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AND THE

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THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY

EBERHARD SCHRADER, D. D., PH. D.,
PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN &c.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE SECOND ENLARGED GERMAN EDITION

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY PREFACE

BY

REV. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, M. A.,
PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, CHESHUNT COLLEGE.

VOL. I.

WITH A MAP.

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FROM THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

A complete decad has intervened between the publication of the first and the appearance of this second edition. It is true that the former had for some time been out of print. Various circumstances, however, rendered it impossible to complete the new work at an earlier date.

It was obvious that this new edition would have to take account of the progress that has been made in the interval by the various departments of investigation of which cognizance is taken in this treatise. And it was no less evident that this was not to be accomplished without a thorough revision and partial reconstruction and, moreover, not without a considerable increase of the materials which enter into the composition of the work.

The past ten years have certainly not been destitute of results arising from the closer investigation of the Monuments which are dealt with in these pages. During this interval we have become acquainted with an entire literature of great extent and importance, consisting of ancient Babylonian

legend and poetry, whereby the knowledge we have hitherto acquired has been, in some cases, strikingly confirmed and supplemented, and, in others, placed in its true light in particular details.

Nevertheless I thought it undesirable to make any alteration in the plan and general arrangement of the book, and it seemed to me especially imperative to preserve its character as a commentary. I do not conceal from myself that many would have preferred to see the materials presented in a more complete and systematic manner. On the other hand, I believe I am not mistaken in attributing the kindly reception accorded to the book in its earlier shape chiefly to the circumstance, that in its unassuming form as a commentary it did least to prejudice the judgment of the reader. It rather enabled him to form a sound judgment for himself, from the authentic statements of the Inscriptions, respecting the whole extent covered by those records, and their capacity of throwing light on the Old Testament.

Similar considerations have induced me not to depart from the plan I have hitherto followed of reproducing the cuneiform texts. I am far from underrating the advantage, to one who approaches an Assyrian text, of having that text in the very form which is to be regarded as the correct Assyrian according to the present state of investigation;

and he who is conversant with the nature of Assyrian writing (especially if he has access to the original sources) can entertain no serious objection to such a mode of transcribing an Assyrian document. On the other hand, there are those who are in danger of regarding a text thus restored as that of the Monuments. It was accordingly desirable to dispense with the external correctness, which does not belong to the original texts, and to reproduce the Inscriptions as far as possible in the form in which they appear in the Monuments. This is always effected in the simplest way by dividing the syllables [with hyphens] in words phonetically written and by combining the syllables in words expressed by ideograms. — —

The map attached to the book, which the reader owes to the kindness of my esteemed friend and colleague Kiepert, will, I trust, prove no unwelcome addition. The indexes will also be a valuable aid in the use of this work. I desire to express my best thanks to Dr. B. Moritz who has adapted them to the new (German) edition.

I beg the reader to observe the 'Corrections and Annotations' and to rectify the misprints that are noted, before reading the book.

Berlin, Nov. 1882.

Schrader.

INTRODUCTORY PREFACE.

The steadily increasing interest that has been awakened in the results of cuneiform discovery will, it is hoped, ensure these volumes a welcome among English students of theology. The works of Dr. Schrader have long held a deservedly high place in the estimation of continental scholars. In the department of Old Testament criticism he has made valuable contributions; besides his revised edition of De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament, we may especially mention his "Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte" which is recognized by Nöldeke to be important in its bearing on the critical problems of the early chapters of Genesis. On this field of enquiry Dr. Schrader may now be ranked with Dr. Dillmann as occupying a somewhat conservative position, as compared with the school of which Wellhausen is the recognized leader.

But it is to the department of Assyriology that Dr. Schrader has in recent years chiefly devoted his energies. The former edition of the work now introduced to the English public and the dissertations entitled "Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung" were held in high esteem by English as well as continental scholars. It was the invaluable aid derived from the "Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament" by the writer of this preface, in the preparation of

notes for his class on the Hebrew text of Isaiah, that suggested the idea of translating the original work, when a second edition should have appeared.

This second edition has attained nearly double the size of the first. It not only embodies the additions to, and necessary modifications of the views put forth in the earlier edition (already published in the author's "Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung"), but it has also laid under contribution such works as Fried. Delitzsch's "Wo lag das Paradies?", Lotz's "Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pilesers I", the exegetic and mythological researches of Dr. Oppert and François Lenormant, the remarkable archaeological discoveries of George Smith and Hormuzd Rassam and the invaluable contributions to our historic and linguistic knowledge furnished by Prof. Sayce and Prof. Haupt, to say nothing of a host of articles in scientific journals and transactions of learned societies which it would be a wearisome task to enumerate. The reader can scarcely peruse a single page of the book that now lies before him without being confronted by citations and references that indicate the immense industry and wide-ranging enquiry which were necessary to the production of such a work. Not a stray article in any magazine or journal, English or continental, appears to have escaped the unslumbering attention of the author and every scrap of evidence on the subject in hand is cautiously sifted and its significance duly estimated. It will be readily understood that such an accumulation of citations and references, while it enhances the value of the work, does not render it more readable or perspicuous to the student as his eye glances over the pages. It has therefore been the habit of the translator to relegate parentheses of undue length into footnotes whenever practicable, and to

present the original under a garb that might be recognized as English.

The English edition differs in some important respects from the original German work. In the English translation the excursus of Dr. Haupt on the Babylonian flood-story and its accompanying glossary are omitted. All the main points, however, in the cuneiform flood-legend that touch upon the Biblical account are stated by Dr. Schrader in the pages of this volume, and he has kindly added to the English edition a succinct account of the Chaldaean flood-story and has likewise appended the translation of an important extract of the cuneiform text, with which corresponding passages from the scriptural account are compared in an opposite parallel column.

The English edition also embodies the corrections and additions to the German original furnished by Dr. Schrader himself, as the translation was being passed through the press; and I would take this opportunity of expressing my great obligations to the author for the valuable aid he has rendered. Every sheet that came from the printer has had the advantage of the author's revision, and in the transcription of the cuneiform texts and elsewhere a very large number of corrections and improvements have been introduced. Occasional notes of my own have been added which are in every case enclosed in square brackets, with "Tr." or "Translator" appended.

The value of the present work to the theologian is many-sided. To the student of Old Testament history it sheds a much needed light over the foreign relations of Israel during the regal period, while the discovery of the eponym lists has made the reconsideration of our Biblical chronology necessary. On the earlier chapters of Genesis, especially

the Creation-accounts, the Paradise- and Flood-narratives, we now possess an invaluable store of illustrative material, while the race-table in Genesis X and XI presents an entirely new aspect. The reader of those portions of the work that are devoted to these chapters will find that many names, that were formerly ethnographic terms of altogether vague extent and meaning, have now, in the light of what the inscriptions have taught us, acquired greater definiteness whether ethnic or local (e. g. Gomer, Meshech, Tubal, Heth, Shinar &c.). On these points he will not fail to note with satisfaction the cautious reserve with which the author approaches all proposed identifications, however alluring, which rest upon an inadequate basis of evidence.—Also to the student of comparative religion these volumes cannot fail to be of considerable interest in their contributions to our knowledge of Semitic and pre-Semitic cultus and mythology. Under this head special importance belongs to the illustrative notes on the Babylonian Creation-story (Vol. I pp. 6—14) and to the articles on Jahve (p. 23), Baal and Ashtoreth (pp. 161 foll.), Dagon (pp. 170 foll.), Rimmôn (p. 196), Sakkûth and Kêwân (note on Amos V. 26) and on the sacredness of the number seven (Vol. I pp. 18 foll.).—On the other hand the student of Biblical criticism, stimulated by controversies which have agitated Britain North of the Tweed, will occasionally find that the Assyriologist has something to say on the *vexata quaestio* of the Priestercodex and the age of its compilation. On this subject more will be said further on.—Last, and certainly not least, the Hebrew philologist will discover in the glossary appended to the volume, and in the "Notes and Illustrations" scattered throughout, a useful store of information on Assyrian in its relation to Hebrew. Each Assyrian

root is exhibited in Hebrew characters and compared with its Hebrew equivalent, and also frequently receives illustration from other Semitic languages. This is a department of investigation that promises to be fruitful of results destined to exercise a marked influence on Old Testament exegesis. Dr. Friederich Delitzsch has already given us the first-fruits of his investigations on the relation of Assyriology to some of the more obscure points of Hebrew lexicography in his "Hebrew language viewed in the light of Assyrian research" and has thrown a welcome light on the rendering of some Hebrew words hitherto imperfectly understood.

I now propose to exhibit in a somewhat clearer light a few of the many points of interest that have been just enumerated. It has been already stated that Dr. Schrader occupied a position that might now be called conservative in relation to the recently developed Pentateuch-criticism as represented by the names of Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen. This position, it will be seen, he still maintains. The speculations of Graf and Wellhausen have been brought prominently before English readers in the works of Prof. Robertson Smith "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church" and "The Prophets of Israel". The limits and scope of this preface will only admit of presenting these theories in general outline in order to show the contrast between the general position of this school of criticism and the standpoint of Dr. Schrader, Dr. Nöldeke and Dr. Dillmann. The Biblico-critical views held by the author of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament" are stated fully and clearly in his edition (the eighth) of De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament (Einleitung pp. 270—325).

The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, called the

"Hexateuch", have long been held by scholars to consist of diverse elements, and the labours of the past century have at length conducted Biblical critics with fair unanimity (though amid manifold differences of opinion upon details) to the recognition of four main documentary sources, from which the texture of the narrative has been constructed. These documentary sources have been clearly discriminated in the Hebrew text as it lies before us and may be designated as follows:—

I *Annalistic Narrator*, the name given by Schrader to the author of the document. By Wellhausen the work is called the "Priestercodex", while by Nöldeke it is entitled the "Grundschrift" or "Fundamental Document". Ewald, on the other hand, called it the "Book of Origins", on account of its significant use of the term סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת. This document is characterized by the almost exclusive employment of the sacred name Elohim as far as Exod. VI. 2, by precision and methodical order of statement, by references to ritual, and by certain clearly marked specialities of style and phraseology. It is to Nöldeke that we owe not only the most complete investigation of the real character and extent of the document, but also the clearest presentation of the results; I refer to his "Untersuchungen zur Kritik des alten Testaments". These results coincide in the main with those presented in Schrader's edition of De Wette's Einleitung. The writing of the Elohistic annalist comprises portions of Genesis, most of the legislation in Exodus and almost the whole of Leviticus. The document may also be traced in considerable sections of the Book of Numbers, in occasional fragments of Deuteronomy, and in numerous passages of the Book of Joshua. The composition (or compilation) of this document is placed by Schrader in the early part of

David's reign*, while Nöldeke and Dillmann place it in the 9th century.

II The *Theocratic Narrator*, called by Ewald the "Third Narrator", is usually known by the name of the "Second (or Later) Elohist", because the work is characterized by the use of Elohim. It was Hupfeld who first clearly exhibited the marked distinction of the Second Elohist from the Annalistic narrator, both of whom employ the same sacred name and were thus liable to be confused with one another. "The chief characteristic of this writer is the remarkable exaltation and vividness of his conception of the working of the Divine and prophetic spirit which pervades most of his descriptions, and renders many of these passages the most beautiful in the Old Testament" (Ewald, Geschichte des Volkes Israel I p. 146). Most writers have inferred from the special prominence that it gives to the patriarch Joseph and special references to Bethel, that the author was an Ephraimite. According to Schrader the document was composed in the 10th century, soon after the revolt of the Ten Tribes.

III The *Prophetic Narrator* (Ewald's "Fourth Narrator") is usually called the Jehovist (Jahvist), because the work is characterized by the employment of the name יהוה. The approximate date assigned by Schrader to this writing is about 825—800 B. C.

IV The *Deuteronomic writer*, to whom nearly the whole of the Book of Deuteronomy is due as well as portions of the Book of Joshua, composed his accounts shortly before the Reformation in the reign of Josiah, and introduced them into

* The chief ground urged by Schrader for this view is the repeated reference to Hebron, which was the residence of David in the early part of his reign; see Gen. XXIII. 2. 19, XXXV. 27; Josh. XV. 13, XX. 7, XXI. 11. 13.

the pre-existing, or, as it is called, prae-Deuteronomic Pentateuch.

Sections belonging to documents II and III are to be found throughout the Hexateuch and, according to Schrader, also in the Books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. Critics, however, differ from one another as to the relation sustained by each of these documents to one another as well as to document I. Nöldeke holds that the Later-Elohistic sections are those which were incorporated by the Jehovist or Prophetic Narrator (III) into his work. Moreover, most critics (following Hupfeld) are of opinion that the work of the Jehovist was *entirely independent* of that of the annalistic narrator. Schrader, on the other hand, holds that "there were originally two main sources, that of the annalistic, and that of the theocratic narrator, while the *prophetic* narrator not only pieced them together but edited them and added much of his own" (De Wette-Schrader, Einleitung p. 313).

We here observe that, in contrast to the views of Nöldeke and Dillmann, Schrader assigns (1) a more independent position to document II (the Theocratic Narrator), and (2) to the Jehovist is assigned the function of redactor. Dillmann and Nöldeke attribute this editorial work to a distinct writer (designated R) who combined documents I, II and III into a whole. This literary product is called by Schrader the "prae-Deuteronomic Pentateuch", and traces of its influence are found in the phraseology of Hosea and Amos; see Einleitung §§ 203—5.

But these divergences of opinion are insignificant in comparison with the radical change of view respecting the growth of the Pentateuch, which has been introduced within the past quarter of a century by the labours of Kuenen, Graf and Wellhausen, and has in recent years exercised an

extraordinary influence in Germany. The theory maintained with so much ability by this school entirely reorganizes the evolution of the Pentateuch. It represents document I (Annalistic narrator), which the elder school of criticism had regarded as the oldest as well as fundamental document of the Hexateuch, as being on the contrary the latest. According to Wellhausen the Jehovist work was composed in the regal and prophetic period preceding the downfall of the Israelite kingdom; Stade assigns it the approximate date 850—800.* Next follows document II (Theocratic narrator or Second Elohist) which was composed perhaps 100 years later and was combined by the Deuteronomic redactor with the preceding Jehovist work. Last and most important of the successive accretions, we have the document designated I, called by Schrader the Annalistic writing. This document with its large body of legislative ordinances was drawn up in the age of Ezra and incorporated in the Pentateuch.

Such are the main outlines of a theory which in a great measure revolutionizes our conceptions of Old Testament literature and in the words of Dr. Delitzsch "upsets the scheme of history". To the disciples of Vatke, Graf and Kuenen the current phrase "law and prophets" involves a ὕστερον πρότερον. The prophetic Tôrah came first with no legislative retrospects, no sanctions of Mosaic ordinance to rest upon, such as we have been accustomed to presuppose. Coincidences of ideas and phraseology noted by the elder critics of every shade, from Hengstenberg to Nöldeke, between the language of the earlier prae-exilic prophets and that of the Mosaic Tôrah, have, we are told, no bearing

* Stade, Geschichte des Volkes Israel p. 58.

on the question at issue and are susceptible of an entirely different explanation. "It is obvious", says Duhm, "that Graf's hypothesis must produce a complete revolution in the departments of Old Testament theology and the history of religion. While it wipes out the "Mosaic period" it extends the horizon of the prophetic period as far as the beginnings of the Israelite religion proper and demands new explanations for the book of priestly religion and for Judaism". The 'complete revolution' is 'obvious' enough! The reader who has perused Wellhausen's interesting article 'Israel' in the last edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" will not fail to note that the Sinaitic episode in the desert wanderings is almost ignored. The same principle of elimination is applied with still more drastic completeness by Stade in his "History of Israel" now in course of publication. Large sections of the historical books of the Old Testament are ascribed to a process of "tendenziöse Neugestaltung" or reconstruction of history with deliberate bias, which process he supposes to have been at work in the age of Josiah (Deuteronomic redaction) and during the exile, and again in later times about the year 300 B. C.*

The readers of this volume will perceive that Dr. Schrader, as he describes the results of cuneiform discovery and exhibits their relation to the statements of Scripture, does not ignore these latest developments of critical investigation, and it will be seen that the facts of Assyriology, as stated by this cautious and skilful critic, constitute in themselves a powerful argument in the hands of the conservative exegete. The main bearing of Assyriological evidence on the problem of the Pentateuch may be stated as follows:—Assuming that

* Stade, Geschichte pp. 16 foll., 68—84.

Document I (the Annalistic priestly narrative) was edited immediately after the Babylonian exile, it would be *a priori* probable that Babylonian tradition would colour the form of that narrative. Consequently we should be led to expect that the Babylonian accounts of the Creation and the Flood would exhibit a closer resemblance to the form of the Elohistic priestly (I), than to that of the prophetic Jehovist narrative (III).

On page 23 our author shows that, while some portions of the Elohistic story of creation are analogous to the fragmentary Babylonian cosmogony, the briefer Jehovist creation-account shows a close resemblance at one particular point. In dealing with the Chaldaean flood-legend pp. 48 foll. it is clearly shown that, so far from the Elohistic account exhibiting traces of closer contact with the Babylonian story than the Jehovist, the fact is precisely the reverse. On page 55 the author refutes the views of the eminent Assyriologists, Paul Haupt and Friederich Delitzsch, that both Biblical flood-stories were not composed till the Exile, and argues that they must have existed in Palestine at least in 800 B. C. In connection with this interesting enquiry I would take this opportunity of calling attention to an able essay by Dr. Dillmann, published in the reports of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, "On the origin of the primitive legends of the Hebrews." The writer argues against the above mentioned theories of Dr. Haupt and endeavours with considerable success to show that the accounts of Creation, Paradise and the Flood were not borrowed by the Hebrews in comparatively late times from Babylonian sources, but point back to an origin of vast antiquity, which was common to both Semite and Aryan. Probably the position assumed by Dr. Schrader is the safest

for us to adopt:—"It is far from impossible that they [the Hebrews] acquired a knowledge of these and the other primitive accounts* now under investigation as far back as in the time of their earlier settlements in Babylonia, and that they carried these stories with them from Ur of the Chaldees".** On these Biblico-critical questions the reader

* Schrader says "myths", p. 54 footnote **.

** Fried Delitzsch clearly states his position at the close of his well-known essay "Wo lag das Paradies" p. 93 foll.:—"If, as Pentateuch-critics since Reuss and Graf have assumed, the Elohist is post-exilic, we can understand why there are no distinct echoes of the Elohistic creation-story in the prae-exilic literature; but how is it that neither do we find any allusion to the Flood, and that it is not until we come to the Deutero-Isaiah (LIX. 9) that there is any reminiscence of the "waters of Noah" and the promise in Gen. VIII. 21 foll.? How is it that, apart from the mention of God's garden of Eden in Joel II. 3, only Ezekiel and the Deutero-Isaiah refer to this subject (Is. LI. 3. Ezek. XXVIII. 13; XXXI. 8. 9. 16; XXXVI. 35)? While both mention Noah, no reference to him is made by prae-exilic writers. Nor have we any allusion by these writers to Adam and Eve as the first human pair, nor to the two ill-consorted brothers Cain and Abel, nor have we any express or unmistakeable reference to Enoch, taken away to God for his piety. It is impossible to see any allusion to the story of Paradise in such images as "spring of life", "a tree of life" or "stream of delight" (Ps. XXXVI. 9). Hence, with regard to the sections of Genesis which deal with primeval times, it cannot be shown that either Jahvistic or Elohistic literature and religious history existed in prae-exilic days. Moreover, not only does the Elohist agree with the Babylonian legend, but both writers alike closely follow the Babylonian account. If the Elohist is post-exilic, we might suppose him to have borrowed his accounts of Creation and the Flood from the traditions of Babylonia; but the primeval histories of the Jahvist point no less clearly to Babylonia, the geography of which he shows himself, in his description of the rivers of Paradise, to have known better than any other Old Testament writer. We are here confronted by problems of which not even the latest theory of the Pentateuch has yet furnished a complete solution". Even admitting that the coincidences of the Babylonian and the Scriptural accounts are as strong and decisive as the above extract makes out, Dr. Delitzsch's argument proves too much, unless he is prepared to make a new departure and assert that both Jahvist

may with advantage consult pp. 41 foll., 64, 80, 85, 96, 119 footnote, 145, 175 footnote * in the present volume.

The accumulated results of fifty years of patient investigation have shed a welcome light—albeit in some regions only twilight—on the great theatre of Western Asian politics during the period of the rise, growth and overthrow of the Hebrew nationality. Even the movements of minor races, as well as the progress, collision and decline of the great world-empires, may be clearly discerned and confidently traced. The political forces that played around the Syro-Palestinian states and determined dynastic interrelations, the signs of the times which the Hebrew prophet read with an unerring vision, the external conditions which shaped the course of Israel's history, that lay so central to the impact of the civilizations that surrounded it, can now be understood with a clearness heretofore impossible. This has been a vast gain to the Biblical student; and whatever be the questions that Aegyptian or cuneiform decipherment may raise (e. g. the Hebrew settlement in Aegypt, the site of Goshen and the chronological adjustment of the Hebrew and Assyrian records), the incidental confirmations of Old Testament narrative are so remarkable as well as instructive, that we may well hope that the new problems which have been raised will ultimately be solved in the light of fresh facts, which excavation is ever drawing forth from the soil of Aegypt and Asia Minor. One cheering indication deserves to be noted, namely that both Aegyptologists and Assyriologists have introduced a very wholesome reaction in favour of upholding the validity of Old Testament history. The views of

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and Elohist composed their annals in post-exilic times. But the strong Hebrew colouring of the narratives pointed out by Schrader (pp. 41 foll.) is only one among many objections to this view.

several eminent Aegyptologists on the subject of the antiquity and historic value of considerable portions of the Pentateuch, are well known.* And I would take this opportunity of citing one of the most important attestations from the words of Fritz Hommel, the accomplished and somewhat audacious author of "Vorsemitische Kulturen". This writer enters a vigorous protest against the extreme views of Stade respecting the so-called untrustworthiness of Biblical history and expressly declares his belief in the historic personality of Abraham. "The exodus of Abraham from Babylonia, the battle of the Kanaanites with the Babylono-Elamite league in the valley of Siddim and the journey of Abraham to Aegypt ... are historic facts" (p. 130). This is a noteworthy concession from one who still declares himself in the main an adherent of the critical school of Wellhausen.

Even the cursory reader of these volumes of Schrader's work cannot fail to be impressed with the constantly recurring confirmations of Old Testament records. Such a statement, for example, as that contained in 2 Kings X. 32, that Hazael began to wage war with Israel, receives indirect confirmation from the Assyrian inscription quoted on page 200 (Vol. I). From this we learn that while Hazael was maintaining a desperate struggle with Salmanassar II, Jehu "son of Omri" was paying tribute to the Assyrian monarch. Perhaps the similar conduct of the Tyrians and Sidonians was mainly brought about by this time-serving policy of Jehu, which became a disastrous precedent for his successors. At all events we can clearly understand that the war waged by Hazael against the kingdom of Israel would

* Compare for example R. S. Poole, Contemporary Review, March 1879 "Ancient Aegypt".

be the natural outcome of Jehu's compliance with the Assyrian foe at so critical a juncture.—Other citations might be furnished in abundance from the following pages of the work, wherein similar and even more direct confirmations may be found. These illustrative notices from the cuneiform annals increase in number as we reach the eighth century of Hebraeo-Assyrian history, when Israel and Assyria came into more immediate contact, and they supply invaluable links in the chain of history during this eventful period. It is quite true that the discovery of the Assyrian Eponym Canon has raised fresh problems, which render it very difficult to adjust the Biblical and the Assyrian chronology. But the valuable essay of Dr. Adolf Kamphausen "Die Chronologie der Hebräischen Könige" would at least suggest the possibility that such an adjustment may be found without inventing artificial theories of Hebrew chronology or resorting to such desperate shifts as those advocated in former years by Oppert (in his Chronologie Biblique).

Before leaving this subject of confirmatory evidence I shall call the attention of the indulgent reader to two remarkable examples.

The first has reference to a passage in 2 Chron. XXXIII. 11—13 "Therefore the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, who took Manasseh prisoner with hooks [not "among thorns" as the English version renders it] and bound him with fetters and carried him to Babylon. And when he was in affliction he besought Jehovah his God . . . and He was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him back to Jerusalem into his kingdom".—This passage was formerly regarded as one of great difficulty. There is no reference, said the critics, to this episode in the Book of Kings nor have we reason to

believe that the Assyrians at that time exercised any supremacy in Palestine. Besides, how comes it that the king of Judah was carried captive to *Babylon* and not to Niniveh? — Accordingly this entire section was pronounced unhistorical. But the inscriptions have demolished all these objections. In the first place, we know that Asarhaddon towards the close of his reign reduced Syria and Aegypt to subjection. Secondly, in the tribute lists of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal we find mention, among 21 other kings, of Mínasî šar mât Jaudi "Manasseh king of Judah". Again, from the records of Asurbanipal (successor of Asarhaddon) we learn that a serious revolt broke out about the middle of his reign 648 B. C., instigated by his own brother Sammughes (Šamaš-šum-ukîn). We are told that not only Chaldaea but also the "Western country" i. e. Phoenicia and Palestine, as well as Elam and Aethiopia, were drawn into the vortex of the rebellion. Surely, then Manasseh would inevitably participate in the insurrectionary movement. But why is *Babel* mentioned instead of Niniveh, the usual residence of the Assyrian kings? Now there is an inscription of a former king, Sargon, which expressly states that he received ambassadors and tokens of homage in *Babylon* and not in Niniveh. Hence there is nothing unreasonable in the supposition that Asurbanipal, after crushing the revolt of Sammughes, viceroy of Babylon, received the submission of the different potentates, who were guilty or suspected of being guilty, in the Southern capital Babylon, the centre of the disaffection. Lastly, the reference to "hooks" and "fetters" and also to the final amnesty is aptly illustrated by the mention in Asurbanipal's inscription of the arrest of Necho I, who was bound "in hands and feet with iron chains" and conveyed to Niniveh, but was sub-

sequently pardoned and permitted to return to Aegypt. The full details should be read in Schrader's highly instructive commentary on the Biblical passage in Vol. II.

The other instance is from Nahum III. 8—11, in which the prophet describes an overwhelming catastrophe befalling Nô-Amôn on the Nile; Aethiopia, Aegypt and the Libyan allies being totally overthrown, and the inhabitants massacred or carried into captivity.—This passage long remained an historical puzzle to Exegetes. Some indeed resorted to the favourite panacea for exegetical ills: they assumed that the passage was interpolated. But it has at length been rescued from violent hands by an inscription of Asurbanipal published by George Smith, in which the capture of Nô-Amôn or Thebes is circumstantially described, and the fact is incidentally mentioned that men and women in great numbers were carried into captivity. It is to this tremendous event, occurring about 663 B. C., that the prophet Nahum specially referred.*

An explanation of some of the technical terms recurring throughout this work will probably not be deemed superfluous by some who are not Assyriologists.

Ideogram is the cuneiform sign employed to express a certain definite (originally material) conception. These signs were probably invented by the non-Semitic Sumíro-Akkadians. They are frequently represented in the transcription by the original Akkadian equivalents which the

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* And in the light of this instructive testimony would it not be safer to refrain from the assumption of interpolation in the case of Amos VI. 2, a passage somewhat analogous to that of Nahum? Such a consideration has more weight with me in this particular case than the metrical theories of Dr. Bickell, ingenious and suggestive though they be.

reader will find written in *capital* letters in order to distinguish them from the Semitic Babylono-Assyrian words which constitute nearly the entire body of the transcribed text.

Syllabary. This was a kind of Akkado-Sumirian dictionary. The cuneiform system of writing was invented and elaborated at a very early period by a Sumíro-Akkadian race speaking a non-Semitic agglutinative language. This system was adopted by the Babylono-Assyrian tribes that subsequently established themselves on the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris. But this adoption of the Akkadian script was not accomplished without considerable difficulties. Not only was it not adapted to express some of the elementary Semitic sounds, as the gutturals ח and ע, as well as the distinction between the sibilants ז and ס, but the greater part of the cuneiform characters were *polyphones,* i. e. had several phonetic values, or, in other words, might be pronounced in several different ways. It was chiefly in order to make this complicated system of writing intelligible to the ordinary reader that the syllabaries were constructed. I now quote from Professor Sayce: — "The syllabaria which were drawn up by order of the king [Assurbani-pal] usually consist of three columns: in the middle is the character to be explained, while the left-hand column gives its phonetic powers, and the right hand column the Assyrian translation of each of these powers when regarded as an Akkadian word. In the right hand column, consequently, the characters are treated as ideograms, in the left hand column as phonetic symbols, so far as Assyrian is concerned".

Determinative means a cuneiform sign which was prefixed to an ideogram. "It serves to divide words and to mark the

existence and character of proper names in a sentence. The upright wedge denotes that the name of an individual follows, and the names of women, countries, cities, vegetable substances, stones, grasses, birds and animals are respectively preceded by their special and characteristic determinative ideograms".

The terms '*Canon of Rulers*' and '*List (*or *Register) of Governors*' require some explanation.

Among the relics brought over by Layard and others from Niniveh were some terra-cotta tablets, the real significance of which was first explained by Sir Henry Rawlinson in a series of communications to the Athenaeum in 1862. These tablets were found to contain lists of officers, each officer being appointed for a particular year and giving his name to it, like the ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος of Athens or the pair of consuls at Rome. Hence this official list is appropriately called in George Smith's work 'the *Eponym Canon*'.

Among the Assyrians documents were not dated according to the number of years from some special event, as with us; not even did they, as a rule, date from the king's accession,—but the date was fixed by the name of the officer who was *eponym* (Assyr. limu) for the year.

The late George Smith devoted a special work to this important subject, and he there shows that these eponym-officials were appointed in rotation. Thus the series was headed by the king (šarru), next came the Tartan (turtanu) or military commander, then the niru (?rab) ikal or chief of the palace, next the rab-bitur(?), and then an officer called tukultu. Afterwards followed the provincial or town governors. Perhaps there were as many as thirty officers altogether who could be eponyms. When the list

was exhausted, the series recommenced. The sequence, however, varied somewhat at different times.

Now these official lists or canons have come down to us in four copies called Canons I, II, III and IV. Unfortunately none are complete, but fortunately they confirm and also supplement one another. Other copies have since been discovered, one supplementing Canon I, and the others being called respectively Canons V, VI and VII.

The first four Canons, or lists of eponyms, are those which are quoted in Vol. II pp. 470 foll. (German pagination) under the name "Canon of Rulers".

The last three Canons (V—VII) are accompanied by brief historical notices of some event or events occurring in each year (usually military expeditions or revolts). It is these Canons which are referred-to under the title 'List of Governors'; see Vol. II pp. 480 foll. (German pag.).

Now, while it is quite evident that the Assyrians kept their chronological lists of annual eponyms with great regularity (with a dividing line to mark a new reign), we nevertheless need some means of reducing this chronology as far as possible to *exact terms of our own*. If the date of a single eponym can be precisely fixed, all eponyms that precede or succeed in unbroken succession are determined also. Fortunately this has been obtained from the notice which accompanies the eponym of Purilsagali. The notice runs thus:—

"In the month Sivan the sun suffered an eclipse".

This eclipse has been calculated by M^{r}. Hind to be that which occurred on June 15. 763 B. C., and this date has been well-nigh universally accepted as that of the eponym.

The citation I Rawl., II Rawl. &c. (or simply I R. &c.) occurs on nearly every page of this work. These citations

refer to the separate volumes of Sir Henry Rawlinson's colossal work "The Inscriptions of Western Asia", published by Rawlinson (assisted by Norris, Smith and Pinches) in five volumes between the years 1861 and 1880. In such a citation as II Rawl. 39. 15 e. f., the numbers which follow 'Rawl.' designate the number of the plate and the line, while the letters e. f. refer to the columns.

The references to Layard are from his work 'Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character' London 1851.

The citations from Botta are from his 'Monument de Ninive' Tom. I—V, Paris 1849. The numbers refer to the lithographed plates and the number of the inscription. Thus 151, 11, line 3, means plate 151 no. 11 line 3.

I have adopted from Schrader's work the term 'appellative' to express the use of a substantive (like the Hebrew בַּעַל) as a common noun (= 'lord') in contrast to its employment as a proper noun (= Baal).

In the reproduction of proper names in the English translation, the forms standing in our Authorized Version have been preserved, where these approximate more closely to the Hebrew Masoretic text (e. g. Shinar instead of Sinear in the German Bible and in Schrader's work). In the case of the Assyrian monarch Sennacherib, I have in nearly every instance retained the form Sanherib, which stands in the German original and also in our pointed Hebrew text. But it is quite evident that in this the punctuators erred, just as they did with the Aegyptian סוא. Not only the LXX but also the Assyrian form of the name (see Vol. I p. 278) decisively prove that the name familiar to English ears, Sennacherib, very closely represents the true pronunciation of the Hebrew סנחריב. Another instance of a wrong Masoretic tradition is probably to be

found in the names Gomer and Meshech (see notes on Gen. X. 2, Vol. I p. 66 footnote).

In these prefatory remarks I have indicated the main lines of interest which converge upon Dr. Schrader's important treatise. The results of Aegyptian and Babylono-Assyrian research hitherto obtained are but the prelude to further enterprises in the recovery of the great human past. The Hittite empire, long known from the records of Aegypt and Assyria, will soon be telling its own story; and when Turkish misrule and fanatic obstruction have ceased in Asia Minor, as in a few years they assuredly will, the unimpeded progress of European discovery will far outstrip the power to coordinate its results. Meanwhile let us acknowledge with thankfulness the intellectual achievements of the century now hastening towards its end. History will commemorate the vast cosmic revelations of Natural Science won for us by the discoverers of spectrum-analysis. But no less high will be the meed of praise awarded to that heroic few who have conquered for human knowledge great realms of time, as the former have won for it immensities of space. Mankind will ever honour the illustrious names of Young, Champollion, Lepsius and Brugsch, of Lassen, Grotefend, Burnouf, Rawlinson and George Smith, who with unwearying toil of eye-sight and brain, with boundless resource and marvellous penetration, have recovered from complicated and too often mutilated scripts the ancient and long-forgotten tongues that are now slowly declaring to us the secrets of three thousand years.

Jan. 26. 1885.

Owen C. Whitehouse.

CORRECTIONS AND ANNOTATIONS.

page XVIII. The argument I have here stated Wellhausen endeavours to evade (Geschichte Israels I p. X, 2nd ed.) by suggesting that later exilic or post-exilic influences, coming direct from Babylonia, may have moulded the Jehovist flood-narrative. But his own admission, that the Nimrod-story is Syrian rather than Babylonian in form, is in itself a presumption against this arbitrary hypothesis.

„ 4 line 11 from above, read:—of the author.

„ 6 footnote * for 'E. Hincks' read:—East India House Inscr.

„ 9 footnote **, read: *tenèbres.*

„ 26 line 10 from above. A literal rendering is here given of the German original as well as the Hebrew.

„ 27 line 2 from above, read:—may be conjectured that it was.

„ 29 line 3 from below, after חֲוִילָה read: *Chavîlah*;.—The sentence. commencing 'Delitzsch Parad. &c.' should be placed in brackets

„ 31 liue 4 from above, for 'remark' read:—footnote *.

The term *Anmerkung* in German we have usually rendered by 'remark' or 'note', as it may mean a note embodied in the midst of the text. It has been impossible to verify all Schrader's references, though this has been done in a very large number of instances. The reader, however, may in most cases assume that the term signifies a *footnote.*

„ 41 line 13 from above, read:—unmistakeably.

„ 45 line 10 from below, read:—Nimrûd-Kalaḥ.

„ 57 line 2 and again in line 12 from above, read:—Anunnaki.

„ 63 line 13 from above, place 'Abydenus' in brackets.—Abydenus is the writer of the *Ἀσσυριακὰ καὶ Μηδικά* from whom Eusebius quotes.

„ 91 line 2 from below read: 1 Kings X. 29; 2 Kings VII. 6.

„ 92 line 6 from above, read:—to a people.
line 8 from below, for 'Chaldaeans' read:—Chattaeans.

„ 107 line 7 from below, for 'later' read:—younger.

„ 108 line 8 foll. The statement referring to the temple of Borsippa needs *rectification.* Dr. Joh. Flemming has shown in his essay on "The great stone slab-inscription of Nebucadnezar II" (Göttingen 1883) p. 26, from a comparison of East India House Inscr. I. 13 with *ibid.* III 36—38, Nebucadn. Grotefend II, 18, that the temple called I'-z i d a is in fact the temple of Borsippa (Schrader).

„ 120 line 4 from above, for 'an' read:—and.

page 131 line 4 from above, for 'drachmas' read:—shekels.

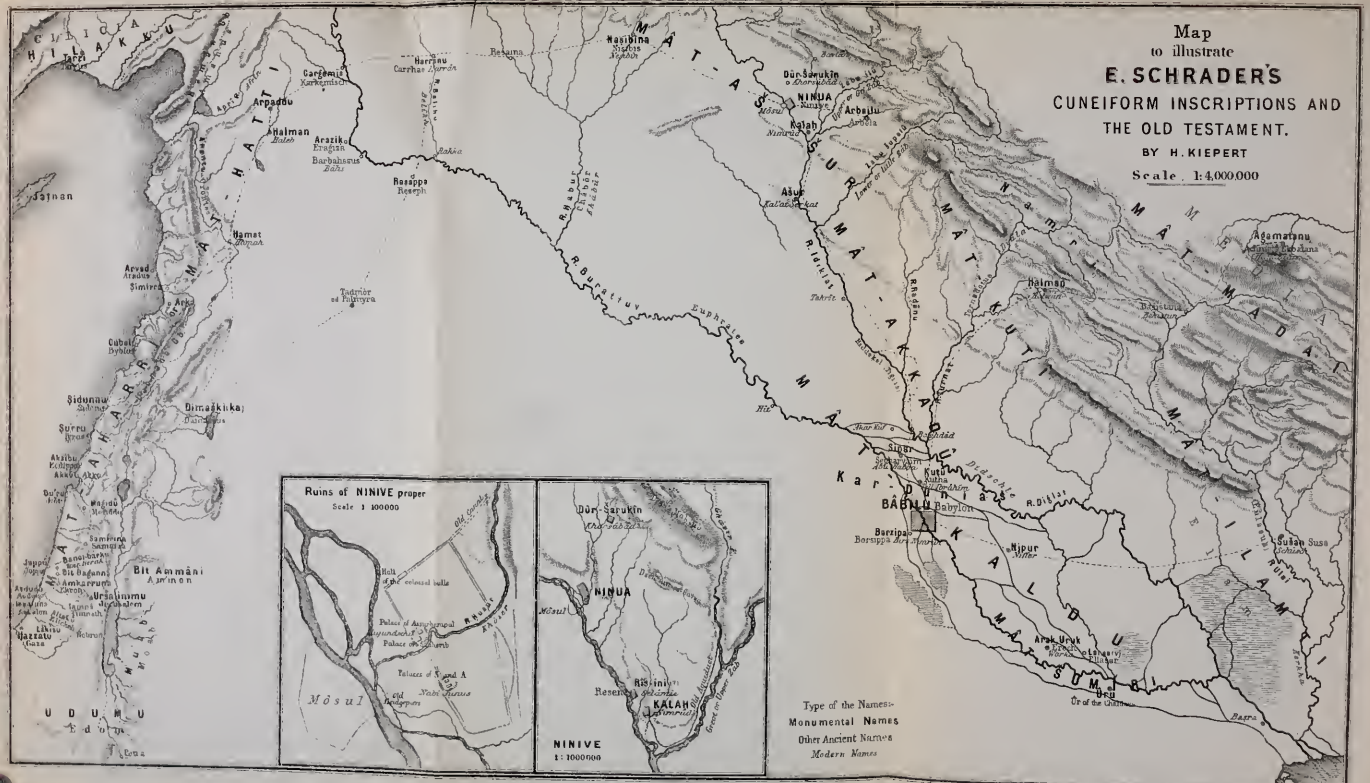
„ 139 Gen. XLI. 43.—Comp. Brugsch, Hist. of Aegypt (Lond. 1881) Vol. I p. 306.

„ 143 lines 8, 9 read:—Salmanassar II's Obelisk, Layard 89 &c.

„ 147 footnote *. Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch's explanation of the phrase occurs in a note to Dr. Franz Delitzsch's article 'Der mosaische Priestersegen' in the Zeitsch. für kirchliche Wissenschaft. It may be worth while to quote Dr. Fried. Delitzsch at some length:—"The passages read as follows: Ašûrnaṣirpal nišit Bêl u Adar na-ra-am A-nim u Da-gan "Asurnasirpal, the favourite of Bel and Adar, the beloved of Anu and Dagon" (Asurnasirp. standard insc. 1).—"Asurnasirpal, the king without equal, the sun of the whole of mankind ni-šit Bêl u Adar" (Asurn. I. 11).—Sargon ni-šit înâ A-nim u Da-gan "the favourite (properly, the object of the raising of the eyes) of Anu and Dagon" (Sargon 1). Schrader agrees with Oppert in explaining the above ni-šit with or without înâ as meaning "pupil of the eyes". To this I object:— (1) how can the feminine form nišît, from the assumed word for 'man' nišu, acquire the force of a diminutive? (2) nišu does not mean "man" in Assyrian but always "people". (3) The interpretation altogether breaks down in the face of passages long unobserved, such as Nebuk. VII. 16: ina alâni niš înišunu "in their (the gods') favourite cities", or VII. 35: in Babylon al niš înâja "my favourite city". Here a masculine form is employed instead of the feminine occurring in the other passages. Accordingly našû înâ ana (to raise the eyes to some-one) signifies "to look graciously on some-one", show him favour or honour; it is a synonym of râmu 'love' and naplusu 'be gracious'. The phrase also belongs to the Akkadian, where "to raise the eye on some-one" appears in bilingual texts as having the same meaning as the Assyrian amâru "see", "look", naplusu "take pity on", and also as našû înâ. Moreover אִישׁוֹן (עין) does not mean "pupil of the eye", however attractive the comparison of the Arabic انسان العين may be. On the other hand, the view already propounded by Levy, Targ. Dictionary I 72 foll., that אִישׁוֹן originally meant 'strength', 'power' and is poetically employed like עֻזָּם, is confirmed by the Assyrian. The root is אוּשׁ "to be strong", whence יְהוֹאָשׁ = 'Jahve is strong'".—Comp. "Hebrew in the light of Assyrian Research" p. 9 foll. and footnote [1].

page 149 line 3 from below, read:—there is mentioned as king.
„ 150 line 5 from below, for 'form' read:—from.
„ 156 line 6 from below, read:—the same verse.
„ 163 foll. The word for 'gods', being a plural, is written ilî (with circumflex), when not divided by a hyphen. Similarly kakkî 'arms', ṣabî 'soldiers' &c. — taḫâzi has the circumflex on the penult, when undivided.
„ 168 line 8 from below, read:—South Arabians.
„ 172 last line, for 'Cyprus-' read:—cypress-.
„ 178 line 14 from above, add:—Compare also Sargon's inscription in Smith's Discoveries p. 291, where Juda is named as being in alliance with Philistia, Edom and other seditious peoples (Schrader).
„ 202 footnote *. I am informed by Dr. Schrader that no determinative for deity stands before either Ba'li-ra's or Ba-'-li-ṣa-bu-na. In other words the Assyrians do not appear to have regarded the names of these localities as having any reference to the god Baal. This, ofcourse, does not in the least affect the question how these Canaanite-Phoenician names originated. For we find that even in *native* Babylono-Assyrian names, e. g. Ašur-aḫ-iddin, the determinative for deity is sometimes omitted by the cuneiform scribe; while in *foreign* names (e. g. Ḫazaḳijâhu, Abiba'al &c.) the determinative for divinity is nearly always absent.
„ 222 line 3 foll. It is now definitely ascertained that Pûlu was the Babylonian form of the name *Πῶρ(ος)*, and, as we assume, the Babylonian substitute for the Assyrian name of the king Tuklat-abal-íšarra. The name Pûlu has been found in the recently discovered list of Babylonian kings, which is a parallel of the Canon of Ptolemaeus (see Theoph. Pinches in the Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology, 1884, May 6, pp. 193—204). It is written Pu-lu and follows Ukînzîr or Chinzer. According to the list, Pûlu reigned two years (728—27). In the parallel passage of the newly discovered Babylonian chronicle there is mentioned as Babylonian ruler for these two years Tuklat-abal-íšarra (Schrader).
„ 224 footnote ***, read:—there stands.
„ 258 line 3 for 'Imperf.' read:—Imperat.
„ 279 footnote **. We here draw attention to the fact that Dr. Schrader henceforth adopts the infinitive form šakânu, with other Assyriologists, as the best mode of indicating the root.

For further supplementary remarks, see the "Addenda" at the end of Vol. II.


Map
to illustrate
E. SCHRADER'S
CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS AND
THE OLD TESTAMENT.
BY H. KIEPERT
Scale 1:4,000,000
Ruins of NINIVE proper
Scale 1:100000
NINIVE
1:1000000
Type of the Names:-
Monumental Names
Other Ancient Names
Modern Names
Williams & Norgate, London.

GENESIS.

Chap. I. 1. *In the beginning when God created the Heaven and the Earth,* 2. *(the Earth however was a waste and desolation, and darkness was over the primal flood and the breath of God was hovering over the water)*, 3. *then God said &c.** The form of the opening of the Chaldaean creation-story, as we read it in the Assyrian language on a clay tablet in the British Museum, is analogous. The following is a transcription** and rendering:— ***

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* For the construction of this introduction to the Biblical creation-story, see the author's "Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte", Zürich 1863 p. 40, and A. Dillmann's Genesis, Leipzig 1882. chap. I. 1.

** The transcription of Assyrian followed by me in this book is the same as I adopted in my publication "Assyrisches Syllabar. Mit den Jagdinschriften Asurbanipals in Anlage" Berlin 1880. With respect to my transcription of sibilants, see my essays on this subject in the Monatsbericht der Berl. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1877 p. 79—95, and in Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung I. 1884 p. 1 foll. On the reproduction of the respective Assyrian characters by the equivalents ai and ja, see Monatsb. der Berl. Ak. 1880 pp. 271—284.

*** For the original text, see G. Smith Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology IV. pl. 1 (page 363). Fried. Delitzsch Assyrische Lesestücke ("Assyrian Extracts") 2nd ed. p. 78. For explanation see G. Smith "The Chaldaean account of Genesis" London 1876 p. 62, A. H. Sayce *ibid.* 2nd ed. Lond. 1880 p. 57 foll.; Fr. Delitzsch in the German edition of Smith's Chald. Genesis Leipzig 1876; Fr. Lenormant, les origines de l'histoire, Paris 1880 p. 494 foll.

2 1. I'-nu-ma í-liš la na-bu-u ša-ma-mu
2. šap-liš ma-tuv šu-ma la zak-rat
3. apsû-ma rîš-tu-u za-ru-šu-un
4. mu-um-mu ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at gim-ri-šu-un
5. mî-šu-nu iš-tí-niš i-ḫi-ku-u-ma
6. gi-pa-ra la ki-iṣ-ṣu-ra ṣu-ṣa-a la šî-'.
7. I'nu-ma ilî la šu-pu-u ma-na-ma
8. šu-ma la zuk-ku-ru ši-ma-tav la .....
9. ib-ba-nu-u-ma ilî [rabûti]
10. (ilu) Laḫ-mu (ilu) La-ḫa-mu uš-ta-pu-u . . .
11. a-di ir-bu-u .....
12. (ilu) Šar (ilu) Ki-Šar ib-ba-[nu-u] .....
13. Ur-ri-ku ûmî .....
14. (ilu) A-nu .....
15. (ilu) Šar .....

i. e. 1. "When above the Heaven had not yet announced,
2. Beneath, the land had not yet named a name,
3. — The ocean, the august, was their generator,
4. The surging sea the mother of their whole, —
5. Then their waters embraced one another and united;
6. The darkness however had not yet been withdrawn, a sprout had not yet sprung forth.
7. "When of the gods as yet none had arisen,
8. Had not yet named a name, not yet [determined] the destiny,
9. Then were the great gods produced,
10. The gods Lachmu and Lachamu proceeded forth
11. And grew aloft also . . . .
12. The gods Šar and Ki-Šar were produced.

13. "The days extended 3
14. The god Anu . . . .
15. The god Šar . . . . . ."

The clay tablet, on which the above is recorded, formed the first tablet (d u p p u) of a series designated, according to the commencement, as series I'n u m a í l i š = "When above." Compare the subscription of tablet No. 5 (see below): D u p-p i V. KAN. MI' í-n u-m a í-l i š. K i š d a t A š u r-b â n i-h a b a l š a r k i š š a t i š a r m â t A š š u r, i. e. "Table V of the series 'When above', property of Asurbanipal, king of the host of nations, king of Assyria." For the meaning of the latter phrase, see my treatise "Die assyrisch-babylonischen Keilinschriften" ("Assyrio-Babylonian Cuneiform Inscriptions"), Leipzig 1872 p. 15. As to k i š š a t (sing. not plur.; comp. Fr. Delitzsch in Lotz die Inschriften Tiglath Pilesers I, Leipzig 1880 p. 76), root כנש = Aramaic כנש (Hebr. כנס), see my remarks in Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. 15, 89, Höllenfahrt der Istar ("Descent of Istar to Hades") Giessen 1874 p. 55.

The apodosis to lines 1. 2 cannot be lines 3 and 4 (Geo. Smith, Oppert, Lenormant*). These latter contain no finite verb, and their participles z â r u, i. e. זָרֻ, which stands for זַרְעֻ from זָרְעֻ (comp. a š b u אַשְׁבֻּ from â š i b u = אָשְׁבֻ), and m u a l l i d a t (מֻאַלִּדַת) clearly point to an intervening *circumstantial clause.* I doubt the correctness of P. Haupt's** rendering, who takes í n u m a as a special clause = "there

* Both the latter, while they differ in the rendering of the opening lines (Oppert: *jadis—ne s'appelait pas*; Lenormant: *au temps, où* &c.), agree nevertheless in the choice of tense: *fut (leur générateur).* They also take lines 3. 4 not as an explanatory parenthesis, but as the statement of an event. This I regard as inadmissible.

** Dr. Haupt has kindly communicated to me his own translation of the opening of the Chaldaean creation-story, which reads thus:

4 was a time when &c." In other cases where this word ínuma occurs in Assyrian texts, it has clearly descended to the condition of a mere temporal particle, sometimes (see Tiglath Pileser I col. VIII. line 52) even referring to the *future* ("if ever the temple *shall* become old" &c.). In all these instances, however, this introductory ínuma is followed by an apodosis; compare the cuneiform text cited below in illustration of verse 20. In the present case the verbal form shows that line 5 constitutes the apodosis. The meaning is:—Before the creation of the Heaven and the Earth* (i. e. in the mind the of author, before the separation of the entire universe into an upper portion ='Heaven', and a lower portion = 'Earth') there was simply a chaotic flowing mass, within which the generative processes were at work. An ordered world, a cosmos, had not yet arisen. Indeed the products of generation were still destitute of the condition necessary to organic life, namely *light*. Accordingly the buds of vegetation had not yet sprung up (lines 1—6).

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1. There was a time, when above the Heaven had not named,
2. Beneath, the Earth had not named a name,
3. The Ocean was their first generator,
4. Mummu-Tiamat the mother of their whole &c.

Compare with this Oppert's translation:—

Formerly what is above was not called Heaven,
And that which is the Earth beneath had not a name:
An infinite Abyss was their generator,
A chaos, the sea, was the mother that gave birth to all this universe.

[The reader might also compare the rendering given by Prof. Sayce, and his remarks on pages 51—3 in the History of Babylonia (Ancient History from the monuments S. P. C. K.), and also in his later work "Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments" p. 27—Tr].

* "bear a name" and "exist" are to a Semite correlative ideas. Respecting שֵׁם in the sense of 'the nature of a thing manifesting itself', see the Old Testament theologies, and compare P. Haupt 'die sumerischen Familiengesetze' I (1879) p. 31.

Now, just as the *terrestrial* cosmos was preceded by a time when no such cosmos existed, so also the *super-terrestrial* cosmos was preceded by a time when no such cosmos (i. e. gods) existed. Thus a second corresponding paragraph, introduced by ínuma, describes the origin* (ibbanû) of the gods (lines 7—12). After a long interval something took place, that has some reference to the gods Anu . . . and Šar . . . ., or may have been uttered by them (lines 13 foll.).

Notes and Illustrations. I lines 1—6. 1. Ínu-ma. Respecting ínu and the affix ma, see W. Lotz Inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser I Leipzig 1880 p. 183.—šamamu (pronounce šamâmu), poetic collateral form of šamî (plural of šamû), see my 'Istar's Descent to Hades', Giessen 1874 p. 98.—As object to nabû understand the accusat. šuma from the following line.—2. Instead of mâtuv "land" we should expect irṣituv "earth". Haupt explains the substitution of the former for the latter by the assumption that the non-semitic original, of which we have an Assyrian translation in the fragment that lies before us, was composed in the Sumerian dialect, not in the closely allied Akkadian. For, instead of the Akkadian anâ-ta kiâ-ta 'above and beneath' (= Assyrian íliš u šapliš), i. e. properly speaking 'in Heaven, on Earth', we should have in Sumerian nima—ki "height"—"earth". To avoid saying kia ki mu nupada "when on the earth the earth had not named a name", for ki in Sumerian was substituted kur "land", which the Assyrian translator then represented by mâtuv. Consult IV Rawl. 30, 8 and 10c, and Fr. Delitzsch 'Assyrian Extracts' 2nd ed. 74 line 4—apsû = Akkadian abzu (= zu-ab) meaning 'primal flood', 'depths of the sea', 'ocean'; see 'The Assyrio-babylonian Cuneiform Inscriptions' 32, no. 127 (where absû is is to be read); Fr. Delitzsch 'Assyrian Extracts' 2nd ed. 49, no. 128. "The Akkadian abzu properly denotes 'house of wisdom' [Akkadian

* I say 'origin', not 'generation', though the connection of the Assyrian banâ with the Heb. בָּנָה might suggest such a rendering. Also the Assyrian nabnîtu 'sprout' indicates in the first place the conception of sexual generation. The verb banâ occurs in Assyrian, so far as I know, only in the signification 'produce', when it does not mean 'build'.

ab = bîtu בית; Akkadian zu = idû and lamâdu, roots ארע and
6 למד, see the Syll. II R. 1, 188; 11, 41 foll.]. The name is to be explained from the circumstance that the god Ê a is the king of the Ocean (Assyr. šar apsî), Akkadian lugal abzuakit (for ex. IV R. 18, 54a), also bêl nêmêḳi (נעמק) is "Lord of inscrutable wisdom" [compare e. g. Sanherib I Rawl. 44, 77; observe also the designation of I'a as bíl šamî (u) irṣitiv 'Lord of heaven and earth' II R. 55, 18 c d *Schr.*]. Moreover the name Ê a (from the Akkadian ê 'house' and a 'water') = Ἄος, means precisely the same as the ordinary Akkadian name for sea a-ab-ba: 'water-house' (Haupt).—rîštû. For the text see Fr. Delitzsch, quoted in Lotz p. 118 rem. 1.—mummu according to V R. 28. 63 lines 7, 8 = bí-íl-tuv. Since bíltuv means elsewhere „Lady", "Mistress" בעלת, it appears natural to bear this in mind and render: —"the mistress or sovereign sea". But this Assyrian word mummu "Akkadische u. Sumerische Keilschrifttexte" I no. 515 explains also the ideogram (DI') for 'irrigation' si-ḳi-tuv root שקה (no. 511). We are probably right, therefore, in assuming a similar signification also for mummu. It is accordingly better to follow Fr. Delitzsch in seeking the derivation of the word bíltuv from a root באל, which in its essential signification would coincide with the Heb. בול = Arabic بَلَّ (middle vav).—mummu = bíl̓tuv (comp. ri-í-šu from ראש) would therefore be equivalent in meaning to 'irrigation.' Mummu tiâmat accordingly has the general signification of the moist or surging sea (see Translation). For the transcription ti-amat compâre Fried. Delitzsch in G. Smith's Chaldaean Genesis, Germ. edition 1876 p. 296. The word is the construct state of tiâmtu "sea"*. Moreover the names of deities e. g. Šamaš, Sin &c. generally occur in the construct state (Haupt). Yet on the other hand we find such forms as Rammânu, Šamši and many other examples. Of the two designations of the feminine principle, the second, tiâmat, tâmat, certainly lurks in the name *Ταυθέ*, the wife of *Ἀπασών*, mentioned in the writings of Damascius (Lenormant—comp. my 'Descent of Istar' p. 152). Likewise mummu is probably to be found in the name *Μωυμίς*, who sprang according to Damascius

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* Comp. E. Hincks Nebukadn. II, 15. This tiâmtu is of course identical with the Hebrew תְּהוֹם, putting aside the feminine ending (comp. the Assyrian irṣituv earth and the Heb. אֶרֶץ). In Assyrian this Babylonian tiâmtu appears as a rule to be contracted into tâmtu. At any rate we meet with the plural tâmâti e. g. Salmanassar's Bull-inscriptions Layard 12 B. line 9 (ta-ma-a-ti); and V R. 30, 16a (Haupt, Sumerische Familiengesetze p. 39) gives the singular tâmtu (ta-a-am-tuv). We transcribe however by the single form tiâmtu.

from both the above mentioned deities. It is clear from the Inscription that mummu and tiâmat together form a complete whole. Hence I formerly (Descent of Istar, *ibid.*) regarded mâmí 'water' (comp. the mî-šu-nu of the text) as an Assyrian equivalent for the same thing. Haupt has an ingenious theory that perhaps mummu itself is only a 7
new formation from mímí, and that accordingly my former rendering was in the main right. Observe also that in the translation, instead of retaining the Babylonian words apsû and mummu-tiâmat (which may be shown from Damascius to have been treated as proper nouns in later times), I have substituted appellatives (see transl.). In the Assyrio-Babylonian original we meet with no determinative, whether it be that of a person or of a deity. Thus in the original text the words are regarded as appellatives, and this fact must be remembered by the translator.—5. ištíniš adv. from ištín (= Hebrew עַשְׁתֵּי) meaning "as one", "in one", "in and with one another".—iḫîḳû Impf. from ḫâḳu = Arabic خَاقَ comp. the Heb. חֵיק "bosom". So Haupt, who appropriately compares the Heb. שֹׁכֶבֶת בְּחֵיק in support of the *sexual* meaning belonging to the verb * in this passage. I certainly cannot follow him in the further conclusions which he bases upon this interpretation of the words. His opinion is: "The waters of Apsû and Ti'amat unite together, and the gods were generated from this fertilization of Ti'amat by Apsû." Now in Berossus (see Eusebius-Schoene I p. 15 foll.) it is *Βῆλος* who cleaves *Ὁμόρωκα-Θαλάτθ* (i. e. Mummu-Tiâmat) in twain, forms Heaven and Earth out of the two halves, and destroys the sea-monsters, the *ἰδιοφυεῖς* i. e. the creatures that naturally arose from the blending of the waters of Apsû and Tiâmat. Next Belus cuts off his own head, and the remaining gods (who were thus *existing at that time*) mingle the flowing blood with the ground and fashion men (*τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν ἀφελεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ ῥυὲν αἷμα τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς φυρᾶσαι τῇ γῇ καὶ διαπλάσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*). Thus according to Berossus the gods are by no means the *product* of the sexually differentiated original principle of Chaos. On the contrary the gods were already existing *together with* Chaos, and annihilate its products, in order to put something better in their place, fashioned out of this same chaotic material. If I am not mis-

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* The general sense of the passage had already been inferred by Oppert and Lenormant ('confluaient ensemble'). Sayce perhaps was thinking of Gen. 1, 9 when he translated (Smith's Chaldaean Genesis 2nd Edition 57) "their waters were collected together in one place." There is no reference, however, in the passage to a separation of the waters.

taken, this entirely agrees with the account in the inscriptions. Apsû and Mummu Tiâmat unite in their floods; but they do not bring forth an ordered or cosmical world: "a sprout does not spring forth."
8 Their productive power becomes to a certain extent exhausted. But side by side with Chaos there arose *superior* beings, the gods (lines 7—12). By *these* Chaos is moulded anew. Thus Berossus states *καὶ διαπλάσαι ἀνθρώπους καὶ θηρία τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν ἄερα φέρειν, ἀποτελέσαι δὲ τὸν Βῆλον καὶ ἄστρα καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς πέντε πλανήτας.* Similarly we are informed by the inscriptions that it is ilî rabûti "the great gods", who "gloriously fashioned", "well made" this and that (u-ba-aš-ši-mu), who assigned the stars their positions, introduced the succession of 12 months and apportioned to moon and sun their functions &c. On the other hand it is not *stated*, nor even *hinted*, that they (i. e. the gods) arose out of Chaos. We are simply informed that they somehow or other "arose". If we adhere to the exact words of the clay tablets, we find that by *generation* no cosmic order was evolved out of Chaos. Lastly the creation-story of the city Kutû (Kutha) attributes to the "great gods" the creation of 'men' (Sayce: 'warriors') with the bodies of birds of the desert" and of "human creatures with the faces of ravens". "These (creatures) were produced by the great gods, and the gods made a dwelling for them on the earth" (see Smith-Sayce Chaldaean Genesis (1881) p. 93 lines 9—12). In fact this creation took place at a time when (comp. the inscription line 6) "vegetation had not yet budded forth" and Tiâmat was still reigning.—6. The first half of the verse is obscure because the signification of gipara is unknown. The translation of G. Smith "a tree had not grown", that of Sayce "the flowering reed was not gathered", of Lenormant "a herd was not penned", are apparently mere conjecture, the clue being probably supplied by the parallel half-verse*. We are placed on the right track by the passage already cited by Fried. Delitzsch IV Rawl. 11, 35/36a, where to the ideogram for "darkness" MI = Akkadian gig (II Rawlinson 39, 15e f) contracted gi = Assyrian mûšu "night" (Syll. 149), and also to íribu "setting" (of the sun) "evening", there corresponds the form giparu in the Assyrian translation of the word. Hence this form giparu seems to mean "darkness" "night." Haupt is certainly right in explaining this gi(g)par as Akkadian in origin: "gig or with vanishing final consonant gi (see "Die sumerischen Familiengesetze" 47) is frequently translated** by the Assyrian ṣillu = Hebrew צֵל, and par signifies

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* Sayce, however, refers to Smith's Asurban. 8 l. 48 where he thinks it can hardly mean anything else than some kind of vegetable.

** that is when accompanied by the secondary ideogram iṣ "tree",

"spread out" Assyrian napalṭu (= napašṭu Root פשט) or šapar- 9
rûru (comp. שַׁפְרוּר) see II R. 27, 48a b; Lotz, Tigl.-Pil. 175".—kiṣ-
ṣura is not to be explained as equivalent to kiṣtura (as uṣṣabbit stands for uṣtabbit, uṣṣanalla for uṣtanalla &c. according to "Assyrio-babylonian Cuneiform Inscriptions" 202), but stands for kitṣura, as tarbissu for tarbitsu, that is to say tarbisu ibid. 202 rem. 8. Kiṣṣura is (Haupt) 3. pers. plur. of the perfect (Permansive) of the form pitlûḥû, i. e. kitnûšu from the Iftaal of the verb קצר in the sense of the Aethiopic ቀዐጸረ "bind together" "gather"; compare Lotz Tigl.-Pil. p. 137. This "gather" I understand in the sense of "sweep together", „carry off"; comp. the use of the Hebrew אָסַף*. The meaning of the clause would therefore be: "Darkness was not yet removed", but still hovered over Chaos, and this is the reason why "a sprout had not yet budded forth", for which sunlight was necessary.— This conception of darkness brooding over Chaos completely harmonizes with the Biblical account "and darkness was over the primal flood". It harmonizes also with the words of Berossus:—*γενέσθαι φησὶ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ εἶναι* = *Tempus aliquando erat, inquit, quo cuncta tenebrae et aqua erant* &c. Similarly the creation of *light* according to the Bible is the work of Elohim; according to Berossus it is the work of Bel ibid. pp. 17. 18. Moreover we learn from the inscriptions (Tablet K 3567) that the stars, and in particular the moon, were not created till much later. Respecting ṣûṣâ Root אצא = יצא compare the Hebrew צֶאֱצָאִים Aethiopic ፀእፀእ. It is not an animal that is here referred to, but a vegetable sprout. This is clearly shown by the verb šî' = שִׂיחַ (Fr. Delitzsch, Fr.

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see my 'Assyrio-babylonian Cuneiform Insc.' 96 No. 6. Thus MI = "darkness" "night" Assyrian mûšu; IṢ.MI = "darkness of the tree" = "shadow" Assyrian ṣillu; AN.MI = "darkness of heaven" "Darkening of the heaven" = "eclipse of the sun or moon" Assyrian atalû.

* Also in the oft recurring phrase kiṣir šarrûtija aḳṣur "(this and that) I took away beforehand as my royal portion" we find the conception of "taking together" passing into the other meaning of "taking away" or "taking before-hand".

[For the use of אָסַף in Hebrew in the sense of carrying away, see 1 Sam. XIV. 19, Joel II. 10, Is. IV. 1, Job XXXIV. 14, Ps. CIV. 29.—Tr.]

** Oppert was therefore already on the right track. He translates "il y eut *des tenebrès* sans rayon de lumière un ouragan sans accalmie". But I confess that I must leave him the task of justifying his translation in other respects.

10 Lenormant, P. Haupt). Haupt refers to II R 8. 30 c d, in which the ideogram ZUG, which is interpreted in Akkadische u. Sumerische Keilschrifttexte page 33 No. 771 by ṣûṣû, is also explained by ṣi'ru "field" = ídin i. e. עֵדֶן (see below). Haupt therefore prefers to render ṣûṣâ by "cornfield."

II lines 7—11. This section is parallel to lines 1—6, and commences in like manner with ínuma (see above).—7. On manama, manaman, manman, mamman, maman 'whosoever', 'whatsoever', see Norris' Dictionary 832 foll.; also my remarks in "Criticism of Inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser II, Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal" 1879 p. 14. On šûpû as synonym for aṣû "proceed forth" (IV Rawl. 2, 5. 6a; 26, 17/18a; 25/26a also II R. 17, 47 a b), see Fried. Delitzsch in Smith's Chaldaean Genesis (Germ. ed.) 298.—After šîmatav we ought certainly to supply a 3 pers. plur. of the verb (subject "the gods"), according to Haupt šîmu, according to Lenormant šîmat (?).—adî עַד means "and also" in accordance with Hebrew usage.—irbû "grew up", a sense which it is well known to bear. Under no circumstances ought we to translate: "until their number increased" (Opp.).—12. The creation of ŠAR and KI ŠAR expresses the creation of the "host of Heaven and Earth", compare the Hebrew הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל־צְבָאָם II. 1. To P. Haupt belongs the merit of having first perceived the meaning of this expression: "That this is the meaning, may be inferred from the passage "IV Rawl. 25, 49/50b (comp. IV R. 29, 41/42a), in which an-šar ki- "šar is represented by the Assyrian kiššat šamê u irṣiti 'host of "heaven and earth.' In the passage before us ki-šar is also preceded "by the divine determinative an [= ilu], which of course was not "necessary in the case of ana-šar 'host of heaven' ". G. Smith, Sayce and Fr. Delitzsch have already perceived that the Akkadian šar is equivalent to the Assyrian kiššatuv. See also the syllabary in Akkadische u. Sumerische Keilschriftt. 28 No. 605*. It should moreover be observed that in the hymn IV Rawl. 9 obv. line 3/4 foll. Nannar "the illuminator", i. e. the Moongod, appears as the Prince of an ŠAR = kiššat šamî i. e. "Prince of the heavenly host."

III With line 13 commences a third paragraph. The words 'the days extended' indicate this with tolerable clearness (comp. line 1 and line 7).—Anu** i. e. עָנָן (comp. the Hebrew עֲנַמֶּלֶךְ = Anu-malik 2 Kings XVII. 31) is probably the Oannes of Berossus and in the lists

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* The name for 60 × 60 = 3600 i. e. σάρος is identical with this šar = kiššatu; see Fr. Delitzsch in Aegyptische Zeitschrift 1878 p. 67.

** Oppert's rendering 'the god Bel' certainly rests on mere oversight. The cuneiform text cannot be misunderstood.

of deities stands, as it does here, at the head of the gods of the cosmic universe immediately after the Babylonian supreme god Ilu*, 11
whose place is occupied among the Assyrians by Ašur. Anu is the first in the first triad of deities, and has as his numerical sign the predominating number in the sexagesimal system i. e. 60; see the list of deities in Fr. Delitzsch Assyrische Lesestücke 1st Edition (1876) p. 39 line 6, where Anu is also called rîš-tu-u abi ilî "illustrious father of gods." Similarly in the second Babylonian list Anu (coming after Ilu, the Babylonian supreme deity) appears at the head of the first triad. Compare Fr. Lenormant, Commentary on Berossus, Paris

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* Ilu, which is here the proper name of the Babylonian supreme deity (F. Hommel, die semitischen Völker p. 493, however, contests this opinion), is, as an appellative, the usual term employed to express God in Assyrian, and corresponds in etymology to the Hebrew אֵל. The forms אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהַּ &c. occurring in Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, and derived from the triliteral root אלהּ, are foreign alike to Assyrian and to Aethiopic (see my dissertation *de linguae Aethiopicae cum cognatis linguis comparatae indole universa* Göttingen 1860 4 p. 39 foll.). The phonetic orthography of the appellative is i-l u. We have no means of determining with any certainty whether the initial syllable *i* is long or short, since the Assyrians did not, as a general rule, employ any special means of designating the length of a vowel, when that vowel constituted an initial syllable. Observe, however, the mode in which the name of the city Bâbilu is written on Nebukadnezar's bricks as Ba-bi-i-lu (i. e. Bâbîlu), as well as Ba-bi-lu and Bâb-ilu (see Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft XXIII. 350 Aum. 1), in which the long î can scarcely be explained as arising out of a crasis of the i of the construct state (?) with the i of ilu (Delitzsch). Respecting the question as to the derivation of the word, i. e. whether it arises from the root אול, or from such a form as אלהּ collateral to אלהּ, see Gesenius Thesaurus ling. Hebr. pp. 42 49 &c. Th. Nöldeke in Monatsberichte der Berlinischen Academie der Wissensch. 1880 pp. 760 foll. pronounces for the root אול; on the other hand Dillmann Genesis (1882) pp. 16, 17, and P. de Lagarde *Orientalia* (Gottingen 1880) p. 3 foll., argue for the root אלה. Observe moreover that this pronunciation, or rather punctuation, אֱלָהּ, is supported by the Greek transcription *Ἠλίας*, *Ἠλιού*. See below on Gen. XI. 9 (note). On the etymology of the Hebr. אֵל and the Assyr. ilu, comp. also P. de Lagarde in Nachrichten von der Göttinger Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften 1882 No. 7 March 31 pp. 173 foll., E. Nestle in Theolog. Studd. a. Würt. III. pp. 243 foll., Th. Nöldeke in Sitzungsberichte der Berl. Academie der Wissensch. Nov. 23, 1882.

1871 p. 65 foll. and also my remarks in Theol. Studien und Kritiken 1874 pp. 337 foll. From the lists of deities above mentioned, and also from the citations in Damascius, we may conclude that after Anu followed the names of the deities Bel (= ancient Bel) and I'a (Lenormant), whose origin we may conjecture to have been previously related.

In conclusion we place side by side for comparison the genealogies of the gods contained in Damascius and in the Inscriptions:

12	I. Damascius:	II. Inscriptions:
1.	*Ταυθὲ καὶ Ἀπασῶν*	1. Apsû and Mummu-Tiâmat
2.	*Μωυμίς*	
3.	*Λάχη καὶ Λάχος**	3. Lachmu and Lachamu
4.	*Κισσάρης καὶ Ἄσσωρος***	4. Šar and Kišar
5.	*Ἄνος καὶ Ἠλινὸς(?) καὶ Ἄος*	5. Anu [Bi'lu** and I'a?]
6.	*τοῦ δὲ Ἄου καὶ Δαύκης υἱὸς ὁ Βῆλος*	6. Marduk† son of I'a and Davkina (i. e. Bi'lu = Bel Merodach)

We here observe that the two lists fully correspond to one another. Mummu-Tiâmat, however, with its double name, is divided, and Mummu becomes the *daughter* of Apsû and Tiâmat.

Also the account of Berossus harmonizes fairly with that of the cuneiform inscriptions. There was a time when everything consisted of darkness

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* Read thus with G. Smith and Fr. Lenormant instead of *Λάχη καὶ Λάχος* of the text.

** We would conjecture that there stood here in the cuneiform text the ideogram for the "old Bel" = I'N.GI'. "Bel-Merodach", that is "Jupiter", simply bears the designation I'N i. e. Bi'lu "Lord."

*** Undoubtedly *Ἄσσωρος* = (ilu) Šar. AN (ilu) ŠAR (ḫi) is the ordinary ideogram for the god Ašur in the Assyrian inscriptions. But we are not justified on this account in introducing (with Lenormant and others) this Ašur into our rendering of this passage of the cuneiform, since here we have to deal with a *Babylonian*, and not an Assyrian text.

† See II R. 55, 53. 54 d (comp. line 16):—(I'a) Dav-ki-na aššatu-šu i. e. "(Ao) Davkina his wife" *ibid.* line 64 d comp. with 17 c d Marduk hablu ri'štû ša I'a i. e. "Merodach august son of Ao." Respecting Marduk-Merodach = Bel-Jupiter (not = "younger Bel", as Lenormant assumes in the commentary on Berossus p. 67 foll.) see H. Rawlinson cited in G. Rawlinson's Herodotus 2nd ed. I p. 488 foll. and my remarks in Theologische Studien und Kritiken 1874 p. 341.

and water (see above p. 9), and within them strange creatures disported themselves, which, though they arose spontaneously, had the appearance of having sprung from living creatures (*καὶ ἐν τούτοις ζῶα τερατώδη καὶ ἰδιοφυεῖς τας ἰδέας ἔχοντα ζωογονεῖσθαι*)*. Over all these creatures ruled a woman named Omorka, a word that is rendered in Chaldee by Thalatth and in Greek by Thalassa (sea) (*ἄρχειν δὲ* 13
τούτων πάντων γυναῖκα ᾗ ὄνομα Ὁμόρκα, εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν Θαλάτθ Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηνεύεται θάλασσα)**. While thus universal confusion was prevailing, Belus cleft the woman in twain, and from the one half made the earth, and from the other half the heavens, but destroyed the living creatures of the primal flood. This representation is to be understood in an allegorical sense as follows:*** —While the universe was still a liquid mass, crowded with animal shapes previously described, Bel cleft the darkness in twain, and thus separated Earth and Heaven from one another and produced an ordered universe. But the living creatures, which could not have endured the light, perished. After this followed the creation of men and animals, also of the stars, including the sun, moon and five planets. The creation of man was effected by Bel commanding one of the gods to mix with the earth the blood which flowed from his own (Bel's) severed head†. Here also the story commences with the description of the dark Chaos consisting of masses of water, yet populated with monstrous living creatures. In the female who rules over these creatures, named Omorka or *Θαλάτθ*, we may recognize Mummu-Tiâmat i. e. *Ταυθὲ* of the account contained in the inscriptions and the genealogy of Damascius. We may regard the traditional form *Θαλάτθ* as corrupted or altered from the original *Θαυάτθ* = Tâvat, Tâmat i. e. tâmtu, tiâmtu "sea", and of this we have an indication in the Greek *Θάλασσα*, which is added as interpretation (see Lenormant, Commentary p. 86). The other name for the feminine principle which occurs in the inscriptions, viz. mummu, probably lurks in the first part of the

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* Schoene's Eusebius I p. 14 15.

** The clause omitted in the Armenian *κατὰ δὲ ἰσόψηφον σελήνη* seems to be a later addition (otherwise AvG). Scaliger's conjecture *Ὁμόρκα* (instead of *Ὁμόρωκα*) must therefore be regarded as the correct reading.

*** Respecting the confusion occasioned by the introduction of the parallel account of Alexander Polyhistor into that of Berossus, contained in Eusebius, see AvG in Schoene's edition of Eusebius I pp. 16. 18 rem. 9.

† Eusebius ed. by Schoene I pp. 13—18.

alternative name Omorka*. If we regard the name as equivalent to mum(-mu)-Uruk, it might be taken to signify "Mummu-Tiâmat of Uruk" i. e. "Erech." A feminine deity was worshipped as late as the time of Nebukadnezar under the name 'Istar or Beltis of Erech'; see Bellino-cylinder Nebukad. II. 52 Ištar Uruk bi-i-li-it Uruk í-íl-li-tiv "Istar of Erech, the mistress of Erech, the exalted"*. We should
14 therefore be led to the assumption that the cultus of the primitive goddess of fruitfulness coalesced with that of the deity worshipped to all intents and purposes as goddess of fruitfulness.—Here again the account coincides in essential points with the story contained in the inscriptions (though it varies in Damascius), i. e. the gods are contemporary with Chaos, and exist in some form side by side with it. The re-creation of Chaos into an ordered universe (*καὶ διατάξαι τὸν κόσμον*) is expressly attributed to Bel and the remaining gods. It is worthy of observation, as bearing upon the parallel Biblical narrative, that the existence of light is presupposed as the preliminary condition of the cosmic universe. Observe also that the blood, which streamed to the earth from Bel's severed head was mingled with *earth* and employed in the creation of man. We are hereby reminded of the Biblical, i. e. the second Biblical creation-story, Gen. II, 5 foll., which informs us that man was created from the dust of the earth, and was moreover "breathed into" with the "breath of life." This breath is to be regarded as proceeding from God, the living one *par excellence*. Berossus states the reason for Bel's resolve to create men in the following words: *ἰδόντα δὲ τὸν Βῆλον χώραν ἔρημον καὶ καρποφόρον κελεῦσαι κ. τ. λ.*, whence we may infer that the Chaldaeans agreed with the Bible in supposing that the creation of man followed that of vegetation. On the other hand in the account of Berossus the sequence of the creation of man on the one side, and of animals and stars on the other, remains somewhat obscure.

2. תְּהוֹ וָבֹהוּ. We may be permitted to point out that we find also in the inscriptions the reference to a deity Ba-u II Rawl. 59, 27 foll., but respecting the character of this divinity it has not been possible hitherto to give any further information.

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* The explanation of the name as Um Uruk "mother of Erech" (H. Rawlinson, Fr. Lenormant and formerly the author) must be given up, since the corresponding ideogram is certainly not that for "mother", but in Babylonian form stands for Ištar-Bi'lit; see Norris' Dictionary 937.

3. *And God said: let there be light &c.* Compare the remarks on page 8 foll. *Notes and illustrations.*

5. *one day* i. e. *the first day.* Neither the cuneiform creation-story nor that of Berossus gives any hint that the Babylonians regarded the creation of the universe as taking place in seven days.

6. 8. We are not in a position to assert whether there 15
existed among the Babylonians, as among the Hebrews, the conception of a *firmament* dividing the "upper" from the "lower waters." The fragment of the creation-story communicated in the form of translation by G. Smith, Chaldaean Account &c. p. 67 (German edition), is too mutilated to admit of any safe conclusions on the subject. Moreover the original text has hitherto remained unpublished.

14 foll. *And God said: let there be lights in the firmament of heaven &c.* Obviously the fragment K. 3567, published by Smith and Delitzsch *ibid.*, deals with the creation of the heavenly bodies. The passage begins with the words:—

1. u-ba-aš-šim man-za-[zi . . .] A.AN ili ra-bûti
2. kakkabi tan-šil šu . . . . . lu-ma-ši uš-zi-iz
3. u-ad-di šatta íli-[ša] mi-is-ra-ta u-(ma)-as-sir
4. XII arḫi kakkabi III TA.[A.]AN uš-zi-iz

i. e. 1. "He gloriously set up the . . . abodes (stations?) of the great gods;

2. The stars he caused just as . . . lu-ma-ši to come forth.

3. He ordained the year, established decads for the same;

4. He caused the twelve months each with three stars to come forth."

Notes and illustrations. Line 1. On ubaššim see Delitzsch in Smith's Chaldaean Genesis p. 298 foll. From A.AN, occurring after the gap in the text, we may infer that a number immediately preceded,

comp. line 4.—2. tanšil root מ֫של with the same meaning and orthography, Botta 42. 79 = Sargon cylinder 54.—ušziz Shaf. Pa. root זוז.—3. With uaddi compare מועדים in Gen. 1, 14 (Delitzsch).—misrata u(m)assir i. e. מעשרת אמעשר = מסרת א(מ)סר = tens of days
16 he tithed i. e. he divided the year into decads (Oppert); מעשרת in Assyrian has the meaning of the Hebrew עָשׂוֹר; u(m)assir is a denominative verb Pael. With respect to the remarkable interchange of ש and ם in the numerals, compare sa-am-nu instead of ša-am-nu the "eighth" = Hebrew שְׁמֹנָה &c., also siba 'seven' instead of šiba, compare שִׁבְעָה, שֶׁבַע.—4. Such is the only suitable construction of the passage. The meaning would therefore be: "As regards the 12 months, he caused three stars to appear in heaven for each month" ("il partagea 12 mois en quatre trimestres"), an allusion to "the 36 overseers of the Zodiacal circle" (Opp.).

As the account proceeds, we learn the functions assigned to certain heavenly bodies a-na la í-biš an-ni "so that they made no mistake"* i. e. did not wander from their courses. Lastly, we are told respecting the moon, that to it is assigned the function of illuminating the night: (ilu) Nannar uš-tí-pa-a mu-ša ik-ti-pa i. e. "the Moon-god he caused to shine, the night he ruled"**. Comp. the words of the Bible: "to rule over the day and over the night", Gen. I, 18***. I must for my part still refrain from giving only a partly satisfactory rendering of this portion of the

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* Respecting the meaning of the phrase, compare Sanherib Taylor-cylinder III. 4. Should we compare with anni the Aramaic חנן "to be rank"? We have a parallel instance of a similar transition of meaning in the root באש, which in Aramaic signifies "to be (morally) bad" and in Hebrew "to stink." Observe however the Arabic خَبُثَ with punctuated خ.

** Respecting Nannar the Illuminator, as a name for the moon (as well as *Sin*), see IV R. 9 Obv. lines 3—4, 5—6 &c.—uštípâ Istafel root יפע (not from שפה).—iktipa is probably from the root כפה 'to bind', 'restrain', 'compel'.

*** It may be stated in passing, that the fragment above mentioned is that which contains on the back of the tablet the words quoted on page 3, *Tablet V of the Series*: "*when above*" &c.

tablet, which is, moreover, seriously mutilated. The reader will find attempted translations in the writings of G. Smith, J. Oppert and Fr. Lenormant.

20 foll. *Creation of land-animals.* Parallel to this Biblical 17
account we have the fragment compounded from no[s] 345, 248 and 147. The four first and fairly complete lines run as follows.

1. I'-nu-ma ilî i-na pu-uḫ-ri-šu-nu ib-nu-u . . .
2. u-ba-aš-ši-mu . . . . . [u?] ru-mi iḳ-ṣu-[ti]
3. u-ša-pu-u [šik-na]-at na-piš-ti . . . . .
4. bu-ul ṣĭri u-[ma-am] ṣĭri u nam-maš-šî ṣ[ĭri] . . . . .

i. e. 1. When the gods in their assembly produced . . .,
2. then they set up in glory strong tree-stems (?),
3. caused living creatures to come forth . . . .,
4. animals (?) of the field, great beasts of the field and vermin of the f(ield).

Notes and Illustrations. ibnû active (George Smith) *not* passive: eurent formés (Lenorm.). For the apparent tautology compare the first tablet of the creation-series lines 1 and 7.—2. The mutilated . . . rumi may perhaps by reference to Tigl. Pil. I. IV. 68 be restored to urumi as its complete form, having some such meaning as 'trunk of a tree'.—3. Respecting the completion of the word šiknat. compare in the same passage line 5 "a-na šik-na-at na-piš-ti."—On line 4 compare Fr. Delitzsch in G. Smith's Chald. Gen. p. 299 foll. His comparison of umam = uvav with the Hebrew חַיָּה appears to me unsatisfactory. Umâm (collective) corresponds really with the בְּהֵמוֹת of the Hebrew text.—The ideogram for 'field' = ṣĭru is explained by ídinu in the syllabaries. This is probably just the same word as the Heb. עֵרֶן comp. chap. II. 8 (note).

27. זָכָר *male* also occurs frequently in Assyrian. Sometimes it bears the merely sexual signification, as opposed to sinniš 'female', e. g. Smith's Assurban. p. 200, 9: zik-ru (Var. zi-kar) u sin-niš 'male and female.' Sometimes it is an honorary *agnomen* of the kings in the sense of

'manly.' Sargon bears this title (Layard Inscr. 33. 3):— z i-k a-r u d a n-n u 'the manly, mighty.' Similarly Sanherib Taylor-cylinder (I R. 37 foll.) col. I, 7 z i-k a-r u ḳ a r-d u 'the manly, brave.'

18 31. *and behold, it was very good.* No expression exactly corresponding to this is to be found in the Chaldaean creation-story. George Smith, however, cites in comparison the recurring phrase u b a š š i m or u b a š š i m u "he or they made glorious." Nor have the inscriptions hitherto yielded any trace of the conception that the universe was created in exactly *six* days, or that the creative acts were in general divided into days.

— מְאֹד *much, very,* is not to be connected with אוּר "to be heavy", but is of the same origin as the Assyrian m a' d u "much", "many" (Rawl., Oppert and others), from the root מאד m a' a d, which also exists as a verb in Assyrian (Assyrio-Babylonian Cuneif. Inscr. 186, 105). The substantive "crowd" is m u' d u i. e. מְאוֹד Smith's Assurb. 56, 4 (a-n a m u-'-d i-í).

Chap. II, 1. *"And thus the heavens and the earth were finished and all their host."* On the expression "and all their host", see above, page 10.

3. *And God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.* The sanctity of the seventh day of creation, as well as day of the week, is connected with the institution of the week of seven days as an entirety, and with the sanctity of the number 'seven' in general. The week consisting of seven days was unknown to the Aegyptians and the Greeks who had a week of ten days, and to the Romans (before the time of Christ) who had a week of eight days. It was introduced among the Arabs by the Jews. It was an ancient Hebrew institution, and has been pronounced accordingly pre-Mosaic.

But we are not, on the other hand, to regard it as having a specific Hebrew origin, nor as having come to the Hebrews through the Aramaeans. It should be considered rather as an *ancient Babylonian* institution which the Hebrews brought with them from their stay in South Babylonia, at Ur Kasdim; see note on XI. 28. Upon the monuments mention is 19
found, in the first place, of the *week of seven days*, as well as of the *seventh day* which was regarded as that on which no work was to be done or offering presented. Nor was this ordained mainly to satisfy the need of rest (see however more fully below), but rather because this day was reckoned as ûmu limnu i. e. "an evil day." We read upon the register-tablet of days in reference to the intercalated month Elul IV Rawl. 32. 33, viz. with respect to the seventh, fourteenth, twenty first, and twenty eighth day (omitting the variants in special points) I. 28 foll.: 28. Ûmu VII. KAN nu-bí!-tuv(?) ša Maruduk Zar-pa-ni-tuv ûm magâri 29. ûmu limnu ri'u nišî ra-ba-a-ti 30. šîru ša pi-ín-ti ba-aš-lu ša tum-ri ul ikul 31. ṣubât pag-ri-šu ul unakka-ar ib-bu-ti ul KU.KU 32. ni-ḳu-u ul inaḳ-ki šarru narkabta ul HU.SI i. e.* 28. "Seventh day, a festival of Merodach (and) Zarpanit, a day of consecration. 29. An evil day**. The ruler of the great nations 30. shall not eat flesh of pínti***, the ripe† of

* With the rendering comp. A. H. Sayce in 'Records of the Past' VII. 159 foll. and Lotz, quaestionum de historia Sabbati libb. duo, Lps. 1883, p. 39 foll.

** i. e. the 7th day was sacred to Merodach and Zarpanit, just as the 14th was sacred to Nin-gí (Beltis?) and Nergal, the 21st to the moon and the "Ruler" (Sun?), the 28th to I'a (Ao) and (in an especial manner) to Nergal, and every other day similarly to other deities. The seventh day, however, is in every case an 'evil day.'—A different view is preferred by Lotz l. c. 57 foll.

*** According to Lotz pinti means "fire".

† בשל according to Aramaic usage.

dates* 31. shall not change the garment of his body, not
20 put on clean (garments?), 32. not present offerings. The king shall not [mount?] a chariot &c." This day was likewise designated š a b a t t u v שבת i. e. "(day) of rest" (II Rawl. 32. 16 a. b, according to Friedr. Delitzsch's correction) because no business was to be transacted. In the explanatory column this š a b a t t u v is expressly interpreted by the words û m n û ḫ l i b b i i. e. "day of the rest of heart" or 'rest-day.'

Moreover we have preserved to us in the Syllabaries the names of the *seven planetary deities* after whom the days of the week appear subsequently named. They are according to II Rawl. 48, 48—54 a. b: Moon, Sun—Mercury (Nebo), Venus (Istar), Saturn (Adar)—Jupiter (Bel-Merodach)** and Mars (Nergal). We observe that the places of the moon and sun have changed with respect to each other in later times, and also that of Jupiter and Mars with respect to the remaining three planets—the order being Sun, Moon, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus and Saturn; or we find Jupiter inserted between Mercury and Venus. Compare also the enumeration upon the obelisk of Salmanassar II (Layard 1851 plate 87 lines 7—13), which contains some other changes in the position of the names, omits Sin the moon-god, and in his place introduces Beltis next to Istar, so that we have the following series of planetary deities:—Samas (Sun-God), Merodach (Jupiter), Adar (Saturn), Nergal (Mars), Nebo (Mercury), Beltis (evening-star), Istar

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* t u m r u 'date'; comp. Arab. تَمْر Aramaic תַּמְרָא. The 'Palm' itself was named m u s u ḳ ḳ a n (with Varr.). Also in Arabic and Aramaic the tree and the fruit had different names. The latter alone exhibits the common Semitic name. Compare on this subject my Essay on "Ladanum and Palm" in Berl. Acad. Monatsber. 1881 p. 418 foll. 425.

** See however in the "Addenda."

(Venus, morning-star). That these Babylonio-Assyrian planetary deities, in their number seven, were also known to the Aramaean Mandaei, is obvious from their *liber Adami*, in 21 which we find mentioned in succession: Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn (Kaiwân), Jupiter (Bel) and Nergal (Nerîg). Also the Sabaeans in Mesopotamian Harran were acquainted with the seven planetary deities as the deities of the week-days and moreover in the order with which we are familiar:— Sun, Moon, Nergal (Mars), Nebo (Mercury), Jupiter (Bel), Venus (Beltis), Saturn (Kronos). Among Western nations, especially the Romans, the institution of the *Sabbatum* was introduced by the Jews in the early days of the Empire along with the institution of the seven-day week (Calend. Sabinum). The individual deities, to whom the seven days of the week were sacred, are enumerated by Dio Cassius XXXVII 16, 17. p. 300 tom II ed. Sturz. And Isidorus of Seville, about A. D. 650, gives them in their traditional order and with their Latin names:—dies Solis, dies Lunae &c. (Originum lib. V. 30 p. 63 ed. du Breul). Further particulars may be seen in my essay on the "Babylonian origin of the week of seven days" in Theolog. Studien und Kritiken 1874 pp. 343 foll.

Nothing shows more clearly how deeply the sacredness of the number seven was rooted in the character of even the non-Semitic as well as pre-Semitic civilization of Babylon than the ancient Babylonian literature, particularly the ancient Babylonian hymns, which have come down to us in the original Sumíro-Akkadian idiom as well as in Assyrio-Semitic translation. *Seven* is the number of the spirits, whose origin is in the depths, and who know neither order nor custom, nor listen to prayers and desires (see my "Descent of Istar" Giessen 1874 p. 110 foll.). *Seven* and twice

22 seven times * is the knot to be tied by the woman who sits by the bed-side of her sick husband and conjures the evil spirits (ibid. p. 118 foll.). The mythical serpent mentioned in the hymns has *seven* heads II Rawl 19, 13/14. Also on figured representations the number seven is clearly to be recognized. The naturalistic representation of the palm in Layard's 'Niniveh and Babylon' VIII B exhibits in the crown of the tree seven branches, and with this may be compared the palm with seven branches figured on a Babylonian cylinder in the Berlin. Acad. Monatsber. 1881, May, plate no. 4. Moreover in the *sacred tree*, as it is called, in the enumeration of the individual branches and leaves, it is mainly the number *seven* which predominates. This is shown even in the earliest representations of this tree on the ancient Babylonian cylinder, made known to the world by Smith, in which it is portrayed with 4 + 3 = seven branches, ibid. no. 5. Also we observe the same feature in the later and purely schematic forms, until we come to that displayed on the Assyrian monuments, which curiously exhibits the number seven either in the branches, or in the leaves of the perianth, or in those of the crown, or in several of these together. Occasionally we likewise come across the number *ten*. Compare also notes on chap. II. 9. IV. 1 foll. V. 1 foll.

4b. *On the day when Jahve Elohim created earth and heaven (there was not yet any bush of the field upon earth and there had not yet sprouted up any herb of the field)* &c. The last words naturally remind us of the Babylonian

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* Read: si-bit a-di ši-na i. e. "seven and besides two" or "twice seven"; comp. *ibid.* p. 110 line 10; see Fr. Delitzsch in Smith's Chaldaean Genesis p. 307. Fox Talbot was beforehand on the right track (see 'Istar's Descent to Hades' pp. 114 foll.).

creation-story (line 6) ". . . a sprout had not yet sprung 23
forth" see above page 2. The Chaldaean account, which elsewhere exhibits more points of contact with the Elohistic narrative of creation, is here on the contrary more closely akin to that of the Jahvistic-prophetic narrator. The latter is for the most part true in the case of the story of the Flood.

יְהוָה. In Sargon's great inscription at Khorsabad line 33*, as well as in the Nimrûd-inscription of the same monarch, we meet with a king** of Hamâth named J a-u-b i-'-d i i. e. Jahubi'd. Beside the determination of person, the word is preceded by the determination of deity. Accordingly it is certain that *Jahu* was regarded by the writer as the name of a god. The correctness of this conjecture is established by the remarkable fact that this same king is called in another inscription of Sargon (viz. the cylinder-inscription of Khorsabad) I-l u-u-b i-'-d i i. e. Ilûbi'd I Rawl.

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* Botta, monument de Ninive IV pl. 145 line 21.

** Lay. 33 line 8. Here he is designated M a-l i k i. e. מלך. I ought not however to pass on without observing that the rendering 'king' is from the Assyrian standpoint inadequate. The Assyrian always employed the word m a l i k plur. m a l i k i, m a l k i to designate the minor potentates. M a l i k to the Assyrian is equivalent to 'prince', while 'king' he expressed by š a r r u שר. We see that מלך and שר in Assyrian, as compared with Hebrew, have exactly changed places. The Conjecture of Lotz ('The Inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser I' p. 99 rem.) is worth noticing, that šarru is properly a foreign word in Assyrian, borrowed from the Akkado-Sumirian in which šírra signifies "leader." The word would thus be in its migration from language to language somewhat analogous to the German "Kaiser", Slav "Czar" = Caesar. The hypothesis is rendered more probable from the circumstance that the corresponding term for 'King' is only to be found among the Eastern and Northern Semites (i. e. Assyrians and Hebrews), not among the Semites of the South.—The attempts that have been made to find Semitic derivations are all of them unsatisfactory.

24 36 line 25. Ilu "god" has therefore been substituted in the latter for Jahu; accordingly "Jahu" itself can only have been a name for a deity and convertible with Ilu. The conclusion at once forces itself upon us, that just as ilu = Hebrew אֵל (see above p. 11), so jahu = Hebrew יָהוּ i. e. יַהְוֶה. Even the curious phaenomenon, that the names for deity אֵל and יַהְוֶה may be substituted for one another in one and the same proper name, is not at all remarkable as regards the Hebrew. For example, we know that Jojakim king of Judah before his accession was called Eljakim (2 Kings XXIII. 34). Similarly the above-mentioned king of Hamath may on his accession have changed the one name for the other.

But if Jahve was worshipped not only by Israel, but by the heathen Syrians (such as the inhabitants of Hamath were), what becomes of the specific Hebrew origin of this name for deity? Is it overthrown? Certainly not. Just as it was the custom of nations to adopt the cultus of some deity from another people*, so the people of Hamath may have adopted Jahve, the God of the Hebrews, into their pantheon. To *them* (the Hamathites) of course he was a

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* In an inscription to be quoted on 2 Kings XIII. 24 Asur is spoken of as a god of the people of Damascus, whose cultus must have been borrowed by them from the Assyrians. The same is true of the Assyrio-Babylonian god Ramman, that is Dadda = Hadad, which appears in the name of the king of Damascus Hadad'idri i. e. Hadad'ezer; see on 1 Kings XX. 1; comp. my 'Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung' p. 539.

[Prof. Sayce has propounded in the Modern Review Oct. 1882 p. 857 a suggestion which is the reverse of Schrader's, viz. that the Hebrews borrowed the name of their deity from the Hittites. "It is therefore significant that the Hittite captain in David's army was named Uriah." Sayce holds with Dr. Tiele that Fried. Delitzsch's attempt to find an Akkadian etymology for the name is unsuccessful.—Translator.]

god on like footing with other gods, and by admitting him into their pantheon they had no thoughts of paying honour to the Hebrew religion.* Moreover much is to be said for 25 the derivation of the name from the Hebrew, the word being regarded as the Hifil of הִיָּה = 'the Creator', 'the life-dispenser' [see the report of my public lecture at Zürich April 26 1862, in no. 10 of the Kirchenblatt für die reform. Schweiz 1862 p. 83; also my article Jahve in Schenkel's Bibel-lexicon III (1871) pp. 170 foll. and P. de Lagarde in Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft XXII 1868 p. 330 foll.]. On the other hand, when we take into account the circumstance that the sign for ili viz. NI (which in the reduplicated form NINI certainly means "god") is explained in the Assyrian column by ja-u = Jahu**, it cannot be deemed impossible that the name

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* We may also connect with this name for deity that of the North Arabian king Jahlû (see note on 2 Kings VIII. 15). At all events the name written Ja-'-lu-' may best be explained as a contraction for Jahu-ilu i. e. יוֹאֵל; comp. Ja-ki-in-lu-u יכנאל, a name like יְכָנְיָה, Smith's Assurbanipal 62, 116. 121. The marking of the length of the vowel û in the first case by u-' would be the same as we not infrequently meet with in later times in the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae.

** This I have already shown in the Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie I 1875, in the essay 'The original signification of the Divine name Jahve-Zebaoth' p. 317 foll. rem. I there drew attention to the Assyrian name for 'wind' a-ïv (ha-iv), a-u (ha-u), root הוה to 'breathe' 'blow', so that God the "breather" would have to be placed parallel to the storm-god Rammân, Gen. XIX. 24.

Fr. Delitzsch, who formerly rejected this view (see Baudissin, Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte I 226 foll.), has meanwhile come to the belief that its correctness can no longer be doubted and that further evidence may be adduced to support it; see his "Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 158 foll. According to B. Stade, 'History of the people Israel' Berlin 1881 p. 130 foll., Jahve was originally a God of the Kenites.

is to be regarded as an Assyrian one (compare Rammân-Rimmôn) that has found its way both among Hebrews and Aramaeans. It may be better therefore to leave the decision of this question in suspense.

26 7. *and he formed man from the dust of the earth.* In comparison with this passage we can at present only cite the Chaldaean account handed down by Berossus respecting the creation of man by mingling the blood of the gods with the earth (see above p. 14).

— *and he blew into his nose the breath of life.* In the fragment marked 18 in Delitzsch 2nd ed. p. 80 lines 15, 16 we read:

15. a-na pa-di-šu-nu ib-nu-u a-ví-lu-tu
16. ri-mí-nu-u ša bul-lu-ṭu ba-šu-u it-ti-šu

i. e. 15. To redeem them, created mankind
16. The Merciful one, in whom is the power that summons to life.*

Notes and illustrations. We must understand as subject the "God of life" i. e. AN.ZI (ZI = napištu) line 1.—Respecting rimínû root רחם = רהם see Fr. Delitzsch in Smith's Chaldaean Genesis (Germ. ed.) p. 269. Respecting bašû see Assyrio-Babylonian Cun. Insc. p. 304 rem. 1. How the phrase 'to redeem them' (root פדה) is to be understood in this connection is not very clear. G. Smith's "to their terror" is clearly impossible. Smith evidently read ana ḫaddišunu and was thinking of the Hebrew חתת. Oppert renders "to form a counterpoise to them" (?).

8. *And Jahve-Elohim planted a garden in Eden towards the East.* "Eden", Hebrew עֵדֶן, has in its origin nothing to do with עֶדֶן plur. עֲדָנִים 'delight', and is a word signifying 'field', 'plain', introduced among the Hebrews from Babylonia. The usual Assyrian ideogram for 'field', 'steppe', 'plain' is interpreted in the syllabaries by í-di-nu i. e עֵדֶן, and since

* bullûṭu (בָּלַט) is Infinit. Pa. with causative meaning (Assyrio-Babylonian Cuneif. Inscr. p. 272). Oppert rightly gives the sense:— "the principle of life."

this word appears likewise in the left column of the syllabary (as í-di-in), it may by conjectured that is was a primitive non-Semitic word which afterwards passed into the Semitic (Delitzsch). Eden is of course *regarded* by the Hebrew narrator 27
as a *proper name** which the Hebrews, as in many similar cases, interpreted by popular etymologies and presumably connected in meaning with עֶדֶן signifying 'delight.'—In this "field" Jahve planted a "garden" in which he placed man. The ideogram for the conception "garden" in the Assyrian, viz. kar and gan, is interpreted in the syllabaries (see III Rawl. 70, 96) by the Assyrian ginû (gi-nu-u), Akkadian ga-na; and it is besides explained in Assyrian by iḳ-lu i. e. חקל 'field.' Whether we are to regard the word gan, which occurs in all Semitic languages (even in Aethiopic), as not Semitic, but Sumíro-Akkadian (Sayce, Haupt, Delitzsch), in other words, as a foreign term in these languages, just like 'park' in our own, must remain a matter of uncertainty. It is in our opinion quite as probable that the word passed from the Semitic into the Akkadian, since the proper and, at all events, older term for 'garden' in Akkadian seems to have been kar**. It is certain that not till the time of Asurbanipal, so far as we can at present determine, kar was replaced by gun, gin (Smith's Assurb. 183); moreover the etymology of the word, on the assumption

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* Delitzsch 'Wo lag das Paradies' p. 80 is inclined to regard 'Êden', Assyrian ídinu (êdinu), as a Babylonian name for a district viz of that portion of Mesopotamia which stretches from Tekrît on the Tigris and ʿAna on the Euphrates, southwards to the Persian Gulf, a region yielding pasturage, which was crossed in Assyrian times by nomad tribes of the Gutî and Sutî country, the "people of the steppe." Whatever be the facts, it is certain that the Hebrew narrator never had this definite portion of Babylonia in his thoughts (see below).

** See Fr. Delitzsch 'Wo lag das Paradies' p. 135.

28 that its origin is Semitic, is at any rate not less satisfactory than when we assume that it was derived from the Akkadian.

9. *The tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.* Also the Assyrian monuments exhibit a "sacred tree" in a form that differs in several particulars. But no closer connection can be distinctly asserted to exist between this tree and either the Hebrew tree of life or the Hebrew tree of knowledge. We are not on that account by any means justified in asserting that no such connection exists in the latter case*.—The *palm* may be recognized as the prototype of the representations of the sacred tree on the Assyrio-Babylonian monuments. It exhibits a form, however, that appears to have become merged into that of a species of *coniferae*. See my reference in the Monatsberichte der Berlin. Acad. der Wissensch. 1881 pp. 426 foll. (with plate).

10. *And a river went forth from Eden.* This stream does not bear any special name, as the river of Paradise lost by man. It is only after the river passes out of the sacred region, that it to a certain extent assumes for mankind a concrete form, and names are accordingly bestowed on the river-arms. From an interpretation which adheres to the text of the writer's statements it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the ideas involved have no correspondence in reality.

from thence i. e. after passing out of the garden of Eden (see Dillmann ad loc.). The conception is, therefore, that

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* The duality which actually belongs to the sacred tree, as being the Tree of Life and Tree of Knowledge, can scarcely be regarded as an objection, for this differentiation is, according to my view, something secondary and had its growth in the first instance upon Hebrew soil.

the nameless river has its source somewhere in the region 29
of Eden and enters, as this same nameless stream, into the garden of Eden, which it waters. Next it passes out of the garden again and divides into four streams which now bear definite names.

to water the garden. Delitzsch (pp. 62 foll.) is certainly right in referring to the watering or irrigation by canals practised in Babylon.

לְאַרְבָּע רָאשִׁים *'to four heads'* i. e. to four beginnings of streams. Delitzsch refers to the analogous phrase rîš nâri ראש נהר i. e. "starting-point of the canal" in the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions.

11. פִּישׁוֹן *Pishôn,* has not yet been shown to be the name of a Babylonian river or canal. Delitzsch (Paradies pp. 77, 142) compares the Akkadian pi-sa-an-na, Assyr. pisânu 'reservoir', and, in reference to the employment of the appellative as a proper name, cites the name of a canal Pallacopas (from palag canal + . . .?*). With this canal, which extended west of the Euphrates above Babylon, Delitzsch connects the 'river Pishôn.'

12. חֲוִילָה no evidence is to be gained from the inscriptions with respect to this land. Delitzsch Parad. p. 59 thinks that he sees in it Arḍ-el-ḥâlât or land of downs,

* So Kiepert 'Handbook of ancient Geography' (1878) p. 145. Since the Pallacopas stretched along the border of the Syrio-Arabian desert, and Babylonia to a certain extent terminated in this direction, we are led in the second portion of the name to think of a word that has the meaning 'border', 'frontier', and that the canal therefore was designated "the frontier canal." Is this combination correct? And what was this Babylonian word?—It should also be observed that the connection of the first part of the name of the canal, Pallacopas, with the Assyr. palag, palgu, was already indicated by Oppert in his Expédition en Mésopot. II p. 288.

30 the portion of the Syrian desert situated West of the Euphrates*. The same may be said of the Bedôlach (Bdellium?) mentioned in this passage. On the other hand the *Shôham-stone* (אֶבֶן הַשֹּׁהַם) has been recognized by Delitzsch with considerable show of probability in the Assyrio-Babylonian (abnu) sa-am-tuv = sâmtu (masc. sa-a-mu i. e. sâmu). According to the law of consonantal change in Assyrian, recognized by Haupt and Delitzsch, this may likewise pass into the form sându**, which may be satisfactorily proved by the corresponding ideograms to have some such signification as 'dark'***. In lists of such stones this is called 'stone of Míluḫḫa' i. e. 'stone of Upper-Babylonia' (= Akkad); see II R. 51, 17a. b; V R. 30, 68g. We may infer that it was a precious stone from such passages as Sanher. Bavian 27; Taylor cylind. III. 35 &c. See the evidence cited in Pognon's Inscriptions de Bavian (1879) p. 61 foll. and Delitzsch 'Wo lag das Paradies' pp. 131 foll. The fact that the corresponding root in Babylonio-Assyrian exhibits an ם (= סהם), while the corresponding word in Hebrew has a ש (= שהם), presents no difficulty since we are not compelled to suppose that the word passed direct from the Babylonians to the Hebrews. It is quite as probable that it came to the latter through the Assyrians.

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* I am not responsible for the opinion attributed to me by Delitzsch respecting the extent of land which was held to be included under the name Chawîla; see 'Wo lag das Paradies' p. 59. And the same remark applies to the view with which I am credited elsewhere in that treatise respecting the situation of Paradise. The article referred to, viz. "Eden" in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* (see Delitzsch's preface to *Wo lag das Paradies* page X), does not come from my pen but from that of the Editor.

** See Haupt Sintfluth I 43 rem. 2; also comp. Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung pp. 140 foll. & IV R. 18 Rev. 45.

*** See for example the syllabary II Rawl. 26. 44 foll. e. f.

For the feminine ending affixed in Assyrian, Delitzsch rightly refers to I'lamtuv "Elam", irṣituv "earth", tiâmtuv, tâmtuv "sea", as compared with the Hebrew עֵילָם, אֶרֶץ, תְּהוֹם &c. On this subject see above p. 6 remark. 31 Which precious stone is specially meant by the Sâmtu-stone, cannot at present be conjectured with any definiteness.

13. גִּיחוֹן *Gichôn* is compared by Delitzsch with much appearance of probability with the cuneiform (nâru) Kaḥa-an-DI', pronounced Guḥa-an-DI'(Guḥan-DI') according to Syll. 45. Here the final (ideographic?) DI' may be regarded as meaning šiḳîtuv i. e. "irrigation" (Syll. 90). Now the canal, which bears the Akkadian name Guḥan(n?)a-DI', may be shown from citations of cuneiform texts* to correspond to the nâru A-ra-aḥ-ti, A-raḥ-ti of the Assyrians which, in the passages referred to, is sometimes expressly mentioned as a river or canal close to (and behind) the Euphrates and Tigris, sometimes is defined as lying East of the Euphrates. Delitzsch (Parad. pp. 76, 137) conjectures that it may be the river now called Shaṭṭ en-Nîl.

אֵת כָּל־אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ *the whole land of Kûsh.* Putting aside the representations of primitive history, and taking into account the well-established and unquestionable usage of the historical books of the Old Testament, we must regard this "land of Kush" as meaning to the Hebrew first and foremost the African land of Kûsh i. e. Nubian-Aethiopia. This must at all events have been *included* under the term. On the other hand the geographical position that is indicated by the mention of the Euphrates and Tigris (verse 14), *probably* indicated by that of Guchan-Gichôn, and *possibly*

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* II R. 50, III. 9c. d comp. with 51, 27a; Sanher. Bavian 52. Bull-inscription 4, 63 in III R. 12; G. Smith, Sennacherib (1878) p. 91, 63.

indicated by that of Pisân-Pishôn, would in the main lead us to regard Kûsh as an Eastern, or more precisely a *Baby-*
32 *lonian* country. But the phrase "the whole land of Kûsh" is not adapted to express so limited a region. Accordingly we have here an account that involves contradictions. How this is to be explained will be considered further on chap. X. 6.

14. חִדֶּקֶל Hebrew name of the *Tigris*, occurs again Dan. X. 4. The reader will doubtless note the prefixed ḥ i which is not to be met with either in the Aramaic, Arabic, or even in the Persian form of the name for the river. It is not however specifically Hebrew. It is to be found in Assyrian, though not in the ordinary texts. The latter only furnish us the form D i g l a t e. g. the Behistun inscription Babyl. Text line 35 (Di-ig-lat). But we meet with the fuller form in the more accurate syllabaries. One such (II Rawl. 50, 7 c. d.) interprets the ideogram BAR. TIḲ. ḲAR (that we know from Beh. 34, to be that which stands for the river Tigris) by I-di-ig-lat i. e. H i d i g l a t, since the syllables *a*, *i*, *u* likewise express the others h a, hi, hu in Assyrian. The form H i d i g l a t, which closely approximates the Hebrew pronunciation, coincides with the Samaritan (הדקל). The hardening of h(i) to ḥ(i), which is here to be observed, is not an isolated instance among the comparative forms exhibited by languages. Thus it is certain that the Persian A h u r a m a z d â becomes the Babylonian A ḥ u r m a z d a' in the inscription of N a ḳ s h-i-R u s t a m l. 8 and elsewhere. We have likewise U r i m i z d a or U r a m a z d a, and also U r i m i z d a' in the Behistun inscription; and probably we see the same thing within the limits of Assyrian itself in the names of foreign towns, H a m a t t u together with A m a t t u "Hamath"; H a m í d i

together with Amídi "Âmid" (see below). We may therefore assume that the Hebrew and Aramaic דקל(ח) arises merely by a hardening of pronunciation from an original form דקל(ה). And we should also assume that the pronun- 33
ciation with ק is to be traced back to one that is more primitive with ג. Probably the truth is that Idiglat or Diglat*—(the latter occurring in the Behistun inscription) was the softer *Babylonian* pronunciation, which is reflected in the Persian Tigrâ, and in the Arabic دِجْلَة remains to the present day; while in the Hebrew and Aramaic forms (comp. דִּכְלָא) we have the specific *Assyrian* pronunciation. It is well known that also in other instances we have a hard and emphatic ק in Assyrian corresponding to a soft Babylonian ג; and, that there existed other differences of pronunciation between Assur and Babel, is a fact equally well established. Now the Hebrews would have adopted the name for the Tigris, on which Niniveh stood, in just the form in which it was usually pronounced in Assur**. It

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* P. Haupt, in his essay 'the Sumíro-Akkadian language' (Transactions of the Berlin Oriental Congress 1882) p. 252, on the ground of the transition which in other instances takes place from a Sumerian (South Babylonian) *l* into an Akkadian *n*, believes that the Hebrew חִדֶּקֶל should be regarded as the (original) South-Babylonian pronunciation of the name of a river which in the Northern Akkadian dialect became Idigna. But Assur, which immediately borders on Akkad and is separated by it from Sumer, likewise exhibits this *l* in place of the *n* in its Idiḳlat (Idiglat) II R. 50, 7 c. d. Though we may regard it as possible that this form was modified out of a previously existing Idignat, we have certainly no grounds for pronouncing it "Idignat" in Assyrian as may be seen from the corresponding orthography Di-ig-lat in the Behistun inscription 35 (with the same sign for *lat*).

** The Sumíro-Akkadian pronunciation of the name appears to have been Idigna; see Haupt, die sumerischen Familiengesetze I (1879) p. 9 rem., H. Rawlinson in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society XII.

is note worthy that the Hebrew and Aramaic rejected the feminine ending -at, whereas the Assyrian and the other above-mentioned languages, including the New Persic, have uniformly preserved it. We have a precisely reverse phaenomenon in the case of the Assyrio-Himjaritic-Aramaic עשתר, عشتر, עתר as compared with the Hebrew-Canaanitish עשתרת. We append to this in our investigation:—

34 פְּרָת, the name of the Euphrates here and in many other passages of the O. T. The full form in Assyrian is Bu-rat-tuv (tiv, tav, also tu, ti, ta). This is guaranteed partly by the syllabaries (II Rawl. 50 line 8; 35 line 6), partly by the continuous texts e. g. the great inscription of the builder of the North West Palace, Ašur-nâṣir-habal, col. III, line 14, 15, 16, 41 &c., by the cylinder-inscription of Tiglath Pileser I col. V. 58, and by other citations. Very often we find the name also written ideographically, for example in the Babylonian text of the trilingual Behistun inscription line 36 with the signs UT. KIB.NUN.KI. These designate the Euphrates as the river of Sippara, and this town itself again is designated in the manner above cited as 'Heliopolis' or 'city of the Sun'. Compare on this subject Oppert's Expédition en Mésopot. II p. 219. Respecting another ideographic mode of writing the name, see my work Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilinschriften p. 94 rem. 3. Since the publication of the syllabary V Rawl. 22 Rev. 31: Bu-ra-nu-nu = UT.

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1 (1880) p. 73 rem. I-di-ig-nu (see V Rawl. 22. Rev. 30) by the addition of the Semitic fem. ending (Fr. Delitzsch) became Idignat. For the transition from -nat into -lat, see Haupt in Nachrichten von d. Götting. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1880 p. 541 and Delitzsch, Parad. (1881) p. 170 foll. My remarks above are confirmed by the דגלת of the Targums and the Talmud cited by Delitzsch. It represents once more the specific Babylonian pronunciation.

KIB.NUN.KI the origin of the name of the river will have to be sought in the Akkadian, just as the name of the Tigris according to Delitzsch Parad. p. 169. The name signifies the "*great* (n u n u) *river* (b u r a)." By the omission of n u n u and the addition of the Semitic feminine ending (see above on I d i g n a t) the 'great stream' became for the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians B u r a t or the 'stream' *par excellence*; compare the Heb. הַנָּהָר = the Euphrates. The Euphrates stands here without any addition or more specific local designation, certainly not because "it was the main-stream that watered the garden, the stream that specially belonged to Paradise" (Fr. Delitzsch Parad. p. 78). It was certainly not so regarded by the Hebrew narrator. But the lack of specific definition is rather due to the fact 35
that the river did not need to be specified more precisely since it was the stream that was well known to every Hebrew and which the Hebrews themselves called simply "the stream." This could not be said of the Tigris (see below p. 42).

אַשּׁוּר, name of the region *Assyria*. The native appellation is sometimes A š š u r, see Behistun inscription line 5, Inscription of Asarhaddon I Rawl. 48, No. 9, line 3 and in other passages; sometimes A-š u r, as occasionally in the Ninivite inscriptions e. g. Tigl.-Pil. col. VII, 31. 48. 59. 62. The name stood chiefly as that of the city Assur or Asur (A-šur-KI Tigl.-Pil. I, col. II, 95; IV, 37; V, 25. 26. 62; VI, 69 &c.—in other cases, as a rule the familiar compound sign is employed for the city also). This city was the ancient imperial capital, situated South of Niniveh, on the right bank of the Tigris, on the spot where stand at the present day the ruins of Ḳal'at-Sherkat (see on Chap. X. 11). As often happens, the name of the ancient imperial

city was transferred to the kingdom itself. Likewise the god Assur bears the same name as the city and land of Assur, though the name of the god is usually written A-šur. See the numerous passages on the cylinder of Tiglath-Pileser I, as well as the variants on the cylinder of Asarhaddon (I Rawl. pl. 45 foll. col. I, 44; VI, 70) and compare the Hebrew transcription אֵסַרְחַדּוֹן (2 Ki. XIX. 37) with ס* not doubled**. We have every reason to assume
36 that a relation subsisted between the name of the city and that of the god. The question arises: does the god derive his name from the city, or the city from the god that was specially worshipped in it? The former seems to be the more likely (so Delitzsch Parad. p. 254), and in the epithet aššurit or 'Assyrian',*** belonging to Istar, we have, as it would appear, a completely satisfactory parallel. And yet such is not the fact. In the first place we should in this instance expect not the name of a deity Aššur, but rather Aššurai. It should be an adjective expressing reference, with the signification "the Assyrian (god)" (comp. aššurit II Rawl. 46, 2). Moreover it does not harmonize with the ideographic designation, frequently occurring in Asurbanipal's inscriptions, of the divinity referred to in the text. This designation is AN. ḪI, according to the Akkadian to be read (AN)ŠAR with the signification ilu

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*) The transition from the Assyrian ש to the Heb. ס in such cases is quite regular; see on this subject Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilinschriften p. 195 foll. and Berlin. Monatsber. 1877 p. 79 foll.

** Observe likewise the Ἀσορδὰν of the LXX, and the other forms under which the name appears in the names of the Ptolemaic Canon, Ἀσαρίδινος (= Asarhaddon) and Ἀσαρανάδιος (so the name should be read instead of Ἀπαρανάδιος) = Ašur-nâdin-(šum).

*** Respecting this title of Istar-Astarte, see Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften pp. 171 foll.

ṭâbu "good god"*. This must also have been the original meaning of the name for the deity. This name should be derived from the root אשר = ישר 'to be good'. The latter is still preserved to us in the feminine participial form âširat occurring in the name of a bilingual (Aramaic-Assyrian) inscription viz Arbailu-âširat [= "(the goddess) Arbail is kind"], see Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften p. 171 No. 8. The form âšûr is that of the intransitive adjective ("the Kind", see Ewald § 149 b) and we have analogous formations in עָמֹק 'deep', עָנֹג 'delicate' &c. The city Aššur or Ašur, and afterwards Assyria in general, 37
accordingly received their name from a deity, precisely as Asteroth-Karnaim (Josh. XII. 4), Baal-Gad (Josh. XI. 17), Baal-Hermon (Song of Sol. VIII. 11) &c. Respecting the use of Ašur, Aššur = Persian Athurâ in the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae for the entire Western Asian region (exclusive of Asia Minor), dominated by the Assyrians, therefore essentially for the *Syria* of classical writers rather than for the district Aturia (Strabo), see Kiepert, Lehrbuch p. 161 rem. 6. See however on chap. X, 22.

III. 1. הַנָּחָשׁ *the serpent.* We meet with the serpent in figured representations repeatedly, especially upon cylinders, and it assumes such a form that we can see that it has some religious and symbolic significance. But hitherto it has not been possible to say with any certainty what this significance more precisely is. It has not yet been proved

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* See Oppert in Journ. Asiat. VI. 6, 1865, p. 327, and comp. above p. 10. Whether the Assyrian Ašur itself has been transformed by a popular etymology from an original Akkadian form Aušar written A-ušar (II Rawl. 46, 2 c d), as has been assumed by several, is a question that cannot be decided here. Compare Lotz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I, p. 74.

whether, in the well-known representation on a cylinder (see Geo. Smith, Chaldaean Genesis, Germ. ed. p. 87), the snake, that is coiling upwards behind the woman who is seated, is the serpent that tempts man to sin, or whether this entire representation has any reference to the Fall (so Delitzsch Parad. p. 90). Just as in this case we have two human beings (man and woman) seated and in like manner stretching forth their hands to the fruit—clusters of dates —hanging down on every side, so we find in a similar representation on the pages of Ménant, catalogue &c. pl. III, No. 14 two persons standing one on either side of a palm quite naturally portrayed and each holding with one hand the stalk of a cluster of dates (comp. Berlin. Monatsber. 1881 pp. 427 foll.). In the latter case, however, there is no reason to suppose that there is any allusion to the story of the Fall; nor upon the cylinder above-mentioned is there the slightest indicated reference to what constitutes the specific feature of that narrative—the presentation of the
38 fruit by the woman to the man; compare Ménant, comptes rendus de l'academie des inscriptions et belles lettres 1880, 4. ser. VIII p. 270 foll. We certainly have no right to assert that the Babylonians had no story of a Fall, although no written accounts bearing upon it have hitherto come to hand. We merely contend that it is not presupposed in the above figured representation.

6. *and the woman saw that the tree was good for food.* If the legend of Paradise is ultimately of Babylonian origin, for which there is substantial evidence (without detriment to the remarks on verse 1), the tree to which reference is here made would point ultimately to the special tree of Babylonia viz. the palm, while the fruits would point to the dates. This tree as well as fruit, —the latter hanging in

clusters,—continually occupy a foremost position in the figured representations on the monuments we are now considering; comp. verse 1. In the course of time, i. e. when the myth migrated to the Hebrews, this concrete tree assumed the more general form of a "fruit tree." It needs no special investigation to show that the Hebrew narrator was not thinking of the palm.

7. עֲלֵה תְאֵנָה *fig-leaves.* This statement can only have sprung up on Hebrew-Israelite, not on Babylonian soil. Syria and Palestine are properly the native country of the fig-tree (Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere 4th ed. p. 84); and though we occasionally meet with fig-trees in South Babylonia as far as Baṣra (see Ritter, Erdkunde XI, pp. 953, 1052),—and on the other hand we neither will nor can deny that even in ancient times fig-trees existed in 39
Babylonia,—yet the latter circumstance can neither invalidate the general fact above-stated with respect to the proper home of the fig-tree, nor the statement of Herodotus (however extreme we may regard it in its exclusive bearing) that Babylonia exhibits "*no fig-tree,* no vine, no olive"; Herod. I, 193.

24. הַכְּרוּבִים *the Cherubim**. Just as the Cherubim are here the sentinels at the entrance to Paradise, so we find on the monuments, viz. in the palace and city-ruins, colossi of bulls and lions with human faces, as guardians of the gateways of the palaces and temples and also of the city

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* In identifying the Heb. כְּרוּב with the Assyr. Kirûbu (assuming the monumental tradition of this name) we should follow Fr. Delitzsch Paradies p. 145 in quoting the Syllab. in Lotz' Die Inschriften Tiglath Pilesers I p. 89, which cites the Assyrian Karûbu (line 13) as synonym for rubû 'great', 'exalted one'. For the root כרב and its meaning "bless" in Assyrian, see Paul Haupt p. 79 (in the German original of the present work). Compare likewise bit Ki-ru-ba in Strassmaier, Altbabylonische Verträge, Berlin 1882, Text B 84. 1; 87. 1; 89. 1.

walls (pylon in the North-West city-wall of Niniveh-Kujundshik). Though it is not clear from the passage in Genesis that the Cherubim of Paradise were regarded as winged creatures, we can scarcely doubt that such was the case when we take into account the parallel passages in the Bible (Exodus, Ezekiel &c). The Assyrian names for these bull- (and lion-?) colossi are šídu = Hebrew שֵׁד, and lamassu (of doubtful origin), see Norris p. 688. Now we have an amulet whereon is inscribed a talismanic incantation in the ancient Babylonian Sumíro-Akkadian language (Lenormant, *choix de textes cunéiformes* p. 89). In this incantation, after an invocation of the evil spirits, (Obverse 1—4) the good spirits are invoked with the words 5—7: šídu damḳu, lamassu ṭâbu, utukku damḳu i. e. "exalted bull-god, propitious lion-god(?), exalted genius." Instead of the ideogram, viz. the Sumíro-Akkadian word represented by šídu, there appears, according to Lenormant, upon an unedited parallel inscription, in the possession of M. de Clercq in Paris, the legend (AN) ki-
40 ru-bu damḳu "exalted Cherub" (see my remarks in the Jenaische Literaturzeitung 1874 p. 218b). If this communication* is confirmed, we shall have proved the Babylonian origin of the Cherubim and their final identity with the winged colossal bulls that keep guard at the entrances of the palaces, temples &c., or with the divine beings represented by them. Moreover the theory that the Cherubim are exactly identical with the colossal bulls would agree with the fact that Ezekiel (I. 10 comp. X. 14) compares the face of a Cherub with the face of a bull.

* Lenormant's letter to me, containing the above statement, is dated October 22. 1873. Meantime comp. this writer's "les origines de l'histoire" Paris 1880, p. 118, especially rem. 3.

Also the Cherubim of the Ark of the Covenant have at least this point in common with the winged bulls, that just as the latter appear as the special sentinels of the ruler's abode and likewise of a place devoted to a sacred cultus, so the former appear as the sentinels and guardians of the majesty of God that is withdrawn from the glance of the profane, and as the protectors of his sacred dwelling (Riehm).

When we revert to the preceding Assyriological comments on Gen. II. 4—III. 24 we clearly discern a double phaenomenon. On the one hand this Biblical account of Paradise (to speak in general terms) appears throughout locally defined and endowed with local colouring. We are immistakeably led towards the East, or to speak more definitely, into a region of the Euphrates and Tigris, and, at all events partially or in some way, of Babylonia. Guḥân-Gichôn, Pisân-Pishôn, also עֵדֶן (i. e. the appellative Babyl. édinu 'field' transformed into a proper name), likewise the conception of 'watering' or 'irrigating' the land by a river or canal, point specially to Babylonia; and the same is equally 41
true of the name for the precious stone Shôham; and last of all the mention of the land Kush certainly points to the *South*-East.—On the other hand, the reference to the fig-tree as a growth from the soil of Paradise is unquestionably non-Babylonian. The description of the Tigris as a river that flows 'before Assur' is certainly of non-Babylonian origin; and, finally, the blending of the Babylonian Kaš with the African Keš [in the form Kûsh, see on X, 6 (8)] is not to be conceived as possible on Babylonian soil. Now I agree with Fried. Delitzsch* in holding strongly to

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* "Wo lag das Paradies" Leipzig 1881 pp. 45—83. According to

the view that the conception of a Paradise, in which a prominent position is held not only by the Euphrates but also by the Tigris*, that generally speaking lies beyond the Hebrew range of vision (to say nothing of the two other
42 rivers or canals that are mentioned); in which reference is made to a precious stone (שֹׁהַם) with a specific Babylonian name**; and in which the specific Babylonian system of canals seems in some way to be presupposed;—that such a conception of Paradise can only have been formed ulti-

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this writer the Biblical (? see below) narrator draws the following sketch of the garden:—"From Eden there went forth a stream to water the garden—that is the Euphrates. The abounding fulness of the Euphrates, which waters the garden of Eden in undiminished stream, is divided below Babylon to be conducted over the entire country in four great waterways. The first stream, i. e. arm of the Euphrates, is the *Pisânu*, which branches off below Babylon and flows on the right Arabian side of the Euphrates in a long course direct to the Persian sea; the second arm of the Euphrates is the *Guchânu* which flows from Babylon on the left Babylonian side of the Euphrates in a long line through the whole of Middle Babylonia to bend its course again to the main bed of the Euphrates; the third is the well known river of Assyria the *Tigris* which from that point onwards assumes its former position independent of the Euphrates. And lastly the fourth is the *Euphrates*."

* The reader is aware that the Ḥiddeḳel-Tigris is only mentioned once in the entire O. T., with the exception of this passage, viz. in the post-exilic Book of Daniel (X. 4), the events of which take place in Babylonia.

** What has been stated remains true, even if the opinion that has hitherto been held (in opposition to Delitzsch pp. 16 foll. 132), that Bdôlach-Bdellium is identical with the Indian m a d â l a k a, should obtain further confirmation. For the assumption that this Indian article of commerce, with its Indian name, came by the track of commerce to the Babylonians from whom both thing and name passed over to the Hebrews, does not involve the slightest difficulty. Such an assumption, if true, would not by any means imply that the Hebrews had any knowledge of the *ultimate* source of this article of trade, viz. India.

mately in Babylonia*. On the other hand I am compelled to regard every attempt as altogether hopeless which seeks to determine the Hebrew conception of Paradise with greater geographical precision and to fix it on the map**. The *Hebrew* Paradise, as described by the narrator, is a Garden of God still existing somewhere or other upon the Earth (compare Ezek. XXXI. 9), which is watched by the Cherubim, and to which there is no access. There flows through it, now as ever, a nameless river which does *not* coincide with the Euphrates, and only on its exit from the garden becomes divided into four streams, among them into the Euphrates and the Tigris. The author thus thinks of the Euphrates and the Tigris as coming from a common 43
source. Accordingly, from the Hebrew-Palestinian standpoint, he can only have sought for this common origin in the mountain region of Armenia which must always have remained very obscure to him*** both as to its precise

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* Here, however, the name of the Babylonian district Kar (Gan) -Duniaš (Middle-Babylonia with Babel itself), on which H. Rawlinson, the originator of the theory of the Middle-Babylonian Eden, laid so much stress, will have to be put altogether aside. Delitzsch p. 66.

** An attempt of this kind may be seen in Delitzsch *ibid.*; compare also the map accompanying his work.

*** I gravely doubt whether the Hebrews had by any means as accurate an acquaintance with Armenia and Northern Mesopotamia as the Assyrians had (Delitzsch p. 24). The latter, we know, were correctly informed respecting the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, at any rate of the Eastern primary stream (Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 128—155). The geographical knowledge of the Hebrews did not amount to more than what they could pick up through the ancient high-ways of Mesopotamia that passed from East to West. In my opinion, the Hebrew, who entered Mesopotamia from the West by the road from Karchemish, might easily have hit upon the notion that the two sister streams, that again approached so close to one another in the North, originated very near each other or even sprang from a common source. Respecting the actual sources of the

geographical features and its mountainous configuration. Thus he can only have imagined Paradise as somewhere North of Mesopotamia, regarding the matter from his own peculiar standpoint (compare Dillmann and others). It was well known to him that the Tigris flowed before Assyria, that is North of Babylon, II, 14. Hence he retained those elements of the legend which had come down to him by tradition and which pointed to a Paradise situated further South, in Babylonia; and he united these elements into a general conception that was altogether incapable of being made complete. The Babylonian legend of Paradise that came down to him by tradition with its altogether concrete names Euphrates, Tigris, Gichôn and Pishôn, as well as the land of Kaš and the precious stone Shôham,—this legend was to him in its original shape so outworn that he had
44 only the dimmest ideas of Pishôn and Gichôn, and simply blended the Babylonian Kash with the African Kush that was to him much more familiar. Without any thought of Babylonia itself, he transferred into the district, where in our opinion the story of Paradise first arose and from whence it passed to the Hebrews, a tree, viz. the fig-tree, which certainly belongs to Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, but is not a characteristic growth of Babylonia. Here we have in the main the same feature that we have already taken occasion to point out in the story of the Creation and shall subsequently have to emphasize when we deal with the account of the Flood. As these Babylonian legends migrated to the Hebrews and were adopted by the

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Tigris, as well as of the Euphrates with both its tributary arms, the Hebrews can scarcely have been otherwise than poorly and imperfectly informed, if informed at all, in spite of knowledge that made its way to them about the "mountains of the (land) Ararat-Urarṭu", Gen. VIII, 4.

latter, they became in some important respects changed in accordance with altered local relations or, in a single word, *hebraized.*

IV. 2. הֶבֶל *Abel,* name of Adam's second son, finds in Hebrew no satisfactory derivation. The traditional combination of the name with the Hebrew word for 'breath' is objectionable, not only on account of the unsatisfactory connection, but because the name in question would be an exception to the analogy of all other names of the earliest men. It is evident that these were all originally family-names: Adam means "man" in general; Eve (Ḥavvâ) "life", then "mother"; Cain "shoot", "sprout"; Seth ditto; lastly Enosh means once more "man". We should also expect a similar designation in the case of Adam's second son, and this we obtain (Oppert) by glancing at the Assyrian in which habal (abal) is a common name for 'son' (compare my remarks in the Zeitschrift der deutschen morgen- 45
ländischen Gesellschaft XXIII. pp. 360 foll.). The word often appears in proper names e. g. in the name of the builder of the North-West-palace at Nimrûd-Chalah: Ašur-naṣir-habal "Asur protects the son"; in the name of the father of Nebukadnezar: Nabû-habal-uṣur "Nebo, protect the son." This last name, through the abbreviation of habal to bal (i. e. pol) which we find even among the Assyrians, assumed in Greek the form Nabopalassar (Berossus-Josephus*) or Nabopolassar (Canon of Ptolemy). We have another instance in the name of one who, at least during a portion of his reign was the most powerful of Assyrian kings, Ašur-bânî-habal i. e. "Asur created

* The pronunciation *Ναβοπαλάσαρος*, without double s, we find in Syncellus. To this corresponds the *Nabupalsar* in the Armenian Chronicle of Eusebius, see Schöne's Eusebius I, p. 43 foll.

the son", which the Greeks transformed to 'Sardanapal' &c. (Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften pp. 120 foll. Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung pp. 517 foll.). With reference to the subject that we are here considering, I have already drawn attention in another place* to the fact that a word that is used as an appellative in one language has been preserved in the allied language simply as a proper name. The word habal, abal, bal moreover seems to be a foreign word in Assyrian (A. H. Sayce, F. Delitzsch, P. Haupt) since it does not occur in any other Semitic language in an appellative sense, and taken in this sense, has no satisfactory derivation. It was probably adopted into the Assyrian** from the Sumíro-Akkadian, in which the word for "son" is ibila (Syll. 307 in Delitzsch's Assyrische Lesestücke). The same thing
46 occurs with kindred words. Meanwhile we find in Assyrian along with it the old and genuine Semitic word בֵּן "son" still preserved, occurring in the connection bin-bin i. e. "son's son" = "grandson" (Assyrisch-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 193). Also the Assyrian for 'daughter', derived from the same root, is bi-in-tu i. e. בִּנְתּ (along with marat, martuv having the same meaning), see Assyr.-Bab. Keilinsch. *ibid.*

VI. 5—VIII. 32. In this extract has been handed down to us the Biblical account of the Flood. The parallel Chaldaean accounts have, as regards their substance, been long known to us through Berossus and Josephus (see

* See Bibel-Lexicon Vol. III. pp. 507 foll.

** With the Assyr. הבל from the Akkadian ibil, compare חדקל, הדקל from Idiglat (see above p. 32).—Compare however J. Barth, Beiträge zu Hiob p. 27, and the Author himself: Zur Frage nach dem Ursprunge der altbabylonischen Cultur (Abhdl. der Akad. der Wiss. 1883) Berl. 1884 p. 24 anm.

Josephus, cont. Apion. I. 19, Ant. I. 3. 6; Eusebius, praepar. Evangelica IX. 11. 12. Chron. ed. Schoene I. 19—23). But meanwhile the Biblical story has unexpectedly received further illustration by the discovery of the cuneiform account of the Flood. This account coincides in the main features with that of Berossus, but supplements it in numerous details and brings the Biblical narrative into much closer relation with the Chaldaean flood-legend, than could be assumed on the basis of the tradition in Berossus. The honour of discovering the clay-tablets containing the Chaldaean flood-legend belongs to the late official of the British Museum, George Smith, who first published news of his discovery on Dec. 3 1872 and then made the first attempt at a translation of the texts. At the same time he established the fact that this very account only formed a portion of a more extensive whole i. e. a part of the so called Iztubar-legends, an epic inscribed on 12 tablets describing the deeds and adventures of the hero Iztubar. The 11th tablet contained the episode of the Flood. The number twelve, of the tablets and of the cantoes, corresponded, as Sir H. Rawlinson (Athenaeum Dec. 7, 1872) ingeniously 47
conjectured, to the 12 signs of the Zodiac i. e. to the revolution of the sun or the twelve months of the year. The 11th month, Assyrian Shabaṭ, to which the eleventh tablet containing the Flood story would correspond, was sacred to the storm-god Rammân. The Akkadian name of the month iti aša šêgi = Assyrian araḫ arrat zunni signifies "month of the curse of rain" i. e. "month of the judgment of the Flood"*. A comparison of this account

* See P. Haupt's Der keilinschriftliche Sintfluthbericht, Leipzig 1881 p. 11.

in Haupt's rendering with the account in the Bible makes it clear* that of the two Biblical records that of the Jahvistic-prophetic narrator** comes into much closer contact*** with the Chaldaean story. This may be seen by referring to the mention of the seven days VII. 4; the down-pour of rain VII. 12; VIII. 2; the closing of the door of the ark VII. 16b (in this account by Jahve, in the cuneiform by the Babylonian Noah himself); the birds† sent forth thrice VIII. 8—12; lastly the offering of a sacrifice after the flood had ceased, and the inhaling by God of the agreeable sacrificial fragrance VIII. 20 foll. Compare the parallel passages in the Chaldaean account of the Flood II. 31. 40; col. III. 19. 21. 37; I. 32. 37; III. 37 foll.; III. 45 foll. On the other hand almost the only point in common between the Chaldaean narrative and what is characteristic in the Elohistic story, is, in the main features, the description of the building and equipment of the ark
48 (VI. 14—16; compare also col. I. 20 foll.††). But even

* Compare with what follows Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies pp. 156—158. Haupt, Sintfluthbericht pp. 18 foll.

** On the division of the Biblical account, see my Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte, Zürich 1863, pp. 136 foll. 185 foll.

*** Comp. P. Haupt *ibid.* p. 3.

† For further details see below.

†† The Elohistic statement that the ark was pitched "with bitumen" בַּכֹּפֶר (VI. 14) occurs also in the Chaldaean flood-story (comp. also Berossus in Eusebius I, 23/24 l. 9 foll.). In an extract II, 1—24 line 11 foll., not communicated by Haupt because it was so seriously mutilated and in many places unintelligible, we read that the Babylonian Noah in the building or equipment of the ship III X (šar?) ku-up-ri at-ta-baḳ ana ki-i-ri (V. 12 ana lib-bi) i. e. poured out (root הכך = בקק) over the outer and inner wall III X (Sars?—a designation of quantity) of bitumen. The age of Noah when the flood came is stated by the Elohist VII. 6 to be 600 years. The number 600

in this part of the cuneiform account the expression 'preserve seed of life' I. 22 foll. reminds us at once of the Jahvist 'to preserve seed' VII. 3. The inclusion of the "relatives" also among the rescued is, among other points, common to all three narratives; see VI. 18—VII. 7, col. II. 29, comp. in Berossus-Eusebius [Chron. lib. ed. Schoene I. 21 (22), 4]. The most important differences between the Chaldaean and the Biblical story consist, quite apart of course from the pronounced heathenish colouring of the cuneiform narrative, in the different motive assigned for the Flood. In the Bible—with Jahvist as well as Elohist, it is the sin and 49
corruption of the human race which bring about the judgment of the Flood; VI, 5 foll. 9 foll. The cuneiform account represents the Flood and the destruction of all living things as essentially the arbitrary act of the gods, especially of Bel. It is only at the close of the cuneiform story (IV. 15) that the narrator gives a hint that in reality it was the wrath of the gods over the iniquity of mankind that was the ultimate cause of the judgment. (Compare in the account given by Berossus the exhortation addressed to those who escaped the flood: *ὡς δέον αὐτοὺς εἶναι θεοσεβεῖς* Eusebius chr. I. 22. 34).

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corresponds to the Babylonian *ner* (*νῆρος*, Assyr. ní-í-ru) as well as to ten times a Babylonian *σῶσσος*, Assyr. šušu (= 60) and the sixth part of a *Sar* (*σάρος*, Assyr. šar = 3600). Thus the Babylonian origin of the numerical statements of the Bible is manifest. J. Oppert made an attempt in the same way to refer the numbers of the patriarchal ages to a Babylonian origin, in his article 'Die Daten der Genesis' in the Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 1877, No. 10, pp. 201—223. See the criticism of this hypothesis by E. Bertheau in the Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie XXIII, 1878, pp. 657—682, and compare also Fr. Delitzsch 'on Soss, Ner, Sar' in the Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthum 1878, pp. 56 foll.—likewise J. Brandis 'Münz-, Mafs- und Gewichtswesen &c.' Berl. 1864 pp. 3 foll.

Observe also the varying duration of the flood according to the different narrators. As is well known, the Biblical narrators themselves differ in this respect to a very considerable degree (see my Studien &c. pp. 149 foll.). Thus the account of the Jahvistic-prophetic narrator, which in this as well as other points comes closest to the Chaldaean story, reckons the Flood in periods of *seven* and of *forty* days (an introductory respite of seven days, forty days duration of the flood, decrease of the waters in 3×7 days; see *ibid.* p. 154). According to the cuneiform record the flood after an introductory interval of seven days * lasted itself seven days III. 19 foll. and then drained off in another seven days. This, it may be remarked, is a more natural conception, since seven days of high flood fully suffice to drown all living things that are not fish, amphibia and the like. The latter causes no difficulty to the narrators. Observe the touching trait in the description, that the Baby-
50 lonian Noah as he beheld the swimming corpses "sat down and wept" and that "tears flowed over his face" III. 28 foll. This reminds us of Genesis XVIII. 23—33. The Chaldaean story of the despatch of the birds when the flood subsided (III. 38—44 comp. with Gen. VIII. 6—12) has unquestionably greater claims to originality than the scriptural account. Observe that in the cuneiform narrative three birds are sent forth, a dove (?), a swallow and a raven; but, that when this story passed over to the Hebrews, the name of one of these birds, the swallow, has entirely disappeared: the second time Noah sends forth a dove. Yet

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* According to the section not given below II. 1—24 Xisuthros-Chasisadra fashioned the ship in seven days; see P. Haupt's Sintfluth p. 28 rem. 29.

it is only from the Babylonian narrative that the selection of the different birds becomes clear. The Babylonian sends all three immediately after one another; in each case, as soon as the bird that has been despatched returns, the following one is sent forth. Accordingly the Babylonian chooses on each occasion a different bird that was perhaps better adapted to obtain for him the wished-for information. Though the dove returned to the ark, loth to withdraw far from his accustomed abode, yet this does not exclude the possibility that the less confiding, swift and far-flying swallow might at length discover land, where the dove had not yet found it. But the raven, who had not the same dread of the water as the dove and did not shrink from a passage through the element (evidently for the sake of the floating carrion), was the first to discover land and on that account did not return to the ark. Somewhat in this strain seems to have been the process of thought in the mind of the Babylonian narrator*. In the Biblical story the process 51
of thought appears obscured, and this is owing to the introduction of the [three**] intervals of seven days. If such periods existed, we cannot see why in that case the same birds were not sent out after the lapse of each period. Indeed after so long an interval the situation might have so completely altered, that the same bird could now find what he before searched for in vain, seeing that the Biblical

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* Similarly Delitzsch, Paradies pp. 157 foll., who however would regard Gen. VIII. 7 (raven) as separate from the Jahvistic account and as the remnant of an abandoned Elohistic; compare, however, VIII. 2 b, 3 (Jahv.).

** See on this point Ewald, Jahrbücher VII. 17; my Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte p. 152; Dillmann, die Genesis erklärt, on chap. VIII. 10.

narrator without any scruple substitutes the dove for the swallow which vanishes from the story, and the dove actually appears three times in succession. Observe also that if we place the swallow instead of the dove back in its original, middle position, the order in which the birds were sent forth in the Bible is just the reverse of what it is in the cuneiform account. In the former we have Raven, [Swallow], Dove; in the latter Dove (?), Swallow, Raven. We need not investigate to which side originality belongs. According to the cuneiform story, we find, just as the logic of concrete relations requires, that the two birds first sent forth return, and the fact that the third fails to do so is the proof for which Xisuthros is looking. In the Bible it is in fact the very first bird sent forth that fails to return. This is inconsistent with the absolute refusal to return of the bird sent forth on the third occasion; and this inconsistency is only superficially glozed over by the assumption that the raven, i. e. the bird first despatched, "flew to and fro." In the Bible we find[1], moreover, that a bird is sent forth four times to bring the needed information, the raven once, the
52 dove three times. When we compare this with the threefold despatch in the Babylonian account, a different bird being sent forth on each occasion, we see that the Biblical narrative was not the original story. This original occurrence of the number three is in the Biblical account merely replaced by the artificial thrice-repeated despatch of the dove, while the raven in the Biblical narrative has no longer any proper position.

The reader ought likewise to notice the remarkable similarity of the Biblical and the cuneiform description with respect to the despatch of the birds. Compare especially the words of the Bible, Gen. VIII. 7 "*and he sent out the*

raven who flew forth, flew to and fro", also "*but the dove found no resting-place* (מָנוֹחַ) *for the sole of its foot; so it returned to him into the ark*" (VIII. 9), with the cuneiform III. 38 "*he let out the dove* (?), *let it fly; the dove flew backwards and forwards*, 39 *it did not find a resting place (manzaz), so it returned.*"

A last and more important difference* in the various traditions is to be noticed in reference to the landing-place of the Ark**. While the Jahvist does not mention a landing-place at all, the Elohist (chap. VIII. 4) designates as such the הָרֵי אֲרָרָט, "the mountains of Ararat" or the mountains of the land Arârâṭ, Assyrian Urarṭu, i. e. the 53
mountains overhanging the plain of the Araxes (comp. further on 2 Ki. XIX. 37). On the other hand the cuneiform account speaks of the mountain or the range Niṣir which according to the inscription of Ašurnâṣirhabal II. 33 foll. 51 foll., being situated near the town Babitî, must be sought for on the other side of the Tigris and South-East or East of the lower Zab***. That the Babylonians in fact fixed the landing-place somewhere North of the Babylonian lowland, may be inferred from the statement of Berossus that the ship of Xisuthros landed on the Gor-

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* I would not for my own part lay any special stress on the fact that the Bible speaks of an ark (box) of Noah, while the Assyrian inscription speaks of an actual "ship" (*ilippu*), to which fact Haupt draws attention (p. 18). Yet the following circumstance deserves comment: evidently the proper word for "ship" was exchanged by the Hebrews, who did not practise voyaging, for the Aegyptian word for box (*teb*), that appeared to them more suitable. It is obvious that the distinction between clean and unclean animals (chap. VII. 2 foll.), in the Jahvistic writer, is a Hebrew addition (comp. Haupt ibid.).

** Comp. on this subject in general Th. Nöldeke, Untersuchungen (1869), pp. 145—155.

*** See Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung p. 270.

dyenian mountains i. e. the Ḳardu range (Eusebius Chronic. I. 23 foll.). Haupt's and Delitzsch's conjecture that the name Niṣir itself simply means "deliverance", root נצר, is indirectly confirmed by the statement of Berossus (ibid.) that there were legends still existing in his day, that there were preserved on the Gordyenian mountains remnants of the vessel of the Flood, to which healing properties were ascribed.

Last of all, we observe the manifest difference between the concrete and mythological conclusion of the Chaldaean story and the vast universality expressed in the Biblical record (VIII. 21 foll. *).

Respecting the time when the Chaldaean legend came to
54 the Hebrews, we can only affirm with certainty that the date cannot fall later than the age of the prophetic-Jahvistic narrator (about 800 B. C.), since he had already codified the legend **. The date is placed much earlier by those

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* Comp. however respecting the combination "day and night" v. 22 Assyrian ûmu u mûšu; immu u mûšu; urru (אור) u mûšu (see Talbot, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society II, 1870, p. 54; Norris, Assyr. Dict. I, 225; Ménant, Syllab. Assyr. II, 359 foll.); in the Akkadian with the transposition: MI . UD = mûšu u ûru (Haupt). Likewise on the other combination "summer and winter", compare the distinction which meets us among the Assyrians of two seasons of the year, of "summer" ṣiḥirtu, root צחר, and of "winter" ḥarpu, root חרף (II Rawl. 47, 25 foll. e. f.). See Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie 1875 p. 341.

** When I have stated the *terminus ad quem*, when the Babylonian Flood-legend may be presumed to have come to the Hebrews, to be the age of the prophetic narrator of early Biblical history, I am also led to the obvious conclusion that the Hebrews were acquainted with this legend at a much earlier period, and that it is far from impossible that they acquired a knowledge of these and the other primitive myths now under investigation as far back as in the time of their earlier settlements in Babylonia, and that they carried these stories with them from Ur of the Chaldees. The time when these

critics who derive the Elohistic portions of the early Biblical history from a historian who wrote before the Jahvist. The opinion of P. Haupt and Fr. Delitzsch (Paradies p. 94, Sintfluth p. 20) that both the Biblical Flood-stories were not composed till the Exile, when the Hebrews became acquainted with the Babylonian legend, altogether breaks down, since the Jahvistic narratives of early Biblical history originated at a much earlier period, and these narratives cannot be violently severed from the other Jahvistic-prophetic portions of the Pentateuch. Moreover Noah is mentioned in Ezekiel XIV. 14, 20 and also in Deutero-Isaiah LIV. 9 as a personage long familiar to the people Israel, and in the latter passage there is also a reference to Gen. IX. 15, VIII. 21 foll. Lastly the mention of the range of the Ararat instead of the mountain Niṣir (or of the Gordyenian mountains), as the point where Noah landed, leads us to conclude that the story in its Biblical conception arose and was committed to writing in Palestine, and not in Babylonia, and therefore not in the period of the Exile.

I now propose to give a general survey of the contents of the cuneiform Flood-legend. I shall then content myself with the citation of a passage that shall exhibit in the most characteristic manner the relation of this account to that of the Bible*.

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legends as well as the Creation-story were remoulded in the spirit of Hebrew antiquity must of course be placed subsequent to the migration of the Hebrews from their Babylonian home.

* The student may be referred to the original text published in the fourth volume of the English work containing the inscriptions, IV Rawl. 50. 51; to the translation and comments of George Smith ('The Chaldaean account of the Deluge' London 1872); 'The Eleventh tablet of the Izdubar legends' in the Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology III, 2 (1874) pp. 530 foll., and to his 'Assyrian Discoveries' Lond.

Chasisadra *, the Xisuthros (Ξίσουθρος) of Berossus, or as he is frequently called in his Assyrio-Semitic name Šamas-napišti, promises to the ancient Babylonian hero Iztubar, who visited him, that he would narrate the story of his own wondrous deliverance and that he would announce the decision of the gods respecting the longed for healing of Iztubar's sufferings.

In the ancient city Surippak, on the Euphrates, there had assembled together the gods Anu, the warrior Bel, the throne-bearer Adar, I'nnugi the prince, and last of all I'a the lord of inscrutable wisdom. These had resolved to bring about a flood, and this determination was announced by I'a-Aos in a solemn address to Chasisadra son of Ubara-Tutu (i. e. Ὠτιάρτης). The god summoned Chasisadra to leave his house, to build a ship with certain prescribed dimensions and to take refuge in it himself together with his family and servants. What was necessary for subsistence was to be stored within the ship, while cattle and wild animals of the field were to be brought beneath its shelter in order to preserve "seed of life of every kind" (see above p. 49). Chasisadra acts in accordance with his injunction, and last of all enters the ship, closes the door and entrusts the floating palace (ikallu = הֵיכָל) and all that it contains to the helmsman Buzurkurgal** (col. I, 8—II, 39).

1875 pp. 165 foll. Comp. Fr. Delitzsch in the German edition of the Chaldaean account, Leipz. 1876 p. 318 foll., also J. Oppert in E. Ledrain I p. 422 foll., F. Lenormant in 'les origines de l'histoire' (Paris 1880) pp. 382 foll., and lastly and especially to the transcription, translation and commentary of Paul Haupt in the German edition of this work p. 55 foll., and also in Ed. Süfs, Die Sintfluth, Prague and Leipzig 1883, p. 15 foll.

* Chasisadra = Adra-ḫasîs phonetically written Ad-ra-ḫa-si-is.

[** According to Sayce: Buzur-sadi-rabi.—Translator.]

Then arises Mu-šĭri-ina-namâri* from the base of heaven, the Annunaki (or gods of the subterranean water**) bring floods, in the dark cloud thunders Rammân, other gods take part in the work of destruction and universal [darkness] comes on. A profound impression is produced among mankind by this terrible calamity. Men are affected with utter indifference to one another ("no longer does brother look upon his brother"). Among the gods consternation was quite as deeply felt. They flee from the flood and take refuge in heaven, till Istar takes heart and in grief intercedes for mankind. And the gods weep in sympathy with her over (?) the Annunaki the authors of destruction ("sat there weeping"); col. II, 40—III, 18.

Six days and seven nights storm, flood and tempest roam abroad and "cast down to the ground." On the seventh day the tempest subsides, the sea retires and the evil wind and flood cease. Chasisadra traverses the sea, which bears along on its surface corpses like the stems of trees. He opens the roof-window of the vessel—light streams over his countenance and tears flow down over it (col. III, 19—29).

Wheresoever*** Chasisadra directs his gaze, no land (nagû) is to be seen. The ship speeds to the land Niṣir.

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* Delitzsch interprets the name of this personage, who brings about the irruption of the catastrophe, as meaning "water of dawn at break of day", see Smith-Delitzsch, Chald. Genesis p. 319.

[** Comp. נִבְקְעוּ כָּל־מַעְיְנוֹת תְּהוֹם רַבָּה chap. VII. 11 in which תְּהוֹם רַבָּה designates the subterranean water, and in like manner we should understand the same phrase in Amos VII. 4 and Psalm XXXVI. 7. The plural תְּהוֹמוֹת is similarly used in Prov. III. 20. In the mind of the Hebrew the fertilizing springs "broke forth" from these vast internal water-depths. On the corresponding Assyr. word tiâmtu, see above p. 6.—Translator.]

*** i. e. "to the twelve heavenly houses" meaning towards every point of the compass (J. Oppert).

The mountain of the land Niṣir holds the vessel fast, and there Chasisadra waits till the water falls and the earth gradually becomes dry. Then he offers there a sacrifice to the gods.

We append here the exact words of the corresponding passage in the translation of Paul Haupt, and place by its side the Biblical account both of the Elohistic and Jahvistic narrator. I follow the rendering as well as analysis of documentary sources given in my "Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte", Zürich 1863, p. 184 foll.

Cuneiform Account.	Biblical Account.
Col. III. 30. I gazed on the quarters of heaven (i. e. whithersoever I gazed), voyaged through tracts of land, a fearful sea. 31. Towards the twelve heavenly houses was no land*. 32. To the land Nizir steered the ship. 33. The mountain of the land Nizir stopped the ship and did not suffer it to mount up.** 34. On the first, on the second day the mountain Nizir stopped the ship &c. 35. On the third and fourth day the mountain Nizir stopped the ship &c. 36. On the fifth and sixth day the mountain Nizir stopped the ship &c.	Chap. VIII. 4. And the ark [German *Kasten* chest] came to a standstill... on the 17th day of the month on the mountains (of the land) Ararat. 5. The water however diminished very gradually till the 10th month; In the tenth, the first day of the month the tops of the mountains appeared.

* So Haupt now renders (with Oppert); see Süfs p. 25. In the German edition of this work Haupt translates "I navigated the tracts of land (now) a fearful sea; there arose a tract of land twelve measures high". [Sayce:—"I watch the regions at the edge of the sea; a district rose twelve measures high."—Fresh Light from the Monuments p. 37].

** Haupt now renders:—"33. There *a* mountain of the region of Nizir stopped the ship and did not admit it further *towards the height*." I doubt however whether ana nasî can signify "towards the height".

Cuneiform Account.

37. At the dawn of the seventh day 38. I took out a dove and let it fly. The dove flew hither and thither; because however 39. there was no resting place there, it returned. 40. Then I took out a swallow and let it fly. The swallow flew hither and thither; because, however, 41. there was no resting place there, it returned. 42. Then I took out a raven and let it fly*. 43. The raven flew away; and, when he saw that the water had diminished, 44. he approached again, cautiously (?) wading (through the water), but did not return.

45. Then I sent out (all) to the four winds.

I offered a sacrifice. 46. I erected an altar on the summit of the mountain peak. I set up**

Biblical Account.

VIII. 6. And it happened at the end of the fortieth day that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made and sent forth the raven; 7. and he flew backwards and forwards till the water dried off from the earth [and Noah waited seven days]. 8. Then he sent forth from him the dove to see whether the water had diminished from the surface of the earth. 9. But the dove found no resting spot for its feet and so returned to him into the ark.... 10. And he waited again another seven days, when he sent the dove forth once more from the ark. 11. And the dove came to him in the evening, and behold a fresh olive-leaf was in its bill! Then Noah perceived that the water had diminished on the earth. 12. And Noah waited another seven days, when he sent the dove forth; but it did not return to him again.

VIII. 18. Then went out Noah and his wife and the wives of his sons with him. 19. All living things, all reptiles and all birds, and all that moves upon the earth according to their generations went forth from the ark.

VIII. 20. And Noah built an altar to Jahve and took of all clean cattle and of all clean birds and

[* Sayce translates as follows:—42. "I sent forth a raven and it left. The raven went and saw the carrion on the water, and it ate, it swam, it wandered away; it did not return."—Translator.]

[** Sayce:—"I set vessels (each containing the third of an ephah) by sevens."—Transl.]

Cuneiform Account.	Biblical Account.
Adagur vessels in sevens. 48. Under them I spread calmus, cedar-wood and spice. 49. The gods inhaled the savour, the gods inhaled the fragrant savour. 50. Like flies the gods gathered over the sacrificer*.	offered a burnt offering upon the altar. 21. And Jahve smelt the delightful smell.

At the instigation of Istar, who feels impelled to take the interests of mankind to heart, a consultation of the gods is held in which unsparing blame is cast upon Bel the author of the flood. At length I'a-Aos interposes, and makes the demand that in future every man shall atone for his own sin and suffer the penalty that accrues to him ("on the sinner let his sin fall, and on the transgressor let [his] transgression fall", col. IV. 15). Bel is thereby effectually brought to reason, and so descends into the ship to Chasisadra, bears him and his wife aloft, and with a blessing announces to them that they are to be translated to a distant spot and shall be exalted to the gods (literally 'like the gods'). In accordance with this announcement Chasisadra and his wife are carried far away to the mouth of the rivers (col. III. 51 – col. IV. 30).

The last feature in the narrative has also been preserved in the tradition of the flood handed down to us by Berossus. According to this account also, Xisuthrus after the flood received an abode among the gods on account of his piety; and likewise his wife, his daughter and the helmsman are exalted to the same honour (*καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν εὐσέ-*

[* According to the cuneiform narrative at this point the goddess Istar approached and reared aloft "the great bow which Anu had created." With this we may compare chap. IX. 13 "My bow I set in the cloud and it shall be a covenant-sign &c."—Translator.]

βειαν πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν θεῶν οἰκήσαντα, τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς τιμῆς καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην μετεσχηκέναι, see Eusebii Chron. ed. Schoene I. 22).

X, 1*. אַחַר הַמַּבּוּל *after the flood.* Compare the words 79
an-nu-tuv šarri-í ša arki a-bu-bi &c. "this the kings who after the flood &c."** in an ancient Babylonian

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* We likewise have in the cuneiform inscriptions a list of towns and districts which has many points of comparison with the Scriptural table of races. We refer to the ancient Babylonian geographical list published in IV Rawl. 38 no. 1, and containing a record of the towns and districts of Babylonia and the adjoining provinces. Here too the towns and districts are mentioned in systematic order (comp. Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 295 foll.), and we also, as in Gen. X. 31, meet with a concluding statement to the following effect:—ír ša irṣituv; ír ša Šumíri-KI (Ka-mi-KI); ír ša Akkadi-KI; ír ša Ki-ín-gi-KI Akkadi-KI; ír NUM. KI (mât I'lamtuv); ír nukurti i. e. "cities of the Earth; cities of Sumír; cities of Akkad; cities of Sumír and Akkad; foreign cities." Even the number of the cities and districts mentioned in the list as it is published, amounting to 68, comes very close to the number of races in the Biblical table, amounting to 70 including the Philistines, or, without them, to 69 (Nöldeke, Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments, Kiel 1869 p. 14). Whether indeed originally the number was intended to be 70, as was certainly the case with the Elohistic narrator, can no longer be determined. We may take this opportunity to remark, that in the order of the individual races catalogued in the Biblical table it is always the races inhabiting the more distant parts who are mentioned first. Thus among the descendants of Japheth, the Gômer-Kimmerians come first, the Javan-Ionians second; also among the Hamites we commence with Kush-Nubia and close with Kanaan. Among the Semites, Elam stands first and Aram last. Similarly this rule may be shown to hold in the subdivisions, though certainly the sequence is not maintained with equal strictness, comp. below pp. 84 foll.; Keilinschr. u. Gesch. pp. 160 foll. note **.

** In place of šarri-í ša arki &c. Fr. Delitzsch, Die Sprache der Kossäer, Leipzig 1884 p. 20, transcribes šar ê i. e. "kings of Babylon". In this case, however, we are somewhat surprised by the omission of the plural sign with šar.

80 list of kings (Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 1881 p. 38); also the statement of Berossus-Polyhistor (Eusebius-Schoene I. 23):—*quod post diluvium Chaldaeorum regionem Evexius tenebat neris quatuor.*

2. גֹּמֶר *Gômer*, identical with the (mât) *Gimirrai* i. e. "those belonging to the people (Assyr. "land") Gimir", occurring in the inscriptions of the Assyrians after Asarhaddon (cyl. II. 6). With reference to the variation in the Hebrew vocalization, compare תֻּבַל with Assyr. *Tabal* and Greek *Τιβαρηνοὶ* on the one hand, Hebrew מֶשֶׁךְ with Assyr. *Muski* and Greek *Μόσχοι* on the other. Accordingly identical with Gômer we have the *Kimmerians* (*Κιμμέριοι*) mentioned in Greek writers. This race of Kimmerians, as we shall have to assume, were settled, at the time when the table of races was drawn up, high in the North by the Euxine on the Tauric peninsula, whence they subsequently passed over Sinope into the central parts of Asia Minor; see Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 157 foll. Respecting Gômer = Cappadocia see on Ezek. XXXVIII. 6.

מָגוֹג *Mâgôg*, according to the most prevalent hypothesis, the Scythians. Hitherto this name has not been found in the inscriptions.

מָדַי *Media*, Assyr. (mât) Madai (M a - d a - a i). In the latter form the name is first mentioned in the reign of Rammannirar (812—783), likewise mentioned in the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae (Behistun 14. 16. 23 &c.). Probably we may regard as identical with this the mât M a t a i (M a - t a - a i) mentioned in the inscriptions of his immediate predecessor Samsi-Ramman, as well as the mât A m a d a i (A - m a - d a - a i) of his grandfather Salmanassar II. (Keilins. u. Gesch. p. 171).

יָוָן *Ionia*, name of the Greeks inhabiting the Greek is- 81
lands and the coast of Asia Minor or of the district upon which they settled, is likewise to be found in the cuneiform inscriptions. The first and single mention of them in the Assyrian records is to be found in the inscriptions of Sargon (722—705) who informs us that he "has drawn forth as fishes the Javanians", more accurately "those who belong to the land Jâvân" (mât*) Javnai (Ja-av-na-ai), "who are in the midst of the sea" (ša ina ḳabal tiâmtiv). This probably refers, as Fr. Delitzsch Paradies p. 249 supposes, to the conquest of the piratical Greeks, since in Eusebius (I. 35) it is expressly said of Sargon's successor Sanherib Abydenus that he defeated the fleet of the Greeks in a naval battle off the Cilician coast (*et in maris litore terrae Cilicum classem navali proelio certantem navium Graecorum* [*Ionum*] *profligans vicit*). We can no longer determine whence these Ionians came and whether they arrived specially from Cyprus where, at any rate in the time of Asarhaddon, Greek princes resided (also the Hebrews regarded the Kittim-Cyprians as among the "sons of Javan", see on chap. X. 4). The later Assyrian and also Babylonian kings never again refer to the "Javanians" or a "land of Jâvân". And this is true even of Asurbanipal who forced his way Westward farther than any other Assyrian king before him. And yet he mentions the Lydian Gyges as well as his son and successor**. On land the Assyrians nowhere came into direct contact with the Ionians. Not till we come to the inscriptions of Darius

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* So cylinder-insc. 21. Botta 36, 22 (Bull inscription) has ír.

** V Rawl. 2, 120 (cyl. Rass.):—arki-šu habal-šu (without mention of the name).

Behist.; Naḳsh-i-Rustam) do we again find the record of a mât Ja-a-va-nu (Beh. 5) or Ja-va-nu in which the
82 king, as before, certainly does not mean Greece proper, but rather the region inhabited by the Greeks in Asia Minor, especially by the Ionians: the Greeks of the European continent never "obeyed" him. Comp. B. Stade, De Populo Javan parergon. Giss. 1880 pp. 8 foll. This writer concludes that from the similar use of the name "Ionian" in the table of races and in the Persian inscriptions, i. e. in the sense of "Grecian Asia Minor" (meaning by this term the islands of Asia Minor), we may draw the inference that the two literary productions closely approximated in time. But this view can scarcely be harmonized with the use of the name in the above sense as early as in the reign of Sargon, i. e. more than 200 years previously.

תֻּבַל *Tubal*, undoubtedly the Tabal of the inscriptions and the Tibarenians of the Greeks and Latins. On the difference in vocalization see note p. 66. They are first mentioned in the reign of Salmanassar II (860—825) who in his obelisk inscription speaks of 24 Tabalaean princes who paid him tribute. We read in this inscription 104: Ina XXII. palî-ja XXI šanîti nâr Bu-rat 105. î-bir a-na mât Ta-ba-li at-ta-rad. Ina û-mî-šu-ma ša XXIV 106. šarrâ-ni ša mât Ta-ba-li i-gi-si-šu-nu am-taḥ-ḥar i. e. "In the 22nd year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates for the 21st time and descended to the land of Tabal. In those days it came to pass, that I received the gifts of 24 kings of the land of Tabal"; comp. 109 foll.: šarrâ-ni ša mât Ta-ba-li illi-ku-ni ma-da-ta-šu-nu am-ḥur i. e. "the kings of the land of Tabal came, their tribute I received". In the tribute lists of Tiglath-Pileser II (Layard 50; II Rawl. 67; III Rawl. 9)

a prince of Tabal is mentioned as tributary next to the mention of the princes of Mílidi (Melitene) and Kaski (land of the Kolchians). Sargon in the Bull-inscriptions (Botta 40. 83
27 foll. and parallel passages) enumerates in succession as captured by him the following: mât Ta-ba-li gi-mir mât Bît-Bu-ru-ta-aš mât Ḫi-lak-ku i. e. "Tabal, the whole of Bit-Burutas, Cilicia"; also in the cylinder-inscription 15: mât U-ra-ar-ṭu mât Kas-ki mât Ta-ba-luv a-di mât Mu-us-ki i. e. "Urarṭu, land of Kaski, Tabal as far as the land of the Moschians". And, lastly, both in the triumphal Khorsabad-inscription (Khors. 30 foll.) and in the annals for the 9th year (Botta 81. 2 foll.), he describes in detail the subjugation of the prince of Tabal who was in alliance with Urarṭu and Muski. Now the territory of this prince was so situated, that when Sargon previously married his daughter to him, the Assyrian king was able to hand over to him Cilicia as a dowry. The obvious conclusion we can draw from this is that Cilicia was conterminous with Tabal. This fact becomes still more clearly established from an expression used by Asarhaddon on the clay-cylinder II. 10—13: ka-bi-is ki-šu-di niši mât Ḫi-lak-ki mât Du-uḫ-a a-ši-bu-ut ḫur-ša-ni ša di-ḫi mât Ta-bal "who sets his foot on the neck of the inhabitants of Cilicia (and) of the land Ducha, who there inhabit the forests that border on Tabal". From these passages it may be seen that the Tabal of the inscriptions is not to be sought high up in the North, like the region of the Tibarenians of the classical writers, but rather in the central part of Asia Minor in the direction of Cilicia and Melitene, the latter being also included. Therefore with Gelzer (Aegypt. Zeitschrift 1875 pp. 14 foll.) we have in the main to identify Tabal with

what was designated in later times Cappadocia. With this view harmonizes the fact that classical writers, when referring to Cappadocia, mention that it abounded in horses, while the inscriptions of Asurbanipal make exclusive men-
84 tion of "great steeds" as forming the tribute paid by Tabal. Another fact of not less importance is that even in the time of Cicero the *Tibarani* dwelt on the North East side of Cilicia, without doubt the remnant of the Tabalaeans who were scattered North and South in the 7th century owing to the invasion of Cappadocia by the Kimmerians (Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforschung p. 156).

מֶשֶׁךְ identical with the people and land Muski (Mu-us-ki) or Muški (Mu-uš-ki) i. e. the *Μόσχοι* of Herodotus and Strabo, repeatedly mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions after the time of Tiglath Pileser I (about 1100 B. C.), but especially in the reign of Sargon who subjected them to tribute together with the Tabalaeans (Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 155 foll.). * Their place of abode must, according to the Assyrian inscriptions with which so

* For the change in the pronunciation מֶשֶׁךְ to the form that prevailed among the Assyrians as well as among the Greeks and in the LXX (*Μοσόχ*) having the vowel u (o) see above p. 62. The question, however, arises whether at all events the vocalization מֶשֶׁךְ should not be restored in the Hebrew text. Moreover the strange vocalization תֻּבַל instead of תֻּבָל or some such form is probably preferred merely through a reminiscence of תּוּבַל קַיִן in Gen. IV. 22. The full form in which it is written in Ezek. XXVII. 13 &c. (comp. Is. LXVI. 19) of-course proves nothing to the contrary. Even in the case of Gomer I am inclined, when I take into account the different form occurring in the LXX = *Γαμέρ*, as well as the coincidence in the form of the name among the Greeks (*Κιμμέριοι*) and the Assyrians (Gimir-rai), to assume that the vocalization which was intended by the writer of the race-table was one that represented in some way the pronunciation Gimir i. e. some such form as גֶּמֶר (comp. עֵדֶן = Babylonian idin p. 26 foll.).

far the statements of Greek writers agree, be looked for in the East i. e. North-East of Tabal-Cappadocia, therefore somewhere in Lesser Armenia, North of Melitene. North-East of them again lived the Kaski or Kolchians.

The enumeration of the six "sons" of Japhet from Gômer to Meshech (about Tîrâs nothing can be said with certainty) evidently proceeds in two series of three races each, of 85
which the first begins with Gômer, the second with Jâvân. The first series unmistakeably represents the more distant races, the second those living nearer to the Hebrews. Moreover in each series evidently the direction is maintained from West to East. Thus in the first or outer series we pass from the Tauric Kimmerians through Mâgôg to the Eastern Medes. Similarly in the inner series we pass from the Western Ionians of Asia Minor through Tabal-Cappadocia to the more Easterly Moschans in Lesser Armenia.

תּוֹגַרְמָה Fr. Delitzsch (Paradies p. 247 & earlier) makes the clever conjecture that this Tôgarmâ is simply a corruption of the original form Til-garimmu, a spot repeatedly mentioned in Sargon's inscriptions along with Mílidi-Melitene. But it may be observed that Til-garim always has the determinative expressing 'city', îr, before it (Khorsabad 81, 82 and the parallel passages),—with which entirely harmonizes the circumstance that the place is expressly termed the royal residence (îr dannûtišu) of the Melitensian king; moreover serious objections appear to me to exist against the supposition that in the case of תֵּל "hill" (which was familiar to Hebrews, as well as other peoples, in foreign names of places) the syllable Til- was transmuted into Tô-. The name of the people has hitherto proved as difficult to deal with* as that of their "brothers", Ashkenaz and Riphat.

* On the equation Tôgarmâ = *Θοργαρμὰ* of LXX, see P. de Lagarde

4. כִּתִּים *Cyprus* with the city of Kition, now Larnaka. We learn from the Inscriptions of Asarhaddon and Asur-
86 banipal why the Kittians and their island were reckoned among the sons of Jâvân. These inscriptions inform us that the island already in the 7th century was covered with Greek colonies. Indeed this was undoubtedly true of a much earlier period. See the proper names of some of the Cyprian rulers in the tribute-list quoted on 2 Kings XXI. 1 and comp. above p. 63 on verse 2 (יָוָן). The Assyrian name of the island was mât Jatnana. In some isolated instances it is also written Atnana. One portion or district (nagû) of the island bore the name mât Ja-' i. e. "Land Jah"; Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 242 foll.

6. כּוּשׁ *Kûsh.* The name appears in the Assyrian inscriptions in the form Kûs (Ku-su, Ku-u-su*) for the first time on the bricks of Asarhaddon (I Rawl. 48 no. 4 line 2 and no. 5 line 5) and again repeatedly in the inscriptions of Asurbanipal (Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 282 foll.). From a comparison of these inscriptions with others on bricks published by Layard, as well as from the records of Asurbanipal, we may conclude that Kûs

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Gesammelt. Abhandlungen pp. 255 foll. It should be remarked that J. Halévy (Rev. crit. 1881 p. 483) claims to have been the first to identify Tôgarmâ with the Til-Garimmu of the monuments—an identification which I regard as far from certain. For *Ashkenaz* see however the "Addenda".

* i. e. כוּם according to the well known interchange of sound between the Assyrian and Hebrew. The Babylonian inscription of Darius at Naḳsh-i-Rustam 19 gives us Kûšu (Ku-u-šu) i. e. כּוּשׁ. On this see Monatsberichte der Berlin. Akad. der Wissenschaften 1877 p. 89. The fact that the pronunciation of the name with û is not to be found in the inscriptions of the country, but, with the exception of the Assyrians, solely among the Hebrews, leads us to the inference that the Assyrians obtained the name Kûsh from the *Kanaanites* or Hebrews, as they certainly did in the case of the name Muṣur (Babyl. Miṣir) = Miṣraim.

and Muṣur in the Assyrian texts are related to each other as כּוּשׁ and מִצְרַיִם among the Hebrews. Hence the former coincided in meaning whith the Aegyptian K e š i. e. Upper Aegypt or more precisely Nubia (comp. in the Bible Is. XVIII. 1; XX. 4; 2 Kings XIX. 9 &c.). It may likewise be inferred that this native African name of the country exactly corresponds to the specific Babylonio-Assyrian M í l u ḫ ḫ i, M i l u ḫ ḫ i &c., the designation of Aethiopia- 87
Kûsh on Taylor's cylinder of Sanherib II. 81; see on 2 Kings XVIII. 13. In other cases we come across the name M í l u ḫ ḫ i as well as Muṣur as a term for Kush-Aethiopia on the historical Assyrian inscriptions, first in the reign of Sargon e. g. Khors. 104. 109*.

In verse 8 Nimrod the Babylonian is represented as the son of this Kush, who was brother of Miṣraim. This statement rests on a confusion which also meets us in chap. II. 13 or, properly speaking, on a misunderstanding on the part, as we suppose, of the writer of Gen. X. 8—12 and chap. II. 4 b foll., i. e. on the part of the prophetic-Jahvistic narrator (see De Wette-Schrader, Einleitung ins Alte Testament 1860 §§ 274, 202). This writer, misled by

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* Respecting a second *Babylonian* country named M í l u ḫ ḫ i see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 292 foll. The supposition that not only this Míluḫḫi but also M â g a n, so frequently combined with it in the inscriptions, was a Babylonian country, and that both were related to each other as "Highland" and "Lowland", as "upper-country" and "lower-country" (*ibid.* p. 291), has in the meantime been confirmed by the monuments according to the communication made by Pinches in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Jan. 11. 1881 p. 44. He states that in the inscription, which accompanies a relief, the land E-me-luḫ-ḫa (I-mí-luḫ-ḫa), i. e. Míluḫḫi, in the well-known combination "Sumír and Akkad", stands in place of the latter. The latter, as I have already shown (Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 533 foll.), was without doubt Northern or Upper Babylonia in contrast with Sumír or South Babylonia.

the resemblance of the names, confused the Aegypto-Nubian Keš-Kûsh with the Babylonian Kaš, Kaššû (for this form of the race-name see below). He was informed about the latter together with the legends and traditions of Paradise, of Nimrod the hunter and founder of cities, and other stories, that took root in Babylonia. These Babylonian Kaššû occupied in very ancient times an important and, to some extent, a leading position in Babylonia. King
88 Agukakrimí of Babylon is first styled šar Kaš-ši-i u Ak-ka-di-i and immediately afterwards šar mât Babilu ra-pa-aš-tiv i. e. "king of the Kaššû and of the Akkadians, king of the land of Babel the wide-extending" (see V Rawl. 33 col. I. 31—34). Another ancient Babylonian king Karaindas is called "king of Babel, king of Sumír and Akkad, king of the Kaššû (šar Ka-aš-šu-u), king of Kardunias"* (IV Rawl. 38 no. 3 lines 6—11). At length Karachardas, son in law of the Assyrian Asuruballiṭ is slain by the Babylonian Kaššû (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 476). Likewise we find that Asurnaṣirhabal of Assyria (885—860 B. C.) refers to the (mât) Kaš-ši-i on the Euphrates in Northern Babylonia, on whose large military forces a North-Babylonian tribe conquered by him depended for support (see the references in my Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 176. 271. 473).

The Biblical narrator had dim conceptions of the geographical relation of Babylonia to African Nubia. The defective condition of the general knowledge which prevailed at that time respecting peoples and countries does not render this want of knowledge on the part of

* Both Kaššû and Karduniaš stand here occasionally without a determinative; the former, just as Akkadî, also in the above-cited passage.

the Biblical writer surprising. Misled by the resemblance of name, he identified the Asiatic Kaš with the African Keš-Kush with whom he was far more familiar. Hence he made the Babylonian Nimrod son of Kush's brother Miṣraim-Aegypt. From this we certainly ought not to infer any ethnological connection whatever between the Babylonian Kaššû and the Nubian Keš-Kush. Respecting the connection that may be held to have existed between the Babylonian Kaššû and the Kaššî, *Κοσσαῖοι, Κισσοὶ* of Elam-Susiana, see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. p. 176 text and note.* See also the remarks on chap. II. 13 pp. 31 foll. and comp. pp. 40 foll.

מִצְרַיִם *Aegypt*, Assyr. Muṣur (Mu-ṣur), Muṣuru (Mu-ṣu- 89
ru) and Muṣri (Mu-uṣ-ri), is mentioned under the third form of the word for the first time about 1100 B. C. by the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I (quoted by Asurnaṣirhabal) as well as by Salmanassar II (860—825) and Tiglath-Pileser II (745—727). Sargon furnishes the forms Muṣur and Muṣri, Sanherib Muṣuru(ri), Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal Muṣur, the former perhaps Muṣri as well; see the references in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 251

* With the above-mentioned theory compare the kindred view of Bunsen quoted in G. Rawlinsons "Five great Monarchies" 2nd ed. p. 51. Bunsen fixed on the Elamite Kossaeans instead of the Babylonian Kaššî (of whom he naturally knew nothing). These Kossaeans he supposes to have descended from the Susian mountains to Chaldaea. Fr. Delitzsch, Parad. 54 foll. 124. 128, who does not doubt the identity of the Kush of Genesis with the Babylonian Kaššû, believes nevertheless that one should maintain the ethnological connection of the Kassi with the Nubian-African Kush-Kesh. F. Hommel has independently arrived at an opinion which in the main agrees with my own (Augsburg. Allgemeine Zeitung 1881 p. 3354b). With regard to the nationality of these Kush-Kassi, we can only conclude from the names of the kings of Kassi that they did not belong to the Semitic branch of the population.—See on Sumír remarks on chap. XI. 1, and comp. on the Kossaeans Th. Nöldeke in Nachrichten von der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissensch. 1874 no. 8, and F. Delitzsch, die Sprache der Kossäer, Leipz. 1884.

foll.* Lastly the Persian trilingual inscriptions exhibit in the Babylonian versions of Behistun (5. 13 foll.) and of Naḳsh-i-Rustam (16) the form Mi-ṣir** (comp. the Hebrew מִצְרַיִם and the Arabic مِصْر), which is the more noteworthy as the Persian original, like the Assyrian inscriptions, exhibits the form with *u* in the first syllable = Mudrâja.

לוּדִים *Lydians*, otherwise unknown as the name of an African tribe. These have certainly nothing to do with the "Semitic" Lûd (verse 22; see remarks on p. 98 foll.). Perhaps we should here read לוּבִים, as in Jerem. XLVI. 9, and regard the name as referring to the African Libyans; see B. Stade, ibid. 7 note.

90 כְּנַעַן. It is remarkable that the Babylonians and Assyrians do not know the name Kanaan as denoting the Philistaeo-Phoenician maritime country inclusive of the mountain-district as far as the Jordan.*** Both the earliest Babylonian as well as the Assyrian monuments designate this region as a rule by the term kur Martu (Akkadian)

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* Respecting the name Mâgan for "Aegypt", that appears side by side with them in the inscriptions of Asurbanipal, see Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 282 foll. 289 foll. For the etymology of the name, see *ibid.* pp. 290 foll., as well as Delitzsch, Paradies pp. 139 foll.

** Also Nebucadnezar gives us the form Miṣir (Mi-ṣir) instead of Muṣur. See my remarks in the Aegyptische Zeitschrift 1879 p. 47. The former pronunciation of the name is thus shown to be specifically Babylonian.

*** The conjecture of G. Smith and Fr. Delitzsch, that (mât) Kana-na, quoted in unedited texts and according to the latter also in II Rawl. 50. 69 c, is Kanaan, has not been confirmed (comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 365; Delitzsch, Paradies p. 104). Delitzsch (ibid. p. 270) attempts to explain the identity of the Kanana-KI (which is rather to be read Ḥana), with the name Ḥattu (originating from Ḥânu) i. e. the Chatti-Hethites, as well as the designation of Palestine by the name Kanaan, by the assumption that the name Ḥattu-Kanana was transferred to this region. But this endeavour appears to me unsuccessful.

i. e. 'Western country' = Assyr. mât Aḫarri properly 'hinder country', then, according to the usage prevalent in Hebrew also, 'West country'. As to the extent embraced by this term among the Assyrians, we gain the information from an inscription to be quoted on 2 Kings XIII. 13, that in mât Aḫarri were included by the Assyrians Tyrus, Sidon, the land of Omri (Samaria), Edom and Palastav (mainly Philistia; see below on v. 14); and that this region was considered to extend "as far as the great sea of the setting of the sun" i. e. the Mediterranean, this sea being termed in the inscription of Asurnaṣirhabal (III. 85 &c.) "the great sea of the land Aḫarri" i. e. "the West country".* This region is first mentioned on an ancient Babylonian 91
brick-inscription at Ur-Mughair, in which Kudurmabug, belonging to the dynasty of Elamite descendants of Kudur, styles himself as ab-da kur Mar-tu (Akkadian) i. e. "ruler of the land of Martu" i. e. the West country (I Rawl. 2 no. 3 lines 4; see below on chap. XIV. 1). We are likewise informed respecting another Babylonian ruler Sargon I, king of Aganí (Agaṭí?), that he undertook several campaigns to the land Martu and reduced it to subjection (see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 297 foll.). On the Assyrian monuments the land Aḫarri is first mentioned in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (about 1100 B. C.), which was discovered at the sources of the Tigris. The passage reads: 52. Ina ri-ṣu-tí ša Ašur, 53. Šamaš, Rammân, ilî 54. rabûti, bílî-a, 55. ana-ku Tukulti-habal-íšarra, 56. šar mât Aššur, habal Ašur-

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* See my essay: The names of seas in the Assyrian inscriptions (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1877), Berlin, 1878 p. 171.

rîš-i-ši, 57. šar mât Aššur, habal Mu-tak-kil-Nusku, 58. šar mât Aššur-ma ka-šid ištu 59. tiâm-di rabî-tí ša mât A-ḫar-ri 60. adi tiâm-di ša mât Na-i-ri, 61. III. šanîti ana mât Na-i-ri allik i. e. 52. "With the assistance of Asur, Samas and Ramman, the great gods, my lords 55. I, Tiglath-Pileser, 56. king of Assyria, son of Asur-rîs-isi, 57. king of Assyria, son of Mutakkil-Nusku, 58. king of Assyria, ruling from 59. the great sea of the West country 60. to the sea of the land Naïri. Three times have I marched to the land Naïri." The reader does not need to be reminded that we may infer from this passage that, as far back as the time of Samuel and even earlier, the Assyrians made the "Western country", which certainly included Phoenicia and perhaps Israel also, temporarily subject to tribute. This name, mât Aḫarri
92 for Phoenicia-Palestine, was in use down to the time of Sargon, who himself employs it frequently in his inscriptions. But already in his reign we come across the name which afterwards came into vogue mât Ḫatti "land of the Chatti"; about this see remarks on verse 15. Yet there still remained side by side with this the old term "Western country". We continue to meet with it in the reign of Sanherib (Nab. Jun. Inscr. 68), and in the time of Asurbanipal this old name enters once again into its rightful position. In his reign it is once more the only term for Phoenicia-Palestine (Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 232 foll.).

שְׁבָא וּדְדָן *Sabaea and Dedan.* "With regard to the discrepancy that Shebâ and Dedân appear in the table of races as Kushites and descendants of Raʿmâ, while in Gen. XXV. 3 they are represented as descendants of Abraham, it should be observed that these diverse statements may be traced back to diverse authorship, so that we are scarcely

justified in distinguishing a third Shebâ, as Knobel does, on the basis of a different ethnological classification" (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 87 foll.). Respecting the distinction of South and North Sabaeans see the remarks on chap. XXV. 3. Compare also the comment on verse 28.

8. נִמְרֹד *Nimrôd.* All attempts to read this name on the Babylonian or the Assyrian monuments have hitherto been baffled. Several points, and these the essential features, that are mentioned or related in the Biblical passage respecting Nimrod, as, that he was a Babylonian, that he was a mighty hunter, that he crossed the land, that, while he did not found Erech, yet he made it his royal abode,— all this is stated on clay tablets respecting the ancient Babylonian hero Iṣṭubar (pronunciation doubtful). And accordingly this hero of Babylonian legend has been repeatedly identified with the Biblical Nimrod, e. g. by G. Smith and P. Haupt. The last-mentioned writer 93
believes that he can explain the name as an ancient Babylonian race-name = he of Marad. Marad, also Amarad*, was according to II Rawl. 47, 17 d (Ma-rad-KI) and other passages a Middle-Babylonian city. See P. Haupt's Der keilinschriftliche Sintfluthbericht. 1881 p. 6, comp. Delitzsch Paradies p. 220, who also observes that Smith identified this Marad or Amarad** with the Babylonian district situated by the Chaldaean fens and lakes, the Ἀμαρδοκαία (so

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* With reference to the dropping of the initial *a*, comp. Amardi = Mardi, Amadai = Madai and several other exx. (J. Olshausen).

** A. H. Sayce, following the hints of Jos. Grivel, regarded the name as the Semitic transformation of the Akkadian Amar-ud i. e. Zodiac, which would itself be identical with Maruduk (from Amar-utuk) = Merodach (Academy 1874 no. 93 p. 179).

the name should be read) of Ptolemaeus V, 20 (19), 3 (Willb. 383).

10. *The beginning of his dominion was Babel.* This coincides with all that we otherwise know respecting the relation of Assyria to Babylon. Just as the Assyrian system of writing and the Assyrian religion, we might say the entire Assyrian culture, had their ultimate root in Babylonia, so also the political supremacy of Babylonia gradually passed Northwards until Assyria rose to power and became independent of the mother-country, and there arose in the North a separate empire. That the imperial power extended by degrees from South to North may be inferred from another circumstance viz. that the capital of the Northern kingdom was at first Asur*, situated on the Eastern side of the Tigris, South-East of Niniveh, at the spot where
94 stand at the present time the ruins of Ḳal'at-Sherkat. It was not until after the time of Asurnaṣirhabal, the builder of the North-West palace and rebuilder of Kalah (885—860 B. C.), that the Northern place of residence become permanently the capital of the Assyrian Empire. For further details see the remarks on verse 11.

Babel, Erech, Akkad, Kalneh in the land Shinar. Babel i. e. Babylon on the Euphrates in the well known site. Respecting the etymology of the name, see on chap. XI. 9. —Erech אֶרֶךְ, Greek Ὀρχοή, has been discovered in the

* Comp. for example Tigl.-Pileser I. col. II. 95 "(they brought tribute) a-na ír-ja A-šur "into my city Asur" comp. V. 62. Inscriptions of these most ancient of Assyrian kings are published in I Rawl. 6 no. I—IV. Also the great cylinder-inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (pl. 9—16) comes from the city of Asur (Kal'at-Sherkat). So also the inscription on a stone tablet of Ramman-nirari I (IV Rawl. 44) whose reign carries us back as far as the 14th century.

ruins of Warka on the left bank of the Lower Euphrates, South East of Babylon. That we have in this spot a seat of very ancient civilization is shown, quite apart from the character of the ruins themselves, by the inscriptions of ancient Babylonian kings, among them Uruk (?)* and his son Dungi, which have been brought to light by the English engineer M^r^. W. K. Loftus (see his "Chaldaea and Susiana" (1857) pp. 139 foll. 160 foll.). The name of the city pronounced in the native dialect Arku**, also Uruk IV Rawl. no. 3. 19. 46/47 (comp. II Rawl. 50. 50b foll.), has been interpreted by Oppert to signify "moon-town (Expédition en Mésop. I p. 264). But the ideogram for "month" is a different one (Syllab. 85. 95
86); and moreover this town is written in Hebrew and in Babylonian ארך i. e. with a Kaf, not with a Chêṭ (ארח), as one would expect, seeing that in Assyrian also 'month', according to the syllabary above-cited, is arḫu (ארח). Lastly it was not so much the moon-god Sin that was worshipped (as in Ur-Mughair), but a feminine deity AN.RI perhaps Dingirri who is probably identical with Beltis; see Nebuc. Bellino Cyl. II, 52 "Istar, the exalted Mistress (bílit) of Uruk"

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* P. Haupt, observing that the sign or word Ur in the Akkado-Sumírian, according to syllab. 850 (Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte p. 35), is the equivalent of the Assyrian am(v)ílu 'man' 'human being', and moreover that the further sign gur, to which the determinative of deity is attached, is explained by apsû, holds that we should change the name in Assyrian to Amíl-apsî and explain it as meaning "man of the ocean." Comp. Akkad. u. Sum. Keilsch. 76 lines 11. 15. 21; II Raw. 58 no. 5 line 53; IV Rawl. 1, 36b (AN. GUR the mother of Êa); Delitzsch quoted in Haupt's Sumerische Familiengesetze I. 54; Haupt in Akkad. u. Sum. Keilschriftt. Heft IV on the sign referred to (no. 265 foll.).

** See the adjective of reference Arkaitu "the [goddess] of Arku" Smith's Assurb. 250, o.

(Oppert). We have for the present no satisfactory etymology* of the name. — Akkad אַכַּד often occurs in the inscriptions as the Babylonian name for a country and people. A "land of Akkad" (mât Akkadi) is mentioned in the synchronistic table of Assyrio-Babylonian history II Rawl. 65 line 52 a. b. The region occupied by the Akkadians is frequently referred to in the titles of Assyrian and Babylonian kings, who are fond of styling themselves šar Šumíri u Akkadi "king of Sumir and Akkad." Nevertheless we are unable to say anything with certainty with respect to the position of this city or country on the basis of the inscriptions. All that we can be sure of is, that we must look for the region of Akkad in Northern Babylonia, since the Assyrians, in accordance with this fact, applied the term Akkad also to the hinder country at the South, especially Babel. See the references in Keilinschr. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 533 foll. and comp. in Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung 1881 p. 996. Akkad has not yet been pointed out on the inscriptions as the name of a town. The supposition of G. Smith, that Akkad was the Semitic-Assyrian form given to the name of the town Agaṭí (or Aganí?) mentioned in the earliest times and to be
96 looked for in close proximity to Sipar-Sepharvaim (see below), has hitherto remained nothing more than a hypothesis**; Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 294 note. The fourth city-name כַּלְנֵה *Kalneh* does not fare any better. In this case the name has not been found once in the inscriptions. The supposition of Delitzsch (Paradies p. 225), that Kalneh is identical with the local name Kul-unu, which appears in

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* Delitzsch attempts a derivation, uru-uk being regarded as a hardened (?) form from unu-ki "abode"; Paradies p. 221.

** Delitzsch, Paradies p. 198 does not, however, doubt its correctness.

a list of Babylonian towns, IV Rawl. 38 line 9 a, is plausible; yet, as far as I can see, it has not been possible hitherto to adduce other evidence to establish the identity of the Biblical with the Babylonian city. With the name *Shinar* the case is now different. See on XI. 1.

11. *From this country he advanced to Assur.* We saw above that this notice respecting the foundation of Assyrian dominion from Babylon as the starting point, exactly coincides with the monumental *data*. The correctness of the translation we have adopted, as compared with another which has been proposed 'from this country Assur went forth', becomes clearly apparent not only from the fact that nowhere else in the Old Testament is Assur spoken of as an individual, but also from the contrast, which is established by מראשית ממלכתו in verse 10, between this statement and the other respecting the foundation of Babel, and also from the fact, that in the rendering we have rejected all reference is omitted to the country in which Assur founded Niniveh and the other towns; comp. v. 10; see likewise Dillmann *ad loc.**

11. *and built Niniveh and Rechoboth-Ir and Kalah,* 12. *and Resen between Niniveh and Kalah: that is the great city.* In reference to this notice it should be observed that it is not at all** inconsistent with the fact that Kalah [Hebr. K e l a ḥ] was 97
not exalted into a residence of the Assyrian kings till after the

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[* Comp. Delitzsch, Commentar über die Genesis ad loc., who confirms the view of Schrader, Dillmann and most modern critics, as against the older expositors, by the citation of Mic V. 5 where the parallelism clearly shows that אֶרֶץ נִמְרֹד refers to Assyria.—Tr.]

** Through the discovery by Hormuzd Rassam at Abu Habba of an inscription on a basalt-block of Nebukadnezar I, the name A k k a d i as that of a Babylonian city is now definitely ascertained; see H. Hilprecht, Freibrief Nebukadnezar's I, Leipz. 1883. Inscr. col. II. 50.

beginning of the 9th century. This elevation of Kalah into an imperial residence was accompanied not by the foundation but rather by the *re*-founding of the place. This is expressly stated by the king then reigning, Asurnaṣirhabal. Both in his great monolith-inscription and in the shorter Standard-inscription, as it is called, his expressions on this subject are unmistakeably clear. In the Standard-inscription lines 14 foll. he says: Ír* Kal-ḫu mah-ra-a ša Salma-nu-uššir šar mât Aššur rubû a-lik pa-ni-a ibu-uš ír šu-u í-na-aḫ-ma iz-lal ír šu-u ana íš-šu-tí ab-ni i. e. "The ancient city of Kalah which Salmanassar, king of Assyria, who walked before me, founded (עבש), this city became waste and ruined, this city I built anew." According to this passage Asurnaṣirhabal simply rebuilt Kalah and raised it into a royal place of residence. The real founder was the elder Salmanassar who lived about B. C. 1300. Thus the foundation of Kalah took place about 500 years before the time when the passage of Genesis we are now considering was composed by the Jahvistic-prophetic narrator** writing about 800 B. C. We can trace the existence of Ninua-Niniveh to a still earlier age

* While we continue to transcribe the ideogram for "town" by ír in accordance with the phonetic value which otherwise belongs to the corresponding cuneiform sign, we take into account the fact, that in the same way, as can easily be shown, the ideograms for '*house*' (bitu), '*tree*' (iṣ), '*head*' (rišu) &c., have become related, as bit, iṣ, riš &c. to syllabic signs and we cannot believe in an accidental coincidence of value both as to meaning and syllable in the respective sign. When, besides this, in the hymns, for example (IV Rawl. 5, 29 a and elsewhere), the ideogram (or Akkadian word) for "*town*" is represented by the Assyrian alu, the same remark may be made as when in poetical passages maru and martu appear as the corresponding words for "son" and "daughter" in place of ablu and bintu: these other words belong to the loftier poetical style.

** Comp. de Wette-Schrader, Einleitung in das A. T. 8th ed. p. 320.

when the Assyrian princes Samsi-Ramman and Asuruballiṭ built or restored temples in the 19th and 15th centuries respectively. Under these circumstances it need not on the other hand surprise us that the author omits all mention of the founding of the city Asur (Ḳal'at-Sherkat) which took place before Niniveh was promoted to the dignity of an imperial capital. At the time of the prophetic narrator the ancient imperial city had long ceased to be the residence of 98
the Assyrian kings, and as such had already been forgotten. The reader should also observe that, before Asurnaṣirhabal and his son Salmanassar II changed their residence to Kalah, they made Niniveh their abode (see the evidence in Art. Ninive in Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums p. 1085a). Indeed it is unquestionable that their predecessors had already temporarily moved their residence from Asur, which lay exposed to attack on the Western bank of the Tigris, further Northwards to Niniveh, which lay on the other side of the river and possessed a much superior strategical position.

With regard to the relation of the four cities mentioned in the Bible to one another, and their precise position, two of them, Kalah and Niniveh, are also mentioned in the inscriptions; we must therefore begin with them in our investigation*. Next, of these two the position of Kalah is directly fixed by the inscriptions of Asurnaṣirhabal and by the situation of the North-West palace erected by him. This palace is placed in the corner formed by the upper or Great Zab emptying itself into the Tigris, therefore at the

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[* The reader of this and the following pages should consult Kiepert's map appended to this volume, especially the plans illustrative of Niniveh.—Tr.]

spot where now stand the village and mounds of Nimrûd. Accordingly Kalah was, in brief, the Southern Ninivite town. Here upon the so-called palace-terrace there were built subsequently not only the North-West palace but also and chiefly the central palace and the South-West palace, the former by Asurnaṣirhabal's son, Salmanassar II, the latter by Asarhaddon, familiar to readers of the Bible. In addition to these, Ašur-idil-ili, grandson of Asarhaddon, erected a modest building on the platform of Nimrûd in its South-Eastern corner. The above-mentioned central palace was afterwards reconstructed or built anew by the Tiglath-Pileser (II), mentioned in Scripture.

99 About 30 Kilometres (18½ English miles) North-West of Nimrûd, likewise on the left bank of the Tigris, and exactly opposite the town Mosul, there now lies the village Kujundshik, situated to the North-West and to the right of the Chausar, the Ḥusur of the inscriptions, a stream that empties itself into the Tigris. This is the second great ruined site, containing at the South the remains of the palace of Sanherib, and at the North those of the palace of his grandson Asurbanipal. We have likewise, South of the Chausar, the mound of ruins named after the prophet Jona (N a b î - J u n u s) with the remains of the palaces of Sanherib and Asarhaddon. This city surrounded by an encircling wall or, properly speaking, this part of the city, bears in the Assyrian inscriptions the special name of N i n u a (N i - n u - a), also N i n â (N i - n a - a) "Niniveh". It is from this spot that Asurnaṣirhabal and Salmanassar II entered upon their campaigns against their foes, as long as these kings had not built their particular palaces in Kalah. It is to "N i n u a, his imperial abode" that Sanherib returns after the campaign against Juda and Aegypt (I Rawl. 39, 39).

It was in Ninua that he built himself the palace which has been discovered in its ruins (ibid. 42, 25).*

Owing to Sanherib, and since his time, this portion of the network of towns lying between the Zâb and Tigris appears to have obtained on the whole so great an impor- 100
tance, especially in the eyes of foreigners, that after his reign the name of this portion of the city (so to speak) became the name for the entire network of cities between the Zâb and the Tigris. The Biblical narrator writing 100 years before Sanherib *is not yet acquainted with this general designation.* He still simply sets Kalah over against Niniveh. To him Niniveh is, exactly as Kalah, a *quarter* of the "great city" for which a common, or, we should say, a single comprehensive name was not yet current.

With regard to Resen, the Bible furnishes us with a clue in the remark: "Resen between Niniveh and Kalah". Since both the latter localities have been precisely defined as to position, there can be in general no doubt respecting the situation of Resen. It must lie on the Eastern side of the Tigris between Nimrûd and Kujundshik, where the land at the present day is still covered with ruins. In the Bavian inscription line 12, among the 18 towns from all of which

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* For further particulars see my article Ninive in Riehm's Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums Heft XII (1879) pp. 1084 foll. In this article, when investigating the identity of Xenophon's Larissa with the Kalaḥ of the monuments, and of the Mespila of the same writer with Kujundshik-Niniveh, I gave expression to the conjecture that in the name Mespila might perhaps lurk the Assyrian mušpalu "level place", "Lower-town" (comp. Standard-inscription 17). I am glad to be in a position to remark here, that A. H. Sayce arrived independently of myself at the same supposition in the essay from which I shall afterwards quote and which was published only a short time after the above article appeared.

Sanherib is stated to have cut canals to the Husur or Chausar that intersects Niniveh, mention is made by that monarch of a town (ír) Ri-iš-í-ni = Rišín רשׁען (properly "Spring head"). This form, in accordance with the Hebrew mode of representing the Assyrian sibilants (Assyr. שׁ = Hebr. ס) and by dropping the aspirate pronounced very slightly in Assyrian, might easily become רסן. It would not be impossible with A. H. Sayce (Academy May 1. 1880) to regard Rišín as the Biblical Resen.— Respecting the position of the third city that is mentioned Rechôbôth-Ír, it has not been possible up to the present time to give any precise information, especially as we are in this case without such a clue as we possess with respect
101 to Resen. It is only the name that can here afford us any guidance. We ought not, however, to regard it as a compound word of Sanskrit mould (and yet Semitic?) and so render it by some such term as "Street-town" (Strassburg), as Hitzig proposes. The meaning, to judge from the formation, is probably altogether different. What was intended was the quarter with "large open spaces (רחובות)" which lay before the city. These "broad spaces of the city" are what we should term "a suburb", so called in contrast to the town proper, which we may assume to have been closely built on account of the encircling city-wall. It is no longer possible to determine to which of the three above mentioned "towns" or "quarters" we are to understand that this "suburb" was neighbour, whether to Niniveh, to Kalah or to Resen.*

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* Delitzsch, who has lately explained the name in a similar way, (Paradies p. 261) compares ri(rê)-bit ír Ni-na-a mentioned in the inscription of Asarhaddon (I. 53) and Sargon (Cyl. 34 = 44), and above which rise the Musri range of mountains. But are we actually

The reader will see from the above that there is nothing in the Biblical passage that points to the Northern town i. e. Khorsabad, called in the cuneiform inscriptions Dur-Šarrukîn "Sargon's town." This name, after it once came into existence, was never severed from the locality. As is well known, the Arabian geographer Jâḳût was still cognizant of a locality صرغون (Ṣar'ûn)*, a name which is obviously a mere corruption of (Dûr) Šarrukîn (Sargôn).** The omission of "Sargon's town" among the 102
Ninivite towns mentioned in this passage is once more proof that these verses were composed before this city was built, i. e. earlier than 707 B. C. (see on Is. XX. 1). The prophetic narrator therefore lived and wrote before this time.

As to the name Niniveh, it would almost of itself suggest an etymology, if it was certain that the name was of Semitic origin. Ninua or Ninâ might well be connected with the root נוה whence comes נָוֶה 'station', 'abode'. The name,

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to believe that a quarter of Niniveh was designated thereby, and that the Hebrews would have changed the Ribit as *heard* by them into Rechôboth, and thus remained true to their system of pronunciation, who nevertheless (see above) adopted into their language Riš-íni simply as רֵסֶן? —

* See Marâṣid ed. Juynboll I p. 347; II p. 153; Jâḳût ed. Wüstenfeld II, 422; III, 382.

** Recently, it is true, doubt has been expressed whether the two names have any historical connection with one another. G. Hoffmann, Auszüge &c. (1880) p. 183 (comp. p. 44), is of opinion that a legend has been fabricated by the Syrians about Sargon, just as about Sanherib, whereby Sargon also built a palace in the ruins of Khorsabad, on account of which that locality was called by this name صرغون in later times. Yet with all this it remains strange that they should be perfectly free in their choice of name between Nimrod, Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sanherib and Asarhaddon, and should have actually indicated correctly the king by whom it was built. —

however, need not be Semitic. The Assyrians may have already found it attached to a spot that had existed from earliest antiquity. We can therefore hardly get beyond the realm of conjecture.*

14. פְּלִשְׁתִּים *Philistines.* The land Palastav, also Pilista (II Rawl. 52, 40b**) i. e. Philistia, is often mentioned in the inscriptions. The most instructive passage is that already cited on page 73 from the inscription of Rammannirar, communicated in the note on 2 Kings XIII. 24.
103 There, in an enumeration of tributary nations of Western Asia, proceeding from the West (Phoenicia) to the East (Northern Israel), then to the South (Edom) and lastly to the West again, the list passes at once over from Edom to Pa-la-as-tav i. e. Philistia. That this district was intended by the term is beyond doubt; only it is remarkable that while Northern Israel ("Land *Omri*") is mentioned, Juda, which is completely hemmed in by the races enumerated, is passed over in silence. It is scarcely to be supposed that this is purposely done, because it alone was not tributary. Accordingly it would appear as though the Assyrian king included Juda also under the term "Palastav" or Philistia, which was, so to speak, already a collective name for a variety of small states and kingdoms. In other words the Assyrian, as he advanced along the coast from the North and invaded Juda from the side of Philistia, designated

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* A conjecture has recently been propounded by Delitzsch, Paradies p. 206, who derives the name from the Akkadian. He is certainly right in his explanation of the ideogram for the name of the city, as meaning, according to the elements of its sign, 'house-fish' or 'fish-house'.

** For the latter form see further proofs in Delitzsch, Paradies p. 288.

Juda, as being the hinder-country, with the name of the fore-country, in just the same way as in later times the whole of Kanaan, being likewise hinder-country, was designated by the strangers, who came from the West or rather the South-West, by the same name of 'Palestine': see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 123 foll.

15. צִידוֹן *Sidon* often occurs in the inscriptions in the form ír and also mât Ṣidunu (Ṣi-du-nu, Ṣi-du-un-nu); see I Rawl. 35, 12; Asurnâṣirhabal III. 86 &c. It is repeatedly named together with Tyre (Ṣurru). It was divided into the "Great" and "Little Sidon" according to a passage on the Taylor-cylinder of king Sanherib col. II, 38: ír Ṣi-du-un-nu rabu-u ír Ṣi-du-un-nu ṣiḫru i. e. "the Great Sidon, the Little Sidon". We find mentioned on the cylinder (II. 35) as kings of Sidon, Lu-li-i i. e. without doubt Elulaeus (Joseph. Arch. IX. 14, 2) = אלולי, Assyr. Ululai i. e. "he of the month Elul", see 104
Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 336; also ibid. col. II, 48: Tu-ba-'-lu i. e. Ithobal אִתְבַּעַל (1 Kings XVI. 31); and lastly on the prism of Asarhaddon col. I. 40. 50 Ab-di-mi-il (mil)-ku-ut-ti i. e. עבדמלכת "Servant of the Queen of Heaven".

17. עַרְקִי *he of Arḳa*. The latter = the Ἄρκη in Josephus Arch. I. 6. 2, the Ἄρκα Arca of Ptolemaeus V. 15, 21 and Pliny V. 16, 74. This is also equivalent to ír Arḳa-(a) in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II who repeatedly mentions this town with Ṣimirra (see below verse 18); comp. III Rawl. 9. 46; 10 no. 3 line 35; also Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 116, 450.

18. אַרְוָדִי *Arvad*, frequently occurs in the Ninivite inscriptions under the form, sometimes of Ar-va-da (Asurnaṣirhabal, inscript. I Rawl. 25 col. III. 86), sometimes of

A-ru-a-di, Ar-u-a-da (I Rawl. 48. I. 6; Smith's Assurbanipal 31, j; Ass. Rassam 3. 9) and also as A-ru-da (-ai); see Taylor's Sanherib-cylinder II. 49. That we have in this word the Phoenician Arados, is clear from the passage of the cylinder of Sanherib, where it has no place in the enumeration between Sidon and Gebal; as well as from the fact that Asurnaṣirhabal puts it last in the enumeration of Phoenician towns proceeding from South to North [Tyrus, Sidon, Gebal i. e. Byblos, Machallat (?), Maiza (?), Kaiza (?)], and also distinguishes it by the addition (line 86) ša ḳabal tiâmti "which is in the midst of the sea", which exactly agrees with its known situation on an island. Asarhaddon mentions as king of Arvad Ma-ta-an-ba-'-al i. e. Matanbaal = Phoenician מתנבעל Muthumballes (Plautus*, see also Maltzan 10, 3); comp. the Heb. מַתַּנְיָהוּ** and the name of the Arvadite Matinuba'li, which we meet on the monolith-inscription of Salmanassar II (see on 1 Ki. XVI. 29). The name that appears in the passage
105 of the cylinder of Sanherib viz. Ab-di-li-'ti is perfectly clear as to the first portion (= עבד), but the latter portion is obscure. We also become acquainted with a king of Arvad from the inscriptions of Asurbanipal. He mentions as such Ja-ki-in-lu-u (cyl. Rassam II. 63, 81 see V

[* i. e. the Poenulus Act. V sc. 2. 35, see Schröder, Die Phönizische Sprache pp. 293, 315 foll. also p. 127 note 6. The name therefore signifies "gift of Baal". It is curious that in 2 Kings XI. 18 מַתָּן is the name of the priest of Baal whom the people slew at the instigation of Jehoiada.—Translator.]

[** Compare Hosea II. 18, 19; Kuenen, Religion of Israel vol. I pp. 304, 404 foll. and W. R. Smith, Prophets of Israel pp. 170 foll. Compare also אביבעל and אֲבִיָּהוּ or אֲבִיָּה 2 Chron. XIII. 1; עזבעל and עֻזִּיָּה of O. T.; אדניבעל and אֲדֹנִיָּה. See below in the following page.—Tr.]

Rawl. 2) which is probably compounded of Jakin-ilû, so that the name would signify "God establishes". It would thus resemble as a name the forms יְהוֹיָכִין, יְכָנְיָה, as well as אֶלְיָקִים. Of Arvadite royal sons the following are enumerated in Smith's Assurb. 62. 117 foll. = Cyl. Rassam II. 82 foll. viz.:—Aziba'al* = עזבעל (comp. עֻזִּיָּה); Abiba'al = אביבעל; Aduniba'al = אדניבעל; Sapaṭiba'al = שפטבעל**; Pudibal = פדיבעל; Ba'aljašupu = בעליסף; Ba'alḥanunu = כעלחנן; Ba'almaluku בעלמלך; Abimilki = אבימלך; lastly Aḥimilki = אחימלך.

צְמָרִי *Ssemar.* This place = *Σίμυρα, Σιμύρα* of the Greek writers, which lay at the foot of Lebanon, is the ír Ṣimir (Ṣi-mir-ra, Ṣi-mir-ri) of the cuneiform inscriptions, first mentioned in the records of Tiglath-Pileser II (III Rawl. 9. 46; 10. 35), next in those of Sargon (Khorsabad 33), also frequently in the Assyrian lists (II Rawl. 53 no. 1. 70 &c.) repeatedly along with Arka ערק; see above (Keil. u. Gesch. pp. 116, 121 & 450). In the time subsequent to the reign of Sanherib the city became the residence of an Assyrian governor (ibid. p. 543).

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* In the case of the following proper names the cylinders, in one portion of the names, viz. the word b a' a l = בעל, vary between this mode of writing it and the other viz. ba-al i. e. bal.

[** This name occurs in a Carthaginian inscription, and in another as Baalshafat (comp. the Hebr. יְהוֹשָׁפָט and אֱלִישָׁפָט). 'Abimelech' has been found in a New Punic inscription; see Schröder, Phön. Spr. pp. 88, 198. The list of Phoenician names given in the text is deeply interesting in its relation to the Old Testament. Probably the coincidences would be still more numerous and instructive if "the redactors of the Biblical canon" had not "made it their object to obliterate or at least weaken the reminiscence of any earlier and closer kinship with the heathenish Kanaanites as far as possible" *ibid.* p. 9.—Tr.]

חֲמָתִי *Hamâth*, in the inscriptions mât* Ḥamatti (Ḥa-ma-(at)-ti, also Ḥa-am-ma-at-ti) and mât Amatti (A-ma-(at)-ti). The former pronunciation with
106 the harder aspirate is always to be found in the records of Tiglath-Pileser, also in those of Asurnaṣirhabal and likewise in the geographical lists (II Rawl. 53 no. 1 line 37). The latter pronunciation already occurs in the inscriptions of Salmanassar II (Obelisk, Monolith &c.). Both forms are found together in the records of Sargon who gives the pronunciation Ḥa-am-ma-ti in the Nimrûd-inscription, and also in the stele at Larnaka along with the other form; in other cases we find generally, if not exclusively, Amattu, Amatu with unimportant variations (Khorsabad Bull-inscription &c.).** After the time of Salmanassar II (860—825) Hamath seems to have become repeatedly if not

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* In the case of Amatti we have only the determinative of country (mât). The same is true of Ḥamatti with the exception of the two passages II Rawl. 53, I. 37 and III Rawl. 9, 31, where the determ. ír "town" precedes.

** Perhaps the change from ח to א in the same name within the limits of the Assyrian language itself occurs also in the case of Ḥamï'dï' (II Rawl. 53, 4) and Amídi i. e. Âmid-Diârbekr. The series Tusḥan, Guzana, Amídi in the list of governments reminds us, indeed, at once of the other series in the geographical list Tushan, Guzana (Nazibina), Ḥamídï' (the alternation between di and dï' is analogous to that between ti and tï' in Hatti = Ḥattï' &c.).—On the other hand Delitzsch (Paradies pp. 276 foll.) regards Amattu and Ḥamattu as entirely distinct from one another and understands the former to refer to the *town*, and the latter to the *kingdom* of Hamath,—the latter especially on the strength of Sargon's Cyprus monolith I. 51 foll. 62. Here however we find that both names equally exhibit the determinative mâtu "land" and that the former does not appear with the determinative of "town", and with this moreover tallies the *addendum*: ana pad gimrišu "in its entire range". Delitzsch's further combination of this Ḥammâth as Havvâth with the Hebr. חִוִּי = Hivite appears me open to objection. See above footnote*; comp. Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 122. 202 foll. 398. also 146. 167. 353.

permanently tributary to the Assyrians, and under Sargon to have entirely lost its independence; for this monarch frequently transports refractory populations to the region of Hamath (Khorsab. 49. 56). Thus henceforth we never again find this state mentioned in the inscriptions as tributary. Neither Sanherib nor Asarhaddon refer to it as such, so far as I have observed; comp. on 2 Kings XVIII. 34; XIX. 13. The names of the Kings of Hamath that occur in the inscriptions, viz. Ja-u-bi-'-di (Ilu-bi-'-di), I'-ni-i-lu = עינאל (Del.), Ir-ḥu-li-í-ni = ירחל־עין (?), 107 are of Kanaanitish type.

19. עַזָּה *Gaza* occurs frequently in the cuneiform inscriptions in the form (ír) Ḥa-zi-ti (Asurnaṣirhabal col. III. 71; Khorsab. 25. 26; Asarhaddon I Rawl. 48 line 4), also Ḥa-az-zu-tu i. e. Ḥazzut III Rawl. 10. 20, or Ḥaz-zat ibid. line 19. It will be seen that the Heb. ע, whose pronunciation or rather representation causes the Assyrians on the whole some difficulty, is here intimated by a ḥ. In the same way they transcribe עֲמֻרִי by Ḥumrî, عزاز by Ḥazazu (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 217) &c. In the records of Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon Hânûnu (Hanunu) appears as king of Gaza; in those of Asarhaddon Ṣil-Bêl. The former = Hebr. חָנוּן 2 Sam. X. 1 &c., the latter (Dillmann) is a name resembling the Hebr. בְּצַלְאֵל Exod. XXXI. 2 &c.; see Keil. u. Gesch. p. 79 and my essay Zur Kritik d. Inschr. Tigl. Pil.'s p. 35.

— חֵת *Chet.* As is well known, the name "Hethite" (or "Hittite") is sometimes used in the Old Test. in the narrower sense of a small Kanaanite tribe; at other times in the broader sense of a considerable race-division. The Hethites are referred to in 1 Kings X. 29; VII. 6 in the latter, wider sense. In these passages "kings of the Hethites" are likewise spoken

of (along with those of the Syrians); comp. 2 Sam. XXIV. 6, where following Thenius, Hitzig, Wellhausen and Ed. Meyer we should read אל ארץ החתים קדשה "into the land of the Hethites, to Kadesh" (on the Orontes). Also the Assyrian inscriptions frequently make reference to a country (mât) Ḫatti, Ḫattî, rarely Ḫatî (Del.), as well as of a people, the Chattaeans Ḫattai (with variations) or Hethites. We come across the name as far back as in the cylinder-inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (about 1100 B. C.) and after that as late as the time of Asarhaddon. After as
108 well as in the reign of his son and successor Asurbanipal it disappears. From a comparison of the inscriptions now under consideration it appears that these Chattaeans were settled West of the Middle Euphrates* as far as the Orontes, and were divided into various small states and kingdoms, among which Karkemîsh on the Euphrates occupied a specially important place. The king of Karkemîsh is styled on the inscriptions "king of the land of Chatti" (Asurnaṣirh. III. 65 comp. line 57; Sargon in Layard 34, 22). It is certain that the name mât Hatti is employed by the Assyrians in this original sense as late as the 8th century B. C. As the region inhabited by the Chaldaeans became gradually and permanently occupied by the Assyrians after the time of Tiglath-Pileser II (745—722) and Sargon (722—705),—the latter of whom incorporated both the Chatti states of Karkemish (717 B. C.) and Kummuch-Commagene (708 B. C.) into the Assyrian empire,—the name Chatti was shifted in its application further to the West, and we find indeed, first of all in the records of Sargon,

* Including under this term the extent from Samosata (Sumeisat) to Barbalissus (Bâlis).

that the Philistine city of Asdod is designated a Chatti-city. Under Sanherib and Asarhaddon the name "Land of Chatti" is altogether transferred to the countries on the coast, Kanaan and Philistia, as well as to Edom, Moab and Ammon. On the other hand, in the records of Asurbanipal the name entirely disappears (see above), and the old term mât Aḫarri 'Western country' (see on X. 6) reappears as the name for the above mentioned territories; see references in Keilinsch.* u. Geschichtsf. pp. 221 foll. 225 foll. 109
We have not been able hitherto to obtain any precise information about the nationality of these North Syrian Chatti. It appears, however, that they were not Semites. The proper names of the kings of the Chatti, contained in the records of Assyria and Aegypt, exhibit a very slight, if indeed any, Semitic type.** When we find that, on the

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* What has been stated in the text is, in our opinion, confirmed and supplemented by A. H. Sayce's views in the Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeol. VII. 2 (1881) pp. 248—293, to which we now draw attention. Sayce endeavours to show that the Chattaeans, settled between the Euphrates and Orontes and even as far as the interior of Cappadocia, were the real channels for conveying the civilization of Mesopotamia, especially of Babylon, to the West, and that they exercised this function as early as in the age that *preceded* the advent of the Assyrio-Ninivite power, about 1500 B. C. He holds also that the type of the Chattaean sculptures is Babylonian and not Ninivite. Moreover the sculptures of Boghaz-Köi and Ejuk in Galatia on the right i. e. East of the Halys, even the rock sculptures of Karabel E. S. E. of Smyrna, near the ancient Sardes, bear this Chattaeo-Babylonian character . . .

** See such names in Brugsch, Geschichte Aegypten's (1877) pp. 450—52. This is especially true of the much discussed Cheta-sar, said to mean "prince of the Cheta"—a formation which cannot possibly be Semitic. Also the princes of Chatti mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, as Ḳatazilu of Kummuch, Sapalulmí and Lubarna (Var. Liburna) of Patin, Sangar and Pisîri(s) of Karkemish, Tarchular of Gamgum (Keilinschr. u. Gesch. pp. 192 foll. 208. 215),

contrary, the proper names of the Kanaanite Hethites are thoroughly Hebrew in form (e. g. Ephron, Elon, Achimelech, Uria, Basmath, Ada &c., see Gen. XXIII. 10; XXVI. 34; XXXVI. 2; 1 Sam. XXVI. 6; 2 Sam. XI. 3 &c.), the logical conclusion to be drawn from this is that these Kanaanitish Hethites, unless we assume that they were
110 Hebraized, had absolutely no connection* with the Syrian Hethites, the Assyrian Chattaeans. The similarity in name of these two essentially distinct nations is to be explained

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do not look at all Semitic and certainly are far removed from the type of proper names known to us from the Bible as Kanaanite-Hethite. Delitzsch indeed (Paradies p. 270) holds that we should connect Sangar with שַׁמְגַּר and Pisîri(s) should remind us of פִּי־כֹל and פִּינְחָס (see on his view footnote * below). But what I have stated holds true also of names such as Aḫuni of Beth-Adin, Mut(t)allu of Gamgum and of others in which one might be disposed at least to attempt a Semitic derivation. It is unnecessary to observe that we have no right whatever to draw any ethnologic inference from the occurrence among the Cheta of migrating cults like those of Baal and Astarte.

* Delitzsch (Paradies VII) holds a contrary opinion. He regards Aram as limited to the region on the *left* of the Euphrates and considers not only the actually Kanaanite Hamâth but also Damaskus as Kanaanite together with the states of the Chatti lying between the Euphrates and the Orontes. In the case of Damascus, however, objection might certainly be raised to this view on the ground of the Aramaic name Hadad-'-id-ri (הדדעדר = Kanaan. הדדעזר, Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 539) proved from the cuneiform inscription to be as early as the 9th century, and likewise on the ground of the name Mâri' (root מרא, see below); quite apart from this we have also the Biblical tradition of the names חֲנָאֵל, טָבְאֵל, טַב־רִמּוֹן. Moreover the pure Aramaic names which occur among the Northern Arabians, Bir-Dadda = Bar-Hadad (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. *ibid.*) and Atar-samain (-ajin) = עתר סמין i. e. ע" שמין "Astarte of Heaven", can only be fittingly supposed to have made their way to them through the Aramaeans on the right bank of the Euphrates, and this must have taken place at a comparatively early time (certainly before the 7th century).

with Ed. Meyer (Zeitschrift A. T. Wissenschaft I. 1881 p. 125) from the fact that the name Hethite,—(which in reality, according to the Aegyptian inscriptions, belonged exclusively to the inhabitants of the region of Libanon and of that of the Orontes, and according to the Assyrian inscriptions belonged to the inhabitants of Northern Syria as far as the Euphrates)—that this name was erroneously applied by the Hebrews to a Kanaanite stem also.* At all events the writer who composed Gen. X. 19 (and under any circum- 111
stances he must have been either the later Elohist or the prophetic-Jahvistic narrator), when he represents the territory of the Kanaanites as extending from Sidon to Gaza and the Dead Sea, regards the Hethites as dwelling entirely *within* this region, and consequently completely separates those Hethites, who lived between the Euphrates and the Orontes, from the Kanaanites.

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* We take this opportunity of remarking that in the Assyrian inscriptions in the districts of the Middle Euphrates—on the East side of that river, in Bit-Adin and higher up towards the Tigris, we often meet with names whose Kanaanite type is at once obvious and has long been recognized (see Oppert, hist. des Empires de Chaldée et d'Assyrie, Vers. 1865 p. 89). We have thus A-ḥi-ra-mu אחירם of the land Nil (Ṣal?); A-ḥi-ja-ba-ba אחיבב from Bit-Adin; Am-mi-ba-'-la עמיבעל name of a North-West-Mesopotamian ruler (Asurnaṣirh. I. 76; II. 22, 118 foll., comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 152, 182 foll.). In the latter passage, instead of "son of Lamaman" we ought rather to read "son of a nobody" i. e. "a person of obscure origin". See my essay Zur Kritik der Inschrift Tiglath-Pileser's II &c. (1879) p. 14 rem. 1. The name Aḥijababa would resemble אֲחִינַעַם ,אֲחִישַׁחַר and many others and will have some such meaning as "my brother is rejoicing", root יבב; comp. also the Kanaanitish royal name יוֹבָב Josh. XI. 1. Whence have these Kanaanite names drifted hither? Or are they the traces which yet remain that the Kanaanites, or, properly speaking, the Hebrews formerly rested in this region (Harran) for a time, as they migrated from Ur-Mughair to Kanaan, not without permanently leaving settlers behind them?

22. עֵילָם often occurs in the inscriptions in the feminine form I'lamtu*; see for example Tigl.-Pil. II (II Rawl. 67) line 14 (mât I'lamti); the 'Elamite' is called I'lamû (Sanherib Taylor-cyl. IV. 46, 70; V. 25). The definite geographical meaning belonging to the territorial name may be learnt from the Behistun inscription of Darius, in which a Persian term Uvaja i. e. Susiana corresponds to the Babylonian I'-lam-mat (Beh. 41. comp. NR. 11); see also the remarks on Ezra IV. 9. The name Elam is assigned by the Semitic Babylonians to the Susian highland and itself signifies "highland", root עלה. This is confirmed by the Akkadian expression for the same region, Nummа-Ki, meaning also "highland" (A. H. Sayce); see the syllab. II Rawl. 2, 451 foll., V Rawl. 16, 16 foll. a. b. The native name was according to the Susian brick-inscriptions derived from the
112 capital Šušan (= Šušin or Šušun of the Susian brick-inscriptions) and was pronounced Šušinak i. e. Susiana; see on Ezra IV. 9. Compare also Oppert, les inscriptions en lang. sus. (extrait des mémoires du congr. internat. 1873) pp. 179 foll.; A. H. Sayce in Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol. III pp. 468, 478; Th. Nöldeke in N. G. G. W.** Apr. 1 pp. 173. Elam is by no means interchangeable with or equivalent to Persia. We never meet with the name "Persia" or "Persian" before the time of Cyrus, either on an Assyrian or a Babylonian monument.***

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* The latter stands as I'-lam-mat also in Beh. 41 (see Text). Correction is to be made according to this in my Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften p. 346. (There also we must supply "Aegypt" instead of "Armenia" in accordance with the Persian text.)

** = "Nachrichten von der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften."

*** To this we would add:—"and also not in any pre-exilic Biblical extract." We are at once led back to the conclusion that a fragment,

אַשּׁוּר *Assyria*, see on chap. II. 14. The opinion which has been advanced that Aššur here does not represent the nation of Assyrians, but rather, according to later usage (see below on אֲרָם), Syria and the Syrians, does not require refutation.

אַרְפַּכְשַׁד *Arpakshad.* No direct light is shed by the Assyrian inscriptions on this obscure race- or territorial name. The combination of this name, on the other hand, with the Greek Ἀῤῥαπαχῖτις has already been tacitly disposed of in my Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 161, 164, 167 and should be definitely abandoned. The latter is certainly to be connected with the Assyrian Arbaḥa and the Armenian Albâq i. e. the district at the source of the upper Zâb (Kiepert ibid. p. 80 note, who however himself regards Arpakshad as merely another form of the latter name); see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 164, 167. Now the "Hebrew" Abraham, deriving his origin from Arpakshad, migrates according to Gen. XI. 28, 31 from Ur-Kasdim, and this Ur is undoubtedly to be looked for in South-Babylonia (see on XI. 28). 113
Observe also that it would be strange under any circumstances if Babylonia were not mentioned together with Assur (the insertion of verses 8—12 obviously proceeds from an altogether different hand). Moreover a form כֶּשֶׂד (comp. XXII. 22) may unquestionably be present in the כשד of the text; likewise we have a form 'arp, attested not only by the Arabic أُرْفَة but also by the Aethiopic አረፍት፡ meaning "(boundary-)rampart", "wall". Thus 'arp would mean "boundary-rampart", "boundary" and would

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such as the race-table in Genesis, which mentions Elam but not Persia, points us for its origin not to the post-exilic but to the *pre-exilic* period.

also be understood in the other sense of "territory" *fines*. A name therefore like "territory of the Chaldees" = אֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים, land or population personified, seems thoroughly adapted to be the name of the ancestor of Abraham (see above). Accordingly I am led to the belief that, as matters stand at present, it is, to say the least, by far the most probable hypothesis that by Arpakshad we are to understand the land of the Chaldaeans* or Babylonia.** The enumeration of the descendants of Sem would then proceed similarly to that of the descendants of Japhet; that is, to the peoples and countries of an outer arc (in this case, of Elam and Assur belonging to the mountain districts of the Tigris) there succeed those of an inner arc, which contained the races inhabiting the banks of the Euphrates, viz. the Chaldaeans, Lud (? see immediately below) and Aram.

114 לוּד *Lûd*. This son of Sem has been generally understood to represent the Lydians of Asia Minor, whose country bears among the Assyrians the same name i. e. Luddu (mât Lu-ud-di), see Smith's Assurban. 64, 5; 73, 13; V Rawl. 2, 95. They or their land are referred to first of all and exclusively in the inscriptions of Asurbanipal

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* Respecting the so-called Armenian Chaldaeans, who should rather be identified with the Chalybes, see my essay 'The descent of the Chaldaeans and the primitive settlements of the Semites' in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XXVII, pp. 399 foll.

** Likewise Delitzsch, Parad. p. 255 foll., refers the term in some sort to Babylon, yet without regarding the two expressions as equivalent. He takes Arpakshad in a wider sense, and would be disposed to see in the name a Babylonian expression (mât) arba-kišâdi "(land) of the four sides or directions". This, however, has not been verified hitherto by the inscriptions. The expression which constantly recurs in the titles of ancient Babylonian, as well as Assyrian kings, runs differently [= kibrât(i) arba-i(ti)].—Also Floigl, Chronologie der Bibel (1880) p. 22, takes Arpakshad to mean Babylonia-Chaldaea.

(reigned after 668), a circumstance which the reader must bear in mind.*

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* Comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 522—543. The question might be asked, whether we should actually refer the 'Semitic' Lud of the race-table to these Lydians who lived far away in Asia Minor and only obtained for themselves a more conspicuous position in history at a comparatively late period. This presumes that we are not disposed either to assign so late a date for the composition of the race-table (see however below), or to assume that there existed an ancient Lydian empire extending as far as the interior of Syria—see A. Wiedemann, Geschichte Aegyptens 1880 p. 24; to the latter hypothesis, indeed, there are many objections. But the further conjecture of the same savant and of earlier authorities appears to me more worthy of consideration viz. that the Biblical Lud, whom Wiedemann and Champollion in fact both take to signify Lydians, is identical with the R u t e n or L u t e n repeatedly mentioned in the Aegyptian inscriptions (especially of Tutmes III), a name in which the final -e n is regarded by Wiedemann as forming a denominative. The name Rut-Lud might surely have existed in the language of the Kanaanites and Hebrews to represent the region between the Euphrates and the Orontes inhabited by the non-Kanaanite Chattaeans who are omitted in the race-table,—a region included by the Aegyptians under the term Ruten. It is just this region, moreover, which would have admirably fitted into the gap between Assur and Arpakshad on the one side (see above) and Aram on the other. But, again, I am informed by my colleague A. Erman that the denominative force, supposed to belong to the final -n in Ruten, is very doubtful, and also that the dental in the Aegyptian word is different from what one would anticipate if Ruten were equivalent to Lud. So we must characterize this explanation as at least problematical at present. Lastly I would observe that, if in support of the inclusion of the Lydians of Asia Minor among the Semites we rely on Herodot I. 7, where the Heraclid Agron is called son of Ninus, whence we infer that Lydia once belonged to the Assyrian empire, this at all events does not apply to the ancient time. And moreover the kingdom of Mermnads never formed a constituent part of Assur:—even at the time of Asurbanipal Lydia sustained only international, scarcely political relations (as Nöldeke supposes, Bibel-Lexicon IV, 93), towards Assyria. It is only when the Assyrian empire fell to pieces and the Lydians succeeded in part to the inheritance of proud Assyria, that the legend of the descent of the ancient dominant dynasty from Ninus, son of Bel, could have arisen. If the fact of Lydia having once belonged to Assyria were the reason why Lud

115 אֲרָם *Arâm.* This name occurs frequently in the inscriptions under the forms Aramu (Sanh. Taylor col. I. 37), Arumu (Tigl.-Piles. II in II Rawl. 67, 9 foll.) and Arimu (*ibid.* 74 Khorsab. 150*), as an *inclusive term* for Babylonian races of what may be presumed to be Semitic nationality** "on the shore of the Tigris, Euphrates and Surappi as far
116 as the river Uknî on the coast of the lower sea", Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 106 foll.*** We also meet with the race-designation (mât) Armâja in a reference to the waters in the neighbourhood of the Chattaeans on the left or

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is included among the sons of Sem, yet this would not explain why in that case Gômer also as well as Meshech and Tubal were not reckoned as sons of Sem. Among these Tubal and Muski became certainly for a time dependent on Assyria (I allude to Sargon) and in quite a different way from Luddu. Why were either Gomer or Tubal and Meshech, and why besides was Lud's neighbour Jâvân-Ionia, separated from Lydia (see verse 2), while later we find Darius without prejudgment connecting together in the list on the inscription of Naḳsh-i-Rustam (26 = 16) Jâvân and Katpatuka-Cappadocia (i. e. Gômer-Gamir of the post-Assyrian, or Tubal and Muski of the Assyrian time), and both with Çparda-Sardes i. e. Lydia? Comp. also the parallel passage Beh. 1. 15 = 5.

* Comp. with the latter form the other viz. the Ἀριμοι of Homer, Hesiod and Strabo, assuming that we are actually to understand it as referring to the Aramaeans. See on this subject Th. Nöldeke in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XXV. 115.

** Respecting the existence of Aramaeans in Babylonia at a comparatively late period, see Th. Nöldeke *ibid.* p. 113. It is worthy of note that Tiglath-Pileser II speaks of the rulers of the powerful Chatti-states between the Euphrates and Orontes as šarrâni "kings", but of the rulers of the Babylonian Arimí (and Kaldi) merely as malki i. e. princes (II Rawl. 67. 74: bi-lat šarra-ni mât Ḥat-ti mal-ki mât A-ri-mí u mât Kal-di i. e. "tribute of the kings of the Chatti-country, of the princes of Aram and of the Kaldi-country").

*** The Assyrian mâmí Armâja 'Aramaean waters' points directly to the Biblical אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם "Aram of the two rivers" as well as to the Aegyptian Naharina.

Eastern bank of the Euphrates. This occurs in an inscription of Tiglath Pileser I (about 1100 B.C.): mâmí (mât) Armâja V. 46 foll. (see Lotz ad loc.), which agrees well with Biblical notices respecting the Aramaeans of Harran (Gen. XXV. 20; XXVIII. 5; XXXI. 20, 24, 47). Perhaps also we ought to understand šar mât A-ru-mu mentioned by Salmanassar II (Mon. II. 38) as meaning a "king of Aram", Keil. u. Gesch. pp. 226 foll. Nevertheless we cannot be said to meet with the name "Aram" in the cuneiform inscriptions in the current sense with which we are familiar in the Bible. It is true that we are reminded by the cuneiform mâmí Arm'âja of the Biblical אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם i. e. "Aram of the two rivers" = פַּדַּן אֲרָם "plain of Aram" i. e. not so much what was afterwards called Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris (the Tigris, as already said, lies too far outside the Hebrew range of vision), but rather the district between the middle Euphrates and Bâlich-Belias or Chabor, taking Harran as the centre. Yet it is to be observed that the Assyrians call this region in its Western portion (reaching Eastward as far as Bâlich-Belias) by the name Bît-Adini; in its Eastern portion they regard it as belonging to mât Aššur i. e. "Assyria". In each case the terms chosen by the Assyrians are political. Also the Aramaean districts, to be sought on this side i. e. South-West of the Euphrates viz. Aram-Damascus, Aram-Zôbâ &c., are never called by the Assyrians "Aramaean" 117
districts. But these regions, when they are mentioned by the Assyrians, are called by special political names. Thus Aram-Damascus is called Gar-Imírišu &c. (see below).*

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* It may be regarded as definitively proved by my investigations of 1878 (see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 99—114. 115 foll.) that the

Northern Syria, situated however between the Euphrates and Orontes, having Haleb as its centre, in which I hold that in ancient times the Aramaeans did not settle at all, was known to the Assyrians by the name mât Ḥatti (see pp. 107 foll.). The name Syria,—as representing this region and the territory which was afterwards designated by this expression as a general term including Damascus, Palestine and Phoenicia,—this name Syria originates, like that of the Syrians of Asia Minor (in Cappadocia and on the shores of the Euxine) and like that of the Leucosyrians, from the time when these regions became gradually incorporated in the Assyrian empire after the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II (745—727) and especially of Sargon (722—705). These districts were then "cast into the territory of Assyria" (Assyr. ana mišir mât Aššur utirra); *Συρία, Σύριοι, Σύροι* is, as Nöldeke has conclusively proved (Hermes V. pp. 442 foll.), merely an abbreviation of the original *Ἀσσυρία, Ἀσσύριοι, Ἄσσυροι.* In the inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis (Behist. I. 14 Pers.; 5 Bab.; Naḳsh-i-Rustam 26 Pers.; 15 Bab.) the still uncorrupted form
118 Aššur, Pers. Athurâ, which occurs in the enumeration of Persian provinces between Babylonia on the one side and Arabia-Aegypt on the other, designates, as Kiepert has

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Ḥamranu mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II are not to be identified with the inhabitants of Haurân, nor the Ḥagarânu (in the above inscriptions) with the Biblical descendants of Hagar, nor Ru'ua with Urhoi-Edessa, and lastly that Puḳûdu is not to be sought near Haurân (in opposition to what is stated in the first edition of this work). Delitzsch (Parad. p. 240) entirely supports these views. Moreover the observations I made in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. *ibid.* respecting the Babylonian Nabatu, who are entirely distinct from the North-Arabian Nabataeans, have been most satisfactorily confirmed by Delitzsch's investigations (*ibid.* pp. 237 foll.).

recognized*, simply the region from the Northern Zagros or Tigris Westward as far as the Mediterranean sea i. e., beside the region of Athuria, Mesopotamia proper and in the main the whole of what was afterwards termed Syria, including Phoenicia and Palestine.

28. שְׁבָא *Sabaea.* This unquestionably means the people and country of this name in South-West Arabia with the capital Mariaba or Saba. Respecting the Sabaeans of Northern Arabia, see the remarks on XXV. 3.

XI. 1. שִׁנְעָר *Shinar***—the name of Babylonia in the Old Testament. It may be assumed to be identical with the name for South-Babylonia that we meet with in the cuneiform inscriptions viz. the Šumír of the monuments = Shumêr [written Šu-mí-ri; in Ḥammurabi I. 11: Šu-mí-ír-(im)]. This, through the intermediate form šumgêr שמער, became שנער, pronounced in Babylonia šungêr, šungir. In the same way the Sumírian dimêr, dimir "God" became dingêr or dingir. The form שנער thus passed over 119
to the Hebrews and was pronounced שִׁנְעָר (שָׁנְעֵר?—).

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* Kiepert, Lehrbuch der alten Geographie (1878) p. 161. His statement is substantially correct and merely needs supplementing. Kiepert holds that the Persian Athurâ, = Aššur of the Babylonian text, was employed "exclusively to represent Syria proper" and that therefore the district of Athuria and the whole of Mesopotamia (in the narrower sense) did *not* come under the scope of this remark. On the other hand we would observe that the name Athuria continued to the latest times to adhere as tenaciously to the above district as the old name Arbailu i. e. Pers. Arbirâ clung to the place of that name in this region. It is also to be observed that an extension of the term Babylonia to include Mesopotamia proper, which Kiepert would have to assume, but which cannot be proved for any epoch, would also be extremely improbable in the time of the Achaemenidae. Respecting the opinion of Delitzsch that the name Aram is to be limited to the regions on the left bank of the Euphrates, see above p. 94.

[** in the German edition *Sinear* (as in the Germ. Bible).—Tr.]

The pronunciation with m (mí) on the one hand, and of ng on the other arises from dialectical variety. The former was the pronunciation of the Sumírians living in South-Babylonia, the latter was that of the Akkadians who were settled to the North of them. It is from the latter that the Hebrews derived their pronunciation of the name.* It is not quite clear what was the definite extent of the term Sumír-Shinar. In particular it might seem doubtful according to the inscriptions whether, as the Bible certainly leads us to suppose, the *city* of Babel also belonged to Sumír. While we find in the inscriptions that the land of Kardunias i. e. the district of the city of Babylon with the surrounding country was, strictly speaking, separated from Sumír as well as from Akkad, we find just as indubitable proof that the *Assyrians*, on the other hand, regarded Babylon as belonging also to Akkad and therefore to North-Babylonia; for in one case they put "Akkad" for the expression used in other cases "Sumír and Akkad", Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 59 inf. Comp. also the references pp. 533 foll. as well as the subscriptions to the cylinder of Asurbanipal discovered by Rassam (cyl. Rm.), to cyl. A and also to another cylinder

* Compare on this subject F. Lenormant, études Accad. II. 3 p. 70; my remarks in Monatsberichte der Berlin. Acad. der Wissenschaften p. 92: Fr. Delitzsch Parad. pp. 198 foll.; P. Haupt in Nachrichten von der Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. 1880 p. 526 foll. For the division of Babylonia into North-Babylonia = Akkad, and South-Babylonia = Sumer, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 296, 533 foll. Respecting the preliminary question, whether the Akkado-Sumírian was a language and what was its character, see the essay of the present writer "Is the Akkadian of the cuneiform inscriptions a language or a system of writing?" in Zeitsch. der Deut. Morg. Gesellschaft XXIX. 1875 pp. 1—52. Consult also P. Haupt 'The Sumero-Akkadian language' in the Transactions of the Berlin Oriental Congress I No. XI pp. 249 foll. and the author's recent essay: "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprunge der altbabylonischen Cultur" (Abhandlungen der Kön. Preufs. Akad. der Wiss. of the year 1883) Berl. 1884.

(V Rawl. 10, 124; III Rawl. 26. 120. 124): "governor of Akkad" = "governor of Babylon". Yet it is quite as certain that the Babylonians distinguished the district of the city of 120
Babel from the land Akkad (see the Annals of Nabunit col. II. 5. 10 &c. in Trans. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch. VII. 1 pp. 153 foll.). The position of Babylon, which stands almost exactly in the centre of the region between the Lower Zab in the North, where "Akkad" begins, and the Persian sea, which forms the Southern boundary of "Sumír", makes this uncertainty in geographical nomenclature only too easily conceivable, especially when we consider the shifting political relations that existed. Finally, when the Hebrews included in the region Shinar not only Erech, that lay actually in South-Babylonia, and Babel that was situated on the frontier of Sumír and Akkad, as well as Kalnēh-Kulunu (?) whose position cannot be determined, but, in addition to these, the city Akkad which was certainly North-Babylonian, this is at all events an inaccuracy, which, however, may possibly be traced to a subsequent extension of the term "Land of Shinar" to include 'Irâḳ as far as the frontier of Assyria.—The expression "Sumír and Akkad" for the whole of Babylonia, which occurs on Assyrian as well as Babylonian inscriptions, is well known; Journ. As. VI. 2 (1863) p. 484; Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch. XXIX (1875) p. 39 note; Delitzsch Parad. pp. 196 foll. Respecting the nationality of the people represented by the name Sumírians and Akkadians, all that we can say with certainty is that they were neither Semites nor Indo-germans, and that they spoke an agglutinative not an inflectional language. It is not improbable that these Babylonian Sumírians and Akkadians together with the Susian Elamites and the non-Aryan Medes formed a special family of races. But more definite results

must be left to future enquiry. Comp. also respecting the Babylonian Kaššû and Susian Kaššî *Κίσσιοι, Κοσσαῖοι* the remarks on chap. X. 6 (8).

121 3. נִלְבְּנָה לְבֵנִים *we will make bricks.* The Babylonians and Assyrians call the brick which is dried in the air and the act of moulding bricks by the same words as the Hebrews. The brick dried in the air (in contrast with the "burnt tile" agurru אַגֻרּ, אָגֻרּ) is named in Assyrian libittu, st. constr. libnat i. e. exactly the Hebr. לְבֵנָה. The act of moulding bricks the Assyrians express by the verb laban. Comp. e. g. Sargon's Bull-inscription (Botta 37, 48):—u-šal-bi-na li-bit-tu "I caused bricks to be made" (Shafel); Tigl.-Pileser VII. 75: libnâti al-bi-in "I prepared bricks" and other similar examples.*

חֵמָר *Asphalt.* The Assyrians use kupur to express this, Hebr. כֹּפֶר; see p. 48 note. With regard to the fact that is involved, any one who has ever handled a Babylonian brick will satisfy himself of the correctness of the statement.

4. עִיר וּמִגְדָּל *city and tower.* There cannot be any doubt that the legend that we here meet with is based on the actual existence of some erection in former times, and this cannot be reasonably held to have been any other than one of the two tower-shaped sacred buildings** whose ruins still

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* Because the root laban in Assyrian, which otherwise means to "sink", "let or cast down" (of the countenance), signifies according to Delitzsch "press down" or "press flat" (comp. Höllenf. Istar p. 100, where the verb is used of casting down the countenance appu), the above writer thinks that it is from this meaning that the term for brick-making is derived (Parad. p. 145). The Hebrew לְבֵנָה would then be a foreign word in Hebrew, just as "tile" in our language from the Latin tegula.

** See the figure of such a building in its original form according to an ancient native representation in Smith-Delitzsch's Chaldaean Genesis (1876) p. 127.

exist at Babel itself and in Borsippa which lies to the South of that city. Of these the Northern ruin, lying on 122
the left bank of the Euphrates, is called Bâbil; the other, Southern ruin, to the West of the Euphrates, and belonging to Borsippa, is called Birs-Nimrûd. We gather from clay-cylinders found on the very spot and containing identical inscriptions of Nebucadnezar, that it is the Southern one of these two erections, the tower of Borsippa* ascending in seven stage-like terraces, which is the "temple of the seven lights (spheres?) of Heaven and Earth" referred to in the inscriptions. We learn from col. II. 16—31 (I Rawl. 51) that it was dedicated to Bel-Nebo, but in course of time fell to ruin and, in particular, was deprived of its summit. Nebucadnezar restored it and provided it once more with a pinnacle.—It is not altogether clear what temple—for a temple we must in the main suppose it to be in this case also,—we have to recognize in the ruin Bâbil. It is a likely supposition that we should regard it as the remains of the chief temple of Babel, the temple of Bel-Merodach, the later "Bel", the city-divinity of Babylon (comp. the Cyrus-cylinder V Rawl. 35. 23 foll. 35). This temple was called Bît-Sag-ga-ṭu (read with Delitzsch I'-sag-ila) i. e. "house of towering summit" (Oppert: "pyramid"**) and it may be presumed to have been a structure built in stages resembling the temple of Borsippa (see East India House Inscr. I. 13, 19; II. 40 &c.; Bors. I. 15 &c.).

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* Comp. Herodot I. 181; see, however, also J. Brüll, Herodot's babylonische Nachrichten (Aachen 1878) I. p. 17 foll.

** Comp. St. Guyard, Journal Asiat. VII, 12 (1878) p. 222. This writer proposes as the Assyrian reading of the ideogram Bît-Zabal i. e. "house of exaltation" or (figuratively) "splendour" connecting Hebr. זבל (comp. זבולון) with the same root as well as meaning.

123 It is designated as íkal ša-mi-í u ir-ṣi-tiv šu-ba-at (ilu) Bíl bît ANAN (ilu) Marduk "palace of Heaven and Earth, dwelling of Bel, house of the highest god Merodach".* Along with this there is occasionally mentioned the temple called I'-zi-da = bîtu imnu or kĭnu "happy or firm house" (Bors. I, 19; brick-inscriptions and elsewhere). Nebucadnezar likewise speaks of himself as having restored it, and it has often been identified with the temple of Borsippa, but it is quite distinct from the latter, as Delitzsch has correctly shown, being situated in Babel itself. The legend of the Babylonian tower, as we read it in the Bible, may be held to have been associated with the remains of one of these structures, most probably one of the two first mentioned.** Hitherto, however, it has not been possible to determine with certainty which of the two has the better claim upon our attention. There is much, including the Jewish tradition (Bereshith Rabba 42. 1), which tells in favour of the temple of Borsippa. But no decisive testimony can be advanced for this hypothesis. As to "the time of the flood" after which the temple had stood deserted (Oppert), there is no reference to it whatever in the particular passage of the inscription. It is certainly worth the trouble to append this account.***

* Delitzsch Parad. p. 216 translates:—"Palace of Heaven and Earth, the dwelling of Bel, El, and Merodach". But Merodach is himself Bel, the "Divine Lord" *par excellence.*

** We may with good reason altogether omit to mention another temple referred to in the Borsippa inscription, "the temple of the firmament of Heaven and Earth"; Delitzsch Parad. *ibid.*

*** On the interpretation comp. Oppert Journ. Asiat. V. 9, 10 (1857); the same in Grundzüge der assyr. Kunst Basel 1862 pp. 11 foll.; H. Rawlinson and Fox Talbot in Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Soc. XVIII (1861); F. Talbot in 'Records of the Past' Vol. VII, p. 73; J. Ménant, Babylone et la Chaldée, Paris 1875 pp. 216 foll.

Statement respecting the completion of the tower-shaped 124
temple of Borsippa. Col. I. 27. Ni-nu-mi-šu : Bît ḫamami VII irṣitiv zi-ku-ra-at Bar-sap* 28. ša šarru ma-aḫ-ri i-pu-šu-ma 29. XLII ammat u-za-ak-ki-ru-ma 30. la u-ul-la-a ri-í-ša-a-ša; 31. ul-tu u-um ri-í-ku-tiv in-na-mu-u-ma 32. la šu-tí-šu-ru mu-ṣi-í mi-í-ša. Col. II. 1. Zu-un-nuv u ra-a-du 2. u-na-as-su-u li-bi-it-tu-ša 3. a-gu-ur-ri ta-aḫ-lu-up-ti-ša up-ta-aṭ-ṭi-ir-ma 4. li-bi-it-ti ku-um-mi-ša iš-ša-pi-ik ti-la-ni-iš. 5. A-na i-bi-ši-ša bílu ra-bú-u Marduk 6. u-ša-at-ka-an-ni li-ib-ba; 7. a-ša-ar-ša la í-ni-ma la u-na-ak-ki-ir tí-mí-ín-ša. 8. Ina araḫ ša-al-mu i-na ûm magâri 9. li-bi-it-ti ku-um-mi-ša u a-gur-ri ta-aḫ-lu-up-ti-ša 10. ab-ta-a-ti í-ik-ši-ir-ma 11. mi-ki-it-ta-ša u-uš-zi-iz-ma 12. ši-ṭi-ir šu-mi-ja 13. i-na ki-tir-ri** ab-ta-a-ti-ša aš-ku-un. 14. A-na í-bi-ši-ša 15. u u-ul-lu-u ri-í-ši-ša ga-ta aš-šu-um-ma***; 15a. ki-ma la-bi-ri-im-ma 15b. í-iš-ši-iš ab-ni-šu-ma, 15c. ki-ma ša u-um ul-lu-ti 15d. u-ul-la-a ri-í-ša-a-ša i.e. Col. I. 27. "We announce the following†: The temple of

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* The name is variously written Bár-sip, Bár-sap, Bar-sip (according to II Rawl. 53.a, also pronounced Bur-sip). We have likewise Bar-zi-pa, Bar-zi-pav, and lastly Ba-ar-zi-pav. See Delitzsch Parad. p. 217 Oppert is certainly right in conjecturing that the ancient Babylonian name for the city is preserved, as we might reasonably suppose, in the Borsippa and Borsippos of Berossus and Strabo, also in the Birs belonging to the name of the tower, while in the name Birs-Nimrûd it exists at the present day.

** See Oppert.—I Rawl. *ibid.* has ki-li-ri(?).

*** The other copy reads aš-ku-un-ma, and in it the four following lines marked 15a—d are missing.

† This exactly resembles the perpetually recurring formula of the

the seven lights of the Earth, the tower of Borsippa, 28. which a former king had erected 29. and had completed to the height of 42 yards, 30. whose pinnacle however he had not set up, 31. since remote days had fallen to ruin. 32. There was no proper care of the gutters for its water; II, 1. rain and storm 2. had washed away its bricks; 3. the tiles of its roofing were split; 4. the bricks of the building (proper) were flooded away to heaps of ruins. 5. To restore it, the great god Merodach 6. urged (?) my mind; 7. its site (however) I did not injure, did not change its foundation-walls. 8. In a month of good fortune, on an auspicious day 9. I improved the bricks of its building and the tiles of its roofing 10. into a compact edifice, renewed its substructure (?) 12. 13. and put the inscription of my name on the cornice of its edifice. 14. To restore it and set up its pinnacle, I raised my hand; 15 a. as it was ages before, I built it (the temple) anew; 15 c. as it was in remote days, I erected its (the tower's) pinnacle."

Notes and Illustrations. Col. I. 27. ḫamami, written ideographically with the sign TUK, is guaranteed as to pronunciation by syllab. 268, and as to meaning by Sarg. Khorsab. 14 ḫa-am-ma-mi ša ar-ba', "the four points of Heaven (quarters of the world)", comp. Hebrew חַמָּה 'sun'.—29. *Forty two yards.* The number explains itself; ammat is ideographically written with the sign U to which the meaning "yard" is attached, Assyr. ammat = אַמָּה; see the references in Norris, Dict. p. 280 (the truth may be inferred from a comparison of two parallel passages of the inscription of Nebucadnezar now in London, col. VI. 25 and VIII. 45). Respecting the value in measurement of the Assyr. ammat, see R. Lepsius, 'The Babylonio Assyrian measures of length according to the tablet of Senkereh.' Berlin 1877, Abhand-

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Behistun inscription Darijavuš šarru iḳabbi "Darius the king says". Ninum is probably 1 Pers. pl. Impf. Kal of נאם "speak softly" then "speak" in general (Oppert). Yet it seems to be employed of solemn address; hence with the meaning of "announce". [With this compare the נְאֻם יהוה of the Hebrew oracles.—Translator.]

lungen der Akad. d. Wissensch. With this comp. the correspondence between the above and J. Oppert in the Monatsber. der Akad. 1877 pp. 741—758; Göttinger Gelehrt. Anzeig. 1878 pp. 1055—57.—uzakkiru 3 Ps. sing. Pa. of זכר, comp. Syr. ܙܟܰܪ, hence "make pointed, high" (Grivel, Pognon, Haupt).—uúlla 3 Ps. sing. Pa. of עָלָה;—rî'kût = רְחָקוּת "the distance". The word is here inaccurately written with k (כ) instead of with ḳ (ק) comp. iškul "he weighs" (ישקל), more correctly išḳul.* It is generally peculiar to the Babylonian inscriptions that they confuse the weaker *k* andthe emphatic *k*. Thus for example Nebucadnezar writes in the London inscription (II. 61) utakkušu "they led him" (תכה), while in another inscription of the same monarch, on the Bellino-cylinder, we read utaḳḳu with ḳ (ק). Now the phrase ultu ûmî' rûḳûti is one that commonly occurs in the inscriptions. It is evident, therefore, that there is not the smallest reason to abandon in this passage the rendering "from the most remote days" (which admirably fits in with the context) and seek after another interpretation, as Oppert attempts to do, who assumes an ancient Mesopotamian root רוק to "flood over", and translates "after the days of the Flood it was abandoned (by men)", at the same time finding in the words an allusion to the Biblical legend of the Flood.—innamû is an Imperf. Nif.—not however to be referred to a root נהם (Oppert), which would not give a satisfactory sense,—but to the root נמה = נום "slumber" and with respect to things "fall to decay." The formation is analogous to immašu "they were lost" Imperf. Nif. of משה;—32. šutíšur Infin. Istafal of ašar (ישר = אשר) meaning *dirigere*, *moderari*; muṣî' mî like מוֹצָא מַיִם "exit of water" Is. XLI. 18, with the meaning in this passage of "water-drainage". The correctness of this interpretation of both Rawlinson and Talbot is corroborated by the simplicity and naturalness of the meaning and is placed beyond all doubt by what follows (col. II. 1). Also Oppert now holds this view; see his Grundzüge der assyrischen Kunst (Basel 1872) p. 12.

Col. II. 1. Zunnu "rain", the same word as the Hebrew זרם. The transition from the Assyrian to the Hebrew is to be found in the Aethiopic, in which the corresponding word is zĕnâm.—râdu = רעד "thunder" then "storm".—unassû 3 Ps. plur. Imperf. of nasâ = נסע *evellere*; neither נשא (Rawl., Talb.) nor נסה (Opp.) should be brought into comparison, since both these verbs whether in sound or in sense occasion difficulties;—3. taḫlup correctly taken by Oppert and Talbot in the sense of 'covering' 'roofing'. Comp. Lotz, Die Inschriften

* Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 20 note 2.

127 Tiglath-Pileser's I p. 156*; uptaṭṭir Iftaal of פטר in the same signification;—kummu is the building proper, "the body of the house" (= Arab. كوم, כומה "heap"?);—iššapik Nif. of שׁפך properly "pour out"; tilâniš Assyrian adverbial form from תֵּל "hill", properly speaking from the plural = tilâni;—5. íbiš Infin. of עבשׁ "make." —6. ušatkanni Impf. Shafel of תכן, probably with the suffix 1st Ps. sing. instead of ušatkaninni.—7. íni 1 Ps. imperf. Kal of ענה meaning in Assyrian "afflict"; unakkir 1 Ps. imperf. Pael of נכר in the sense of "change"; tímín see above;—8. magâru to be "favourable" Ideogr. II Rawl. 7. 29;—10. abtât Plur. fem. of abat = עבת "something woven", "network" — hence "firm building" (Oppert "columns", Talbot "new";—both are unsuitable in meaning and incapable of vindication as to form); ikšir 1 Ps. imperf. of kašar = Hebrew כשׁר "to be straight, right"; in Assyr. "to make right", "put to rights";—mikit מכת instead of mikint, comp. Hebrew מכונה properly "stand" then "substructure" (Rawl.); ušziz 1 Ps. imperf. of the Shafel of zûz "come forth", in Shaf. "renew", comp. ziz "anew" Beh. 25. 26; kitir Hebr. כֹּתֶרֶת "capital of a column"(?);—15. aš-šuma 1 Ps. imperf. of נשׂא;—15a. labirim adv. frequently occurring in the sense "in olden time", "formerly";—15b. íššiš adv. "anew" (root חדשׁ = חדשׁ? —).

Respecting the ruins themselves which are the subject of investigation, see J. Oppert, Expéd. en Mésopot. I. pp. 135 foll., 200 foll.; C. J. Rich, on the topography of ancient Bab. in Rich, Babylon and Persepolis, Lond. 1839 pp. 43—104, 107—179; H. Rawl. in the Journ. of the Royal As. Soc. XVIII p. 14 note.

9. בָּבֶל *Babylon.* This name is as often written in the inscriptions phonetically as it is ideographically; if the latter, generally with the sign KA.AN.RA (read Ka-dingir-ra), also KA.AN (= Ka-dingir); likewise KA-AN.AN and KA.AN (with sign for plural). In these latter cases (Nebuc. IV. 32; V Rawl. 35, 15. 17) the final ili

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* The word is occasionally to be found elsewhere e. g. Asarh. VI. 22 foll. in the phrase ul-tu tímín-ša a-di taḫ-lu-bi-ša "from its foundation to its roof."

is wrongly understood to express a plural. We have moreover mixed modes of writing the name as Ba-bi-AN.RA (d i n g i r- 128
r a) Nebucadn. (East India House Inscr.) IV, 28 &c.* The most important phonetic forms of writing the name, such as we find on Nebucadnezar's bricks and elsewhere, are B a-b i-l u (l i v, l a v) and B a-b i-i-l u.** The original Babylonian pronunciation was accordingly B a b i l, more precisely B â b i l (see Syllab. 365), perhaps B â b î l u (see the last mentioned phonetic mode of writing the word***). From the above mentioned ideographic mode of writing we perceive, while observing the phonetic style of representing the word, the meaning of the name as well. This meaning was therefore "God's gate-way." There are other examples

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* Respecting other ideograms, in which however there is some special peculiarity (DIN. TIR. KI; ŠU-AN-NA-KI &c.), see Delitzsch Parad. pp. 213 foll.

** On this see Norris Dict. p. 70; Delitzsch Parad. pp. 212 foll.

*** The final *u* is of course unessential (comp. also the adjective of relation B a b i l a i written B a b i l a-a i III Rawl. 43. II, 1), and therefore ought no more to be quoted as an argument for deriving the name for God i l u אֵל from a root אלה, than to explain the termination *-ων* in the Greek name for the city, *Βαβυλών*. Also we regard it as more than doubtful whether the Persian B â b i r u ought to be cited in explanation of the Greek name. The Persian form is of course inflected just like an Indo-Germanic *u* stem (comp. the adject. B â b i r u-v i j a). Now we know that the names of the Mesopotamian rivers *Εὐφράτης* and *Τίγρης*, *Τίγρις* were certainly introduced to the Greeks through the Persians (comp. the Pers. Ufrâtu and Tigrâ with the Semitic Perât and Diglat); but, as in the case of the name *Βαβυλών*, compared with the Persian B â b i r u, the return to *l* in place of the *r* is certainly strange, so it can be seen from U f r â t u compared with *Εὐφράτης* that the *u* of the Persian *u*-stems has no particular influence over the Greek ending in both the proper names. Moreover the Greeks among other nations must certainly have attained to a knowledge of Babel, the commercial city of ancient renown, before the Persian age. For the ending *-ων* the Greeks alone are responsible.

129 of names of towns formed with Bab-. Thus we have mentioned in Khors. 20 a town called Bâb-Dûr i. e. "Gate of the Fortress." The interpretation of the name adopted by me in the first edition of this work, "Gate-way of El", must be given up on account of the plural form of the ideogram for deity, occurring in V Rawl. 35, 15. 17 and elsewhere, which shows that the Babylonians took the second part of the name in an appellative sense. On שֵׁשַׁךְ = Babel see on Jerem. XXV. 26; LI. 41.

Bâbilu occurs on the inscriptions at a very early period as the name of the *country* (comp. אֶרֶץ בָּבֶל Jer. L. 28) or of the *kingdom* Babel (often in O. T.). Even then we find an ancient Babylonian king, Agu-kak-rimí styling himself šar mât Bâb-ilu ra-pa-aš-tiv "king of the land Babel the extended"; Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. p. 271. For later times, see the I'gibi-tablet Transactions VI. 1 p. 8, in which Nebucadnezar also is called šar mât Bâbilu.

28. אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים *Ur of the Chaldees*, the name of the town from which Abraham migrated. This is identical with the town Uru of the cuneiform inscriptions, which in its remains is at present represented by the ruins of Mughair (اَلْمُغَيَّر i. e. Asphalt-town), lying on the Western or right bank of the Euphrates, a little South of 31° Lat. The identity of the ruined town with the locality mentioned in the inscriptions is proved by the records of ancient Babylonian kings found on the very spot, especially of Uruk (?) (Amíl-apsî? see above p. 77 footnote *) and of his son Dun-gi; as well as of Ku-du-ur-Ma-bu-ug, of Iš-mí-Da-gan and others. The place was certainly existing at the time when the New-Babylonian empire fell; indeed cylinders of the last king of Babylon Nabunit (Nabûnâ'id) have been disco-

vered there (I Rawl. 68); yet it by no means follows that a 130
trustworthy tradition was followed by Nicolaus Damascenus, who is quoted by Josephus, arch. I, 7. 2, as saying that Abraham came *ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαίων λεγομένης* (comp. C. Mueller, fragment. hist. gr. III, 373). Nicolaus, in his turn, simply derived his wisdom by roundabout ways from the Bible itself. On the other hand we might regard the notice of Eupolemos, contained in Euseb. prepar. evangel. IX. 17 (see Mueller, fragm. III, p. 211 foll.), as possessing greater importance, that Abraham was born *ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς Βαβυλωνίας Καμαρίνῃ* (*ἣν τινας λέγειν πόλιν Οὐρίην, εἶναι δὲ μεθερμηνευομένην Χαλδαίων πόλιν*). Here, at all events, we seem to have, so far as the designation of locality is concerned, a tradition which is independent of what appears to be the tradition of the Bible; and it is certainly a strange coincidence that *Καμαρίνη*, when explained from the Arabic, expresses the meaning of "moon-town", a name which would suit Uru or *Οὐρίη* like no other among the ancient Babylonian towns. Uru was properly the seat of the worship of the moon-deity.* The non-Arabic termination would have to be referred to some Greek influence i. e. to an approximation to the form of the name attaching to the better known Sicilian town. We must however regard it as extraordinary that in the time of Eupolemos and earlier there should be an *Arabic* renaming of the ancient Babylonian city. We should rather have expected a Greek change of name. However this may be,

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* We take this occasion to remark that, like Ur, from which Abraham started, so also Ḥarrân, where he rested, was one of the chief seats of the worship of the moon-god Sin; see note on chap. XXVII. 43.

we may conclude from the inscriptions of Nabûna'id, found at Mughair, that the ancient place was still existing at a comparatively late time. Also the designation of the spot
131 or district* as that of the "Chaldees" is thoroughly in accord with the statements contained in the inscriptions. These inscriptions are cognizant of a land Chaldaea (mât) Kaldu, Kaldi situated entirely in Babylonia as far as the Persian Gulf (comp. my essay on the Names of the Seas &c. in the Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften Berlin 1877 p. 177). On the other hand they make no mention** of

* We might supplement what has already been brought forward in this discussion by observing that also in the Old Testament Ur is never directly spoken of as land or region. Nowhere is there an אֶרֶץ אוּר as there are an אֶרֶץ עוּץ, an אֶרֶץ אֱדוֹם &c.; comp. chap. XI. 37; XV. 7; Neh. IX. 8. Moreover in this passage (verse 28) we meet with such a designation merely in the appositional phrase אֶרֶץ מוֹלַדְתּוֹ 'land of his birth', a term which eventually passes into the other and quite general signification of "home". This is then defined more precisely by the additional local determination "Ur of the Chaldees." Compare what is, on this point, a very instructive passage, Jer. XXII. 10—12. The question might be asked whether we have any other instance of the name of a *country* being determined by a gentile proper name united to it in the relation of status constructus, as would be the case in the supposition under dispute. The rule certainly is that gentile names of this kind are only employed to define the names of *cities*, as Gath of the Philistines &c.; see Ewald, Syntax of the Hebrew Language (T. and T. Clark) § 286 c. Examples like אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם, אֲרַם צוֹבָה are of a different character. — Compare likewise the remarks on chap. XI. 9 ad fin., as well as Keilinschr. u. Gesch. pp. 94 foll.

** Respecting the so-called Armenian Chaldaeans of Xenophon, who have rather turned out to be identical with the Chalybes, see my arguments in the essay referred-to below. It is also satisfactory to be able to remark that the hypothesis, which I have defended for several years, that the Chaldaeans were *exclusively* Babylonian, is being increasingly recognized as the only right one.

Though the confusion of the Armenian Chalybes with the Babylonian Chaldaeans, clearly exhibited in the above-mentioned essay, is

Chaldaeans living elsewhere and particularly in Armenia. The name mât Kaldu denotes in many passages the *whole* of Babylonia including Babel itself (compare the Old Testament use of כשׂדים). Thus Rammannirâr (I Rawl. 35. I. 22 foll.) speaks of the šarrâ-ni ša mât Kal-di kali-šunu "all the kings of land Chaldaea" who had done homage to him, and then expressly mentions Babel, Borsippa and 132
Kutha as cities in which he had presented offerings. See Delitzsch, Parad. p. 200; comp. also the citation from the inscription of Sanherib in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 113 foll. In other passages we find also Babel proper *distinguished* as mât Karduniaš from mât Kaldu; thus in Ašurnâṣirhabal III. 23 comp. with 24; Tigl. Pil. in Layard 17 line 14 (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 107) &c. &c.; and the name was definitely reserved for the Babylonian region stretching Southward from Babylon to the sea. With this we may perhaps connect the circumstance that Sargon always calls his opponent Merodach-Baladan by the name šar mât Kaldi or šar m. Bît-Jakîn (e. g. Khorsab. 122), never šar Bâbilu or šar mât Karduniaš, though Merodach-Baladan certainly resided in Babylon (125). The centre and source of the dominion of the latter lay South of Babylon. Hence also we find the designation of the Persian gulf as a tiâmtuv ša Bît-Jakîn exchanged for the other tiâmtuv ša mât Kaldi (see "the Names of the Seas" in the Abhandl. der Akad. der Wissensch. pp. 176 foll.). *North* of Babylon,

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probably to be referred ultimately, or at least in part, to the resemblance of the name Kaldi to that of the Armenian god Ḫaldi, Ḫaldia, yet it is to be observed that the Armenians call themselves in their inscriptions (those of Van) "*people of* (the god) Chaldi (Chaldis)"? See on the latter A. H. Sayce in the Transactions of the Berl. Orient. Congr. of the year 1881 pp. 311—13.

on the banks of the Euphrates, there dwelt in the reign of Ašurnâṣirhabal (III. 17) the inhabitants of the mât Kaššî (Kaš-ši-i Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 176 foll.). Accordingly the latter is also distinct from the mât Kaldu* 133 (III. 24). Moreover it is worthy of notice that the name Kaldû "Chaldaean" has hitherto been found only on Assyrian monuments, and on these not earlier than the reign of Ašurnâṣirhabal (885—860 B. C.). Respecting the latter see this monarch's monolith-inscription *ibid.* With the circumstance that we up to the present time possess accounts of the Chaldaeans only from Assyrian sources, is connected the pronunciation of the name with the liquid *l* = Kaldû, *Χαλδαῖοι*, which is the only form hitherto discovered in the inscriptions and again transmitted to us by the Greeks. On the other hand the *Hebrews* have preserved for us what is probably the more primitive pronunciation with the sibilant = Kasdîm, which they derived from the *Babylonians*. Respecting this variation in the pronunciation of Babylon and of Assur, see Monatsber. der Berl.

* It is for this reason that I hesitate to agree with Fr. Delitzsch's opinion (Parad. pp. 55. 129) that the inhabitants of mât Kaldi, the Babylonian Kašdû "Chaldaeans" (gentile name according to Delitzsch) are identical with the Kaššû, repeatedly mentioned in the Babylonian as well as Assyrian inscriptions, and who belonged to the land Kaš (Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 176 foll. 271), though the explanation of the Babylonian (mât) Kašdu "land of the Chaldees" from the Sumírian Kaš-da "Kassi-district" might seem plausible. Furthermore this Kaš-da is described in the geographical list II Rawl. 53 line 9 (to which Delitzsch chiefly appeals) not so much as a "region" but rather as a "town" (it is only from line 14b onwards that the regions denoted by mât follow). This is the more unmistakeable in the present case, because the spots mentioned in lines (1) 2—14a, which are certain of identification, viz. Babylon, Borsippa, Nipur, Kutha, Erech, Larsav, Sippar, Dilbat, Upî (Opis), Ṭridu, Nituk-Dilmun, Dûr-Ilu, were in reality *cities* and *not* districts. Respecting the Kaššû and the land Kaš see remarks on chap. X. 6 (8).

Akad. der Wissensch. 1877 p. 94 and comp. with the above my essay on the "Descent of the Chaldees" &c. in the Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft XXVII (1873) pp. 387 foll. and Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 94 foll.

Lastly, as bearing upon the Biblico-critical questions so much discussed at the present time, we would draw special attention to the fact, that the reference to Ur of the Chaldees is to be found not only in the Annalistic-priestly narrator (Gen. XI. 28. 31), but likewise in the prophetic-Jahvistic (chap. XV. 7) i. e. in the same narrator to whom we also owe a series of important notices respecting the East, especially Babylonia (comp. II. 8 foll.; X. 8 foll. Moreover the insertion of chap. XIV is to be placed to the account of the Jahvist; see De Wette-Schrader, Einleitung ins Alte Test. 8th ed. p. 277).

31. חָרָן *Harrân*, a Mesopotamian town; on the monu- 134
ments it is placed on the Belias (Balîch = Ba-li-ḫi), a tributary of the Euphrates. In the inscriptions it is frequently mentioned as Ḥarran and also as a Mesopotamian "Aramaean" town. This occurs even as early as in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (col. VI, 71); likewise in that of Sargon Rev. des plaq. line 8; also in Khorsabad 10, Obelisk of Salmanassar 181, where it is mentioned side by side with captured North-Mesopotamian towns as well as with Armenia. The ideogram for the place is explained by the syllabary II Rawl. 38. 22b. Harran, like Ur of the Chaldees whence Abraham set forth, was a chief seat of the worship of the moon-god Sin even in early times; see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 355. 536, and comp. note on chap. XXVII. 43 and also p. 115 footnote *.

and there abode. From this statement we conclude that Abraham and his tribal companions made a considerable

stay in this region—between Belias and Euphrates.—With this tallies the fact that even in the more ancient Assyrian inscriptions there occur proper names which decidedly wear a Kanaanite an not an Aramaic type. On this see p. 95 footnote *.

XIII. 2. בַּכֶּסֶף וּבַזָּהָב *in silver and gold.* It is interesting to observe that the Assyrians likewise call silver k a s p u (Nebucadn. East India House Inscr. III. 58. IX. 12 &c.). The three North-Semitic languages Hebrew, Aramaic and Assyrian in this respect present a close unity in contrast to the South-Semitic languages, which use other words to designate this metal. Also in the name for "gold" Assyrian coincides at all events with the poetic usage in Hebrew, since the Assyrian word for that metal is ḫ u-r a-ṣ u which is evidently = Heb. חָרוּץ (Nebucadn. East India House Inscr. IX. 12).

135 9. יָמִין־שְׂמֹאל *on the right hand, on the left.* Compare the inscription of Nabûnâ'id I Rawl. 69 col. II. 54: im-nu šu-mí-lu pa-ni u ar-ku "right, left, before and behind."

XIV. 1. אַמְרָפֶל *Amrâphel*, king of Shinar. It has not been possible hitherto to point out this name in the inscriptions or to give any other explanation of it. Respecting Shinar see above on XI. 1. It is not inconsistent with the explanation there given that in this passage the king of Ellasar-Larsav (see immediately below) is mentioned along with the king of Shinar, though Larsav-Senkereh itself certainly lay in Shinar. The former was the superior king, the latter was the subordinate king; comp. inscriptions of Kudur-Mabug I Rawl. 2 no. III.

אַרְיוֹךְ *Ariôch* of Ellasar, in my opinion unquestionably identical with I'ri-A k u i. e. "Servant of the moon-god" (Sumíro-Akkadian; Assyrian A r a d - S i n), king of Larsav

(G. Smith, "Notes on the Chronology of the reign of Sennacherib" Lond. 1871 p. 10). He was the son of Kudur-Mabug, king of Ur and also king of Sumír and Akkad i. e. of the superior monarch to whom he held, as long as he lived, the position of a vassal-king. As the name of his father Kudur-Mabug and of his grandfather Simti-šilḫak show, he belonged to the Babylonian Elamite dynasty, the same as that to which, as we conclude from the name, Kedorlaomer = Kudur-Lagamar belonged (see below).—אֶלָּסָר *Ellâsâr*, we regard as unquestionably the Babylonian Larsa or Larsav* in which there was a celebrated temple of the sun, represented at the present day by the ruins of Senkereh, about midway between the Euphrates and the Tigris, between Lat 32^0 and 31^0 (H. Rawlinson, Smith, Lenormant). With respect to the ruins consult chiefly W. K. Loftus, Chald. and Susiana pp. 240 136
foll. The city owed its importance to its being a chief seat of the worship of Samas or the sun-god (comp. the oldest brick-inscriptions of Uruk (?) found there I Rawl. 1. VII; those of Hammurabi(gas) I Rawl. 4, XV. 2; also those of Purnapurjas 4, XIII as well as of Nebucadnezar I Rawl. 51, no. 2; 52, no. 5). The temple of the sun at Larsav-Senkereh still existed at the time of Nabûnâ'id (I Rawl. 68 no. 4).

כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר *Kedorlaômer*, king of Elam. Other examples are preserved in the inscriptions of the names of kings compounded with Kudur. In the first place we have the name of another Elamite king called Kudur-Na-ḫu-undi I'-la-mu-u "Kudurnachundi of Elam" Sanher. Taylor

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* For the reading see Neb. Gr. II. 42; Sarg. Cyprus-pillar I (II), 15 = Norris 277. 700.

cylinder col. IV. 70. 80. Next we have a very ancient Babylonian king Ku-du-ur-Ma-bu-ug (I Rawl. 2 no. III), who styles himself AD. DA (mât) MAR-TU "ruler (?) of the West-country" (see above p. 114). Now we are informed repeatedly by Asurbanipal in his inscriptions (G. Smith's Assurb. pp. 234. 9; 249. 9; 251. 16) that he brought Elam under his sway, conquered Susan, the capital of the kingdom of Elam, and on that occasion brought back to Babylonia an image of the goddess Nanâ, which had been carried off 1635 years before by a more ancient king of Elam Kudur-Nanḫundi (so written by Asurbanipal). He expressly observes that this Elamite king "laid hands on the temple of Akkad"* (i. e. North-Babylonia; see on X. 10). Accordingly we cannot doubt that the Elamite kings in the earliest times exercised a temporary hegemony
137 chiefly in Babylonia. And if this be true, then it is probable that the above Kudur-Mabug, who was certainly of Elamite origin and whose bricks have been discovered at Mughair , belonged to this very Elamite dynasty of Kudurids. We might then conclude that in ancient times Elamite kings had extended their conquering expeditions as far as Kanaan, and it would also be extremely probable that the Elamite king Kedorlaomer mentioned in the Bible belonged to this Elamite dynasty of Kudurids. This supposition might be regarded as a certainty on account of the circumstance, that there was an Elamite deity Lagamar (La-ga-ma-ru)**, whose image was carried

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* See G. Smith, Assurbanipal p. 251, 14. The passage in the original text runs thus:—a-na iš-ri-í-ti mât Akkadi ḳatâ-šu id-du-u (root נדה).

** The inscription of the king Kutcr-Nachchunti line 3 bears direct testimony to the worship of the deity Lagamar [written (det.) La-ga-

off with others from Susa by Asurbanipal (V Rawl. 6, col. VI. 33), and that the name Kedorlaomer in Greek assumes the form *Χοδολλογομὸρ* which completely coincides in its second part with the name Lagamar. In the present state of investigation further or more definite information cannot be given. To identify Kudur-Lagamar (Kedor-Laômer), without further grounds, with the Kudur-Mabug of the inscriptions (G. Smith) appears unwarranted.*

תִּדְעָל *Tidʿâl,* king of the heathen. With respect to this name we refrain from any conjecture whether as to origin or meaning. The strange word גּוֹיִם occurring among other names of races, is taken by Sir H. Rawlinson as also the name of a race, and is ingeniously connected with the tribe Gutî or Ḳutî frequently referred to in the inscriptions of the Assyrians and whose abode should be sought in the North-East (not the West) of Babylonia, on the Median frontier. On this people see further on Ezek. XXIII, 23. 138

XV. 2. דַּמֶּשֶׂק *Damaskus.* In Assyrian the name of the city appears with as well as without the duplication of the second radical. It appears sometimes in the form Dimašḳi (written Di-ma-aš-ḳi) and sometimes in the form Dimašḳa (Di-maš-ḳa) and also Dimmašḳa (Dim-maš-ḳa). See Rammannirâr 21 (I Rawl. 35); Khorsab. 33; Assurb. Astronomical-table subscriptions III Rawl. 48 No. 4. 71. Respecting the sibilant comp. my Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. p. 364. It should also be observed that, so far as I can see, the term Damaskus in the Assyrian

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ma-ri] among the Elamites. See the inscription in Oppert, Theol. Stud. und Kritik. 1871 p. 185; Fr. Lenormant, textes choisis II p. 121.

* See Oppert in Theol. Studien und Kritiken 1871 p. 511.

inscriptions designates only the *city*, and not the *kingdom* of Damaskus as well. The latter is expressed by the Assyrians in the name (mât) Imíri-šu (as for example in Salmanassar's obelisk 98. 103), while its capital is expressly named Damaskus (comp. I Rawl. 35. 16*); or the kingdom is called (mât) Gar-Imíri-šu, which is probably "Fortress Imîrišu" (Layard 50, 10; III Rawl. 9. 50; comp. Kar-kamis or Gar-gamis, Kar-Duniaš, Kar-Šarrukin and other names of places**). Respecting the kings of Damaskus: Benhadad, Hazael, Rezîn, see on 1 Kings XX. 1; 2 Kings VIII. 15; XIII. 24; XV. 37.
139 In the inscriptions are to be read the names of the kings of Damaskus: Hadad-'idri or Ramman-'idri, Ḥaza-'ilu, Mari', Raṣunnu; see notes on above passages.

5. סְפֹר הַכּוֹכָבִים "*count the stars*, whether you are able to count them". Comp. XXII. 17; XXVI. 4 כְּכוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמָיִם "like the stars of heaven". We meet with the same comparison also in Assyrian and, what is more, expressed in

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* See further on this subject in Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. concluding essay pp. 323 foll.

** The latter name is evidently the more complete. The omission of the word gar is like that of bît in mât Ḫumrî alongside of the fuller form mât Bît Ḫumri; see on 1 Kings XVI. 23. The possible reading ša, in the first syllable of the name, in place of gar, i. e. Ša-imíri-šu, though it is preferred by Delitzsch Parad. p. 280, has in my opinion but slight probability, until it is supported by documentary evidence. For, in the first place, the omission of the sign in certain cases indicates the omission of a *word* that is not in itself necessary to the sense,—not the omission of a syllable. This word can be gar, cannot however be ša. Furthermore, we have up to the present time in the first syllable evidence only of the sign which is to read also as gar, but *never* of the sign for ša which was so commonly employed by the Assyrians and was so often interchanged with the former. (See on the former sign my Assyr. Syllabary. Berlin 1880 No. 321, for the latter *ibid.* No. 195).—See also for further information Is. X. 9.

precisely the same words. We read Ašurnâṣirhabal col. III. 42. 43: šal-la-su kab-ta alpi-šu lu ṣi-ni-šu ša kima kakkabi šamí mí-nu-ta la i-šu-u i. e. "I carried away" his numerous prisoners, his oxen also his small cattle *which like the stars* of heaven were not to be numbered* (properly, numbering is not).

11. פְּגָרִים *carcases*, sing. פֶּגֶר, is in Assyrian, just as in Hebrew and Aramaic, the common expression for this conception. The singular is p a - g a r Smith's Assurbanipal 87. 67. The plur. is p a g - r i Ašurnâṣirh. II. 41 (I Rawl. pl. 21).

15. בְּשֵׂיבָה טוֹבָה *at advanced age.* It may be interesting to note that the root שִׂיב properly "gray" then "to be old, hoary" as in the Syr. ܣܳܒ "grandfather", and in modern Syriac ܨܒܘܢ sâwûnâ "good old fellow", lives also in the Assyrian language. We meet with it several times in the syllabaries, where, beside the words for "son" (m a r u, also h a b l u), "brother" (aḫu), "father" (a b u), or their abstracts, we likewise have šîb u (שִׂיב) meaning "grandfather" and a form šib t u (שִׂיבָת) meaning "grandmother"; see Assyrisch-Babyl. Keilinschr. 213 (where, however, the 140
reference II Rawl. 32, 66 foll. should be erased).

XVII. 17. וַיֹּאמֶר בְּלִבּוֹ *and he said in his heart* i. e. he thought to himself. We read just the same phrase in Smith's Assurban. 211, 87: ki-a-am iḳ-bi it-ti lib-bi-šu "so he said in his heart" i. e. "so he thought to himself."

XIX. 14. חֹתְנָיו *his sons-in-law.* The same word ḥ a t a n is employed by the Assyrians to denote the husband of the

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* K a k k a b "star" is here written with the ideogram MUL. The pronunciation of the sign may be inferred from a comparison of this passage with another in the inscription of Nebucadnezar at London in which col. III. 12 the above k i m a MUL šamí changes for k a - a k - k a - b i - iš ša ša - mi i. e. "like the stars of heaven".

daughter. We read in Smith's Assurban. 208, 68 (V Rawl. 5 col. V. 2): (Im-ba-ap-pi) ḫa-tan Um-man-al-das (Var. da-si "(Imbappi) the son-in-law of Ummanaldas." Similarly 144, 1 below (ḫa-ta-nu).

23. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יָצָא *the sun had risen.* In Assyrian also there is אצא (= יצא) employed in the specific sense of the rising of the sun. We read in Asarh. I. 7 ul-tu ṣi-it šan-ši a-di í-rib šan-ši "from the rising of the sun to the setting (ערב) of the sun"; comp. Sanherib Taylor-cylind. IV. 24 tiâm-tuv rabî-tuv ša ṣi-it šan-ši "the great sea which is at the rising of the sun". We also find the word napaḫ (Aram. נפק?) used for the "rising" of the sun, and šalam, also (?) salam (Hebrew שלם), used for the "setting" e. g. Rammanirâr (I Rawl. 35) line 10. 11. 13: a-di íli tiâm-tiv rabî-tiv ša na-paḫ šan-ši — a-di íli tiâm-tiv rabî-tiv ša šul-mu šan-ši i. e. "as far as the great sea which is at the rising of the sun,—as far as the great sea which is at the setting of the sun". Comp. also Khorsab. 69: (the land of Media) ša pa-ti niši A-ri-bi ni-pi-iḫ šan-ši "which at the frontier of the Arabs of the rising of the sun"; comp. also 109. 144.—II Rawl. 39. 14 — 18 e. f.

37. מוֹאָב appears also on the monuments of Niniveh under the name Ma-'ba, Ma-'-ab, Ma-'-a-ab, Mu-'-a-ba. See Taylor's Cyl. Sanherib col. II. 53; Tiglath-
141 Pileser II (II Rawl. 67 line 60); Smith's Assurbanipal 31, e; 259. 121; 288, 37. In the first passage Kammusu-nadbi i. e. Kamos-nadab (comp. יוֹנָדָב and similar names) is mentioned as king of Moab. In the second passage we find mention of Salamanu as king of Moab (perhaps to be identified with שַׁלְמַן Hosea X. 14? see *ad loc.*). In the last passage there is reference to a king Ka-(ma?)-as (?)-ḫal-ta (?).

38. עַמּוֹן *Ammon* is named in the inscriptions (mât or ír) Bît-Ammân, written Am-ma-na(ni) (Sanh. *ibid.*; Tigl.-Pil. *ibid.*; Asarhad. I Rawl. 48, I line 7), once also (II Rawl. 53, 12b) we have (ír) Am-ma-a-[na]. This designation Bît-Ammân follows the analogy of names like Bît-Ḥumrî (Samaria), Bît-Jakîn, just as if Ammon were a person. Indeed we sometimes also find the determinative of person prefixed to the name Ammân. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 366 note. In the first and third passage Pu-du-ilu is mentioned as king of Moab. With this name comp. פְּדַהְצוּר Numbers XXXIV. 28. In the second passage Sanibu* is described as such. This word I am not in a position to interpret. Lastly, in an inscription of the elder Salmanassar (II) Ba-'-sa is also recorded as the name of an Ammonite king. In this form one recognizes the name of the Northern Israelite king בַּעְשָׁא (1 Kings XV. 33); see III Rawl. 8 col. II. 95.

XXII. 21. בּוּז *Bûz*, second son of Nachor, חָזוֹ his fifth son, are connected by Delitzsch Parad. p. 307. with considerable probability, with the Bâzu and Ḥazû of the cuneiform inscriptions, two districts lying in the immediate neighbourhood of Northern-Arabia; comp. Jer. XXV. 23, Job XXXII. 2.

XXIII. 16. וַיִּשְׁקֹל אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף *"and he weighed out the money"*. Exactly the same mode of expression is to be found in Assyrian. We read II Rawl. 13. 44d: kaspa 142
i-ša-ḳal "the money he weighs out."

The word שֶׁקֶל *shekel* has not yet been made out phone-

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* Fr. Delitzsch, Parad. p. 294, holds that the name of the king of Ammon Sanibu is to be identified with שַׁנְאָב, the name of the king of Admâ in Gen. XIV. 2.

tically, as far as I know, in the Assyrian inscriptions. But after the investigations of Brandis (Münz-, Mafs- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien, Berl. 1866, pp. 43 foll.) it can scarcely be doubted that it was also an Assyrian term for the 60th part of a mina. Moreover the root šaḳal "to weigh" is frequently employed in Assyrian. Lastly the Graeco-Persian *σίγλος*, *σίκλος* certainly points to an ultimate Assyrio-Babylonian origin for the name. We have just spoken of the shekel as the 60th part of a mina. This was its value in Assyria and Babylonia. Among the Hebrews (comp. the Greek *didrachmon*) שֶׁקֶל denoted the 50th part of a mina, and the talent consisting of 60 minas contained therefore not 3600 shekels, as it did originally among the Babylonians, but rather 3000 shekels, as it was valued in later times by the Babylonians and Assyrians (Brandis ibid. pp. 53 foll. 103). It should be remarked, however, that this last mentioned talent was only employed when money was weighed, i. e. in payments of money. In statements respecting weight, the original talent of 3600 shekels (the mina being reckoned at 60 shekels) formed the basis of computation, not only among the Assyrians and Babylonians, but also in the Old Testament. From the former weight (which was lighter also in the silver piece as far as the shekel itself is concerned) the latter or heavier weight was distinguished by the name of "the royal weight" (אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ 2 Sam. XIV. 26). This phrase, which is quite unintelligible in the Old Testament, is illustrated by the Assyrian monuments. Upon these, or properly speaking on the imperial or standard-weights (lions, ducks) disco-
143 vered at Niniveh, the weight is designated as imperial by the additional phrase "of the king" e. g. מנה מלך "mina of the king" (Aramaic text), I ma-na ša šarru "a mina of

the king" (Assyrian text); see the inscription no. 11 in p. 222 of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society XVI. 1856, also מנן II וי מלך "two minas of the king" (plate p. 220 no. 5). The above mentioned term for this weight in the second Book of Samuel is simply an adoption of such a mode of expression into Hebrew soil. The phrase "royal weight" would seem to denote the full, heavy, imperial measure, as opposed to the lighter money-weight. According to the imperial weights discovered at Niniveh, the Babylonian shekel-weight amounted to 16.83 grammes standard measure. From a statement in Josephus (Arch. 14, 7. 1), that the Jewish gold mina was equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ Roman pounds (= 818.57 grammes), we may, on the other hand, conclude, that the Hebrew gold-shekel amounted to 16.37 grammes in weight (J. Brandis ibid. pp. 95, 102). It is evident that both shekels were fundamentally the same, and correspond essentially to the German "Loth" weighing 16.67 grammes. And it is no less evident that the Mina-weight of 60 shekels = 60 × 16.83 (Babyl.) or 60 × 16.37 (Hebrew) grammes coincides with the present two-pound weight of 1000 grammes to all intents and purposes. Now while, as has already been shown, the Hebrew gold-shekel, and certainly also the Hebrew shekel-weight, coincides in the main with the above Assyrian shekel-weight, yet according to the results established by Joh. Brandis the same thing does not hold true in like manner of the Hebrew silver-shekel. In fixing the standard for the latter, we have not merely to reduce it to a proportion of $13\frac{1}{3}$ silver to 1 gold in relation to the gold-shekel, but at the same time to get a silver piece which would possess the quality of being 144
"handy" or, in other words, adapted for commerce. If we had simply to take into account the proportional value of

the two precious metals, we should have an entire coin of $13\frac{1}{3} \times 16.83$ grammes $= 224.4$ grammes, as the silver piece corresponding to the gold-shekel. Even the half-piece of 112.2 grammes would still have weighed nearly quarter of a pound. Under these circumstances it was necessary to resort to divisions of the entire piece and choose fractions say $\frac{1}{10}$ or $\frac{1}{15}$, reducing in this way the entire piece into fractional pieces, weighing 22.44 and 11.22 grammes respectively, on the one hand, and 14.96 and 7.48 grammes respectively, on the other. The fractional piece weighing 14.96 grammes became the standard for the Hebrew silver-shekel which, in the specimens that exist, exhibits an average weight of 14.55 grammes. According to what has already been stated with reference to the money-shekels, the mina may be obtained, so far as the *coinage* is concerned, by multiplying by 50. This gives $16.37 \times 50 = 818.5$ grammes (see above), corresponding to the gold-shekel, and $14.55 \times 50 = 727.5$ grammes corresponding to the silver-shekel. When the basis of comparison is the shekel-*weight*, we must multiply by 60, so that the *mina*-weight would amount to 982 grammes. The talent of 60 minas (or 3600 shekels in that of the *weight*-talent, and 3000 shekels in that of the *money*-talent) accordingly amounts, as a *weight*, to 58.932 kilogrammes; as the gold-talent, to 49.110 kilogrammes; and as the silver-talent, to 43.650 kilogrammes. According to the present value of money the Hebrew gold-shekel would be equivalent to nearly £ 2..5, the silver-shekel to about half-a-crown, while the gold-talent would amount to 3000 × £ 2..5 i. e. about £ 6750 and the silver-talent to about £ 375. Compare also the articles 'Mine', 'Sekel' and 'Talent', as well as
145 'Geld' and 'Gewichte', in Riehm's Handwörterbuch des

Biblischen Altherthums. Respecting the fractional weights of the Babylonian mina and their designation, see my essay in Lepsius' Aegyptische Zeitschrift 1878 pp. 110—113. On the later Greek valuation of the mina at 100 drachmas, see the comment on 2 Chron. IX. 16.

XXIV. 2. *Lay thy hand under my thigh that I may cause you to swear by Jahve* &c., comp. verse 9. I do not propose to determine whether the usage alluded-to in this passage points to a phallus-worship or to a special sanctity of the organ of generation, resulting from the rite of circumcision, or whether this usage merely symbolizes an invocation to posterity, to guard the oath that has been offered, and to avenge it if violated (see Dillmann ad loc.). But I wish to point out that in Ur-Mughair, the place from which Abraham took his departure, as well as in other ruined towns of Chaldaea, *phalli* made of clay have been discovered with inscriptions of Uruk (?—see above p. 77 footnote *) of Nur(?)-Rammân, and of Išmí-Dagan &c. (I Rawl. I. 4; 2, IV. VI). It should bo observed that the inscription is always placed on the portion of the conical stone which extends as far as the *glans*, while the exposed *glans* on the other hand never exhibits an inscription. Also on the large conical stones, which were set up as frontier and boundary marks, the portion corresponding to the *glans* never bears an inscription. We have here merely religious and symbolic figured representations.

54. וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ *they ate and drank.* We read just the same in Smith's Assurb. 227, 68 (V Rawl. 6, 21):—í-ku-lu iš-tu-u "he ate (and) drank".

XXV. 3. שְׁבָא. A North-Arabian tribe like Dedan, next to which it appears in this passage. It is this North-Arabian Sabaea that is referred-to in the Sa-ba-', which

Sargon mentions as the land of a tributary king I t-'-a m-
146 a-r a i. e. Jatha"âmir יתעאמר Khorsab. 27. And it is certainly understood to be referred-to in the Sabaeans whom Tiglath-Pileser II represents beside the unquestionably North-Arabian Mas'aeans and Thematites, as those from whom he had received tribute in the form of camels and spices * among other things, which gifts he had likewise received from the above-mentioned tribes. In this nothing is implied which is opposed to the supposition that these North-Arabian Sabaeans were connected with those of South-Arabia. It has not, however, been possible hitherto to determine with any certainty whether those of North and South Arabia formed one large community, or whether the former constituted a politically independent body. Yet there is, at all events, nothing to prevent us from assuming that the power of the South-Arabian Sabaeans extended a considerable distance Northwards at the time of Tiglath-Pileser II and of Sargon, and that they formed trading centres in North-Arabia and founded settlements which remained in later times in close relation to the mother-country. This supposition would satisfactorily explain the appearance of Sabaeans in North-Arabia, which is confirmed not only by the Bible but also by the testimony of the inscriptions. Comp. also Job I. 15, and see further in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 40; 87 foll.; 261 foll., as well as the remarks above on chap. X. 7.

4. עֵיפָה. This Midianite Ephâ should with Delitzsch Parad. p. 304 be identified with the Ḥajapâ, Ḥaipâ** of

* Respecting the Assyrian term here employed, see my essay on "Ladanum and Palm" &c. in the Monatsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1881, pp. 413 foll.

** That is instead of Chajap (Chaiap) = Ḥajap (Ḥaiap) should be

the cuneiform inscriptions. This is the name of a North-Arabian tribe frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II and of Sargon along with the Masaeans, Thematites, Sabaeans (see verse 3) and also the Badanaeans (Badanatha? Delitzsch), and Idiba'ilaeans (see on verse 13) on the one side, and the Tamudaeans (*Θαμυδῖται*) and Marsimanaeans (*Μασσαμανεις*?—Delitzsch) on the other; 147
see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 261 foll. On the representation of the Hebrew ע by the Assyrian ḫ, see Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften p. 198 rem. 3; Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 217 and Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XXXIII. p. 330.

12. יִשְׁמָעֵאל Ishmâʿēl; see on verse 14.

13. נְבָיוֹת Nebâjôth, are undoubtedly the Nabataeans, *Ναβαταῖοι, Nabataei* of the Greek and Roman writers and also the *Nabaitai* (Na-ba-ai-ta-ai) of the Assyrian inscriptions (Asurbanipal). The name of the country was (mât) Nabaitu (Na-ba-ai-ti). In one case we have also Ni-ba-'-ti נבאת, and once perhaps [Na-]pi-a-tí; see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 104. This people appears in the inscriptions in conjunction with the Ḳidrai (see below), just as the Nabataei in Pliny (V. 11, 65) with the Cedrei, and the Nebâjôth in this passage of the Bible with Ḳēdār. These *Arabian* Nebâjôth-Nabaitu have nothing whatever to do, either in locality or ethnology, with the Nabatu (Na-ba-tu) of the inscriptions of Tiglath-

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written throughout Ḥajapâ (Ḥaipâ) with final long â according to Sargon cyl. 20; Botta 75, 3 (see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. p. 263, 17. 22, and compare Glossary *sub voce* as well as Delitzsch Parad. p. 304). This form corresponds more completely to the Hebrew עֵיפָה. In the race-name Ḥaiappai the long *â* is entirely absorbed by the added termination *ai*.

Pileser II, Sargon and Sanherib. The latter race appears as a subdivision of the Babylonian Aramu (Arumu, Arimu) i. e. the Babylonian Aramaeans; see the references in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 99—116.

קֵדָר Kēdâr. The inhabitants of Kedar are also frequently mentioned on the inscriptions of Asurbanipal along with the Nabataeans and the inhabitants of mât Aribi; see Smith's Assurbanipal 261, 19; 283, 87; 287, 23; 288, 31; 290, a. The district is called Ḳidru (mât Ḳi-id-ri), also Ḳadru (mât Ḳa-ad-ri); see Bellino-cylinder in Smith's Assurbanipal 288, 31; 290, a. The inhabitant of Kedar is named Ḳidrai (Ḳi-id-ra-ai; Ḳid-ra-ai). Among the proper names and especially the names of kings among the Kedarenes, our attention is attracted not only by
148 those which evidently are of Arabic type, Ammuladin and Jauta', but also by one that is of unmistakeably Syrian origin, Ḥa-za-'-ilu (260, 9; 283, 87) i. e. חֲזָאֵל. This is a name that we also meet with among the princes of mât Aribi (see Smith's Assurbanipal 260, 9; 283, 87) among which there also occurs a Bir- (ilu) Dadda i. e. בַּר־הֲדַד (260, 10; 271, 106). On this last name see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. p. 539. That Aramaic influence was exerted on these North-Arabian tribes at this early age (7th century and ofcourse before that) may be concluded both from the above names and from the worship, that prevailed among these tribes, of the deity Atar-samájin (A-tar-sa-ma-(ai)-in) i. e. of the goddess "*Atar* (Athare, Astarte) *of Heaven*" i. e. עתר־סמין = עתר־שמין 270, 95; 271, 104; 283, 92; 295, b. See my remarks in Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XXVII p. 424; Max Duncker, Gesch. des Alterthums II. p. 293 (4th ed.); Baudissin, Protest. Realencyclopaedie 2. ed. Vol. I. 160; Keilinsch. u. Gesch. 53. 539.

אַדְבְּאֵל *Adbeel*, recognized by Delitzsch Parad. p. 301 in the tribal name Idibi'il, also Idiba'il in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II Layard 29, 12: [I-]di-bi-'-i-lu; 66, 16 I-di-bi-['-]i-lu; III Rawl. 10, 2 line 39: I-di-ba-'il-(ai), comp. Keil. u. Gesch. pp. 201 foll.

14. מִשְׁמָע *Mischmâʿ*, can scarcely be identified, as Delitzsch Parad. p. 298 supposes, with the cuneiform Isammíʿ (I-sa-am-mí-') Smith's Assurbanipal 270, 95 = cyl. Rassam VIII, 111, unless we are to assume that there was an error in orthography (מ for ׳). In the form Isammíʿ we should rather consider that there lurks the first part of the familiar name יִשְׁמָעֵאל. The name Isammíʿ might have been merely an abbreviation of this latter form.

מַשָּׂא *Massâ'* often occurs in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser II and Asurbanipal (297, 16) in the form Maṣ' (מסא = Hebr. משׂא), *gentile* Mas'ai (Ma-as-'-ai), as the name of a North-Arabian tribe. See the references in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 102. 262 foll. 364. Comp. with 149
this Fr. Delitzsch Parad. p. 242. This writer would regard (mât) Mas or Maš*, occurring close to the above form in the inscriptions of Asurbanipal, as altogether distinct, being a special word, ultimately Akkadian, with the appellative signification "desert", but employed by the Babylonians and Assyrians as a proper name for the great Syro-Arabian desert.

15. תֵּימָא *Têmâ*, unquestionably the Tímai (Tí-ma-ai) of Tiglath-Pileser II, mentioned in conjunction with the

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* *Without* the final guttural; see the passages in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 364.

M a s'ai i. e. מַשָּׂא (see verse 14). See Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 271 foll.

XXVII. 43. *to Laban, my brother, to Ḥarrân.* The Assyrians were acquainted with a god Laban (written Laban); so Delitzsch and Sayce; see III Rawl. 66 col. II. 6. Moreover Harran was also the abode of the moon-god Sin; see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 355, 536. Lastly Laban may have been a Semitic name of the moon "the white-gleaming"; comp. לְבָנָה Is. XXIV. 23; XXX. 26; Song of Songs VI. 10. The question therefore arises, whether Laban was not originally a name for the moon-god of Harran.

XXX. 20. הפעם יזבלנן *From this time forth (my husband) will honour me seeing that I have indeed borne him six sons; and she called his name Zebulûn* (זְבֻלוּן i. e. "honour"). Respecting the only suitable meaning in this passage 'honour', 'esteem highly' belonging to the verb זבל, and illustrated by the Assyrian (and Arabic), see remarks on 1 Kings VIII. 13.

XXXVI. 1. אֱדוֹם *Edom* is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, where it is written (mât, ír) U-d u-m u (mi, mí) Tigl. Pil. IV (II Rawl. 67) line 61 (immediately after Juda); also in Sanherib, Taylor-cyl. II. 54 (following Moab in the enumeration); likewise in Smith's Assurbanipal 31, d, where mention is made of the land U d u m í between Juda and Moab; also *ibid.* 258, 119; in the inscription of Rammannirâr (I Rawl. 35) line 12, where it is mentioned as lying between the "land of Omri" (Samaria) and "Palastav" i. e. Philistia; again in the inscriptions of Asarhaddon I Rawl. 48. 1 line 3 (immediately following Juda). It is also written U-d u-u-m u II Rawl. 52, 11 b (before [Moab] and Ammon). In the inscription of Sanherib M a l i k-r a m-m u*, in that of Tiglath-Pileser Ḳa-

* So the name should be read according to Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch.

uš-ma-la-ka, in that of Asarhaddon Ḳa-uš-gab-ri are mentioned as kings of Edom. The first resembles אַדְנִירָם, מַלְכִּירָם and similar names in the Old Testament; with the second we might compare אֱלִימֶלֶךְ and with the third גַּבְרִיאֵל. The name Ḳaušmalak occurs again in much later times as *Κοσμάλαχος*. See in Miller, Rev. arch. 1870 Febr. pp. 109 foll. (Nöld.); compare likewise the names *Κοστόβαρος* * and *Κοσβάρακος* in Josephus and the Greek inscriptions (Keilinschr. u. Gesch. p. 79).

31. בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *Israelites.* The name Israel does not occur in the inscriptions as a general term for the Israelites. Nor does it, as a rule, appear as the name for the Northern kingdom. Instead of this the name that is usually employed

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Exc. Eigenn. no. 3a p. 140. Malik is in Assyrian partly appellative = ruler, and partly, (when, as in this instance, a determinative of deity is added) a proper name, i. e. a name of the god Malik (מלך). The latter case is illustrated in such proper names as Abu-Malik "Moloch is father" (III Rawl. 1 col. I. 23), with which we may compare other names, as Bíl-abu-u-a "Bel my father" (III Rawl. 1 col. II. 21) &c.

* The name *Κοστόβαρος* has been recently explained by J. Halévy in the Journ. Asiat. 1882, XIX. p. 489 (Essai sur les inscriptions du Safa, Paris 1882, p. 322) as = קשט־בעל 'truth of Baal'. If so, the name is of course to be cancelled from the text. But when we bear in mind that another Edomite name *Φασίβαλος* = פצה־בעל, the assumption of a transition of bal to bar is open to objection, though we have an example of this transition in the case of the Phoenician viz. the *Βαρμόκαρος* of Polybius (VII, 9. 1) = בעל־מלקרת. Might not Kostobar be corrupted in pronunciation from Kosgobar i. e. Kosgabar, and thus the name be merely identical with the Kauš-gabri of the inscriptions, mentioned in the text, i. e. קושנבר = originally קוסנבר? I would remark in passing that, according to the Ayssrian laws of phonetic interchange, the Assyrian Ḳa-uš can only have corresponded to a Kanaanitish-Edomite word קום, not קוש. The Edomite divinity was therefore called קוֹם not קוֹשׁ. Halévy connects the name with the Arabic قَيْس in امرالقيس.

is mât Bît-Ḫumrî i. e. land of the House Omrî (as in the inscriptions of Sargon Botta 16, 31; 17, 28 &c.); compare above Bît-Ammân "House of Ammon" or mât Ḫumri "land of Omri" in the inscription of Ramannirâr
151 line 12; I Rawl. 35.* The name Israel occurs only once on the inscriptions, where it means the kingdom of Israel, viz. on the monolith of Salmanassar II in which Ahab of Israel is spoken of as (mât) Sir'lai i. e. "he of Israel" (see the passage on 1 Kings XVI. 29). The justification for this reading, on palaeographic, linguistic and historical grounds, may be read in my Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 356—371.

35. הֲדַד *Hadad*, name of an Edomite king, originally name of an Aramaic divinity; see remarks on 1 Kings XX. 1.

XXXVII. 2. דִּבָּה *evil report, secret plot.* The verb and substantive of the same root exist also in Assyrian, with the latter signification. We read in Smith's Assurbanipal 266, 60, 61 da-bab sur-ra-a-ti it-ti-ja id-bu-ub "treacherous plots (literally "a plot of insurrections", root סרר) he devised against me". Compare also Sargon Khorsab. 37. 95. 113.

25. לט *Ladanum* (*λήδανον, λάδανον*) mentioned by Tiglath Pileser II as a Syrian tribute-offering under the

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* Besides Ḫumrî we have also the form Ḫumria. Similarly we have Sapî in Tiglath Pileser II's inscriptions (II Rawl. 67, 23) as well as Šapija *ibid.* 52, 43b; uṣia III Rawl. 866 as well as the other prevailing form uṣi &c.—Moreover, in the name of this country, Ḫumrî is both understood as an actual personal name, and is then provided with a personal determinative (as in the case of the inscription of Rammannirâr); and also is not regarded as such, and is then left unprovided with the determinative (as in the case of Sargon's inscr. ibid.; otherwise Botta 36, 19). Comp. Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung p. 366 (where in line 1 Bît-Ḫumrî should be erased).

name ladanu (Layard 45, 4); see the reference in Berl. Akad. Monatsber. 1881 pp. 413—418.

XLI. 1. 2. יְאֹר *Nile* appears as the name of this river also in the cuneiform inscriptions in the form Jaru'u. We read in Smith's Assurbanipal 41, 31. 32: Tar-ḳu-u ša 152
a-lak ummâni-ja iš-mí-í, ír Ni-' ír dan-nu-ti-šu u-maš-šir, nâr Ja-ru-'-u í-bir i. e. "Tir'haka, who heard of the advance of my army, abandoned Thebes his capital, passed over (עבר) the Nile." Ancient Aegyptian *aur* (properly "river"), see G. Ebers, Aegypten u. die Bücher Mose's I. pp. 337 foll.; Koptic ⲓⲁⲣⲟ, ⲓⲁⲣⲱ &c., see Gesen. Thes. 558.

43. אַבְרֵךְ. Delitzsch (Parad. 225. 342) connects this obscure word in an ingenious way with the Assyr. abarakku fem. abrakkat. Quite apart, however, from the fact that this term itself is still uncertain both as to origin and meaning, the comparison of an Assyrian word in this case does not at all commend itself to my judgment.

45. אֹן, also אוֹן, the *Heliopolis* of the LXX and classical writers, a city of Lower Aegypt, which, however, has nothing to do with the Upper Aegyptian (ír) U-nu mentioned on the Rassam-cylinder of Asurbanipal II, 23 (V Rawl. 2) after Ni' = Nô-Thebes (see Delitzsch Parad. pp. 318 foll.).

XLIII. 11. בָּטְנִים *pistachio nuts.* The name of the plant בֹּטֶן "pistachio" also appears in the inscriptions in the form buṭnu, just as we also meet with the form ṭarpi' for tamarisk طَرْفَاء. See Berlin. Monatsberichte 1881, p. 419.

23. שָׁלוֹם לָכֶם *peace to you*, in Hebrew an address of encouragement, in the allied languages (Arabic and Aramaic),

as is well known, the usual form of salutation. In respect of the latter use, the phrase also employed in Assyrian stands closely related. We read at the head of a dispensation of Asurbanipal (Khorsab. 1139 in Smith's Assurb. 108, 3): šul-mu ja-a-ši lib-ba-ku-nu i. e. "my good wishes to you!" = "my salutation I offer you." Comp. šul-mu ai-ši lib-ba-ku-nu ibid. 189. 3. Respecting jâši, aiši "I" and libba (לֵב) "over", see Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. pp. 259 rem. 2; 252 foll.; pp. 291 foll.

153 XLV. 22. חֲלִיפוֹת שְׂמָלוֹת "garments for changing" (see Dillmann). The Assyrians also employ the root חלף to express garments or kinds of garments. We find mentioned in a list of articles of apparel na-aḥ-lap-tuv, ḥi-it-lu-pa-tuv "change-garment", "apparel" II Rawl. 25, 40. 49 g. See Delitzsch, Assyr. Studien I (1874) p. 112 and comp. Norris Dict. II. 408.

XLIX. 1. בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים *in the future time.* We also meet with just the same form of expression in Assyrian. We read in Smith's Assurbanipal 318. 9 aš-ṭur-ma a-na aḥ-rat û-mí í-zib "(the tablet) I wrote and left it (עזב) [at its place] for the future days". Compare the similar phrase in Sanherib Bellino-cylinder line 63: A-na arak ûmi i-na šarrâ-ni habli-ja ša Ašur ana ri-í-uv-ut mâti u niši i-nam-bu zi-kir-šu i. e. "In the future of days, under the kings, my descendants, he whose name Asur proclaims to rule over land and people" &c.

EXODUS.

I. 1. פַּרְעֹה *Pharao* occurs also in the Assyrian texts, and moreover, just as in Hebrew, simply as a proper name, and perhaps for this reason with the addition "king of Aegypt"; here again, just as we find in the Old Testament. See

Khors. 27: Pi-ir-'-u šar mât Mu-ṣu-ri "Pir'u king of Aegypt"; compare פַּרְעֹה מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם 1 Kings III. 1 &c.

V. 6. שֹׁטְרִים *writers.* It is worth while to observe that the verb שׁטר meaning "to write", which exists in all Semitic languages excepting Hebrew, was also employed in Assyrian. We meet with the forms iš-ṭur "he wrote", al-ṭur "I wrote"; with the Infin. šaṭar (ša-ṭa-ri) "write" &c. (see inscription of Vân K. III. 6. 8; Behist. 98; Tig- 154
lath Pileser col. VI, 22; Khorsab. 53 &c.). The Akkadian equivalent of the Assyrian šaṭar was *sar* (III Rawl. 70. 78). Accordingly the "tablet-writer" was named in Babylonio-Assyrian dup-sar, dip-sar, which has passed over into Hebrew in the form סֹפֵר; see on Jer. LI. 27.

IX. 7. וַיִּכְבַּד לֵב פַּרְעֹה *and the heart of Pharao was obstinate.* Comp. Sanherib Taylor-cyl. col. V, 7: ik-bu-ud lib-ba-šu-nu a-na í-biš tuḳmati "their heart was obstinate so that they offered resistance", root (קום) Khors. 91: a-na la na-ši-í bil-ti lib-šu ik-bu-ud "so as to bring no tribute, his heart was obstinate". Similarly Khorsab. 33.

XIV. 2. 9. בַּעַל צְפוֹן. The name of an Aegyptian city situated in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea. The inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser II also mention a district (mountain?) which is evidently identical in name with the above, namely Ba-'-li-ṣa-bu-na (see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 397 foll.). But it is not possible to determine more definitely the position of this spot, which is apparently quite distinct from the above Aegyptian site.

XXI. 8. עַם נָכְרִי *a foreign people.* In Assyrian the corresponding word nâkir plur. nâkiri had already acquired the more special signification "enemy". Comp. Lat. hospes = (?) hostis; indeed its meaning is more nearly

expressed by "rebel", "insurgent"; compare for example Khorsab. 14: m â t â t n a-k i-r i k a-l i-š u n "the lands of all (rebellious) enemies". The inscriptions of the Achaemenidae give, in place of n â k i r u, n a k r u another form n i k r u, of which the plural is n i k r û t i "enemies", "insurgents", Behist. 65 &c.

XXV. 4. תְּכֵלֶת וְאַרְגָּמָן *violet-blue and red purple* we read (Ed. Hincks) in a list of coloured materials in the same
155 connection, sequence and signification Khors. 142, 182: t a-k i l-t u — a r-g a-m a n-n u "violet-blue—red purple."

XXVII. 20. נֵר *light* occurs also in Assyrian in the form n û r (comp. Arab. نُور) especially in an applied sense. Thus in the inscription of Samsi-Rammân (I Rawl. 32) line 11 Samas is designated as the "light of the gods". In Smith's Assurb. 155. 43 = V Rawl. 3. 113 the god "Bel, son of Bel" bears the same epithet.

XXVIII. 19. שְׁבוֹ a precious stone, probably the *agate*. The corresponding Assyrian is š a-b i-í. Comp. II Rawl. 28 no. 5 line 27 k u n u k k u š a š a-b i-í "seal of agate." The jasper can scarcely be meant, for this was represented, if we are not mistaken, by another ideogram. Berl. Akad. Monatsberichte 1879 p. 290.

LEVITICUS.

XVIII. 21. מֹלֶךְ *Moloch*. Among the Assyrians there existed a god M a l i k; see on Gen. XXXVI. 1. Respecting the character of this deity and its position in the Assyrian Pantheon, the inscriptions have not yet yielded precise information.

NUMBERS.

XIII. 22. צֹעַן *Zoan*. See on Is. XIX. 11.

XXII. 5. פְּתוֹר *Pethor*, according to Deut. XXIII. 5 a town in "Mesopotamia", situated like Karkemish "on the Euphrates" עַל־הַנָּהָר. It may be conjectured to be the same as the Pitru (Pi-it-ru*) of the Assyrian inscriptions, which should be placed, like Karkemish itself, on the 156
Western bank of the Euphrates, and also on the Sâdshûr (the Sagura, Sagurri of the inscriptions) which empties itself into the Euphrates from the West; Salmanassar's Obelisk II Layard 89 line 37 foll.; Monolith of Karch III Rawl. 8. II, 36. 37 (comp. Keilinschriftt. u. Gesch. pp. 140 foll.; 220 foll.). The first passage reads thus: n. Bu-rat í-bir, ír a-na m. Aššur u-saḫ aṣ-bat; ša nir am-ma-[tí] ša n. Bu-rat, ša íli nâr Sa-gur-ri ša niši Ḫat-ta-ai ír Pi-it-ru i-ḳa-bu-šu-ni a-na ra-ma-ni-ja aṣ-bat i. e. "I crossed over (root עבר) the Euphrates, the city (Til-Barsip) I carried away (root נסח) to Assyria, I took; what was on the other side of the Euphrates, what was upon the river Sagurri, what the Syrians call (קבה) city (of) Pitru, I took in possession for myself", see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 220 foll. note, and compare Delitzsch Parad. p. 269.

XXIII. 22. רְאֵם, see on Deut. XXXIII. 17.

XXIV. 22. עַד מָה אַשּׁוּר תִּשְׁבְּךָ *Till when?—then will Assyria carry thee forth captive.* The passage contains a statement about the Kenites, to whom it is threatened that they should be carried away by the Assyrians. This threatening presupposes that, at the time when it was uttered, the Assyrians had already acquired in Western Asia an imposing position of superiority. It is now generally supposed that

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* This is not to be confounded with the Piturn of Ašurnâṣirhabal, which is to be sought for in quite another region: Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 221 note, p. 184.

the words had as their background the age of Tiglath-Pileser (II) or that of Sargon and Sanherib; and the inference is drawn from this that a redaction of the first four books of the Pentateuch was made in the second half of the 8th century B. C. But this is not a sufficiently warranted conclusion. We know now that Israel came in contact with Assyria at a much earlier period, and that the former was in fact tributary to Assyria as far back as in the ninth century. For example, not only does king
157 Rammannirâr of Assyria (who according to the Assyrian Canon of Rulers reigned from 812 to 783 B. C.) mention in a list of kingdoms that were tributary to him the "land Omri" (mât Ḫumrî) along with Sidon, Tyre, Edom and Philistia (I Rawl. 35 line 12); not only do we find in the cuneiform inscriptions a generation earlier that "Jehu, son of Omri" offered tribute to Salmanassar II (2 Kings IX. 2); but we also learn from the inscription of Ašur-nâṣir-habal (885—860) that as early as in the first half of the 9th century the whole of Phoenicia was overrun by the Assyrians and made tributary. The king states in col. III. 84 foll.: ina ûmí-šu-ma ši-di šâd Lab-na-na lu aṣ-bat; a-na tiâm-di 85. rabî-tí ša mât A-ḫar-ri lu-u í-li. Ina tiâmti rabî-tí tuklâti-ja lu u-lil-lu; niḳî ana ilâ-ni lu aṣ-bat; ma-da-tu ša šarrâ-ni ša ši-di tiâmti 86. ša mât Ṣur-ra-ai mât Ṣi-du-na-ai mât Gu-bal-ai mât Ma-ḫal-la-ta-ai mât Ma-i-za-ai mât Ka-i-za-ai mât A-ḫar-ra-ai u ír Ar-va-da 87. ša ḳabal tiâmti kaspi, ḫurâṣi, anâki, siparri, KAM siparri . . . . . ma-da-ta-šu-nu am-ḫur, šípâ-ja iṣ-bu-tû i. e. "At that time I took possession of the boundaries of Lebanon; I marched away to the great sea of the West country; on

the great sea I gathered together my faithful ones; I offered sacrifices to the gods; the tribute of the princes of the sea-boundaries: namely of the Tyrians, Sidonians, Byblians, Machallataeans, Maizaeans, Kaizaeans, of those of the West-country and of Arados, which is in the midst of the sea: bars of silver, gold, lead and copper, objects (?) of copper I received as their tribute. My feet they embraced." We see that, as early as about the middle and end of the 9th century, a writer might very well threaten the Kenites with evils from Assyria. Accordingly this passage would not stand in the way of the assumption that 158
the redaction of the pre-Deuteronomic Pentateuch belonged to the last quarter of the 9th century B. C.*

24. Under these circumstances we are not surprised by the threatening pronounced in this verse against Assur, that *ships from the Kittians would oppress Assur and Eber*. We should rather consider it quite natural that, when even the proud commercial cities of Phoenicia, Sidon and Tyre were compelled to bow to the superior power of Assyria, help was expected from quite another quarter, namely the Kittians. That we have no information of any enterprise of the latter against the Assyrian power cannot occasion us any surprise. Indeed it was only from the cuneiform inscriptions that we learnt that Sidon and Tyre were compelled at all at this early period to do homage to Assyria. Respecting the Kittians see on X. 4.

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* De Wette-Schrader, Einleitung in's Alte Testament, 8th ed. 1869, p. 205.—We do not dwell here upon a still more ancient passage occurring in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, which we communicated above in the note on Gen. X. 6 (p. 73), since the event there referred-to is too long anterior to the period here spoken of.

XXXIV. 5. נַחַל מִצְרַיִם *brook of Aegypt*, the present Wâdi-el-Arîsh, occurs also in the cuneiform inscriptions as na-ḥal mât Mu-uṣ-ri "brook of Aegypt", the frontier-stream towards that country; see Sargon, cyl. 13; Asarhaddon Ann. III Rawl. 35 no. 4; Delitzsch Parad. p. 310.

DEUTERONOMY.

III. 9. שִׂרְיֹן *Siryôn* and שְׂנִיר *Senîr* are here mentioned
159 as two distinct names for one and the same thing, the former name given by the Sidonians, the latter by the Amorites to the mountain called by the Hebrews "Hermon". Both names occur among the Assyrians, the first in the form Si-ra-ra (comp. note on 1 Kings V. 13), the other in the form Sa-ni-ru (III Rawl. 5 no. 6, 45) Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 536 foll. The variant שִׂרְיוֹן Ps. XXIX. 6 does not in reality exist.

IV. 16. פֶּסֶל (arising out of סֶמֶל 2 Chron. XXXIII. 7. 15, for which we also have סֵמֶל Ezek. VIII. 3. 5) the term for an image of a divinity or for divinities themselves. In Assyrian samulluv is the name for a tree or wood. With the sign for deity prefixed, the corresponding ideogram appears also in the name of a divinity which is identified in a syllabary with the designation of the sun-god Šamaš. See my essay *Zur babyl.-assyr. Chronologie des Alex. Polyhist. und des Abyd.* in "Berichte der Kön. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch." 1880 p. 2.

XVI. 10. מִסָּה *number*. It has been supposed that this word occurs in Assyrian in the form mistu, namely in the phrase mis-ta la-a išu-u "a number is not" = "it is not to be numbered" Asurnaṣirhab. col. I. 88. But from the parallels in III. 43, where we read in the same sense:

mí-nu-ta la i-šu-u (mínut from manâ מנה "to divide" "to number"), MIŠ is rather to be considered as an ideogram; comp. Haupt no. 436.

XXI. 12. צִפֹּרֶן *nail* (of the finger) occurs in the cognate languages (ظُفْر ጸፍር: טִפַּר) as well as in Assyrian. In the latter the word assumes the form ṣu-pur (III Rawl. 48 no. 1—4). This is not a case of *quid pro quo*, as is shown at the present day by the impressions of nails clearly visible on the tablets. These impressions were made by the persons who were present or who took part in the transactions with which the document was concerned.

XXXII. 7. שָׁנוֹת *years*. In Hebrew, as is well known, 160
the masculine form of the plural שָׁנִים is that which usually occurs. So also in Aramaic and Arabic. We should therefore expect also in Assyrian this masculine form of the plural. But in Assyrian the form of the plural is always feminine. We read it as šanat e. g. Tigl.-Pil. I col. VI, 97 (šanâ-ti)—sing. šattu, constr. st. šanat.

10. כְּאִישׁוֹן עֵינוֹ *as the apple of his eye*. It is worthy of remark that the Assyrians also call the "apple of the eye" the "little man" viz. nišit a new feminine formation from niš "man". We meet with it in the Standard-inscription of Asurnaṣirhabal line 1, in which the king styles himself as ni-šit Bíl u Adar "apple of the eye to Bel and Adar" i. e. object of their protection. Also in Sargon's cylinder-inscription I Rawl. 36. 1, in which the king designates himself still more distinctly ni-šit íni A-nuv u Da-kan "pupils of the *eyes* of Anu and Dagon" (for the remainder of the opening of this inscription see the remarks on Isaiah XLI. 25).*

* According to Fr. Delitzsch in Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissen-

17. שֵׁדִים *the Shedim.* The Shedim, appearing in this passage as demons, are without doubt the šĭdu of the Assyrian inscriptions. This word was originally employed to denote those divinities which were represented in the monuments by colossal bulls. The corresponding ideogram similarly designates in general the genius (good and bad), Assyrian utukku. Norris 688.* On the sibilant see my remarks in Monatsberichte der Berl. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1877 p. 92.

XXXIII. 17. רְאֵם *buffalo* (according to the traditional rendering) is some sort of wild antelope, perhaps the antilope leucoryx, or else the wild ox, Arab. mahâ (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 137 rem.). The name is undoubtedly the same as the Assyrian rîmu (ri-i-mu) i. e. the name of the wild ox, perhaps of the wisent or buffalo; Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 135 footnote**. Compare also F. Hommel,
161 die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemit. Völkern, Leipzig 1879 p. 227.

JOSHUA.

X. 1. יְרוּשָׁלִַם *Jerusalem* is found mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions up to the present time only in the records of Sanherib (Taylor-cylinder col. III. 8. 20. 32; III Rawl. 12, 27. 29). Here the name is Ur-sa-li-im-mu(ma), written with s (ס) instead of š (שׁ), being a foreign word in Assyrian. The city is described in the second passage

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schaft, Leipzig 1882, p. 125 the expression nišit inâ &c. means "raising of the eyes of this or that one" i. e. he whom one looks at, one's "favourite."

* On the identification of שֵׁד with the Assyr. šĭdu, see also Fr. Delitzsch Parad. p. 153. Comp. the remarks on Gen. III. 24 p. 39 foll.

with reference to Hizkia (Ḥa-za-ḳi-ja-u) as ír šarru-ti-šu "city of his rule" i. e. "his residence." Compare also with the Assyrian representation of the name the Aramaic ܐܘܪܫܠܡ (along with the Biblo-Chaldaean יְרוּשְׁלֶם). Likewise the name of the city Samaria came to the Assyrians in its Aramaic form (see on 1 Kings XVI. 24). Both may be explained from the political and geographical relations involved.

5. 6 *(all) kings of the Amorites,* comp. XXIV. 8. 12. 15. This name, so frequently employed by the Aegyptians for Kanaan and the Kanaanites, is never to be met with in Assyrian. Was there no people with such a name any longer existing in the 9th century B. C., or did this race settle more in the South-Western part of Palestine? Comp. Ed. Meyer in Zeitschrift für die Alt. Test. Wissenschaft I, 1881, pp. 122 foll. Respecting the identity of the Amorites and Kanaanites see also Steinthal in Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie XII. p. 267.

XI. 22. עַזָּה *Gaza,* well known city of the Philistines, is frequently mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions in the form Ḥa-zi-ti* (it, at Assyrian feminine ending = Hebr. ָה), less frequently in the other form Ḥa-az-zu-tu (Ḥazzut) 162
Ḥa-az-za-at (Ḥazzat) III Rawl. 10, 19. 20 (in an inscription of Tiglath Pileser II). At the time of this last mentioned monarch, as well as of his successor Sargon (Sarg. Khorsab. 25 foll. &c.), there are mentioned as kings of Gaza Ḥa-nu-nu, Ḥa-a-nu-(u)-nu "Hanno", Hebr. חָנוּן "the favoured one" (2 Sam. X. 1; 1 Chron. XIX. 2); in the time of Sanherib,

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* The Hebrew ע is in other cases as well represented in Assyrian by ḥ, comp. Ḥumrî עָמְרִי (see below), Ḥajapâ, Ḥaiapâ, עֵיפָה (see on Gen. XXV. 4) &c. &c.

Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal Ṣil-Bîl צל־בעל (Sanherib Taylor-cylinder col. III. 25. 26; Asarhaddon cylind. Bellino col. V. 15; Asurbanipal cyl. Rassam no. 3 line 5) i. e. "Bel is protection". Compare my essay Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's II &c. Berlin 1880 p. 33.*

אַשְׁדּוֹד *Ashdôd*, Assyrian (ír, mât) As-du-du(di) Khorsab. 90. 100. 104 &c. A-zu-ri is there mentioned as king of Ashdod in the time of Sargon. According to the orthography the name would signify "whom (God) helps" (עָזוּר). It is possible, however, that we have here a form inaccurately written for Az-zu-ri = עָזֻר. In that case the name before us would exactly correspond to the Hebrew עַזּוּר Jerem. XXVIII. 1; Ezek. XI. 1; Neh. X. 18. The Sargon above mentioned placed as king instead of Azuri (Khorsab. 94) a brother of the latter, named A-ḥi-mi-ti i. e. אחימת "brother-man" or "my brother is man", probably meaning "brother is to me the brave one". Compare the Hebrew masculine name אֲחִיעֻזִּר "my brother is the help" and the feminine name אֲחִינֹעַם "my brother is the charm of love" &c. (or "brother of death" = אֲחִימוֹת[?] 1 Chron. VI. 10). Sanherib mentions in his annalistic inscription col. II. 51; III. 24 a king of Ashdod called Mi-ti-in-ti "Mitinti", whose name may most readily be interpreted as מִתִּנְתִּי formed form מַתַּנְיָה = מַתַּתְיָה 2 Kings
163 XXIV. 17 &c. The final יָה would be shortened to i as in מַלְאָכִי "Jahve's messenger". The occurrence of the word "Jahve" in a *heathen* personal name might then be explained in somewhat the same way as that described in

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* The change from s (ס) to š (שׁ) takes place in accordance with a prevalent phonetic law; see Assyr. Bab. Keilinsch. p. 135 no. 23; Berl. Monatsberichte 1877 p. 80.

the note on Gen. II. 4. Lastly, Asarhaddon makes mention cylind. Bellino 18 of a king A ḥ(i)-mi l-k i of Ashdod whose name evidently = Hebrew אֲחִימֶלֶךְ (phonet. A-ḥi-mil-ki; see above p. 105). So also Asurbanipal Rassam 3. See my essay mentioned above ibid.

XII. 11. לָכִישׁ *Lakish*, see on 2 Kings XVIII. 14.

18. אֲפֵק *Aphek*, see on 1 Kings XX. 26.

20. שִׁמְרוֹן מְר(א)וֹן *Shimrôn-Merôn*. A Kanaanite royal city otherwise not known, perhaps corrupted from the original form שמש-מרן and therefore identical with the S a m s i-m u r u n a = Hebrew Šamši-murun i. e. שַׁמְשִׁ־מֻרָן mentioned on Sanherib's Taylor-cylinder at the head of the tributary Kanaanite states and before Sidon, Arados, Byblos and Ashdod; and in the inscriptions of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal after Byblos and Arados. The proper reading of this name has meanwhile been established by the fragment of a cylinder of Asurbanipal recently discovered by M^r. Rassam. See my essay on "Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pilesers II, des Asarhaddon und des Asurbanipal" (Berlin. Akad.) 1879—80, VIII. p. 34. Whether indeed the Hebrew name of the city existing in the text may not have arisen itself merely by dittographia of מרון from the original שמרון (comp. XI. 1), is at least a matter for enquiry. The Biblical spot is found by A. Socin (Bädeker, Palästina u. Syrien, Leipzig 1875, p. 441) in the present *es-Semîrîje* near to, and North of Akko, and South of Akzîb-Ekdippa. M i n ḥ i m m u = מְנַחֵם and A b i b a' a l = אביבעל are mentioned as kings of Samsi-muruna. See the passages from the inscriptions communicated in the notes on 2 Kings XVIII. 13; XXI. 1.

XIII. 3. עֶקְרוֹן *Ekrôn*, a well known Philistine town 164
North-East of Ashdod. With this city we should identify

the Am-ḳar-ru-na frequently occurring in the inscriptions of Sanherib, Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal (Sanherib Tayl. II. 69; III. 1. 25; Asarhad. cyl. Bellino V. 16; Smith's Assurban. 31, h; Rassam 3 line 7). Amgarûn, by resolving the reduplication and replacing it by a liquid, is said for Aḳḳarûn, comp. LXX Ἀκκάρων. Rulers more or less independent stood at the head of the state, even in the days of Sanherib and Asarhaddon, just as in the case of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Byblos, Tyrus and Sidon. Of these rulers of Ekron, one who lived during the reign of Sanherib was called Pa-di-i i. e. Padiah, a name exactly corresponding to the Hebrew פְּדָיָה 2 Kings XXIII. 36. Respecting the occurrence of the name for deity Jahve, see on Gen. II. 4. The king who ruled this small realm in the time of Asarhaddon was called I-ka-u-su (I-ka-sam-su?—Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 79).

The view respecting the Amḳarun of the inscriptions advocated above is opposed to that of Oppert and Ménant. According to the latter, we ought to understand by Amḳarûn or Amgarûn the place Migron in the tribe of Benjamin. But the change in the pronunciation of this word, which we must assume in this case, is sufficient of itself to awaken our suspicions. For we should at least expect a form A-mi-gar-run. But there are other grounds which render Oppert's view untenable. 1) It is inconceivable, and also inconsistent with all the historical notices in the Bible, that a more or less independent ruler could have established himself in the midst of a Judaean district, a few miles from Jerusalem. 2) That this is all the more inconceivable in the case of a place which like Migron was under any circumstances quite an unimportant spot. 3) That the campaign of Sanherib, in which he first reached Amḳarûn (col. II.

65. 69; III. 1), clearly passed along the Philistine coast. 165
The king reached in succession Beth-Dagon (in the tribe of Dan), Joppa, Bnē-Bĕraḳ, and Ashkelon. It is just upon this route that the Philistine Ekron lies. How he could have suddenly diverged to Migron, North of Jerusalem, it is quite impossible to see.* 4) Lastly, in col. III line 25 Amḳarûn is mentioned next to Ashdod and Gaza, and in the inscriptions of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal we find Amḳarûn between Ashkelon and Byblos. The order is: Gaza, Ashkelon, Amḳarûn, Byblos, Arvad. Thus we see that everything tells in favour of Ekron and nothing in favour of Migron. Accordingly we follow Rawlinson and Talbot in identifying Amḳarûn with the Philistine town Ekron.

עַזָּה *Gaza*, see on XI, 22.

אַשְׁדּוֹד *Ashdôd*, see on XI. 22 [Germ. ed. *Asdôd*].

אַשְׁקְלוֹן *Ashkelôn*, in the inscriptions Is-ḳa-lu-na (Asarhaddon 48. I. 4) and Is-ḳa-al-lu-na (Sanher. Tayl. II. 58. 63). Next we find in Sanherib's inscription (line 58. 67) a king Ṣi-id-ḳa-a i. e. Zidḳa (צִדְקָה) as king of Ashkelon. The first part of the name is without doubt the Hebrew צֶדֶק "righteousness". It is more difficult to say what is the origin of the final â. We meet, however, in Hebrew also (Ezra X. 33) with a name מַתַּתָּה which unquestionably = מַתַּתְיָה, Olshausen Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache p. 613. Consequently, in the king's name which is under discussion, the final â must be considered to have arisen out of יָהּ and the name identified with the Hebr. צִדְקִיָּהוּ Zedekiah i. e. righteousness (righteous) is Jahve. Comp. Gen. II. 4.—Two other royal names are recorded in the

* Riehm in Theol. Studien u. Kritiken 1868 IV. p. 697.

166 inscription of Sanherib (line 62) above quoted, namely Šar-lu-dâ-ri and Ru-kib-ti (the former son of the latter). With respect to the first name (for the reading comp. Smith's Assurbanipal p. 48 and the Var. III Rawl. 1), it is evidently not an ordinary Hebrew-Kanaanite form. We are rather reminded of the corresponding name in the canon of rulers (III Rawl. 1 col. IV. 39) Bĭl-lu-da-ri. The latter signifies "Bel is indeed an eternal one" (dâri partic. of darâ = dûr דור); the former i. e. Šarludâri means "the king is eternal (ruling)". But how does the Philistine king get this pure Assyrian name? Just in the same way as the son of Necho I obtained the pure Assyrian name Nabû-šízib-anni (Smith's Assurban. 46. 64), i. e. the tributary king took the Assyrian name in deference to his feudal lord. Indeed Sanherib describes this Šarludâri as the former Assyrian vassal king i. e. placed on his throne by Sanherib himself or Sargon. This fact is, however, certainly worthy of notice. The name of the father Rukibti remains to a certain extent obscure, though a derivation from the root רכב appears almost self-evident. Respecting the other king's name Mi-ti-in-ti i. e. מַנַּחְתִּי, which is furnished by the inscriptions of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal (broken clay cylinder and Rassam 3, comp. I Rawl. 48), see note on Josh. XI. 22.

גַּת, perhaps as (ír) Gi-im-tu As-du-di-im-mu = גת אסדדים "Gath of the Asdodites"; comp. גַּת פְּלִשְׁתִּים "Gath of the Philistines", the Biblical Gath. Asdudim should of course be regarded as a pure Hebrew form, and as a word that so sounded to the Assyrian ear, and was in this manner reproduced. Gimtu, however, should be considered to stand for gintu גנת, which became contracted to גַּת "wine-press", just as bintu to בַּת; see Halévy in Zeitschrift

der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XXXII. p. 397; Delitzsch Parad. p. 290. The last mentioned writer would resolve Asdudimmu into Asdudi immu = אשדוד הַיָּם "Ashdod on sea" and regard this as a special port-town of this name. 167

XV. 41. בֵּית־דָּגוֹן *Beth-Dâgôn*, a town in the district of the tribe of Juda, situated according to Eusebius* between Jamnia and Diospolis. This position agrees admirably with the passage in the inscription of Sanherib II. 66, where mention is made of a town Bît-Da-kan near Joppa and Banaibarḳa i. e. Bnê-Bĕraḳ now Bêt-Dedschân.

46. וימה is probably a corruption from the original form וְיַבְנֶה, as may be seen by comparing the LXX (as well as 2 Chron. XXVI. 6). *Jabne*, a town on the Mediterranean, Greek Ἰαμνιὰ, Ἰαμνία, Ἰαμνεία, is *not* Assyrian (mât, ír) Ia-am-na-ai Sarg. cyl. 21; Botta 36. 22 (Ménant and others). See on the other hand p. 81. 169.

As we from time to time have seen, the Semitic character of well-nigh all the Philistine royal names, handed down to us in the Assyrian inscriptions, is clearly apparent (see on Josh. XI. 22: Gaza and Ashdod; in the present passage Ekron and Ashkelon). Accordingly, in the future it will scarcely occur to anyone to regard the Philistines as anything else (Hitzig) than Semites.

XVI. 3. גָּזֶר *Gazer*, a town on the Philistaeo-Ephraimite border situated West of Bethhoron. With this royal city in the continued occupation of the Kanaanites (see verse 10; Judg. I. 29; 1 Kings IX. 16) I formerly identified A-zu-ru (col. II. 66), mentioned by Sanherib in his annal-inscription as destroyed by him. But in this conjecture we should have to assume the weakening of the

* See Lagarde, Onomastica sacra, Gottingen 1870, I. p. 104. 14. 235, 14.

g to a mere aspirate, which is open to objection. Meanwhile the Biblical Gazer has been recovered in the spot Tell el Dshezer, lying between el-Ḳubâb and Ekrôn (see Bädeker, Palästina u. Syrien p. 143), and thus there is no
168 connection between this and the Assyrian Azuru. We might well, however, compare Jâzûr (Bädeker Paläst. p. 137), situated South-East of Joppa, as Delitzsch does in Parad. p. 289. In the first edition of the present work Jâzûr was wrongly held, with Van der Velde, to be the ancient Gazer. Jâzûr lies—comp. Sanherib's inscription—in the immediate neighbourhood of Joppa, on the one side, and of Beth-Dâgôn and Bnê-Bĕraḳ, on the other.

I would also remark that Hieronymus in the Onomasticon is likewise acquainted with a place Asor in the neighbourhood of Ashkelon. We read (Onomast. sacr. ed. Lagarde 1870 I p. 90. 7—10):—*est et alia villa usque hodie Asor in finibus Ascalonis contra orientem ejus, quae cecidit in sortem tribus Judae, cujus et scriptura meminit, adpellans eam ad distinctionem veteris Asor novam.* But this Asor appears to be referable to a word חצור (comp. line 6 the Asor i. e. חצור of Jabin). Besides, in the reproduction of צ in foreign words the Assyrians were generally very accurate. In addition to this, the position of the spot is scarcely, if at all, suitable.

XVII. 11. דאר *Dôr*, in the inscriptions (ír) Du-'-ru, is included in a geographical list beside a place mentioned in same the verse.

מְגִדּוֹ in the inscriptions (ír) Ma-gi-du-u, also Ma-ga-du-u (II Rawl. 53 no. IV. 57 foll.; no. III. 56; no. I. 40). The orthography דאר, with א in the middle, certified by the cuneiform inscriptions (we have also הוֹר XII. 23 & elsewhere) is also found, as the reader is aware, on the

inscription of Eshmunazar line 19; Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 121 foll.

XIX. 29. צֹר *Tyrus**, the well known royal city of Phoenicia, is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions in the form (ír, mât**) Ṣur-ru, Ṣur-ri. We find it in the 169
monolith-inscription of Asurnaṣirhabal col. III. 86 along with Sidon and Byblos; likewise in the inscription of king Rammannirâr I Rawl. 35 line 22, in those of Sargon e. g. cylinder-inscription I Rawl. 36 line 21 as well as those of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal (see my essay Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tigl.-Pil.'s II &c. p. 33). We gather from the passage in the monolith-inscription that Tyre, as well as Sidon, was tributary to Assyria as early as the first half of the 9th century. The passage in the inscription of Sargon runs as follows: li-' tam-ḥa-ri, ša i-na ḳabal tiâm-tiv mât Ia-av-na-ai sa-an-da-niš ki-ma nuu-ni i-ba-ru-u-ma u-šap-ši-ḫu mât Ḳu-í u ír Ṣur-ri i. e. "(Sargon) courageously (לח) to the combat, who in the midst of the sea draws forth the Ionians like sandaniš fishes, and rescued the land Ḳuí, as well as the city Tyre, from their oppression" (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 238, comp. with Delitzsch Parad. p. 248).*** From

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* With respect to the reproduction of the Semitic emphatic sibilant by the Graeco-Latin *t* in this name, see J. Olshausen in Berlin. Akad. Monatsber. 1879 pp. 550 foll.

** Generally we have the latter determinative; ír occurs in II Rawl. 67, 66; Sargon Khorsab. l. c.

*** ušapšiḫu, root פשח (= Arabic فسح ?), causative like the Hebr. הִרְחִיב root רחב Ps. IV. 2.—With regard to the fact, we must bear in mind Sanherib's victory over the Ionian fleet on the Cilician coast [Abydenus quoted in Eusebius' chron. (Schoene) I. 35]. Respecting the land Ḳuí i. e. the Cilician coast-region, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 236 foll.

this passage we learn that Tyre occupied the position of a vassal towards Sargon; also Sargon does not inform us that the city was actually subjugated. He apparently contented himself with its recognition of Assyrian supremacy and the payment of a tribute. Such tribute was paid by the city to Asarhaddon also (cylind. V. 11). Respecting Salmanassar's disastrous expedition against Tyre (Menander in Josephus Arch. IX. 14. 2), see my essay in Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken 1870 pp. 531 foll. We have the names of three Tyrian kings recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions, namely Mi-í-tí-ín-na (Tigl.-Pil. II, see II Rawl.
170 67, 66) i. e. *Mytton*, *Mutton*, *Metten* &c. = מתן (Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung p. 528); also Ḥi-ru-um-mu (III Rawl. 9. 51) in another inscription of the same king, i. e. *Hiram* חִירָם 1 Kings V. 15 &c. חִירוֹם 1 Kings VII. 40; חוּרָם 1 Chron. XIV. 1 &c.*; lastly Ba-'-lu(li) in Asarhaddon's and Asurbanipal's** records, i. e. evidently בעל, the name of a deity which also appears several times in the Old Testament as a personal proper name; see 1 Chron. V. 5; VIII. 30; IX. 36 (also Josephus contra Apion I, 21 mentions a Tyrian king named Baal living in the 6th century).

אַכְזִיב *Ekdippa* is mentioned in the inscription of Sanherib, i. e. on Taylor's cylinder, in the form Ak-zi-bi in connection with Sidon, Sarepta and Akko. From the last mentioned circumstance it follows that it was not the Judaean *Ekdippa*

* Among these three forms of the name preserved in the Old Testament, חִירָם is the only one that is to be regarded as original, when we compare the Assyrian Ḥirummu and the *Εἴρωμος* of Josephus (contr. Apion. I, 17 sq.).

** Smith's Assurbanipal 31 b has the same name in the form Ba-'-al. Assurb. cylind. Rassam (V Rawl. 2. 49) has Ba-'-li, comp. Smith's Assurban. p. 58, 84.

(Josh. XV. 44; Mic. I. 14) that can have been meant (as Ménant supposes). The present Ekdippa lay in the district of the tribe Asher; comp. also Judg. I. 31.

43. תִּמְנָתָה, also תִּמְנָה *Timnath*, a Philistine town (Jud. XIV. 1), generally included in the tribe of Dan (as in the present passage), but in earlier times also included in the tribe of Juda (Josh. XV. 10. 57). Its position South East of Ekron, East of Ashdod, and on the frontier of Juda, exactly accords with the manner in which it is mentioned in the inscription of Sanherib Taylor-cylinder II. 83 under the name Ta-a m-n a-a. It is there spoken of as lying between Altaḳû (see immediately below) and Ekron. Now Tibneh, the ancient Timnath, lies South-East of Ekron, on the frontier of the Judaean and Philistine district.

44. אֶלְתְּקֵה *Eltekeh* is a spot which has remained to the 171
present time undiscovered. According to this passage it is certainly to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Ekron. There is a close coincidence between this Hebrew-Philistine name for the city and that of the city Altaḳû (Al-ta-ḳu-u Sanherib Taylor-cyl. II. 76), spoken of by Sanherib as the spot where the battle between him and the Aegyptians was fought. In another passage of the inscription (coll. II. 82. 83) this place is mentioned in conjunction with a second, Timnath (Tamnâ). Sanherib boasts of having destroyed both these towns. Moreover we learn from col. III. 1 that the king, immediately after their capture, marched to Ekron, in order to reinstate there king Padî, who had been banished by the inhabitants. All this is in complete accord, if the Eltekeh of this passage of scripture be identical with the Altaḳû of the inscription. There is, indeed, still another view which has been propounded. According to this opinion, it was not the above

Philistine Eltekeh that was intended in the inscription, but the אֶלְתְּקֹן of Josh. XV. 59, to be looked for in the tribe of Juda, North of Hebron and close to that town. But, in the *first* place, it is not clear why the two hostile forces should have confronted each other at this particular spot, since it is quite certain that the Aegyptian army would not have adopted any other route from Aegypt to Western Asia than that which had been taken by all military expeditions from that quarter, namely *viâ* Gaza and Philistia. Now Sanherib had already advanced as far as Lakish (see note on 2 Kings XVIII. 14). Hence it was impossible for the Aegyptian army to have diverged to the right, towards Hebron, on roads scarcely to be traversed by an army; for in this case its entire flank would have been exposed to the enemy. In the *second* place, the form of the Philistine Eltekeh, which ends in a vowel, harmonizes better with the Assyrian
172 Altaḳû, than the Judaean Eltekôn terminating in a consonantal *n*. *Thirdly*, the large open plain by Ekron is far better adapted for such a decisive battle, than the ground near Hebron, hemmed in by mountains. *Lastly*, the locality Timnath, that is mentioned in the inscription along with Altaḳû (as well as Ekron), points clearly to Philistia and not to Juda. Therefore we must not connect the Altaḳû of the inscriptions with the Judaean, but with the Philistine Eltekeh; see also notes on 2 Kings XVIII.

45. בְּנֵי בְרַק Benēberaḳ, the modern Ibn Ibraḳ, North East of Joppa. There cannot be any doubt that the Ba-na-ai-bar-ḳa, mentioned in Sanherib's annal-inscription together with Joppa and Beth Dagon (col. II. 66), is identical with this spot.

46. יָפוֹ *Joppa, Jaffa*, on the coast of the Mediterranean sea. This town also is mentioned in the inscriptions, viz.

col. II. 66, where the same Ja-ap-pu-u* occurs between Beth-Dagon and Banaibarḳa. This exactly agrees with its geographical position.

XXI. 32. חַמֹּת דֹּאר *Hammôth-Dôr*, probably the ír Ḥa-ma-a-tav mentioned in a geographical list (II Rawl. 53. I. 40 foll.; see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 122) after Du-'-ru and Ṣu-bat i. e. דֹּאר and צוֹבָה. This ír Ḥa-ma-tav is not to be confounded with ír Ḥamat(ti) i. e. Hamath** mentioned in the same list (line 37) between Damaskus, an unknown city, and Hadrach.

BOOK OF JUDGES.

I. 27. מְגִדּוֹ *Megiddô*, in the inscriptions Ma-gi-du-u, also Ma-ga-du-u, see note on Josh. XVII. 11.

31. עַכּוֹ *Akkô*, a Phoenician port-town, likewise mentioned 173
in the form Ak-ku-u = Akkû by Sanherib (col. II. 40) in his annals in conjunction with Sarepta and Ekdippa. See also Smith's Assurbanipal 282, 103 = V Rawl. 9. 122.

אַחְלָב *Achlâb* and also חֶלְבָּה *Chelbâ* remind us of the Ma-ḥal-li-ba occurring in Sanherib cylind. II. 39 (see on 2 Kings XVIII. 13) between Sarepta on the one side, and Ušû, Ekdippa and Akko on the other; Delitzsch Parad. pp. 283 foll.

אַכְזִיב *Ekdippa*, see on Josh. XIX. 29.

II. 11. בְּעָלִים *Baals*. We meet with the form בַּעַל with an *a*, employed to denote this deity, only in the case of the

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* Sanherib (Rassam) furnishes the form Ja-pu-u ; Delitzsch, Parad. p. 289.

** Respecting the question whether the Hammath mentioned in Josh. XIX. 35 is identical with this Hammôth-Dôr, see the commentaries on the passage.

names borrowed from the Kanaanites. Thus a king of Tyre is called Ba'lu i. e. בַּעַל (see on Josh. XIX. 29); similarly in Sanherib col. II. 48 we find a king of Sidon called Tu-ba-'-lu i. e. אֶתְבַּעַל; moreover in the inscription of Asarhaddon I Rawl. 48. 6 is mentioned a king of Samaria named A-bi-ba-al (with no indication of the aspirate) i. e. אביבעל; also a king of Arvad on Salmanassar II's monolith at Karch (see below), who bore the name Matinu-ba'li, i. e. analogous to מַתַּנְיָה and other similar names (without doubt identical with the Phoenician מתנבעל as well as with Muthumballes; see above p. 88); lastly, on the same stone there is mentioned an Adunibal of Sisan(?), comp. the Hebrew אֶדְנִיקָם. See also above on p. 88 foll. the names of the Arvadite princes. The native Assyrio-Babylonian pronunciation of the name for the deity was Bĭlu = בְּעַל. This is in by far the larger number of instances written ideographically with the sign I'N, whose signification bĭlu בעל we learn from variants (e. g. Asurnâṣirhabal Monolith I. 26. 32; also Nebucadnezar Bellino-cylind. II. 41), and also with the other sign BI' e. g. Salman. Obelisk 3, also I'N. KIT(GI') II Rawl. 48, 31.b; list of deities in Delitzsch's Assyrische Lesestücke pp. 39 foll. From a comparison of this list with
174 the catalogue of gods in Salmanassar's inscription we infer the identity of the divinities denoted by the above ideograms. Moreover, just as in Hebrew, the word bĭlu is a simple appellative, meaning "lord", quite as often as it is the proper name of the god Bel. For example, in the passage on the Bellino-cylinder, Samas (the sun) and another deity are addressed as bi-í-li-í-a "my lords" (in the variant stands the ideogram I'N with the plural sign and the suffix a). In the same way the singular bĭl-ja "my

lord", bĭlu rabû "the great lord" are frequently to be read in the inscriptions.

The Assyrians and Babylonians distinguish two deities of the name Bel. First, the elder Bel is written with the sign BI′ and I′N. KIT (GI′). This is the Bel of the first triad of deities (II Rawl. 48. 31 a. b; list of gods in Delitzsch ibid. line 7). In the inscription of Salmanassar he is described by the epithets ṣi-i-ru a-bu ilî ba-nu-u "the exalted, the father of gods, the creator"; in Tiglath-Pileser I col. I. 3. 4: bĭ-lu šar gi-mir (ilu) A-nun-na-ki a-bu ilî (ilu*) bĭl mâtâti "the lord, the king of the whole of the Anunnaki**, the father of the gods, [the god who is] the lord of countries." Here it should, however, be observed that Asur also is designated as abu ili "father of the gods", see Sargoninscr. pavé des portes Botta pl. 7 quat. 153. The younger Bel, I′N = Bĭlu, is the same as the planetary god Marduk "Merodach", the god of the planet Jupiter (Khorsab. 143; Sanher. cylind. I Rawl. 41. V, 20; Layard 17, 15; II Rawl. 48, 36. 37 b). In contrast with the old Bel, the "father of the gods", this is called (ilu) Bĭlu abal (ilu) Bĭlu "Bel son of Bel" (comp. the designation of the old Bel as bĭlu 175
in Tigl. Pileser's inscription ibid.) as well as nu-ur ilî "light of the gods" (Smith's Assurb. 155. 43; V Rawl. 3, 112 foll. Bĭlit (NIN. KIT) appears as the consort of the old Bel; see Salmanassar Obelisk 12: Bĭlit ḥi-ir-ti Bĭl (BI′) um ilî "Beltis, wife of Bel, the mother of the gods"***. As the consort of Bel-Merodach, we have Zir-bâni-ti

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* Is omitted upon a cylinder.

** Respecting these existences see above p. 57 (and footnote **), where Annunaki is a misprint for Anunnaki.

*** On this see P. de Lagarde, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Leipzig

i. e. "the bestower of posterity" זרע־בניה* Layard XVII. 15; II Rawl. 67, 12; also pronounced and written Zar-pa-ni-tuv (II Rawl. 48. 37; Nebuc. cyl. Grot. I. 27). II Rawlinson 66. B. 1 (inscription of Asurbanipal) bestows on her the epithet bĭ-lit mâtâti a-ši-bat I'(bîtu) BAR. BAR "mistress of countries; who inhabits there the temple BAR. BAR." In the bull-inscriptions of Sanherib (Layard inscr. 38. 3) she is called:—ilu bĭ-lit ilî bĭ-lit nab-ni-ti i-na lib ib-ba** um mi*** a-lid-ti-ja ki-niš
176 ŠI. BAR-an-ni† "the deity, the mistress of the gods, the mistress of the fruit of the body, has in the womb of the mother, who gave me birth, carefully rocked me"; comp. I Rawl. 36, 60 in which Sargon describes just the same goddess as: Ilu bĭ-lit ili mu-rap-pi-šat ta-lid-ti-šu "the deity, the ruler of the gods, who made his (the kings) birth glorious". Also she appears as bu-kur-ti (ilu) A-nuv šur-bu-ut ilî ma-li-kat na-ki-ri "first-born of Anu, the pride of the gods, the conqueror of

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1866, p. 16.—IV Rawl. 27, 25. 26a calls here briefly um-mu rabî-tuv "the great (noble) mother."

* Perhaps too the name Kar-ba-ni-ti, with which an Aegyptian town was named anew by the Assyrian king (see Smith's Assurban. 38. 14), is to be explained as amounting in signification to "*She* (the goddess) *made or founded the fortress*". Comp. also the proper name Zĭr-bâni "the producer of posterity", which is to be regarded as combined with the name of a male deity II Rawl. 69 III Rev. 19.

** Probably an Akkadian word adopted into the Assyrian, meaning "interior", "bosom"; see Lenormant Études Accad. II. 264.

*** In the text there stands AGARINNI which a syllabary explains by um mu (no. 192) "mother" Hebr. אֵם.

† ŠI. BAR-an-ni stands in the text. It is clear that ŠI. BAR is a verbal ideogram. The syllabaries inform us that its Semitic equivalent is na plûsu, root פָּלַס i. e. *to rock*.

enemies" II Rawl. 66 I. 4 (comp. also on II, 14). Among the planets Venus, Assyr. Dilbat = *Δελέβατ*, as the evening star corresponds to her; see the syllabary quoted on verse 13. Her name Bĭlit is preserved to us by Herodotus I. 31 in the form *Mylitta*, which word has nothing to do with the Semitic root ילד. From the passages which have been cited it may be gathered that bĭlit, bĭltuv in Assyrian, just like bĭlu, is quite as much an appellative as a proper name. There was a strong tendency to form proper names compounded of the name Bel e. g. Bĭl-ibuš (Belibos) properly "Bel produced", also Bĭl-šar-uṣur (Belshazzar) i. e. "Bel, protect the king" &c.* According to the selected ideogram (AN. I'N) it is Bel-Merodach that is properly speaking to be understood as referred to, at least in the names that have been quoted.

13. עַשְׁתֹּרֶת *Astarte.* This deity is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, and always in the form Iš-tar i. e. without the feminine ending. That we are here actually dealing with the goddess in question, is proved by the 177
proper name Ištar-dûr-ḳali upon a bilingual inscription (II Rawl. 70 no. 4), to which corresponds the Aramaic transcription עשדרקל (see also Assyr. Babylon. Keilinschriften, Controle der Entzifferung p. 169); likewise by the feminine epithet bĭ-lit "mistress", which is bestowed on her e. g. in I Rawl. 9. IX. b line 2, in the phrase Iš-tar bĭlit ta-ḥa-zi "Astarte, the mistress of battle"; lastly by the feminine plural formed from the singular, Iš-tar-at Khor-

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* See Assyr. Babylon. Keilinsch. pp. 128. 133 foll. With regard to the name Bĭl-ibuš written (a) Bĭl-ibuš, (b) Bĭl-ibu-uš, (c) Bĭl-i-bu-uš, see in particular my observation in the Berichte der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 1880 ("Zur Babylon. Assyr. Chronologie") p. 9 note 1.

sab. 176 and Ištarâ-tí II Rawl. 66 1, 2 (here with the sign for the plural inserted). We need not comment on the fact that עשתר in Assyrian, though without the feminine ending, denotes the female deity, to show how important it is, especially for the decision of the question how the term Astor-Kamos on the Moabite Stone of Mesa (line 17) is to be understood.*

It is particularly to be observed that in the Assyrian inscriptions she properly speaking appears as the goddess of warlike strife. Not only does Asurbanipal describe her as bĭlit taḥazi "ruler of battle", but the more ancient Tiglath Pileser I calls her in col. I, 13 foll.: bî-lit tí-šĭ-í, mu-šar-ri-ḥat ḳablâ-ti "mistress of victory (? תשע), who makes the struggles mighty". In other passages (*ibid.*) she is denominated also rĭš-ti ili "princess of the gods" or else (Salmanassar Obelisk 13) rĭš-ti šamí u irṣi-tí "princess of heaven and earth", also as ḥi-rat Bĭl "consort of Bel" III Rawl. 24. 80, comp. with V Rawl. 8. 92. From the latter epithet, which we have already (see on chap. II. 11) met conjoined with Bĭlit-Beltis, it may be concluded that
178 Istar-Astarte is fundamentally identical with the latter. Bĭlit, on the other hand, is also called in Asurban. II Rawl. 66 A. 1 rĭṣ-ti šami-í irṣi-tiv šar-rat kal (nabḥar) ilî "princess of heaven (and) earth, queen of the whole of the gods" (comp. above). Indeed Bĭlit in one case obtains the very epithet bĭ-lit ḳabli u taḥâzi "mistress of strife and battle" ibid. 5, which appears in

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* On this subject compare Dillmann in Berlin. Monatsberichte 1881 p. 605. Respecting the remarkable feminine sing. iš-ta-ri-tuv used in the appellative sense of "goddess", see the Hymns in Delitzsch's Assyrische Lesestücke p. 73 line 4.

other instances reserved for Istar. Moreover in the Babylonian epic of the "Descent of Istar to Hades" (see my interpretation Giessen 1874 pp. 8 foll.) Istar also appears throughout as the goddess of (animal) fruitfulness (obv. 77—80; rev. 5—8). We are told in an oft-discussed syllabary III Rawl. 53 no. 2 rev. 36 foll., how the Assyrians themselves held this unity in duality:

. . . Dil-bat* ina šamši âṣî (ilu) Ištar kakkabî . . .
. . . Dil-bat ina šamši âribi (ilu) Bĭ-lit ilî . . .

"Delephat at the rising sun is Istar among the stars;
Delephat at the setting sun is Beltis among the gods".

This states**: the planet Venus in the morning, or the morning star, is representative of the goddess Istar; the planet Venus in the evening, or the evening star, is representative of the deity Beltis. With this agrees another passage in the same tablet III Rawl. 53. 30 foll. in which AN. Dilbat i. e. the planet Venus is described as 1) sin-ni-ša- 179
at || ištu šamši âribi . . . . . i. e. as "feminine" namely "from the setting of the sun [till its rising]" and 2) as zi-ka-rat || ištu šamši âṣî DU . . . . . i. e. as "masculine" namely "from the rising of the sun [till its setting]". This, however, means that the divinity of the planet Venus, as goddess of the evening star, has a feminine, and as goddess of the morning star, a masculine character.***

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* To the Akkadian dil-bat corresponds the Assyrian nabû 'to announce' (II Rawl. 7. 37 g. h; IV Rawl. 27 I, 23/24). Venus is the planet that announces either the day or the night. With the latter passage comp. p. 77 note 2 above.

** On this see Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XXVII p. 403. The rendering there given is to be corrected in accordance with the above.

*** zikaru is often used in Assyrian in the sense in which it is rendered above.

In conclusion we may say that we have here two deities altogether distinct from each other. Hence I am unable to believe, with Sayce and Gelzer, in a hermaphrodite character attaching to Istar, even on the basis of this syllabary (see on the other hand A. H. Sayce in Transact. of the Society of Biblical Archaeology III, pp. 196 foll.; H. Gelzer in the Aegyptische Zeitschrift 1875 p. 30). And after what was fundamentally one deity had been differentiated, each one came subsequently to have a special origin assigned to it. While Beltis was called "first-born of Anu" (see on verse 11), Istar was named in the "Descent to Hades" Obv. 2. 3 banat (marat) (ilu) Sin "daughter of the moon-god".

It may also be observed that Istar-Astarte in her ultimate origin is scarcely a Semitic divinity. The Semitic languages furnish no satisfactory derivation for her name, and the mode of writing the plural ištar-at and also iš-tar-at (for iš-ta-ra-at), which is very largely, if not universally, prevalent, points decidedly to a foreign ancestry of the word (see Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 87 below). The same remark applies to the termination tar, which appears elsewhere in non-Semitic, Sumíro-Akkadian words; comp. nam-tar "the plague" (properly "the decision"); a-tar "father of decision" &c. This Assyrio-Babylonian Ištar became among the South-Arabian (Himyarites) عثتر
180 (with lisped t in place of the sibilant). This fact is to be regarded as parallel to the modification of the Assyrian Ašur into the Aramaic אַתּוּר; compare Greek Ἀτουρία.

I would also remark that the Assyrians likewise employed the plural ištarât for "goddesses" in an altogether general sense; e. g. Tiglath-Pileser I col. IV. 38 . . . . u ištar-at mâti-ja "and the goddesses of my land"; again

in Khorsabad 176 ilî u iš-tar-at a-ši-bu-ti mât Aššur "the gods and goddesses who dwell in the land of Assyria". We might readily suppose that the Hebrew plural עַשְׁתָּרוֹת is to be connected with this use of the plural of ištar. But we hold this combination to be unwarranted. The plural of עשתרת should rather be regarded as parallel to the plural בְּעָלִים, and should therefore be explained in another way. It should be referred to the images set up in the temples, to the different statues of this divinity.

VIII. 10. קַרְקֹר *Ḳarḳôr*. As the name for a city, it occurs with tolerable frequency in the region where the Semitic languages were spoken. Eusebius (Onomast. ed. Lagarde pp. 110, 115) knew of a Ḳarḳôr in the neighbourhood of Petra. This cannot be identical with the Ḳarḳôr referred to in the Bible. The Assyrian inscriptions likewise make mention of a city Ḳar-ḳa-ru(ra, ri) (Salmanassar monolith III Rawl. 7. 90; Sargon Khorsab. 34. 35) which must have been situated near Hamath. On account of its position, this place also cannot be connected with the spot bearing the same name, which is mentioned in the Book of Judges.

IX. 15. אֵשׁ־וְתֹאכַל *"fire—that will devour."* Compare the inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon line 10 foll. i-ša-tuv ta-ta-ak-ka-al-šu (so we should read with Oppert, Journal Asiatique, June 1872) "fire devoured it (the build- 181
ing)". Išatu* of which the plural is išâtu (comp. on

* To the sing. išatu corresponds the ideogram NI (Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke 73, 1/2), to the plur. išâtu corresponds the plur. NI. MI'S (passim). Lotz on the other hand (Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I p. 118 foll.), following the Syriac and Acthiopic, regards išâtu as a singular.

XVIII. 27), = Hebrew אִשׁ; tatakkal Ifta. of אכל (instead of תַּאְתַּכַּל).

XIV. 19. חֲלִיפוֹת *changes of clothes, clothes*; comp. on Gen. XLV. 22.

XVI. 23. לְדָגוֹן אֱלֹהֵיהֶם *to Dagon, their god.* We meet with this Philistine divinity also among the Assyrians; by them it is called Da-kan e. g. Stand. inscription line 1; Asurnâṣir-habal Monolith I. 11 (9th century); Sargon in Layard plate 33 line 1; I Rawl. 36, 1. The identity of both names may be proved from the Assyrian transcription of the name of the city Beth-Dagon by Bît-Da-kan (see on Josh. XV. 41). Moreover the ancient Babylonian inscription of Hammurabi in the British Museum (2nd millenn. B. C.) col. I line 8. 9 preserves to us the form Da-gan-ni. The name chiefly occurs in the inscriptions in conjunction with that of the divinity Anu (as in the passages that are quoted). It is also noticeable that the name Dagan likewise occurs in combination with that of the deity Bel, in the form Bel-Dagon, as for example in the above-cited passage in the inscription of Hammurabi.

We inquire, what was the signification and origin of the name? On this subject, as the reader is aware, there are two opposite opinions. According to the one view the name of the god is derived from דָּגָן "corn", and he was therefore a deity of *vegetative* fertility and growth; according to the other view his name was derived from דָּג "fish", and he was therefore the "fish-god" and hence god of *animal* fruitfulness. Neither of these opinions can be correct. The corresponding radical word must have been used in Assy-
182 rian. But this is not the name either for 'corn' or 'fish' in Assyrian. The former is called šî, šîuv, the latter nûnu. In the form Da-gan the word has an Akkadian type and

the name of this deity probably passed from this language into the Babylonio-Assyrian* and other Semitic languages. We do not however assert on this ground that among the Babylonians this deity was not likewise a fish-deity. Compare the human fish of Berossus Ὡδάκων (Eusebius-Schoene 10, 17). Whether among the figured representations the characters exhibiting a fish-skin thrown over them, or, on the other hand, the sculptured representation which passes into the body of a fish and depicts a bearded man wearing a cap, is intended to express Dagon, must remain a matter of uncertainty (see the figures in Riehm's Handwörterb. des bibl. Alterthums Art. Dagon). The author would certainly be disposed to regard the former figure as a representation of Oannes, and the latter as that of Dagon-Odakon. (Dagon cannot any longer be connected with the god *Δάχος* mentioned by Damascius, see above p. 12.)

XVIII. 27. שָׂרְפוּ בָאֵשׁ *they consumed with fire.* Just the same phrase occurs times without number in the inscriptions, viz. i-na i-ša-a-ti aš-ru-up "I consumed with fire", as for example Botta 76. 11; Tiglath-Pileser I col. V. 60. 72 &c. Comp. note on chap. IX. 15.

II SAMUEL.

VIII. 3. 5. צוֹבָה *Ssôbâ*, a city and kingdom of Syria. In an inscription of Asurbanipal (Smith's Assurb. p. 259, 122) there appears a city Ṣu-bi-tí (צָבִית), which can 183

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* We have another testimony to the very great antiquity of the Dagon-worship in Babylonia beside king Hammurabi mentioned above, viz. another ancient Babylonian king who bore the name Iš-mí-Dagan i. e. "Dagon hears" (comp. יִשְׁמָעֵאל). Inscriptions of his reign found at Mughair are published in I Rawl. plate 2 no. V, 1. 2.

only be Zôbâ*, in a list of Aramaeo-Kanaanite tribes, next to Edom, Ammon, Hauran, Moab, Saharri (?) and Ḥargí. We cannot obtain from the passage any more precise information respecting its position. In the lists of Syro-Palestinian cities, copied in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 121 foll., Zôbâ appears once between Hadrach and Samalla, at another time between (Hadrach, Manzuat) Dôr and (Chamath?) Samalla, and lastly between Ḳuí and Zemar on the Phoenician coast. Accordingly we must at any rate look for it considerably to the North.

XIV. 26. אֶבֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ *royal weight*; see note on Gen. XXIII. 16 p. 128 foll.

I KINGS.

V. 13. הַלְּבָנוֹן *the Lebanon*, name of the well-known mountain range, appears in the Assyrian inscriptions in the form (šadu) Labnânu (Lab-na-na Asarhadd. V. 16 (1 Rawl. 45); Smith's Assurban. p. 313. 79; Lab-na-a-ni Asurnaṣirh. I Rawl. 28 col. I. 5); and also in the Babylonian inscriptions** in yet another form La-ab-na-nuv Nebukadn. East India House Inscr. III. 22; Bellino-cylind. III. 36). Asarhaddon reports that, among other objects of tribute, he received trunks of iṣ írini and iṣ šur-man i. e. "cedar-wood (see note on Is. XLIV. 14) and Cyprus-

* The simultaneous mention of (ír) Ja-ab-ru-du, i. e. Jabrûd, North-East of Damaskus (Delitzsch, Parad. p. 280) is unimportant, since the nagî ša ír Ṣubití "the districts of Zôbâ" are separated from this Jabrûb by the territories which are further mentioned in the list: Ammon, Hauran, Moab, Saharri (?) and Chargí.

** The form Labnânu, with an a in the first syllable, is analogous to the form Palastav along with Pilista = פְּלֶשֶׁת (see on Gen. X. 14), or to the Assyr. Ḥazaḳiâhu = Heb. חִזְקִיָּהוּ.

wood (?)"* (Aram. שׁוּרְבָּנָא, ܫܘܪܒܢܐ) from Lebanon. Asurbanipal states that in the erection of his palace he had 184
employed large cedar-planks from Sirjon and Libanon (gu-šuri iṣ írini ṣirûti ultu šad Si-ra-ra u š. Lab-na-na); lastly Asurnaṣirhabal relates how he sailed on the sea in ships of the land of Arvad (ina ílippi ša mât Ar-va-da-a-ja ir-kap), slew naḥira in the great sea (ina tiâmtiv rabî-tí i-du-uk), lastly had slaughtered various game in the city Araziḳ**, lying before Syria at the foot of Lebanon. In conclusion he also mentions the range of the Lebanon in an inscription in which he states the extension of his realm. The passage runs thus (III Rawl. 4 no. 8): 63. Ašur-nâṣir-habal šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mât Aššur 64. habal Tuklat-Adar šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mât Aššur 65. habal Ramman-nirari šarru rabû šarru dan-nu 66. šar kiššati šar mât Aššur-ma ka-šid ištu í-bir-ta-an 67. nâr Diḳlat a-di šad Lab-na-na 68. tiâm-ti rabî-ti; mâtâti kali-ši-na 69. iš-tu ṣi-it šam-ši a-di í-rib šam-ši 70. a-na nĩri-šu u-šak-ni-ša i. e. Asurnaṣirhabal, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, son of Tiglath-Adar, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, son of Ram-

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* See the article, on the names of the different kinds of pinewood occurring most frequently in the inscriptions, in Berlin. Monatsber. 1880 p. 419. Šur-man is the Akkadian form of the name that is usually preserved in the Assyrian texts. The Semitic equivalent of the word is šur-mí(ví)-ni, also šur(šu-úr)-mi(vi)ni; see *ibid.* and p. 421 note.

** Respecting Araziḳ = *Ἐραγίζα* of Ptolem. (V. 15. 14) and Talm. ארגיזא, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 228.

mannirar, the great king, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of Assyria, who rules there from the banks of the Tigris to the range of Lebanon, (to the) great
185 sea, who brought all lands under his subjection from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun."

32. הַגְּבָלִים *the Gebalites* i. e. the inhabitants of Gebal (גְּבַל Ezek. XXVII. 9) or Byblos, the well-known Phoenician settlement. This town or its inhabitants are often referred to in the inscriptions, the town being mentioned in the form (ír, or mât) Gu-ub-li, as in Asarhaddon III Rawl. 16 V, 16 &c.; the inhabitant in the form Gu-ub-la-ai, Sanherib Taylor-cyl. col. II, 50; or Gu-bal-ai, Asurnaṣirh. III. 86; Salmanassar Obelisk 104. In the records of Tiglath-Pileser II (III Rawl. 9. 51) there appear as kings of Gebal Si-bi-it-ti-bi-'-li (שִׁבְעִתִּבְעַל? comp. אֶלִישָׁבַע); in those of Sanherib U-ru-mil-ki אורמלך, comp. מַלְכִּיאוֹר and אוּרִיאֵל &c.*; in those of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal (see my essay on the subject p. 33) Mil-ki-a-ša-a p מלכיאשף = Hebr. מלכיאסף.

VII. 21. יָכִין ··· בֹּעַז *(God) founded—In him (God) is power*, according to this passage names of the two columns erected before the entrance to Solomon's temple. The Babylonians also had this custom of bestowing significant and, to some extent, sacred names upon buildings. In Babylon one of the great encircling walls bore the name Im-gur-Bĭl "Bel is propitions", the other was called Ni-mi-it-ti-Bĭl "Bel is exaltation" (root מאד) Nebuc. East India House Inscr. IV. 66. 67.

VIII. 13. בֵּית זְבֻל "house of height", "house of exalta-

* Hence the name א·מלך in the inscription Byblus I line 1 (corpus inscript. Semit. I 1 p. 3) should be completed into א[ר]מלך with De Vogüé.

tion", "exalted palace", corresponding to the Assyrian bît zabal = bît-SAK-IL (perhaps more correctly Bît(I)-Sag-gâ, see P. Haupt, Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte p. 23 no. 453). For the equation SAG. GÂ 186
= zabal see II Rawl. 15, 45. With respect to the meaning "raise", "bear", comp. Arabic زبل. On this subject see Stan. Guyard in Journ. Asiatique VII. 12 (1878) pp. 220 foll. This writer evaporates the signification of "exaltation", "sublimity" too much into that of "greatness" *(grandeur)*. See also the remarks on Ps. XLIX. 15; Is. LXIII. 15 and comp. note on Gen. XXX. 20, as well as that of p. 107 footnote **.

X. 15. (הָאָרֶץ) פַּחוֹת *vicegerent (of the land)* occurs frequently in the Old Testament with this meaning, also in 2 Kings XVIII. 24 in the sense of "commander". There is absolutely no reason for holding the word to be foreign, or Persian in origin (as most suppose). The fact that the word is to be found in such ancient documents, as that of the prophetic narrator of the older Biblical historical work, as well as in that of one of the two prophetic historians of the regal period (see 1 Kings XX. 24), should have prevented so erroneous a supposition.* On the contrary we have

* Comp. de Wette-Schrader, Einleitung ins Alte Testament § 221. The force of this objection is recognized by F. Giesebrecht in Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (1881) pp. 233 foll. In both the passages which now come under consideration (1 Kings X. 15, XX. 24), and whose post-exilic origin appears to him on other grounds quite certain, he consistently adopts the assumption of *interpolations* coming from the *Persian* era Thus he holds the dignity of פֶּחָה to be a "Persian rank" with "Persian title". And yet we find the *Assyrian* Sargon (722—705) establishing his paḥâti over South-Babylonia (Bît-Jakin), and is himself solemnly enthroned in his palace amid his paḥâti i. e. פַּחוֹת (Khorsab. 22, 178)—all this two centuries

187 clear evidence that we are here dealing with a purely Semitic word, from the fact that in Assyrian it is employed and inflected like any other word of pure Semitic origin. From a singular p a ḥ a t is formed a plural p a ḥ â t i (p a - ḥ a - a - t i) "viceroys" Khorsab. 22 (178), and from the root is formed no less directly the abstract p i ḥ a t "satrapy", ibid. 58, 60. 64. That the root is no longer used in Semitic languages as a verb, is just as little surprising as the same fact in the case of many other words.

— 22. שֶׁנְהַבִּים *ivory* literally "tooth of Habb-animals" i. e., as we may conjecture, Assyrian š i n a l - a b (h a l - a b) = "tooth of Halab". H a l - a b (Salmanass. Obel. Epigr. III) we may suppose to be the Assyrian name of AM. SI,

before Cyrus the conqueror of Babel and liberator of the Jews, in other words, at a time when the Persians were still leading their separate political and idyllic life "behind the mountains." It is well known that no satisfactory derivation can be found for the word in Eranian. It *never* occurs in the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae. Darius, as we can well understand, uses in its place the genuine Eranian word k h š a t r a p â v a n i. e. satrap, Beh. III 14. 55. Yet *in spite of this* are we to suppose it to have come to the Hebrews first through the Persians i. e. after the time of Cyrus or Darius?! Moreover we have no other word at all but פֶּחָה to express this idea of 'viceroy' in the older prae-exilic Hebrew, to which we must consider the Hebrew of the prophetic portions of the Books of Kings now under discussion to belong. The word סָגָן which likewise appears in Hebrew after the time of Jeremiah is undoubtedly of Assyrio-Babylonian origin. A root פחה, howsoever it should be classified etymologically, is thoroughly Semitic in type. Why, then, on account of this word of all others, should we assume interpolations in the passages, when it occurs? And even supposing interpolations actually exist, why should these bring us to so late a period as the post-exilic Persian epoch? For certainly the Persians were not the channel through which the word came to the Hebrews, and, if it be a foreign word, it could at any rate only have found its way to them through the Assyrians (or Babylonians, though the word has not yet been certified to exist in the inscriptions of the latter).

i. e., as we can no longer doubt, the elephant; see Lotz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I pp. 161 foll. Comp. my remarks in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XXVII (1873) pp. 708 foll., and respecting KA = šinnu "tooth" שֵׁן, שֵׁנָּ, שֵׁנָה (II Rawl. 39, 44 a. b.), see Lotz, Tigl.-Pil. p. 165.*

— 28. *And the exportation of the steeds [took place] from Aegypt.* Among the Assyrians also Aegyptian steeds had a specially high value. Sargon in his triumphal inscription mentions among his possessions (line 183) sisî mât Mu- 188
ṣu-ri "steeds of Aegypt".**

XII. 19. יִשְׂרָאֵל *Israel.* Respecting this name see note on Gen. XXXVI. 31 (pp. 137 foll. and comp. note on 1 Kings XVI. 29). The usual term for the kingdom of Israel in the Assyrian inscriptions is not this, as we have already observed. The ordinary designation was rather mât Bît-Ḫumrî or mât Ḫumrî "land of the house of Omri", or "land of Omri", or merely "land Omri". See also the note on XVI. 23.

XIV. 21. 29. יְהוּדָה *Juda* occurs as the name of the Southern of the twin Israelite kingdoms many times in the inscriptions after the time of Tiglath-Pileser II, under the

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* A syllabary has in the meantime been discovered by Theoph. G. Pinches which explains AM. SI by pîru and thus fixes the latter as the name of the elephant. Comp. the plural pirâti in the epigraph III of the obelisk of Salmanassar II (see also D. G. Lyon, Keilschrifttexte Sargon's, Leipzig 1883, p 75). The al-ap in the above epigraph can therefore only be alap, stat. constr. of alpu "ox", and refers to the Jak-ox likewise represented on the corresponding relief.

** For the form sîsû (comp. Hebr. סוּס, Aram. סוּסְיָא) see Delitzsch Parad. p. 110. On the signification of the ordinary ideogram for "horse" = (imír) KUR. RA i. e. "ass of the East", comp. my remarks in Jenaische Literaturzeitung 1878 no. 44 p. 629 b.

form Jahûdu, written (mât, ír) Ja-u-du(di). First of all we meet with the gentile name Ja-u-da-ai "Judaean" in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser, II Rawl. 67 line 61, in which Ja-u-ḫa-zi i. e. Joachaz = Ahaz is mentioned as a tributary vassal, as well as in the other inscription III Rawl. 9. 3 where there is a record of Az-ri-ja-u Ja-u-da-ai i. e. "Azariah (Uzziah) of Juda." In the same inscription line 4 we read the name of the country itself mât Ja-u-di. Sargon, who so often refers to mât Bît-Ḫumrî "land of Omri", only mentions Juda in one passage, viz. in the Nimrûd-inscription (Layard, Inscr. in cuneif. char. plate 33 line 8), in the words: mu-šak-niš mât Ja-u-du ša a-šar-šu ru-u-ḳu "(Sargon) who subdued the land of Juda whose situation (is) a remote one." Juda is mentioned frequently in the records of Sanherib; first in the
189 Nebbi-Junus inscription at Constantinople line 15, where we read: rap-šu na-gu-u mât Ja-u-di Ḫa-za-ḳi-a-u šar-šu ír-mid ap-ša-a-ni i. e. "the wide district of the land of Juda—its prince Hizkia (Hezekiah) I reduced him to subjection" (írmid root עמד, in Assyrian *redigere*; apšânu "obedient", root אבשׁ, أبس). Juda is repeatedly named in the annalistic inscription of Sanherib, where Hizkia is several times designated Jahudai "Judaean" (col. II, 72; III, 12). Moreover Asarhaddon mentions as his vassal Mí-na-si-í šar ír Ja-u-di "Manasseh, king of Juda", the same who is called Mi-in-si-í in the inscription of Asurbanipal (Rassam. fragment line 2).* Comp. note on 2 Kings XXI, 1; 2 Chron. XXXIV, 11.

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* See my essay, Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tigl.-Pil.'s II, Berlin 1880 p. 33. The conjecture expressed in the first edition of this work p. 91 that the name of the king "of Juda", which is broken off in the tributary list (Smith's Assurban. 31 c), is that of Manasseh, would thus

XV. 33. בַּעְשָׁה *Baasha* occurs in the form Ba-'-sa also in the monolith-inscription of Salmanassar II as the name of an Ammonite king. See below, the comment on XVI. 29.

XVI. 23. עָמְרִי *Omrî*, king of Israel. His name appears on the inscriptions in the form Ḫu-um-ri-i and also Ḫu-um-ri-a (ḫ = ע, as in Haziti = עַזָּה). We first meet with it on the Nimrûd-obelisk of the elder Salmanassar, in the small inscriptions which stand separate (Lay. 98 no. II), in the phrase ma-da-tu ša Ja-u-a abal Ḫu-um-ri-i "tribute of Jehu, the son of Omri". On the same obelisk we find a reference to the kings of Damaskus Hadad-'idri (Hadadezer) and Hazael (see the remarks on chap. XX. 1 and 2 Kings VIII. 15). Hence there can be no doubt that by Jehu, son of Omri, the Jehu of the Old Testament is meant who succeeded the rulers of the House of Omri. 190 (See further in Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinschriften, concluding essay pp. 321 foll.). The dynasty of Omri must on the whole have enjoyed a great reputation abroad.* In this way we understand why the Assyrians designated Israel simply as mât Bît-Ḫumrî "land of the house Omri", or more briefly mât Ḫumrî "land Omri"** (see Rammânnirâr I Rawl.

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be confirmed. Respecting the change in the designation of Judah, sometimes as mât and sometimes as ír, see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 94 foll.

* See also the Moabite stone line 7.

** Should be thus rendered, and not "land *of* Omri" or "land of the House *of* Omri", in the passages that have been cited, since there Ḫumrî, Ḫumria has no longer the personal determinative before it. In other words it has altogether become the proper name of the country. Similarly on Tiglath-Pileser II's inscription in III Rawl. 10 no. 226; but it is different, for example, on Sargon's bull-inscription cited in Botta 36, 19; Oppert 26 &c. Comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 366 note. As to the favourite Assyrian mode of designating the member of a dynasty, that is to say, the successor of a celebrated

35, 12; Sargon cylinder line 19). It should be observed in this connection that according to 1 Kings XVI. 24 Omri built the capital of the kingdom, Samaria.

I now propose to cite all the passages in the cuneiform inscriptions in which reference is made to the "land of the house Omri" i. e. Northern Israel. Ofcourse I omit the parallel passages in the inscriptions of Sargon. The most ancient extract is from the Nimrûd-obelisk as well as the stele of Salmanassar II (see above). Then follows the mention of the mât Ḫumrî in king Rammânnirâr's list of tributary states. The sequence is: Ṣurru (Tyrus), Ṣidunnu (Sidon), mât Ḫumrî (Samaria), Udumu (Edom), Palastav (Philistia). Tiglath-Pileser II mentions Northern Israel in a fragment of his annals (III Rawl. 10 line 17, 26) in
191 close connection with Gaza and other Philistine or rather Kanaanite towns (see on 2 Kings XV. 29). Next comes Sargon who refers to the land of the house Omri, first of all in the cylinder-inscription I Rawl. 36 line 19, in which we read mu-ri-ib mât Bît-Ḫu-um-ri-a rap-ši "combatants (subjugators) of the land Omri, the extended"; next in the bull-inscription Botta 36 line 18. 19 sa-pi-in ír Sa-mí-ri-na ka-la mât Bît-Ḫu-um-ri-a "destroyer of Samaria, the entirety of the land Omri"; Pavé des portes, Botta pl. 18, 24. 25: ka-šid ír Sa-

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ruler or founder of a dynasty, as the "son" of the latter; and of designating the territory or kingdom that belonged to him as the "land of the house of Omri, Jakin, Adin, Silân" (II Rawl. 67, 15) &c., see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. p. 207 note. Respecting Ḫumria as a collateral form to Ḫumrî, see note on Gen. XXXVI. 31 (footnote * p. 138). [In Hebrew also we find traces of the same tendency to designate a nation as the 'house' of some king or founder of a dynasty. In this way we can understand the parallelism in Hosea V. 1 "hearken, house of Israel, and *house of the king*, give ear".—Transl.]

mir-i-na u gi-mir mât Bît-Ḫu-um-ri-a "conquerors of the city Samaria and of the whole of the land Omri". After the time of Sargon the "kingdom Omri" is never again mentioned. It was through Sargon that it was brought to a definitive end.

24. שֹׁמְרוֹן *Samaria*, capital of the Northern kingdom, founded by Omri, is frequently mentioned under this name in Sargon's inscriptions, where it appears in the forms Sa-mir-i-na (Botta plate 16, 31 foll.; 18, 24 foll. &c.), Sa-mí-ri-na (Botta 40, 26; Khorsab. 23), and lastly Sa-mí-ur-na (Botta 17, 27), comp. Aram. שֶׁמְרַיִן. We also meet the form Sa-mí-ri-na in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II (Layard inscrr. pl. 50 line 10, comp. III Rawl. 9, 50), in which there is mention of a king Mí-ni-ḫi-im-mí ír Sa-mí-ri-na-ai "Menahem of Samaria" in connection with Ra-ṣun-nu "Rezin" of Damaskus. Similarly in Layard 66, 18, where of a "king" of Samaria (šarru-šu-nu) it is said that he ír Sa-mí-ri-na í-di-nu-uš-šu u-maš-šir "alone left the city Samaria". As may be inferred from III Rawl. 10 no. 2 lines 26—28, this was king Pa-ḳa-ḥa i. e. פֶּקַח. From the passage first-cited, occurring in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser, it is evident that, at least in later times, the rulers of the territory situated North of Juda were simply named after 192
the city Samaria. For even as late as the time of Asurbanipal (who reigned in Assyria after 668) we find a viceroy of Samírina (Sa-mir-i-na) mentioned as an eponymus III Rawl. 34, 95.—On the other hand, there is a city which repeatedly appears in the inscriptions of Sanherib (Taylor Cylinder II. 47) and Asarhaddon (III Rawl. 16 V, 17 comp. Zur Kritik des Tigl.-Pil. p. 33), whose name was read U-si-mu-ru-na. I myself thought it must

be regarded as identical with Shômerôn. One of its rulers, mentioned by Sanherib, we know to have been a certain Mi-in-ḥi-im-mu i. e. Menahem (in the records of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal it is A-bi-ba-('-)al). But this place is not to be identified with the Samaria of the Bible. For a newly discovered fragment of an inscription of Sardanapalus-Asurbanipal (Rassam 3 line 10) shows that the sign which stands for the first syllable (u, sam) of the word must be regarded as here having the value sam and not u. In Asurbanipal's inscription the word is written Sa-am-si-mu-ru-na. The name is therefore to be read Samsimuruna (see Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tigl.-Pil.'s &c. pp. 33. 34). It is obvious that this Samsimuruna has nothing to do with the Biblical Shômerôn and the Samírina of the inscriptions, though for a long time past we have been altogether ignorant what spot is meant by the name Samsimuruna. Respecting Fr. Delitzsch's conjecture, see the remarks on Josh. XII. 20. Thus we have no occasion to question the statement of the Bible and of the inscriptions, that with the conquest of Samaria by Salmanassar the independence of the state come to an end. And this is only confirmed by the intelligence that Samaria formed an alliance with Hamath, Arpad, Zemar and Damaskus, and rose under the rule of, and against Sargon, in the second year (720 B. C.) of that monarch's reign (Khorsab. 33; Annals in Botta
193 70, 10 foll.). The same thing may be said of the mention of a governor of Samaria in the reign of Asurbanipal (see above): the kingdom had long become an Assyrian province.

29. אַחְאָב *Ahab* is called by Salmanassar II A-ḥa-ab-bu Sir-'-la-i i. e. "Ahab of Israel" in an inscription

discovered on the banks of the Tigris.* Respecting Sir-'-lai see note on Genesis XXXVI. 31. In the original the passage runs thus (see III Rawl. 8. 78 foll.): 78. Ina limí Dajan-Ašur araḫ Airu ûm XIV. ír Ninua attu-muš, nâr Diḳlat í-tí-bir, a-na írâ-ni 79. ša Gi-am-mu nâr Kaš-šat-a(?) aḳ-ṭi-rib; pul-ḫa-at bîlu-ti-ja, na-mur-rat kakkî-ja iz-zu-tí ip-laḫu-ma. Ina tuklat ra-ma-ni-šu-nu Gi-am-mu bîl-šu-nu 80. i-du-ku. A-na ír Kit-la-la u ír Tul-ša-abal-a-ḫi lu íru-ub, ilâni-ja ana íkalâtišu lu u-ší-ri-ib ta-ši-il-tu ina íkalâti-šu lu aš-kun. 81. Na-kan-tí lu ap-ti ni-ṣir-tav-šu lu a-tip-pa GAR. GA-šu GAR. ŠU-šu aš-lu-la a-na íri-ja Ašur ub-la. Ištu ír Kit-la-la attu-muš, a-na ír Kar-Šal-ma-nu-uššir 82. aḳ-ṭirib, ina ílippi mašak kab-ši-í ša šanî-tí šanît nâr Bu-rat ina mí-li-ša í-bir. Ma-da-tu ša šarrâni ša nir am-ma-tí ša nâr Burat ša Sa-an-gar 83. ír Gar-ga-mis-ai ša Ku-un-da-aš-pi ír Kumu-ḫa-ai ša A-ra-mí abal Gu-si ša Lal-li ír Lal-li(?)-da-ai ša Ḫa-ja-ni abal Ga-ba-ri 84. ša Gir-pa-ru-da mât Pa-ti-na-ai ša Gir-paru-da mât Gam-gu-ma-ai kaspa ḫurâṣa anâka (Pl.) siparra KAM. MI'Š. siparra 85. [ana]** ír Ašur ut-tir aṣ-bat; ša nir am-ma-tí ša nâr Bu-rat ša ílî nâr Sa-gu-ri ša amîli-í Ḫat-ta-ai ír Pi-it-ru 86. i-ḳa-bu-šu-ni ina lib-bi am-ḫur. Ištu 194
ílî nâr Bu-rat at-tu-muš a-na ír Hal-man aḳ-ṭi-rib; taḫâza í-du-ru šípâ iṣ-bu-tú; 87. kaspa

* The precise spot where the stele was dicovered is the place Karch, on the right bank of the Tigris, South-East of Âmid-Diârbekr.

** This word should be inserted here; comp. II. 36.

ḫurâṣa ma-da-ta-šu-nu am-ḫur; lu niḳî a-na pan Rammân ša ír Ḫal-man ípu-uš. Ištu ír Hal-man at-tu-muš a-na II. írâ-ni 88. ša Ir-ḫu-lí-ni m. A-mat-ai aḳ-ṭi-rib ír A-di-ín-nu ír Barga-a (Mas-ga-a?) ír Ar-ga-na-a ír šarru-ti-šu akšu-ud šal-la-su GAR.ŠU-šu 89. GAR.GA íkalâti-šu u-ší-ṣa-a a-na íkalâti-šu išâti í-du(?). Ištu ír Ar-ga-na-a at-tu-muš, a-na ír Ḳar-ḳa-ra aḳ-ṭi-rib. 90. Ír Ḳar-ḳa-ra ír šarru-ti-ja* ab-bul ag-gur ina išâti aš-ru-up. I. M. II. C. narkabâti I. M. II. C. bit-ḫal-lu XX. M. ṣabî(?) ša Dad-'-id-ri 91. [ša mât] Imíri-šu VII. C. narkabâti VII. C. bit-ḫal-lu X. M. ṣabî ša Ir-ḫu-li-í-ni m. A-mat-ai II. M. narkabâti X. M. ṣabî ša A-ḫa-ab-bu 92. mât Sir-'-la-ai, V. C. ṣabî ša Gu-ai** M. ṣabî ša mât Mu-uṣ-ra-ai, X. narkabâti X. M. ṣabî ša mât Ir-ḳa-na-ta-ai 93. II. C. ṣabî ša Ma-ti-nu-ba-'-li ír Ar-va-da-ai II. C. ṣabî ša mât U-sa-na-ta-ai, XXX. narkabâti, X. M. ṣabî 94. ša A-du-nu-ba-'-li mât Ši-za-na-ai, M. (Det.) gam-ma-lu ša Gi-in-di-bu-' mât Ar-ba-ai . . . . . C. ṣabî 95. ša Ba-'-sa abal Ru-ḫu-bi*** mât A-ma-na-ai: XII. šarrâ-ni an-nu-ti a-[na] nirâru-ti-šu il-ḳa-a a-[na íbiš] 96. ḳabla u taḫâza a-na gab-ja it-bu-ni. Ina idî ṣirûti ša Ašur bîlu iddi-na ina kakkî dannûti ša nâṣiru rabû a-lik pani-ja 97. iš-ru-ka it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ. Ištu ír Ḳar-ḳa-ra a-di ír Kir-za-u(?) apikta-

* Must evidently mean šarru-ti-šu.

** *Without* determinative.

*** do. do.

šu-nu aš-kun. XIV. M. ṣabî 98. [ti]-du-ki-šu-nu 195
ina kakkî u-šam-ḳit; kima Rammân íli-šu-nu
ri-ḥi-il-ta u-ša-aṣ-ṣu-u, ta-ṣi-[rak-šu?]-šu-nu
99. pa-an-na mí-í u-šam-li, rapšâti ummanâti-
šu-nu ina kakkî u-šar-di, pagrî-šu-nu ḫar-pa-lu
ša na-gu[-u] 100. i-mí-iṣ-ṣir(?), a-na nadan bal-
[laṭ?] napšâti-šu ab-ra-ru-u rap-šu a-na du-bu-
ri-šu-nu aḥ-li-iḳ ina amîlî-šu 101. nâr A-ra-an-
tu lam-ti-i-ri ak-šud. Ina ki-rib tam-ḫa-ri šu-
a-ti narkabâti-šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-šu-nu 102. sîsî-
šu-nu ṣimda-at iṣ ni-ri-šu-nu í-kim-šu-nu i. e.
"78. During the archonship of Dajan-Asur on the 14th of
Ijjar I left Niniveh, crossed the Tigris and advanced against
the towns 79. of Giammu on the river Kassata (?). The
terror of my dominion, the onset of my powerful troops they
dreaded. With confidence in themselves they slew Giammu
their master. 80. I advanced into the town Kitlal and the
town Tul-sa-habal-achi, I set up my gods in his palaces, I
made tašiltu in his palaces. 81. His treasuries (?) I
opened, his treasures I took to myself; his riches, whatever
he possessed, I declared as booty, I brought away to my
city Asur. From Kitlal I took my departure, marched to
Kar-Salmanassar, 82. on boats of sheepskin I crossed the
Euphrates the second time during its high-flood. The tri-
bute of the kings who [are] on the further shore of the
Euphrates, namely of Sangar of Karkemish, Kundaspi of
Kumuch, Arami, son of Gusi, Lalli of Lallid (?), Chajan,
son of Gabar, 84. Girparud of Patin, Girparud of Gamgum:
silver, gold, lead, copper, articles of copper 85. I destined
(for) the town Asur, I took; what [is] on the further shore
of the Euphrates, what [is] above the river Sagur, what
the Syrian inhabitants call the town Pethor, 86. there I 196

received (the tribute). From the river Euphrates I marched forth, advanced against the town Chalman (Haleb-Aleppo?). They avoided a battle, embraced my feet. 87. Silver, gold I received as their tribute; rich offerings I presented to Rammân (Hadad? —), the god of Chalman. From Chalman I took my departure, advanced against two towns 88. of Irchulin of Hamath; of the town Adinnu, the town Bargâ(?), the town Arganâ, his royal city, I took possession; his prisoners, his property, the treasures of his palaces I brought forth, into his palaces I cast(?) fire. From the town Arganâ I took my departure, marched to Ḳarḳar. 90. Ḳarḳar, my (? —read, his) royal city I destroyed, laid waste, consumed with fire. 1200 chariots, 1200 horsemen, 20,000 men(?) of Dad'idri (Hadadezer) 91. of Damaskus; 700 chariots, 700 horsemen, 10,000 men of Irchulin of Hamath; 2000 chariots, 10,000 men of Ahab 92. of Israel; 500 men of the Guaean; 1000 men from the land Muṣri (Aegypt); 10 chariots, 10,000 men from the land Irkanat, 93. 200 men of Matinubaal of Arvad; 200 men from the land Usanat; 30 chariots, 10,000 men of 94. Adunuba'al of Sizan; 1000 camels of Gindibuh of Arba, ... a hundred men 95. of Bahsa, son of Ruchub, of Ammon: these twelve princes he (i. e. Irchulin of Hamath) took to his assistance, advanced, to join combat and battle, against me. With the exalted succour which Asur the lord rendered, with the mighty power, which the great protector, who marched before me, 97. bestowed, I fought with them. From the city Ḳarḳar as far as Kirzau (Gilzau?) I prepared for them a defeat. 14,000 98. (of their) troops I slew; as the god Rammân I caused the storm to descend upon them 99.;
197 with their . . . I filled the surface of the water; their far-extended bodies of troops I cast down with the weapons;

their corpses he (?) scattered over the open plain (?) of the region 100; in order to give life to its inhabitants (i. e. perhaps: to preserve the life of the population), ... I divided(?) among its inhabitants (?). 101. The river Orontes *lamtîri* I took in possession. Amidst that battle I took from them their chariots, their horsemen, their horses, their teams."

Notes and Illustrations. 78. Limí, see Norris p. 686 and see below; attumuš Ift. 1 pers., root אמש = Hebr. מוש; for the reading s Asurnâṣirh. II. 76; III. 8. 12, comp. with II. 76 (Var.); III. 10. 16; ítíbir Ift. 1 pers. root עבר; 79. aḳṭirib root קרב (respecting the phonetic value ṭi of the second sign, see my Assyr. Syllab. (1880) no. 216 and comp. also my Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 141 note); namurrat (for the reading Norris 1011) subst., root probably מרר; izzût adj. plur., root עז; —80. írub Imperf. Kal 1 pers., root ערב (Aram.), here written TU.ub i. e. with the usual ideogram for "enter" (Assyr. Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 110 no. 49) and the phonetic complement ub; ušírib is Shafel of the same verb; tašiltu I do not understand;—81. nakanti, perhaps from nakâmu "heap up", hence arrangement or place for storing up treasures; aptî from patâ פתח = פתח, comp. the exactly similar passage on Sanherib's Bellino-cylinder line 9, see note on 2 Kings XX. 12; niṣirtu "treasures", root naṣar, "what one guards"; atippa Imperf. Kal of tapâ = תָּפָה, טָפָה "fumble" then "touch" (?)—; ubla, root אבל "bring";—82. On SU. kabšî see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 216 foll.; on míluv ibid. p. 214; ammatu "on yonder side", see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 141.—84. Girparuda, read thus in accordance with the Var. Gar-pa-ru-uu-da Salmanassar's obelisk, Layard p. 98 no. 5 comp. with Salmanassar's bull-inscription Layard 15. 40; for the equivalent gir of the corresponding sign, see the syllabary II Rawl. 164, Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. 66 no. 34; on the land Patin see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 214;—85. amílu here written with a special ideogram. From the parallel passage on the obelisk line 39, this ideogram may be explained as having essentially the same meaning as amílu; —86. ikabûšuni 3 pers. plur. Imperf. Pa. of ḳabâ = קבה, קבב, נקב "speak", "name". We also meet with the pronunciation iḳabbûsûni Tigl.-Pil. II (II Rawl. 67) 10. 32; Ḥalman(van), perhaps Haleb-Aleppo حَلَب Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 229 note **. The pronunciation was modelled by the Assyrians in accordance with the name of Ḥalman-Holwân, at the exit of the pass leading from Media to Babylonia, a spot far more familiar to them; comp. the Syrian

198 Ekbatana of Herodotus III, 64 = Hamâth (Hitzig, Nöldeke, Lagarde). —87. niḳû "offering", root נקה (Aram. "pour forth") according to Syll. 157; II Rawl. 45, 38; comp. Keilinsch u. Gesch. p. 109;—88. GAR. GA, GAR. ŠU, see on Sanherib Taylor-cylinder col. II. 56 (comment on 2 Kings XVIII. 13);—89, ušíṣâ Shafel, root אצא = יצא; ídu, root ידה = אדה "cast";—90. abbul root נבל; aggur (aḳḳur) root נקר; ašrup root šarap = שׁרף; narkabâti plur. of narkabtu "chariot", root רכב; comp. Hebr. מֶרְכָּבָה. As Oppert has perceived, the ideogram is phonetically determined by II Rawl. 19, 1. 2 nar-kab-ta, comp. 62, 75; 15, 29 (nar-kab-tuv); Dad-'idri i. e. הדד־עדר = Hebr. הֲדַדְעֶזֶר, Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 538 foll., comp. below pp. 190 foll.;—95. nirarûtu "help", root narar, here ideogram with phonetic complement ut; comp. also Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilinschriften p. 145; ilḳâ, root לקה = Hebr. לקח;—96. itbûni, root tabâ תבה; idî plur. "might", properly "hands", sing. idu, Hebr. יָד; ṣîru "high", "exalted". For the ideogram MAḪ see Smith's Assurbanipal 222. 32 Var.; iddina, root nadan = נתן; kakku "weapon", see below; dannût plur. adj. from dan "strong"; nâṣiru, ideogram interpreted in syllabary 227. amdaḫḫiṣ Iftael from maḫaṣ, properly "dash in pieces" מחץ, in Ift. "dash one another in pieces", then "contend"; on the t changed into the labial-nasal d, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 140 footnote; apiktu, ideogram PAN. PAN. (see below) "defeat", root הפך;—98. [ti]dûki-šunu "their combatants" root דוך Iftael, comp. Hebr.-Arabic דכך, دكّ;—ušamḳit Shafel of maḳat = מקה مقث frequently in the sense "overpower"; "like Rammân", the god of the atmosphere, and as such, the divinity of storm and tempest; riḫilta stands according to the Assyrian phonetic law (Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 205) for riḫišta, root רחץ "overflow"; comp. Stand.-inscription 7. 8. kima Rammân ra-ḫi-ṣi íli-šu-nu "like Rammân hurling myself over them"; ušaṣṣû can only be properly considered to be Shafel of a root נצא or נצה;—99. panna instead of the ordinary pan; mî = מַיִם "water"; here the Orontes is meant, see 101; ušamlî Shafel of מלא; ummânâti plur., here ideogram (see below) "troops"; ušardî Shaf. of רָדָה comp. Tigl.-Piles. I, 79 foll.; BI'(MIT) = pagru, see Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. 106 no. 2; ḫarpalu (read thus) ša nagû imíṣṣir (?) may have the meaning referred-to in the translation (nagû is known to signify "district"); we must be content to be without an exact interpretation, and this applies in still greater degree to line 100:—101. nâr Arantu can only be the Orontes; lamtîri is not clear; Norris reads lâ-tîri meaning "without return",

root חוּר, that is to say "without delay". The rest is perfectly intelligible. Ṣimittu, constr. state ṣimdat, meaning (comp. צֶמֶד "yoke") the animal bound to the yoke (nîr) i. e. a horse or ass; the ideogram that occurs here LAL. at is explained by Tiglath-Pileser I col. VII. 199
28; íkimšunu 1 pers. Imperf. with suffix, root אכם "take", "take away". For the rest see glossary.

The parallel passages in the obelisk- and in the bull-inscription may be consulted in the note on 1 Kings XX. 1.

Observe that here Ahab, the Sir'lite, and Hadadezer = Benhadad II (see below) of Damaskus appear in conjunction; also that this same monarch (Salmanassar II) in the inscription subsequently drawn up, on the Nimrûd obelisk, mentions Jehu the son of Omri as well as Hazael of Damaskus. Hence there is no room for doubt that the Biblical Ahab of Israel is meant by this "Ahab the Sir'lite". On the other hand, the circumstance that Ahab appears in alliance with Damaskus is completely in accord with the Scriptural account. From the latter we learn that Ahab, after the battle of Aphek, concluded an alliance with Benhadad, which mainly involved the restoration to Israel of the cities which had been lost, and the cession of "alleys" in Damaskus to the Israelites (1 Kings XX. 34 foll. Wellhausen). This alliance, however, was brought about by the common danger which threatened both the kingdoms from the empire of Assyria. For the allies the confederacy had a disastrous issue, as we perceive from the passage of the inscription which has been quoted. In the sixth year of the reign of the Great King the allies were totally defeated in the battle of Ḳarḳar. No less than 14,000* of their soldiers were put *hors de combat.* The misfortune of Benhadad and his confederates reacted on the alliance. Its

* On the varying traditions respecting the number of the enemies who fell, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 47.

bonds were relaxed and soon afterwards completely dis-
200 solved. The consequence was a *rapprochement* between Israel and Juda, which eventually led to the resolve to recover from the weakened Damascenes territory that formerly belonged to Israel; an enterprise, however, which ended in disaster. In the decisive battle the Israelite king was wounded and the dispirited host scattered in every direction: the king himself succumbed to his wound (chap. XXII). Respecting the identity of Aḥabbu Sir'lai with Ahab of Israel, as well as on the historical questions involved, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 356—371. Also for the identification of Dad-'idri i. e. הֲדַדְעֶזֶר with the Biblical Benhadad see ibid. p. 539. Comp. note on 1 Kings XX. 1.

31. אֶתְבַּעַל *Ethbaal* (Menand. Ἰθόβαλος; Josephus Εἰθώβαλος), name of a Sidonian and also of a later Tyrian king, appears in the form Tu-ba-'-lu likewise in the cuneiform inscriptions as the name of a Sidonian king; see note on Gen. X. 15.

34. אֲבִירָם *Abîrâm* is also a proper name employed in Assyrian, with the form of pronunciation Abu-ra-mu; see II Rawl. 69; Can. III Rev. 5 line 20.

XVII. 9. 10. צָרְפַּת *Sarepta*, a city of Phoenicia, situated between Tyre and Sidon, is mentioned in the form Ṣa-ri-ip-tav in the inscription of Sanherib on the Taylor-cylinder col. II. 39, along with Sidon and other Phoenician towns. There is no doubt of the identity of the two names, and that they refer to the same place.

XX. 1. בֶּן־הֲדַד *Benhadad*, name of several Syrian kings in the Old Testament. Benhadad is the Aramaic בַּר־הֲדַד Hebraized (see Payne Smith *sub voce*; Assemani Bibl. Or. I. 19 &c.). Comp. the name preserved in the inscriptions

of Asurbanipal Bir-Da-ad-da i. e., since Dad has the determinative of deity before it, without doubt Bir-Hadad = Bar-Hadad (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 538 foll.). The Benhadad II, who is referred-to in this passage of the Bible, is perhaps, if not undoubtedly, identical with Dad-'-idri 201 (Hadad-'idri*) הדד־עדר i. e. בֶּן־הֲדַד mentioned in Salmanassar II's monolith-inscription III Rawl. 8. 90. The succession of Syrian kings would then be: Benhadad I, Hadadezer (= Biblical Benhadad II), Benhadad III (in reality Benhadad II), a succession which would correspond to the custom of antiquity (Ewald) of not letting the son bear the same name as the father. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 539.

The passages in the inscriptions of Salmanassar II (860—825), in which this Hadad'idri = Benhadad II is mentioned, are the following. On the obelisk of Nimrûd, in the report of the king respecting the sixth year of his reign**, we read (Layard inscr. pl. 90 line 59 foll.): Ina û-mí-šu-ma Dad-id-ri [ša] mât Imíri-šu Ir-ḫu-li-na mât A-mat-ai a-di šarrâ-ni ša mât Ḫat-ti u a-ḫat tiâm-ti a-na idî a-ḫa-viš it-tak-lu-ma a-na í-biš ḳabla u taḫâza [a-]na gab-ja it-bu-ni. Ina ki-bit Ašur bîli rabî bîli-ja it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ apikta-šu-nu aš-kun. Narkabâti-

* Not only do we find the form Dad-'-id-ri in the texts, but likewise repeatedly Dad-id-ri (without '); see immediately below.

** i. e. the year when Dajan-Asur was Archon (see above p. 185 and comp. the lists of eponyms). The obelisk-inscription line 45 is involved in a contradiction, when it there represents the events of the fourth year of the king (the year marked by the eponym of Asurbâniaiuṣur) as those of the eponym of this same Dajan-Asur. Respecting this contradiction and the mode of explaining it, see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 323 foll.

šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-šu-nu u-nu-ut taḫâzi-šu-nu í-kim-šu-nu. XX. M. D. ṣabî ti-du-ki-šu-nu ina kakkî u-šam-ḳit i. e. "At this time Dadidri of Damaskus*, Irchulina of Hamath, together with the kings of the land Chatti and the sea-coast**, relied on their mutual strength
202 and advanced against me to engage in battle and combat. At the command of Asur, the great lord, my lord, I fought with them [and] put them to flight. Their chariots, their riders, their baggage*** I took from them; 20,500 of their combatants I overpowered with weapons".† The second passage reads as follows, *ibid.* pl. 91 line 87 foll.: Ina XI. palî-ja IX. šanîti nâr Burat í-bir. I'râ-ni a-na la ma-ni akšu-ud a-na írâ-ni ša mât Ḫat-ti ša mât A-mat-ta-ai at-rad LXXX. IX írâ-ni akšu-ud. Dad-id-ri mât Gar-Imíri-šu XII. šarrâ-ni ša mât Ḫat-ti a-na idî a-ḫa-viš iz-zi-zu apikta-šu-nu aš-kun i. e. "In the 11th year of my reign, I crossed over the Euphrates the ninth time. Cities without number I conquered. I marched down against the cities

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* That the term mât GAR-Imírišu designates the kingdom of Damaskus, is shown in Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinschriften, concluding excursus pp. 323 foll.; comp. note on Gen. XV. 2.

** Ofcourse the coast of the Mediterranean is meant. Among these kings was included Ahab of Israel; see above. Respecting the inaccuracy of this and other passages of the obelisk, as compared with the monolith- and bull-inscriptions, in the designation of the allied kings, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 229—232.

*** Properly "battle-implements" (אוֹנָה).

† The ideogram IṢ KU is explained in II Rawl. 19, 23. 61 by kakku. The word probably arose from karku, which according to the Aramaic (comp. also תַּכְרִיךְ *pallium*) originally signified "equipment", then "weapons of defence" and lastly "weapons" in general. Respecting the variation in the statement of the numbers, see the ref. in footnote * p. 189.

of the land Chatti, the land of Hamath; I conquered 89 cities. Dadidri of Damaskus, 12 kings of the land Chatti depended* mutually on their power, I put them to flight." The third passage, in which this Benhadad is mentioned, occurs in Salmanassar's bull-inscription, which is here more complete than the obelisk-inscription in the passage referred-to. We there read: Ina XIV. palî-ja ma-a-tu rapaš-tu a-na la ma-ni ad-ki, it-ti I. C. M. 203 XX. M. ummanâti-ja nâr Bu-rat ina mi-li-ša í-bir. Ina û-mí**-šu-ma Dad-id-ri ša mât Imíri-šu, Ir-ḫu-li-ni mât A-ma-ta-ai a-di XII. šarrâ-ni ša ši-di tiâm-di ílîti u šaplîti ummanâti-šu-nu madâti a-na la ma-ni id-ku-ni, a-na gab-ja it-bu-ni, it-ti-šu-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ-ma apikta-šu-nu aš-kun, narkabâti-šu-nu bit-ḫal-la-šu-nu a-ṣi-' u-nu-ut taḫâzi-šu-nu í-kim-šu-nu; a-na šu-zu-ub napšâti-šu-nu í-li-u i. e. "In the 14th year of my reign I despatched summons to the broad land without number; with 120,000 men of my troops I crossed the Euphrates at its flood. At that time Dadidri of Damaskus, Irchulini of Hamath with twelve kings of the marches of the upper and lower *** sea, summoned their

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* Root עזן? In the same connection that we have in the text we find in other passages ittaklu "they confided"; see above p. 191 &c.

** This is ofcourse the right reading.

*** Without doubt parts of the Mediterranean sea. For further particulars see my essay "On the names of seas" &c. in the Abhandlungen der Berl. Akad. 1877 (1878) pp. 173 foll. It may be conjectured that the "lower sea" corresponds to the "Cilician-Issian" sea of the classic writers (notice the mention of the "Guaean" i. e. some "Cilician" among the allies of Dad-'idri, see above p. 186), and that the "upper sea" corresponds to the "Phoenician sea" of the same writers (Muṣri-Aegypt is mentioned in that very passage on p. 186).

many innumerable troops, [and] advanced against me. I joined battle with them and put them to flight, annihilated(?) their chariots, their implements of battle I took from them; to make their life secure, they took themselves away (root עלה)".

The passage in the monolith-inscription has been communicated above on chap. XVI. 29.

and thirty two kings were with him. This notice is confirmed and illustrated by the inscriptions that have been communicated, in so far as we there find Hadadezer (Benhadad) always taking the field in alliance with other Syrian
204 kings; yet in the inscriptions there are uniformly added, as allies of the king, only twelve Syrian kings inclusive or exclusive of Irchulin of Hamath. The Assyrian inscriptions in this enumeration perhaps only took account of the more important names. Respecting the round number see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 46. In the monolith-inscription we have only eleven allied princes individually mentioned, among these Dad'idri-Hadadezer, while nevertheless the total is reckoned as twelve.

26. אֲפֵקָה *to Aphek,* meaning the spot bearing this name lying off the road leading from Damaskus to Samaria, to the East of the lake of Genezareth. The name appears with the orthography that we should expect, viz. Ap-ḳu, in a fragment of an historical inscription of Asarhaddon, in which the king describes the district from the city of Aphek "to the border of Samaria as far as the city Raphia" (on the Aegyptian frontier), as 30 kaspu-ḳaḳḳar or 30 double-leagues in length [XXX kas-bu ḳaḳ-ḳar ul-tav ír Ap-ḳu ša pa-di mât Sa-mí-[ri-na] a-di ír Ra-pi-ḥi). See the text III Rawl. 35 no. 4 (wrongly

ascribed to Asurbanipal*) in the Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol. IV, 93, and comp. G. Smith, Assyr. Discov. pp. 312 foll.; Del. Parad. pp. 178 foll. 287.

34. *and he concluded an alliance with him.* As we have 205
already observed, this is directly confirmed by the corresponding passage on Salmanassar's monolith, in which Ahab (A-ḥa-ab-bu) is mentioned as an ally of Benhadad-Hadadezer. See above page 186.

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* E. A. Budge, 'The History of Esarhaddon' London 1880 p. 115, has lately come back to the opinion that the account is really that of Asurbanipal, and not of Asarhaddon. In supporting this view he appeals mainly to the style of the passage, which he considers to be characteristic of Asurbanipal rather than of Asarhaddon. But a specific "style" does not appear at all in the extract, which is taken up with prosaic details about the events of the war; and Budge's theory breaks down through the circumstance that we have in the fragment the express statement that the Aegyptian expedition of the Assyrian king, which is referred-to, was his "tenth" (Obv. 6). At the time of this expedition, however, Tarḳu, the Tyrian king's "friend", was still upon the scene (Obv. 12), while according to the cylinders of Asurbanipal he had already disappeared from history during the second expedition of the Assyrian. Accordingly the "tenth" campaign cannot have been that of Asurbanipal. With this tallies the in other respects important notice which occurs in the following extract (Obv. 7 foll.):— u-ša-aṣ-bi-ta pa-nu-u-a a-na [mât Mâ-gan u mât Mí-luḫ-ḫi] ša ina pi-i niši mât Ku-u-si u mât Mu-ṣur . . . . . i. e. "(In my tenth campaign) I turned my face to the land [Mâgan and to the land Míluchchi], which in the mouth of the inhabitants [are called] land Kûsh and land Aegypt." From this passage it may be seen that the popular Babylonian term for the double kingdom of Aegypt-Aethiopia continued in the days of Asarhaddon to be Mâgan and Miluḫḫi, seeing that the name Kušu for "Miluchchi" does not exist at all before the time of Asarhaddon. In the days of Asurbanipal there was no longer any need for such an explanatory notice. It is clear that the expedition referred-to, which should be assigned to the end of the reign of Asarhaddon, agrees well, as being "the tenth", with the reign of that monarch, which lasted only thirteen years.

SECOND BOOK OF KINGS.

V. 5. חֲלִיפוֹת בְּגָדִים *suits*, see note on Gen. XLV. 22.

— 18. בֵּית־רִמּוֹן *house of Rimmôn.* It has been long known that Rimmon was an Aramaic god. From the Assyrian inscriptions we obtain the information that he was identical with the Assyrian Rammân, Râmân (Ram-ma-nu, Ra-man, Ra-ma-nu, see G. Smith, Notes &c. 1872 p. 25; II Rawl. 68, 2, 21b &c.) i. e. רַעְמָן, רעמאן "the thunderer"*, name of the storm-god, the god of the breeze and atmosphere, of "thunder and lightning" (ilu) ša ri-mi (רעם) and ša bir-ḳi (ברק) III Rawl. 67. 46 foll. Thus he was not only called (ilu) Ram-ma-nu "the thunderer" 206 but also (ilu) Bar-ku "the lightener" [III Rawl. 47 no. 3, 7 comp. with III Rawl. 1, II. 20; II Rawl. 68, II. 2, 6. (29); comp. III Rawl. 66 Rev. VI. 8: (ilu) Rammân = (ilu) Bir-ḳu**]. In accordance with this we have the god described ideographically by AN. IM i. e. "god of the celestial region" or of the atmosphere, and represented on the reliefs and cylinders as armed with the thunderbolt. As "storm-god" he often bears the epithet ra-ḥi-ṣu "the stormer", root רחץ (Stand. Asurnasirh. line 7 &c.), also ri-iḥ-ṣu having the same meaning. Consequently it is he who is foremost in bringing about the judgment of the flood (see above p. 57). The pronunciation of the name as רִמּוֹן in the

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* Delitzsch, in Smith's Chaldaean Genesis pp. 269 foll., regards the word as identical with râmânu "exaltation". See on this P. Haupt, p. 72 footnote of the German edition.

** This is the correct form here. Above we have barku instead of bariku (Part.), just as we have ašbu for ašibu &c. and moreover with k instead of ḳ (ק) according to Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 20 note 2; 200.

Old Testament is perhaps entirely owing to a combination of the name, which in its origin and meaning was unintelligible, with the name of the pomegranate רִמּוֹן. The LXX in this passage give throughout the more correct form *Ῥεμμάν*; comp. also I Kings XV. 18 *Ταβερεμά* = Hebr. טַבְרִמּוֹן.* See Jahrbücher der Protestant. Theolog. I (1875) pp. 334 foll. 342. The god was regarded by the Assyrians as identical with the Syrian celestial deity Hadad according to Assurban. cylind. Rassam IX. 2 (V Rawl. 9) = Smith's Assurb. 271, 106: Bir-AN. IM Bir-Da-ad-da = Bir-Hadad i. e. "Barhadad" Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 538 foll.; see note on Zech. XII. 11.

VIII. 15. *And Hazael* (חֲזָהאֵל) *became king in his stead.* He is also mentioned on the inscriptions as "Ḥa-za-'-ilu of Damaskus". Salmanassar II reports in his obelisk-inscription (Layard plate 92) line 97 foll.: Ina XVIII. palî-ja 207
XVI. šanîti nâr Bu-rat í-bir; Ḥa-za-'-ilu ša mât Imíri-šu a-na taḥâzi it-ba-a; M. C. XXI. narkabâti-šu CCCC. LXX. bit-ḥal-lu-šu it-ti uš-ma-ni-šu í-kim-šu i. e. "In the 18th year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates the 16th time; Hazael of Damaskus advanced to battle against me; 1121 of his chariots, 470 of his horsemen together with his provisions**

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* The punctuation of the word as רִמּוֹן rests on a popular etymological explanation. The deity that is meant has nothing whatever to do with the pomegranate. Compare also Baudissin, Studien zur sem. Relig. Gesch. I (1876) p. 306.

** ušmâni occurs just at the passage where we found above (p. 192) ûnût i. e. "baggage". Accordingly it would have a similar meaning. With this also agrees Khorsab. 124. 129. Oppert's rendering "battle-array" *acies* is untenable in face of these passages. Comp. the Hebr. אָסָם "store-room"; Aramaic אָסַן "heap up". Ušmâni will be the plural form.

I took from him." Similarly line 102 foll.:—I n a XXI.* p a l î - j a XXI. š a n î t i n â r B u - r a t í - b i r, a - n a í r â - n i š a Ḥ a - z a - ' - i l u š a m â t Imíri - š u a - l i k š a m a - ḥ a - z i - š u a k š u - u d. M a - d a - t u š a m â t Ṣ u r - r a - a i m â t Ṣ i - d u - n a - a i m â t G u - b a l - l a - a i a m - ḥ u r i. e. "In the 21st year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates the 21st time; I marched against the cities of Hazael of Damaskus, of whose towns ** I took possession. The tribute of the Tyrians, Sidonians, Byblians I received." On the occasion of the first of these two expeditions Jehu also was compelled to submit to the Assyrian supremacy and to a payment of tribute. On this see chap. IX. 2.

Besides the Syrian Hazael, the Assyrian monarchs afterwards make mention of Arabian kings who also bore this name. We read of one such on Asarhaddon's cylinder col. III, 19. A r - k a Ḥ a - z a - i l u š i m - t a v u - b i l - š u -
208 m a *** J a - ' - l u - u a b a l - š u i n a k u s s i - š u u - š í - š i b - m a i. e. "after this fate carried off Hazael (root שׂים); Ja'lû his son I raised (root אשב = ישב) to his throne." Notice also the cylinder-inscription of Asurbanipal col. VIII. 9 which mentions a prince named U - a i - t í - ' as son of an Arabian Hazael. Likewise compare the J a - u - t a - ' a b a l Ḥ a - z a - i l u š a r m â t Ḳ i - i d - r i "Jautah, son of Hazailu, king of Kedar", ibid. cylind. Bellino VII, 87 (Smith's Assurban. 260. 283; cylind. Rassam, V Rawl. 8. VIII, 1). See also Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 54.

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* So ofcourse we should read in place of XI of the text; comp. line 100.

** Comp. the Targ. מָחוֹזָא "market town". Lotz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I p. 109.

*** Ubil is Impf. Kal of אבל, root ובל, 1) carry, 2) carry away. On the formation comp. ušib from אשב, root ושב.

IX. 2. יְהוּא *Jehu* is mentioned twice in the inscriptions; both times in those of Salmanassar II (860—25). The first passage occurs in the king's obelisk among the separate inscriptions, above a figure, which represents a prince or deputy kneeling before the Great King, the former being followed by men bringing tribute. The passage runs thus (Lay. 98, 2):—Ma-da-tu ša Ja-u-a abal Ḫu-um-ri-i. Kaspu (Pl.) ḫurâṣu (Pl.) sap-lu ḫurâṣi zu-ḳu-ut ḫurâṣi ḳa-bu-a-ti ḫurâṣi da-la-ni (Pl.) ḫurâṣi anâku (Pl.) iṣ ḫu-ṭar-tu ša ḳat šarri iṣ bu-ru-ḫa-ti am-ḫur-šu i. e. "tribute of Jehu, son of Omri: bars of silver, bars of gold*, a golden bowl**, a golden ladle***, golden goblets†, golden pitchers††, bars of lead, a staff for 209
the hand of the king†††, shafts of spears*: that I received."

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* The sign for the plural is here affixed to the ideograms for gold, silver and lead. The phonetic equivalent for lead we know from a syllabary (Norris, Dict. I p. 40) which interprets AN. NA by a-na-ku i. e. Hebr. אֲנָךְ. The signification of the ideograms is furnished by the inscriptions on plates of metals of five different kinds, which were found in the foundation-walls of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. See on this subject Oppert, Expéd. en Mésopot. II, p. 343.

** Saplu = Hebr. סֶפֶל.

*** Zuḳût subst. from זקה = זקק (= יצק?) "pour out". A ladle for emptying is probably intended. As to the formation comp. šuḳût, root שקה; binût, root בנה &c.

† Ḳabuâti is without question the plural of ḳabutu (= ḳabu'tu) i. e. קְבֻעָת = Heb. קְבָעַת "goblet".

†† Dalâni, plur. of dalû = דְּלִי 'vessel for emptying'.

††† Ḫuṭartú, comp. חֹטֶר, חֹטֶן "branch", "rod", "staff".

* Burûḫât (thus correctly written line 4) is the plural of burûḫu or buruḫtu, Heb. בְּרִיחַ, "cross-beam", "bar". In Assyrian it denotes a shaft, specially the shaft of a spear, and lastly the spear itself. Thus Asurnaṣirhabal (Lay. 44. 24) boasts that he has slain 370 powerful lions, like enclosed birds, with the spear-shaft (III. C. LX. X niʾšî dannûti kima iṣṣuri ḳu-up-pi ina bu-ru-ḫi a-duk). From this passage

The other passage is to be read on a fragment of Salmanassar's annals III Rawl. 5 no. 6, 40—65. The following is the text: 40. Ina XVIII. palî-ja XVI. šanît nâr Bu-rat 41. í-bir. Ḥa-za-'-ilu ša mât Imíri-šu 42. a-na gi-biš ummâni-šu 43. it-ta-kil-ma ummâni-šu 44. a-na ma-'-diš id-ka-a, 45. šad Sa-ni-ru uban šadi-í 46. ša pu-ut šad Lab-na-na a-na dan-nu-ti-šu 47. iš-kun. It-ti-šu am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ 48. apikta-šu aš-kun. XVI. M. 49. ṣabî ti-du-ki-šu ina kakkî 50. u-šam-ḳit; I. M. I. C. XXI. narkabâti-šu; IV. C. LXX. bit-ḫal-lu-šu it-ti uš-ma-ni-šu, 52. í-kim-šu, a-na šu-zu-ub 53. napšâti-šu í-li, arki-šu ar-tí-di. 54. I-na ír
210 Di-maš-ḳi ír šarrû-ti-šu í-sir-šu 55. kirî-šu ak-kis. A-di šadi-í 56. mât Ḥa-u-ra-ni a-lik, írâ-ni 57. a-na la ma-ni a-bul a-gur 58. ina išâti ašru-up, šal-la-su-nu 59. a-na la ma-ni aš-lu-la. 60. A-di šadi-í šad Ba-'-li-ra-'si 61. ša rîš tiâm-di a-lik, ṣa-lam šarrû-ti-a 62. ina lib-bi aš-kun. Ina û-mí-šu-ma 63. ma-da-tu ša mât Ṣur-ra-ai 64. mât Ṣi-du-na-ai, ša Ja-u-a 65. abal Ḫu-um-ri-i am-ḫur i. e. "40. In the 18th year of my reign I crossed the Euphrates the 16th time. 41. Hazael of Damaskus 42. trusted in the multitude of his troops, as-

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it is also clear that we have not to pronounce the word bu-dil-ḫa-ti and have בְּדֹלַח "bdellium" in our thoughts (with Oppert). Moreover this gum is not an Israelite product which could have been offered as tribute by Jehu. The correctness of my rendering of the words is confirmed by the figured representation which accompanies the superscription: this exhibits men who are bearing bars, jugs, pitchers, goblets and staves. See the engraving in Schenkel's Bibellexicon, article Salmanassar &c.—On "son of Omri" see above p. 179 text and footnote **.

sembled his hosts without number, 45. and made the mountain Sanir, the summit of mountains, 46. which (are) opposite the Lebanon-mountain, his fortress. 47. With him I contended, 48. inflicted on him a defeat; 16,000 of his warriors I overpowered with weapons; 1121 of his chariots, 470 of his horsemen together with his stores 52. I took from him; to save his life, he took himself off, I pursued him. 54. In Damaskus, his royal city, I besieged him; 55. his plantations I destroyed. To the mountains 56. of Haurân I marched, towns 57. without number I destroyed, laid waste, 58. I burnt with fire; their prisoners 59. without number I carried away. 69. To the mountains of the range Ba'liras, 61. which is situated close to the sea, I marched; my royal image 62. I erected in that place. At that time 63. I received the tribute of the Tyrians, Sidonians, of Jehu, 64. son * of Omri".

Notes and Illustrations. 40. šanîtu "time", see Behist. 51; here we have the ideogram ŠU;—42. gibiš properly that which is "lumped together" root גבשׁ, then "the totality", "the crowd";—43. ittakil Ifteal of takal, comp. أتّكل;—44. ma'diš adv. from ma'du = מאד "much." On the combination of the adverb with the prepos. ana see Assyr.- 211
Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 288; idkâ from dakâ "muster";—45. uban "summit" (comp. Asurnaṣirh. I, 62) properly "thumb" Hebr. בֹּהֶן ideographically written ŠU. SI, Norris 283; Keil. u. Gesch. p. 536.—46. pûtu "that which is opposite" Keil. u. Gesch. pp. 141, 144, 147 foll. —48. tidûku "combatant", root דוך "strike", "slay", formation from the Ifteal with prefixed ti: "come to blows with or among one another" = "contend"; 50. narkabâti plur. of nar-kab-tuv by which the usual ideogram for "chariot" II Rawl. 19, 1. 2. is explained, see page 188. We also have the form (I Rawl. 7. IX. E. l. 4) ru-kub i. e. רֶכֶב meaning "vehicle".—51. ušmâni "stores", "baggage" plur., root אשׁם, see above p. 197 transl. and footnote **;—52. íli, root עלה, properly "mount", then "take oneself away", comp. Botta 71. 3; also above p. 194; artîdi, root rûd

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* See above page 179 text and footnote **.

= רוץ with arki (root ירך, comp. יֶרֶךְ, יִרְכָה, יַרְכָתַיִם) "after" = "pursue"; ísir root אסר "enclose", then "besiege"; 55. kirû "plantation" (II Rawl. 15, 30 foll. c. d); see on this word Lotz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I pp. 171 foll.; akkis, root נכם "hew off" (frequent in the inscriptions); šad Ba'li-ra's באל ראם = בעל־ראש = "having a summit"*. What mountain or single peak is meant, cannot be determined. For the rest see the glossary.

X. 32 foll. *About the same time Jahve began to cut off from Israel, and Hazael smote them in all borders &c.* This notice only becomes completely intelligible from the above Assyrian reports, in which we perceive that Jehu was the ally of Assyria. As such, he was the foe of Hazael, who repeatedly took the field against the Assyrian and would accordingly repay Jehu for his Assyrian alliance, while Jehu on the other hand threw himself into the arms of the distant Assyria in order that he might have protection against his immediate neighbour Syria, the old hereditary enemy of Israel. We thus already meet with exactly the same play of influences that was repeated in after times, in the days of Pekah and Ahaz, only that in the latter instance Ahaz took the place of Jehu, while Northern Israel in alliance with Syria attacked Juda.

XIII. 24. *And Hazael, the king of Syria, died, and Benhadad, his son, became king in his stead.* Nothing is to be

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* [Dr. Schrader seems to understand בעל here to signify only possession, according to the well known Hebrew idiom; comp. Ewald, Hebrew Syntax § 287 f. But it is also quite possible that this spot, like so many others, was named from the Phoenician deity who was worshipped there. Comp. Ba-'-li-ṣa-bu-na and note on Exod. XIV. 2 (see Ebers, *Durch Gosen* 2nd ed. pp. 100, 524 foll.). We have also בַּעַל גָּד, בַּעַל הָמוֹן &c. in the O. T. Every *rôsh* or mountain-height (corresponding to the modern Arabic *râs*) might have its sanctuary. We know from 1 Kings XVIII. 16 foll. that *rôsh Karmel* (Amos 1. 2) had its Baal-worship. Ba'liras, like Karmel, lay near the sea, and the Phoenician mariners would sight it as they sailed past.—Translator.]

read in the cuneiform inscriptions about this younger Ben-
hadad (III). His reign would, roughly speaking, fall in the 212
time of the Assyrian king Samsi-Rammân (i. e. "Servant of Rammân") who, according to the Assyrian Canon of Rulers, reigned between 825 and 812. The latter was comparatively a powerful monarch. After suppressing an attempted insurrection of his brother Ašur-danin-abal, he undertook several extensive campaigns. These were, however, only directed to the North, East and South, not to the West. We are in possession of a detailed account of the first four years of his reign in his continuous inscription I Rawl. 29—31. From the 6th (8th) year the list of governors commences with its brief notices. Nowhere, however, is there a trace of evidence that this monarch exercised any considerable influence in the West. This was altered with the reign of his successor Rammânnirâr, who according to the Canon of Rulers sat on the throne from 812—783. According to the list of governors we find him already in the 5th (= 7th) year engaged in an expedition against the Syrian city Arpad, and in the 8th (= 10th) in another campaign to the "sea-coast", by which term we should properly understand Phoenicia, that is to say Kanaan. While it may be assumed *a priori* that he came in contact with Israel in this expedition, we have this expressly stated in a passage of his continuous inscription that is preserved to us (I Rawl. 35). From this we learn that he made Damaskus once more an Assyrian vassal-state, besieging king Mari' (i. e. מָרִא "lord" מָרֵא, ܡܪܐ) in his residence and compelling him to pay tribute. The entire passage is as follows (*loco citato* line 1—21): 1. I'kal Rammân-nirâri šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mât Aššur, šarru ša ina

213 abal-šu Ašur šar (ilu) V. II (Igigi?—*). UD. (?) tu-šu-ma mal-kut 2. la ša-na-an u-mal-lu-u ḳatuš-šu ri'ût-su kima uti(?) íli niši mât Aššur u-ṭib-bu-ma 3. u-šar-ši-du kussâ-šu, šangu íllu, za-nin I'-šar-ra la mu-par-ku-u mu-rim pa-an I'-kur 4. ša ina tukul-ti Ašur bîli-šu ittalaku-ma mal-ki ša kib-rat arba-ti 5. u-šik-ni-šu a-na nîri-šu. Ka-šid ištu mu-si-lu-na(?) 6. ša na-paḥ šam-ši, mât Kib, mât I'l-li-pi, mât Ḥarḥar, mât A-ra-zi-aš 7. mât Mí-su, mât Ma-da-ai, mât Gi-nun-bu-un-da ana si-ḥir-ti-šu, 8. mât Mu-un-na, mât Par-su-a, mât Al-lab-ri-a, mât Ab-da-da-na, 9. mât Na-'-ri ana pâd gim-ri-ša, mât An-di-u, ša a-šar-šu ru-ḳu, 10. bílḥu(? mit-pak?—) šadu-u a-na pâd gim-ri-šu a-di ílî tiâm-tiv rabî-ti 11. ša na-paḥ šam-ši, ištu ílî nâr Bu-rat mât Ḥat-ti, mât A-ḥar-ri a-na si-ḥir-ti-ša, 12. mât Ṣur-ru, mât Ṣi-du-nu, mât Ḥu-um-ri-i, mât U-du-mu, mât Pa-la-as-tav 13. a-di ílî tiâm-tiv rabî-ti ša šul-mu šam-ši a-na nîri-ja 14. u-šik-niš, bilat ma-da-tav ílišu-nu u-kin. A-na 15. mât Gar-Imíri-šu lu-u a-lik Ma-ri-' šar ša mât (sic!) Imíri-šu 16. ina ír Di-ma-aš-ḳi ír šarrû-ti-šu lu-u í-sir-šu. 17. Pu-ul-ḥi mí-lam-mí ša Ašur bîl-šu is-ḥu-upšu-ma šîpâ-ja iṣ-bat, 18. ar-du-ti ipu-uš, II. M. CCC. bilat kaspi; XX. bilat ḥurâṣi, 19. III. M. bilat siparri, V. M. bilat parzilli, lu-bul-ti birmí ḲUM, IṢ irša KA. IṢ ṣal-mat-ti KA aḥ-zi ut-

* On this comp. IV Rawl. 29. 41/41a as well as Delitzsch in the Aegypt. Zeitschr. 1878 p. 64, and Lotz p. 80.

li-í, GAR. GA-šu GAR. ŠU-šu 21. a-na la ma-ni ina ír Di-ma-aš-ḳi ír šarrû-ti-šu ina ki-rib íkal-šu am-ḫur i. e. "1. Palace of Rammânnirâr, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the host of nations, the king of the land Assur, the king whom Asur, the king 214
of the V. II. gods* reckoned** as his son, into whose hand they placed empire without equal*** (properly, whose hand they filled with empire without equal), whose reign (רעוה) like . . . they made a blessed one for the inhabitants of Assyria, 3. to whom they established his throne, the high-priest's†, the preserver of the Šarra-temple, the unblameable†† who erected the front of the temple Kur†††, 4.

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* Compare the epithet applied to Bel, šar gi-mir (ilu) A-nun-na-ki "king of the whole of the Anunnaki" (Tigl.-Pil. I col. I, 3), and see Lotz 79 foll. and above p. 204 footnote *.

** UD-tu may be a verbal ideogram (with the phonetic complement tu). Its phonetic equivalent, however, has not yet been made known, comp. Norris 274. According to Delitzsch in Lotz, Die Insch. Tigl.-Pil. I p. 97, the word is to be read phonetically ut-tu and may be assumed to be 3 pers. Impf. Ifta. of a root אוה = Hebr. חָוָה meaning "announce".

*** On this phrase, so common in the exordia of the Assyrian royal inscriptions (e. g. Sanherib Bellino 2; Sargon Khorsab. 4 &c.), see Lotz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I pp. 102 foll. What is materially correct may be seen in Norris 701 foll.

† In the text we have the ideogram RID (ŠID &c.). On this see Haupt, Akkad.-Sumer. Keilschrifttexte I p. 22 no. 441, and for the meaning, plate 906 p. † 2 line 4 in Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol. VI. 2 (1878) p. 488. Comp. I Rawl. 8 no. 6, 6.

†† Muparku I derive from פָּרַךְ "to do violence" (Exod. I, 13), so that it properly signifies "one who uses violence", then anyone who passes over the bounds of what is morally permissible. Compare parkânu *iniquitous* Behist. 105.

††† Comp. Oppert, Expéd. en Mésopot. I. 333 (who, it may be remarked, has omitted the sixth line, clearly from mere oversight). Respecting the temple Kur = I'KUR (bit Kur) see Lotz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I p. 3.

who walks in reverence to Asur, his master, and subjugated the princes of the four territorial regions to his sway (properly, to his yoke). Seizing possession from *musiluna*, 6. which is situated in the rising of the sun, I subjugated to myself the land Kib, the land I'llipi, Ḳarḳar, Arazias, Mísu, Media, Ginunbunda in its entire compass *, Munna, Parsua,
215 Allabria, Abdadana, 9. the land Naïri in its entire extent**, the land Andiu, the position of which is a distant one, 10. the mountain-country (?) in its entire extent*** as far as the great sea, 11. which is situated towards the rising of the sun, from the Euphrates to the land Chatti, the West country† in its entire compass, 12. (namely) Tyre, Sidon, the land Omri, Edom, Philistia, 13. as far as the great sea to the setting†† of the sun (i. e. to the West);

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* Siḫirtu from saḫar = Hebr. סחר, properly *circumire*.

** Pâd probably stat. constr. of pâdu, which I would connect with the Arabic فَدَى "side", especially "temples". With respect to the transcription with *d*, comp. Khorsab. 60. 63 (pa-di). We have, however, besides this, e. g. in Khorsab. 69, the word pa-ti which, though of essentially the same meaning, is probably of different origin and should perhaps be connected with the Hebrew פְּאָה; gimir, root גמר.

*** Probably the mountainous regions are intended, which are to be regarded as situated South-West of Media towards Babylonia. For on other grounds it is quite certain that, according to the linguistic usage of Assyria, only the Persian gulf can be understood as meant by the term "great sea which is to the rising of the sun". See my essay "Ueber die Namen der Meere &c." (1877—8) pp. 177—181.—About the regions here mentioned see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 169—180.

† See on Gen. X, 6.

†† In the text there stands DI. mu; DI, however, is (Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. 106 no. 5) the ideogram for šalam (שָׁלֵם) which stands in the nouns (phonetically written) šul-mu and ša-lam on the inscriptions of Sanherib and Tiglath-Pileser (see Norris Dict. 251) for the "setting" of the sun. DI. mu is therefore (mu being phonetic complement) to be read šul-mu, properly "completion", then "setting", and Norris's statement (Dict. p. 240) is to be rectified accordingly. Comp. also note on Gen. XIX. 23.

14. payment* of tribute I imposed on them. 15. Also against the land Gar-Imírišu (i. e. Syria-Damaskus) I marched; Mari', the king of the land Imírišu, 16. in Damaskus, the city of his royalty, I actually shut up. 17. The terror of the majesty ** of Asur, his *** lord, cast him 216
to the ground, he embraced my feet, 18. allegiance he offerred.† 2300 talents †† of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3000 talents of copper †††, 5000 talents of iron *, garments ** of wool (?) and linen (?) ***, a couch † of ivory ††, a sunshade (?) ††† of ivory I took, I carried away *, his posses-

* biltu, stat. const. bilat, from אבל = יבל. Biltu itself often stands in the inscriptions simply for "tribute" e. g. Asurnaṣirabal I, 16 and Tigl.-Pil. I col. II, 83 (bilta u ma-da-at-ta "tribute and gifts").

** Mílammu = "majesty" (Del.).

*** See on Gen. II. 4 (p. 24 footnote *). Or should we read bí'lija "my lord" (comp. p. 184 footnote *)?

† Ardutu from ארד = ירד.

†† For this meaning of biltu see Norris 94.

††† Siparru Syllab. 112.

* Hebr. בַּרְזֶל, see on Sanherib Taylor II, 71.

** Lubulti stands, according to the Assyrian phonetic law, for lubušti (root לבשׁ), which latter appears for example in II Rawl. 38, 34. 35.

*** Bir-mí KUM = "wool" and "linen", simple conjecture. On this see Norris 553. Yet it is unquestionable that some sort of clothing materials is meant. Regarding birmí, compare also (Oppert) בְּרוֹמִים Ezek. XXVII. 24.

† On the ideogram for iršu = עֶרֶשׁ (عَرْس) see II Rawl. 23. 52; the synonym is ma-ai-al, ma-ai-al-tuv מיטה.

†† Properly "horn"; see the proof of this signification of the ideogram KA in Norris 502. 503. But "ivory" is certainly meant, which was strictly called KA. AM. SI "horn of Amsi" i. e. elephant; see above p. 177 footnote *, and Lotz, Die Insch. Tigl.-Pil.'s I pp. 160 foll.

††† Ṣalmattu, root צֶלֶם, uncertain. Comp. Asurnaṣirabal II, 123; III, 68. 74. Norris 1045.

* aḫzi, root אחז; comp. iḫzu 3 pers. pl., Höllenfahrt Ist. 110, 6; utlí', root עלה, Ifteal (?).

sions, his property without number I received at Damaskus, his residence, in the midst of his palace."

From line 12 in this inscription we see that Rammânnirâr about 800 B. C. (Assyrian reckoning) received tribute from Northern Israel, while, on the other hand, lines 15 foll. make
217 it clear that a decided weakness existed in the kingdom of Damaskus. Now if the reign of the North-Israelite king Jeroboam II is nearly contemporaneous (reduced to the Assyrian chronology), we are able to understand how this king, ofcourse at the cost of vassalage to Assyria, was able to win such important successes against Damaskus (2 Kings XIV. 28). The infirm condition of the realm had, however, evidently begun to show itself already under the (last?) predecessor of Mari', Benhadad III; see 2 Kings XIII. 25 comp. with XIII. 3.

XIV. 28. *and how he* (Jeroboam) *restored Damaskus and Hamath to* [the kings of*] *Israel.* About this see note on XIII. 24.

XV. 1. מָלַךְ עֲזַרְיָה, *Azarjah became king*, the son of Amaziah. "On the fragments of two slabs belonging to the South-West palace of Nimrûd which Asarhaddon undertook to build (they were, however, in reality two marble tablets transported thither from the central palace of

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* So in my opinion we should read, i. e. "לְמַלְכֵי יִשׂ, instead of the historically meaningless and grammatically clumsy phrase ליהודה "ביש. The textual error may have arisen merely from a mistake in reading, or it may have originated from the conjecture of a *Judaean* who wished to make the statement harmonize with 2 Sam. VIII. 6. Ewald was on the right track in proposing simply to strike out (comp. Syr. and Arab.) יהודה. The reader should compare 1 Sam. XXVII. 6 "So Ziklag passed into the hands of the *kings of Juda* unto this day" ("לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה וגו).

Tiglath-Pileser II), we find on the one (III Rawl. 9 no. 2) the personal names: a) . . . . ja-a-u mât Ja-u-da-ai; b) . . . . ṣu(? aš)-ri-ja-u mât Ju-u-di; c) . . . . [j]a-a-u; and on the other (ibid. no. 3): a) Az-ri-a-[u]; b) Az-ri-ja-a-u. Here we would observe that in the fully written names (no. 3 a. b) the word is written at the beginning with that sign which (Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 197) possesses at the same time the phonetic values az, aṣ and as (with ו, צ and ס). That both inscrip- 218
tions run parallel to one another in their contents is quite probable and might be regarded as certain from the similar choice of phraseology, za-rar-tí a-na Az-ri-ja-a-u í-ki-i-mu, in B, and [za-rar-tí a-na Az-ri-]ja-a-u í-ki-i-mu, in A." A close investigation shows, in the first place, that the personages here mentioned *with* and also *without* the territorial designation "of Juda", and with names terminating in: . . . ri-ja-u (ri-ja-a-u), are those of one and the same individual; and secondly, that this is the person referred-to in the present Biblical passage, viz. king Azarjah = Uzziah.

The passages in the inscriptions to which reference has been made (see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 396 foll.) are as follows:

1. III Rawl. 9 no. 2 (A):

1. . . . rit(?) . . . . . .
2. . . . mí-ti-iḳ ḥarrâni-ja man-da-at-tu ša šar(?)
3. . . . ja-a-u mât Ja-u-da-ai kima . . .
4. . . . ṣu(?)-ri-ja-u mât Ja-u-di . . . .
5. . . . la ni-bi ana šamí ša-ḳu-u šur . .
6. . . . ina íni ki-i ša ul-tu šamí . . . .
7. . . . ut(?) mit-ḥu-uz-zu u KU kima NI' .
8. . . . ḥi(?) gab-ša-tí iš-mu-ma ip-laḥ lib

9. . . . ab-bul ag-gur . . . . . .
10. . . . [j]a-a-u í-ki-mu u-dan-ni-nu-šu-ma
11. . . . sal(?) kima íṣ gab-ni(?) . . . . .
12. . . . tak-ru za-at(?) . . . . . .
13. . . . id-lit-ma ša ḳa at . . . . . .
14. . . . ti šit-ku-nu-ma mu-za-šu . . . .
15. . . . [u?]-ša-bil-ma ka . . . . . .
16. . . . tuklâti-šu u-ra-kis a-na . . . . .
219 17. . . . a u-ša-az-bil-šu-nu-ti-va . . . .
18. . . . ri-šu rab kima kar . . . . . .
19. . . . sal . . . . . .

i. e.:

1. . . . . .
2. . . . (In the) course of my campaign [I received] the tribute of the kings (?) . . . . . .
3. . . . [Az(ṣ?)ri]-jâhu, the Judaean, as well as
4. . . . [A]ṣu(?)rijahu of the land Juda . . .
5. . . . without number to heaven (?) . . . . .
6. . . . in the eyes just as if from heaven (?) . . .
7. . . . combat and . . . . (?) just as . . . . .
8. . . . [of the advance of my troops] the whole, they (? he) heard; their (?) heart feared . . .
9. . . . I laid waste, destroyed . . . . . .
10. . . . [Revolt to Azri]-jâhu they made, reinforced him; . . . . . .
11. . . . . .
12. . . . . .
13. . . . . .
14. . . . were placed (?) . . . . . .
15. . . . he brought (?) . . . . . .
16. . . . his troops he arrayed against . . . . .
17. . . . I (? he) caused them (?) . . . . . .

18. . . . great, just as . . . . . .

19. . . . women . . . . . .

3. III Rawl. 9 no. 3 (B) lines 22—33: 22. . . . . aš u . . . . . tu a . . . li ai . . . . . 23. . . . . Az-ri-a-[u] . . . [u-]ṣab-bit rab . . . . [ḳa?]-ti-ja . . . 24. . . . [kit?]-ti-aš(?) . . . ma-da-at-tu ki-i ša 25. . . ír Mâ(?) . . 26. . . ír Us(?)-nu-u ír Si-an-nu ír . . . . . ka . . . bu . . . . tiâm-tiv a-di írâ-[ni] . . . . 220 a-di šad Sa-u-í 27. šadi-í ša ina šad Lab-na-na-ma it-tak-ki-bu-ni mât Ba-'-li-ṣa-bu-na a-di šad Am-ma-na mât IṢ. KU (?) mât Sa-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šu NAM (piḥat) ír Kar-Rammân (K.-Dadda) 28. ír Ḥa-ta-[rik-ka] NAM ír Nu-ḳu-di-na mât Ḥa-zu a-di írâ-ni ša si-ḥir-ti ír A-ra-a . . . ni ki-lal-li-šu-nu 29. írâ-ni ša si-ḥir-ti-šu-nu šad Sa-ar-bu-u-a šadu-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šu ír Aš-ḥa-ni ír Ja-da(ṭa)-bi šad Ja-ra-ḳu šadu-u a-na gi-mir-ti-šu 30. . . . . ri ír Í'l-li-ta-ar-bi ír Zi-ta-a-nu a-di lib-bi ír A-ti-in-ni . . . . . ír Bu-ma-mí (šib?). XIX na-gi-í 31. ša ír Ḥa-am-ma-at-ti a-di írâ-ni ša si-ḥir-ti-šu-nu ša a-ḥi tiâm-tiv ša šul-mu šam-ši ša ina ḥi-iṭ-ṭi-šun za-rar-tí* a-na Az-ri-ja-a-u í-ki-i-mu 32. a-na mi-ṣir mât Aššur utir-ra-a amíl šu-ut-saḳ-i-ja amíl šaknûti íli-šu-nu aš-kun i. e. 22. . . . . 23. . . . . Azrija[hu] took(?) . . . great** . . . . my hand(?) . . . . 24. tribute just as . . . 25. . . . . 26. the town Usnu(?), the town

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* "The reading of the signs—šun za—(instead of muḥ) is made certain in point of palaeography by the lithographed text". Also comp. Keilinschr. u. Gesch. p. 398.

** G. Smith reads rabiš ḳatija, and translates: ". . . . of Azariah my hand mightily won."

Siannu of the sea together with the cities . . . as far as the mountain Sauí*, 27. the mountains, which [are] in Lebanon, and they overpowered(?**) the land Baalṣaphon*** 221 as far as the mountain-range Ammana†, the land (?) Izku (?), the land Sahu in its entire extent, the district†† of Kar-Rammân (Kar-Hadad), 28. the town Hadrach, the district of Naḳudina, the land Chazu together with the towns, which in the circuit of the town Arâ††† ... altogether, the towns which are in its circuit, the mountain-range Sarbûa in its entirety, the town Ašḥan, the town Jadab, the mountain-range Jaraḳ in its entirety, the town Illitarbi, the town Zitân as far as the town Atin . . . the town Bumamí. Nineteen districts 31. of the town Hamath together with the towns in their circuit, which are situated on the sea of the setting of the sun, which in their faithlessness made revolt to Azrijahu, 32. I turned into the territory of Assyria; my officers, my governors I placed over them." For further proof 1) of the identity of the Azrijâhu of this latter inscription with the [Aṣu?]-rijahu of the first, 2) of both of them with the Azarjah of the Bible, as well as for the replies to the objections raised to this proposition, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 399—421. On the other hand I have shown at length in my essay "Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-

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* "G. Smith reads here and 27 (conjecturally also 10) S a-u-a'; but against his own edited text."

** Root תקף?

*** "Such (= בַּעַל-צָפוֹן) is G. Smith's very probable explanation of the name. Ofcourse there is no reference here to the place of the same name in Aegypt."

† Perhaps Amanus? There is no reference to the land Ammon; see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 399; Del. Parad. p. 277.

†† Respecting NAM = piḥat פחה "district" (Del.), properly "governorship", see Norris 1028. Comp. also Khorsab. 58. 60. 64.

††† Comp. III Rawl. 10 no. 3. 38 (Del.).

Pileser's, des Asarhaddon und des Asurbanipal", Berlin 1879 (1880), that the inscriptions with which we are now concerned, belonging to the central and the South-West palace of Nimrûd, are really those of king Tiglath-Pileser II (745—727).

If this be so, and if accordingly the Azarjah-Uzziah mentioned on these slabs was a contemporary of Tiglath-Pileser, the question arises how can Azarjah have been 222
this, seeing that according to the ordinary chronology he died as far back as 758, while Tiglath-Pileser, according to the Assyrian five-fold guaranteed canon, did not ascend the throne till 745? There gapes here a chronological discrepancy which refuses to be explained away. If the Assyrian chronology, certified, as we have said, five-fold, be the correct one, the Biblical cannot be correct. Yet this we have to assume likewise for the time subsequent to 722 (see below; also my detailed remarks in the Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft vol. XXV p. 453, also Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 344 foll.). But if the Biblical chronology is to be rejected in the statements that have reference to the *later* period i. e. the period which lies nearer to the chronicler, how are we justified in assuming for the earlier period a greater trustworthiness, open as it is to still other grounds of objection? On the other hand, if we shift the reign of Uzziah down later, partly into the time of Tiglath-Pileser,—following the cuneiform inscriptions,—we at once obtain room for the Mí-ni-ḫi-im-mí or Menahem of Samaria (Sa-mí-ri-na-ai), who with Rezin of Damaskus is mentioned by the same Tiglath-Pileser as tributary to himself (Layard 50. 12 and III Rawl. 9. 31. 50), and who also appears as the contemporary of Azarjah of Juda. This Menahem would then be the

Menahem of the Bible (2 Kings XV. 17), the contemporary of Uzziah (or Azarjah), while Tiglath-Pileser, on the other hand, would be the king Pul of Assyria (ibid. verse 19); see the comments moreover on verses 17 and 19.

We can now determine from the cuneiform inscriptions with certainty *when* the above-named Azarjah came into collision with Tiglath-Pileser. For, from the annalistic inscription of this king, or, more precisely, from the large fragment which is published in a revised form in the third
223 volume of the English work pl. 9 no. 3 (to which correspond plates 65. 50. 67 in Layard), we perceive that the tribute of Menahem of Israel was received by Tiglath-Pileser (see below) in the eighth year of the latter monarch's reign (comp. line 50 with line 57). Now the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser against the cities Ulluba and Birtu previously mentioned on this same plate (lines 32 foll.), took place in the previous year i. e. 739 B. C. according to the list of governors tallying with the above inscription (see this list at the end of vol. II). We are therefore entitled to assume that the still earlier campaign, reported in the above annalistic record (lines 27 foll.), which was directed against various Syrian towns, among others Hamath including the Lebanon-range, took place in the year or rather years that preceded. Here again the list of governors is in full accord, since it notes down for the period 742—740 a three years' war waged by the king against the Syrian city Arpad. Hence the part taken by Azarjah in the struggle must have fallen within this interval 742—740, since it is expressly stated that on this occasion he was in alliance with Hamath (see above). The Azarjah of Juda in the cuneiform inscriptions was, therefore, certainly living in the years 742—740.

17. מָלַךְ מְנַחֵם־עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל *Menahem became king—of Israel.* Also the cuneiform inscriptions mention an Israelite Menahem under the form Míniḫimmu of Samaria. The chief passage occurs in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser Layard 50, 10: Ma-da-tu Ku-uš-ta-as-pi Ku-um-mu-ḫa-ai, Ra-ṣun-nu Dimašḳai*, Mí-ni-ḫi-im-mí Sa-mí-ri-na-ai &c. i. e. "tribute of Kustaspi of Kumuch, of Rezîn of Damaskus, of Menahem of Samaria &c.", comp. 224 III Rawl. 9. 50.

What are we to say of this king, mentioned in Tiglath-Pileser's inscription? If we take the Biblical chronology into account, an identification of this person with the Menahem of the Bible is scarcely feasible. Indeed, the beginning of the twenty years' reign of Pekah (758), who was second in succession after Menahem, falls as much as 13 years before the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser in the year 745! In consideration of this circumstance, we were disposed to adopt the view that the Menahem of the inscriptions might have been a rival king to Pekah, who threw himself into the arms of the Assyrian despot in order to win recognition. But to say nothing of the fact that the Bible says not a word respecting such a second Menahem, this hypothesis of a later Menahem is not easily compatible with the well nigh contemporary mention in the cuneiform records of a Judaean king Azarjah i. e. Uzziah (see above). This latter circumstance rather leads us to identify the Menahem of the inscriptions with the older, Biblical Menahem, exactly contemporary with Uzziah-Azarjah. We thus arrive at the following identification:

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* In the text stands (mât) Gar-Imíri-šu-ai. On this see above p. 138.

עוריה (עֻזִּיָּהוּ) = Azrijâhu Jahudai*
מְנַחֵם = Mínihimmí Samírinai.

It is clear from this that Pekah did not commence his reign in the year 758, and also that he cannot possibly have reigned 20 years (see verse 21), since according to the Assyrian lists of eponyms Tiglath-Pileser reigned altogether only 18 years. On the other hand, on the Biblical side, as is well known, chronology is here involved in great difficulties. According to the passage quoted, compared with chap. XV. 30, Pekah was slain in the year 738, and yet according to 2 Kings XVII. 1 his successor Hoshea did not ascend the throne till the 12th year of Ahaz i. e. 729 B. C. Accordingly writers resort to the hypothesis of a twelve years' interregnum. But this has no support in the Bible; for in 2 Kings XV. 30 the assassination of Pekah and the accession of Hoshea are represented as closely connected events. We perceive that the harmony of Israelite and of Judaean chronology at this point is brought about artificially. This serves as a fresh support for my thesis of the untrustworthy character of Biblical chronology (see below), derived mainly from that of the Hizkia-Sanherib epoch in the Judaean period. My hypothesis is also confirmed from another side. According to 2 Kings XVI. 1 compared with verse 5, the campaign of Pekah and Rezin does not occur earlier than the 17th year of Pekah's reign; according to chap. XV. 27 it occurs before 738 B. C. i. e.

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* We may also conjecture that the names עוריה and עויה are identical, on the assumption, either that עויה is to be regarded as a popular abbreviation of the name עוריה (Wellhausen), or that the reading עוריה, which appears guaranteed by the Assyrian inscriptions, should be restored and substituted throughout for the other form עויה.

the 20th year of Pekah's reign, or, at the latest, in that very year. On the other hand, if we follow the list of governors, Tiglath-Pileser's campaign against Pilista took place in the year 734, and the campaigns to Damaskus in the years 733 and 732, in other words 4—6 years after Pekah's death! It is quite evident that the reign of Pekah must under any circumstances be shifted to a later date. But this again destroys the entire synchronism of Judaean and Israelite history, for in these annals everything is so 226
closely dovetailed together that, if we remove a single stone, the entire structure tumbles to pieces.

One last remark. It will be seen from a subsequent discussion upon the period of Sanherib's rule, that the campaign of that monarch against Juda and Aegypt was the third of his reign, and may be definitely assigned to the year 701. It is well known that a whole series of Isaiah's oracles have reference to this campaign. Now, if we adopt the irrefragable statements of the canon of rulers and of the Ptolemaic canon, with regard to the period of Sanherib's reign, and at the same time retain the Biblical notices respecting it, it would follow that Isaiah, who received his prophetic call, according to Is. VI. 1, in the year of Uzziah's death i. e. 759 according to traditional chronology, and about that time was perhaps in his 20th year, delivered his prophecies against Sanherib in the 20 + 57th i. e. the 77th year of his age. We must confess that these prophetic discourses produce upon us a livelier impression than we should have expected from such a time of life; moreover we have nowhere any hint of the prophet's having attained so great an age. But the case is altogether different when Uzziah's reign falls to a large extent within the period of Tiglath-Pileser's rule, and the year of Uzziah's death is to

be assigned to the approximate date 740. If this be so, Isaiah was at the mature age of 50 at the time of Sanherib's invasion—just the age which we should imagine the prophet to have reached, judging from his discourses delivered at that period. Moreover, under these circumstances there is nothing to hinder us from supposing that Isaiah's prophetic activity continued in full exercise after the invasion by Sanherib—an opinion which is generally held. On this assumption we do not pass beyond the first sixty years of the prophet's life.

227 Our conclusions from the above may be stated as follows: Pekah's reign must not only be placed about ten years later, but must also be considerably shortened; accordingly the reign of Pekaja and a part of the reign of Menahem*

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* This is true at all events of Menahem's 3rd—10th years of reigning. For according to (1) Layard 50, 10 comp. 67. II, b line 3 and (2) ibid. I, b. line 3, the payment of tribute in the tenth year of Menahem's reign falls in the 8th year of Tiglath-Pileser's reign i. e. in 738 B. C.

Oppert, in Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XXIII p. 146, endeavours to remove the difficulties that arise, by placing the reign of the Menahem in question between 742 and 733, that king being to a certain extent the rival of Pekah (see above) and being finally dethroned by the latter monarch in the year 733. Oppert also holds that he can adduce evidence for this, inasmuch as in 2 Kings XV. 30 instead of בשנת עשרים ליותם "in the 20th year of Jotham" there must rather have stood originally in the text בשנת כלות יותם "in the year of the decease of Jotham", but subsequently through the deletion of לות and the misplacement of the remaining character ב, which was taken as the sign of the numeral 20, the reading of the present text arose. According to Oppert the text had in due course described the revolution of Menahem. We cannot regard this solution as satisfactory for several reasons:—(1) because we nowhere read of a restoration of Pekah; (2) the name of Menahem is altogether absent; (3) the expression בשנת כלות is not Hebrew; nowhere does it exist in the Old Testament, and in its place we should rather have expected בשנת מות (Is. VI. 1).

coincide in time with the reign of Tiglath-Pileser; *Tiglath-Pileser must then ofcourse have been either the contemporary of the Pul of scripture or identical with him* (respecting this see note on verse 19).

19. *Pul* (פּוּל), *the king of Assyria, advanced against the land.* In the note on v. 17 we have already expressed the opinion that we are forced by the Assyrian monuments to assume that this Assyrian king, whose name appears nowhere in this form, was either contemporary with, or one and the same person as Tiglath-Pileser on the Assyrian 228
lists of rulers. We might at first feel tempted to adopt the former hypothesis, and regard Pul as a general of Tiglath-Pileser, who had untertaken as part of his commission the campaign against Israel. But the Hebrews in other cases draw a very sharp distinction between the king and his generals (Is. XX. 1); moreover they usually specify the title, but not the name of these officers (Tartan, Rabsak; see notes on Is. XX. 1; 2 Kings XVIII. 17); lastly Pul is expressly designated "king of Assyria", a fact which ought not to be ignored without some reason. Perhaps then Pul was a rival king to Tiglath-Pileser, or else a foreign prince who exercised a supremacy over Assyria? Neither of these shifts is to be adopted. As to the first shift, we possess very accurate information respecting the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, with which we are here specially concerned (see below). But in the inscriptions, which give this information, we have nowhere even the remotest reference to any such rival potentate. Yet in other cases Oriental monarchs are wont to take a special delight in recording the subjugation of these rival kings (comp. Samsi-Rammân's inscriptions I Rawl. 29; Asarhaddon's III Rawl. 16; Asurbanipal's III Rawl. 29 foll., the Behistun-inscription of Darius). So

we must also abandon this possibility. There remains altogether one last hypothesis of this sort, which formerly, when I was not privileged to gain a closer acquaintance with the annals of Tiglath-Pileser, I considered probable. This view, following Berossus or rather Alexander Polyhistor in Eusebius, Armenian chronicle I. 4, regarded the above-
229 named Pul as king of the Chaldaeans. In this case we should have to assume that the Biblical writer put "Assyria" for "Chaldaea". Though this be in itself not without parallel, as I have shown *, yet such an inaccuracy would be scarcely conceivable in this particular instance, at a time when both the kingdoms, the Chaldaean and the Assyrian, were still existing beside one another. Again, it is hardly probable that, while a native prince was still reigning in Niniveh, a Babylonian would have ventured to undertake an expedition past Niniveh to the distant West, an expedition extremely hazardous in such a situation. Moreover such a king of the Chaldaeans, who did not personally reside in Babylon (this assumption would encounter a difficulty of its own), would be in want of a proper imperial centre. Sepharvaim, on the Euphrates, in North-Babylonia, which might be thought-of as such, would scarcely form a centre. Besides, North-Babylonia, including in particular Sipar-Sepharvaim, had already been subjugated (745 B.C.) by the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser II, and the above territory incorporated in the Assyrian empire, "turned into the territory of Assyria" (Layard 52. a, lines 5—8). Again, there is no possibility of a Chaldaean interregnum occurring somewhere before the accession of Tiglath-Pileser, for the Assyrian lists of eponyms distinctly preclude any sup-

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* See Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgenländ. Gesellsch. XXV pp. 453 foll.

position of a break in the order of rulers at this particular point, while the hypothesis, that there may have been such an interregnum during the period covered by Tiglath-Pileser's reign, is altogether impracticable. These last considerations, taken together with others, compel us to seek 230
for Pul on Assyrian ground and to see him in one of the well known Assyrian kings. Bearing the previous investigation in mind, our thoughts can only light on Tiglath-Pileser himself.* And this supposition is justified, in the first place, by the fact that, as the Bible says of Pul, an expedition was in reality undertaken by Tiglath-Pileser to the West (in the year 738 B. C.), in which he reached the Mediterranean sea, Palestine-Phoenicia and the immediate neighbourhood of the Northern Israelite kingdom (the Eastern inhabitants were subsequently transported to the Phoenician towns Zemar-Ṣimirra and Arka-Arḳâ). And the supposition is also confirmed by the fact that, as Berossus says of Phulus, Tiglath-Pileser was actually "rex Chaldaeorum". Indeed he calls himself in his inscriptions, not only by the oft-repeated general designation "king of Sumír and Akkad" i. e. Chaldaea, but in an inscription** belonging to the last period of his reign (17th—18th years) he styles himself also by the special epithet of šar Bâbilu "king of Babylon", a title which, it can be shown, only those Assyrian kings assumed who were also actually recognized by the Babylonians as kings of Babylon. This last fact can be established by other illustrations.—Comp.

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* H. Rawlinson and R. Lepsius. See further in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 441.

** See my essay "Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's &c." Berlin (1879) 1880 p. 19.

on this subject Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 342 foll. 422—457, espec. 449 foll.

The name Pul has been pointed out by G. Smith (Notes p. 25) in the inscriptions with the orthography P u - u - l u (P û l u) as the name of an officer in the time of Sargon, the second successor to Tiglath-Pileser. This name Pul
231 by its form stands forth conspicuously among the series of royal names that are otherwise familiar to us. On the other hand, the name Tiglath-Pileser is elsewhere guaranteed as an Assyrian royal name. We might naturally assume that the person we are endeavouring to identify, when he became ruler, exchanged the name P û l u, which belonged to him as a subject and occurs elsewhere, for the other name T u k l a t - a b a l - í š a r r a. Yet the earlier and original name was perhaps the more popular one. It was that under which he first became known to the Israelites. Thus it was still preserved in the recollection of the people together with the later name (we might compare Bonaparte-Napoléon), while, as it appears, the Babylonians only placed in their lists the original name Pûlu. This can be easily explained from the fact that the appellation Tuklat-abal-íšarra was certainly not frequent among the Babylonians. Thus we may regard it as established that, not only the Assyrian Pul is identical with the "Phulus rex Chaldaeorum" of Berossus, but that he is identical also with the king *Πῶρος* mentioned in the Ptolemaic canon for the year 731 along with Chinzer. The reasons are as follows. In the first place, there can be no doubt that Tiglath-Pileser was actually ruler of Babylonia as well as Assyria. In all three inscriptions which have his name at the head (Lay. 17, 1; II Rawl. 67, 1 as well as in the parallel inscription line 1; see above), he styles himself "king of Sumír and Akkad"; in the last mentioned inscrip-

tion (and, we may conjecture, also at one time in the undamaged one II Rawl. 67) he likewise calls himself "king of Babylon". Furthermore he expressly states that he had subjugated Babylonia and had performed sacred rites in Babylonian towns. We already read in the older triumphal inscription, composed before Arpad was taken (742—740), Layard 17, 4 foll.; comp. II Rawl. 67. 5 foll.; Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 105—107:—4. Ul-tu rîš šarrû-ti-ja ul-tu
ír Dûr-Ku-ri-gal-zi ír Sip-par ša Šamaš ír Pa- 232
ṣi-tav ša amíl Du-ba(?) 5. a-di Nipur amíl I-tu-' amíl Ru-bu-' mât A-ru-mu kali-šu-nu ša šid-di nâr Diḳlat nâr Su-ra-pi 6. a-di nâr Uk-ni-í ša a-aḥ tiâm-tiv šaplîti a-[bil]; i-na íli Tul-Kam-ri ša ír Ḥu-mut iḳabbu-šu-ni 7. ír ípu-uš, ír Kar-Ašur šum-šu ab-bi; niši mâtâti ki-šid-ti ḳat-[ja](?) ina lib-bi u-[ší]-šib*, amíl šu-ut-saḳ-ja ína muḥ-ḥi aš-kun. 8. Mât Bît-Ši-la-a-ni a-na si-ḥir-ti-šu ki-ma tar-[bí-]**ti u-daḳ-ḳi-iḳ; ír Sa-ar-ra-ba-a-nu 9. ír šarrû-ti-šu-nu raba-a kima til a-bu-bi u-ab-bid-ma [šal]-la-su aš-lu-la. Nabû-u-šab-ši šarra-šu-nu 10. mi-iḥ-rit abulli (KA. GAL) ír-šu a-na IṢ za-ḳi-pi u-šíli; [šal-]lat-su aššat-su abli-šu banâti-šu GAR-GA-šu 11. ni-ṣir-ti-šu íkal-šu aš-lu-la. Mât Bît-A-muk-a-ni kima da-ai-aš-ti a-di-íš pu-ḥur niši-šu GAR-ŠU-šu 12. a-na mât Aššur u-ra-a. Ša amíl Pu-ḳu-du amíl Ru-'-u-a amíl Li-'-ta-u ŠI. ŠI (abikta-)šu-nu PA-ma(?) 13. ul-tu aš-ri-

* Parallel passage II Rawl. 67: u-ší-rib "I caused to enter" (root ערב).

** Completed in accordance with Inscr. no. 90 (red) line 2; see Tiglath-Pileser &c. Plate.

šu-nu as-su-ḫa-šu-nu-ti. Amíl A-ru-mu ma-la-ba-šu-u a-na nî-ri-ja u-šik-niš-ma; 14. šarrû-ut (Plur.) šar(Sing.*)-šu-nu aṣ-bat; Kar-dun-ja-aš a-bil; íli niši Ra-'-sa-a-ni ša mât Kaldi 15. bilat ma-da-tu u-kin**; a-na Ašur, Ší-ru-uḫ-a, Bĭl, Zir-banî-ti, Nabû, Taš-mí-tuv, Na-na-a 16. bĭ-lit Bâb-ilu, Nírgal, La-az (ś, s?) lu niḳî íllûti i-na Ḫar-saḳ-kala-ma KI aḳ-ki i. e. "4. From the commencement of my rule: of the town Dur-Kurigalzi,
233 the town Sippar of the sun, the town Paṣitav of the Dubaeans (?) 5. as far as Nipur; the Ituh, Rubuh, the district of the Aramaeans entirely, those on the banks (in the lowlands) of the Tigris of the Surapi 6. as far as the river Uknî which is on the strand of the lower sea, I took possession***; at Tul-Kamri, which they call the town Chumut, I built a town; Kar-Asur ("Asur's town") I named its name. The inhabitants of the countries, the plunder of my hand, I settled there, my viceroy I placed over (them). 8. The land Bet-Silan in its compass like . . . . . I crushed†; the town Sarrabân††, its great capital, I desolated like an overwhelming flood (literally "mound of a storm-flood"); their booty I carried away. Nabû-usabsi their king, 10. I caused to be impaled††† before the gate-way of his city; his prisoners, his wife, his sons,

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* Probably the plural sign has been simply misplaced.

** Obviously so to be corrected. See Ménant: j'ai imposé.

*** In II Rawl. 67, 9 the stands a k - š u d.

† From the root דקק (Keil. u. Gesch.).

†† II Rawl. 67, 15 Sa-ar-rab-a-ni.

††† זקף in Aramaic means beside "hang up" simply "crucify". We have no instance of the representation of a crucifixion in the Assyrian monuments (Keilinsch. u. Gesch.).

his daughters, his property, 11. the treasures of his palace* I carried away as plunder. The land Bet-Amukkan I trod down as in threshing; the whole of its inhabitants, its property, 12. I carried off to Assyria. I who smote (? = abiktašunu aškun?) Pukud, Ruhua, Lithau, 13. carried them away from their abodes, subjugated the Aramaeans, as many as there were of them, to my yoke 14. and took the kingdom of their kings; I who took possession of Kardunias, on the Rabsânaeans of the land Chaldaea 15. imposed payment of tribute; to Asur, Sírucha, Bel**, Zirbanit, Nebo, Tasmit, Nanâ, 16. the mistress of Babylon, 234
to Nergal, (and) Laz (Laś, Láṣ?), offered many splendid offerings*** in the city Charsakkalama". This campaign of Tiglath-Pileser, according to the list of governors, took place as early as the first year of the king's reign viz. 745 B. C. It seems, however, to have possessed but transient importance. At all events Tiglath-Pileser acquiesced in the rule of the king of Babylon, who had up to that time occupied the throne, viz., according to the Ptolemaic canon, Nabonassar (747—733). We may assume that Tiglath-Pileser contented himself with the recognition of Assyria's supremacy by the Babylonian king. But the Assyrian monarch, according to the list of governors, undertook a second subsequent expedition to the river-country, on which occasion he received the homage of Merodachbaladan, the son of Jakin (see note on 2 Kings XX. 12), in the city Sapija. This campaign, according to the list of governors,

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* Literally: "his treasures, his palace" (Keil. u. Gesch.).

** Bel Merodach is meant; see Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken 1874 p. 342 note 2, also above p. 12 footnote **.

*** Respecting niḳû "offering", root נקה, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 109 footnote **.

took place in 731, and we have also detailed information about it in the triumphal inscription belonging to the last year of Tiglath-Pileser's reign II Rawl. 67 (together with the Parallel). We there read: 23. Ukîn-zîr abal A-mukka-a-ni ina ír Sa-pi-í ír šarrû-ti-šu í-sir-šu di-ik-ta-šu ma-at-tu ina pan abulli-šu a-duk; 24. kirî íṣ mu-suḳ-ḳan-ni ša di-iḫ dûri-šu a-kis-ma išti-ín ul í-zib; íṣ SAH-i-šu ša pi rik kur ši (?) a-duk-ma u-ḥi-nu-šu aš-mud-ma u-mal-la-a kir-ba-a-ti. Gi-mir írâ-ni-šu 25. ab-bul ag-gur ina išâti aš-ru up. Mât Bît-Ši-la-a-ni, mât Bît-A-muk-ka-a-ni u [mât] Bît-Ša-'-al-li a-na si-ḥir-ti-šu-nu ki-ma til a-bu-bi u-ab-bid a-na tili u kar-mí u-tir. 26. Ma-da-tu
235 ša Ba-la-su abal Dak-ku-ri Na-di-ni Tam-tam-ak-ai (?) kaspa, ḥurâṣa, ni-sik-ti abni am-ḥur. Marduk-abal-iddi-na abal Ja-ki-ni šar tiâm-tiv ša ina šarrâ-ni abûti-ja a-na maḫar ma-am-man la il-li-kam-ma 27. la u-na-aš-ši-ḳa šípâ-šu-un pul-ḥi mí-lam-mí ša Ašur bîl-ja is-ḥu-pu-šu-ma a-na ír Sa-pi-ja a-di maḫ-ri-ja il-li-kam-ma u-na-aš-ši-ḳa šípâ-ja. Ḥurâṣa í-par mâti-šu a-na ma-'-di-í 28. šu-ḳut-ti ḥurâṣi (aban) TIK-i ḥurâṣi, ni-sik-ti abni, bi-nu-ut tiâm-tiv — —? lu-bul-ti bir-mí ŠIM(RIK) ma'da kala-ma, alpî u ṣi-í-ni ma-da-ta-šu am-ḥur i. e. "23. Chinzer, son of Amukkân, him I shut up in the town Sapî, his royal city, many of his troops I slew before his gates. 24. The palm-groves which (were) before his fortress, I cut down, left not even a single (palm) remaining; his . . . I hewed down; his . . . I destroyed, and filled with them the inner portions (of the city? the trenches?). The whole

of his cities 25. I destroyed, laid waste, burnt with fire. The land Bet-Silân, the land Bet-Amukkân and the land Bet-Sahalli in their entire territory I destroyed like the mound of a storm-flood, I changed into a rubbish-mound and fields. 26. The tribute of Belesys, son of Dakkuri, of Nadin of Tamtamak (?): silver, gold, precious stones (?) I received. Merodach-Baladan, son of Jakin, king of the sea, who in the time of my royal predecessors had not presented himself before any of them 27. and had not kissed their feet: the terror of the majesty of Asur, my lord, cast him to the ground; he appeared in the city Sapija before me and kissed my feet. Gold, the dust of his land, in great quantities, a golden drinking-vessel, stones . . . set in gold (?), precious stones (pearls ?), the produce of the sea, 236 . . . garments of Berom (?), many spices of all sorts, oxen and sheep, I received as his tribute."

Notes and Illustrations. 23. Chinzer (*Χίνζιρος, Χίνζηρος*) written here ideographically DU-zî'r i. e. Ukîn-zî'r, see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 155 no. 61.* I have established the correctness of the reading on the original during my repeated visits to London (in the lithograph II Rawl. 67 in place of the sign DU there stands by an error the sign GAB, which closely resembles it but makes no sense.) The duplicate of this inscription, which has since been discovered and has been published by me in the Abhandlungen der Berl. Akad. 1877 (78) no. VII, clearly exhibits this sign, which is even recognizable by the ordinary reader. For further particulars see ibid. p. 16 (in the note). —I'sir 1 pers. Impf. Kal, root אסר "shut in"; diktu, root דוך, see Glossary; mattu fem. of mâdu = ma'du, comp. Asurnaṣirh. (I Rawl. 21 col. II, 64); abullu, written KÂ. GAL. = "great door", in the plur.; 24. iṣ ŠAR = kirû "plantation", see Norris Dict. pp. 388 foll.; musuḳḳan "the palm", see my remarks in the Berlin. Monatsbericht 1881 pp. 417 foll.; diḫ abbreviated stat. constr. of diḫû "contact" accus. = Hebrew דחה (like the Germ. "anstossend" = "pushing

* There is no reason for the assumption of an abbreviated pronunciation Kin-zî'r (G. Smith) as far as the Assyrian is concerned.

against", and then "bordering on"); akis 1 pers. Impf. Kal of nakas "cut down". The word bi'l is used in just the same way in phrases like bî'l lišâni;—ízib, root עזב. The ideogram SAḤ I no more understand than I do the signs ša (Relat.?) pi rik šat ši. However, from the ideogram expressing wood which stands before it, it is evident that we have to do with a species of tree or with objects made of wood. Hence dûk must have the proper meaning "fell", "hew down"; uḥin I do not understand; ašmud may perhaps be regarded as identical with the Hebr. שָׁמַד, הִשְׁמִיד; umallâ is Impf. Pa. of מלא, and by kirbâti (קֶרֶב, כֶּרֶב) we should perhaps understand the inner parts of the town (or "trenches"?);—25. Respecting abûbu, see above p. 66 (Germ. text) and Lotz, Die Insch. Tigl.-Pil.'s I pp. 129 foll.; uabbid Pa. of abad אבד; karmí is plur. of karam = כֶּרֶם „vineyard", then (Delitzsch) "field-land"; comp. Lotz p. 138. The phrase ana tili u karmí "into hills and fields" is frequent (I Rawl. 27. B. 3. 4 &c.); utîr Imperf. Pa. of tur תור "to be";—26. Balasu, more accurately Balasû, is Belesys; the name also occurs on Asarhaddon's cylinder col. II. 52. We also meet with it in Assyrian documents under the form Ba-la-si-i III Rawl. 46. 3 lines 28/9; 4 line 73; 54, 60 c, which is to be observed on account of the Greek form *Βέλεσυς*. Compare also Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 515 foll.—The land Dakkuri is
237 expressly mentioned on the Asarhaddon-cylinder II, 42 foll. under the form Dak-kur-ri as lying "in the midst of Chaldaea". The pronunciation Tamtamakai is not certain. Nisikti "something poured out", root נסך ("metal"? "precious stones"?); or are we to transcribe the word nisiḳti, root נסק, comp. nus(s)uḳu = nummuru, root נמר "shine"? Respecting the Assyrian nasâḳu see Lotz, Die Insch. Tigl.-Pil. I p. 179. On mam-man "whosoever" see Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 259; illikamma for illikû-ma, root הלך;—27. šípâ "feet" dual, here written ideographically. On this see below. As to the root, comp. Syriac ܫܦܦ "creep"; pulḥu "reverence", "fear", root פלח = Syriac ܦܠܚ "serve", "revere"; mílammu seems to be a word borrowed from the Akkadian, see Haupt, Sum. Familienges. I. 55 foll., Delitzsch in Lotz, Die Insch. Tigl.-Pileser's I p. 84; ípru, ípar "dust", comp. עָפָר; ma'dí genit. of ma'dû, root מאד; šuḳût "drinking vessel", Hebr. שֹׁקֶת, root שקה; binût "product", root בנה; lubulti "garment" for lubusti, root לבש, according to a well-known phonetic law in Assyrian; — birmí, see above p. 207 footnote ***; ŠIM(RIK) ideogram signifying "fragrant resin", "spice", see Berlin. Akad. Monatsberr. 1881 p. 414. On kalama see Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 260.

Undoubtedly we must regard this second campaign of the great monarch to Sapija as an energetic assertion of Assyria's supremacy, and when even the mighty king of South-Babylonia, Merodach-Baladan, stooped to greet the Northern conqueror with a kiss of homage, it can scarcely be gainsaid that Babel also in some way recognized his supremacy. And finally this is placed beyond all doubt by the circumstance that the Ptolemaic canon notes down (1) for the year 731, as well as (2) for the year 726 (the first complete year of Salmanassar's reign, the successor of Tiglath-Pileser) a change of ruler in Babylon, and, what is remarkable enough, mentions two kings as the contemporary possessors of this title, viz. Chinzer (Ukîn-zîr, see Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 155 no. 61, and comp. above) and Pôr. The practice otherwise followed by the compilers of the canon forbids the supposition that there were two kings reigning in succession in about the same year. In such a case one of the two would have been altogether passed 238
over. Hence this strange statement can only be properly understood on the assumption that one of the two was the superior, and the other the subordinate king; Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 453 foll. If we connect this with the circumstance that the length of reign assigned by the canon to Pôr as king of Babylon exactly corresponds to the interval that comes between Merodach-Baladan's act of homage in 731 and Tiglath-Pileser's death, and also bear in mind that there was no Assyrian king who had the name Ukîn-zîr or one like it, we may consider it extremely probable, nay even certain, that Pôr was the superior king referred to. We have besides a satisfactory explanation of the name Pôr or Pûru, which is unintelligible as an Assyrio-Babylonian word and has not hitherto been exhibited in

the inscriptions, if we take it as the later Persian form of pronunciation for Pôl or what has been ascertained on the inscriptions to be Pûlu = פּוּל. Comp. Bâbiru in the Persian cuneiform for Bâbilu.*

Accordingly the following are the results at which we have arrived in our investigation: (1) Menahem of Israel and Azarjah of Juda are contemporaries according to the Bible and according to the cuneiform inscriptions; (2) according to the Bible both these rulers are contemporaries of an Assyrian king Pul, according to the cuneiform records, contemporaries of Tiglath-Pileser; (3) Pul is called Chaldaean by Berossus; Tiglath-Pileser calls himself king of Chaldaea; (4) Pul-Pôr was in 731 king of Babylon; Tiglath-Pileser in the year 731 received the homage of the Babylonian king Merodach-Baladan, while he conquered other Babylonian rulers in the same year, among them
239 Chinzer of Amukkân; (5) Pôr appears in the Canon of Ptolemaeus as king of Babylon; Tiglath-Pileser calls himself "king of Babylon". (6) According to the canon, Chinziros was in 731 king of Babylon together with (or subordinate to) a king named Pôros; from the coincidence of dates the conjecture naturally arises that the conquered prince of Amukkân, having the same name, was entrusted by Tiglath-Pileser with the subject kingdom of Babylon. (7) In the year 727—726 a change of ruler took place in Assyria in consequence of the death of Tiglath-Pileser, and about the same time in Babylonia in consequence of the retirement of Pôrus; (8) a king having the name Pul (which in its type stands forth as exceptional from the list

* Comp. A. von Gutschmid in Literar. Centralbl. 1870 p. 1158; G. Smith, Notes on the Early History &c. p. 25; Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 459.

of other rulers), or having a name like it, does not appear on the lists of Assyrian kings, if he be not identical with another Assyrian king, which other Assyrian king, again, on historical grounds can only be Tiglath-Pileser; (9) Pul and Pôr are shown to be one and the same name by virtue of a phonetic law which has been established from other examples. Under these circumstances* it appears in my estimation impossible to avoid the supposition that Pul and Pôr, and also Pul and Tiglath-Pileser, are one and the same person. If this however be so, light is at once cast 240
on the obscurity which involves the chronological problem, and especially the relation of the considerably longer Israelite measurement of time to the proportionally shorter Assyrian measurement—an obscurity which writers for some time past have only been able to dispel by violent hypotheses, see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 440 &c.

19. *And Menahem gave Pul 1000 talents of silver*; see note on Gen. XXIII. 16 and 2 Kings XVIII. 14.

20. *Fifty shekels of silver to every man* i. e. exactly one mina to each man, see note on Gen. XXIII. 16.

29. *in the days of Pekah king of Israel, there advanced*

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* We have no right to quote as another argument for this identity, with H. Rawlinson, R. Lepsius and H. Brandes, 1 Chron. V. 26, in which the transportation of transjordanic Israelites is equally attributed to Pul and to Tiglath-Pileser. For this statement rests, in the first place, on a confusion of what is reported in 2 Kings XV. 29 of Tiglath-Pileser, and what is said in 2 Kings XVII. 6 of Salmanassar; and in the second place, on a transference to Pul of what according to the Books of Kings is only true of Tiglath-Pileser. This passage can only be cited as a proof of the ease with which in Biblical writers generally confusions of events or persons might occur, and how very possible therefore might appear even the differentiation by these writers of one and the same personality into two distinct ones. See also Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 431, 435 foll.

Tiglath-Pileser (תִּגְלַת־פִּלְאֶסֶר), *king of Assyria.* The Assyrian pronunciation of the name of this Assyrian ruler was according to II Rawl. 67 line 1, comp. with line 40, Tukul-ti (Tuklat)-abal-í-šar-ra; comp. LXX: *Θαλγαθγελλασάρ.* The name signifies: "confidence (i. e. object of confidence) is the son of the Šarra-temple." The Akkadian í is equivalent to the Assyrian bîtu "house"; Akkadian šarra (written HI. ra) = Assyr. ṭâbu טוב and also ašâru אשר, Hebr. ישר.* The second part of the name (son of
241 &c.) is probably (see Assyr.-Babylon. Keil. p. 148 no. 49, comp. p. 151) an honorary epithet of the god Adar. Thus the meaning of the name is ultimately "confidence is Adar." Comp. the similar names: Nabû-tukul-ti "Nebo is confidence"; Nabû-tuk-lat-u-a "Nebo is my confidence" Assyr.-Babylon. Keil. p. 141 no. 34. 36. Respecting the omission of the pronom. suffix "my", comp. also Nabû-mu-šal-lim with Nabû-šallim-anni; Nírgal-balliṭ with Nabû-balliṭ-anni (Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 131 no. 16, 17) &c.**

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* I now entertain no objection (with Delitzsch, Lesestücke 2. ed. p. 15) to this explanation of the third part of the name from the Akkadian, since the adoption of such Akkadian designations into the Assyrian has meanwhile been sufficiently established. On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose (with Delitzsch), that there was a *god* Išarra and that the god Adar was described as his son. A decisive testimony against this consists in the constant omission of the determinative of deity. Besides, in Samsi-Rammân I, 15 (I Rawl. 29) Adar is expressly called the "first-born of the (old) Bel." Compare also in the same inscription and column line 30. 31: za-nin Í-šar-ra (Bît-Šar-ra) "Preserver of the Šarra-temple". The "sonship" therefore spoken of in connection with the Šarra-temple (in Samsi-Rammân I. 26 there stands binût "creation") can only be figurative. Accordingly, concerning this point, the matter may rest in the main as I have put it in my investigations, Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 151.

** Under these circumstances there is, in my opinion, no necessity

Tiglath-Pileser reigned altogether 18 years, i. e. from 242
745 to 727 according to the canon of rulers, the statements of which are also checked and attested by the list of governors; see the conclusion of this work (in Vol. II). With this agrees the fact that the last document of Tiglath-Pileser that we possess belongs to his 18th year. This is the great summary or triumphal inscription which is printed in II Rawl. 67, and which in the words of line 5

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to pronounce and transcribe the word tukultî i. e. "my confidence", as Haupt does in Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellsch. XXXIV. 760, comp. Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 246 note 2. Moreover, it is possible in a semiphonetic orthography = (IṢ)KU.ti (I Rawl. 35 no. 3, 19 &c.) for a pronominal î (= tî) to lurk in the phonetic complement ti; but this suffix would never be intimated in the oft-recurring purely ideographic mode of writing IṢ. KU; such a thing would be in fact very extraordinary. Lastly the Hebr. transcription, that is to say the Hebrew punctuation and pronunciation attested by the LXX, does not exhibit a trace of the long and still audible î. Perhaps it is not at all necessary to transcribe the name in the first part as tukultu(ti), since we know from such forms as Nabû-šallim-anni, Sin-šallim-anni &c. instead of Nabû-ušallim-anni &c., that in the case of proper names there was a quite conceivable tendency to shortening in the pronunciation of the vowels—a tendency which would be fulfilled in the present case by the choice of the status constructus form of pronunciation (tuklat) instead of the stat. absol. (tukultu). I would also call attention to the passage in the inscription of Samsi-Rammân I Rawl. 29, 16, in which Adar is called IṢ. KU. ti (tukul-ti) ilî ṣa-ri-í-šu(?) i. e. "Servant of the exalted(?) gods". Since the meaning "servant" for tukultu has been proved from other examples, and moreover the plural "tuklâti" meaning "soldiers" is quite a common word, the question arises whether we ought not to pronounce the word simply tuklat in the construct state and translate by "Servant of the son of the Šarra-temple." In this way all difficulties would be obviated. The name would be analogous to that of the ancient Babylonian king Irî-Aku "Arioch", Assyr. Arad-Sin "servant of Sin" (see above); Arad-Ištar "servant of Istar" III Rawl. 46 no. VI, 8 (50) &c. Tukultu of course designates the "servant", so far as the servant is the "object of confidence" to his master, his "confidential agent."

proposed to give an account of the events which took place in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser ultu rîš šarrû-ti-ja a-di XVII. palî-ja "from the beginning of his (my) rule to the 17th year of his reign". We must therefore assume that the inscription itself was set up in this very 17th year or in the following 18th, that is the last year of Tiglath-Pileser's reign.

We also have a series of inscriptions belonging to this monarch, which, properly speaking, fall into two groups, viz. the annalistic inscriptions, and the summarizing or triumphal inscriptions. Of these the former, which have come down to us in several specimens, narrate the events in chronological order according to the individual years of the king's reign; the latter, the summarizing or triumphal inscriptions, give a general review of all that has happened, but are not governed so much by chronological as by other considerations that commend themselves to the mind of the narrator; thus they group the facts e. g. according to the geographical position of the countries, where the events occurred, according to their importance, and so on. We perceive that the inscriptions of the latter class are inferior to the annalistic inscriptions in historical as well as chronological value. But unfortunately it is just these very "annals" of
243 Tiglath-Pileser, which exist in a very ruinous condition (as we shall afterwards see to be the fate of Sargon's also). This is owing to the fact that a later king, Asarhaddon, belonging to another dynasty, with little show of respect, removed from their position these plates or slabs, which originally belonged to Tiglath-Pileser's palace, caused the inscriptions with which they were covered to be partially chiselled away and employed the plates themselves in the building of his palace—the South-West palace.* Fortunately, however,

* See Layard, Niniveh and its Remains Vol. I p. 351, Vol. II p. 23

it is not all the plates that have fallen victims to this fate, and, moreover, the destruction of the inscriptions is often so superficial that not infrequently entire sections are still legible. From what has been preserved it may be gathered that in these inscriptions, chiefly friezes of 7, 12 and 16 lines, we are dealing with the records of Tiglath-Pileser (see above p. 240), in fact with his annals; comp. e. g. 67, 5: ina IX. palîja in "the ninth year of my reign". But in Layard's "Inscriptions in the cuneiform character" these plates are ranged in succession with utter disregard of order, for Layard arranged them merely according to the places where they were discovered (central palace and South-West palace), and it so happens that the lines of one plate, which in Layard's work stands as plate 50, are continued on a plate which is now numbered as plate 67! The following is the result of my examination of the plates.*

I. *Friezes of seven lines.* Of these we may safely assign 244
a chronological position to Layard Plate 69 A, 1 (left, above) 69 A, 2 (right, above) which, according to the contents and the express statement 69 A, 2 (right) line 3, refer to the events of the 8th and 9th years of the king's reign. The friezes 69 B, 1; 69 B, 2; 68, refer essentially to the same period and have in part similar contents. These belong to a parallel series of seven-lined friezes. Besides there remain the seven-lined friezes III Rawl. 9 no. 1, a and b

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foll.; Niniveh and Babylon pp. 617, 620, and comp. my essay Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-Pilesers II, Berlin (Akad. der Wissensch.) 1879 (1880), VIII pp. 3 foll. 5 foll.

* Respecting the prior question whether these inscriptions are really those of Tiglath-Pileser II, see in "Zur Kritik der Insch. &c." pp. 5—12.

as well as the seriously disfigured inscription Layard 34, which deals with Babylonian affairs, and therefore refers either to the first (745) or second (731) campaign of the king in Babylonia.

II. *Friezes of twelve lines.* They begin (Plate 52 a and b) with representations of the events in the first and second years of his reign (comp. no. 6 line 7). These, or a continuation of the account given by the plate, Layard 52 a (together with the complementary plate), are furnished by 51 a and b; comp. the fragment published by G. Smith, Assyrian Discoveries pp. 271 foll. and also that on p. 272; see my essay "Zur Kritik &c." p. 24. Perhaps there come next in order the sections III Rawl. 9. 1, as well as Lay. 45 b, as having reference to the period covered by the 3rd—6th years of the king's reign. There follow the inscriptions Pl. 50 a and b, the lines of the latter being continued on plate 67 a. The plates contain the record of the 8th—9th years of the king's reign (see 67 a. line 5). Next comes the continuation Pl. 67 b, containing at the end (68, 3—12) the account of a campaign of the king to the East. I am not certain as to the position I ought to give to the twelve-line inscription Pl. 19 as well as 29. From the mention of the countries Kabsi, Sangi, Urzik[ki] 19, 6 (comp. 51a. 6) we may be fairly confident in concluding that Plate 19
245 refers likewise to the events of the first year of the king's reign. On the other hand, as regards Plate 29, because Ashkelon is mentioned upon it (line 7) as well as Rezin (line 8), it may be conjectured to have belonged to the series of plates that report the events of the years 734—732 (see below).

III. *Friezes of sixteen lines.* Of the inscriptions of these there are preserved to us only Pl. 71 a and b, with the

continuation of the latter on Pl. 72; also the third Pl. 72 b with the continuation on p. 73. Of these the latter inscription certainly refers to the Syrian war with Rezin. This results from (1) the mention of Rezin 73, 11; (2) of Syria (Gar-imíri-šu) line 15; (3) lastly, of a queen of the land Aribi named Sa-am-si line 16, the same Arabian queen who is afterwards repeatedly mentioned on Sargon's inscriptions (comp. e. g. Khorsab. 27). On the other hand, in the 8th year of Tiglath-Pileser's rule we have mention of a tributary queen named Zabibí (Pl. 69 left a. line 6). Hence it is quite clear that what we are here told about Rezin and his kingdom can have no reference to the events of the year 738, but rather refer to those of the years 734—32. As to the two other inscriptions, I cannot even now venture on any conjecture because of their terribly mutilated condition. I would merely remark that in 72, 11 the Bu-rat "Euphrates" is mentioned, and in line 16 a šar-rat "queen". Of the proper name only the doubtful final character is preserved, while the name of the country has been chiselled away.

IV. Not only in the inscriptions above enumerated, but also in the *fragments*, we have annalistic accounts preserved to us, viz. in III Rawl. 9 no. 2 (sixth year); ibid. 9 no. 3 = Layard 65 (sixth, seventh and eighth years); ibid. 10 no. 2 (twelfth year 734 B. C.) as well as some smaller passages which cannot be arranged with certainty, as *ibid.* 9 246 no. 1 a and b; the latter of these is no doubt a continuation of the former. The fragment of a tribute-list (Layard 45) is to be assigned to the 3rd year of the king's reign, 743 B. C. (see below). On the other hand, the unfortunately seriously damaged fragment Layard 66, which makes mention of Rezin in line 14, of the Ishmaelite race Adbeel

(Idibi'ilu) in line 16, of Samaria in line 18, and in line 17 of "former campaigns" of the king*, may be conjectured to refer to the expeditions against Syria and Israel in the years 734—732.

Of the "summarizing inscriptions" we have one that is briefer than the other, composed at a time previous to the Judaeo-Ephraimite war, and not later than 743—42** Layard pl. 17. 18. The other longer inscription is unfortunately broken in the middle. It was not edited till the 18th year of the king's reign, and stands in II Rawl. 67.*** In addition to the latter there has meanwhile been discovered the first part of a parallel inscription designated no. 90, red, which certainly agrees in essential points with the above longer inscription, but is on the whole briefer in form and exhibits several peculiarities and also varieties of detail. This I have published in my essay "Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-Pilesers &c." (with a photograph appended), so far as it has been preserved, that is, in the opening lines, and with the exception of their commencement. All these inscriptions still bear, as I have already said, Tiglath-Pileser's name at their head. We cannot
247 therefore doubt that they originated from him. An extremely valuable supplement to both classes of inscriptions is to be found in the list of governors, from which alone we gain accurate information as to the date of the king's campaign against Samaria and Damaskus (see below).

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* The words of the transcribed cuneiform are: ina gir-ri-tí-ja maḫ-ra-a-tí.

** See the proof in Zur Kritik der Insch. Tigl.-Pil. &c. p. 30.

*** On the latter inscription compare especially Ch. Eneberg, inscription de Tiglat-Piléser II, in the Journ. Asiat. VI (1875) pp. 441—472.

The impression that we gain from these inscriptions respecting Tiglath-Pileser corresponds throughout to what we know about him from the Bible. Nowhere else, as is well known, is the king mentioned. He appears to us throughout in these records as a powerful warrior-prince, who has subjugated beneath his sceptre the Western Asiatic territory from the Median frontier-mountains in the East* to the Mediterranean sea in the West, including a part of Cappadocia, as we have it recorded in the opening of his great triumphal inscription II Rawl. 67 lines 1 foll.: 1. I'-kal Tukul-ti-abal-í-šar-[ra šarru rabu-u šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mât Aššur šar Bâb-ilu šar mât Šu]**-mí-ri u Akkadi šar kib-rat arba-ti 2. dannu ḳar-du ša ina*** tu-kul-ti [Ašur bĭli-šu kul-lat la ma-gi-ri-šu kima tar-bí-ti(?) u-daḳ-ḳi-ḳu a-bu]-biš is-pu-nu-ma zi-ḳi-ḳiš im-nu-u 3. šarru ša ina zi-kir Ašur Ša-maš u Mar-duk ilî rabûti [ittala-ku-ma] ul-tu nâr mâr-ra-ti ša Bît-Ja-ki-ni a-di šad Bi-ik-ni ša napaḫ šam-ši 4. u tiâm-tiv ša šul-mi šam-ši a-di mât Mu-uṣ-ri, ul-tu UR a-di írib(?)† mâtâti i-pi-lu- 248
ma í-bu-šu šar-ru-us-si-in "1. Palace of Tiglath-

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* This definition of frontier strengthens the doubt whether Tiglath-Pileser can have actually penetrated beyond the frontier of Media to the East (Keil. u. Gesch. p. 277). On this compare K. T. Patkanoff's essay, written in Russian, "On the supposed campaign of Tiglath-Pileser to the banks of the Indus" Petersburg 1879.

** The words placed in brackets—broken away from the tablet—are supplied from the parallel inscription no. 90 which is preserved uninjured at this passage.

*** Such is the text of the original collated by me.

† In the text there stands AN. PA, which elsewhere designates the god Nebo, but here can only mean a quarter of the world, as the contrasted term indicates.

Pilese[r the great king, the mighty king, the king of the host of nations, the king of Assyria, king of Babylon, king of Su]mír and Akkad; king of the four regions; 2. the mighty, the brave, who, in reliance upon Asur his lord, crushed the whole of the unsubmissive like tarbíti, cast to the ground like a waterflood, regarded ziḳiḳiš (just as . . .)*; 3. the king, who, with invocation of Asur, Samas and Merodach, the great gods, [steps forth and] conquered the lands from the sea of Beth-Jakin to the Bikni range of mountains **, 4. which is in the rising of the sun, and (from the) sea which is towards the setting of the sun as far as the land Muṣri (Aegypt ***), from the East to the West, and inaugurated the government over them". And this development of power directed outwards was accompanied by the display of an unmistakeable taste for art, especially that of architecture and sculpture. Of the architecture we are in a position to form a judgment partly from the remains of the central palace which he restored, and partly from the discovery of the king's own plan of the palace newly erected by him on the South-East platform of Nimrûd†, a discovery which we owe to a strange ac-
249 cident. The peculiarity of his sculpture may be gathered from the numerous basreliefs with which the slabs of his palace are covered. These are throughout neatly formed, and exhibit vividness of conception, while as to decoration

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* In parallel passages usually occurs šallatiš amnû "I counted as booty", "I reckoned as prisoners".

** Comp. Asarhad. IV. 10 (Del.).

*** On Muṣri = Aegypt in this passage see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 265 foll.

† Discovered and published by W. K. Loftus. See G. Rawlinson, "The five great monarchies" &c. Vol. II, p. 137, 2nd ed.

and attire or, in one word, ornamentation, they are characterized on the whole by simplicity.

The most remarkable occurrences during the 18 years of Tiglath-Pileser's reign, which we are enabled to fix with great chronological precision* by the aid of the annals and of the list of governors, are the following:—Having ascended the throne on the 13th Ijjar (about April) of the year 745, he advanced in the very same year to the River-country i. e. Chaldaea, where he seized the capital of Nabû-ušabši**, king of Bet-Silân, and caused him to be crucified. It was immediately after this campaign to Chaldaea that he adopted, as we learn from the inscription Layard 17, the title of king of Sumír and Akkad i. e. of Babylonia.*** The following year 744 is filled up, according to the list of governors, by an expedition to the Eastern land Namri; perhaps the fragment III Rawl. 9, 1 refers to this. It informs us of the defeat of Tutammû, king of the land Unḳi† (so G. Smith 1869); or else, and this seems 250

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* Comp. G. Smith in Aegypt. Zeitsch. 1869 pp. 9 foll. 92 foll.; Assyr. Discov. 1875 pp. 266 foll.; my statements in "Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's II" Berlin 1879, VIII pp. 13 foll.

** The name signifies: "Nebo calls into being", root bašû, see Glossary.

*** See also the passage in the inscription Layard 17 communicated above pp. 223 foll.

† III Rawl. 9, 1 line 11: [ír] Ki-na-li-a a-na íš-šu-ti aṣ-bat mât Un-ḳi a-na pad gim-ri-ša . . . [šu-ut-saḳ]-ja paḥata íli-šu-nu aš-ku-un i. e. "(the town) Kinalia I built anew; the land Unḳi in its entire territory . . . .; my [commander] the viceroy I set over it." The mât Mu-sir line 6 (in the first edition of this work) is owing to a mistake of the editors. We should read šu ak-šud = ír Ki-na-li-a ír šarrû-ti-šu ak-šud i. e. "the city Kinalia, his royal city, I captured". Comp. G. Smith, Assyr. Discoveries pp. 274 foll., in which he also in the meantime refers the above passage to 743 B. C., or the years immediately following.

to me rather more probable, we ought to place this event in the year 743, in which the troubles in Armenia are noted down in the list of governors. I am led to take this view by the mention of [Ar]-pad-da on the fragment (line 2); and this occurs *before* the notice respecting the defeat of Tutammû. Moreover, according to the list of governors, the king was in Arpad just in the year 743 B. C.

Regarding the Armenian imbroglio itself we have full particulars in Layard 18 and II Rawl. 67, 45 foll. It is to this third year of the king's reign, and to his stay in Arpad, that the fragment of the tribute-list in Layard 45 may be presumed specially to refer. This list notes down, as tributary to the Great King, Kustaspi of Kummuch, a king (name lost) of Tyre, Urijaikki of . . . [the name of the country is lost, but according to other tribute-lists (see below) it can only have been the land Ḳui], also Pisiris of Karkemish and Tarchular (of Gamguma). The fragment cannot have been one from the later lists, since instead of Urijaikki (of Ḳui) these give Urikki and also uniformly note down in their lists between the Tyrian king and the king of Ḳui another, namely Sibittibi'l of Byblos, and lastly, between Pisiris of Karkemish and Tarchular of Gamgum, two others viz. I'niel of Hamath and Panammu of Sam'al. On the other hand, these latter names never stood, and never can have stood, in the corresponding passage of the
251 list above mentioned. There remains therefore only this third year of the king's reign as that to which we can suitably assign (with G. Smith) this tribute-list.* It was

* The tribute-list spoken of by G. Smith in Aegypt. Zeitschrift 1869 p. 92 as newly discovered is simply this fragment, to be found published in Layard's work since 1851. Whether, among the princes

in this year, as we said above, that the monarch stayed in the Syrian city Arpad. We must accordingly assume that Tiglath-Pileser caused the above-mentioned princes to wait upon him at Arpad in the same way as afterwards at Damaskus 2 Kings XVI. 10. There follows the three-years siege of Arpad 742—740, respecting which, however, our only source of information is the list of governors. The corresponding plates of annals are lost. Also from the great triumphal inscription II Rawl. 67 we obtain no information on this subject. The annals do not commence again till the year 739 in which occurs the expedition to Ulluba and Birtu. Before the account of this expedition, and forming the transition to it, and therefore the conclusion to the account of the enterprise against Arpad (740), there occurs that important passage above quoted (pp. 211 foll.) respecting the alliance of Azarjah (Uzziah of Juda) with Hamath. From this we learn that, while Tiglath-Pileser chastised Hamath for its alliance with Juda, he did not see fit to molest the latter as well, a clear proof of the accuracy of the Biblical account of the firmly established 252
power of Uzziah. There follows the expedition to Ulluba and Birtu, assigned by the list of governors to the year 739, and described on the plate of annals immediately after the narrative about Hamath and Azarjah. In Ulluba or its district were settled forthwith the deported inhabitants of Hamath (III Rawl. 9, 33). The expedition against the

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that rendered homage, there were also Menahem of Samaria and Rezin of Damaskus (see G. Smith ibid. and see below), cannot be determined with certainty.—Meanwhile the above conjecture would also be justified by monumental evidence, if G. Smith (Discoveries p. 274) has really on a basis of palaeographic facts connected with this plate (Lay. 45) the other, III Rawl. 9 no. 1. For the latter evidently speaks of the reception of a rich (m a-a t-t u) tribute in [A r]-p a d-d a, line 1. 2.

"Aramaeans" (Arumu) of Birtu (presumably on the Euphrates) was not directed by Tiglath-Pileser in person, but was placed under the command of his generals. The tribute imposed on the conquered cities had to be sent by these officers to the great king in the land "Chatti" i. e. Western Syria (ibid. 36 foll.). We cannot determine with certainty whether the despatch of this tribute took place in the same year 739, or in the following, 738 B. C., for the stone in this part is broken in several places, and it cannot therefore be said where the account of the events of the year 739 closes. But it is certain that in the following year 738 the Chittaean (Hittite) princes—presently to be mentioned—sent their gifts to the Great King. This is perfectly clear, because the plate is altogether uninjured from line 50 onwards, where the enumeration commences, while in line 57 the account of the events that took place in the year 738 opens with the words i-na IX palî-ja "in the 9th year of my reign". The following were the princes who did homage to the Great King on that occasion (see the passage, lines 50—54, beginning with the words madattu ša "tribute of"):—Ku-uš-ta-aš-pi ír Ku-um-mu-ḫa-ai, Ra-ṣun-nu mât Gar-imíri-šu-ai, Mí-ni-ḫi-(im)-mí ír Sa-mí-ri-na-ai, Ḫi-ru-um-mu ír Ṣur-(ra)-ai, Si-bi-it-ti-bi-'-li ír Gu-ub-la-ai, U-ri-ik-ki mât Ḳu-u-ai, Pi-si-ri-is ír
253 Gar-ga-mis-ai, I'-ni-ilu ír Ḫa-am-ma-ta-ai, Pa-na-am-mu-u ír Sa-am-'-la-ai, Tar-ḫu-la-ra mât Gam-gu-ma-ai, Su-lu-ma-al mât Mí-lid-da-ai, Da-di-i-lu ír Kas-ka-ai, U-as-sur-mí mât Ta-bal-ai, Uš-ḫi-it-ti mât Tu-na-ai, Ur-bal-la-a mât Tu-ḫa-na-ai, Tu-ḫa-am-mí ír Iš-tu-un-da-ai; U-ri-im-mí-i ír Ḫu-šim(rik?)-na-ai,

Za-bi-bi-í šar-rat mât A-ri-bi i. e. "Kustasp of Commagene, Rezin of Damaskus, Menahem of Samaria, Hiram of Tyre, Sibittibihli of Byblos, Urikki of Ḳui, Pisiris of Karkemish, Iniel of Hamat, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarchular of Gamgum, Sulumal of Mîlid (Melitene), Dadîlu of Kask (Kolchis?), Vassurmi of Tabal (Tubal?), Ushit of of Tun, Urballa of Tuchan, Tuchammi of Istunda, Urimmi of Husimna (?), Zabibieh, queen of Aribi." We here see that both Chittaean and Aramaean princes, as well as princes of Asia Minor, and lastly of Phoenicia-Arabia, offer tribute to the Great King. By the "queen of the Arabs" we must understand, as I shall show later on Jer. XXV. 24, some queen of North-Arabia as referred-to. As to the omission of the king of Juda from the list, this agrees with what we can infer from the inscription itself about the position occupied by Azarjah-Uzziah and have explained above. Azarjah-Uzziah felt himself strong enough to resist an attack from Assyria if the necessity arose. In this he was evidently reckoning on the support of the peoples and kings living around Juda and which are likewise omitted in this list, viz. those of the Philistine cities Ashdod, Gaza and Ashkelon, as well as of Edom, Moab, Ammon &c. In the following three years 737—35 we see the Great King exclusively occupied in the East and, according to the list of governors, involved in struggles with Armenia and certain Eastern countries.* 254 About these campaigns we obtain further details from the

*) The land mât A. A., to which, according to this list, the king in 737 undertook an expedition, cannot have been Babylonia, but must have been another Easterly but otherwise not distant region, though it is not possible to designate it by a definite name. To connect it simply with Media mât Madai (G. Smith) is inadmissible. See Smith's Assurbanipal pp. 97, 102, and compare in general my essay "Zur Kritik der Inschr. Tiglath-Pileser's II" p. 26 note.

annals Layard 67 a line 5 foll.; 67 b line 1 foll.; 68, 8—12 (ninth year); 51 a. b (tenth year). Comp. both accounts with the parallel passage in the triumphal inscription II Rawl. 67, 29—40. Not till the year 734 do we find him again engaged in the West. The list of governors notes down for this year a campaign of the king to the land Pilista. By this term we must understand chiefly Philistia. But it requires no explanation to show that the expedition was by no means restricted to this tract of territory. The land is mentioned as on the whole the most distant of all the countries to which the expedition extended. But this campaign must have likewise affected Samaria, Juda, the Phoenician towns, as well as Edom, Moab and Ammon. And we also, to a certain extent, possess the proof of this, chiefly in a fragment of the annals published in III Rawl. 10, no. 2. Though it is seriously mutilated —a piece is broken away in the middle—yet we can clearly make out, what the inscription on this plate was about. It commences with the enumeration of a number of towns reduced by Tiglath-Pileser. Among these are named in succession at line 13 Ṣi-mir-ra and Ar-ḳa-a, unquestionably צמר and ערק, both of which are mentioned
255 in Gen. X. 17 foll. as Kanaanite towns and lay West of Lebanon (on Arḳa see Josephus, Archaeol. I. 6, 2; also see above p. 87; on צמר see p. 89). Then follows in lines 14—16 a seriously mutilated passage, whence however it is equally obvious that we have to do with subjugated cities. Here we meet with the familiar phrase: ŠU-UT-SAK-i[-ja šaknûti íli-]šu-nu aš-kun "my officers, [the viceroys], I placed over them." Immediately after this we read line 17: . . . . . ni(?)-tí ír Ga-al . . . . . [A]-bi-il . . . ša zak mât Bît-Ḫu-um-ri-a . . 18. . . .

-li rap-šu a-na si-[ḫir-ti-šu] a-na mi-ṣir mât Aššur u-tir-ra 19. [avíl ŠU-UT-SAḲ-i]-ja šaknûti íli-šu-nu aš]-kun. Ḫa-a-nu-u-nu ír Ḫa-az-za-at-ta-ai 20. [ša pa-an] tuklâti-ja ip-par-ši-[du-ma a-na mât] Mu-uṣ-ri in-nab-tav. I'r Ḫa-az-zu-tu . . . . . 21. . . . . GAR-šu-šu ilâ-ni . . . . . ja u ṣalam šarrû-ti-ja 22. . . . . na ki-rib bît . . . . . ilî mâti-šu-nu am-nu-ma . . . 23. . . u-ḫar-ši(?) . . . . ḳi-na-ma kî iṣ-ṣu-ri 24. . . . . ? ut u? . . . a-na irṣiti-šu u-tir-šu-ma 25. . . . . na u . . . . . [ḫurâṣa], kaspa, lu-bul-ti bir-mí KUM 26. . . . . rabûti iṣ- . . . . . [am]-ḫur. Mât Bît-Ḫu-um-ri-a . . . . . il-duk(lut?) avíl . . . . . bu-ḫur nišî-šu 28. [GAR-šu-šu-nu a-na] mât Aššur u-ra-a. Pa-ḳa-ḫa šarra-šu-nu [a]-du-[uk]-ma. A-u-si-' 29. [a-na šarrû-ti a-]na íli-šu-nu aš-kun. X. [? bilat ḫurâṣ M. bilat kasap a-di . . . . .]ti-šu-nu am-ḫur-šu-nu-ma 30. [a-na mât Aššur u-ra]-aš-šu-nu. Ša Sa-am-si šar-rat mât A-ri-bu &c.

i. e. "17. . . . . the town Ga-al-[-ad = Gilead?] . . . . . [A]bel [Beth-Maacha?] which was above (on this side?) the land Beth-Omri (Samaria) the distant . . . . the broad, I turned in its entire extent into the territory of Assyria, 19. I set my officers, the viceroys over it. Hanno of Gaza, 20. who took to flight before my troops, fled to the land 256
Aegypt. Gaza . . . . [I captured], 21. his possessions, his gods . . . . [I carried away], my . . . . and my royal statue [I erected] 22. . . . . in the midst of Beth . . . . the gods of their land I counted [as plunder] . . . . like birds 24. . . . . transferred him to his land and(?) 25. . . . . gold, silver, garments of Berom(?), wool(?) . . . 26. . . . the great . . . I received as tribute. The land Beth-Omri

(Samaria) the distant . . . . ., the whole of its inhabitants, 28. together with their property I deported to Assyria. Pekaḥ, their king, [I] slew. Hosea I appointed 29. [to rule] over them. Ten talents of gold, a thousand of silver (?) together with their . . . I received from them; 30. [to Assyria brought] I them. (I) who Samsi queen of Aribu &c." It is quite certain from this passage that Tiglath-Pileser extended his campaign as far as to Gaza, in the South of Philistia, and up to the Arabian frontier. Observe that in the interval (comp. above p. 245) another Arabian queen had ascended the throne. Moreover the towns Zemar and Arḳa, West of Lebanon and North of Samaria, are mentioned as conquered by the Great King. Indeed the towns of the land Beth-Omri itself are spoken of as cut off from it, among these two whose mutilated names may without difficulty be completed into those two which are mentioned in 2 Kings XV. 29 as taken away by Tiglath-Pileser, viz. Gal-[ad] = Gilead, and [A]bel-[Beth-Maacha]. All this seems to show that the expedition, mentioned in the list of governors in the year 734 as a campaign
257 to Philistia, was simply the campaign of the Great King against Pekaḥ. It was not until the Assyrian had overthrown the latter (who was one of the two adversaries of Ahaz) and had thus isolated the still powerful Damaskus, that he turned his arms against Rezîn. Yet, as it was, he required two whole years more (733 and 732) to subjugate him thoroughly. What has been stated above, and especially the passage cited from the annals, is confirmed by a list of all the princes, cities, and countries which at that time paid tribute to the king. This list occurs in the king's great triumphal inscription, belonging to the last year of his reign (II Rawl. 67). This passage also is mutilated,

I regret to say, in several places. However, what remains is sufficiently evidential for our purpose. The passage is as follows ibid. lines 57—62: [Ma-da-at-tu] ša Ku-uš-ta-aš-pi mât Ku-muḫ-ai, U-ri-ik mât Ḳu-u-ai, Si-bi-it-ti-bi-'-il [ír Gu-ub-la-ai] . . . [I'-ni)-ilu mât Ḥa-am-ma-ta-ai, Pa-na-am-mu-u ír Sa-am-'-la-ai, Tar-ḫu-la-ra mât Gam-gu-ma-ai, Su-[lu-ma-al mât Mí-lid-da-ai] . . . . [U-as-]sur-mí mât Ta-bal-ai, Uš-ḫi-it-ti ír Tu-na-ai, Ur-bal-la-a ír Tu-ḫa-na-ai, Tu-ḫa-am-[mí] ír Iš(Mil?)-tu-un-da-ai . . . . . ., [Ma-]ta-an-bi-'-il ír Ar-va-da-ai, Sa-ni-bu ír Bît-Am-ma-na-ai, Sa-la-ma-nu mât Ma-'-ba-ai . . . . . ., [Mi]-ti-in-ti mât As-ḳa-lu-na-ai, Ja-u-ḫa-zi mât Ja-u-da-ai, Ḳa-uš-ma-la-ka mât U-du-mu-ai, Mu-ší . . . . . ., [Ḥa]-a-nu-u-nu ír Ḥa-za-at-ai i. e. "[Tribute] of Kustasp of Kommagene, Urik of Ḳui, Sibittibi'il* of Gebal . . . . Iniel of Hamath, Panammû of Sam'al, Tarchular of Gamgum, Sulumal of Melitene . . . ., Vassurmi of Tabal, Ushit of Tuna, Urballa of Tuchan, Tuchammi of Istund 258
. . . ., [Mu]thumbaal of Arvad, Sanib of Ammon, Salman of Moab, Mitinti of Ashkelon, *Joachaz* (Aḥaz) *of Juda*, Kôsmalak of Edom, Musi . . . . . Hanno of Gaza." If we compare this list with the former pp. 244 foll., we observe in the present one a series of entirely new names, i. e. all from Muthumbaal of Arvad to Hanno of Gaza. These are, however, throughout (Arvad, Ammon, Moab, Edom, Juda and Gaza) just the names of such districts as the king must have come in contact with, directly or indirectly, on his march to Philistia, particularly Ashkelon and Gaza.

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* On this name see p. 174.

Therefore there cannot be any doubt that the expedition of the king to Phoenicia, Gaza and Arabia, described in the annals, is just the campaign to Philistia of which the list of governors makes mention and places in the year 734. It was in this year too that Ahaz of Juda (see note on 2 Kings XVI. 8) rendered tribute to the Great King, undoubtedly recognizing at the same time the supremacy of Assyria, which was the price he paid for Assyrian help against the sister-kingdom, that was pressing him hard, as well as against Damaskus.

According to the Bible (2 Kings XVI. 9) this despatch of tribute by Ahaz was followed by the expedition of the Assyrian against Damaskus. With this harmonizes the list of governors which places the siege and capture of Damaskus in the years 733 and 732. The campaign ended, after what was evidently a lengthened siege, with the capture of the capital of the Syrian kingdom, the deportation of the inhabitants and the execution of Rezin. The cuneiform records and the Bible here supplement each other in a manner that leaves nothing to be desired. We are informed in the Bible about the conquest of the city, the deportation of the inhabitants and the execution of the king, but about
259 the length of the siege we are left in uncertainty. We obtain intelligence on the last point from the inscriptions, which also give details as to the number of those who were deported, and the way in which the Great King treated the conquered country, and likewise inform us of the death of the king of Damaskus in an inscription now unfortunately lost (see note on chap. XVI. 9).

The following year 731 transfers the Great King to Babylonia, where he compelled Merodach-Baladan the king of South-Chaldaea to render him homage in the city Sapija.

This is the year which is marked in the Ptolemaic canon as the first of Pôr = Pul, i. e. of Tiglath-Pileser, as king of Babylon; on this see above pp. 229 foll. The last three years of his reign and of his life Tiglath-Pileser seems to have spent without any warlike enterprises. While the list of governors for the year 730 simply remarks that the king remained "in the land" i. e. in Assyria-Niniveh, it notes down for the years 729 and 728 religious acts undertaken by the king. Since the newly discovered fragment of the list of governors observes for the year 727, that in this year Salmanassar ascended the throne, we may assume that it was in this year also that Tiglath-Pileser died.

29 b. *and took Ijjon, Abel-Beth-Maacha, Janoah, Kedesh, Chazor, Gilead and Galilee, the whole land Naphtali, and carried them away to Assyria.* This notice is confirmed by the passage in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser which we communicated above pp. 246 foll. This event falls in the year 734; see *ibid.* From his inscriptions we learn that the system of transplanting inhabitants was followed by this monarch in other instances.

30. *Hoshea, the son of Ela, set on foot a conspiracy against* 260
Pekah, the son of Remaljah, smote him, slew him and became king in his stead. With this passage agrees III Rawl. 10, 26 foll. "the land Beth-Omri, ... the whole of its inhabitants [their property] I carried away to Assyria. Pekah (Pa-ḳa-ḥa) their king [I] smote; Hoshea (A-u-si-') I appointed [to rule] over them; 10 talents of gold, 1000 talents of silver .... I received from them as tribute" &c., see the original text above p. 247 foll. From these words we clearly see (1) that Hoshea attained the throne of Israel solely as the reward for acknowledging the supremacy of Assyria. On the other hand, the Bible speaks of a pay-

ment of tribute and a condition of vassalage on the part of Hoshea merely with respect to Tiglath-Pileser's successor Salmanassar; see note on chap. XVII. 3. And it is also clear that (2) the deportation of the inhabitants of Samaria, the murder of Pekaḥ and the elevation of Hoshea to the throne are represented as standing to one another in a certain relation of causation, at any rate in a close relation of time (just as, in the latter respect, we find in the Bible). Then from this again it is certainly obvious that the Syro-Ephraimite war cannot be so remote from Pekaḥ's death (729) as the traditional view assumes, according to which the war took place in 742—740.

37. רְצִין *Rezîn.* Frequent reference is made to him on the plates of Tiglath-Pileser (Layard 45 line 1 c. 50, 10. 66, 14. 69 right b, 3. 73, 11) with the pronunciation Raṣun-nu(ni). In the first of the above-mentioned passages he appears along with Menahem as a tributary of the Assyrian Great King (in the 8th year of the reign of the latter, see above p. 244 foll.). Afterwards he evidently made an attempt in alliance with Pekaḥ to throw off the burden-
261 some feudal supremacy of Assyria, an attempt which, as we know from the Bible, ended disastrously. The plates of Tiglath-Pileser furnished intelligence about this likewise, but unfortunately the passages which deal with this episode are among those which are badly mutilated. What may still be read with some degree of certainty is as follows*: Layard 72, 3. avíl bĭl narkabâti (bĭlî narkabti?) u.....-šu-nu u-šab-bir-ma...ša...4....-nu

* Comp. with this G. Smith's rendering, Assyr. Discov. pp. 282 foll. It needs however correction in several passages.

sisî*-šu-nu . . . . . [mun]-taḫ-ṣi-šu-na-ši ḳašti . . . . šal-lat(?) . . . . 5. . . . . bar(?) ka-ba-bi as-ma-ri-í ina ḳatâ u (?)-bi- . . . su-nu-ti-ma taḫâzi-šu-nu . . . (?). II. C. XXVI . . 6. . . dir(?). Šu-u a-na šu-zu-ub napšâti-šu í-[di-]nu-uš-šu ip-par-ši-id-ma . . . . 7. . . . . (?) abulla íri-šu íru-ub aníl SAK. KAL. (Plur.)-šu bal-ṭu-us-su-nu . . . (?) 8. . . . [i-na] za-ḳi-pa-a-ni u-ší-li-ma u-šad-gi-la mât-su XL A. AN. V ṣabî uš-ma-ni VI. C. LV. RAK (?) . . . 9. . . at íri-šu aḳ-ṣur-ma kima iṣṣur ḳu-up-pi í-sir-šu; kirî-šu XIII. M. V. C. XX(X?) . . . . 10. . . . . nu(?)-pa-a-tí ša ni-i-ba la i-šu-u ak-kis-ma išti-ín ul í-zib a-di mar-ši-ti-šu-nu . . . 11. . . . ḥa-a-da-ra bît abi-šu ša Ra-ṣun-ni mât Gar-imíri-šu-ai šadi-í mar-ṣu-ti . . . . . 12. . . . . [ír] Sa-am-'-al-la(?) al-ví ak-šud VIII. C. nišî a-di mar-ši-ti-šu-nu Mi-ti-in-ti mât As(?)-[ḳa-lu-na-ai] . . . . 13. . . . alpî(?)-šu-nu ṣi-í-ni-šu-nu aš-lu-la VII. C. L. šal-la-at ír Ku-ru-uṣ(z)-ṣ(z)a-a it-ti ja pur ta(?) . . . 14. . . . ír(?) Ir-ma-ai. V. C. L. šal-la-at ír Mí-tu(?)-na aš-lu-la V. C. . . . írî í-mur ša [? ma XI?) lu(?) ib] . . . 15. . . . . ša XVI na-gi-í ša mât Gar-imíri-šu ki-ma til 262
a-bu-bi í-[zib-ma]** Bît Ḥa-at-ti ra-ma-ni 16. . . . Sa-am-si šar-rat mât A-ri-bi ša ma-mit Ša-maš tí-ti-ḳu-ma Ru-u-kib-tu abal i. e. 72, 3. the charioteers . . . . . their . . . . I broke to pieces . . . 4.

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* On the representation of the ideogram for "horse" by sisû = סוס, سَفْسَف, see Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies? p. 110.

** I should now be disposed so to restore and read the injured passage.

their steeds . . . . their combatants . . . bows . . . prisoners (booty) . . . 5. . . . shields, spears with the hands . . . . of their combat . . . 226 (?) . . . . 6. . . . . He betook himself, to save his life, alone to flight . . . . Into the chief gate of his city I entered, his superior commandants alive . . . 8. . . . I caused to be crucified (impaled), his land I subjugated (to myself). 45 people of the baggage, 655 . . . .; . . . of his city I took (for myself) away; like a bird in a cage I shut him in. His plantations, 13,520 (530?) . . . . 10. . . . ., which are not to be numbered, I hewed down, not even a (tree) did I leave remaining, together with their property . . . . châdara, the house of the father of Rezîn of Gar-Imírisu, pathless mountains . . . 12. . . . Samalla (?) I besieged, I took, 800 inhabitants together with their property, Mitinti of (Ashkelon?) . . . 13. . . . their oxen (?), their sheep I carried away; 750 prisoners of the town Kuruzza (?) together with . . . . 14. the Irmaeans (?), 550 prisoners of the town Mituna (?) I carried away, 500 (and ? —) towns I saw . . . (?) . . . 15. . . . . (I), who like a flood-mound left behind (?) sixteen districts of the land Gar-Imírisu (Syria Damaskus), (while) the Chatti-palace (I) myself . . . . 16. . . . . Samsi, queen of Aribi who supported the worship of the sun-god, Rûkiptu, son of . . . . ." Observe the mention of the queen Samsi (more accurately in other passages Samsĭ) instead of the queen Zabibĭ of
263 Aribi, mentioned on a former occasion (in the 8th year of the king's reign). The former was certainly the later sovereign (we again meet with her name in the inscriptions of Sargon), another proof that in this passage we must come down to the time of the Great King's campaign to the West, that brought with it the overthrow of Syria (734—732 B. C.).

XVI. 8. *And Aḥaz took the silver* and *gold . . . and sent to the king of Assyria (Tigl.-Pil.) a present.* This is in complete agreement with the inscription II Rawl. 67, composed in the last, or rather last year but one*, of Tiglath-Pileser's reign. We there read, in line 61, that the king had received tribute from "Mitinti of Ashkelon, Joaḥaz (Ja-u-ḥa-zi) of Juda, Kôsmalak of Edom" (see above p. 249). There cannot be any doubt that the Biblical Aḥaz of Juda is meant by the Judaean Joaḥaz in this passage. Beside Aḥaz, Uzziah (עזיה) is the only one who can be at all thought-of in this connexion, and it is with him Rawlinson identified the Joaḥaz of the inscriptions. But (1) In the name Uzziah the designation of the deity stands second, in the name Jahuḥazi it stands first. (2) We should have expected to find Uzziah's name in the previous lists of kings offering tribute, e. g. where Menahem of Samaria is mentioned (Layard 50, 10) in a report upon the princes who brought tribute to the Great King in the 8th year of his reign. Here, however, Uzziah is not mentioned. Lastly, (3) Uzziah is called in the inscriptions Azarjah, as I have pointed out above. Consequently Jahuḥazi must necessarily be another person. If this, however, be so, there 264
remains only Aḥaz, who was likewise the only king of Juda of whom the Bible informs us that he brought tribute to Tiglath-Pileser. The difference in form, viz. Joaḥaz in the inscriptions instead of Aḥaz in the Bible, may then be explained by the assumption, either that the later Jews changed in the

* See *ibid.* line 5 : ultu rîš šarrûtija adî XVII. palîja i. e. "from the beginning of my rule to the 17th year of my reign." The entire period of the Great King's reign amounted to 18 years; see above note on XV. 29. pp. 233 foll.

Old Testament the real name of the king, viz. Joaḥaz, into Aḥaz by the omission of the Divine name, in consideration of the king's idolatrous tendencies; or that the Assyrians by a mistake transferred to Aḥaz the name of a previous king that resembled his in sound, namely Joaḥaz. I regard the former supposition as the more probable.*

9. (The king of Assyria) *advanced against Damaskus.* According to the list of governors this took place in the 13th year of Tiglath-Pileser's reign i. e. in the year 733. He had, however, previously made an expedition against Pilista i. e. Philistia and the other maritime countries, and therefore against Pekaḥ of Samaria. This king seems to have made his submission at the nick of time and thus saved at least his throne and the existence of his realm; comp. above p. 248.

and took it. The list of governors represents the king as advancing against Damaskus in two successive years. Hence it is probable that Damaskus did not fall till the second year (732 B. C.) after a resistance that lasted two years.

and carried (the inhabitants) *away to Kîr.* In the plates that have come down to us containing Tiglath-Pileser's annals we read nothing of this deportation of the inhabitants to Kir. But considering the mutilated and defective condition of these records, only a portion of which have come to hand, it is by no means impossible that on the originals an account once existed of this transportation of the inhabitants of Damaskus. Even from the plates which have been preserved (see above pp. 253 foll.) it is quite evident that they

* This modification was all the more easily effected as a name אָחָז was actually in use (1 Chron. VIII, 35; IX, 42).

too described the final overthrow of the Syrian kingdom and that Tiglath-Pileser made particular reference to a wholesale deportation of the inhabitants.

Rezîn he slew. This too, as I have already remarked, Rawlinson found reported on a tablet of Tiglath-Pileser. But unfortunately this plate was left behind in Asia and has since been lost without leaving a trace behind it. See G. Smith in Lepsius' Zeitsch. ibid. p. 14.

10. *Then King Aḥaz advanced to Damaskus to meet Tiglath-Pileser.* There, it may be presumed, the Great King, after the capture of the city in 732 B. C., appointed a meeting of all tributary princes, the same, we may be sure, as those given above in the list p. 249. Among these was Jahuḥazi i. e. Aḥaz of Juda. Whether the list, in one of the injured places, also contained the name of Pekaḥ of Samaria must remain uncertain; see G. Smith ibid. p. 15.

XVII. 1. *In the 12th year of Aḥaz—Hoshea, son of Ela, became king at Samaria over Israel.* As I have observed above (p. 251) the name of Hoshea in the form A-u-si-' has been discovered upon a fragment, the text of which has been lithographed in III Rawl. 10. From this we also learn that Hoshea came to the throne simply with the permission, and as the vassal, of the Assyrian. But the Bible, in describing the succession to the throne, gives no hint* of any cooperating influence exerted by the Assyrian; the passage XVII. 3 "and Hoshea became subject 266
to him (the Assyrian Great King)" refers to Salmanassar.

* Dan. Haigh in Lepsius' Zeitschrift 1871. p. 70 concludes from the mention of Hanno of Gaza and of Samsieh, queen of the Arabs, in the passage referred-to above (III Rawl. 10), that the whole of this mutilated inscription was not one of Tiglath-Pileser's, but of Sargon-Salmanassar's (these two rulers he regards as one and the same). But this inference is precipitate, since we find the queen Samsieh of Arabia

3. *Against him advanced Salmanassar* (שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר) *king of Assyria.* The Assyrian form of the name is held to be Šalmânu-uššir "Salmân, pardon!" Uššir Imperf. Pael of mašar to "let", "let free", in combination with ana napišti "set free to live" i. e. to pardon. Compare the phrase ana napišti umašširšunuti "I set them free to live" with the parallel balat napištišunu aḳbî "their life I announced", as well as uššuršunu aḳbî "their pardon I announced"; Sanherib Tayl. Cyl. III. 7 (see below). Comp. Norris Dict. p. 742; Stanisl. Guyard in Journ. Asiat. VII, 15 (1880) pp. 49 foll. The latter, who is also the acute discoverer of the peculiarity that here meets us of the roots beginning with Mem, would need only this much correction, that the requisite Imperative is to be taken as the Imperat. Pael with the pronunciation uššir instead of uššur*. On the ideogram DI(ma-nu) = Šalmânu, see Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 137. The change in the pronunciation שלמנאשר, which in Hebrew should
267 have become סלמנאסר, into the form שלמנאסר which we find in the Old Testament, is probably to be explained from the tendency to make a difference in the pronunciation of the two sibilants which succeed one another in

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also mentioned on one of the friezes of 16 lines (Layard 73, 16), which certainly did not belong to Sargon; while Hanno of Gaza is mentioned in II Rawl. 67 line 62, an inscription expressly ascribed to Tiglath-Pileser. Accordingly both rulers, Hanno of Gaza and Samsieh of Arabia, must have reigned beyond the period of Tiglath-Pileser's rule into that of Sargon's. They are likewise mentioned by the latter in Khorsab. 25. 26. 27.

* Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 269. P. Haupt in Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch. XXXIV p. 761, interprets the name "Salmân has duly led (the fruit of the body)". Root אשר? —.

P. S. The above combinations are not certain, since the recently discovered Babylonian chronicle gives the name phonetically written: Šul-man-a-ša-rid, that is: "Sulman is prince". Schr.

the same word. See Fr. Hommel, Jagdinschriften Asurbanipal's 1879 p. 26. Salmanassar (i. e. the king of that name with which we have here to do : there were several Assyrian rulers so named) reigned according to the Register (or List) of Governors from 727—722 as the successor of Tiglath-Pileser and predecessor of Sargon. See the discussions on this subject between Riehm, Sayce, Oppert and the author in Theologische Studien u. Kritiken 1869. pp. 683 foll.; 1870. pp. 527 foll.; 1871. p. 318 foll.; 679 foll.; 700 foll.; 1872. Heft IV. p. 735 foll. These have reached a definite conclusion by the discovery of the clay fragment which forms a continuation of the second column of the Register of Governors (see chronological addenda in Vol. II). In this fragment the accession of Salmanassar is expressly noted for the year 727, and the residence of the king ina mât "in the country" (Assyria) for the year 726, while for the three following years (725—23) are noted down warlike expeditions of the king against (foreign) countries. The names of these countries are obliterated, it is true; but it is at least most natural to suppose that they refer to the Western regions, especially Phoenicia and Israel. After the eponym of the year 723 (i. e. of Salmanassar himself) there is a dividing line that clearly shows that the following year 722 is the year of his successor's accession, viz. that of Sargon; see Academy 1873 No. 81 p. 400; my remarks in Jahrbücher für Protest. Theologie I. 1875 pp. 323 foll.; Delitzsch, Assyr. Lesestücke 2nd ed. p. 94.

Monuments and inscriptions, in which the king reported his deeds, have not come down to us. We only possess an imperial weight inscribed with his name; see Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinschriften pp. 176 foll. Under these circumstances 268

we can only resort for information respecting the events of his reign to the newly discovered fragment of the List of Governors above described, and to non-Assyrian sources, i. e. apart from the Bible to Menander's statements contained in Josephus (Archaeol. IX. 14, 2). According to the latter it was Salmanassar who undertook an expedition against Tyre, which city must be considered to have been in alliance with Samaria, an expedition which occupied five years, in other words lasted over the death of Salmanassar into the reign of the next king, Sargon*. The clay fragment is in harmony with this. Contemporary with this enterprise occurred the other operation directed against Northern Israel, and the siege of Samaria which was likewise prolonged beyond the king's death (see below). Whether that death was natural, or resulted from a revolution (as several Assyriologists have assumed), cannot be definitely settled. No reference to it exists on the clay fragment. It is a fact that his successor Sargon never calls himself son of Salmanassar** on the monuments with which we have hitherto become acquainted. There is therefore at all events a possibility that Sargon came to the throne as a
269 usurper. The fact that he repeatedly (e. g. in Botta 37. 41) boasts of his 350 ancestors ("fathers") who were kings over Assyria, constitutes no objection, for this statement is certainly not to be taken in a strictly literal sense, and may

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* On this see my essay in Studien u. Kritiken 1870 pp. 531 foll., and comp. my articles Salmanassar in Schenkel's Bibel-Lexikon and in Riehm's Handwört. des Bibl. Alterth.

** That he even expressly calls himself the son of some one else, as Oppert at least formerly supposed on the ground of an inscription not rightly interpreted (Exped. en Mésopot. II pp. 328 foll.), cannot be proved. See note on Is. XX. 1.

just as well be understood as a reference to the circumstance that he was successor of a long line of kings. He may indeed have also been of princely descent.

and Hoshea became subject to him (עבד). See the note on verse 1. What is true of Tiglath-Pileser must have been not less true of Salmanassar, although we read nothing about it in the inscriptions.

and paid him presents. Compare Tiglath-Pileser's attestation of having received gifts, above pp. 247 foll.

4. סוֹא מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם *Sabako, king of Aegypt.* The Masoretes did not correctly pronounce the name in question of the Aegyptian Pharaoh, for it ought to be punctuated סָוֵא, as has been already conjectured. This is clear from the cuneiform inscriptions as well as from other grounds. In these records i. e. in Sargon's inscriptions (Botta 71, 1; 122, 20; 145, II. 1), the name of the Aegyptian king referred-to is preserved in the form Šab-'-í* שַׁבְאִ = Hebr. סבא **. It should also be observed that this king is not 270
called by Sargon "king" or "Pharao" but šil-ṭan-nu

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* Also G. Ebers in art. "So" in Riehm's Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums p. 1505[b] decides in favour of the identification of Šab'í and Sabako; and L. Stern in Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung 1882 No. 155 (June 4) p. 2267 holds to the identity of So and Sabako.

** The identity of the Assyr. Šab'í and the Hebr. סָוֵא is denied by B. Stade *Isaiae vaticin.* (Leipzig 1873) pp. 54 foll., while, on the other hand, he believes himself right in assuming the identity, also recognized by us, of the cuneiform Šab'í with the Aegypto-hieroglyphic Sabako-Sabaka: Sô-Seveh he regards as one of the numerous *reguli Aegypti inferioris* who abounded in the time of Pianchi-Meramen. (He is called however מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם i. e. king of all Lower-Aegypt!) On this comp. my remarks in Jen. Literatur-Zeitung 1874 p. 37a: "If Tarhaka, who in 692 attained the throne of Aegypt, could nevertheless as early as 701 be alone designated by the Hebrew historian as the chief personage, the Aegyptian Pharao being ignored (2 Kings XIX. 8), it was at all events quite possible that the same writer should

i. e. سُلْطَانٌ "ruler" "prince"*. Therefere there cannot be any doubt that at the time when Sargon came in collision with him (720), Seveh was not yet recognized as king of Aegypt. Moreover Sargon expressly distinguishes Pir'u šar mât Muṣuri "Pharao, king of Aegypt" (Botta 145, II, 1) from Seveh, the "sultan". See also the note on Is. XX. 1 and comp. note on Exod. 1, 11.

— *Then the king of Assyria arrested him and threw him into prison.* In the Assyrian inscriptions, viz. those of Sargon, we have no information of this (respecting the
271 passage in the Annals, Botta pl. 79, see note on verse 6). This very circumstance serves to confirm the supposition that Sargon is not identical with Salmanassar as some scholars have assumed. Sargon, when he attained the

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describe the subsequent de facto king Seveh, though still only king of Aethiopia, even at that early date as king of Aegypt (2 Kings XVII. 4). The inaccuracy would not be by any means as great as that of the same writer who two verses further on (XVII. 6) represents Salmanassar instead of Sargon as the conqueror of Samaria! Nor do we regard it as evident that the Sethon of Herodotus is to be taken as the opponent of Sanherib and not the Sabtaka of the Aegyptian inscriptions (p. 54) [here follows a reference to the notorious corruption of Assyrian and Aegyptian names in the Greek writers]. Σεθών is not identical with the Ζήτ of Africanus, a king of the 23rd dynasty."

* The Englishmen (Hincks, Rawlinson) read the above title Tartannu = Tartan. Now it is quite true that the first of the three signs, with which the title is written, possesses the values both of tar and šil (see Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. pp. 75 foll. No 222. 255); but we know from the List of Governors II Rawl. 52 Obv. line 38; Rev. line 32 (see chronol. addenda Vol. II) that "Tartan" was not so pronounced in Assyrian but "turtanu" (with tur); we ought therefore simply to reject the pronunciation of this title of the Aegyptian king as "Tartan". Besides, the designation of the Aegyptian king by a rank specifically Assyrian, indeed by that of an Assyrian general (!), would be the strangest thing that one could imagine. Comp. above p. 139 on אַבְרֵךְ (Gen. XLI, 43).

sovereignty and brought the siege of Samaria to a conclusion, no longer found king Hoshea anywhere in Samaria —hence he says nothing of the capture or execution of the king: both, at any rate the former, fall within the reign of Sargon's predecessor Salmanassar, who, according to the unmistakeable statement in the Books of Kings, proceeded to lay siege to Samaria after having made the king of Israel prisoner.

5. *And the king of Assyria . . . . marched against Samaria and besieged it three years.* This notice is completely confirmed in its first portion by the cuneiform records, in its second portion in so far as Sargon, Salmanassar's successor, captured Samaria in the first year of his reign (Botta 70, 1 foll. 145, 1 ad fin.), so that only about *two* years belong to Salmanassar's share in the siege. This is at least indirectly corroborated by the fragment of the List of Governors which has in the meantime been discovered; see Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theol. 1875 pp. 324 foll.

6. *In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria captured Samaria and carried Israel away to Assyria.* According to the Biblical account, the king who captured the city can only have been the same as the king who laid siege to it, viz. Salmanassar. There is a discrepancy between this and the cuneiform inscriptions, since the latter expressly claim the capture of Samaria for king Sargon *. This he announces to us in the great triumphal inscription Botta 145, I, ad fin. : I'r Sa-mí-ri-na 272
al-ví ak-šud; XX. VII. M. CC. LXXX. nišî a-šib lib-bi-šu aš-lu-la; L. narkabâti ina libbi-šu-nu

* Respecting the name of the king see note on Is. XX. 1.

aḳ-ṣur-ma u si-it-tu-ti i-nu-šu-nu u-ša-ḥi-iz, ŠU. UT. SAḲ-ja íli-šu-nu aš-kun-ma bilat šarri maḥ-ri-í í-mid-su-nu-ti i. e. "the city Samaria I besieged, I captured; 27,280 of its inhabitants I carried away; 50 chariots of them I took (for myself), their remaining effects I caused (my subalterns) to take; my viceroy I placed over them, the tribute of the former king I imposed on them".

Notes and Illustrations. Alví Kal Imperf. 1 pers. of lavâ (lamâ) = לָוָה "advance to something" *aggredi, oppugnare;*—respecting the ideogram for "chariot" see pp. 188, 201; aḳṣur root קצר properly "gather together", "collect", then "take away" (see above p. 9); sittût abstract collateral form to sittu, "remainder" e. g. Smith's Assurban. pp. 113, 114, comp. Arab. اِسْتٌ, سَتَّهٌ "the hinder part of the body", properly است "basis", East syr. ܝܫܬܐ, Hebrew שָׁתוֹת (Nöldeke); înu אִנֻ, comp. Hebr. הון. In Layard 16, 46 there is also the form ûnut (see above pp. 192, 193);—ušaḥis Shaf. of אחז; SU. UT. SAK., ideogram the meaning of which is, from a series of passages, a matter of certainty, but whose phonetic equivalent has not yet been discovered; ímidsunûti Imperf. Kal of עמד = אִעְמִד in Assyr. transit. "place". For the rest see Glossary.

This event had been described at still greater length by Sargon in his "annals". From these we also learn that this royal deed of arms occurred in the year of his accession, i. e. 722 B. C.* Unfortunately this passage in the text of the annals is, like so many others, seriously mutilated. Yet what remains legible fully suffices to enlighten us how the inscription deals with the event. — The account was
273 continued over two plates. It formed the conclusion of the text in Botta pl. 79 i. e. Hall II. No. 1, and the beginning

* With this compare my dissertation in Stud. u. Kritik. 1871 pp. 687 foll. as well as Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 314 foll.

of plate 70 i. e. Hall II. No. 2. The inscription Hall II. No. 1 contains in lines 1—9 the continuation of a general review of the king's exploits, which in part exhibits a verbal agreement with the corresponding passage in the cylinder-inscription I Rawl. 36 lines 6—16. Then commences the annalistic account line 10 with the words: I-na rîš . . . . . 11. . . . . [ír Sa-mí-]ri-na-ai . . . . . i. e. "In the beginning . . . . . of the Samaritans". There can scarcely be any doubt, especially as in No. 2 plate 70 line 10 begins the account of the 2nd year (ina šani-i palî-ja), that we have to complete the words thus: I-na rî[š šarrûtija] "in the beginning [of my rule]"; comp. above Botta 145, 1 ad fin. The completion of . . . r]i-na-ai into [Sa-mí-r]i-na-ai is indisputable, when we compare Layard 50, 12: Mínḥimmi Samírinai "Menahem of the Samaritans". Then it is evident that it is Ausi', i. e. Hoshea of Samaria, who is spoken-of. We may presume that it was stated about him that he had been taken prisoner by Sargon's predecessor, but that Sargon himself had simply carried on the siege and brought it to an end. The continuation of the narrative is to be found on plate 70. We read ibid. lines 1 foll.: 1. . . . . rîš (?) . . . ir-uš(nit)-ti-ja . . . . [ír Sa-mí-ri-na al-ví, ak-šud; 27,280 nišî a-šib libbi-šu 2. aš]-lu-la; L. narkabâti ḳi-ṣir šar-ru-ti-ja i-na [libbi-šu-nu 3. aḳ-ṣur*-ma] . . . (?) íli ša pa-na u-šî-šib nišî mâtâti ki-šid-[ti ḳati-ja

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* If we thus read and interpret the words, the alteration of the text, formerly proposed by me in Studien u. Kritiken 1871 p. 688, becomes unnecessary. On the phrase ḳiṣir šarrûtija comp. Khorsab. 36.

. . . . . .]; 4. . . . . mada-at-tu ki-i ša Aš-šu-ri
274 í-mid-su-nu-ti i. e. "..... of me ..... [I besieged and captured the town of Samaria; 27,280 of their inhabitants] I carried away; 50 chariots I took as my royal share [among them away]; . . . in place of (them, the deported) I assigned abodes to the inhabitants of countries taken [by me]. I imposed tribute on them like Assyria". That we are here dealing with an account of the fall of Samaria, is evident from the mention of exactly 50 chariots taken away by the king, which is the number furnished by the other inscription with reference to Samaria (see above). Again, that the capture of Samaria falls in the *first* year * of Sargon's reign, or more precisely "in the beginning of his reign" (see above) and therefore in the year 722 B. C., receives confirmation from Botta 70, line 10, where the narrative commences respecting the *second* year of the king's reign; see Studien und Kritiken 1871 pp. 687—8. Moreover we learn from the above passage that Sargon himself, after deporting the Israelites, settled other subjugated races in the abodes which they had left. This notice serves to confirm a conjecture I once threw out quite independently of the cuneiform records and based simply on a critical examination of the text of the Books of Kings. My supposition was that the king who, according to verse 24 in this chapter, transferred people from Babel, Kutha &c. into the districts long occupied by the Israelites, and who is generally held to be Asarhaddon, is the same as he who transported the Israelites, i. e. not Salmanassar, as I formerly imagined before I was better informed,

* Not "campaign" as is wrongly stated in Studien u. Kritiken 1871 on p. 687. See Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 110, where the facts are correctly given.

but, as we now know, Sargon. See Studien und Kritiken 1867. III. pp. 496 foll.*; see also note on verse 24. 275

and gave them abodes in Chalah and on the Chabor, the river of Gozan, and in the towns of the Medes. Sargon gives us no information respecting the districts assigned by him to the Israelites. On the other hand we find in the inscriptions mention of the localities referred-to in this passage. (1) The Chabor : Ḥa-bur, Inscr. of Asurnâṣir-habal col. I. 77; III, 3. 31; (2) The land Gozan : Gu-za-na, occurs several times in the list of governors. In another, a geographical list (II Rawl. 53), Guzana is mentioned along with Na-ṣi-bi-na i. e. Nisibis. It may thus be assumed that we have to look for this spot in Mesopotamia **. With this agrees the fact that the place is referred-to in 2 Kings XIX. 12 along with two

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*) 2 Kings XVII. 1—6 and 24—33 stood in immediate succession in the original text of the imperial annals, before the long interpolation of the Deuteronomic writer 7—23 was inserted; see Stud. u. Krit. ibid.; De Wette-Schrader, Einleitung ins Alte Test. 8th ed. § 221 note f p. 355.

** Delitzsch, Parad. p. 185, is indeed inclined to regard Gozan-Guzana as very closely connected with Naṣibina-Nisibis (?). — To the identification of the Châbôr of the Bible with the Châbûr خابور emptying itself North of Niniveh into the Tigris from the North-East, and to the identification of the Biblical Gôzân with the country زوزان in the region where this Châbûr takes its rise (Jaḳût II, 957; the same Moshtarik 150) — a supposition which might appear strengthened by the accompanying mention of the cities of Media—it may be objected (1) that the identification of زوزان with גּוֹזָן is questionable. (2) The designation of a river by a country, as a mark of distinction from another river, presupposes that this country was known. This may apply to the Gozan of Mesopotamia, but not to Gozan of Adherbeidshân. (3) A Hebrew living in Palestine could properly understand by the above terms only the Mesopotamian Châbôr and the Mesopotamian Gôzân.

other towns in Mesopotamia viz. Harran and Rezeph. The Biblical Gozan is identical with the *Γαυζανῖτις* of Ptolemaeus V, 18 (17). 4 (comp. Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. p. 167); (3) The land Media, Assyr. (mât) Madai, see note on Gen. X. 2 and comp. note on 1 Chron. V. 26.— On Chalah חֲלַח no further light is to be gained from the inscriptions; it deserves to be remarked, certainly, that in a geographical list (II Rawl. 53, 36 foll.) a place (ír) between Arbacha-Arrhapachitis and Raṣappa-Rezeph is mentioned whose name Ḥalaḫḫu (as we should most prob-
276 ably read it) reminds us at once of the name of the town חֲלַח; Keilinsch. u. Gesch. *ibid.*

24. *And the king of Assyria caused people to come from Babel, Kutha, Avva, Hamâth and Sepharvaim and transferred them into the towns of Samaria in place of the children of Israel.* By the king here referred-to we must understand Sargon; see page 266.—*From Babel.* We have at least an indirect confirmation of this in the cuneiform texts. We read in the annals of Sargon, and here again in the report he gives of his first year, Botta 70. lines 8—10 : . . . . . ša ki-i la lib-bi ilî šar-ru-ut Bâb-ilu . . . . VII. nišî a-di mar-ši-ti-šu-nu as-su-ḫa-am-ma . . . [ina mât] Ḫa-at-ti u-šî-šib "(Merodach-Baladan), whom since he, not according to the will of the gods, the rule over Babel [had seized for himself, I overcame in war and smote]; . . . . . seven* inhabitants together with their property (root ארשׁ = ירשׁ) I transported (root נסח) . . . and settled them [in the land] Chatti" (i. e. Syria-Palestine pp. 91 foll. 102). It may

* Of the number (so many thousand, hundred &c.) only the last numeral, seven, is preserved.

be assumed that Samaria was one of the spots to which the transportation took place. At the same time it appears that the inhabitants were conveyed away not only from the capital, Babylon, but also from other Babylonian cities, e. g. from Kutha, Avva and Sepharvaim, which are expressly mentioned in the Biblical passage. For this also we have indirect evidences in the inscriptions of the monarch, though the further illustrative notices do not bear reference to Sargon's first year; indeed this is not required by the Biblical text. We read in the cylinder-inscription 277
I Rawl. 36. line 20: ka-šid avíl Tam-mu-di, av. I-ba-di-di, av. Mar-si-ma-ni, av. Ḥa-ja-pa-a ša si-it-ta-šu-nu in-ni-it-ḳa-am-ma u-šar-mu-u ki-rib mât Bit-Ḥu-um-ri-a i. e. "(Sargon), who the people of Tamud*, Ibadid, Marsiman, Chajap, the remainder of whom was carried away (Impf. Nif. of עתק) and whom he transported (Shaf. of רמה) *to the land Bît-Omrî*". The passage in the Annals (7th year i. e. 715 B. C., see note on Is. XX, 1) is still more definite. We read in Botta 75, 3—5: 3. Av. Ta-mu-di [av. I-ba-]a-di-di, av. 4. Mar-si-ma-[ni], av. Ḥa-ja-pa-a mât Ar-ba-ai ru-u-ḳu-ti, a-ši-bu-ut mât Ba-ri**, ša avíl aḳ-ḳil avíl ša-pi-ru la i-du-ma, 5. ša a-na šar-ri [abûti]-ja im-ma bi-lat-su-un la iš-šu-ma***, i-na tuklat†

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* An Arabian tribe, living in Arabia Petraea, the *Θαμυδῖται* of Ptolemy Geogr. VI, 7. 4; see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 263. On Marsiman and Chaiap see note on Gen. XXV, 4 (see p. 132 and footnote**). Comp. Delitzsch Parad. p. 304.

** Delitzsch reads mad-ba-ri meaning "wilderness" Hebr. מִדְבָּר.

*** So we should certainly read in place of the meaningless iš-ma-ma which it is impossible to determine grammatically. Evidently the lower stroke of šu was obliterated on the plate.

† Delitzsch, probably comparing such passages as I Rawl. 37. II, 42 &c., transcribes kakki "weapon".

Ašur bîl-ja u-šam-ḳit-su-nu-ti-ma si-it-ta-tí-šu-nu as-su-ḥa-am-ma 6. i-na ír Sa-mí-ri-na u-šî-šib i. e. 3. "They of Tamud, Ibadid, 4. Marsiman, Chajap, the Arbaeans, the distant, who inhabit the land Bari** whom no scholar (عقل?) and messenger-sender (root שפר, see glossary) has known (ידע = אדע), 5. who to the kings my fathers* never (imma = إمكما (Haupt)) had offered (נשא) their tribute, in confidence on Asur, my
278 lord, I subjugated them, their remnants (Plur. see above p. 264) I transplanted (נסח) and 6. settled (Shaf. of אשב) in the city Samaria". Thus the inscriptions place the fact in the clearest light that Sargon settled subjugated tribes in Samaria. Now, in the passage first cited from the Annals, Babylonians are represented as being deported to the land of the Chatti, which, as we have seen already, included Northern Israel; while the Bible represents Babylonians as being quartered in Samaria. There cannot therefore be any doubt that the settlement of the Babylonian population, to which the Bible refers, is that which is reported in Sargon's Annals as having occurred in the first year of his reign (i. e. 721 B. C.; see below). This deportation, however, was subsequently followed by later detachments, perhaps on several occasions, at all events in the 7th year of Sargon's reign 715 B. C. We find Sargon also in other instances carrying out repeated deportations of population to one and the same place; see Botta 146. No. 5, l. 8.

As for the cities that are mentioned besides Babel, we

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* In spite of the comparatively small lacuna, to which Botta alludes, I supply without hesitation the plural in accordance with other parallels and on account of the word imma. Not so Delitzsch (ibid.).

must certainly regard Kutha and Sepharvaim as two other towns of Babylonia. Kutha appears in the inscriptions in the form Kutî*. We read in Salmanassar's obelisk line 82 (Layard 91) : lu nikî ina Bâb-ilu, Bar-sap, Ku-ti-î ibu-uš "rich offerings I presented in Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha". We see from this passage that the town with which we are now concerned was situated in Middle-Babylonia, and this conjecture has in the meantime been corroborated from the monuments. Considerable remains of buildings, rooms and halls (passages) have been recently brought to light by Hormuzd Rassam at Tell-Ibrâhîm, North-East of Babylon, in the Southern portion of the larger of the two mounds of ruins. The bricks 279
and clay tablets, that have been discovered there, indicate the spot where the temple of Nergal and of the divinity Laz stood, which Nebucadnezar afterwards restored. See *The Mail*, London 1881, Aug. 29 (Babylonian explorations); comp. also note on verse 30. — *Sepharvaim* no less than Kutha affords, it is well known, rich material for dissertations etymological, historical and geographical. It is likewise a Babylonian town, as might have been conjectured *a priori*, and moreover occurs in the inscriptions in the form Sipar, Sippar. As we generally find with the names of Babylonian cities, the name of this is usually written with an ideogram, which is, however, expressly interpreted in a syllabary II Rawl. 13, 25** by Si-par

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* Fr. Delitzsch in Parad p. 217 shows that the Kutî (Nom. Kutû?) of the inscriptions, or Kutha, is the Semitic form of the Akkadian Gu-du-a-KI.

** This is (vv. 24—26) devoted to the explanation of the ideograms of three Babylonian towns, namely Niffer (Ni-puru), Babel (Bâb-ilu) and Sepharvaim (Si-par).

i. e. Sippara or Sepharvaim. The phonetic mode of writing the name is sometimes Si-par (II Rawl. 13, 26; Layard 52, a line 5); sometimes Sip-par (Layard 17, 4); and sometimes Si-ip-par (II Rawl. 65, 1 Obv. II 18 foll.). With the first are connected the Hebrew סְפַרְוַיִם and the "(*urbs*) Siparenorum" of Berossus quoted in Eusebius (Alex. Polyh.) Chronic. ed. Schoene I, 21. With both the latter we might compare the *Σιπφάρα* of Ptolemaeus (V, 18/17, 7; Willbg. 377), as well as the *Sipparenum* (so read instead of Hipparenum) of Pliny VI, 30 (123). In the passage Layard 17, 4 the town is called ír Sip-par ša Šamaš i. e. "Sippar of the Sun"; compare the *Ἡλίου πόλις* of Eusebius (praepar. ev. 9, 12), as well as the *urbs solis Siparenorum* mentioned by Berossus in Euseb. Chronic. I, 21 foll. It is to be observed, however, that there was a second divinity, Anunit, specially worshipped in Sipar. Accordingly the Assyrians, or
280 else the Babylonians, made a distinction. Besides Sipar or Sippar ša Šamaš "Sippar of the sun-god" they mention a Sip-(p)ar ša A-nu-nituv (see II Rawl. 65, I obv. col. II, 18 foll.; Sayce in Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol. II p. 131). It is in this way that the dual סְפַרְוַיִם "Double-Sipar" of the Hebrew becomes intelligible. The city lay on the left or Eastern bank of the Euphrates. Hence it is designated ideographically, that is to say in the old non-Semitic Babylonian language (II Rawl. 13), simply "*the Euphrates-city*". It has been discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in the ruin-mounds of Abu Habba, S. S. W. of Bagdâd somewhat to the East of the present bed of the Euphrates-stream. This explorer laid bare the walls of a building of considerable size, which turned out to be the celebrated temple of the Sun at

Sipar-Heliopolis. In a spacious chamber or hall, in which stood a large altar, Rassam discovered in a box, deposited beneath the floor and made of burnt clay, several clay documents, one of which (that of Nabûpaliddina? — see below) began with the words : "Image of the* sun-god, the great lord who dwells in I'(Bît)-Parra ("temple of light") which is at Sipar." The Babylonian kings, to whom special credit was due for the maintenance of this temple, were Nabû-habal-iddina (contemporary of the Assyrian kings Asurnaṣirhabal and Salmanassar II) and Nabû-nâhid, the last king of Babylon. It is conjectured by Rassam that in the neighbouring Dair there may be found the other Sipar, which was devoted to the cultus of Anunit. See also note on 2 Kings XVIII. 34; and comp. 281 too F. Delitzsch in F. Mürdter, Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens 1882 pp. 273 foll., see the report in "The Mail", London 1881, Aug. 29 (Babylonian explorations). — With respect to *Avva* (עִוָּה) no information is to be gained from the inscriptions defining its locality (see also below). On the other hand there is once more perfect agreement between the inscriptions and the Bible in the notice of the latter respecting the deportation of inhabitants from *Hamath* and their settlement in Samaria. For in the inscriptions of Sargon we read (Botta 145. no. II. line 12) that the Great King, after defeating in the second year of his reign king Ilubid of Hamath, separated from the spoil 200 chariots and 600 horsemen as his royal portion. From this we may infer that, as in the capture of Samaria, he must have carried away or deported the main

* The Assyrian text has: Ṣa-lam Šamši bîli rabî i. e. "Image of the sun-god, the great lord". See the original text in Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol. VIII, 2 p. 164 sq. (plate).

body of the rest of the population into captivity. But from other passages e. g. Botta 146, v. 8 we learn that the king transferred into the region of Hamath, evidently depopulated by the transportation, other Eastern inhabitants (ina kirib mât Amatti ušíšib "in the midst of Hamath I settled them").*

30. *And the people of Babel made Succôth-Benôth* (סֻכּוֹת בְּנוֹת). In the obscure Succôth-Benôth there must 1) certainly be an allusion to a Babylonian idol (see Thenius *ad loc.* Comp. also the punctuation bĕnôth in place of bânôth as we should expect; also LXX and Vulg. which with correct discrimination furnish proper names); 2) we
282 must also assume the Hebraization of a Babylonian name. Accordingly, when we take account of the benith of the LXX to which a Babylonian word bânit (Partic act. fem., root banû) closely approximates, the most probable supposition is that of Sir H. Rawlinson, that we have here the name of the divinity, worshipped in Babylonia, Zĭr-bânit or Zar-pa-ni-tuv, frequently mentioned in the incriptions (Nebucad. Bellino-Cylinder I, 27; II Rawl. 67, 12; Layard 17, 15 &c.). This name signifies "She who bestows seed (posterity)" = זֶרַע־בָּנִית.** She was the consort of Merodach. The second portion of the name would exactly coincide in the two cases, and the first portion of the Biblical name might, at least to a certain extent, be understood as a corruption of the corresponding Babylonian word. Delitzsch Parad. p. 215 interprets the name as Sakkut-binûtu "supreme

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* On Amattu = Hamath see above p. 90 footnote **. In the following line Eastern inhabitants are likewise spoken-of as transported to *Damaskus*.

** On the formation of the proper name see Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinschriften pp. 119; 128 no. 10; 155 no. 63.

judge of the Universe"; he holds that the name is to be treated as an epithet of Merodach. But does sakkut in Assyrian, taken as an appellative, mean "judge", and does binûtu mean simply "universe"? And was the name actually an epithet of Merodach? On Sakkut as epithet of Adar see note on Amos V. 26.

and the people of Kuth made Nergal (נֵרְגַל). An unexpected light has been thrown on this passage by the cuneiform inscriptions. The facts are these. On various basreliefs representing lion-hunts we find the ideogram LIK. MAḤ* standing for this animal in the accompanying inscriptions e. g. I Rawl. plate 7 no. IX A, 2. B, 1. Now 283
this ideogram changes (in the plur.) in two identical passages in Botta 152 no. 14, 7. 8. comp. with 16th, 115 into the form pronounced Nír-gal-í (in the phrase íli nir-gal-í u-kin "I placed [the objects] on the lions"). In both these passages, however, we have not to do with real lions, but with the lion-colossi that adorn the palace-entrances and which therefore represent the lion-*deity*. It is accordingly evident that Nírgal i. e. נֵרְגַל represented in Assyrian the *lion-god*. The syllabary II Rawl. 60, 12a. 11b** distinctly confirms the statement of the Bible that Nergal was the god of *Kutha*. Nergal is there expressly called the god ša TIG. GAB. BA. KI i. e. god "of Kutha." Respecting the ideogram for Kutha see Layard

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* This ideogram occasionally designates the "lion" as "the great dog"; LIK is the ideogram for "dog" (kal-bu, see Syllab. 762), MAḤ that for "high" or "great" (ṣîru, see Smith's Assurbanipal 222, 32).

** From line 8a compared with 7b, as well as from 30a comp. with 29b, we may safely conclude that the second column of this syllabary in the lithograph has become about a line too high as compared with the first (G. Smith, Dan. Haigh).

91, 82 and also 15, 27. Comp. Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. (selected proper names no. 12) p. 129, where the citation from the syllabary II Rawl. 54, 73 c. d. is to be struck out.

and the people of Hamath made Ashîmâ (אַשִׁימָא). The cuneiform inscriptions say nothing about this deity of Hamath, nor about Nibchaz and Tartak of the Avvites (verse 31). Yet the first name, Nibḥaz נִבְחַז, shows by its formation an Assyrian origin (Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 212 no. 3), and the second name *Tartak* תַּרְתָּק reminds us, in the first syllable, of names like Tur-tanu (see above), and in its second, of names such as I-tak (II Rawl. 18, 47; III Rawl. 66, 8; Smith's Assurbanipal p. 217, k).

31. And the *Avvites* made *Nibchaz* and *Tartak*.— The Avvites are apparently the inhabitants of עַוָּה, chap.
284 XVIII. 34 (XIX, 12) on which see notes. The place has not hitherto been pointed out. Respecting the divinities here mentioned see above note on verse 30.

And the people of Sepharvaim burnt their sons in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim. Of these names of divinities the first, Adrammelech, means "Adar is prince". It appears in chap. XIX. 37 as the name of a man and was pronounced in Assyrian Adar-malik (Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinsch., selected proper names no. 33a p. 140). The second Anammelech (עַנַמֶּלֶךְ), pronounced in Assyrian Anu-malik (see Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 141) signifies "Anu is prince". Both Adar and Anu, Anuv (Oannes?) are very frequently mentioned deities of Assyria. Adar, originally pronounced A-tar, is a word of Akkadian origin and means "father of decision". It resembles Nam-tar (literally "decision, destiny, destination", likewise name of the "plague-god") Iš-tar(?) and also Sak-kut (see note on Amos V. 26). The usual ideograms

with which the name was written, according to the practice of the Assyrians, are AN. BAR and AN. NIN. IB, of which the latter exhibits in a syllabary in one place the phonetic complement -ra, confirming the reading Adar (= Adar-ra). See also my essay "On the Assyrio-Babylonian Chronology of Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus" pp. 19—23 note, contained in the "Berichte der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften" 1880; Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinsch. pp. 148 foll. no. 49; F. Delitzsch in Mürdter's Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens p. 276. —Anu, whose name is probably simply the Semitic form of the Akkadian AN "Heaven", "God", occupies, in the Assyrio-Babylonian gradation of rank among deities, in all cases the first place after the supreme deities Il(?)* on the one side and Asur on the other, and bears as his numeral the chief or full number 60. In the opening words of the obelisk-inscription of Salmanassar, Layard 87 lines 2 foll., 285
he is called "šar AN. I-gi-gi u AN. A-nun-naki AN. bîl mâtâti" "prince of the Igigi and prince of the Anunnaki (i. e. of the spirits of the upper and lower world), lord of lands". His feminine counterpart was Ana-tu i. e. Anat (III Rawl. 69 line 2).—Respecting Sepharvaim see note on verse 24 p. 271 foll.

XVIII. 1. מָלַךְ חִזְקִיָּה *Hizkia (Hezekiah) became king.* The cuneiform inscriptions furnish the name in the fuller form חִזְקִיָּהוּ familiar to us in the Book of Isaiah (XXXVII. 1, 3 &c.), or, properly speaking, in the form Ḥa-za-ḳi-ja-u Sanherib Taylor Cyl. col. II, 71; also Ḥa-za-ḳi-a-u III, 11. 29; I Rawl. 43, 15.

10. וַיִּלְכְּדֻהָ *and they took it,* certainly a wrong pronunciation. It is rendered suspicious by the unanimous testimony

* F. Hommel does not regard Ilu as an individual deity.

of LXX, Syiac and Vulgate, which all suggest the singular וַיִּלְכְּדָהּ. It is condemned by the context which clearly requires the singular. Lastly, it is completely disposed of by the לכד of the parallel passage XVII. 6. At all events one ought to avoid founding upon this defective reading of the Masoretes any attempts to harmonize the accounts contained in the Bible and in the inscriptions with a view towards removing the contradiction between them with respect to the conqueror of Samaria. Also comp. on verses 9—12 the notes on chap. XVII. 1—6.

13. *In the 14th year of king Hizkia, Sanherib* (סַנְחֵרִיב), *king of Assyria, advanced against all the fortified towns of Juda and captured them.* The Assyrian king (Sennacherib) here referred to by the Biblical historian is the same who meets us on the inscriptions under the name Sin-aḥî-íri b or Sin-aḥî-ír-ba i. e. "Sin* gives many brothers." According
286 to the canon or register of rulers, he was son and successor of Sargon (see Is. XX. 1) ruling from 705** to 681. We possess various inscriptions of this king, who had his palatial residence at Kujundshik-Niniveh opposite Mosul. Some of these are of larger size, others smaller, on clay cylinders, bricks and alabaster plates, and also one cut in rock, which is at Bavian, North of Niniveh. Of these by far the most important in its bearing on Biblical history are the great inscription on the hexagonal clay cylinder, containing Sanherib's annals of his first eight campaigns, and published in "The inscriptions of Western Asia" I pp. 37—42 by Rawlinson and Norris; also the parallel extending to the third

* Sin is the name of the moon-god in Assyrian. The origin of the word is obscure. The derivation from the Semitic attempted in Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 123 must be given up.

** His accession to the throne took place on the 12th Ab of that year. See note on Is. XX. 1 and also the list II C. (pp. 488 foll.).

campaign inclusive, inscribed on the cylinder (still unpublished) dated at the eponym of Mitunu (700 B. C.); likewise the other on the Kujundshik Bulls III Rawl. pl. 12. 13; and lastly the small inscription over a figure representing* king Sanherib sitting on a throne and receiving Jewish prisoners. The latter inscription is lithographed in I Rawl. 7 no. J. Moreover the subjugation of Juda as well as king Hezekiah is briefly mentioned in the inscription of Constantinople I Rawl. 43, 15. We print these passages here.

I. Inscription of Constantinople lines 13—15 : Lu-li-i šar ír Si-du-un-ni í-kim šarrut-su; Tu-ba-'-lu i-na kussî-šu u-ší-šib-ma man-da-at-tu bîlûti-ja ṣi-ru-uš-šu u-šal-bit; rap-šu na-gu-u mât Ja-u-di, Ḥa-za-ḳi-a-u šar-šu í-mid ab-ša-a-ni 287
i. e. "From Elulaeus, king of Sidon, I took his kingdom; Ethobal I raised to his throne and imposed on him the tribute of my rule; the extensive territory of the land Juda, Hezekiah its king, I compelled to obedience".

Notes and Illustrations. I'kim 1 pers. sing. Imperf. Kal of אכם "take";—kussû "throne", ideogram explained in Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinschr. p. 99 no. 26; comp. Hebrew כִּסֵּא which is itself a term borrowed from the Assyrian, just as the Assyrian kussû again is derived from the Akkadian, in which (IṢ)GU. ZA denotes "throne".—ušíšib 1 pers. Imperf. Shaf. of אשב = ישב;—mandattu "tribute", root נדן = Hebr. נתן;—bîlût "rule", here written with the frequently recurring ideogram (Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 108 no. 28) and the phonetic complement -ti;— ṣiruššu prepos. ṣîr "upon" with suffix for the 3rd person; respecting the reduplication of š see Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 249;—ušalbit 1 pers. Imperf. Shaf. of labâtu** (= לפת?)

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* See the figure in the Bibel-Lexic. art. Sanherib. A figure of the cylindrical seal of the king may be found by the reader in Riehm, Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alterthums p. 1367a.

** This is the correct form of the Assyrian infinitive, employed here and henceforth to indicate the root.

meaning "impose", so also line 13;—nagû "district", comp. Arab. نَجَاوَةٌ;—ímid 1 pers. Imperf. Kal of עמר, in Assyr. always transit. "impose";—abšānu (root أَبَسَ "subjugate"?); Norris p. 133 takes the word in the sense of "rebellion" and refers to the Hebrew פשע; but not only is the derivation doubtful but the meaning "I put a check on the rebellion" is not a suitable one in the passages where the term occurs. Nor, on this interpretation, can we account for the constant omission of a suffix in the word. Pognon l. c. 35 maintains for the word the signification "presents"(?).

II. Inscription on a basrelief I Rawl. 7, no. J: 1. Sin-aḥî-írib šar kiššati šar mât Aššur 2. ina kussî ni-mí-di u-šib-ma 3. šal-la-at ír La-ki-su 4. ma-ḥa-ar-šu í-ti-iḳ i. e. "Sennacherib, the king of the host of nations, king of the land Assur, seated himself on an exalted throne and received the spoil of the city Lakish".

Notes and Illustrations. Kiššatu, Subst. fem. from the root כנש = כנם "to gather together", properly "crowd", "host", occurs in innumerable instances in the above sense in the title of Assyrian kings; on its ideogram ŠU see Assyr.-Bab. Keilinsch. p. 89;—nimídu "made great", "exalted", passive adj. (or substantive "exaltation"?) from ma'âdu "to be much", Hebrew מאד;—ušib Imperf. Kal of אשב = ישב;—šallat-su Substant. from šalâlu = שלל with the suffix and accompanied by the regular change of sibilant;—maḥar "before", "in presence of", root מחר (of what etymology?—);—ítiḳ Imperf. Kal of עתק, comp. the Hebr. העתיק "advance" here meaning "receive".

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III. Taylor's hexagonal clay cylinder (I Rawl. 37—42) col. II, 34 foll.*: 34. I-na šal-ši gir-ri-ja a-na mât Ḥa-at-ti lu** al-lik. 35. Lu-li-i šar ír Ṣi-du-

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* Comp. Oppert, les inscriptions des Sargonides. Vers. 1862. pp. 40 foll. Talbot in Journal of Royal Asiatic Soc. XIX. 1862. pp. 135 foll. and again in Records of the Past pp. 33 foll.; R. Hoerning, the hexagonal prism of Sanherib, Leipzig 1878, pp. 8 foll.; G. Smith, History of Sennacherib, edited by A. H. Sayce, London 1878, pp. 53 foll.

** So we should read, according to the bull-inscription, instead of -ki (Talbot). An inspection of the original can leave no doubt on the subject.

un-ni pul-ḫi mí-lam-mí 36. bí-lu-ti-ja is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma a-na ru-uk-ki 37. ḳabal tiâm-tiv in-na-bit-ma mâta-šu í-mid. 38. Ír Ṣi-du-un-nu rabu-u, ír Ṣi-du-un-nu ṣiḫru, 39. ír Bît-Zi-it-tí, ír Ṣa-ri-ip-tav, ír Ma-ḫal-li-ba, 40. ír U-šu-u, ír Ak-zi-bi, ír Ak-ku-u, 41. írâni-šu dan-nu-ti, bît durâ-ni a-šar ri-i-ti 42. u maš-ki-ti bît tuk-la-ti-šu* ra-ru-bat kakkî 43. Ašur bĭl-ja is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti-ma ik-nu-šu 44. ší-pu-u-a. Tu-ba-'-lu i-na kussî šarrû-ti 45. íli-šu-un u-šĭ-šib-ma bilat man-da-at-tu bí-lu-ti-ja 46. šat-ti la naparka-at lu u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu. 47. Ša Mi-in-ḫi-im-mu ír Sam-si-mu-ru-na-ai. 48. Tu-ba-'-lu ír Ṣi-du-un-na-ai, 49. Ab-di-li-'-ti ír A-ru-da-ai, 50. U-ru-mil-ki ír Gu-ub-la-ai, 51. Mi-ti-in-ti ír As-du-da-ai, 52. Pu-du-ilu mât Bît-Am-ma-na-ai, 53. Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi mât [Ma]-'-ba-ai, 54. Malik-ram-mu mât U-du-um-ma-ai, 55. šarrâ-ni mât Aḫarri ka-li-šu-un ši-di-í 56. mat-lu-ti ta-mar-ta-šu-nu ka-bid-tu a-di GAR. ŠU 57. a-na maḫ-ri-ja iš-šu-num-ma 289
iš-ši-ḳu šípâ-ja 58. u Ṣi-id-ḳa-a šar ír Is-ḳa-al-lu-na 59. ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ja: ilî bît abi-šu ša-a-šu 60. aššat-su ablî-šu banâti-šu aḫî-šu zĭr bît abi-šu 61. as-su-ḫa-am-ma a-na mât Aššur u-ra-aš-šu. 62. Šar-lu-dá-ri abal Ru-kib-ti šarru-šu-nu maḫ-ru-u 63. íli nišî ír Is-ḳa-al-lu-na aš-kun-ma na-dan bilat 64. kit-ri-í bí-lu-ti-ja í-mid-su-ma i-ša-aṭ ab-ša-a-ni. 65. I-na mí-ti-iḳ gir-ri-ja ír Bît-Da-gan-na,

* This is clearly the reading of the original.

66. ír Ja-ap-pu-u ír Ba-na-ai-bar-ḳa ír A-zu-ru 67. írâ-ni ša Ṣi-id-ka-a, ša a-na nĭri-ja 68. arḥiš la ik-nu-šu, al-ví ak-šu-ud aš-lu-la šal-la-sun. 69. Av. šakkanakkî, av. rubûti u nišî ír Am-ḳar-run-na, 70. ša Pa-di-i šarra-šu-nu bĭl adi-í u ma-mit 71. ša mât Aššur bi-ri-tu parzilli id-du-ma a-na Ḥa-za-ḳi-ja-u 72. mât Ja-u-da-ai id-di-nu-šu nak-riš a-na (ilu) ṣil-li í-sir-šu, 73. ip-laḥ lib-ba-šu-un. Šarrâ-ni mât Mu-ṣu-ri 74. ṣabî ḳašti narkabâti sisî ša šar mât Míluḥ-hi 75. í-mu-ki la ni-bi iḳ-tí-ru-num-ma illi-ku 76. ri-ṣu-us-su-un. I-na ta-mir-ti ír Alta-ḳu-u 77. íl-la-mu-u-a si-id-ru šit-ku-nu uša-'-lu 78. tuklâti-šu-un. I-na tukul-ti Ašur bĭli-ja it-ti-šu-un 79. am-da-ḥi-iṣ-ma aš-takan apik-ta-šu-un. 80. Avíl bĭl narkabâti u ablî šar mât Mu-ṣu-ra-ai 81. a-di avíl bĭl narkabâti ša šar mât Mí-luḥ-ḥi bal-ṭu-su-un 82. i-na ḳabal tam-ḥa-ri ik-šu-da ḳatâ-ai. Ír Al-ta-ḳu-u 83. ír Ta-am-na-a al-ví akšu-ud aš-lu-la šal-la-sun. Col. III, 1. A-na ír Am-ḳar-ru-na aḳ-rib-ma av. šakkanakkî 2. av. rubûti ša ḥi-iṭ-ṭu u-šab-šu-u a-duk-ma 3. i-na di-ma-a-ti si-ḥir-ti ír a-lib pag-ri-šu-un; 4. ablî ír í-biš au-ni u ḥab-la-ti 5. a-na šal-la-ti am-nu; si-it-tu-tí-šu-nu 6. la ba-ní ḥi-ṭi-ti u ḳul-lul-ti,
290 ša a-ra-[an-šu-nu]* 7. la ib-šu-u, uš-šur-šu-un aḳ-bi. Pa-di-i 8. šarra-šu-nu ul-tu ki-rib ír

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* a-ra-an-šu-nu (sic!) stands in the fragment of another copy. Comp. Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XXVIII p. 677.

Ur-sa-li-im-mu 9. u-ší-ṣa-am-ma i-na kussî bí-lu-ti íli-šu-un 10. u-ší-šib-ma man-da-at-tu bí-lu-ti-ja 11. u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu u Ḫa-za-ḳi-a-u 12. mât Ja-u-da-ai ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ja 13. XXXX. VI íri-šu dan-nu-ti bît dûri u írî ṣiḫrûti 14. ša li-ví-ti-šu-nu ša ni-ba la i-šu-u 15. i-na šuk-bu-us a-ram-mí u ḳit-ru-ub šu-pi-i 16. mit-ḫu-ṣu zu-uk šípâ ní-ši(?) nik-si kur lib(?)-ban-na-tí 17. al-ví, akšu-ud II. C. M. C. L. nišî ṣiḫru rabû zikaru u sinniš 18. sisî parî imírî gam-mal-i alpî 19. u ṣi-í-ni ša la ni-bi ul-tu kir-bi-šu-un u-ší-ṣa-am-ma 20. šal-la-tiš am-nu. Ša-a-šu kima iṣṣur ḳu-up-pi ki-rib ír Ur-sa-li-im-mu 21. ír šarrû-ti-šu í-sir-šu, ḫal-ṣu (Plur.) íli-šu 22. u-rak-kis-ma a-ṣi-í abulli ír-šu u-tir-ra 23. ik-ki-bu-uš. I'ri-šu ša aš-lu-la ul-tu ki-rib mâti-šu 24. ab-tuḳ-ma a-na Mi-ti-in-ti šar ír As-du-di, 25. Pa-di-i šar ír Amḳar-ru-na u Ṣil-bĭl 26. šar ír Ḫa-zi-ti ad-din-ma u-ṣa-aḫ-ḫir mât-su. 27. I'-li bilti maḫ-ri-ti na-dan šat-ti-šu-un 28. man-da-at-tu kit-ri-í bí-lu-ti-ja u-rad-ti-ma 29. u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu-un. Šu-u Ḫa-za-ḳi-a-u 30. pul-ḫi mí-lam-mí bí-lu-ti-ja is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma 31. avíl U'r-bi u avíl ṣabî-šu damḳûti 32. ša a-na dun-nu-un ír Ur-sa-li-im-mu ír šarrû-ti-šu 33. u-ší-ri-bu-ma ir-šu-u bí-la-a-ti 34. it-ti XXX. bilat ḫurâṣi, DCCC. bilat kaspi ni-sik-ti 35. gu-uḫ-li DAG. GAS. SI. aban AN. GUG-MI' rabûti, 36. iṣ írši KA, kussî ni-mí-di KA, mašak AM. SI, 37. KA. AM. SI, iṣ KAL, iṣ KU. nin šum-šu, ni-ṣir-tav ka-bid-tav 38. u 291
ba-nâti-šu, šikrîti íkal-šu, avíl LUB. (Pl.), 39.

aššat LUB (Pl.) a-na ki-rib Ninua ír bí-lu-ti-ja 40. arki-ja u-ši-bil-am-ma a-na na-dan manda-at-ti 41. u í-biš ardu-u-ti iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šu i. e. II. 34: "In my third campaign I marched to the land Chatti. 35. Elulaeus, king of Sidon, him there overpowered the terror of the majesty 36. of my dominion and he fled afar 37. into the midst of the sea; his land I reduced to subjection. 38. Great-Sidon (and) Little-Sidon, 39. Beth-Zitti, Sarepta, Machallib, 40. Ushû, Ekdippa, Akko, 41. his strong towns, the fortresses, the spots for pasture 42. and watering, the stations where his troops were quartered, 43. (the exaltation of the arms of Asur, my lord, had overpowered them) submitted themselves 44. to me. Ethobal I placed on the royal throne 45. over them and the offering of tribute to my rule 46. I imposed on him as annual, unalterable payment. 47. Menahem of Samsimuruna, 48. Ethobal of Sidon, 49. Abdili'ti of Arvad, 50. Urumilki of Byblos*, 51. Mitinti of Ashdod, 52. Puduil of Ammon, 53. Kamosnadab of Moab, 54. Malikram of Edom: 55. the collective kings of the Western country, 56. the coast-regions together offered their rich presents and utensils (stores?) to me and kissed my feet.

58. But Zidḳâ, king of Ashkelon, 59. who had not bowed himself under my yoke: I brought the gods of his father's house, himself, 60. his wife, his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the family of his father's house, 61. away and conveyed them to Assyria. 62. Sarludâri, the son of Rukibti,
292 their former king, I placed over the people of Ashkelon, and imposed on him the tribute-offering 64. of subjection to

* The name has meanwhile been also pointed out on a Phoenician monument as אל[מלך, see above p. 175 footnote *.

my rule, and he tendered obedience. 65. In the course of my warlike enterprise I advanced against Beth-Dagon. 66. Joppa, Benē-berak, Azuru, the cities of Zidḳâ, which to me 68. at the proper time had not submitted, I captured, carried away their spoil.

69. The chief officers [Smith "priests"(?)], the great ones, the people of Ekron, 70. who Padî, their king, who had kept faith and oath 71. to Assyria, had cast into iron bonds, and to Hezekiah 72. of Juda had delivered [who shut him up in the dark (prison)]: 73. their heart was afraid. The kings of Aegypt, the archers, the chariots, the horses of the kings of Míluḫḫi, 75. countless troops they summoned up, and they marched 76. forth to their aid. In presence of 77. Altaḳû the battle array was set against me. They summoned 78. their troops (to battle). Confiding in Asur, my lord, 79. I fought with them and inflicted on them a defeat. 80. The commander of the chariots and the sons of the Aegyptian king 81. together with the commander of the chariots of the king of Miluḫḫi 82. my hand took prisoner alive in the midst of the battle. The towns Altaḳû (and) 83. Timnath I attacked, captured, carried forth their booty. Col. III, 1. Against the town Ekron I advanced; the chief officers, 2. the great ones, who had made rebellion, I slew; 3. on stakes of the town's encircling wall I impaled their corpses. 4. The sons (inhabitants) of the town who had practised wickedness and mischief, 5. I counted as prisoners; the remaining inhabitants, 6. who had not practised sin or aught execrable, who had not made themselves guilty of the 293
transgression of the former, 7. their amnesty I announced. I caused that Padî, 8. their king, Jerusalem 9. should leave, installed him on his throne of sovereignty over them 11. and imposed on him the tribute of my rule.

But Hezekiah 12. of Juda, who had not submitted to me: 13. 46 of his fortified towns, innumerable fortresses and small places 14. in their district 15. by casting down the ramparts and by open attack, 16. by battle, zuk of the feet, níši, hewing to pieces and casting down (?), 17. I besieged, I captured. 200,150 men, great (and) small, of male and female sex, 18. horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen 19. and sheep without number I carried off from them and 20. I reckoned as war-booty. Himself I shut like a bird in a cage in Jerusalem, 21. his royal city. Fortifications I erected against him 22. and the exits of the chief gate of his city 23. I barred. His towns, which I plundered, 24. I separated from his territory and gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, 25. Padî, king of Ekron, and Zilbel, 26. king of Gaza; so I diminished his land. 27. To the former offering, their yearly payment, I added the tribute of submission to my rule, 29. imposed such on them. Him, Hezekiah, 30. terror at the majesty of my rule overpowered: 31. The Arabians and his faithful ones, 32. whom he for the defence of Jerusalem, his royal city, 33. had taken in and to whom he granted payment for hire, 34. together with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, molten (?), 35. . . . . guḫli daggassi, large precious stones (?), 36. ivory couches, splendid seats of ivory; elephant-hides,
294 37. ivory, KAL-wood, KU-wood (timber?) of all kinds, a mighty treasure, 38. and besides his daughters, his palace-wives, his male (and) 39. female servants of the harem(?), he caused to be brought to me to Niniveh, my sovereign abode. 40. For the payment of the tribute 41. and the performance of homage he despatched his envoy."

Notes and Illustrations. Col. II, 34 girû 'campaign', root גרה = جرى (gi-ri Layard 15, 25); mât Ḫatti Chatti-land, see further on

Gen. X. 19;—35. Lulî = Elulaeus, see note on Gen. X. 15; pulḫu from puluḫ 1) "fear", 2) "reverence", "respect", comp. the Aramaic ܦܠܚ; mílammu "splendour", "majesty", see Lotz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pilesers I p. 84;—36. bi'lût = בְּעָלוֹת; isḫup, root סחף, "cast to the ground" (Hebr.-Aram.), of very frequent occurrence in Assyrian; ana rukki (root רחק) "into the distance" interchangeable with the adverb rûkiš "afar" e. g. Botta 153. 4: ina ḳabal tiâmtiv rûḳiš išmû "in the midst of the sea afar they heard of it"; here written with k instead of ḳ as in I Rawl. 51 col. I, 31 (above p. 109, 111);—37. ḳabal, Ideogr. explained Syllab. 87; tiâmtuv = תְּהוֹם; innabit, Nif. of abâtu flee, frequently occurring; on the root אבת, comp. Haupt, Sumer. Familiengesetze p. 10 note[1]; ímid "I brought (under subjection)", root עמד, transit. "place"; the expression is abbreviated from the other nîr bi'lûtija ímid "I brought under my subjection" Botta 145. I, 10. 11;—38. ṣiḫru, also ṣaḫru = צָעִיר, ideogr. explained Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 27, no. 23. 24;—40. ír Ušû identified by Delitzsch, Parad. p. 285, with אוּשָׁא of the Midrash (Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud p. 199), which is apparently to be sought in Galilee. The situation as well as the phonetic characteristics of the word (we should expect Usû with ס in Assyrian) certainly do not favour this supposition;—41. dûr 1) circumvallation, 2) fortress; ideogram explained in Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 111, 56; ašar rîti 42. u maškiti = אשר רעית ומשקית. On this see P. Haupt in Nachrichten von der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 1883 no. 4 (25. April) p. 103.—tuklâti "soldiers", properly "men at arms"; bît tuklâti (so read—G. Smith) "quarter for troops"; rarubu "terror", "majesty", "glory", root rarâbu = rarrâbu from רברב; comp. Assyr. kakkab "star" from כבכב, see note on Gen. XV. 5. Comp. the Aramaic ܪܘܪܒ, subst. ܪܘܪܒܘܬܐ "majesty" likewise from רברב, like ܟܘܟܒܐ from כבכב;—kakku "weapon"; ideogr. explained II Rawl. 19, 23. 26; 61. 62. Respecting another signification of IṢ. KU, see on line 78. — 44. šîpû properly "foot", root שׁפה = שָׁפַף, 1) rub; in particular 2) the ground = "creep"; then adverb "under", see Assyr.-Babylon. Keil. pp. 293 foll.; Tubal = Ethobal see on Gen. X. 15; 1 Kings XVI. 31; kussû "throne" כִּסֵּא (from the Akkadian (iṣ) GU. ZA); ideogr. explained in Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 26, 11. 99, 26.— 295
45. ušîšib Shaf. of אשב = ישב; bilat subst. fem. (properly infinit.) of אבל = יבל "bear", "bring";—46. šattu year: comp. Smith's Asurbanipal p. 281, 99 foll.: man-da-at-tu na-dan šat-ti-šu-un "the tribute, their yearly offering"; la naparkat (Hoerning) "unalterable", compare Smith's Asurban. p. 170, 43 = V Rawl. pl. 4 lines 108 foll.; ukîu Imperf. Pa. of כון; ṣiruššu "on him" from ṣir

"upon" (comp. ṣîru "exalted") and the 3 pers. sing. masc. suffix šu; — 49. Arudai, see note on Gen. X. 18; Gubal = גְּבַל "Byblos", see note on 1 Kings V. 32; — 51. Asdudai, see note on Josh. XI. 22;—52. Bît Ammanai, see note on Gen. XIX. 38; — 53. Ma'bai, see *ibid.* verse 37; — 54. Malikrammu Udumai, see note on Gen. XXXVI. 1;—55. mât Aḫarri properly "the Western country", Assyr. name for Kanaan (including Phoenicia and Philistia), see note on Gen. X, 6. p. 73; šiddu "frontier-district", comp. Targ.-Aram. שְׁדָא (Lotz);—56. matlûtu, root מלא; adjectival formation from Ifteal; tamartu "gift", properly "medal", root אמר "see", both frequently occurring in the inscriptions; kabidtu Adject. fem., root kabâdu = כָּבֵד, 1) "heavy", 2) "rich"; GAR. ŠU is a word borrowed from the Akkadian, that is to say an ideogram, properly "thing of the hand." Hence it may mean "implements" or "property", or it may denote in particular "stores", "provisions" (according to Oppert, GAR. GA means the latter); according to V Rawl. 4, 65 GAR. GA and GAR. ŠU are identical in meaning;—57. maḫar "before" 1) in time, 2) in place; iššunumma Imperf. 3 pers. plur., root נשׂה, with copul.; iššiḳu, root נשׁק; šípâ "the two feet", see on verse 44 and comp. Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. pp. 293 foll., as well as the comment on Ps. II. 12;— 59. nîru "yoke", then as a prepos. "under", see Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 292. A syllabary (III Rawl. 70, 81) explains the corresponding ideogram by ni-í-ruv "yoke" נִיר. Is this נִיר = Aram. נִמְרָא an Assyr. loan-word? — 60. aššatu "woman", Hebr. אִשָּׁה; ideogram determined by II Rawl. 10, 2. 4. 9. 10;—abal "son", see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 192; banâti plur. of bintu "daughter", see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 193; aḫu "brother", see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 98 no. 15; zîr = זֶרַע *ibid.* p. 98. no. 17 (accord. to Syllab. 136 in Haupt's Akkad.-Sumír. Keilsch. 13 (zi-í-ru) is correctly to be transcribed zîru); abu "father" *ibid.* p. 97 no. 13;—61. assuḫ 1 pers. Imperf. of נסח "tear away"; uraššu Imperf. Pa. 1 pers. with suffix fr. ארה properly "throw", comp. Hebr. ירה, then "carry (off with violence)";—62. Respecting the names, particularly Šarludâri see Josh. XIII. 3 p. 154. On the pronunciation with long â, comp. below III Rawl. 12, 21;—64. kitrî = כתרע subst. from the Ift. of the verb כרע "bend", "submit oneself";—išâṭu together with išûṭu (Botta 135, 10; 151, 1) Imperf. Kal of שׁוט 1) "rove about" (Hebr.), 2) "follow", "obey"; — 65. mîtiḳ "military expedition" substant. from עתק IIif. Hebr. "advance";—66. comp. note on Josh. XV. 43—45; ana nîrija "under my yoke"

296 Also the reading šípâ-ja "my feet" would be possible, since other syllabaries gives this further interpretation of the ideogram e. g.

II Rawl. 17, 69 c. d; comp. however above line 59; see further on this change of meaning the full discussion in Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. pp. 292 foll.—68. ar-ḫiš "in due time" (Hoerning), root ארח; on the phonetic value ḫiš of the sign UT see Fried. Delitzsch, Assyr. Lesestücke, 2nd ed. 31 no. 207; šallasun for šallat-sun, see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 202; —69. Amḳarrûn = Ekron, see note on Josh. XIII. 3;—70. Padî see *ibid.*; adî, root ארע = ידע, means properly "recognition", then "obedience", "submission"; mamît, root אמה, more precisely אמי, see Glossary *sub voce*. This interesting word occurs also in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II, Layard 72, 16 in the phrase: Sa-am-si šar-rat mât A-ri-bi ša ma-mit (ilu) Ša-maš tí-ti-ḳu i. e. "Samsi, queen of the Arabs, who was devoted (עתק) to the service of the sun-god", comp. p. 254;—biritu "chain" (Oppert reads ḳašritu and compares the Hebrew קשר "bind", "chain"). The word is also to be found in IV, 39 &c.;—AN. BAR of the text is the ideogr. for "iron"*, of which the phonetic equivalent is parzilluv (Botta 152, 12. 10; 154, 12); Hebrew בַּרְזֶל, Aram. פַּרְזֶל. This follows from Botta 67, 11 comp. with 101, 10;—iddû, from nadû "to cast";—72. nakriš adverb from nakâru "be hostile", comp. nâkiru "enemy"; ṣillu, Hebr. צֵל, "shadow"; ísir, root אסר, "shut in" (Hoerning); on the phonetic value sir of the sign bu see Assyr.-Babylon. Keil. p. 73 no. 174;—73. iplaḫ imperf. of palâḫu to fear, see on line 35. So the word should be pronounced according to the orthography ip-la-ḫu (passim). Respecting the phonetic value laḫ (as well as luḫ) of the corresponding sign, see Syllabary 549 (Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. pp. 41. 69); Muṣur = מצר, מצרים Aegypt, see my remarks in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 246 foll. — 74. ḳaštu "bow", קֶשֶׁת, phonet. II Rawl. 19, 7. 8. The "arrow" is called uṣṣu = חֵץ Smith's Assurb. 145, 2;—sisû = Hebr. סוס, Aram. סוסיא, see above p. 177; Míluḫḫi "Kush in Upper-Aegypt", see note on Gen. X. 6 (p. 68 foll.);—75. ímûḳu properly "depth" (עמק), then "power"; nibû substantive "number", root nabû 1) "to name", נבא, נָבַל; 2) to number"; iḳtírûni Imperf. Ift. from ḳarû "call", "summon together"; with active meaning, as in Botta 151, line 11; illiku Imperf. of הלך "go".—76. riṣût "help", רצה "to be kindly disposed"; tamirtu subst. "look", "face", from אמר "to see"; Altaḳû, see note on Josh. XIX. 44; illamû preposition "before",

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* Not copper (Norris). "Copper" was called in Assyr. siparru and was expressed by the ideogram UD. KA. BAR. See the syllabaries II Rawl. 1, 112; 24, 48; 40, 48.

Hebr. אוּלָם; sidru "battle array" סדר; šitkunu 3 pers. plnr. Perf. Ift. from šakânu "to place", comp. the parallel šitkunu sidirta (with feminine ending) col. V, 48; uša'lu 3 pers. plur. Imperf. Pa.,
297 root שׁאל;—78. The ideogram IṢ. KU (comp. note on line 43), which also means kakku "weapon", here stands for the Assyrian tukultu, plur. tuklâti, the latter meaning "faithful servants", "troops", as in III Rawl. 9, 36 (Tiglath-Pileser II), where it occurs phonetically written; comp. also line b: "confidence". — 79. amdaḥiṣ Ift. of maḥâṣu (instead of amtaḥiṣ; see on this Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 140 foll. note) properly "shatter to pieces", reflexive "fight"; aštakan 1 Pers. Ift. of šakânu "place"; apiktu, root הפך, properly "overthrow", in a military sense "defeat". The ideogram PAN. PAN. is explained by comparison of such passages as Tigl.-Piles. I (I Rawl. 9—16) col. I, 76; III, 23 &c.—80. bîl narkabâti "carriage-driver." Thus have we represented both ideograms which undoubtedly have the meaning "lord" (bîl) and "chariot" (narkabtuv), see note on 1 Kings XVI. 29 (p. 188). The word occurs also phonetically written in II Rawl. 16. 36 c. Now the plural sign stands by the second, but not by the first or governing noun. Hence from the nature of things we should with Hoerning suppose that "commander of the chariots" was meant (this was not the view adopted in the first edition of this work); balṭusun is balṭût with the suffix šun, t being rejected and the sibilant changed in accordance with rule (see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 102), the signification being "them . . . alive". On this see Lotz, Die Inschr. Tigl.-Pileser's I p. 148;—81. ḳabal "middle", קבל, ideogram explained in Syllab. 87; tamḥar frequent word for "battle", properly "the meeting" from maḥâru "to be before", comp. ḳablu "battle" from ḳabâlu קבל; also ṣiltav from אצל, وصل; ḳatu "hand" Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinschr. p. 98 no. 20;—83. alví, root lavû לוה, "touch", "besiege"; šallasun for šallatsun, see on line 80.—Col. III. 1. aḳrib Imperf. of קרב; ḥiṭṭu = חֵטְא "revolt", "rebellion"; ušabšû 3 pers. plur. Shaf. of bašû "he is", see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 260; aduk, root דוך, "kill";—3. dimâti (supplied from the parallel inscription; comp. also Asurnâṣirhabal col. II, 19) "stakes"; siḥirtu "circuit" (root סחר), here probably the "encircling wall"; alib Imperf. 1 pers. Kal, root עלב, "impale" (?); pagru "corpse, Hebr. פֶּגֶר;—4. íbišu Partic. act. of עבשׁ "do" instead of âbišu. On the disagreement in number, which often happens with appositional phrases, whenever they are appended more or less independently, see Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 302 no. 2, compare Höllenfahrt der Istar pp. 146 foll.; annu, probably = עֲנִי "plague" in the sense of "violent deed", "wickedness"; ḥablatu (Hoerning), root חבל "destroy", hence

"destructive"; — 5. sittût "remainder", see pp. 264. 269; — 6. bâní "doing" Partic. plur. of banû "make"; ḫiṭîti "sins", plural in -it from ḫiṭṭu line 2. The plural ḫiṭâti also occurs in Botta 146, 15; comp. Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 223; ḳullultu "execrable", root קלל; arnu "sin" (root ענה?), see Höllenfahrt der Istar p. 96, 2, has been placed beyond doubt by a newly discovered fragment p. 1026, which the author copied in London, see Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XXVIII, p. 677;—7. ibšû Imperf. Kal of עבש, contracted from ibušû as in the inscription of the Achaemenidae L, 2;—ušśur 298
"emancipation", pardon", "amnesty", root mašâru Pa. "set free", see note on 2 Kings XVII. 3; aḳbî 1 pers. Imperf. of ḳabû קבה "speak"; —8. kirib קרב "middle"; ultu kirib = *ex medio*; on the appearance of k in place of ḳ (especially frequent in the syllable ki), see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 20 note;—9. ušíṣamma 1 pers. Imperf. Shaf. of יצא = אצא with ending -ma;—10. ušíši b Shaf. of ישב = אשב;—14. liví'tu (לוח) "frontier", from lavû "touch"; išû "to be", Hebr. יש, Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 305;—15. šukbus (Hoerning) Infin. Shaf., root כבס, "treading down", "putting down"; arammí plur. of arammu = ערם "rampart" (Hoerning); ḳitrub, root קרב, "attack"; šupû Infin. Shaf., root יפע?— miṯḫuṣu "battle", root מחץ (of frequent occurrence);—zuk (zuḳ?) obscure; iši (? scarcely = išatu "fire", so Oppert, Hoerning); libbanati perhaps from labânu "tread down", see above p. 106 and footnote*;—17. alví, akšud, see above; zikaru u sinniš "male and female", see note on Gen. I. 27. In the text there stand the usual ideograms. Instead of sinniš, Delitzsch, referring to II Rawl. 32, 20 c, thinks we ought to pronounce ziništu, a reading, however, which still awaits confirmation.—18. sisî, see above; parí (ideogram phonetically determined from II Rawl. 16, 35 c. d) can only mean something different from oxen and camels, in spite of my objections in Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellsch. XXX pp. 308 foll. And since the "horses" have already been disposed of, while "asses" and "flocks" are elsewhere represented, it is only the "mules", which are not expressed by the other terms, that can be meant by the term parí, however it be classified etymologically, though its connection with פֶּרֶא "wild ass" is the opinion which has most to be said in its favour. As to the supposed form parri, which should rather be read udri (= uduri), see Delitzsch, Parad. p. 96; — gammal "camel", alpu "ox", "cattle" and ṣí'nu "flocks" (sheep and goats) are well known; —20. šallatiš adv. from šallat instead of ana šallati line 5; iṣṣûru "bird" = צִפּוֹר, عصفور (notwithstanding Lotz, Die Insch. Tigl.-

Piles. I p. 126); Ideogr. is explained in Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 26 no. 4; ḳuppu "cage", comp. קֻפָּה, גֻּפָּא. We have already met with the word above p. 253 (Layard 72. 9);—21. ísir-šu, root אסר, see on col. II. 72;—ḥalṣu "fortress", "bulwark";—urakkis Pa. 1 pers. from rakâsu "erect", frequently in the inscriptions; comp. the Hebr. רכס, Arab. ركس; aṣî "exit", root אצא, comp. Norris 44; abullu "city gate", Talm. אַבּוּלָא (Del., Assyr. Lesestücke 2nd ed.) written KÂ. GAL = bâbu rabû "great gateway". On bâbu "gate-way" see Syll. p. 365; on rabû "great" Syll. p. 123; utirra (= utîr) 1 pers. sing. Imperf. Pa. "effect" from tûr "to be";—23. ikkibu-uš, root עקב, with suffix šu (on the meaning see Hoerning);—24. abtuk 1 pers. Imperf. of batâḳu "cut off", "tear away", בתק. We meet with the Pael ubattiḳ
299 in the sense of "cutting off" (noses and ears) in I Rawl. 19. 117; Mitinti, see note on Josh. XI. 22;—25. Padî, see note on Josh. XIII. 3; Gaza, see note on Gen. X. 19; Ṣil-Bî'l "shadow (shelter) is Bel", comp. such names as בְּצַלְאֵל "In the shadow of God" &c.; addin 1 pers. sing. Imperf. of nadânu = נתן; uṣaḥḥir Pa. of ṣaḥâru = Hebr. צער meaning "to diminish", see above col. II. 38;—27. maḥrit femin. of maḥru "earlier", see above; nadânu infin. of נתן = נתן; šattu, see on col. II, 46;—28. kitrî = כתרת see on col. II, 64; uraddi 1 pers. Impf. Pa. of radû in Assyr. "to add"; so also Botta 145 no. 2 line 13; 146 no. 5 lines 10 &c.; also comp. col. II. 46;—30. pulḫu &c. see on col. II. 35;—31. Urbi another pronunciation of Aribi עֲרַב; ṣabišu "his people" i. e. "his subjects"; comp. the proper names Ṣab-šar "man of the king" II Rawl. 63. I, 7. Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. (selected proper names no. 69); ŠI. ṢAB (with plural sign), ideogr. for damḳu, damḳûti; see the Syllab. in Haupt, Akkad.-Sumer. Keilsch. I no. 684; dunnun Infin. Pa. of danânu, see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 272; ušíribu 3 pers. Shaf. of ערב in Assyr. "to enter", comp. Botta 151 no. 11 line 6 in exactly the same connection;—33. iršu from rašû "grant", comp. Arab. رشا III. V.; itti "with", Hebr. את; on the ideograms for ḫurâṣ = חרוץ "gold", kaspu = כֶּסֶף "silver", as well as abnu "stone" אֶבֶן line 35, see above p. 199 footnote *; nisikti may probably be connected with the Hebrew נסך "pour" and be understood to mean objects of cast-metal;—35. guḫli, comp. Khorsab. 183, should perhaps be compared with the Hebr. גֶּחָלִים "glowing coals" and be understood to mean stones (Oppert, *rubins*), glittering or gleaming like red-hot coals (not so Delitzsch, Parad. p. 118); dag-gas-sí is altogether obscure. As to what follows, an-gug-mi rabûti is without doubt to be understood as meaning large precious stones, on account of the secondary ideogram prefixed representing "stone". We cannot however

give any further particulars; — 36. iršu "bed", "couch"; so with Hoerning we express the ideogram NU on the ground of II Rawl. 23. 52 b. c. This ideogr. is explained in Syllab. 649, quoted in Haupt *ibid.*, by rabâṣu = Hebr. רבץ. And it is also defined in the first place by the prefixed IṢ to be a resting place, fashioned out of wood, that is a "bed-stead" or "couch"; and next by the prefixed KA, meaning first "bone" and then in particular "ivory" (Lotz, die Insch. Tigl.-Piles. I p. 161), it is likewise described as a couch "of ivory" i. e. of course "inlaid with ivory": on kussû see p. 279. 287; on nimídu p. 280; mašak is written ideographically with the sign SU. This is phonetically determined by the Syllab. II Rawl. 16, 57: ma-ša-ak = Syr. ܡܫܟܐ, see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 108 no. 31. The "hide" (repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions when flaying is spoken of) derives its name from the fact that it may be "drawn off" (משך). AM. SI i. e. 300 "horned AM" would mean in the first place a buffalo, since AM = rîmu רְאֵם. But the investigations of Lotz (Die Inschr. Tigl.-Piles. I pp. 160 foll.) have shown that this was the term used by the Assyrians for the elephant, whose tusks, i. e. the ivory, were accordingly designated KA. AM. SI, or more briefly KA (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*). Comp. also above note on 1 Kings X. 22 (p. 177 and footnote *).—37. There follow two species of wood, of which iṣ. KAL would mean a "hard wood", without informing us more particularly as to the kind of tree from which it came. Ofcourse Oppert's "sandal wood" is only a conjecture. That which comes next, iṣ KU, is a species of wood which is likewise a subject of complete uncertainty. Oppert renders by "ebony", see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 27 foll. Since KU in other places means "service", perhaps we ought to understand some sort of "timber" as meant, and with this would accord the phrase nin šum-šu = "whatever its name" = "of every sort" (see below); niṣirtu means properly "preserved", root נצר "protect", hence probably "stores", "treasures"; kabidtu (ttu?) fem. adj., root כבד (כבת?);—38. banâti "daughters" assumed as the plur. of the form bintu "daughter" (Oppert) certified by the text (Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 193). In the text we have the ordinary ideogram for "daughter" TUR. RAK with the sign of the plural, meaning "female people", and which is determined phonetically by Smith's Assurban. p. 132, 20; 165, 123; íkalu "palace" = הֵיכָל; on the ideogram see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 90 and comp. my Höllenfahrt der Istar p. 148; niši lub (?) "servants of the harem" is written in the first part ideographically with the sign UN, the usual sign for "man" (Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinschr. p. 97 no. 12); lub or lib might signify "heart", then the "interior" of the palace or harem; rabbi lub accordingly means "governor of the harem" in the List of Governors II Rawl. 52 Obv. 34; Rev. 11, see Studien u. Kritiken 1871 p. 691 note f. With this perhaps we should

compare the Chald. ביתא גוואה 1 Kings VI. 27 (Proph. Chald. ed. P. de Lagarde, Leipzig 1872, see Klostermann in Stud. u. Krit. 1873 p. 746). All this, however, is extremely uncertain;—39. aššât plur. of aššat, likewise ideographically written with the femin. ideogr. RAK. On aššat = אִשָּׁה see Assyr.-Babyl. Keil. p. 193; Ninua "Niniveh" is here written with the usual ideogram which is explained in Asurnâsirh. col. I, 101 by Ni-nu-a i. e, Niniveh;—40. arki "after"; ideogr. phonetically determined by Smith's Assurban. p. 23. 123, comp. with 284, 96; ušíbilamma Shaf. 1 pers. Impf. of אבל (יבל) "carry", with -ma added; —41. íbîšu Infin. of עב׳ש (א) "make"; ardûtu "submission" from ארד = ירד properly "descend", "stoop", a very common word in the inscriptions, comp. Smith's Assurban. p. 76. 30; Botta 148, 1 &c.; išpur Imperf. 3 pers. of šapâru "send", comp. Arabic سفر "depart", very frequent in the inscriptions; rakbu "envoy" from rakâbu = Hebr. רכב "ride", "travel in a conveyance". comp. Smith's Assurb. pp. 74, 19. 77, 3; Botta 151 no. 10 line 3 &c.

301 IV. The parallel inscription on the Kujundshik Bulls III Rawl. 12, 18—32. This agrees in almost every point with the cylinder-inscription, excepting that it appears on the whole somewhat abridged. It contains, however, several interesting as well as material variations, and now and then we meet with supplementary details that are worthy of notice. On account of the importance of the subject-matter we also append this inscription entire. It reads as follows: 18. I-na šal-ši gir-ri-ja a-na mât Ḥa-at-ti lu al-lik. Lu-li-i šar ír Ṣi-du-un-ni pu-luḫ-ti mí-[lam-mí bílû-ti-ja is-ḫup]-šu-ma. Ul-tu ki-rib mât A-ḫar-ri a-na mât Ja-at-na-na 19. ḳabal tiâm-tiv in-na-bit-ma mâti-šu í-mid. Tu-ba-'-lu i-na kussî šarrû-ti-šu u-ší-šib; man-da-at-tu bí-lu-ti-ja u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu. Šarrî mât Aḫarri ka-li-šu-un bilta ka-bid-tav 20. i-na ta-mir-ti ír U-šu-u a-di maḫ-ri-ja u-bi-lu-ni u Ṣi-id-ḳa-a šar ír Is-ḳa-al-lu-na ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ja ilî bît abi-šu ša-a-šu a-di ki-im-ti-[šu] 21. as-su-ḫa-am-ma a-na mât Aššur

u-raš-šu. Šar-lu-dá-a-ri abal Ru-kib-ti šarru-šu-nu maḥ-ru-u íli nišî ír Is-ḳa-al-lu-na aš-kun-ma man-da-at-tu bîlû-ti-ja u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu. 22. I-na mi-ti-iḳ gir-ri-ja írî-šu ša a-na nîri-ja la ik-nu-šu ak-šu-da aš-lu-la šal-la-su-un. Av. šakkanakkî u nišî ír Am-ḳar-ru-na ša Pa-di-i šarra-šu-nu 23. bîl a-di-í ša mât Aššur bi-ri-tu parzilli id-du-ma a-na Ḥa-za-ḳi-a-u mât Ja-u-da-ai id-di-nu-[šu] a-na (ilu) ṣil-[li] í-sir-šu ip-laḥ [libbu-]šu-nu. Šarrî mât Muṣ-ri ummânât ḳašti, 24. narkabâti, sisî ša šar mât Mí-luḥ-ḥa í-mu-ki la ni-bi iḳ-tí-ru-ni; i-na ta-mir-ti ír Al-ta-ḳu-u it-ti-šu-un am-da-ḥi-iṣ*-ma aš-ta-kan apikta-šu-un. Bîl narkabâti 302
25. u ablî šarri Mu-ṣu-ra-ai a-di bîl narkabâti ša šar mât Mí-luḥ-ḥa bal-ṭu-su-un i-na ḳa-ti aṣ-bat. A-na ír Am-ḳar-ru-na [aḳ-rib-ma] šakkanakkî ša ḥi-iṭ-tu 26. u-šab-šu**-u i-na kakkî a-duk; ablî ír í-biš an-ni a-na šal-la-ti am-nu; si-it-tu-tí-šu-nu [ša ḳul-lu]l-ta-šu-un la ib-šu-u, [uš-šur-šu-un aḳ-bi]. Pa-di-i šarra-šu-nu 27. ul-tu ki-rib ír Ur-sa-li-im-ma u-šî-ṣa-am-ma, ina kussî íli-šu-un u-šî-šib-ma man-da-at-tav bí-lu-ti-ja u-kin ṣi-ru-uš-šu ša Ḥa-za-ḳi-a-u mât Ja-u-da-ai la ik-nu-šu 28. a-na ni-ri-ja

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* In the lithographed text there stands in place of the signs ḥi-iṣ the straggling sign ḳu. This, however, without doubt is owing to a misreading or to an error on the part of the scribe; comp. the parallel inscription.

** There stands in the text, probably only through an error of the editor, u-šab-lu-u; comp. the Taylor-inscription which contains the correct version.

XXXX. VI íri-šu bît dûrî dan-nu-ti u íri ša li-
ví-ti-šu-nu ša ni-ba la i-šu-u al-ví akšu-ud aš-
lu-la šal-la-tiš am-nu. Ša-šu [kima iṣṣur ḳu-
up-pi] ki-rib 29. ír Ur-sa-li-im-ma ír šarrû-ti-
šu í-sir-šu; ḥal-ṣu (Pl.) íli-šu u-rak-kis. I'rî-šu
ša aš-lu-la ul-tu ki-rib mâti-šu ap-tuḳ-ma a-na
šar[rî ír As-du-]di, ír Is-ḳa-al-lu-na, 30. ír Am-ḳar-
ru-na, ír Ḥa-zi-ti ad-din-šu u-ṣa-aḥ-[ḫir] mât-
su. I'-li bilti maḥ-ri-ti na-dan šat-ti-šu-un
man-da-at-tav u-rad-di-ma u-kin [ṣi-ru-uš-šu-
un. Šu-u] Ḥa-za-ḳi-a-u pul-ḫi mí-lam-mí 31.
bí-lu-ti-ja is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma, avíl U'r-bi u avíl
ṣabî-šu damḳûti ša a-na ki-rib ír Ur-sa-li-im-
ma ír šarrû-ti-šu u-ší-ri-bu-ma [ir-šu-u bi-la-
a-ti] it-ti XXX. bilat ḫurâṣi DCCC bilat kaspi
32. nin-šum-šu ni-ṣir-ti íkal-šu u banâti-šu
šikrîti íkal-šu avíl lub(?) aššâti lub(?) a-na
ki-rib Ninua u-ší-bi-lam-ma a-na na-dan man-
da-at-ti [iš-pu-ra rak-]bu-šu i.e.* 18. "In my third
303 campaign I marched to the land Chatti. Elulaeus, the
king of Sidon, the terror [of the majesty of my rule] over-
whelmed him. *From the midst of the Western country* he
flew *to the island of Cyprus* 19. in the midst of the sea; his
land I brought to subjection. I placed Ethobal on *his*
royal throne and the tribute of my rule I imposed on him.
The kings of the Western country together *presented* me
with rich *gifts* 20. *before the city of Ushû*. Zidkâ, however,
king of Ashkelon, who had not bowed himself beneath my
yoke: I carried the gods of his father's house, himself and

* The most important variants as compared with no. III (not including abbreviations and omissions) are indicated by italics.

hi[s] family 21. away, brought them to the land Assyria. Sarludâri, the son of Rukibti, their former king, I placed over the people of Ashkelon and imposed on him the tribute of my rule. 22. In the course of my warlike enterprise I took his towns which had not come under my subjection, carried away their spoil. The chief rulers and the people of Ekron, who had cast Padî, their king, 23. who had been faithful to Assyria, into iron bonds and had delivered over to Hezekiah of Juda (who in dark (prison) confined him): their heart feared. The kings of Aegypt, the archers, 24. the chariots, the horses of the king of Miluḫḫa, innumerable troops, they summoned to their aid. Before Altaḳû I fought with them and inflicted on them a defeat. The commander of chariots 25. and the sons of the Aegyptian king together with the commander of the chariots of the king of Miluḫḫa *I took prisoner with my hand* alive. Against the town Ekron [I advanced]; the highest officers, who had made insurrection, 26. I slew *with weapons*; the sons (inhabitants) of the city, who had perpetrated wickedness, I destined for transportation; the remaining 304
inhabitants [who] had done nothing [execra]ble [their amnesty I proclaimed]. I caused that Padî, their king, 27. might leave Jerusalem, placed him on the throne over them, imposed the tribute of my rule upon him. [It happened, however,] *that* Hezekiah of Juda 28. did not submit himself to me; so I besieged 46 of his towns, *fortified places*, and the towns, which lay in their territory without number, I captured them (and) carried their inhabitants away, declaring them to be spoil of war. Himself I shut [like a bird in the cage] 29. in Jerusalem, erected forts against him. His towns, whose inhabitants I carried away, I separated from his territory, gave them to the kings of [Ashdo]d,

Ashkelon, 30. Ekron (and) Gaza and so diminished his territory. To the former payment, their yearly gift, I added a tribute, imposed it upon them. Him, Hezekiah, there overpowered 31. the terror of the majesty of my dominion; the Arabs and his faithful followers whom he had taken *into his royal city* Jerusalem and to whom he [had granted payment], together with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, 32. *articles of every kind*, the *treasures* of his palace, as well as his daughters, his palace-wives, the male and female servants of the harem (?) I *carried away* to Niniveh. For the payment of the tribute [he sent] his [envoy]."

Notes and Illustrations. 18. Jatnan, Assyrian name of the island of Cyprus, see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforsch. pp. 242 foll. and comp. note on 2 Kings XXI. 1.—20. ubilûni Impf. Kal of אבל (יבל) "to bring" of which bilat (infin.) "payment of tribute" corresponds to the iššunumma, root נשא, in the parallel inscription.—25. Observe the change of construction in the two texts.—Respecting ḳa-ti (pronounced ḳatî) = "my hand", see Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinsch. p. 247 note 2.—32. nin-šum-šu, properly NIN. šum-su i. e. "object (Akkadian) name its" i. e. objects of every kind (Delitzsch). For the rest see remarks on no. III.

Pausing for a moment at the last two of these four ac-
305 counts, we clearly perceive, in the first place, that they (comp. no. III) fall into four sections, of which the first deals with the general subjugation of the Phoenician and Philistine towns; the second recounts the conquest of Zidḳâ of Ashkelon; the third describes to us the insurrection of the Ekronites, the help rendered by the kings of Aegypt and Aethiopia, their defeat at Altaḳû, the resulting overthrow of the rebellious Ekronites and the restoration of king Padî whom they had banished; lastly the fourth gives an account of Sanherib's expedition against Hezekiah and Jerusalem. We clearly see that the whole narrative

reaches its climax in the description of Sanherib's operation against Ekron and Aegypt. The enterprise conducted against Hezekiah forms to a certain extent only an episode in that campaign. The following is probably the right view of the facts. At the beginning of Sanherib's reign the desire was excited in the breasts of the kings of Kanaan, Philistia as well as Juda, who had remained since the time of Sargon under Assyrian supremacy, to free themselves from its oppressive yoke. To this end the kings of Sidon, Ashkelon and Juda concluded among themselves and with Aegypt and Aethiopia an alliance, which was joined by the inhabitants of Ekron, while in consequence of an old antagonism Ammon, Moab and Edom as well as others stood aloof, and rather placed themselves along with Arvad, Byblos, Ashdod and also Gaza upon the side of the Assyrians. Sanherib had evidently at an early date got wind of the scheme that was being planned against him, and surprised his foes before they were in a position to unite their forces. Thus Sidon and Ashkelon fell successively, and as nearly as possible Juda also. Sanherib was able without difficulty to reach Lakish in South-Philistia, where he made a halt (see no. 1), 306
in order to await the Aegyptians there. Probably he was withheld from advancing further by the fear of moving too far from his base of operations, and of leaving in his rear such important points as Ekron and Jerusalem. It was this very consideration that evidently impelled him, on the approach of the united forces of Aegypt and Aethiopia, to retire at once as far as Altaḳû, somewhere between Ekron and Timnath (see note on Josh. XIX. 44), in order to await the enemy there almost on the parallel of latitude running through Ekron and Jerusalem. According to Sanherib's account it appears as though this battle ended to

the advantage of the Assyrians. Thus the mention of the capture of the Aegyptian princes seems to imply that some sort of victory was won by Sanherib. But if it was actually a victory, it was at all events a very serious one—a Pyrrhus-victory. Hence it is that we have no statement of the number of prisoners that were taken, of chariots captured as trophies &c., details which as a rule are not omitted in accounts of their victories given by the Assyrians. Hence we find also that while the Great King was still able to subdue Ekron and to sack Timnath, perhaps an altogether defenceless town, he was on the other hand not in a position to assume the offensive against Aegypt and quite as little able to compel Jerusalem to surrender. His resolution to commence a definite retreat may have been finally adopted in consequence of an event such as Herodotus describes or such as the Bible hints at (chap. XIX. 35). Probably it was the latter, that is to say a pestilence that broke out in the army as the result of war.* By the retreat of the

* Wellhausen takes a different view of the matter (see Bleek's Einleitung in das Alte Testament 4th ed. pp. 256 foll.). He regards the battle at Eltekeh as "not an important event" and simply "an interlude in the siege of Ekron". According to Wellhausen, Sanherib's inscription was only speaking of the first and not of the last and decisive phase of the campaign, as would be clear from the locality. On the first point, as it relates to the statement in the text, I observe, in addition to other objections, that an event in which not only the Aegyptian and Aethiopian "commanders of the chariots" but also "the sons of the Aegyptian king" were taken prisoners, that a combat, which is also expressly characterized as a regular battle, certainly does not bear the appearance of an insignificant interlude. Moreover, if the second battle, to which the inscriptions make no reference whatever, had been a defeat of the Assyrians, they would scarcely have omitted simply to mention, at all events, that they advanced far into the South; especially as we clearly see from the Bible that the Assyrians were by no means quite humiliated in a military sense. Besides all

Assyrian Hezekiah was relieved from the close straits to which 307
he was reduced. We notice particularly in this episode of the campaign the endeavour, which is conspicuously evident in the narrative of the Assyrian, to give as respectable an appearance as possible to the miscarriage of his enterprise against Jerusalem. Contemptuous reference is made to Hezekiah's being shut up in Jerusalem by Sanherib like a bird in its cage. It is also specially remarked that he had compelled Hezekiah to deliver up Padî, had forced the Jewish king to pay a large sum of tribute, and lastly had received from him through an envoy a vow of submission. He does not intimate by the faintest syllable that he had 308
been obliged to retire from Jerusalem without effecting his object. And it is for this very reason that he purposely shifts the chronological order of events and ends with a reference to the rich tribute, as though this set the seal to the whole narrative. On the other hand we know from the Bible that this tribute was paid while the Great King was still residing at Lakish, i. e. before the battle at Altaḳû was fought (2 Kings XVIII. 14). Now from the Assyrian account it is quite clear that the chastisement of the rebellious Ekronites was subsequent to the battle of Altaḳû; also the restoration of Padî, who had been detained prisoner in Jerusalem,

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this, an absolute victory for the Aegyptians is scarcely probable, after the defeat sustained by them (as Wellhausen also admits) at Altaḳu had compelled them to retreat. And this supposition is still less probable when we observe, that neither in Herodotus nor in the Bible do we read of any noticeable *advance* on the part of the Aegyptians to the North-West *after the battle was won*, which we should certainly have expected. Is it then actually needful to suppose that there was either a second battle (Wellhausen), or that a second campaign took place ten years later, with which the first campaign was blended in the Biblical account (G. Rawlinson and others)? —

can only have occurred after the battle had been fought with the Aegyptians. Thus in all probability we must conceive the train of events to have occurred, as far as relates to Juda, in the following order. After the subjugation of Sidon and of the towns subject to Sidon extending as far as Akko, Sanherib marched further South against Ashkelon, at the same time detaching a corps to operate against Juda, probably on the road leading from Joppa to Jerusalem. This detachment swept over and pillaged the whole of Juda (2 Kings XVIII. 13, comp. Inscript. col. III. 12—17; see also note on Is. X. 28 foll.). In consequence of the delay in the arrival of the Aegyptians, Hezekiah begins to doubt the successful issue of his insurrection against Assyria, and sends to the Great King, who had meanwhile arrived at Lakish (verse 14), the tribute specified in this passage and further on in the inscription (see also below the remarks on 2 Kings XVIII. 14). At the same time, as we may conjecture, he sets king Padî at liberty, who had been delivered up to Hezekiah by the Ekronites (ofcourse previous to the arrival of Sanherib before Ekron, though perhaps only a very short time previously), and had been imprisoned by the Jewish king. To the Assyrian, however,
309 whose object must have been to have his rear covered as he advanced, it was of far more consequence than tribute that Hezekiah should form an alliance and place at his disposal the important fortress of Jerusalem. But Hezekiah would not hear of this. Perhaps he also entertained the fear that, when once the Great King was in possession of Jerusalem, his treason (for such was the revolt of Hezekiah in the eyes of the Assyrian) would not be allowed to pass unpunished. So the Great King despatched from Lakish a more powerful army ("a great army", verse 17) straight against

Jerusalem. This was evidently a last energetic attempt on the part of the king to bring the rebellious vassal to obedience, dictated by the anxiety he felt about his unprotected rear, on receipt of the intelligence that the great Aegyptian army was approaching. But on the other hand this very circumstance evidently emboldened Hezekiah to hold out bravely. So this last attempt of the Great King also remained unsuccessful. Perhaps even before the battle of Altaḳû, or else certainly soon after that event, Sanherib withdrew his corps from Juda in order that it might join him in the final retreat. Thus Jerusalem was delivered.*

* The above description rests on the presumption of the essential unity of the account 2 Kings XVIII. 13—XIX, 37, and on the connection of that narrative with the parallel cuneiform account on the cylinder of Sanherib. Recently, however, objections and doubts have been repeatedly raised against the integrity of the Biblical record. These deal with the question whether the sections chap. XVIII. 13—16 and chap. XVIII. 17—XIX, 37, which immediately follows, originally stood thus connected together. P. Kleinert especially, in Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken, 1877, I, pp. 167 foll., has put forward and endeavoured to sustain the view, that the passage chap. XVIII. 14—16 has no reference to the campaign of Sanherib, but refers to that of Sargon. The name of the king (Sanherib) he supposes to have been the arbitrary addition of the redactor. Thus the extract alludes to the time of the Assyrian invasion of Palestine in the ninth year of Sargon's reign, on which occasion the important event was the taking of Ashdod. But quite apart from the fact that, as is shown in the remarks on Is. XXII, no mention is made of a campaign against Juda as occurring during the military enterprise of Sargon, it is to be observed that the distinct statements respecting the sending of tribute, respecting its amount as well as the spot where the embassy was received, Lakish, XVIII, 14. 16, agree so remarkably with the cuneiform record relating to Sanherib, that it is scarcely possible to regard the above hypothesis as very probable. We put on one side the chronological difficulties which it does not diminish but only aggravates; on this subject comp. Nowack in Studien und Kritiken 1881 pp. 300 foll. especially p. 302.—Respecting the kindred view of Wellhausen that

310 We see that the Assyrian record agrees admirably with the Biblical narrative and serves to supplement as well

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in the section XVIII, 14—16 and the section XVIII. 17 foll. we have the accounts of two different stages of the *same* campaign, I have already spoken above on p. 300. Victor Floigl in 'Die Chronologie der Bibel' Leipzig 1880 pp. 28 foll., and in 'Cyrus und Herodot' Leipzig 1881 pp. 169 foll. regards the narrative, verses 14—16, as the only authentic one; and the other account, XVIII. 13. 17—XX. 19, as legendary, which, from its allusion to the deportation to Babylon (XX. 17), can only have been the redaction of older material carried out during the Exile. Observing the omission of the passage XVIII. 14—16 in Isaiah XXXVI—XXXIX, he considers the two narratives to be two accounts of the same transaction, composed independently of one another. Comp. Nowack *ibid.* who adduces further arguments for this opinion, which he also holds, viz. *first*, that, as Kuenen has already shown, in the section 2 Kings XVIII. 14—16 we only find the form חזקיה, whereas in the other XVIII. 13. 17—XX we have only the other form חזקיהו (the latter occurs also in Is. XXXVI—XXXIX); *second*, that the passage verses 14—16, describing the despatch of envoys to Lakish and the payment of tribute, is wanting in Isaiah XXXVI as well as in 2 Chron. XXXII. From this Nowack concludes that the section XVIII. 13. 17—XX. 19 was adopted from a third source, which was common to the author of the Books of Kings and to the redactor of the Book of Isaiah. The first point, namely that the section, verses 14—16, stands separate, I would not dispute; but I absolutely deny that it has been inserted as an *addendum* into the complete narrative 2 Kings XVIII. 13. 17—XX. 19 (= Is. XXXVI—IX) as it stands in its original form in the Book of Isaiah. It is impossible that 2 Kings XVIII. 17 foll. can have followed immediately after *ibid.* verse 13. In verse 17 Lakish is spoken of as the temporary halting place of the king, just as though this had been previously referred to, as is actually the case in the section 14—16, but not in verse 13. Moreover it is clear from XIX, 8b that the phrase מִן־לָכִישׁ in verse 17 is no gloss from the pen of the redactor. Again, the emphatic expression "*all* the towns of Juda" is not easily intelligible, when afterwards we are at once informed that the same Assyrians had virtually *begged* to obtain possession of the important city of Jerusalem. But this emphatic word "all" is quite in place, when afterwards we are told that in consequence of this fact, the capture of all the fortified towns of Juda, Hezekiah in alarm seeks to obtain his favour and condescends

confirm it in the most satisfactory manner. I can therefore 311
only regard the theory of the two Rawlinsons as erroneous,
in which they endeavour to distinguish between a "first" 312
successful campaign of Sanherib, and a second later campaign which turned out unfavourably, because in the "first" invasion he speaks of a victory and not of a defeat sustained in battle with the Aegyptians.* There is absolutely

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to the payment of tribute. The fact that nevertheless subsequently the Assyrian despatches an army to Jerusalem to urge the surrender of that important stronghold is not at all inconsistent with the previous payment of tribute by the Jew. The circumstances had in the meantime altered: the Aegyptians had come in sight. Sanherib must therefore have been very anxious for the possession of Jerusalem and hence the attempt to induce the king by means of the military demonstration to surrender the fortress (comp. the text). Again we have by no means any right to infer that because the passage XVIII. 14—16 is missing in the Book of Isaiah (as well as in the Chronicles) it was therefore a later interpolation, or that both passages, that in Isaiah and that in the Book of Kings, were borrowed from a third common source (Nowack, Floigl). The omission of the passage verses 14—16, which had previously occupied a place in this entire section (2 Kings XVIII—XX. Is. XXXVI—XXXIX), is to be explained in the same way as the ornate silence of the Chronicler respecting the actual capture of Judaean towns by the Assyrian (2 Kings XVIII. 13; Is. XXXVI. 1) and the transformation of this fact into the deliberate though unrealized *intention* of the Assyrians to do this: "and he (Sanherib) encamped against the fortified towns and *purposed* to open them to his entry" וַיֹּאמֶר לִבְקָעָם אֵלָיו (2 Chron. XXXII. 1)! Just as, in this case, the fact that the Judaean towns were conquered by the Assyrian is passed over in silence *in majorem Judaeorum gloriam*, so similarly the redactor of the Book of Isaiah withholds from his readers the fact of the Jewish king's humiliation and his payment of tribute.—The answer to the further question, respecting the origin of the passage (2 Kings XVIII. 14—16) under consideration, is altogether independent of the above result. On the relation of 2 Kings XVIII. 13—XX. 19 to Is. XXXVI—XXXIX, as well as the relation of the Chronicler to the canonical Book of Kings, consult de Wette-Schrader, Einleitung ins Alte Testament 8th ed. §§ 260, 221 note, 231.

* See Sir Henry Rawlinson in G. Rawlinson's History of Herodotus

no space in the Biblical record for this subsequent campaign. It is at Lakish (where Sanherib is supposed by Rawlinson to have held his court during his second expedition against Aegypt) that we already find the Great King at the very time when he was receiving the tribute from Hezekiah (2 Kings XVIII. 14), that is, according to Rawlinson, during the first campaign. Yet it is hardly to be supposed that Sanherib on both occasions made exactly the same spot his head-quarters, and also that Hezekiah despatched envoys to him both times just at the moment when the Great King was staying at this place, no earlier and no later! Besides, Sanherib in his military records says not a syllable about this second campaign against Syria. If the second campaign actually occurred, this silence
313 would be altogether incomprehensible, because something by way of glorification might undoubtedly have been reported by the Great King of an invasion that could extend close up to the Aegyptian frontier. And lastly, as we have already shown, those who can read between the lines can perceive from the narrative of the Great King with tolerable clearness, that the success of his enterprise against Aegypt was no very striking one.* Why should we then

II ed. London 1862 Vol. 1 p. 393, and G. Rawlinson, The Five Great monarchies 2nd ed. Vol. II p. 165; comp. above 306 foll. note. [J. Oppert in his Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Égypte et de l'Assyrie dans l'antiquité p. 22 foll. maintains the view that is held by Dr. Schrader, that the events described in the Old Testament and the cuneiform inscriptions refer to a single campaign, as opposed to Rawlinson's theory of two campaigns.—Translator.]

* In this connection I would draw attention to the fact that Sanherib in his triumphal inscriptions refers to the payment of tribute by Hezekiah and to that king's position as a vassal (comp. for example the inscription of Constantinople I Rawl. 43 line 15; see above on 1 Kings XIV. 21), but that he makes no mention of the victory over

assume a second and special Syro-Aegyptian expedition conducted by Sanherib, about which both Assyrian and Biblical sources of information say not a single word?

In conclusion, a few words on the *date* of the king's Palestinian campaign. According to the Canon of Rulers, Sanherib began his reign in the year 705. Accordingly the campaign must have fallen subsequent to this year. We have no means, however, of directly fixing its date. Thus 314
Sanherib's cylinder, which narrates this campaign, does not detail his military expeditions according to the years of the king's reign, as is done, for instance, by the obelisk-inscription of Salmanassar II, and by the annals of Tiglath-Pileser II and of Sargon. Instead of this, like Asurbanipal's great inscription, it relates the deeds of the king in "campaigns", Assyr. girru or girû (see above). These accounts commence in each case with the words:—Ina šânî or šalši &c. girrija "in my second, third &c. campaign". There are altogether eight campaigns which are reported in this way. But the inscription does not in-

Aegypt, which he would scarcely have omitted to do if that victory at Altaḳû had really been a glorious one. G. Smith, in Lepsius' Zeitschrift 1870 p. 40, brings forward as an argument in favour of the hypothesis of a double Syro-Palestinian campaign the circumstance, that Sanherib in his "first" expedition mentions a certain Malikram as king of Edom (Taylor-Cylinder col. II), while Asarhaddon (Cylind. col. II. 55 foll.) speaks of Ḥazailu as an Edomite king conquered by Sanherib. According to Smith, this points to a second and later campaign of the Assyrian monarch. But I cannot regard this as forming any evidence, because Asarhaddon in the above passage does not refer at all to "Edom" (Udumu) but rather to a town Adumû in the land Aribi, which is always perfectly distinct from Edom in the inscriptions. We are familiar with other instances of cities possessing this name, comp. אַדְמָה Gen. X. 19; אֲדָמָה Josh. XIX. 36 (while we have אַדָמִי in verse 33).

form us in the least, in what year or years of the king's reign these particular campaigns occurred. It is merely from the fact that in the subscription I Rawl. 42 line 74 the date is given as that of the archonship of Bĭl-ímur-a-ni* i. e. the 15th year of the king's reign, that we are
315 enabled to conclude that the campaigns must have certainly taken place in the first 14 or 15 years of Sanherib's reign at the earliest; and, since we may conjecture that not more than one expedition was made in every year, there is every probability that the Syro-Aegyptian war did not occur before the third year of the king's reign i. e. not earlier than 703 B. C. We are also in possession of evidence that this war did not take place before the fourth year of the king's reign. Now in this fourth year, i. e. in the archonship of Nabû-lih, there was inscribed, according to the Bellino-cylinder Grotef. line 1, the inscription named after that cylinder. We there read: I šušši III. TA. A. AN. mu-kal mu-sar-í. Araḫ si-bu-ti. Lim-mu Nabû-lih ša-laṭ ír Ir-

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* We have also a Bĭl-ímur-ani as eponym of the 20th year; see at the end of this work. The name is written in its middle portion with the signs ŠI. LAL for which according to III Rawl. 1. col. V, 12 (Var.) we have to substitute the phonetic form í-mur.—I append the entire subscription which runs as follows: Ina araḫ Adar . . . ûm XX. limu Bĭl-ímur-a-ni šalaṭ ír Gar-ga-mis i. e. "in the month Adar, on the 20th; Archonship of Bĭlímurani, viceroy of Karkemish". The word limu is obscure as to its origin. It seems probable that we should connect it with the Assyrian word li-i-mu = lîmu which occurs in II Rawl. 29, 74 as synonym of kimtu "family", so that it signified that a particular year "belonged" to this or that archon. Yet this conjecture is far from certain. Šalaṭ (= שַׁלַּט) is written ideographically with the signs I'N. NAM. The phonetic value of these signs is determined by a comparison of Smith's Assurb. 316, 112 (ša-laṭ) with ibid. line 6 (here aníl NAM) and also with the subscription to the Bellino-cylinder communicated above, where we likewise find the phonetic form ša-laṭ.

ba-an i. e. "63* the total of the lines.** The seventh month, archonship of Nabûlih, viceroy of Irban." The Nabûlih here mentioned is according to the Canon of Rulers (see at the end of this work, Vol. II p. 477 Germ. pag.) the archon in the fourth year of Sanherib's reign. The cylinder was therefore constructed in Sanherib's fourth year. Now we here find an account of the first and second campaign of Sanherib, also called on the Taylor-cylinder the first and second; of the third or Syro-Aegyptian campaign we read not a word, nor indeed of any later expedition. Accordingly it is certain that at the time when this cylinder was inscribed, the third campaign had not yet taken place. It follows that this military enterprise was not untertaken till the fourth year of Sanherib's reign, i. e. not till after 702 B. C. Lastly, we gather from the Ptolemaic canon that Belibus attained the throne of Babylon in the year 702. Sanherib, 316
according to his own inscription (see the passage below in the comment. on 2 Kings XX. 12), in his first campaign appointed him king of Babel. Now between the elevation of Belibus to the throne and the Aegypto-Judaean campaign, Sanherib's third, there still intervened a second directed against an Eastern people. But the Aegyptian campaign would scarcely have taken place in the same year as the above. We thus come to the year 701 as the earliest date for the extensive military expedition of which we are speaking. On the other hand, we cannot fix on a later date than the year 700 for the following reasons:—In the subsequent year 699 we find Aparanadius = Asordanius = Ašur-

* Probably "a Soss (= 60) and three (šalaš-tu)" i. e. 63.

** We may add that the cylinder contains 63 lines, just as the superscription states.

nâdin-šum (see the remarks on chap. XX. 12) marked down in the Ptolemaic canon as the king of Babylon. But according to the Taylor-cylinder (see below) this king was raised to the Babylonian throne in Sanherib's fourth campaign following upon his third, against Aegypt. Now we also learn from a fragment that has meanwhile been discovered of the Canon of Rulers (Smith in Lepsius' Zeitschrift 1870 p. 38) that Sanherib's fourth campaign and his second expedition against Babylonia took place during the archonship of Mitunu, i. e. in the sixth year of the Great King's reign or 700 B. C., after the conclusion of which expedition he installed Ašur-nâdin as viceroy of Babel. Thus the Palestinian campaign can only have taken place in the preceding year i. e. 701. This line of reasoning has lately been established by the still unedited clay cylinder of Sanherib no. 79 (7/8), which Rassam brought with him from Niniveh. In the superscription it appears dated with the eponym of "Mitunu of the town Isana" (li-mu Mi-tu-nu ír I-sa-
317 na) i. e. in the year 700. At the same time it mentions as a *last* event the third campaign of the Great King, i. e. his expedition against Phoenicia-Palestine. Therefore for this campaign the only date which remains possible is the year 701.

against all fortified cities (בְּצוּרוֹת) *of Juda.* In the Assyrian inscription we have the corresponding phrase írâni dannûti (Taylor-cyl. col. III. 13).

and took possession of them (וַיִּתְפְּשֵׂם). Comp. the Assyrian alví akšud *ibid.* col. III, 17.

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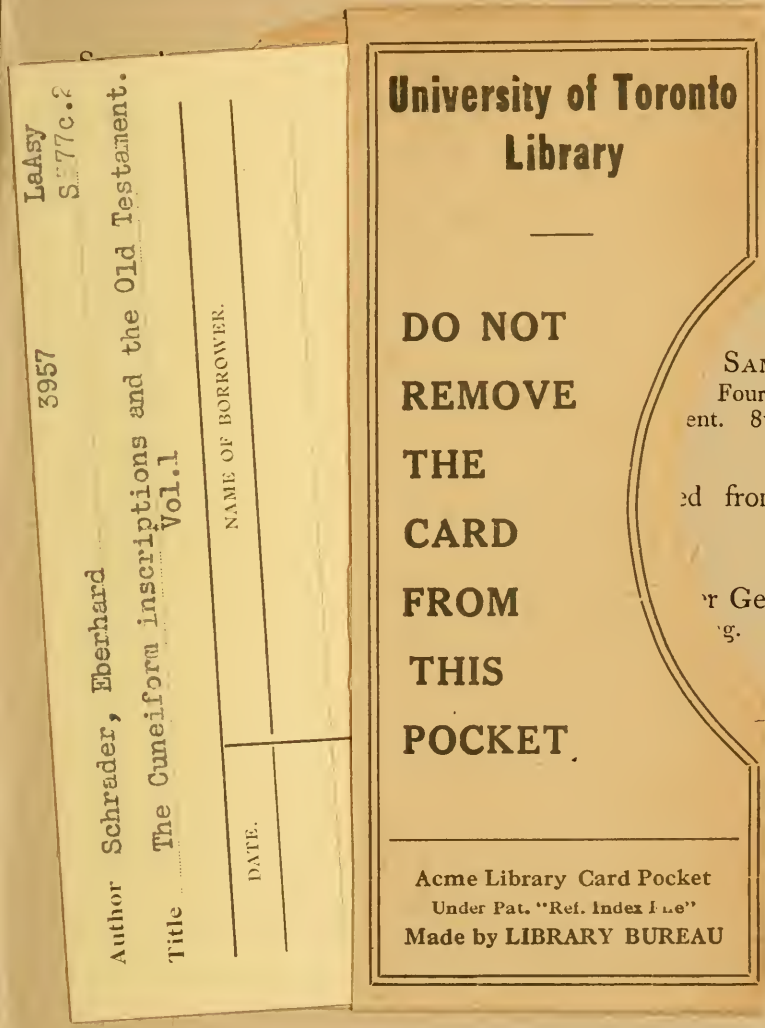

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