonian pantheon, presumably owing to the development of the tribal Hebrew god into a universal God under a new title, and the significance of his old 'Cloud' epithet having become forgotten.

Moreover, the 'Sin' or Moon-Cloud title for the residence of this Chaldean lunar god An seems now to supply us with the key to the lost source and meaning of the names applied by the early Hebrews to their several chief residences in company with their divine Cloud 'Ann'—'The desert of *Sin*,' 'Mt. *Sini*' (or 'Sinai' as it was latterly called) where Yahvh had his seat on Mt. Horeb, 'The desert of *Zin*' (or *Sin* or *Sina* in the Septuagint), in Moab, where they dwelt towards the end of their wanderings in the desert; and '*Zion*' (or '*Sion*' in the Septuagint), their ultimate chief residence under 'the pillar of cloud' at Jerusalem. The interchange of Z and S in the last two names is a common dialectic change in Semitic as in other languages—the initial Z in Hebrew is generally rendered S in the Septuagint version, and the later Hebrews corrupted, for example, the Phœnician 'Sidon' into 'Zidon.'

It would thus appear probable that the early Israelites worshipped the lunar Chaldean Semitic Father-god An in their 'pillar of Cloud,' and that they named each of the sacred abodes to which their divine 'pillar of Cloud' led them, after the residence of the Chaldean Moon-Cloud god Sin, or An, though latterly they forgot the identity and even name and titles of that early Semitic god of their fathers, just as they seem to have forgotten the identity and name of Abraham's and Israel's god *E! Shaddai* by the time of Moses.¹⁸

¹ Anu-rêu, *id.* 127.

² A.-našir, *id.* 125.

³ A.-erizam, *id.* 126.

⁴ A.-išmani, 128.

⁵ A.-nemedi, 127.

⁶ Anu-ellat, *id.* 126.

⁷ A.-rimeni, *id.* 127.

⁸ A.-ublam, 126.

⁹ A.-eribām, 126.

¹⁰ A.-zinūa, 129.

¹¹ Neh 3²³, and cp. Gesenius, *Heb. Dict.* 644.

¹² Neh 8⁴ 10²³, and Gesenius, 643.

¹³ 1 Ch 8²⁴ 7⁸, and Gesenius, 645.

¹⁴ Neh 3¹, Jer 31³⁸, Zech 14¹⁰, Tobias 1²¹ in Septuagint, in Hebrew 'Hananel.'

¹⁵ Jg 3³¹ 5⁸, and see Cheyne's *Ency. Biblica*, 163.

¹⁶ Josephus, *Antiq. Judaica*, II, 8, 7, etc. etc.

¹⁷ 2 K 17³¹.

¹⁸ Ex 6³.