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682ND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN COMMITTEE ROOM D, THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, S.W.1, ON MONDAY, JANUARY 11TH, 1926, AT 4.30 P.M.

DR. JAMES W. THIRTLE, M.R.A.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read, confirmed, and signed, and the HON. SECRETARY announced the election of the following as Associates:—The Rev. William Hudson; Major William J. Rowland; and Miss Agnes M. Naish.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced Professor T. G. Pinches, LL.D., M.R.A.S., to read his paper on "Notes on the Discoveries at Ur and Tel al-Obeid, and the Worship of the Moon-God."

NOTES ON THE DISCOVERIES AT UR AND TEL AL-OBEID, AND THE WORSHIP OF THE MOON-GOD.

By PROFESSOR THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, LL.D., M.R.A.S.

(*With lantern illustrations.*)

"AND the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shin'ar." How well we Assyriologists know these words—so simple, so ordinary, and yet, for us, so full of romance—that romance which lends poetry, as it were, even to the commonplace! How we should like to fathom the mystery of it all—the hidden things of mankind's history on the earth after the Flood! But there is more than this, for soon the writer of Genesis proceeds to tell us about the Tower of Babel, the first of Shin'ar's cities, and the circumstances in which it was founded. They (we must regard this section of the earth's population as having been the Sumerians) were travelling from the East (*miq-qedem*) and they found a plain in Shin'ar, where they decided to build a city and a tower

whose head was to be in the heavens (*bash-shamayim*). The opinion at present is, that these words do not contain any announcement that the old inhabitants of Shin'ar intended to scale—to invade—Heaven: they wished only to build a very high tower which would be a rallying-point for their race. "Let us make us a name," they are reported as saying, "lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."

Nothing is said in Gen. xi as to the use to which this tower was to be put, and it has been taken, almost, if not quite, without question, as referring to the great "Tower of Babylon," Ê-temen-an-ki, "the house of the foundation-plinth of heaven and earth." I think that there is no doubt as to this identification, the more especially as there is no reference in history to any other great erection, rivalling the house of the "foundation-plinth," in the Babylonian capital. The identification, therefore, must be regarded as practically certain.

There is also no indication in the Bible-narrative that the tower erected by those who were journeying "from the East" was a religious structure, but its Babylonian name places that beyond a doubt. The tradition is, that the builders of the tower wished to reach Heaven, but such an idea certainly never entered their minds. Coming, as is stated, from the East—probably somewhere in the mountainous region of Elam—they knew perfectly well that if they seemed to be no nearer Heaven on the top of a high mountain than when they stood at its base, their comparatively puny erection at Babylon would be just as ineffective. Moreover, had they not already had experience of these things?

The answer to this question must be, it seems to me, in the affirmative, for the sacred towers of Babylonia were so numerous that that at Babylon may well not have been the first. Erech, Akkad, Calneh, and Ur all had them,* and we may take it for granted that all the great cities of Babylonia possessed them too. In Assyria there were also several of these erections, the best known being that at Calah, which is mentioned by Ovid; and as

* The cities with temple-towers are given in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, ii, 50, as follows: "Šu-anna (Babylon), Borsippa, Niffer (Calneh), Šatti, Sippar, Agade (Akkad—two towers, apparently), Kiš (Okheimer—seemingly two again), Gudua (Cutha—dedicated to Nannar), Dilmu (Dailem), Marad (Amar-da), Ur, Uruk (Erech), Eridu, and Muru.

to the old capital, Aššur, that site had several, including a double tower, dedicated to Anu and Hadad.

It is therefore not surprising that the explorers in Babylonia of recent years have turned their attention to the excavation of the sacred mountain-temples (as we may call them) of Babylonia, and they were naturally attracted by the promising nature and condition of that at Ur. This was a city—probably a Sumerian foundation—of no small importance. Bible-students have always been much interested in its identification, as it is generally regarded as being the Ur of the Chaldees of Gen. xi, 28. This site is now called Mugheir, " the bitumenized," or " pitchy," owing to the use of bitumen in its construction.

According to Eupolemus, the city where Abraham sojourned was known as Urie (probably from the Sumerian form Uriwa), and signified " a city of the Chaldeans." He does not refer to the patron-deity of the place, Nannar or Sin, the moon-god, but states that it was known by another name, probably Aramaic, Kamarina, which is evidently derived from the same root as the Arabic *qamar*, " the moon." Eupolemus describes Abraham as having been the thirteenth in descent, and a man of noble race, superior to all others in wisdom. It was stated of him that he was the inventor of astrology and Chaldean magic, and on account of his eminent piety he was esteemed by God. It was further said, that under the direction of God he removed and lived in Phœnicia, and there taught the Phœnicians the motions of the sun and moon, and all other things, for which reason he was held in great reverence by their king.

Such is the translation from Eusebius' *Praepar. Evangelica* as given by the late E. Richmond Hodges in his edition of Cory's *Fragments*, p. 77. The question naturally arises, whether Eupolemus' statements may not have been adopted by the Jews (from whom Eupolemus probably derived them) during the Jewish Captivity at Babylon. As is well known, Babylonia, as a whole, was called by the Sumerians *Kengi-Ura*, rendered by the Semitic population as " Šumer and Akkad," the latter element being the Accad of the English editions of the Old Testament (Gen. x, 10). Ura was, in this case, equivalent to Akkad, the Babylonian state so named, apparently, from the name of the capital, called anciently *Agade*. Notwithstanding the precise and rather probable statements of Eupolemus, therefore, it seems more reasonable to think that Abraham dwelt in the pastoral lands of Ura than in the city of Ur, though it may also reasonably

be contended that he and his family pastured their flocks around the city of Ur, otherwise called *Uriwa* and *Camarina*. The Hebrew form of the name of Ur (אור) would in this case have been derived from the shortened Akkadian form, just as Akkad and Asshur, in Gen. x, must have been derived from the same Semitic nationality. Most of the late Assyro-Babylonian names in the Old Testament, on the other hand, seem to have been derived from Assyria. The earlier contact with the farther Semitic East on the part of the Patriarch was apparently the cause of the Babylonian name-forms, just as the Assyrian invasions of Jewish territory in later times caused the scribes to write Tiglath-pileser for Tiglath-pilesher* and Esarhaddon for Esharhaddon.† Abraham's residence in Babylonia seems therefore to be confirmed by the orthography of the writer of the book of Genesis.

Among the first to explore the ruins of Ur (now known as Mugheir) was the former British Consul at Basra, Mr. Taylor, who seems to have been aided by W. K. Loftus, who, in his book, *Chaldea and Susiana*, published in 1857, describes the site as he saw it. He naturally pays much attention to the *zikkurat* or tower in stages, which differs from those of other Babylonian cities, in that it was not square in its plan, but oblong. The longest sides face N.E. and S.W., and measure 198 ft., against 133 ft. in the case of the narrower sides. Both are described as sloping inwards at an angle of 9 degrees. Apparently this slope was not considered sufficiently pronounced to secure the safety of the erection through a long series of years, so it was further strengthened by buttresses. The basement-stage was 27 ft. high, and had what is described as an entrance on the N.E. side, a little S. of the centre. This entrance, Loftus says, was 8 ft. wide, and was reached by a straight stairway at right angles with the N.E. wall. A reference to the platform, on which this lowest stage was placed, gives the author an opportunity of describing the state of the country during the rainy season, for it was probably built to keep the structure clear of the floods, when they came ; and we learn that, when the Euphrates is high, the surrounding plain is so covered with water that the ruins can only be reached in boats. These floods, indeed, must have greatly

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* More correctly, *Tukulthi-apil-éšarra*.
† Better, *Aššur-aḫu-iddina*.

hampered the Babylonians, and account, doubtless, for the solidity and consequent want of elegance in their buildings. Ornamental decorations, moreover, had to be reduced, in that stoneless country, to a minimum, for though unbaked clay is very durable when well cared for and protected from the weather, and baked clay is practically indestructible, weathering did not improve it, and small pieces, when detached, had a tendency to be carried away. It is probably owing in part to these drawbacks that Babylonian buildings—palaces, temples and temple-towers—were so plain, and even Nebuchadrezzar's renowned palace at Babylon must have been much more attractive within than without. The plain outer walls of their buildings were generally relieved by the recessed panels which brick construction allowed them to introduce into their work.

In addition to the temple-tower, Sur-Engur, the renowned Babylonian king of forty-two centuries ago, claims to have rebuilt the defensive rampart of the city—*Bad-Uriwa*. Some of his bricks seem to have been inscribed with a stilus for impressing wedges, whilst others are impressed with a brick-stamp—primitive records printed without ink. The following is a similar text, but longer :—

(To) Nannar,
the chief son
of Enlilla,
his king,
Sur-Engur,
the mighty man,
lord of Erech,
King of Ur,
King of Sumer
and Akkad.
Ê-temen-imi-ila,
his beloved house,
he has built,
its site he has restored.

Two meanings for *Ê-temen-imi-ila* are possible, namely, "the house of the lofty clay-foundation" and "the house of the foundation of elevation," according as one thought of the loftiness of the structure or of the elevation of mind that its durability and its constant pointing heavenwards, like the steeples of our

churches, inspired. The last line of this text shows, be it noted by the way, that Sur-Engur was not the actual founder of the building.

Another text, almost a duplicate of this, but inscribed on a clay cone, adds a line describing Nannar as *amar banda anna*, "Anu's lusty steer." Here, again, we have the idea of animal strength suggested by the satellite's "horned splendour."

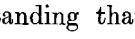
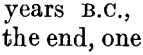
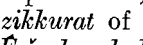
Dungi, son of Sur-Engur, followed in his footsteps, and restored "the house of the mountain," as he seems to call the temple-tower—and this was at least a justifiable name for it. In the next line the king adds "his beloved house," and the critical reader at once asks "Whose?" for the name of the god is absent.

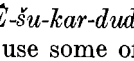
Another personage who dealt with the holy places of Ur was En-anna-tuma, probably not a king, but simply a kind of high priest. He was contemporary of Gungunu, who seems to have reigned about 1800 B.C. As his inscription is interesting mythologically, I give a translation, based upon those of my predecessors, here :—

To Utu (that is, the sun-god Šamaš),
offspring of Nannar,
flaming child
of Ê-kiš-nu-gal,
begotten of Nin-gal,
his king,
for the life
of Gungunu^{m},
the mighty male,
King of Ur,

II. En-anna-tumma,
zirru (special high-priest) of Nannar,
priest of Nannar,
within Ur,
son of Išme-Dagan,
king of Sumer and Akkad,
has built his glorious house—
his holy temple Ê-gina-abtum
he has built—
for his life
he has dedicated it.

Here we have stated clearly the belief of the Babylonians that the sun was the offspring of the moon, and he was, therefore, at the same time the son of Nin-gal, "the great lady." En-anna-tumma, who built the temple in which the cone was found, was son of Išme-Dagan, and probably brother of king Gungunu, for whose life it was dedicated. Other points of interest are: (1) that the name of the temple Ê-Kiš-nu-gal is written as though it meant "the house of non-existent Kiš"—the city now represented by the mounds of Oheimer; (2) that the city of Ur is written at length in its archaic form of *Uriwaka*; and (3) that En-anna-tuma was *zirru*-priest of Nannar and ordinary priest of Nannar.

Notwithstanding that the dominion passed from Ur more than 2,000 years B.C., the city still remained, and probably remained to the end, one of the great religious centres of the land. In the geographical list, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 50, the *zikkurat* of Ur, which is there called  , *Ê-šu-kar-dudu*, is eighteenth in order (in reality fourteenth, because some of the cities preceding had temple-towers of more than one name), and Ur itself () seems to have had four names. From pl. 52, and vol. v, pl. 41, we learn that one of these names was or  , *Ilul* or *Inar*.

To this temple-tower of Ur Nabonidus gives two names which are different from those of the geographical list—in full  —*Ê-lugal-galga-sisa, zikkurrat Ê-kiš-nu-gal*, "the house of the king directing observation (of the heavens), the temple-tower of the house of the great illuminator." He then goes on to say, that Sur-Engur, a king of former time, had built, but had not finished, it—Dungi, his son, finished its construction. These details he had seen—that is, apparently, read—in their inscriptions. As that *zikkurrat* had gone to ruin, Nabonidus built, upon the foundation plinth erected by Sur-Engur and Dungi, his son, a *zikkurrat* like the old one, and repaired its construction with bitumen and brick.

"For Sin, lord of the gods of heaven and earth, king of the gods, the gods who (are) gods (*or* the god of gods), dwelling in the great heavens, lord of Ê-kiš-nu-gal, which is within Ur, my lord, I founded and built (it).

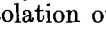
"(O) Sin, lord of the gods, king of the gods of heaven and earth, the gods who (are) gods (*or* the god of gods), dwelling in the great heavens, when thou joyfully enterest into that house, may the prosperity of Ê-sag-ila, Ê-zida, Ê-kiš-nu-gal, the temples of thy great divinity, be established by thy lips, and cause the fear of thy great divinity to dwell among his people, and they will not commit sin. May their foundation be firm like the heavens.

"As for me, Nabonidus, save me from sin against thy great divinity, and give as a gift life for remote days; and as for Belshazzar, my eldest child, the offspring of my heart, set the fear of thy great divinity in his heart, and let him have no fault—let him be satisfied with fulness of life."

If this inscription presents a true exposure of Nabonidus' faith, it contains several noteworthy points. The moon-god was the chief divinity of the Babylonian pantheon, and not Merodach; the temple of Merodach at Babylon, Ê-sagila, and that of Nebo at Borsippa, Ê-zida, belonged to him, as well as Ê-kiš-nu-gal; the moon-god was able to save from sin, and satisfy his devotee with life—a life extending to distant days (*ûmu rûqûti*). In each city, however, it is probable that its patron-god was regarded as head of the pantheon, and the antiquarian king, when he visited them, adopted the religious views of the people and their priests.

Nabonidus' bricks from the same ruin bear the following text in archaic characters:—

"Nabonidus, king of Babylon,
patron of Ur,
Ê-lugal-galga-si-sa,
the temple-tower of Ê-kiš-nu-gal,
has renewed and restored to its place."

The views of the Babylonians in general with regard to the moon-god worshipped at Ur are not without their interest. As is now well known, his two commonest names were Sin and Nannar, the former from the Sumerian Zu-en, "knowledge-lord," and the latter possibly a reduplicate form derived from the common Semitic root *nûru*, "light." The explanation of this latter, however, is by no means certain, the more especially as it is always attached to the ideographic group apparently applied to the moon as  , *d.uru-ki*, "the brother (protector is hardly likely) of the earth." In an interesting lamentation over the desolation of Ur, probably due to the depredations of

some enemy, he always bears this name. As the literature of Babylonia, especially when it illustrates the poetry and mythology of the Sumero-Akkadians, is always of interest, I give here a translation of this text, with attempted restorations of the defective lines :—

[Tears] he produceth not.
. . . . . the glorious.
He poureth not forth tears—
In the vexation of his heart his eye moisteneth not.
With his crying he raiseth lamentation to heaven day and night—
Day and night he raiseth (it)—he (raiseth his) voice.
Whilst appealing day and night, he is not comforted.
The Great Lady inhabiteth with him the hostile land.
From her glorious sanctuary the worship hath departed—
The flood is arrested, but the lady is not content.
(As for) the temple, its interior is a ruin, its side is a ruin,
Its interior an enemy hath destroyed—
(As for) the front, its beauty he hath destroyed.

Until the servant be not a servant, it is not to be restored.

He hath destroyed the House of the Life of Heaven—
Who, in the day of its glory, hath cut off its glory ?
The everlasting house, the edifice at Ur—
The everlasting house, the edifice of Ê-kiš-nu-gal.
R. Ur is a house of plenty in the land—
Ê-kiš-nu-gal of Nannari.

In heaven and earth he resteth—
heaven in earth he encloseth.
Father Nannar, lord of Ur,
To the great lady, the lady of Ê-kiš-nu-gal, give thou rest.
Heaven and earth, heaven and earth together ;
The heaven of Uraš, with the growing seed ;
(Of) En-ki, Nin-ki ; En-ul, Nin-ul ;
En-dauma, Nin-dauma ;
En-du-azaga, Nin-du-azaga ;
En-u-tila, Enme-šarra ;
The princess of the spirit of heaven, the lady of the mountain.

(Of his house), Ê-kiš-nu-gal, the place he will restore.

. . . . [let this] be the [invocation (?)] of Zuenna (*i.e.*, the god Sin).

. . . . . (Wanting.) complete.

Written and made clear like [its original]
[Palace of Aššur-bani-âpli, king of] Assyria.

(Here the tablet is broken, but there is every probability that the line containing the Assyrian king's name was not followed by any other.)

The "Great Lady" was *Nin-gal*, the spouse of the moon-god, and inhabited the temple of Ê-kiš-nu-gal with him. Her image, however, seems at some time to have been carried off into a hostile land, like that of Nanaa of Erech, which was brought back from Elam by the army of Aššur-bani-pal, and restored to its place. This statue had been "in exile," as it were, for 1,655 years.

Like all the great Babylonian towers, that at Ur had a sacred enclosure, designated by the Greek word *temenos*. The *zikkurat* lies in the western corner of this, closer to the S.W. than to the N.W. wall; and in the S.W. wall, right in front of the tower's centre, was the gateway repaired or rebuilt by Nabonidus.

East of the mound, and almost in a line with the face of the tower, the explorers found the remains of the shrine Ê-nun-maḫ, dedicated to the moon-god and his consort. Mr. Woolley speaks of the enormous amount of rubbish which had to be cleared away, but in the courtyard were the walls and pavement of a large building occupying part of the area between the *zikkurat*, Ê-nun-maḫ, and the N.E. and N.W. walls. He, therefore, dug out to sixteenth-century level the N.W. range of chambers.

The sacred enclosure seems to be a large courtyard paved with bricks, with a single range of intercommunicating chambers on three of its sides. The doorways open on to the courtyard. He describes them as suites of varying extent like self-contained flats, on both sides of a triple doorway with gate-towers and wide gate-chambers. As is often the case in Babylonian ruins,

these have been reconstructed over the ruins of earlier work. As it stands, the courtyard-building is of the time of Kuri-galzu, who reigned about 1600 B.C., and whose brick-stamp occurs in the upper courses. There was a still earlier building, possibly of Bûr-Sin's time, but its plan is unknown.

The S.W. wall is described as presenting the peculiarity of panels of plain wall with long stretches of attached half-columns or rather less. These are 1 m. wide and project 30 cms. They are built of specially shaped bricks, the upper ones unbaked and the lower ones baked, thickly "mud-plastered," and with well-preserved whitewash. A low wall with regular depressions in it gives rise to the suggestion put forward by Mr. Woolley, that it supported a row of wooden columns which, with the half-columns projecting from the outer wall, formed a kind of cloister on that side.

As to the history of this precinct, the possible work of Bûr-Sin, and the work of Kuri-galzu, have already been referred to. The pavement of the court, however, was repaired by Rammânu-âbla-iddina^{m} (about 1070 B.C.), but more thorough work was done on it by Sinbalaṭ-su-iqbi, Assyrian Governor of Ur about 650 B.C. This implies that the governors installed during the Assyrian dominion took the place of the king in caring for the sacred erections in their charge, and we may, therefore, expect an interesting series of inscriptions when the site has been sufficiently excavated.

Tel al-Obeid.

The first in chronological order were the excavations at Tel al-Obeid, the joint expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania. This Mr. Woolley's report describes as a small isolated mound about four miles W.N.W. of Ur on the line of an old canal, by means of which, doubtless, produce and necessities were sent to and from the other cities—that is, when, and if, the canal was navigable for small craft of any kind. The discovery of the site and the first excavations made there are due to Dr. H. R. Hall, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum, who has published interesting and important accounts of what he found there.

In this site we have a good example of what one might expect to find in a small town in ancient Babylonia. Upon a small

natural hillock rising above the surrounding alluvium—the soil from the Persian Gulf and the two great rivers flowing into it—the explorers found a solid platform of stone—a rare material in Babylonia—supporting an erection of the nature of a Babylonian Temple. The lower portion of the wall is described as being of baked brick, the upper portion of sun-dried brick, and the core of crude brick. This, of course, points to its having been a small temple-tower, designated by the old Assyro-Babylonian word *zikkurat*. Stone again entered into the construction of the steps on the S.E. side—a longish staircase in front of which was a brick altar. On the S.W. side a smaller platform of crude brick projected, with a smaller flight of stone steps on the N.W. end. On the main platform stood a temple, now completely ruined. Near here was discovered the foundation-inscription, thrown out when the wall was destroyed. This reads as follows :—

To Nin-ḫursag,
A-anni-padda,
king of Ur,
son of Mes-anni-padda,
king of Ur,
for Nin-ḫursag
(the temple has built).

Transcription.

d. Nin-ḫur-sag,
a-an-ni-pad-da
lugal Uri(wa)
dumu mes- *an-ni-pad-da*
lugal Uri(wa)
d. Nin-ḫur-sag-ra
(é mu-na-du).

I have not seen this inscription, so do not know either the exact wording, or the arrangement, of the last line, as that seems to be written on the reverse, which is not published in the reprint which I have. The same remark applies to the ends of lines 3 *and* 5, *which seem to be continued on the edge, and probably extended to the reverse.*

The strange thing about the plan of this temple is, that there seems to be but little attempt at symmetry in it. Mr. Woolley's plan shows that the rear was fairly placed at right angles with the sides, but the S.W. front retreats, as it were, at the eastern end, on the right of the staircase, forming an obtuse angle, whilst the wall on the left of the staircase forms an acute angle, though not pronounced. The staircase, moreover, is not in the centre of this front, and has a slant to the east. Erections around this temple probably influenced the builders—or, rather, rebuilders—of its walls, but the Rev. J. P. Peters noticed similar irregularities at Niffer; nothing, he says, seemed to be really well centred.

Nevertheless, the restoration of the S.E. façade, with the steps, landing, and porch, has not a bad effect, as the varying angles are not noticeable.

It is impossible to notice all the details of this interesting little site, with its temple dedicated to the "Lady of the Mountain," and all the objects and erections connected with it. Suffice it to say, then, that according to the explorers' discoveries, Dungi, who reigned about 2250 B.C. at the neighbouring town of Ur, was the last king to restore the buildings there. For 4,000 years, therefore, wind and storm have worn down, as it were, the deserted sanctuaries and brought the remains nearer to a state of decay. Yet it was, in its time—perhaps for 2,000 years before its desertion—a place of some importance, as the interest shown in it by its earliest royal patrons show. The works of art which were found on the site are of considerable importance. Among these may be mentioned the mosaic columns from the temple-porch, which consisted of a wooden core covered with bitumen, and overlaid with tesseræ of light-red sandstone, black paste, and mother-of-pearl. These columns seem to have been about 2½ yds. high and 1 yd. (90 cms.) in circumference. Others had been found by Dr. Hall, and still others, smaller, existed.

Further artistic productions belonging to this age-old temple were remains of four copper statues of bulls, mostly in a very bad condition after their forty-two centuries of burial in the earth. They were about 2 ft. high, and were represented advancing with the head turned sharply outwards from the left shoulder. The method of producing them seems to have been by means of castings and plates of bronze fastened to a wood core by means of bronze nails.

Of special interest are the artificial flowers, their stems and

calices of baked clay, the petals and corolla of white limestone, red sandstone, and black paste. The petals sloped downwards, so as to make the blossoms sharply convex. These flowers, it is said, must have stood upright in the open, being fastened together so that they would strike the beholder as being natural. They were closely connected with the standing figures of bulls, and occupied a position suggesting the ground-level, so that the bulls seemed to be walking in a field of daisies.

There is also an admirable frieze with inlay-figures depicting a milking scene, and another with a procession of bulls. In this case the inlay used was shell—a favourite material for carving and engraving among the Assyro-Babylonians.

As already noted, the distance of Tel al-Obeid from Ur, or Mugheir, is about four miles, and it is thought that it was a place of pilgrimage, like Ur itself, and all the other holy places of Babylonia. Of this there can hardly be any doubt, and the artistic decorations of the temple imply that a real attempt was made to render the shrine of Nin-ḫursag attractive. Its sudden abandonment is difficult to explain, but there is just the possibility that its abandonment was due to an invasion by an enemy, and that, like Pompeii, it was cut off when in the height of its prosperity. The full history of Dungi's reign, when found, will probably inform us upon this point.

I have not found in Mr. Woolley's description of the excavations at Tel al-Obeid any indication as to what the ancient name of the place was, but it may, by chance, have been based upon that of the temple, Ê-Nin-ḫursag, "the House of the Lady of the Mountain." With regard to the goddess herself, Nin-ḫursag was the spouse of Merodach, and therefore the principal goddess of that great capital, where she had a temple named Ê-maḫ, because of her other name, Nin-maḫ, "the supreme Lady." The little city four miles from Ur was doubtless in later days, the days of Babylon's supremacy, completely forgotten.

The God of Ur.

The nature of the divinity worshipped at Ur is not without its importance. As is well known, the deity of the city was the moon-god Nannar, also called Sin. It may be contended that there is much uncertainty as to the origin, and consequently the etymology of these words, but it is probable that the former is (as suggested on p. 39) for *Narnar*, and derived from the

Semitic root *nûru*, "light," whilst the latter is Sumerian, and means "knowledge-lord," from *zu*, "to know," and *en*, "lord." We have here, then, the moon-god in his two aspects—that of light-giver, and that of the deity—the *lord—knowing* "signs, seasons, days, and years." This is referred to at length in the Akkadian Creation-story, which states that when Merodach ordered the heavenly bodies :—

He caused Nannaru to shine, ruling the night,
He set him then as a creature of the night, to make known the days.
Monthly, without ceasing, he glorified him with a crown.
"At the beginning of the month then, kindling over the land,
With horns thou shinest to make known the six days,
On the seventh day is the half-disc.
A sabbath then thou encounterest (in) the middle of the month,
When the sun on the horizon of heaven hath approached thee."

Nannaru, therefore, as already recognized (*see* Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, pp. 158–9) indicates the new moon. The usual ideographic group for this is  , in which the first character is the common sign for divinity, and the remainder apparently a combined character, consisting of the sign used for "brother" and "to protect," and that meaning "earth." That the Babylonians should have thought of the moon as "the brother of the earth" is by no means improbable, especially as they had come to the conclusion that the planets and the earth were all of the same nature; but this idea ought not to apply to the group for "new-moon" only.

In all probability there is no inscription in praise of Nannar to compare with that published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iv, pl. 9. There the reader finds the honorific titles bestowed on this noted deity by his worshippers, especially those of Ur, which, in fact, is mentioned in lines 9–10. I give a rendering of the opening invocations here :—

1–2. *Lord, prince of the gods, who in heaven and earth alone is supreme.*
3–4. *Father Nannar, lord Anšar, prince of the gods (who in heaven and earth alone is supreme).*
5–6. *Father Nannar, great lord Anu, prince of the gods (who in heaven and earth alone is supreme).*

7–8. *Father Nannar, lord Sin, prince of the gods (who in heaven and earth alone is supreme).*
9–10. *Father Nannar, lord of Ur, prince of the gods (who in heaven and earth alone is supreme).*
11–12. *Father Nannar, lord of É-kiš-nu-gal, prince of the gods (etc.).*
13–14. *Father Nannar, lord of the sparkling diadem, prince of the gods (etc.).*
15–16. *Father Nannar, whose royalty is exceedingly perfect, prince of the gods (etc.).*
17–18. *Father Nannar, who in a princely garment advanceth, prince of the gods (etc.).*
19–20. *Mighty steer whose horn is massive, who has perfected his limbs, he groweth a beard of lapis, beauty and richness abound (to him).*
22–23. *Fruit which is produced by itself, growing in its abode, seemly to the sight, its richness undimmed.*
The merciful one, begetter of all, who with the living creatures hath founded a seat.
The merciful and gracious father, who holdeth the life of the land in his hand.
Lord, thy divinity, like the remote heavens (and) the vast sea, is filled with awesomeness.
Producing the land, founding the shrines, proclaiming their names.
Father, begetter of the gods and man, founder of the sanctuary, fixer of the divine offerings.
Proclaimer of the royal priesthood, giver of reverence (?), decider of destiny for the remote future.
Ancient, mighty, whose heart is wide, none can divine (it).
The speedy one, whose knees rest not, he who openeth the road for the gods his brothers.

From this extract we see that the Urite priests claimed for Nannar all the attributes of a supreme deity—he was a prince of the gods, who in heaven and earth *alone was supreme*, the embodiment of Anšar, the "host of heaven," and identical with Anu, the god of the heavens himself. But—and probably above all things—he was the type of the self-creator—the fruit (*inbu*) which was produced by itself, for the disc of the moon was likened to the products* of a fruitful tree. They believed

* See pp. 21–22.

that he "held the life of the land in his hand," and it may, therefore, be supposed that the Babylonians had found out the influence which the moon exercised on vegetation. As he is so frequently described as "father" in this hymn, it is only natural that he should have been regarded as "the begetter of the gods and man," though this is not in accordance with the belief in the other cities of Babylonia, especially at Babylon, where the begetters of the gods were Apsū and Tnawath, and Merodach and Zēr-panîtu^{m} were the creators of mankind. These and other varying mythological teachings in Babylonia, however, possibly led to the identification of all the gods with Merodach—for at Babylon, Sin or Nannar was "Merodach the illuminator of the night," and owing to this, all the deities of the Babylonian pantheon could be identified with him and with each other.* Such was the nature of Babylonian monotheism, which was due in all probability to what became an absolute necessity, namely, that of reconciling conflicting creeds within the Babylonian States, with their various patron gods, and the related heavenly hierarchies admitted by the various priesthoods.

Owing to his knowledge of the "times, and seasons, and days, and years," Nannar was *bêlu*^{m} *paris purussē šamê u êrṣiti*^{m}, "the lord, maker of the decisions of heaven and earth."

Tameḫ ^{d}*·Girri û mê-mutariû šiknat napišti*^{m}, *ayau îlu mala-ka imṣi ?*
Holder of the fire-god and of water, causing living creatures to exist, what god hath found as much as thee ?
Ina šamê mannu ṣîru ? Atta idišši-ka ṣîrat.
Who is supreme in heaven ? Thou alone art supreme.
Ina êrṣiti^{m} *mannu ṣîru ? Atta édišši-ka ṣîrat.*
Who is supreme on earth ? Thou alone art supreme.
As for thee, thy word is recorded in heaven ; and the Igigi bow down the face.
As for thee, thy word is recorded on earth ; and the Anunnaki kiss the ground.
As for thee, thy command passeth on high like the wind ; (and) pasture and watering-place abound.

Here, again, it would seem that the Babylonians were aware of the moon's influence on vegetation and on the breeding of

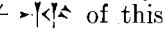
* *See* the *Journal* of the Victoria Institute, 1895, pp. 8–11.

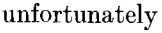
flocks and herds—his word prevailed in connection with verdure (*ûrkitu*) and also in the pen and in the sheepfold (*tarbaṣu & supuru*). But Nannar's influence was also moral :—

As for thee, thy word causeth truth and justice to be, the people speak the truth.
As for thee, thy word (is) the boundless heavens, the (sky-) covered earth—none can comprehend (it).
As for thee, who learneth thy word, who repeateth (it) ?
Bord in heaven (abideth thy) lordship, in earth (thy) princeliness—among the gods thy brothèrs thou hast no rival.

It was apparently recognized that the moon, the indicator of the seasons and the years, could not lie, but the truths which the moon's movements embodied were not always to be understood of men, and therefore no one could learn or teach them thoroughly. But the last line of the above extract suggests that his worshippers did not address him altogether without flattery. Surely the sun, from which the moon received his light, was more than a rival. And was not Šamaš, in the minds of the Babylonians, the great judge of the world ? Did not his light, penetrating everywhere, see and reveal all that took place ?

If in this inscription Nannar seems to usurp the place of Merodach, in some of the opening lines above he is referred to in his own proper character, and identified with Zuen or Sin, the moon-god. In this country, if not exactly "the holder of the fire-god (*girri*) and of water," the moon is at least regarded as influencing the weather and indicating (weekly) periods of heat in summer, and as being at all times the possible distributor (so to say) of sunshine or of rain or snow. Such beliefs of the moon's influence may be unscientific and have no foundation in fact, but they are certainly very widely spread, and evidently go back to a very remote antiquity.

The fine, though imperfectly understood, *Lamentation for the ruin of the Holy Places of Ur*, in dialectic Sumerian, has already been translated on pp. 40–41, and from it we see that "the great lady," the moon god's spouse, inhabited the temple É-kiš-nu-gal at Ur with him. After the carrying away of her image by some enemy, it would seem not to have been replaced by a new one, owing, probably, to the hope that the old original would be recovered. As to the name of the temple, the pronunciation É-kiš-*nu*-gal is not only confirmed by the dialectic variant  of this inscription, but also the syllabary in

Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, xii, pl. 18, l. 14 from below, where the pronunciation of  seems to be given as *nu-u* instead of *šir*. In the next line we have this character followed by  , and we are told to pronounce this group as *giš-nu*. This is explained by the Semitic *nu-[u-ru]*, "light." thus setting the reading *É-giš-nu-gal* beyond a doubt. *Giš-nu* is also given as the pronunciation of  , rendered by three words which are unfortunately incomplete. We have, therefore, no clue as to the other meanings of the group, though one of them, if completed as *ḫarû*, with the possible signification of "to dig," might suggest that *giš-nu* may mean "penetrating light." A temple with a similar name was  , *É-šir-gal-anna*, "the house of the great light of heaven," explained as "temple 64 (at) Lagaš" (Tel-loh) in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, II, 61, 37g.

In the "great list of gods," the section explaining the attributes of Sin are unfortunately broken away on the left-hand side, where his Sumerian names occur (*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, XXIV, pl. 39), but the right-hand (Semitic) column is intact. From this we learn that as Nannar, he was "Sin of heaven and earth," an explanation which seems to attribute to the first component character after the divine prefix,  , *sis* or *uru*, the meaning of "heaven," whilst to  , *ki*, was attached the ordinary meaning of "earth," which would imply that the Assyrian scribes quite neglected the fact that, in the early Babylonian texts, the group for *Nannar* is always written as one character. In the next line, as *Zuenna*, "knowledge-lord," he is explained as being "Sin of decisions" (*purussū*). After this he successively appears as "Sin of tiaras," "of rain," "of brightness" (*namurte*), "of becoming bright" (*namāri*) (which translates []), "of prayer" (*ikribe*), "of dawning" (*niphe*), "of the sheepfold" (*supuri*), "of riches" (*igisî*), "of the ark" (*makurri*), "of the month," and "Sin, whose shining is bright."

In this list, the attributes of Sin, the moon-god, number fifteen, but there is only one set down for Nin-gal, his spouse, who is simply "the great lady of the land"—*Nin-gal ša mâti*. This is an undoubted defect in the unknown Babylonian compiler's work, but the gap can apparently be filled by a reference to other tablets, as, for instance, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, XXIV, pl. 30, IV, 11 ff., where we find Nin-galla followed

by *Ab-nir-ra* (?), *Nin-sir*, "lady of light," *Gul-si- . . .*, *Lugal-guda-mu*, "queen of my (heavenly) bull," and *Nin-dirig-ga* (?) "the supreme lady" or the like.

In the name Arioch (Gen. xiv), it is thought that we have the not uncommon Sumerian appellation of Sin or Nannar, namely, Aku. In this case, Arioch would mean the same as Warad-Sin, "the servant of the moon-god," with whom he is commonly—and probably rightly—identified. On pl. 49 of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonion Tablets*, XXV, we have this word, *A-ku*, explained as *Sin mâr rubê*, "Sin, the princely son," which gives the etymology attributed to it—*a*, "son," and *ku*, "prince." 𒀭 *Ku*, however, with the meaning of "prince" is stated to have been pronounced *ge*. Nevertheless, we can hardly say that the etymology is unsound, as the final vowel may have been omitted altogether, producing a form more nearly approaching the Hebrew. "*G*," moreover, was often hardened to "*k*" when final. Arioch for *Eriak* may be simply due to faulty massoretic pointing, as in other Hebrew transcriptions of Assyro-Babylonian names. In what I have called "the legend of Chedorlaomer" in the *Journal* of the Victoria Institute for 1895–6, p. 26, we have the name of a Babylonian king which I then regarded as being that of Arioch. This, however, was written differently, and appeared as *Eri-Ê-aku*, and had a strange variant, namely, *Eri-Ê-kua*, "the servant of the (divine) Êaku" or "Êkua." The likeness of the two names is so great that they are most likely connected, but whilst Eri-Aku or Eri-Age is historical, Eri-Êkua or Eri-Êaku is, in all probability, legendary. Other names compounded with that of the god Sin appear in the *Journal* for 1895, pp. 7, 8–10, 13, 15–16.

The migration of the family of Terah to Haran has been attributed to the supposed fact that the moon-god was the deity whom Terah worshipped owing to his residence at Ur of the Chaldees. In the Talmud, the patriarch is described as an officer in the service of Nimrod, who, like his master, worshipped idols. How far this may be true we do not know, but the chapters of Genesis dealing with Abraham show that the family of Terah was not entirely free from that taint, though there is no mention of any deity other than "gods" who were in the form of *teraphim*. The twelve gods mentioned in the Talmud, as worshipped by Terah, suggest that he was regarded as having adored the deities connected with the signs of the Zodiac. As to Haran, the Ḫarran of the inscriptions, the moon-god was certainly worshipped there, but so were the other Babylonian deities, just as the same

pantheon was honoured in most of the cities of Babylonia and Assyria.

From these notes we see that the moon-god was a favourite deity among the Babylonians and the Assyrians. He was to them one of the great gods, comparable with Merodach. Some of his titles and descriptive names have been already given, and to these may be added others. We have seen that he was prince of the gods; lord Anšar; great lord Anu; lord of Ur; lord of the sparkling diadem, etc.; such are some of the names already quoted, but he was also "the great horn of heaven," "the princely son," "the king," "the lord," "the distributor of abundance" (*Mu-ḫengalla*), "*Asari*" (a name of Merodach), "the star of heaven" (in the sense of "the greatest star"), "the king of the land and of the earth," "the god 30," and "the god of the 30th day" (*Šelašū*).

One more point may be noticed, namely, the likening of the moon to a fruit, already referred to. The best-known passage is a colophon which gives the running title of the Assyro-Babylonian series of hemerologies—those monthly lists of divine feasts and sabbaths which were such a feature of Babylonian worship. This title is probably taken from the first line of the first tablet, and reads *Sin bêl warḫi*, "Sin, lord of the month." In this the name of Sin is expressed by the scribe-invented ideograph  , which generally stands for *înbu*, "fruit," the Heb. *enabh*. There were apparently two explanations of this character, one being that it was composed of  twice and  twice; and the other (which has the form  that it was  four times (*Western Asia Inscriptions*, V, pl. 19, lines 57–60). Unfortunately the Semitic explanations are broken away.

Still another variant form is given by the B.M. tablet 81–11–3, 1539, where we find  pronounced *mašdu* in Sumerian explained in the Semitic column as *înbu*, "fruit," and  ^{d}*Sin*, the common name of the moon-god. All these three forms seem to me to be attempts to show the roundness of a fruit, or the disc of the moon, by means of straight lines or wedges, the eye adding thereto an imaginary circle. Another ideograph for fruit is a fourfold arrangement of the character for "enclosure," thus:  . The Sumerian pronunciation of this is *gurun*

and the Semitic rendering *înbi* for *înbu*, probably because, if the scribe had written the nominative form, it might erroneously have been read *înpu*. As to the ideograph, it probably expresses a heap or cluster.

Not only did the Babylonians and the Assyrians believe in many gods and many lords, but those gods and lords possessed many names. The moon-god's oldest names were probably Sin and Nannar: most of the others were descriptive or honorific, and a few seem to have been due to comparison with things on the earth. No other revelation had they, alas! than the revelation of their own imaginations. Yet worthy men were those old scribes of the wedge-writing of Babylonia and Assyria, and we owe to them mines of ancient lore and learning.

Postscript.

Since writing the above, Mr. Woolley's article upon the further excavations at Ur has appeared in the *Antiquaries' Journal*. In this addition to his reports of the work done he gives an historical account of the temple-area and that of the *zikkurat*. On the N.W. of the latter he located the terrace of Ur-Nammu (that is, Ur-Engur). Here he found this king's cones inscribed, in accordance with the usual custom, with a dedication to the god of the place, Nannar. They were inserted in the vertical divisions of the brickwork—a detail not hitherto known. Mr. Woolley next turned his attention to the Nin-gal temple on the other side of the *zikkurat*, where he found, among other things, a fragment of a diorite stele with a dedication to that goddess by Uru-ba-gal, king of Erech, who ruled about 2350 B.C. The dedication was made by his *šakkanaku*, Ur- (?). He thinks it is probable that the name is to be restored as Ur-Engur (Ur-Nanmu); this would indicate that at this time Ur was a vassal state of Erech, and that Ur-Engur began his career as a subordinate governor who rebelled against Uru-ba-gal and, having achieved independence, founded the 3rd dynasty of Ur.

After this is a description of the sanctuary Ê-dublal-maḫ, where tablets of the nature of schoolboys' exercises were found. One of these, a "syllabary," or perhaps a sign-list, is designated a "the property of the boys' school." Most important of all, however, would seem to be what is described as the remains of a little museum of local antiquities, installed by Bêl-salti-Nannar,

daughter of Nabonidus, and high-priestess of the god. The writer of the notice in *The Times Literary Supplement* says, "How modern it all seems," but most Assyriologists would probably add, "What else could you expect from the daughter of the noble Babylonian antiquarian-king, Nabonidus, to whom students of Babylonian history owe so much?" Finally, Mr. Woolley's report describes the great stele found in Ê-dublal-maḫ, with a bas-relief, and recording "the erection of the greatest monument that to-day survives at Ur (namely, the *zikkurat*), and with it a contemporary portrait of the founder (Ur-Engur), who was the greatest of the city's kings."

It is probable that, as indicated by the name Sur-Šunabi, in the *Legend of Gilgameš*, the element  , *ur*, of Ur-Engur or Ur-Nammu should be transcribed as *sur*. The falling-away of the "*s*" occurs in the values of other characters.

An important historical personage appears in Sin-balaṭsu-iqbi, Assyrian governor of Ur about 650 B.C., whose name occurs on the pavement-bricks a few centimetres below those of Nabonidus in the Neo-Babylonian ruins of the temple of Nin-gal, the spouse of Nannar.

[Among the pictures shown were various forms of temple-towers, for comparison with that discovered at Ur: the "Tower of Babel" at Babylon; the double temple-tower at Aššur; an old Babylonian temple-tower from a boundary-stone; and two varying forms of temple-towers from Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art in Antiquity*. In addition to these, the author was able to show, by the kindness of Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, several pictures of the results of the excavations at Ur and al-Obeid (*Antiquarians' Jovrnal*, Oct., 1924, pl. XLVI.); the N.E. elevation of the *zikkurat* at Ur; three views of the same from different angles; a view of the long flight of steps leading to the top; a portion of the brickwork with a cone of Sin-balaṭ-su-iqbi still in position; the sanctuary Ê-dublal-maḫ; and friezes with inlays, including the milking-scene, from Tell al-Obeid. With the older pictures, the views, etc., formed an excellent series.]

Discussion.

The Chairman, in calling for a vote of thanks to Dr. Pinches for his lecture, remarked upon the thoroughness with which a difficult subject had been summarized. Many characters had been brought

before the audience, but the advantage of the lecture was not that it made the men to live again, but rather that it brought to view the magnitude of their work—work, moreover, that was human from first to last. If the religious conceptions were not particularly elevating, yet it was evident that they dominated the men who erected temple-towers and altars in pursuance of a devotion which it is difficult for us, in this day and in Western lands, fully to understand. And from the midst of such things, at the call of God, there came forth the father of the faithful, Abraham, of whom we read that he was "the friend of God."

Mr. THEODORE ROBERTS pointed out the contrast between the numerous flights of steps in the ancient temples which they had seen depicted on the screen and the Divine prohibition of the Mosaic law—"Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar" (Exod. xx, 26), as showing the difference between the religion of human effort and that of Divine revelation.

He regarded Abraham—the chief figure in the book of Genesis—as the first nobleman known to authentic history, and thought his position in Canaan resembled that of a European of to-day amongst negroes or Chinese. He called attention to Abraham's self-abnegation in leaving the choice to his nephew, and his disinterestedness in refusing to take anything from the king whom he had rescued. It might be asked whence he obtained these fine qualities; but as a man's character was mostly formed by the god he worshipped (and Abraham was known in after years as "the friend of God"), we had the greater question to answer: Whence came this pure monotheism which Abraham professed in his homeland amidst the idolaters, of whom we had heard from Professor Pinches, who believed the nonsense that the moon-god produced the sun (Joshua xxiv, 15)?

Abraham was evidently the depository of those ancient records which he carried with him to Canaan, and his descendants to Egypt, and which Moses seems to have put together to form the book of Genesis.

In revealing Himself to Abraham as the Almighty, God commanded, "Walk before Me and be thou perfect" (Gen. xvii, 1), even as our Lord in His Sermon on the Mount enjoins us Christians

to be perfect, as our Heavenly Father is perfect (Matt. v, 48). We, as Abraham, are to take our character from the God we know as Father, and thus not be affected by the way people treat us, but love our enemies—even as our Father is likewise unaffected by the treatment He receives, but makes His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust.

The chief lesson that Professor Pinches would seem to teach us was the contrast between these old religions and that of the Bible.

The Rev. J. J. B. COLES thanked the Professor for his learned paper and excellent illustrations.

Anything bearing on the history of Abraham, his departure from Ur of the Chaldees, and his idolatrous associations with the Sumerian temple-builders, was of special interest in these days, when the accuracy of Biblical statements was called in question.

The tower " and its top with the heavens " (Heb.), *i.e.* with the zodiac depicted on it, of Gen. xi—as in ancient temples in Egypt, and as perpetuated in Freemasonry to this day—was with rebellious intent.

" They left off to build the city "—but do not modern attempts at " reconstruction " include projects of human brotherhood from which the truth of God relating to Christ and His glories in creation and redemption are deliberately excluded ? " The Great Architect of the Universe " is not intended to refer to Christ.

Mr. G. B. MICHELL, O.B.E., said : It is such a pleasure, and so important for the cause of the truth of the Bible, that a great authority on Assyriology, such as Professor Pinches, should favour us from time to time with reliable information on the subject of the testimony of the ancient monuments, that I hesitate to appear to find fault with anything he is good enough to tell us. And on the general subject of this most valuable paper I have no criticism to offer. I wish, however, to take this opportunity to raise the question of the connection between the earliest forefathers of Israel with Babylon.

I have the gravest doubts whether Abraham ever was in Babylonia, or whether the " land of Shin'ar " was in Southern Babylonia at all. Indeed, I think it can be clearly shown that neither of these

suppositions are true, or that early Israelitish culture ever came into contact with that of Assyria or Babylonia before the time of Ashur-nasir-pal III—say, 876 B.C.—when this king conquered Carchemish. Undoubtedly the "land of Shin'ar" was identified with Sumer in the days of Daniel, at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.; but I believe that that was a late and a mistaken identification. I suggest that "Shin'ar" is the same as the country called "Sangar" or "Shankhar" in the early Egyptian and Babylonian inscriptions, and was situated to the north-east of Phœnicia, not far from Aleppo. Further, the Tower of Babel was in this country, and not in Babylonia. Note that the tower was never finished, and that the city which the builders intended to found was never built (*see* Gen. xi, 8); it cannot therefore be identified with Babylon; the names must not be confounded. The native and Biblical name of *Babylon* was "Bab-el," the "Gate of God"; the name of the tower was "Babel," connected with root "Belbel," meaning "confusion."

In Isaiah xi, 11, the name "Shin'ar" occurs in a list which includes Assyria, Egypt, Pathros, Cush, Elam, Hamath, and "the coast-lands of the sea." If juxtaposition signifies anything, the association here is rather with Hamath and the Mediterranean coast. "Shin'ar," in Joshua vii, 21, and in Zech. v, 11, is quite non-committal, and the only other references to the name in the Bible are in the book of Genesis. The name does not occur in the Babylonian or Assyrian inscriptions as applying to any part of Babylonia.

As for Nimrod's kingdom, in Gen. x, 10, "Erech" is supposed to be the Assyrian Arku or Urku, the modern Warka, half-way between Hilla and Korna, a place of great celebrity in the cuneiform records. The identification of "Akkad" with "Agade" is very doubtful, and "Calneh" has not been identified at all. The Bible references associate Calneh with the districts north and east of Phœnicia. I am inclined to think that "Nimrod" may be another name for "Shulgi" or "Dungi," to whom Professor Pinches has referred in this paper.

As for the birthplace of Abraham, I am convinced that it was not the great city of Ur, of which we have been hearing. It is carefully distinguished throughout the Bible as "Ur-*casdim*," apparently to

accentuate this fact. "Ur-casdim" could not have been far from Haran, because Nahor, who remained behind, is shown in Gen. xxiv, 10, to have dwelt in Aram-Naharaim ("Naharin," between the Orontes and the Euphrates), and Bethuel, his son, and Laban, his grandson, as dwelling in Paddan-Aram, not far from Haran (Gen. xxvii, 43; xxviii, 10; and xxix, 4). There is an ancient Hebrew tradition to the effect that Ur-casdim was in this district and not near the mouth of the Euphrates.

I would point out that all the sympathies of early Israel, and indeed of their whole history, were with *Egypt*. They were consistently *pro-Egyptian* throughout, and *anti-Semitic*. In view of the German school of criticism and its insistence on the Babylonian origin of the Mosaic accounts of the Creation, the Flood, and of the religious and civil codes of Israel, it is most important to examine this question. As I have stated, I am convinced that the facts are all against this theory. The history and the religious and civil organization of Israel, and their general culture, were all recorded in the books of the Bible up to the time of the division into two kingdoms, just as we have them now, many centuries before the Israelites could have learned anything from Babylon or Assyria.

Mr. SIDNEY COLLETT said he was interested to note that so high an authority as Professor Pinches held the view that the Tower of Babel was not built with the idea of its top reaching Heaven, as the Authorized Version of Gen. xi, 4, would seem to imply. The more literal rendering of that passage is, I believe, "whose top is in the heavens."

There is also a very similar expression in Deut. ix, 1, where Moses speaking of the Anakims, Israel's enemies, said, according to our Authorized Version, they had: "Cities great, and fenced up to heaven." But here, again, a better rendering of the Hebrew is, I believe, "Cities great and *fortified into the heavens*."

Now, there is in the New Testament a passage which throws a striking and solemn light upon these otherwise mysterious words, viz., Eph. vi, 12, where we read that "we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in

high places "—or, as it would be better translated, "*wicked spirits*" or "*spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenlies.*"

Now, seeing that Satan is "the prince of the power of the air" (Eph. ii, 2), it is not strange that his emissaries should also occupy that region. So that it would appear that the men who built the Tower of Babel were deliberately seeking an alliance with these unseen "hosts of wickedness" in open defiance against Almighty God!

Similarly, Moses appears to refer to the same kind of thing when he spoke of the cities of the Anakims being "fortified into the heavens"; thus reminding the Israelites of the solemn fact that the victories they had over their enemies, could only have been achieved by *the power of God working with them*, as, indeed, Deut. ix, 3, clearly shows. This is remarkably illustrated by the fact that whenever Israel were at war with their enemies, if they were, through disobedience, out of touch with God, they were invariably defeated, *however great their numbers were*. While, on the other hand, when, owing to their obedience to God's laws, they were enjoying His presence and favour, they were always victorious, *however small their numbers were*! And it is doubtless to this great fact that the Apostle refers in Eph. vi, 11, where we are warned to put on the *whole armour of God*, that we may be able to stand against *the wiles of the devil.*

The AUTHOR'S reply: As the answering on the spur of the moment of unexpected questions and comments is always exceedingly unsatisfactory, I make no attempt to reproduce what I replied when I read the above paper, but write my remarks on the discussion independently of my spoken words.

Mr. Theodore Roberts has spoken about the numerous steps leading to the upper stages of the temple-towers. It is doubtful, however, if sacrifices were offered on these high platforms. On the highest stage of the Tower of Babel there seems to have been a chamber wherein, probably, ceremonies were performed and the god was supposed to descend and rest. The altar below, whereon young animals were sacrificed, was seemingly quite near to the ground-level, whilst that where large and full-grown animals were sacrificed was on the ground itself.

There is no doubt as to the nobility of Abraham, to which Eupolemus refers, and he and his family may well have carried Babylonian tablets to Palestine and to Egypt. With regard to the sun being the offspring of the moon, this idea comes from that of progressive perfectionment or evolution, and, as we know, in reckoning time, the ancient Semites regarded a day as consisting of "evening and morning," and the ruler of the night did not, therefore, follow the ruler of the day, but preceded him.

The contrast between polytheism and Hebrew monotheism was naturally great, but in the absence of a revelation the Babylonians had no other course open to them but to continue the faith in "lords and gods many," as handed down to them by their forefathers. The suggestion of the Rev. J. J. B. Coles, that the Tower of Babel is described as having its top "with the heavens," and not "in the heavens," is interesting. We know that the Babylonians sculptured the signs of the zodiac on their boundary-stones, or, rather, land-grants (which seem to have been deposited in the temples), but that their temple-towers had something analogous is an entirely new idea. The tower at Babylon, though very high, was far from being of excessive tallness—it was doubtless higher than the towers of other Babylonian cities, that is all.

The text of Gen. xi reads *bashshamayim*, "in the heavens." If the signs of the zodiac were referred to, we ought to have a different word—probably *bammasaroth*, which would mean "in the zodiacal signs." Hebrew specialists, however, will be better able to pronounce an opinion upon the alternative readings.

I am greatly gratified by the kind words with which Mr. G. B. Michell introduces his remarks. Assyriologists, however, will be greatly startled at the suggestions which he makes. That Babel should not be Babylon, as hitherto universally believed, seems to me to be unthinkable. Indeed, we have only to turn to the fourteenth chapter of Genesis to find the proof of Abraham's sojourn in Babylonia. There we read of Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar (*âl Larsa*, "the city of Larsa"), Chedorlaomer, king of Elam (of the family or the families of the Elamite "Kudurites"), and Tidal, king of Nations, generally regarded as Media, but the royal name is probably one similar to the well-known Tudḫul'a of the Hittites. All these were nations in alliance Ellasar being in

Babylonia, and therefore part of Shin'ar at a time when Elam was overlord in Babylonia, and Amraphel, of Amorite origin, exercised the overlordship of the Cities of the Plain. And how is it possible that Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, all of them Babylonian names, should not have been cities in Babylonia—that country from which Nimrod went out into Assyria—Assyria, which had the same language, the same gods, and the same literature as Babylonia itself ?

Notwithstanding the plausibility of the contention that the Tower of Babel was not at Babylon, it is worthy of note that *it was the people who were scattered abroad from thence upon the face of the earth who left off to build the city.* It is not said that the tower was not ultimately completed, nor is it said that those who remained did not continue to build houses there when they wanted them. The only other Babylon known to me is the old Roman fortress so named at Cairo, but this could not in any case be regarded as cast of Palestine.

With regard to the height of the Tower of Babel, there is no indication in Gen. xi that this had anything to do with a project to invade Heaven. The real reason is clearly stated—they wanted to have a rallying-point, but the very monument which was to have supplied it proved to be something with a contrary effect, for " from thence they were scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." But Mr. Sidney Collett's contentions are interesting and well marshalled.

In reply to Mr. Hoste, our Hon. Secretary, the cylinders of Nabonidus are written in Semitic Babylonian, otherwise Akkadian, which is regarded as being the term applied to the Semites of Babylonia and their language. Its vocabulary is probably closest akin to that of the Hebrews, but its verbal conjugations are more numerous and probably, also, more regular. Sumerian differed in that it was an agglutinative language, but the connection with Chinese, which has been claimed for it, seems to me to be doubtful.

I am much obliged to my audience for their interest in a somewhat special subject. This, however, was unavoidable, for lectures upon excavations, no matter where carried on, must be of a very special nature. Unfortunately I was unable to read even half of what I have written, otherwise there would have been more variety in what I had to say. The translations of the religious texts, however, may

prove to be interesting reading, and will supplement my paper upon idol-worship read on December 28th, 1924, and published in the *Journal* of the Victoria Institute, 1925, pp. 10 ff. This additional matter supplies much that was wanting in the earlier communication.

I am sure that my audience will join with me in many expressions of thanks to the administration of the British Museum for the lantern-slides which they were so kind as to lend me. These have added greatly to the interest of the paper. It is needless also to say, that I am much obliged to those who have joined in the discussion for their appreciative remarks.

Note upon Erech, Akkad, and Calneh (p. 57).

Erech in Assyro-Babylonian is Uruk. Akkad is regarded as being derived from the Sumerian *Agade*, the name of its capital. The Biblical "Accad" is certainly the Babylonian "Akkad." Calneh seems to have been identified with Niffer by the Rabbins, who, however, reproduced the name as Nopher, a form which would account for its pronunciation as heard by the American explorers, namely, *Noufar*. (*See* my article on Calneh in the *International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, vol. I (London and Chicago, 1915)). *Calneh* or *Calno* in Syria was a different site.