

ISRAEL'S
ACCOUNT
OF THE
BEGINNINGS

WALTER M. PATTON, Ph.D., D.D.



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ISRAEL'S
ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

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CONTAINED IN GENESIS I—XI

By

WALTER M. PATTON, Ph.D., D.D.

Professor of Biblical Literature and History of Religion
in Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.



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PREFACE

The purpose of the present work is to meet the needs of such as desire to understand the argument of the Hebrew writers in the first eleven chapters of the Book of Genesis. To attain this end a paraphrase of the text based upon a comparison of the Hebrew original has been largely used, and free comment on the story told by the paraphrase has been employed to draw out the implications of the writer's narrative. In the notes related to the page of text some matters of essential importance are discussed. To have thrown such discussions into the text would in most instances have obscured the continuity of thought.

Historical interpretation of the thought of the Bible with special reference to the narratives as literary wholes is distinctly the aim of this book. It has been prepared for use in college classes, either as a basis for recitation and discussion, or to accompany lectures developing more fully the themes presented. Those who will study in college the Hebrew account of the Beginnings will include many who are not familiar with the literary problems connected with the Biblical text. For the sake of these, a summary statement of conclusions which have been reached in the literary study of the Hexateuch is given. Many are also unfamiliar with the relation of these early narratives to the other and later parts of the Biblical History; they are equally uninformed, perhaps, as to the world of the Hebrews in which these early scenes

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are laid. To provide for such needs, some pages have been given to questions of a general character in relation to Hebrew history. From these pages it will appear that this volume is designed to be the first instalment of a series covering the History of Israel's life and literature to the year 79 A. D. In so far as this plan may be realized, the special purpose to unfold the argument of the Biblical writers and the other Jewish writers will not be lost sight of. The purpose to serve college students particularly, while keeping in view others interested in ancient Israel, will also not be forgotten.

Naturally, originality has been no part of the essential aim. The faults of the book are probably original; its good is not, though those to whom debt is due cannot always be specified.

In conclusion, acknowledgments are due to President Donald J. Cowling of Carleton College for his courtesy in reading the manuscript and offering valuable criticism upon its contents.

W. M. P.

*Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
February, 1915.*

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTORY

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INTRODUCTORY

i. THE SOURCES OF HEBREW HISTORY

Native Sources These fall into two classes, those provided by native authorities and those provided by outside authorities. In the former class are to be placed the canonical books of the Old Testament and the New Testament, the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature of the Old Testament and, in a few instances, the Apocryphal books of the New Testament, as well. In addition, there are the works of the Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, who was an active participant in the events of the Jewish war 66-70 A. D.¹

External Sources In the second class of sources there fall the record of non-Jewish historians preserved in Josephus and in Eusebius; the references in the classical historians such as Herodotus, Tacitus, Diodorus Siculus, and Suetonius; the record found in inscriptions discovered in Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, Syria, and, to a small extent, in Palestine itself.

Archaeological Remains Outside of all these is the testimony which archaeological research affords for reconstructing the life of Israel at different stages in her history.

ii. CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY

Apologetic Motive The native sources which have been named above, sometimes in spite of explicit profession to the contrary, are colored by an apologetic motive. The writers have been more

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concerned with the exposition and vindication of religion than with the orderly presentation of the life and thought of a people. As other materials are quite inadequate for even the slightest sketch of Israel's history, the inevitable result is that the modern historian who has to depend on sources supplied by Israel herself is obliged in spite of himself to write what is as much a history of a national religion as that of the people itself. Moreover, the habit of interpreting events according to accepted theological principles is so largely present, in the Old Testament especially, that a just estimate of what actually occurred demands the most thoroughgoing application of critical principles, both literary and historical.

Such Motive
Implies Re-
moteness
from Events

There is a corollary of this statement of the apologetic motive in the writing of history which has a serious bearing upon the reliability of the account given: the inclination to employ events for dogmatic ends presupposes some little remove in time from the events concerned; though in a time when the dogmatic interest is supreme we may find theologians interpreting even current happenings according to their ruling interest. In the Old Testament the rule that the apologist stands remote from the facts he construes seems to prevail and dictates caution to the historical student.

Such Motive
Implies the
Use of Myth
and Legend

In the accounts given of primitive times the Old Testament makes free use of myth and legend, the former to set forth Divine action, the latter to set forth human action. In some cases of this kind the historian may find adumbration or suggestion of facts of which he should take account.²

The history to be written is largely a history of

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religion. Its sources have a particular interest as affording a series of special views of religion held by many different authorities. These views, with the literary form in which they are set forth and the self-disclosure of the authors which they bring, form a subject of study in the progress of the history. Conditions and events furnish interpretative perspective for the study of the literature, and the thoughts expressed in the literature in their turn lend a useful commentary on the movement of the outward life. The history of religion and events is a history of thought and literature as well.

**The Sources
Have Interest
as Special
Presentations
of Religion**

In the Old Testament there is incorporated, as might be expected in a body of "canonical" writings, a great deal of historical material bearing upon the history of institutions, both civil and religious. The institution is a trustworthy index to the more conservative thought and religious attitude of a people as a whole. It is not an individual expression as a work of literature generally is. The importance of taking account of the growth of institutions, such as the monarchy or the priesthood, is augmented when it is recalled that precisely at this point is there available an abundance of suggestive illustration afforded by the records of other peoples and by the discoveries which archaeological exploration has made in the Holy Land and elsewhere.

In the course of one's review of a people's life its place in the history of the world should be made plain. The people itself will be better understood if its ethnographical affiliations are presented; and the people's history will be more intelligible when the parallel history of those peoples who participated in it is studied.

**The Study of
Contemporary
History**

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Furthermore, if out of the movement of the nation's life there may have arisen some conspicuously significant phenomenon, as, for example, Christianity out of Judaism, which yet cannot be considered as a part of the task falling to the historian of Israel, it will be necessary to note the emergence of such a factor and to indicate as far as possible the preparation for it by forces at work within Israel.

The Study of
Derivative
Movements

iii. THE EPOCHS OF THE HISTORY

In the historical scheme of the Old Testament there is an attempt to isolate a few great pregnant facts. The three greatest of these are: the Exodus, the Founding of the Kingdom, the Babylonian Captivity. The first event marked the birth of Israel as a people; with the second began the political significance of Israel as an organized state; the third gave the occasion for the transformation of Israel into a religious community or church. Connected with these epochs are three great representative leaders of distinctive type: Moses a man of essentially prophetic spirit; David, the king; Ezra, the priest and scribe. Thus, four great divisions appear in the History of Israel: I. The Pre-Mosaic Period. II. From Moses to the Judges. III. The Hebrew Monarchy. IV. The Jewish people after the Return from Babylonia.

Subdivisions. Period I. In the pre-Mosaic period there are two sub-divisions: (a) the History of the World and Mankind, culminating in the Deluge and the new human race; (b) the History of the Ancestors of Israel, beginning with Abraham and ending with

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Joseph and the migration of Jacob and his sons to Egypt.

Period II. In the second period, from Moses to the founding of the Monarchy there are, once more, two divisions: (a) the Founding of Israel, embracing the entire activity of Moses; (b) the Occupation by Israel of their heritage in the Land of Canaan, embracing the work of Joshua and the hero-deeds of the Judges.

Period III. In the period of the Monarchy the same two-fold division may be made: (a) the United Kingdom of Saul, David, and Solomon; (b) the Divided Kingdom (with Judah alone existing after 721 B. C.).

Period IV. In the Post-Exilic period, or that of the Jewish church, it is customary to recognize a Persian age, a Greek age, a Hasmonean age of Jewish independence, and a Roman age. This mode of division is based upon the accident of change in political control and does not necessarily mark any material modification of the character or active life of the people. The whole period is characterized by the increasing power of the scribes, but one marked development divides it into two parts and in itself points to a definite change in the life of Judaism: the growth of the Hellenistic movement with the endeavor of Antiochus Epiphanes to make it completely successful. This suggests that we should divide the period into: (a) the age of Ezran legalism, continuing long enough to see the prophetic Books of the Old Testament set apart and the work of Ben Sira written; (b) the Hellenistic age in which Judaism was divided into two camps according to the favor or disfavor shewn toward Greek thought and modes of life.

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We shall follow in our treatment of the history of Israel a division based upon this logical order of periods.

Book I. *The Early History of Israel:*

Div. I. The Pre-Mosaic Period.

Sec. i. The Story of the Primitive World.

Sec. ii. The Ancestors of Israel.

Div. II. The Period from Moses to the Judges.

Sec. i. The Founding of Israel.

Sec. ii. The Conquest of the Land of Canaan.

Book II. *The History of the Hebrew State:*

Sec. i. The History of the United Kingdom.

Sec. ii. The History of the Divided Kingdom.

Sec. iii. The History of the Captivity.³

Book III. *The History of the Jews as a Religious Community:*

Sec. i. The Age of Legalism.

Sec. ii. The Rise and Growth of Hellenism.

(a) The Independent Jewish State.

(b) The History of the Roman Control.

The Chronology of the Periods. For the time before Moses there are no data available for a trustworthy chronology. The Exodus falls in a time of disorder in both Egypt and Palestine corresponding to the date of the Philistine occupation of the southern part of the Maritime Plain, below Carmel. The date suggested is between 1250 and 1150 B. C. The establishment of the Monarchy in Israel may be placed at circa 1050 B. C.; the Captivity is fixed at 586 B. C.

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In the Jewish period after the Exile there are several conspicuous events. The age of reconstruction extends from 538 B. C. to about the era of the Greek conquest of Persia in 331 B. C.; Hellenism worked from that date onward as a silent leaven among the Jews, until under Antiochus Epiphanes it became a factor in the public policy of the king, who sought to impose it on the Jews by force, 170-164 B. C. From this time on Hellenism was the pivotal factor around which Jewish life turned. The new Jewish state of the Hasmonean princes lasted from 164 B. C. to the Roman Conquest under Pompey in 63 B. C. The Roman control extended from 63 B. C. to 70 A. D., when the Jewish nationality was shattered by the capture and destruction of the Holy City.

iv. THE WORLD OF ISRAEL

We have from an earlier writer, or writers, of the 8th century B. C.⁴ a sketch of the world and its peoples as far as these were then known. The geographical knowledge of that time conceived of the continent of Africa as limited to the north-eastern corner of the Africa known to us and as surrounded by an arm of the great world-river. Arabia similarly was surrounded by another arm of the world-stream, while the Tigris and Euphrates, which formed the two remaining arms, bounded Assyria. Peoples south of Ethiopia, north of the Caucasus, east of the highlands of Media and Elam, and north and west of the Balkans and the Alps seem to have been out of the range of the Hebrew's vision in the 8th century B.C.

In a later list of peoples and countries⁵ there is a more specific knowledge of the regions covered by the

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older list and a somewhat more extended view as well. The writer includes among the "sons" of Greece Tarshish which has been identified with Tartessus in southern Spain.

V. THE PEOPLES RELATED TO ISRAEL

There was among the Hebrews a sense of intimate relationship to certain peoples, some of whom were their neighbors, while others were located at a greater distance. The Arabian tribes were felt to be kindred of the Hebrews in a specially close degree. The Syrian peoples were also more closely related to them than others. Assyria and the adjacent lands contained populations which were but a little farther removed than these Syrian peoples in kinship. The Canaanites of the seaboard, whose commercial relations with Egypt and Africa were both ancient and constant, were ethnographically connected with the Hamitic races by the genealogers⁶ though by speech and physical type they were Semites.⁷

The Old Testament does not shew any great knowledge of the peoples to whom Israel stood related, nor is the history of these peoples even at the times when it bears upon the career of the Hebrews at all familiarly known. It is difficult to conceive that writers in contemporary touch with events should not more fully understand the movements of world history in which their nation shared. Remoteness of the writers in time, and oftentimes in place as well, from the actual scene is the sufficient explanation of this defect in the historical sections of the Hebrew record. In the case of the prophetic writings, there is a juster apprecia-

Knowledge
of Contempo-
rary Peoples

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tion of the general movement of history, but there is much to be desired even there. The prophet is a dogmatist who sees in the acts of the nations illustrations of his dogmas and cares little for the motives of these acts which are professed by these nations themselves. The widest vision of the prophetic seers, moreover, covers but a fraction of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The world of Israel was a very small world after all.

The Semitic Peoples. These include a number of closely related races occupying the extreme southwestern part of the continent of Asia from the Persian Gulf and the mountains east of the Tigris to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. In the migrations of the human family they are relatively late-comers who when they arrived found the heart of the Asiatic continent held in possession by others and thus were able to obtain a foothold only in the less desirable lands lying about the Syrian Desert. They are more closely related to the ancient populations of Egypt and North Africa than to the Aryan and Mongol races of Asia. This, with their geographical location, makes it probable that in Africa a primitive mother-race of both Hamites and Semites existed,⁸ and that as a section of this older race migrated into Arabia it there developed the special character which is connoted by the term Semitic.

Arabia is the cradle-land of the Semites as such. Thence, by routes which have been paths of migration from the remotest antiquity, separate movements of the original Semitic group passed on to the north and to the east.

What has been said will help us to understand the sense of relationship which the Hebrew people felt toward the peoples of Arabia. But the Hebrews

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had also a lively feeling of kinship toward the Arameans of Syria. This is explained by a secondary impulse of migration which has from very early times been carrying Semites out of the lower valley of the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and even back into Arabia by way of this northern route. For all the traditional connection of the Hebrews with the Arabian tribes, their linguistic affiliations are rather toward the Aramean peoples and the ancient Semitic civilizations of the great valley drained by the Euphrates and the Tigris. The derivation of the Hebrew people as generally given by their historians is from Aram-Naharaim or Mesopotamia, but there is at the same time a consciousness of an older and more remote derivation from the region of southern Babylonia.⁹

The Semitic
Type

Despite the influences which have served to destroy the purity of the original mother type and language the members of the Semitic family have still in common a distinct physical character and a speech which amid all the variations of dialects has its general features that belong to all alike and mark them off from other groups of peoples.

To the Semitic group belong the Arabs, the Ethiopian peoples of Abyssinia, the Canaanite races of Palestine, the Aramean peoples, and the Assyro-Babylonian populations of the Tigris-Euphrates country.

The Mutual
Relations of
the Semitic
Dialects

The differences between the Semitic dialects of the ancient world is not greater than that existing today between two members of the Romance group of languages, say, between Italian and French.¹⁰ The Hebrew dialect belongs to the Canaanite division of the Semitic family, which includes the Phoenicians,

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the Canaanite peoples of the interior of Palestine, and the Ammonites and Moabites to the east of the river Jordan and the Dead Sea. The variations of speech within the Canaanite division were not greater than those which we may find existing among sections of the English speaking race.¹¹ As far as we are able to trace it back, the Hebrew language is seen to be always essentially the same tongue. When we first meet with it, there are present evidences of long contact with alien peoples. The inflections have been largely sacrificed; the syntax has become loose; the vocabulary contains foreign elements. The dialect has travelled a long way from its primitive purity.¹²

The Hebrew
Tongue

vi. THE LAND OF ISRAEL

Ideally, the boundaries of the Israelite heritage were from the river Euphrates to the river of Egypt (mod. Wady el-Arish). In point of fact, Israel only for one or two brief periods ever exercised control over so wide a territory. It is possible that in the days of David and Solomon and, again, in the palmy days of Jeroboam II and Uzziah, so wide a dominion may have been enjoyed by these kings, but the existence of Aramean states independent of Israel located in the Lebanons and eastward to the Euphrates is almost certain for the second of these two periods. The real scene of Israel's activities in the Old Testament period was on the west of the Jordan, between the southern boundary of the country of Hamath and the northern boundary of Edom at Beersheba and on the east from Mount Hermon in the north to the river Arnon in the south. This region was in its greatest length about 260 miles in extent and in its

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greatest breadth about 100 miles. In extent it equalled about half the area of Great Britain or about the whole area of Maine.

Lack of Seaports Excepting during brief intervals in the days of the Hasmonean independence, Israel had no good seaport in Palestine,¹³ and as a result never became in the Biblical period a great commercial people. The Phoenicians controlled the Maritime Plain north of Carmel and the portion south of Carmel was at first in the hands of the Philistines and later in those of the Arab-Aramean settlers who had made their way into the plain during the unsettled times following the downfall of Judah in 586 B. C.

The River Jordan There are certain other features of the Land of Israel which had much to do with the character of the people and the nature of their history. The river Jordan isolated to a considerable extent the population of the Land of Gilead and the Land of Bashan from the people occupying the country to the west of that river. The population of the eastern section had a character different in a measure from that of western Palestine. Moreover, when Aramean immigrants were crowding into the trans-Jordanic region the river stayed the advance westward for a time.¹⁴

The Carmel Range The transverse mountain range of Carmel also served to determine history in certain ways. The region to the north of Carmel was traversed by strangers passing to and fro in the business of trade or war; that to the south knew little of such going and coming.¹⁵ In time, the northern country came to bear the significant name "The Galil of the nations," "the Foreign District."¹⁶ When the real Israel is referred to in earlier writings,¹⁷

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a name is often employed which points suggestively to the hill and valley country reaching northward toward Carmel: Israel is "Ephraim" and his home is in the "Mountain of Ephraim," especially.

The Central Mountain Range Everywhere the central mountain range serves to separate Israel, who dwell in the midst of it, from the life of the lower levels stretching westward to the Mediterranean Sea. Phoenicians and Philistines live a life apart from Israel, much as do Moab and Ammon on the farther side of the Jordan. Judah, in particular, is shut off among her mountains,¹⁸ and, until led astray by her false political ambitions, knew little of the life of the world at large. It is particularly in the mountainous, broken region of Judah that conservatism in religion flourishes. Religion itself is a conservative factor, and Judah is preeminently the religious section of Israel. Politically, Judah had little opportunity. It had small room for population and limited national resources. It had, on the other hand, in its difficult routes of approach and in its strategic strongholds natural aids to defence. In fact, the successes achieved by the military leaders of Judah's history are due to the character of the country rather than to the forces in operation.

The Names of the Land The two names which are generally applied to the country are Canaan and Palestine, but each of these denotes a larger region than that occupied by the Hebrew tribes. Canaan in the Old Testament most frequently implies the country west of the Jordan, e. g., in Josh. 22 : 9ff, but is also used of the west and east together (Josh. 11 : 3). In every case it must be understood as including the country of the Philistines and Phoenicia. Indeed, in the Old Testament, as in Egyptian

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usage, the term has a particular and perhaps primary reference to Phoenicia (Zech. 14 : 21, and, possibly, in the lists of peoples which originate in the 8th century and later, e. g., Gen. 10 : 15). Palestine is a derivative from the Greek adjective corresponding to the noun Philistia. It did not come into use until shortly before the Christian Era and is first met with in the writings of Josephus.¹⁹ Its more immediate application was to the Philistine plain bordering upon the Mediterranean. This usage continued through the period of Roman rule to about as late as the 4th century A. D.,²⁰ when under Diocletian the name²¹ is understood in a wider application and includes the region south of Lebanon as far as the borders of the desert of Sinai and eastward so far as to take in the ancient lands of Gilead and Moab.²²

vii. PRE-ISRAELITE CANAAN

Prehistoric
Peoples

Within the Old Testament there are allusions to peoples of entirely different origin and speech from Israel: Zuzim, Zamzummim, Emim, Anakim, Rephaim, Horites, Avvim. Of these terms Rephaim and Anakim are generic in application; the others are apparently specific. The Emim are the pre-Moabite inhabitants of the Land of Moab; the Zamzummim, the pre-Ammonite dwellers in the Land of Ammon; the Zuzim are possibly the same as the Zamzummim (mentioned only in Gen. 14 : 5); the Horites²³ are a people dwelling in the Land of Edom before the settlement of the Edomites there; the Avvim occupied encampments in the region of the Maritime Plain north of Gaza. Anakim and Rephaim have no one definite locality and are interchangeable terms.²⁴ In different parts of Palestine there are

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found stone implements indicating that the country had been already occupied in the Stone Age.²⁵

Following these non-Semitic aborigines
Pre-Israelite Inhabitants in time, there were settled in Palestine before Israel's arrival various groups of Semites. In the Hebrew tradition there are mentioned seven or eight such peoples: Canaanites, Amorites (Hittites), Jebusites, Hivites, Perizzites, Girgashites, Amalekites. The first-named are to be identified with the race inhabiting the Phoenician coastland, specifically described under the name Canaanites. The Amorites are a people who in the 15th century B. C. are found in a region which includes the Lebanon and the plain lying to the east. In the disturbed conditions due to the Hittite movement from north to south about the 15th century B. C., the Amorites migrated farther south and established two kingdoms east of the Jordan, known respectively as the kingdoms of Bashan and Heshbon. As it seems, owing to the disturbance of settled conditions following upon the entrance of the Philistines into western Canaan, the Amorites of the kingdom of Heshbon undertook to make themselves masters of western Canaan south of the Carmel range and established a number of city kingdoms in different parts of the territory. This advance of the Amorites from the east across the Jordan westward must have occurred not long before the entrance of Israel into Canaan and may have made room for Israel's incoming through the territory of Heshbon and, then, over the Jordan. The Egyptian inscriptions of the 19th and 20th dynasties²⁶ make mention of the Amorites as being already in Palestine.

In the beginning of the second millennium, B. C.

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there is a migration of people through the passes of the Taurus into Syria.²⁷ They had founded a great state on the banks of the upper Euphrates long before the period of the Amarna correspondence (late 15th century B. C.).²⁸ The country from which they came lay along the southern and eastern shores of the Black Sea and was known to the Egyptians as Kheta or Great Kheta.²⁹ Hence, the people have been called Hittites, though that is hardly likely to have been their real name. Masses of these people continued to flow into Syria, until in the 15th century, B. C., their eastward movement was checked and they moved aggressively southward seeking in that direction a foothold for themselves. They obtained control of the old Amorite land and established a Hittite state on the banks of the Orontes, adopting as their capital the older Amorite capital, Kadesh. In the Old Testament, the chief references to them recognize their location as in the north beyond the boundaries of Israel. There they have several kingdoms. In Gen. 23 and other chapters of Genesis (26, 27, 36) Hittites are spoken of as being found in the southern portion of Canaan. Judges 4 and 5 imply that they had invaded the Land of Israel in force and the incident of Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam. 11), implies that in David's day they were living as neighbors in the midst of the Israelite population. It has been disputed that there were ever Hittites in southern Palestine, but the statements of the Old Testament are somewhat numerous and circumstantial, and do not seem to be inconsistent with what we know of the southward movement of the Hittite masses in the Amarna period.³⁰ If properly understood, we may accept the statement that Israel did "drive out" Hittites as well as Canaanites,

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Amorites and other tribes from their heritage in Canaan.³¹

The Hittites were not a Semitic people. Their language exerted an influence in Syria which probably tended to deteriorate the already corrupted Aramean dialects. They do not appear to have affected the Hebrew language to any great extent. In the end they became assimilated to the Semites in the midst of whom they were settled.³²

The Jebusites were a local group of Amorites dwelling in Jerusalem, cf. Josh. 11 : 3 and 11 : 6. The Perizzites, if we follow Josh. 17 : 15, are a people living among the more numerous and powerful Canaanites in the originally wooded region north of the hill country of Ephraim and toward the valley of Jezreel and Bethshean.³³ It seems plain from the various allusions to them that the Perizzites were not a section of the Canaanites.

The Hivites are located at Shechem (Gen. 34 : 2) and at Gibeon (Josh 9 : 7) with its daughter towns (Josh. 9 : 17), also south of Mount Hermon (Josh. 11 : 3, Judg. 3 : 3).³⁴ In Josh. 9 and 10 they carefully distinguish themselves from the Amorites.

The Girgashites are not known beyond the mere name.

The Amalekites have their seat in the southern wilderness on the confines of Judah and farther to the south.³⁵ They are a race of Bedouin habits who cause a great deal of trouble to the settled peoples by their daring raids and plundering forays. At some remote period the Amalekites seem to have been lords of what became later the hill country of Ephraim.³⁶ The home of the people in historical times lay far to the south toward

Minor
Peoples:
Jebusites,
Perizzites,
Hivites, etc.

Amalek,
Midian,
Kenites

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Sinai.³⁷ With them are to be connected the tribes of Midian who dwell in the same region and who are likewise found connected with the history of Mount Ephraim (Judg. 6-8, especially 6 : 33). In the midst of Amalek Kenites dwell³⁸ as they are a kindred folk. The region of the Kenites in the Sinai country is described as the land of Midian and also the land of Amalek. There are Kenites again in the vicinity of the plain of Esdraelon and Mount Carmel,³⁹ just as we have found Midianites and Amalekites in the north.

The Civilization of Pre-Israelite Canaan

All these Pre-Israelites as far as they were inhabitants of Canaan possessed a civilization which compared favorably with that of other peoples of the ancient Oriental world. They practised agriculture, they engaged in commerce, they cultivated the arts of pottery and metal working, they had some skill in decorative art, they built structures of large proportions and executed works requiring engineering skill. Their principal cities were placed in locations where they could be easily defended against enemies. Hence, they were built most often upon the tops of hills with a steep descent in the direction of approach.⁴⁰ Generally speaking, these town-sites were of limited area and the cities within the walls were rarely of larger size than thirty acres. The water supply of these strongholds was always considered in the choice of their location. There might be springs on the hill itself or at its base, and these were supplemented by rock hewn cisterns lined with cement. The walls of these fortress cities were of immense thickness and of great height. The Israelites when they emerged from their wanderings in the wilderness and saw these hill-cities of Canaan, described them as

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“great and walled up to heaven.” This kind of stronghold was retained by Israel almost throughout the Old Testament period.

**Worship in
Pre-Israelite
Canaan** The Pre-Israelite shrines⁴¹ were built on the site of their cities or close to the same. The altar was the virgin rock in which cup marks or receptacles of a few inches diameter were hollowed out, often with little runnels connecting two or more of them. These little channels sometimes ended at an aperture leading down to a subterranean chamber or adytum.⁴² The latter, when present, served as a chamber where the god of the shrine might be consulted and oracles obtained. In relation with the altar were sacred pillars,⁴³ either isolated, or in a row, or circle. Some of them, the most ancient, were in the natural state; others were worked by means of a mason’s tool. These are the “pillars” which the book of Deuteronomy orders to be destroyed as an offence to Jehovah. The “circles” are represented by the “Gilgal” of twelve stones spoken of in Josh 4 : 20, or something similar.

The sacrifice of the first-born was probably observed⁴⁴ and, likewise, the foundation sacrifice which consecrated a new house or other building enterprise.⁴⁵

Teraphim or household gods were kept in the houses of the people.

Buildings Comparatively few buildings were of stone. In some, brick was used, but the common houses were of hard baked clay or mud, which by neglect or under attack crumbled speedily to dust. In one or two localities cave or rock dwellings have been found.⁴⁶

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

viii. A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE HEXATEUCH

1. Critical examination of the Hexateuch reveals that it is a composite work embracing materials from the following older works:

(1) An historical work of the early eighth century, B. C., designated the Jehovistic history (symbol J).

(2) Another history of a later date in the same century, designated the Elohist history (symbol E).

(3) A law code of the seventh century, with hortatory introduction and conclusion containing a few historical notices. This work is designated the Deuteronomic Law Book (symbol D or Dt).

(4) A law code of the sixth and fifth centuries with historical introduction, historical setting, and historical conclusion. The work is designated the Priestly History and its legal portion the Priest's Code (general symbol P).

2. The discrimination of these several sources has been forced upon students of the Hexateuch by observation of the following facts:

(1) The instances of confusion found in the record.

(2) The contradictions and discrepancies discovered.

(3) Repetitions and duplicate accounts.

(4) The presence of homogeneous strands of narrative and law exhibiting characteristic vocabulary, literary style, mode of thought, historical and theological presuppositions, and religious attitude.

(5) The possibility of placing side by side matter related to the same subject from four sources, each having its own characteristic marks.

(6) Examination of the historical books outside of the Hexateuch and of the works of the prophets

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makes it plain that: J and E are of the time of the early prophets; Dt as a Law Code did not operate until 623 B. C., and continued in force until the days of Nehemiah; P was first introduced by Ezra and Nehemiah, but had not then been brought to completion.

(7) The relative development of thought in the respective sources confirms the conclusions drawn as to the relative dates at which they appeared.

3. The editor of Genesis did not find these sources isolated one from another.

(1) After 721 B. C., J and E were worked up into a new work designated the Prophetical History (symbol JE). Some slight revision was introduced by the compiler (indicated by the symbol RJE). The compiler in a great many cases placed side by side matter from both sources relating to the same subject.

(2) In the period of the Exile this work JE was combined with Dt. The new editor also (symbol RJED) introduced a great deal of matter in the Book of Joshua and made some changes in the earlier books of the Hexateuch.

(3) The final editor of the Hexateuch about 400 B. C., introduced touches in many places throughout the work. He was a man of the same point of view as P (symbol RJEDP).

4. The general character of the respective sources.

(1) J acknowledges Jehovah as the Creator and Sovereign of the world from the beginning and finds a place for Him in the simple stories which were told of the world's beginnings and the age of the patriarchs. This was the earliest continuous history from the Creation to Israel's inheritance of Canaan. It was written to show how Israel became the people of

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Jehovah and how they were brought by him into the possession of the most favored of all lands. The motive was that of glowing religious patriotism and the great figures of the history are portrayed with a sympathetic realism which but serves to throw into relief their ideal greatness. The work was not composed by a single author nor at a single period. This is clear from the duplicate narratives of the same events which it contains and differences in the mode of representation which are discovered. (In the sequel secondary matter is pointed out where it is met with.)

(2) E takes a different view of the patriarchal period from J. The patriarchs did not recognize Jehovah, and did admit the reality of "other gods" besides the Supreme God. The historian finds no place for the Supreme God, apparently, in the myths of the primeval time and therefore begins his story with the patriarch Abraham. Jehovah is first proclaimed to Israel by Moses and through Moses, also, He gave to them a Book of Judgments regulating their civil and religious duties and rights. The view of Jehovah's character taken by E is less realistic than that given by J, but both agree in making prominent the moral perfection of the Deity and His demand for a moral attitude toward Himself. (As in J, so in E, matter of a secondary character has been discovered.)

(3) P has its own special and unmistakable marks: interest in the usages and institutions of the cultus; the remoteness of God from human modes of being and action; precision and orderliness in literary form with a consequent fondness for certain set formulas and phrases; the prominence of Aaron in the events of the Exodus and afterward; the elaborate concep-

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tion of the Tabernacle prepared by Moses; the essentially ritual character of the revelation at Sinai; the peculiar conception of the Conquest as accomplished all at one time by the destruction of the Canaanites and the division of the land among the tribes; the comparatively slight element of history serving as introduction and framework for a large element of law. (There is a large amount of secondary matter in P.)

(4) D is a code of law, essentially. As such it represents a *modus vivendi* or compromise between the prophetic and priestly conceptions of religion. The authority of a central Levitical priesthood is accepted, but the spirit of religion and law is ethical and humanitarian. The doctrine of God is that of a spiritual and exclusive monotheism such as the prophets taught. D has a definite literary history of its own. The Code (12—26, 28) existed alone at first and to it were added at different times two separate introductions (5—11; 1—4) and two or more appendices. (Duplicate matter in the Code betrays the fact that it is a compilation, rather than an original composition.)

Owing to the fact that evidences of collaboration are found in all the sources of the Hexateuch it is recognized that each document represents the standpoint of a group or succession of writers and is to some extent the product of a joint activity on their part. Hence, J, E, P, D respectively, are symbols for the several schools which may be styled the Jehovistic, Elohist, Priestly, and Deuteronomic schools. At the same time, it is to be understood that one author in each case is responsible for an original work and either himself takes in secondary matter or his work is taken as a foundation to which others make additions.

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For a detailed understanding of the critical problems connected with the study of the Hexateuch or its constituent parts it is recommended that the more important modern commentaries be consulted. The following works on Old Testament Introduction are among the more useful general works written in English:

Addis, W. E., *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, 2 vols., 1892, 1898.

Bennett and Adeney, *Biblical Introduction*, 1899.

Carpenter and Harford, *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, 1902.

Chapman, A. T., *Introduction to the Pentateuch*, 1911.

Driver, S. R., *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th ed., 1913.

Gray, G. B., *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1913.

Simpson, D. C., *Pentateuchal Criticism*, 1914.

Smith, W. Robertson, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd ed., 1892.

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¹ There are also some other native sources which are important, not so much for the history of events, as for the history of Jewish thought within the Biblical period. Such are, the works of Philo Judaeus and other Judaeo-Alexandrian writers, and, also, the oldest portions of the Mishna.

² Cf. Gunkel, *Die Urgeschichte u. d. Patriarchen*, p. 17; *Legends of Genesis*, p. 13f. Gunkel has discussed at length and most suggestively the subject of myth and legend in Genesis.

³ This distinct subdivision is made so as to mark as clearly as possible how the causes at work under the monarchy worked themselves out and led over to the conditions present in the post-exilic community.

⁴ The Jehovistic history, Gen. 10, *passim*, cf. Gen. 2 : 10-14.

⁵ The Priestly history, Gen. 10, *passim*.

⁶ Ethnography and geography were studied to a large extent from a genealogical standpoint by the Hebrew writers.

⁷ There were also those who saw a blood-relationship between the peoples of Arabia and the Semitic populations of Assyria and Babylonia, on the one hand, and the Hamitic Ethiopians on the other. The Hebrews and Arameans, who always stood together as kinsfolk one to the other, were never brought into family connection with the Hamites.

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* Nöldeke, *Die Semitischen Sprachen* 2, p. 9ff; Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, 3ff, 23ff, cf. 16ff.

⁹ Cf. Ur of the Chaldees as the birthplace of Abraham in P.

¹⁰ Cf. Nöldeke, *Die Semitischen Sprachen* 2, p. 2.

¹¹ A standing designation of the Hebrew dialect was "the language of Canaan," Isa. 19 : 18.

¹² Ezek. 16 : 3, speaking of the people of Jerusalem calls them a people of mixed Hittite and Semitic origin; cf. Jastrow, *Hebr. and Baby'l'n Traditions*, 15, 62.

¹³ The Priestly historians of the Exile speak of the boundaries of the tribes as settled by Joshua, and as reaching to the sea, but the testimony is of little value. Judges 5 : 17b hardly implies that Asher possessed harbors.

¹⁴ Cf. the disappearance of the tribe of Reuben, the Aramean element in Gad, and the Aramean states of Geshur, Rehob, Zobah, and Maacah.

¹⁵ Cf. G. A. Smith, *H. G. H. L.*, 150ff.

¹⁶ Isa. 9 : 1, Josh. 12 : 23 (read "king of the nations in the Galil," so LXX^B), 1 Macc. 5 : 15.

¹⁷ Cf. Hosea, *passim*.

¹⁸ Cf. G. A. Smith, *H. G. H. L.*, ch. xiii.

¹⁹ G. A. Smith, *H. G. H. L.*, p. 4, n. 1.

²⁰ The name Palestine is, however, used by Herodotus of the coast and the hinterland, *Rel. G. G.*, Kanaan, 1.

²¹ Applied to three Eparchies: Palaestina, i, ii, iii.

²² Baedeker, *Palästina u. Syrien* 5, lvf.

²³ Horites. The name is identified with the Egyptian term Haru, which describes the country from the region about Hebron southward into the land of Edom. Vd. Meyer, *Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 338-345.

²⁴ Cf. for these peoples, Dt. 2 : 10ff, 20ff.

²⁵ Baedeker, *Palästina*, etc. 5, lvii, cixf.

²⁶ 14th-12th centuries B. C. First mentioned by Sethos I, ca. 1350 B. C., *Rel. G. G.*, Art. *Nachbarvölker Israels*, 1.

²⁷ Possibly, earlier, as the records of Hammurapi's time (ca. 2000 B. C.) already mention Hittites, Art., *Rel. G. G.*, Hethiter (Gressmann).

²⁸ Mitanni, in the region later known as Hanigalbat, *Rel. G. G.*, l. c.

²⁹ Paton, *E. H. S. P.*, 106.

³⁰ Abdi-Hiba, King of Jerusalem, in the Amarna time has a Hittite name, *Rel. G. G.*, l. c.

³¹ Later on, it will be seen that the conquest of Palestine was rather a peaceful than a warlike conquest.

³² Cf. E. Bi., Art., Hittites (Jastrow).

³³ In Judges 1 : 4 "Canaanites and Perizzites" are found in Mount Ephraim, but it is likely that the expression is used in a vague, general way for the older peoples found by Israel in the land.

³⁴ For the emendation "Hittites" for "Hivites" see Moore, Judges, in loc. I have preferred to retain the traditional reading.

³⁵ Gen. 14 : 7, Ex. 17 : 8, Num. 14 : 25, 45, Saul defeated them south of Hebron (1 Sam. 15), also David (1 Sam. 30).

³⁶ Judg. 5 : 14; 12 : 15.

³⁷ They are reckoned "the oldest of peoples," Num. 24 : 20.

³⁸ 1 Sam. 15 : 8; mentioned after Amalek, Num. 24 : 21f. They are viewed by the Jehovist historians as a very ancient people and are by them identified with Cain, cf. Gen. 4 : 1-15, 22-24. Moses keeps sheep for a Kenite (Judg. 1 : 16), who is called also a Midianite (Ex. 3 : 1, 18 : 3, Num. 10 : 29).

³⁹ Judg. 4 : 17, 5 : 24.

⁴⁰ On the ancient cities, vd. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente*, ch. i. *Les Villes Cananéennes*.

⁴¹ Vd. Vincent, op. c. ch. ii, *Les Lieux de Culte en Canaan*.

⁴² Cf. Gressmann, *T. B. A. T.* ii, pp. 2-5.

⁴³ "Masseboth," cf. Gressmann, op. c. 19ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. Gen. 22 E, Judg. 11 : 29ff.

⁴⁵ Josh. 6 : 26, cf. 1 Kgs. 16 : 34, cf. Gressmann, *T. B. A. T.* ii, 52-55.

⁴⁶ Cf. Baedeker, *Palästina* 5, 138, 186. Nowack, *Archaeologie*, i. 94.

CHAPTER II
THE NARRATIVES OF GENESIS

CHAPTER II

THE NARRATIVES OF GENESIS

This book is part of an historical scheme running through the first seven books of the Old Testament and seeking to show how Israel became the covenant people of Jehovah and how as such they came to occupy the Land of Canaan. Genesis is that preliminary part of the scheme which describes the stages in the early history of the world and the human race leading up to the constituting of Israel as Jehovah's people.¹

The story begins with the creation of the world by Israel's God, and the establishment of His right, therefore, to order its events as He willed. Following this is an account of the fundamental error of mankind and the root of all human misery in the following by men of their own devices instead of the will of the Creator. Next is recorded the demonstration of the Creator's right over the world in the judging of its wickedness by means of the Deluge. The judgment destroyed the wickedness of the earth; but, none the less, in the new human race which sprang from the righteous family of Noah the old disregard of the Creator was renewed. There are in the sequel in Genesis repeated illustrations serving to make plain the fundamental positions of the book, that the God of Israel is the Ruler of the earth and that He will judge those who oppose themselves to Him. If Noah's case, on the one hand, shews that God will

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discriminate in judgment, the subsequent narratives of the book, on the other hand, are devoted to shewing that the Creator in His sovereign right will not merely go that far, but will enter into a covenant of blessing with the righteous. He chose for blessing Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In this way the regard of Jehovah for the descendants of these patriarchs and His redemption of them from their bondage in Egypt are explained.

The Book of Genesis is thus a work seeking to prove and illustrate certain dogmatic presuppositions which must be assumed in order to understand the origin and position of Israel as the people of God. The fundamental presupposition is that Israel's God possesses universal sovereignty as the Creator.

THE CREATION NARRATIVES

The origin of the physical world and of mankind was a frequent subject of speculation among Hebrew thinkers. In consequence, we have, in the Old Testament a number of passages, some of them referring more or less incidentally to the Creation and the mode by which the Creator proceeded in His work, others being more extended and systematic in character.² To the former class belong such passages as: Isa. 40 : 21f, 28; Jer. 5 : 22; Job 9 : 7-9; 28 : 26; Psa. 24 : 2; 33 : 6-9; 65 : 6; 90 : 2; 136 : 5-9, Prayer of Manasseh 3; to the latter belong such as: Gen. 1 : 1 — 2 : 4a; Gen. 2 : 4b-25; Job 38 : 1ff; Prov. 8 : 22-31; Psa. 104, and, outside of the Canonical literature of the Old Testament, 2 Esdras 6 : 38ff. These accounts differ from one another in their contents and teachings, some furnishing details

The Hebrew
Creation
Narratives

THE NARRATIVES OF GENESIS

which are not found in others, some presenting one order of creative acts, others presenting another, some describing the Creator as proceeding in one way, some in another. In some cases there is clearly a regard for rhetorical effect and a use of poetic license.

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¹ Cf. H. E. Ryle, *Genesis*, Introduction, p. xlvi.

² Cf. Jastrow, *Hebr. and Babyl'n Traditions*, 98.

CHAPTER III
THE PRIESTLY WRITER'S STORY
OF CREATION

CHAPTER III

THE PRIESTLY WRITER'S STORY OF CREATION

The "generations" of the heavens and the earth¹ when they were created.

Chaos At the beginning² of God's creating³ the heavens and the earth,⁴ while the earth was in desolate confusion, with darkness over the face of the Great Deep,⁵ then, the spirit of God⁶ was brooding⁷ over the surface of the Deep and God commanded⁸ the light to exist and it came into being.

Creation of Light; Light Separated from Darkness God approved it as good and gave to it and to the darkness separate places. The light He called Day; the darkness He called Night. Thus was made possible the regular alternation of a period of light followed by a period of darkness, both together constituting what we call a day.⁹ This much was the first day's work in Creation.

Firmament; Division of Upper and Lower Waters God next commanded a solid expanse to exist over the earth so that the waste of waters should be divided into waters above the expanse and waters below it. The expanse¹⁰ came into being and God gave it the name Heaven. This was the second day's work in Creation.

Gathering of the Waters; Division of Sea and Land God commanded the waters under the Heaven to be gathered into one place¹¹ so that the solid land might appear. This followed and God named the solid land Earth¹² and the collected waters He named Seas.

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God commanded the Earth to produce the fresh vegetation of herbs and fruit trees with seeds to reproduce their kinds.¹³ This took place and God approved the result as good. The Earth and its vegetation represent the third day's work in Creation.

Vegetation
Produced by
the Earth

God commanded the sun, moon, and stars¹⁴ to be in the Heaven which He had made, in order to divide days from nights, to be for omens,¹⁵ for the marking of seasons and days and years, and to give light upon the earth. The larger luminary ruled by day; the smaller by night. The result appeared and was approved by God as good. This was the fourth day's work.

The Heavenly
Bodies

God commanded the waters to teem with living creatures and commanded that birds should fly in the air under the Heaven.¹⁶ As a result there came into existence the various kinds of water creatures including the great tanninim,¹⁷ and in the air all kinds of birds, and God declared His approval of the result, and then gave these creatures a command to multiply their species.¹⁸ This was the work of Creation in the fifth day.

Water and
Air Creatures

God commanded that the Earth produce¹⁹ all kinds of animals domestic and wild, with insects and crawling creatures. Thus did God make the living creatures. He approved the result as good.

The Earth
Produces
Land Animals

And God declared His purpose to make man fashioned after His own likeness²⁰ so that they might rule over all living creatures. God then made man male and female

Man Created
in the
Likeness of
Divinity

PRIESTLY STORY OF CREATION

after His own likeness.²¹ He approved the result by bestowing upon the pair His blessing.²² He then commanded them to reproduce their kind, to subjugate the earth and to exercise rule over the living creatures of sea and air and earth.²³

God told the human pair²⁴ that to them and to all living creatures of the earth were given all seed plants and fruit trees for food, and to the land animals and birds all green growing plants.²⁵

God inspected the whole work of Creation and approved it as exceedingly good.²⁶

This was the work of the sixth creative day.²⁷

So the heaven and the earth were completed together with their creatures.²⁸

On the seventh day God rested after all His work and bestowed a blessing on this day and thereby made it holy, because it marked His rest after the creating of all things.²⁹

The Food Assigned Men and Animals

The Creator's Rest from His Work

NOTES ON CHAPTER III

¹ Vd. Driver⁷, pp. ii, 19; Dillmann⁸, 39; Skinner, 39ff; Gunkel, Gen.³, 101. Usually, P places the name of the *begetter* after the word "generations." Manifestly, he could not do so here. It seems better to regard 2 : 4a as having been transferred by the redactor from the beginning of the story to the end out of a feeling of reverence, than to think of it as a late interpolation where it stands.

² EVV. "In the beginning." The Hebrew has no definite article. The word is one among others in vs. 1, 2, and 3 which, when they were taken over from the old myth employed by the writer, had already become proper names: beginning, God, waste, void, darkness, deep, spirit of God, light (*reshith* (רֵאשִׁית) 'elohim (אֱלֹהִים) *tohu* (תְּהוֹם), *bohú* (בְּהוֹ), *hoshekh* (חֹשֶׁךְ), *tehóm* (תְּהוֹם), *rúah* 'elohim (רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים) 'ér (אֵר). Cf. Ryle, Gen. 2f.

³ The Hebrew word is never employed of human activity, Gunkel, Gen.³, 102.

⁴ Skinner, Gen., in loc.; cf. the view of Gunkel, Gen.³, 102.

⁵ "The Great Deep," = "the waters under the earth" (Ex. 20 : 4, etc.). The Hebrew word is *Tehóm*, which being without the article is a proper name. Originally it denoted a mythological being like the Babylonian Chaos-Mother *Tiámat*. Both name and character seem to look back to this Babylonian figure. Gunkel, Gen.³, 103; cf. Gen. 49 : 25; Amos 7 : 4; Psa. 104 : 6.

⁶ "The Spirit of God." Here the mysterious causal efficiency of an extraordinary result. The expression is used elsewhere in the Old Testament in this sense. It may also mean the Divine Cause of life in man and beast, Psa. 104 : 29f; cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 104.

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

⁷ "Brooding" as a bird on the nest. Many creation myths trace the origin of the world to an egg over which a Divine Being broods. Cf. Ryle, Gen. p. 6.

⁸ The irresistible efficiency of a god's "word" is often referred to in mythology. Of Jehovah it is said, Psa. 33 : 9, "He spake and it was done; He commanded and it stood fast." Cf. Psa. 148 : 5; 147 : 15; Isa. 55 : 11; Gunkel, Gen.³, 104f. Cf. the New Testament idea of Creation, Col. 1 : 16; Hebr. 1 : 2; John 1 : 3.

⁹ (a) The Priestly writer marks the close of each day's work by stating that it was followed by a night which with the period of work made up the full day: "And God did thus and then it was night and once more morning, the first day." Such is the formula. Dillmann, Gen.⁶, in loc.; Driver⁷, in loc.; Skinner, in loc.; Gunkel, Gen.³ : 106.

(b) Light was the first created thing among the Hindus, Phoenicians, Greeks and other peoples. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 104.

(c) Light and darkness have their respective "places" or "dwellings" from which they come forth, Job 38 : 19; Cf. 26 : 10. Ryle, Gen. p. 7.

(d) God calls the light "yôm" (= day) and the darkness "layelah" (= night). God is supposed to use the Hebrew tongue, Gunkel, Gen.³, 106.

¹⁰ (a) The firmament was solid "like a molten mirror," Job 37 : 18. It was thought to rest on pillars, Job 26 : 11; as was also the earth, Job 9 : 6; Psa. 75 : 3; 1 Sam. 2 : 8. The rain comes from the waters which are above the firmament. The latter is provided with "windows" and through these, when opened, the rain descends, Gen. 7 : 11; Mal. 3 : 10. For the "door" of the firmament vd. Gen. 28 : 17. The conception of "heaven" as a solid vault is common in antiquity, cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 106f.

(b) "And it was so" in vs. 7 should come at the end of vs. 6, so LXX.

(c) We should expect to find after the second day's work what we find after the other *works*, namely, "And God saw that it was good"; cf. vs. 4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31. Such a clause must be inserted after v. 8a; so LXX; cf. Kittel, Bibl. Hebr. in loc.; Ryle, Gen., p. 9.

¹¹ The Greek has "into one mass" for "unto one place" (i. e., $\epsilon\iota\sigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma$) for $\epsilon\iota\sigma\ \epsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma$, Kittel, Bibl. Hebr. in loc.

¹² (a) "A manifestation of what before was hidden and a gathering of what was dispersed." Skinner, Gen. 23, quoting Ibn Ezra.

(b) The sea is conceived as restrained by bounds and doors, Job 38 : 8-11; Prov. 8 : 29.

¹³ The author divides plant life into herbs with seeds and trees bearing fruit in which seeds are contained. Gunkel, Gen.³, 108.

¹⁴ (a) "And the stars" in v. 16 is probably an addition, but must have been added at an early date to make the account complete. Skinner, in loc.

(b) The heavenly bodies are not given their names. They are simply "lamps" or "lights" (not the common word for "lamp").

¹⁵ Dillmann, Gen.⁶, 27; Gunkel, Gen.³, 109; Driver⁷, 10; contra Skinner, 27.

¹⁶ (a) "Teem with." It is not likely that the productive power possessed by or given to the earth and the living creatures of the land is thought of as given to the waters or to the air as the element of the winged creatures. How fish and birds come to exist is not made clear. Skinner, Gen. in loc.

(b) The grouping of incongruous elements such as fish and birds in one day is due to the mechanical demand of the seven-day scheme. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 109.

¹⁷ In O. T. (Isa. 27 : 1; 51 : 9; Psa. 74 : 13; Job 7 : 12; Ezek. 29 : 3; 32 : 2, all late), mythical creatures of the sea; Skinner, in loc., but, probably, including the largest actual marine creatures, also, Gunkel, Gen.³, 109.

¹⁸ In the case of the plants, they have a provision in the nature which is given them whereby they spontaneously reproduce their species through seeds. Reproduction in the case of living creatures is a function created by a special fiat of God and implies a voluntary act on the part of the creature. Driver⁷, 13, Dillmann⁶, 29, Skinner, 28. How many individuals of each kind were made does not appear.

¹⁹ (a) Other cosmogonies speak of the warm clay producing living creatures of the earth. In such cases there is no reference to a Divine command. Gunkel, Gen.³, 110.

PRIESTLY STORY OF CREATION

(b) In P (v. 24) the earth brings forth at God's command "living creatures" (*nephesh hayyah*). In J (2:7) man becomes a "living creature" (*nephesh hayyah*) after Jehovah has breathed Divine breath into his nostrils. Thus life in men and animals is generically speaking the same and both are described by the common name "living creature." Vd. also additional note *nephesh*, infra.

(c) In vs. 24, land animals are divided into three groups: Domestic animals; small swiftly moving animals; large wild animals. In vs. 21, animals of other elements are divided into three groups: Large water animals; small water animals; birds. Ryle, Gen., p. 17.

²⁰ The declaration is made to beings who are in the presence of God and who are like Him; so much so that God may speak of creating man in "our image" and "our likeness" — His and theirs. Cf. Gen. 3:22, 11:7; Isa. 6:8; 1 Kgs. 22:19-22; Psa. 89:5ff; Job 1:6, 2:1, 38:7. Cf. Dan. 4:17, 7:10; Psa. 8:5. Vd. Gunkel, Gen.³, 111.

²¹ (a) As P knew of J's story of the "Fall" and recognizes that men early corrupted themselves, it cannot be said on the basis of 9:6 (the image retained) that he admitted no Fall. Cf. Skinner, 32.

(b) The "likeness of God" is to be interpreted as analogous to the likeness of human descendants to their ancestors, Gen. 5:1-3. It covers all that heredity accounts for in human beings, apart from taint or fault which has become organized in the parents and transmitted to their offspring. Gen. 9:6. Gunkel, Gen.³, 112. P shows reserve in regard to the nature of the Divine likeness because his age was opposed to definite representations of the Deity. Cf. Ezek. 1:26f; Isa. 40:18ff, 25, 46:5; Gunkel, l.c.

(c) The Hebrew had no difficulty in conceiving God in human likeness (cf. even so late a passage as Dan. 7:9), and could as easily conceive of man in the Divine likeness. Cf. Ryle, Gen., pp. 18-20.

(d) In Gen. 1:26 "and over all the earth" should be: "and over all the beasts of the earth"; so Syriac. Kittel, Bibl. Hebr., in loc.; cf. Ryle, Gen., p. 20; Gunkel, Gen.³, p. 112.

²² ADDITIONAL NOTE: *Nephesh*.

The whole man in the normal exercise of all his powers is a "living *nephesh*." At the same time, one may with greater precision limit the use of the term "*nephesh*" to the less tangible "breath," and look upon this as bringing with it and holding in it the vital force and spiritual capacities of the individual. We may not apply the term *ruah* (EV. *spirit*) to the whole man as we do *nephesh*. It is reserved for the intangible breath and the vital and spiritual forces which go with it, and as applied to these it is synonymous with *nephesh* in its narrower sense.

The only difference observed between the *nephesh* in animals as compared with that in man is that in the original creation of man according to J the *nephesh* is lodged in the inanimate body of man by a special act of inbreathing on the part of the Creator, while nothing is said as to how the *nephesh* was lodged in the bodies of animals. Presumably, the Creator sent forth His *ruah* (spirit) and they became animate; if so, the difference between man and animals in regard to the life-soul principle and its origin is not appreciable (vd. Ps. 104:30). What really made a difference was not the substance of the *nephesh*, but the likeness of the Creator in the case of man.

When the expression "dead *nephesh*" is employed of a dead body it is merely an illustration of persistent association of ideas. The *nephesh* having been known in its connection with the body, the latter without the *nephesh* is still known by the term which had been employed of the whole man. Death is attended by the departure of the breath from the body and therefore by the departure of the *nephesh*. God has "gathered" it, that is, separated it from its tenement, the body, though it has not lost separate existence and still stands in some kind of relation to the dead, who are said to have "fallen asleep."

The term *nephesh* cannot be used of God.

Cf. Hastings, D. B., extra vol. 665, 666, 669. Bennett, Religion of the Post-Exilic Prophets, 228-232; F. Schwally, Das Leben nach dem Tode, 5ff; P. Torge, Seelenglaube und Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im Alten Testament, 3ff.

²³ (a) This is the horoscope of human progress throughout its entire course. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 113.

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(b) In J reproduction of the human species is necessarily placed after the Fall. In P it follows in obedience to the command of the Creator and has no connection with a Fall.

²⁴ Cf. 5 : 1 (P). The text of itself does not say that only a single pair was created, but the Jewish tradition before and after P speaks of one man and one woman and does not speak of more as having been at first created. Cf. Skinner, 33; and, on the other side, Dillmann⁸, 34.

²⁵ For P the primeval time is a Golden Age.

On the early amity between man and beasts, cf. J, Gen. 2 : 18ff, 3 : 1ff; and echoes of a legendary past in Hos. 2 : 18, Isa. 11 : 6ff, 65 : 25, Job 5 : 23. On the violation of this original amity read P, Gen. 6 : 12, 13, compared with P, Gen. 9 : 2, 3. In the first age animals were not permitted to be used for food; after the Flood they were permitted, but only as the blood was not used, Gen. 9 : 3f.

²⁶ The recurrent appraisal of the creative result as "good" seems to be intended to suggest that in the view of the Creator Himself sorrow and imperfection had no place in the primeval heaven and earth.

²⁷ The more expanded and leisurely description of man's creation and the departure from the method previously followed make it probable that the Priestly writer is working up material from a special source. Cf. Skinner, 30ff. Man's origin was, nevertheless, always a specially fond subject in the mythology of creation.

²⁸ נָסַח "sabha" "host," cannot well be taken to refer to other things than those which have been dealt with in the preceding verses. Cf. Skinner, 36. The word seems to have in view the divisions, orders, and kinds of created things. Gunkel, Gen.³, 114.

²⁹ (a) "And on the seventh day God finished His work; and He rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made" (2 : 2). In 2a, the Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and other authorities read "sixth" for "seventh." Modern commentators prefer to retain "seventh," because, as the more difficult reading, it is to be preferred to the easy reading "sixth." Keeping the present Hebrew reading, the word "finished" is understood in the sense "had finished," sc. "on the preceding day." When this view is adopted, however, 2a is nothing more than a doublet of 2b. Taking everything into account, it is best to adopt the well-supported reading "sixth" in 2a (vd. Kittel, *Bibl. Hebr.*, in loc.), and to take "finished" in its ordinary past sense. The verse presents a carefully constructed contrast between its two halves, the sixth day with its labor brought to a close being matched against the seventh day with its rest begun. Similar words in a similar order are used in each half and each half has the same number of words. Cf. Comm., Driver, Skinner, Ryle.

(b) P's conception of the Sabbath as a day of cessation from work is reflected in this passage. P does not intend us to infer that the Sabbath as a Hebrew holy day was now instituted, but intends to make distinct the great fact on which the Mosaic Sabbath law rests, namely, the Creator's rest. Ex. 31 : 12-17 P. Cf. Skinner, 37ff. According to Ex. 31 : 17 it is implied that the Creator after the inconceivable labor of the six days used the seventh day as a day of rest in the literal sense of the term and as a result was refreshed. Such a view is not one which could be introduced *de novo* by P. It comes from an older source. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 115.

(c) The blessing of the seventh day is objectively effective in communicating holiness to the day. *Ibid.*

(d) The word "Sabbath" probably is borrowed from the Assyro-Babylonian "shabattu" which seems to be connected with a well-known Semitic root "shaphat," = to judge. The "shabattu" of the Babylonians was a day when it was of the utmost importance that the good will of the gods should be preserved. Hence, many ordinary activities of the king, at least, were forbidden. One such day coincided with the full moon day of the month. As with other borrowings the Hebrews modified the Babylonian conception of the "shabattu" day. Cf. Jastrow, *Hebr. and Babyl'n Traditions*, 134ff.

(e) J knows nothing of a Sabbath in connection with Creation. The oldest passages referring to a Sabbath among the Hebrews are Am. 8 : 5, Hos. 2 : 11, Ex. 20 : 8-11, 23 : 12, Deut. 5 : 12-15.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEHOVIST'S STORY OF MAN'S ORIGIN
AND PRIMITIVE LIFE

CHAPTER IV

THE JEHOVIST'S STORY OF MAN'S ORIGIN AND PRIMITIVE LIFE

The Sterile Condition of the Primitive Earth When¹ Jehovah God made heaven and earth the earth was dry and because of that nothing grew upon it [also because there was as yet no human being who might cultivate the soil].² There was only an overflow³ rising from the ground which moistened it so that Jehovah God could mould a human form out of the dust.⁴ Into the nostrils of the form He

The Creation of Man

had made the Creator breathed the living breath⁵; thus man became a living soul.

MAN'S PRIMITIVE HISTORY; the Garden of God In the East, Jehovah God planted a garden⁶ in a land called Eden. In that garden, He placed man with a command that he should dress the trees and guard the garden.⁷ [In Eden there was a river which used to water the garden⁸ and as it issued thence it divided itself into four great rivers, the Pishon, which surrounds Havilah, a land of fine gold and precious stones; the Gihon, which encircles Cush; the Tigris, which runs in front of Asshur; and the Euphrates.]⁹

The Two Divine Trees In the garden Jehovah God made all kinds of trees to grow, and especially the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowing the Good and the Not-Good.¹⁰ Of the second of these, man was forbidden to eat on pain of certain death.¹¹ All others were permitted to him.

Because it was not good that man should be alone

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

Jehovah God desired to create for him a suitable companion. He formed out of the soil the various animals and brought them to the man. Man gave them names, according to their characters, but he found among them no satisfying companion.

The Seeking
of a Com-
panion for
Man: The
Creation of
Animals;

Then Jehovah God took from the man, whom He had cast into a deep sleep,¹² "bone from his bones and flesh from his flesh," and framed it into a woman. Her He brought to the man, who at once discovered her affinity with himself and described her by a name which might suggest derivation from himself: Isshah (woman) from Ish (man).¹³ This physical affinity is¹⁴ the ground of a perfect physical union and therefore of the superior and permanent obligation of the marriage tie over every other tie of kindred.¹⁵

Creation of
Woman

In their primitive nude condition the first pair were as free from a conventional feeling of shame as children are.¹⁶

The story told in Gen. 2 : 4b-25 represents two original myths.¹⁷ Gunkel's analysis is as follows: (1) A story of the *Lost Garden* (2 : 4b, 6, 8, 9, 15-17, 25), beginning with the creation and describing the desert-like earth watered only by moisture coming up from below; telling of the Garden made by God containing all kinds of desirable shade and fruit trees, and, in particular, the two wonderful trees, the Tree of Life and that of Knowledge; and relating how God put man in the Garden to tend it, with permission to use it as he wished, except that the Tree of Knowledge should not be touched. In this Garden man and woman were naked and knew no more shame than naked children do.¹⁸

The Two
Myths in Gen.
2: 4b-25:
Paradise;
Creation

THE JEHOVIST'S STORY

(2) The *Creation Story*. (2 : 5, 7, 18-24.) Before shrubs and green things grew when there was no rain and no human beings to cultivate the ground, God Jehovah made man from the ground and breathed the breath of life into his nostrils. Thinking it not good that man should be thus alone, He made the beasts and birds to be his mates, but to no purpose. Thereupon, He made woman out of a part of man, and man at once recognized her fitness to be his mate. Hence, man and woman became one flesh from that time forward.

The story in chap. 3 : 1-21, 23, is a continuation of the Paradise or Garden Myth.

The Creation Story was followed by something now lost whose ending is possibly preserved in Gen. 3 : 22, 24.¹⁹

NOTES ON CHAPTER IV

¹ 2 : 4b "In the day that," better "when"; the second Creation account knows no dates. Ryle, Gen. 28.

² The clause is clearly an addition which breaks the connection.

³ The Hebrew word is a rare and difficult one (*'ēdh*), here implying something which rises up from the ground in sufficient volume to "water" it. One naturally thinks of an overflow from a spring or fountain. Cf. Babylonian *edā*, "high water." Gunkel, Gen.³, 5. LXX, Vulg. "fountain, spring."

⁴ That man was made from "dust," or clay, is the common view in the Old Testament, Gen. 3 : 19, 23, 18 : 27; Psa. 90 : 3, 103 : 14, etc. Gunkel, Gen.³, 6. Cf. "homo" from "humus," soil; also the myth of "Mother Earth."

⁵ The breath is God's breath, and like all breath has in it the principle of life. Only in this case it has in it the Divine power of giving life to an inanimate form. The breath is mysteriously lost from observation at death. It has gone to God, the Hebrew infers, and proceeds to infer further that God gave it to begin with, cf. Job 27 : 3; John 20 : 22. Ryle, Gen., p. 30.

⁶ It is to be called God's garden or Jehovah's garden. There He walks in the cool of the morning, 3 : 8, cf. 13 : 10; Isa. 51 : 3; Ezek. 31 : 8, 9, 16.

The goodness of a garden which God made as His dwelling-place is apparent. Man in the garden was God's servant until he proved untrue to his position. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 57, Gen.³, 7.

⁷ (a) To an agricultural folk a garden of trees was supremely to be desired. For the trees of Eden, vd. esp'y Ezek. 31 : 8, 9, 16. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 57. The trees, according to Ezek. 31 : 8f were tall, widespreading cedars, cypresses, and plane-trees.

(b) EV. "keep," v. 15 = to guard, cf. 3 : 24. In the first place, the conception is not that of an absolutely perfect environment. The trees must be cared for. In the second place, it is not secure from external assault of evil. It must be watched. Powers opposed to God are presupposed. Gunkel, Gen.³, 10.

"To dress" the garden does not here imply the tilling of the ground. The same Hebrew word *'abhadh* is used of keeping a vineyard (Deut. 28 : 39), and even of keeping flocks (Gen. 30 : 26, 29).

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

⁸ (a) For the "well-watered" garden of Eden or Jehovah's garden, vd. Gen. 13 : 10, cf. Ezek. 31 : 7ff.

(b) For the beautiful fruitfulness of the Garden, cf. Isa. 51 : 3.

⁹ (a) Vs. 10b-14 disturb the connection between v. 9 and v. 15. The passage is inserted to make good the omission of any reference in the primitive Paradise myth to the watering of the garden. This addition makes Eden the source of the world rivers and declares that the Eden stream watered the garden (cf. Psa. 36 : 8), and then divided into the great streams of the world-plains. Eden was thus high enough in elevation so that water issuing as one stream from the garden would divide at once into (four) "heads" (רָאשֵׁי). Eden was, therefore, probably on the top of a great mountain. It was to the north of the Tigris and Euphrates, but exactly where no one may know, cf. Isa. 14 : 13f; Ezek. 28 : 13. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 58; Gen.³, 9, 36; Skinner, 52.

(b) For the mountain origin of the "river of Paradise" one may compare the vision of the "Age to Come" with its wonderful river issuing from the Temple mount, Ezek. 47 : 1-12; Zech. 14 : 8; Joel 3 : 18, or from the Throne of God, Rev. 22 : 1, 2. As issuing from the Temple or the Throne the stream is clearly miraculous; cf., also Psa. 36 : 8b, 46 : 4. Gunkel, Gen.³, 35f.

(c) The Pishón can be identified only as Havilah is identified. Gen. 10 : 7, 29; 25 : 18 point to Arabia; in which case the waters surrounding the Arabian Peninsula are thought of as a river. The Gihón was identified with the Nile as far back as Sirach 24 : 27. The claim that the rivers are named in order from east to west has not been convincingly supported. Cf. Meyer, *INS*, 209f; Gunkel, Gen.³, 8f; Ryle, Gen. 33.

¹⁰ In a garden of God such miraculous trees are to be looked for, the one giving "life forever"; the other discernment. The discernment actually given by the latter was of nakedness, 3 : 11. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 59. According to inscriptions of Gudea of Lagash, as reported by Père Dhorme, there was at the Eastern entrance of Heaven, the Tree of Truth and the Tree of Life. Gunkel, Gen.³, 8, 37.

¹¹ "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (2 : 17). In 2 : 4b, "In the day" is no mark of exact date; nor is it in this case. All that is implied is: "when thou eatest, death will surely follow." Neither the serpent nor the woman in ch. 3 refer to the "immediateness" of the penalty. The whole point of stress is as to the certainty of death in consequence of the eating from the forbidden tree. In the Babylonian epics of Gilgamesh and Adapa the heroes become subject to death, but it does not come to them immediately on their becoming liable to it. This is what is involved in the death penalty attached to the Eden prohibition. In view of man's enormous privilege in Eden the reservation made by the Creator had in it no hardship for man and the announcement of penalty should have proved a merciful deterrent from wrongdoing.

¹² (a) חַיָּה, rather, a state of complete unconsciousness attended of course by anaesthesia, here and generally elsewhere, supernaturally induced, 1 Sam. 26 : 12; Isa. 29 : 10; Job 4 : 13, 33 : 15. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 56; Gen.³, 12.

(b) It is of interest to observe that neither in the second nor in the first Creation narrative does a human being have opportunity to understand the mystery of the Creator's work in making man. In the first Creation narrative, he is, in fact, unable to understand any part of the creative process. He appears last of all. In the second narrative man witnesses vegetation and animals brought into being; but neither of these involves the supreme mystery of a human life and soul given by Jehovah's inbreathing. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 12.

¹³ "Issah," is actually not derived from the masc. "ish." The paronomasia implies that Adam spoke Hebrew, even as the giving of the commonly known names to the animals implies this. Gunkel, Gen.³, 12.

¹⁴ 2 : 23, "Bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh." Probably, a very ancient proverb, much older than J's record; cf. Gen. 29 : 14; Judges 9 : 2; 2 Sam. 5 : 1, 19 : 12, 13; 1 Chron. 11 : 1. Cf., also, Ryle, Gen. 38.

¹⁵ Cf. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 57. One understands presumably that there is no thought of conventional marriage in the text; it is rather the thought of a permanent union which is involved. The Versions understood the union to be monogamous. They read: "They two shall be one flesh." Our present

THE JEHOVIST'S STORY

text is likely to be the original reading, though it is correctly interpreted by the translations of the Versions. Kittel, *Bibl. Hebr.*, in loc.

¹⁶ This implies the special kind of knowledge which the first pair lack as yet — the knowledge of sexual capacities. This implication may be extended now to other expressions in the context, such as: "This now is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" (v. 23), and the latter part of v. 24. In both of these passages the primary reference is to biological adaptation. The term knowledge of good and evil in itself is quite general, but in the circumstances of the present case there is a special and primary allusion to the peculiar relation of male and female, cf. 3 : 7. To be without such knowledge is to be a child, and children these two were; cf. Deut. 1 : 39; Isa. 7 : 15f. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 59; Gen. 3, 14f. For second childhood of old people, cf. 2 Sam. 19 : 35.

¹⁷ Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 53f. Gunkel's contention that there are two myths is to be admitted, even if his analysis of the sources be not in every detail approved.

¹⁸ Gunkel, *Gen.*, 30, 37.

This story of the Lost Garden belongs to a large class of myths which set forth man's conception of an ideal human existence. There are three varieties of such stories, namely, those which place the happy condition in the earliest age of the world; those which place it in the last age of the world; those which place it at an extremely remote distance. The two former kinds may also make use of the feature of remoteness represented by the third kind of story; but the element of remoteness *in time* is not essential to the latter. In the Bible the ideal human existence is at first thought of as in the distant past; then, it came to be thought of as in the future proximate or more remote; and, finally, it was transferred to heaven. With the last-named view is sometimes combined the second view and full blessedness in heaven is postponed till after a final judgment of men.

¹⁹ Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 53ff.

CHAPTER V
THE LOSS OF PARADISE

CHAPTER V

THE LOSS OF PARADISE ¹

In the Garden the serpent was the wisest² of all animals. He addressed the woman³ with an enquiry⁴ as to whether God had not for-

Gen. 3. The Solicitation of the Serpent and the Yielding of the Human Pair

bidden to them all the trees of the garden.

She corrected him: only one specific tree had been put beyond permission. If they

should eat its fruit or even touch the tree they should die. The serpent in his turn brings a correction: Not death, but a knowledge of the Good and the Not-Good like God's own knowledge and that of the angels⁵ is conferred by the fruit of the tree in question. The woman, then, perceiving the goodly appearance of the fruit and won by the hope of securing wisdom through it, plucked and ate of it and gave it to her husband, who also ate. The effect

The Effects of the Tree

was to bring home to both a sense of the impropriety of their naked condition.⁶

They sought to cover themselves by making small aprons of fig leaves⁷ sewed together, and, moreover, hearing the sound of Jehovah God walking in the garden in the early morning, they hid themselves among the trees.⁸ Jehovah God sought for them⁹ and the man explained that he had hidden because of fear, knowing now that he was naked. Jehovah by this perceived that he had eaten of the forbidden fruit and the man explained that the fruit had been given him by the woman whom Jehovah himself had brought to him. Jehovah God thereupon turned to the woman who excused herself

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on the ground that the serpent had deceived her and had thus led her to eat the fruit of the tree.

The Curses Passed on the Serpent, the Woman, and the Man Jehovah then passed a curse upon the serpent, the woman, and the man. On the serpent, He put a curse¹⁰ more terrible than any ever put upon any animal: he should move, henceforth, with his body flat on the ground; his food should be dust; he and all who would spring from him should be in continual conflict with the descendants of the human pair, the serpent kind attacking the man's kind on the ground, the only mode of attack possible, and the man's kind stamping with its feet the darting, biting head of the serpent kind.¹¹

On the woman the following curse¹² is passed: In sore trouble and pain she shall conceive and bear many offspring; she shall have a passion of desire toward her husband; thus he will be enabled to exercise rule over her.¹³

On the man this curse¹⁴ was passed: The ground is cursed, so that it must yield man food; the tilling of the ground will always be hard and toilsome; in seeking to produce wholesome food from the soil, labor will be greatly increased,¹⁵ because it will persist in producing noxious growths of thorns and thistles. Thus will man always seek with difficulty to obtain food for life until death turns him back again to the ground¹⁶ from which he was formed and to which in life he had been a slave.

The Beginning of Motherhood; the Name Eve Now it was that the man called his wife "Khawwah," because she was to become the mother of the whole human race.¹⁷

The Permanent Covering of the Human Body Now it was, too, that Jehovah God provided more adequate covering for the bodies of the first human pair in the form of a loin covering of skins.¹⁸

THE LOSS OF PARADISE

Jehovah God now decided that as man by his act of self-assertion had come to a knowledge with respect to the Good and the Not-Good like to that possessed by Divine beings, he must be excluded from the Garden and made to till the soil;¹⁹ otherwise, his knowledge would bring him to discover and take of the Tree of Life.²⁰ If he should eat of its fruit, he would recover his lost immortality. Thus came man to be expelled from the Garden of God, and was caused to dwell to the east of it.²¹ Nor can men ever hope to return and possibly find the wonderful Tree of Life. For, since the first human pair were expelled, entrance to the Garden from the east has always been prevented by the Cherubim²² Keepers and the zigzagging Flame-sword²³ appointed by Jehovah God to guard the way of the Tree of Life.²⁴

The Crowning
Catastrophe:
Hopeless
Exclusion from
the Garden
of God

NOTES ON CHAPTER V

¹ The subject is not the Fall of Man, but the loss of his original blessedness. Gunkel, Gen.³, 33. The story in 3 : 1-21 was originally an independent myth. Its union with 2 : 4b-25 and with the stories from 3 : 22 to the end of ch. 4 was perhaps an already accomplished fact in the source used by J for the whole section, 2 : 4b — 4 : 26.

² Mt. 10 : 16, cf. 2 Cor. 11 : 3. He is not only subtle, but is here bent on wronging both God and mankind. Such a beast of the field is not the kind of beast which at an earlier stage is in innocent friendship with Adam (2 : 19f), and one may suspect that a link is missing from the chain of the story. The serpent himself must have fallen to become thus opposed to the Creator, and to his own fellowcreature man. Besides, some reason must be found for the serpent's not addressing Adam, with whom alone he had had to do hitherto. Generally speaking it is assumed that the serpent is simply the mouthpiece of a demon (Apoc. Mos. 15-30, Cheyne in Enc. Bib. Art., Serpent Sec. 3. 4., Gordon, E. T. G., 282; cf. Skinner, 72f, 79, 81, Gunkel, Rel. G. G., Art. Paradiesesmythus, No. 4), but it seems preferable to think of a lost story which told how the serpent came to be opposed to God and man. (Cf. Apoc. Mos. l. c.) For the serpent as an animal, cf. "thy seed," v. 15. It is part of the wisdom of the serpent that he should feign ignorance and seek to be informed. Ryle, Gen. 51.

³ Hardly as the more mobile in temperament (Sk. Gu.). The late Jewish legend which speaks of his awakening passion in the woman is more in harmony with the context.

⁴ The serpent pretends ignorance. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 60.

⁵ (a) So the Jewish interpreters; Gunkel, Gen.³, 29.

(b) "Like to" does not mean "the same as," Gunkel, l. c.

(c) Job 15 : 7-8 indicates the existence of a tradition to the effect that the first man had come into possession of Divine wisdom. Ezek. 28 : 1-19, con-

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

tains echoes of an ancient Paradise myth adapted to the requirements of a prophecy against Tyre. The myth seems to presuppose that the being who forfeited Paradise possessed extraordinary wisdom, cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 34.

⁵ At this point myth has become deliberate allegory; the author is now thinking directly of the consequences of a sexual act and fully understands that the eating of the fruit is not the direct cause of these consequences. "A connection between sexual shame and sin (Di.) is not suggested by the passage . . ." Sk. 76. "The idea which Gunkel has propounded, that the knowledge is mainly sexual consciousness and that the direct result of the eating appears in 3 : 7 (Handk., 14f, 25ff) seems hardly to need serious refutation," Gordon, E. T. G., 156. The opinion of the two scholars Di. and Gu., nevertheless seems to be that required by the plain meaning of text and context. It is not intimated that the transaction involved essentially other than the following elements. 1. No sense of shame when naked before the act of eating. 2. The act of eating. 3. A knowledge of nakedness and attempt to conceal it. 4. Hiding from God out of fear because of nakedness. 5. Connection made by God between eating of the tree and knowledge of nakedness. 6. Physical penalties imposed by God on serpent, woman, man, with an added spiritual penalty of passion toward her husband imposed upon the woman. 7. Adam names his wife by a name significant of motherhood. 8. God makes for the pair more adequate coverings of skins.

The conclusion drawn by Di. and Gu. seems more relevant than one which emphasizes purely moral results. It is, however, necessary to go beyond the explicit indications of text and context. 9. The first pair had a moral test imposed upon them; they disobeyed God and became morally culpable. 10. They came to know good and evil as God knows it, i. e., they came to definite intellectual and moral responsibility based on capacity to discriminate good and evil. Cf. Skinner, 94-97.

⁷ (a) The fig tree does not grow in Babylonia. This fact is evidence against a Babylonian origin for the story. Gunkel, Gen.³, 38; Dillmann, Gen.⁵, 74.

(b) "Fig leaves are thick, palmately lobed, and often a span or more across"; Hastings, Dict. Bible, Art. Figs.

⁸ Gunkel, Urg. and P., 62, rightly interprets the words רָחַץ הַיּוֹם, "ruah hayyôm," of the morning. Cf. Cant. 2 : 17; 4 : 6 RV. The act of transgression was an act of night. Cf. Skinner, Gen. 77.

⁹ The God of the story of the Fall is one who does not know where Adam and Eve are when they hide themselves; that is to say, while of superhuman knowledge he is not all-knowing. He does not perceive why the man is afraid of him until the latter reveals that he has become aware of his nakedness. Notice that the entire course of the Fall is drawn out by four questions asked for information by the Divine Being (vs. 9-13). Gunkel, Gen.³, 18f.

¹⁰ (a) An answer to the primitive queries: How comes the serpent (1) to glide along the ground (2), to eat dust (cf. Mic. 7 : 17; Isa. 65 : 25), (3) to be so treacherously hostile to men? Cf. Skinner, 78. Gunkel, Gen.³, 20f. It should be observed that the conflict is the fact emphasized, not the victory of one side over the other. A promise of victory has no logical place in a curse such as this is.

(b) It is possible that the curses Gen. 3 : 14-19 are taken from an old poetical account of the Fall. They are in metrical form. As illustration of the way in which the matter of the curses lends itself to English metrical translation, the following version may serve:

The Curse of the Serpent:

Cursed among cattle and beasts of the wild shalt thou be;
All the days of thy life shalt go flat on the ground and shalt eat of its dust.
I will put bitter hate between thee and mankind,
Between offspring of theirs and of thine.
They shall stamp on thy head; thou shalt snap at their heel.

The Curse of the Woman:

I will now multiply cruel pains of conception for thee;
In distress shalt thou bring forth thy sons.
None the less, to thy husband shall be thy desire;
By its means shall he make thee his slave.

THE LOSS OF PARADISE

The Curse of the Man:

Under curse is the ground for thy sake.
In distress thou shalt eat from it all of thy days,
And to thee it shall yield plague of thistles and thorns.
As thy food, thou shalt have of the plants of the field;
And in sweat of thy face for thy bread thou shalt toil,
Even till thy return to the ground out of which thou wast made.
Yea, thou art dust and to dust shalt go back!

¹¹ This mutual warfare is no natural happening and no accident, but is the working out of the fatally effective curse of Jehovah. The enmity between serpent and man is to be understood as literally as the degradation of the serpent kind. Throughout these curses it is no part of the author's purpose to hold out hope to man. Had there been such an intention it would have taken the form of a promise of possible deliverance from the penalty of death. There is no hint of such a promise.

¹² (a) Answer to the query: Why the troubles of motherhood and continuing sexual desire with the advantage they bring to man? Consider the sequence: 1. Increase of pain and pregnancy. 2. Painful childbirth. 3. Continuing sexual craving. 4. Man makes use of the woman. There is a close logical connection throughout.

(b) For "conception," v. 16, many modern commentators (e.g. Gunkel) read following the Greek "thy groaning." The change required in the Hebrew text is very slight, but does not seem necessary. The sense "I will greatly multiply painful conception for thee" is a fair rendering of the author's thought, and suits the general requirements of the passage.

(c) Vulg., "*Sub viri potestate eris.*"

¹³ The legal rights of a married woman in the Old Testament are closely restricted. A wife is bought to bear children and is owned by her husband for that purpose. It was generally easy for the "ba'al," "owner, lord," to control the "be'ulah," "wife," through the very purpose of their union.

¹⁴ Answer to the query, Why the toilsome labor of man and the painful contest with the evil growths of the soil? Why does the soil produce noxious things and require man to give such hard toil in order to subdue it?

¹⁵ In spite of the story of primitive man engaged in keeping the garden of trees, this curse seems to some to assume that the man was to be a tiller of the soil while still in the garden. It is likely that the inconsistency did not appear to the writer. In v. 23, the tilling of the ground does not begin till after the expulsion from Eden. Cf. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 64.

¹⁶ This is a part of the curse (Di., cf. 2 : 17) as appears from the fact that the reason for the return to the dust is emphatically given, as if not known before. Gordon, *E. T. G.*, 288 f. (for opposite view, Skinner, 84).

¹⁷ (a) The curse of woman is childbirth, of man it is toil. When women come to the age when they cease to be children, they must bear children; when men cease to be children, they must labor to support women and children, cf. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 66.

(b) The reason for giving the name does not represent any known meaning of the name Khawwah, which may mean either "life" or "a living one" (Di., Sk., Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*, Art. Adam and Eve).

(c) V. 20 probably belongs where it stands though it anticipates the fact it implies. This objection to the etymology of the name holds also if v. 20 be placed either before or after 4 : 1 (Di., Sk. suggest this); cf. Gunkel, *Gen.*, 23.

(d) Khawwah is probably an older form of Khayyah.

¹⁸ (a) After Adapa in the Babylonian myth has come to know the secrets of heaven and earth he is presented by kindly gods with a robe with which he covers his nakedness. It is a symbol of advancing civilization.

(b) The garments suggested are the sleeveless ones usually worn under the outside robe and reaching to the knees. Ryle, *Gen.* 57, cf. Nowack, *Hebr. Archaeologie*, I : 121.

(c) *Gen.* 3 : 21 is an interesting indication that Jehovah still feels a kindly interest in man. Ryle, *Gen.* 57.

¹⁹ Deity in the Hebrew view was always jealous of its peculiar prerogatives and dignity, cf. 3 : 5, 11 : 5; *Ex.* 33 : 20; *Isa.* 42 : 8, 48 : 11, etc.

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In the Adapa legend, Ea the Creator of man unwittingly prevents him from gaining immortality. Harper, A. B. L., 314ff.

²⁰ It does not seem necessary to assume that this Tree had been *originally* prohibited. It is a tree to give healing and life to such as need them. There has been no need to seek it hitherto (cf. Sk. 88, Gunkel, in Rel. G. G., Art. Paradiesesmythus, 2, for a different view). Moreover, man has gained a kind of knowledge which will urge him on to seek the Tree of Healing (cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 24).

This whole incident possibly reflects the "jealousy of Jehovah," but the threat of death was found earlier in this version of the Temptation and the exclusion from the Tree of Life is required to fulfil it. The exclusion presupposes some such story as goes before in ch. 3. Nor does the postponing of the actual curse of tilling the soil until after the expulsion seem to involve serious contradiction. The whole chapter may without undue straining of logic be viewed as a unity (cf. Sk. 87ff; Gordon, ETG, 8f). The incomplete sentence of v. 22, harsh as it seems, is probably as it was written by the author.

²¹ Cf. Gen. 11 : 2 J. The LXX adds "him" (i. e. Adam) after "placed." It also inserts "and he placed" after "Eden." Both appear to give a better reading. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 24.

²² (A) 1. The cherubim are guardians of the Garden of God. Cf. Ezek. 28 : 13-16.

2. They guard the way of access to the Tree of Life. Cf. 1 Kgs. 6 : 23ff, 7 : (29), 36; Ezek. 41 : 18-20.

3. They are associated with the lightning. Cf. Ezek. 1 : 4f, 10 : 2ff, 28 : 14-16; Psa. 18 : 8ff (and with thunderings).

Other features mentioned elsewhere are:

4. They fly with wings, which are described as the "wings of the wind," i. e. the clouds. Cf. Psa. 18 : 10, 104 : 3; Ezek. 1 : 4f. The cloud forms seem as "wheels within wheels," Ezek. 1, passim, 10, passim.

5. They form God's seat or His chariot, see ref. supra and Ex. 25 : 22; 1 Sam. 4 : 4; 2 Sam. 6 : 2; Psa. 80 : 1, 99 : 1.

6. They guard the place where God is, Gen. 3 : 24; Ex. 25 : 18-20; Ezek. 10 : 4, 18, 19; Rev. 4 : 6-8.

7. They are composite beings of different aspects, with human hands, and in some cases with human faces (see ref. given), cf. Sk. 89f, Bertholet, R. G. G., ii, 1221.

(B) For the self-moving sword of God or Jehovah, cf. Isa. 27 : 1, 34 : 5-6ff, 51 : 9; Jer. 12 : 12, 47 : 6; Ezek. 21 : 8-17, 28; Deut. 32 : 41-42; Psa. 7 : 12.

²³ Lit. "turning this way and that," cf. Job 37 : 12. The Flame sword is the lightning. Cf. Psa. 18 : 14, 77 : 17; Hab. 3 : 11, and, especially, Ezek. 21 : 10f; Isa. 66 : 15f, 27 : 1; Psa. 7 : 12; Rev. 1 : 16, 2 : 12-16, 19 : 15.

²⁴ *Myth of Engidu* (or *Eabani*) — an incomplete parallel to Gen. 2-3, which illustrates the loss of Paradise. In the First Tablet of the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh (of much older origin than the Hebrew narratives of the beginnings) there is an account of a male being, *Engidu*, who is created by the goddess Aruru in the likeness of the God of heaven, Anu, as a companion for the hero Gilgamesh, because the latter needs such a companion. This being at first lives a primitive life with the beasts of the field and acts as their protector from the hunter. The hunter, advised by Gilgamesh, entices this simple "wild man" by means of a sacred prostitute and woos him away from the beasts. The passion for the woman leads *Engidu* to follow her to the city of Uruk, where Gilgamesh rules, and with him the whilom "wild man" forms a close friendship and begins a "civilized" life. Love lost to him primitive joys, but love also gained for him a nobler life. (Gressmann, TBAT, 41.) Jastrow, Hebr. and Babyl'n Traditions, 209.

The Babylonian Myth of Adapa, as illustrating the loss of immortality. The oldest extant text is from the Amarna period, 14th century, B. C. The fisherman, Adapa, broke the wings of the South Wind because it had wrecked his boat. Anu, the god of the sky, is angry and summons Adapa before him. Ea warns him as he goes that he will be tendered, among other things, bread and water of death, and that he must on no account take them. When he ascends to heaven before Anu, thanks to the good offices of the gods Tammuz and

THE LOSS OF PARADISE

Gishzida, Anu is propitiated and orders that the bread and water of life be presented to him along with other gifts. Remembering Ea's counsel, he, all unwitting of what he does, refuses the priceless food and drink to the astonishment of the great Anu. He thus loses the opportunity to become immortal, and is taken back from the heaven of Anu to the earth again. Cf. Gunkel, *Gen.*¹ 38; Jastrow, *Hebr. and Babyl'n Traditions*, 47ff, where Adapa is tentatively equated with Hebrew "Adam." Adapa is represented as a perfect man of the highest wisdom.

For further parallels to the Paradise story, cf. Skinner, 93, 94.

On the history of interpretation as related to the narrative in *Gen. 3*, cf. Ryle, *Gen.* 62ff.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE NARRATIVES
CONCERNING CREATION AND
PARADISE

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE NARRATIVES CONCERNING CREATION AND PARADISE ¹

The Question
of Unity of
Authorship in
Gen. 1 : 1 —
2 : 4a, 2 : 4b-25

In the two accounts of Creation which Genesis furnishes there are differences which preclude the possibility of one original authorship for both narratives.

Features of
the First
Account:
Gen. 1 : 1 —
2 : 4a

There is much more regard for artistic impression in Gen. 1 : 1 — 2 : 4a than there is in the narrative which follows.² This is seen in the orderly numbering of the creative days with the same formula in each case,³ and in the repetition of other set forms of expression, such as, "and God said,"⁴ "and God saw that it was good,"⁵ "and God called"⁶; "and God blessed."⁷ The repetition of given words is possibly an artistic device; e. g., "light," five times in vs. 3-5; "darkness," three times in vs. 2-5; "waters," five times in vs. 6-7; "firmament," four times in vs. 7-8, cf. also "earth," four times (10-12), "seed," four times (11-12), "lights," "light," five times (14-16), and other instances which might be noted. The same general method of procedure is adhered to in each day: the Creator utters His creative word; the created result appears; it is inspected and pronounced good. Care is exercised to observe an ascending order in the acts of Creation and to prepare the conditions required by each stage of existence. Without light there can be no order. Hence, the creation of light is the first act of the Creator in

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

reducing the primeval chaos to an orderly universe. The next step is to separate⁸ heaven and earth, so as to proceed with the furnishing of the latter with all that properly appertains to it. The third step is the preparation of dry land and the introduction of vegetation. The fourth step is the preparation of the celestial lights before the creation of creatures having organs of vision. The fifth step sees the creation of the lower animals and other animals more remote from man, namely, those of the waters and the air. The final stage brings, to begin with, the animals required for man's service and, thereafter, as the result of a special council of Divine beings,⁹ the creation of human beings in both sexes.¹⁰ In the place of the Creator this godlike human race is to have rule over the earth and all its creatures and to subject the whole to its will, which is presumably the will of the Creator, likewise.¹¹ The manner of the creative process is quite remote from our ways of thinking, and in that respect differs from the manner of the Creator's activity in the next chapter, where the Divine workman proceeds as a human artificer would, trying experiments, moulding, planting, placing, building, etc.¹²

Material
Differences
Between the
Accounts

In addition to differences of form, material differences between the first, or Priestly narrative,¹³ and the second, or Jehovistic narrative,¹⁴ are obvious. In the Priestly narrative vegetation is created long before man;¹⁵ in the Jehovistic narrative it is said that there could be no vegetation until man had been created (2 : 5); the Priestly narrative has the order animals, man¹⁶; the Jehovist reverses this order¹⁷; in the former, human beings are created in both sexes at once; in the latter, the male alone is

CREATION AND PARADISE

created and the creation of woman is an afterthought of the Creator; in the former, man and animals simply come to be because of the direct will of God; in the latter both man and animals are moulded by the Divine Workman out of clay¹⁸; the Priestly author knows a great deal about the sea, but large rivers are not familiarly known; the Jehovistic writer has great rivers in his thought and thinks of the seas as simply wider portions of these; in the vision of the Priest, the ideal dominion of man over the world is in view; in the vision of the Jehovist the ideal blessedness of man in the world.

The Concep-
tion of
Begetting in
the Priestly
Story

Returning to the account of the Priestly narrator exclusively, we shall understand his point of view better as we recall that he describes his account as "the generations of the heavens and the earth" (2 : 4a),¹⁹ so that in some sense he must have considered the creative process as a series of "begettings," much as his subsequent "generations" of Adam (5 : 1ff), Noah (6 : 9),²⁰ the sons of Noah (10 : passim), Shem (11 : 10ff), Terah (11 : 27), Ishmael (25 : 12ff), Isaac (25 : 19), Esau (36 : 1ff) were assuredly thought of as such. It is hardly hazardous to say that the "seven days" are fancifully regarded as each a generation²¹ and that a number of pairs which are brought into the process of creation stand in some relation to the conception of Divine "begetting." There are heaven and earth, the Spirit of God and the Deep,²² Tohu and Bohu (E. V. waste and void), man, male and female. The earth is to "cause to go forth" the growing things (vd. Skinner, 23), which in turn are to propagate their kind by means of their seeds. The waters "beget" by swarming with the aquatic creatures. The earth is, also, to "cause to

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

go forth" the land animals. To both animals and man is specially given a command to reproduce their own "kind" or species.²³

The Priestly account of the Creation assumes the previous existence of the matter of the universe as a chaos, described by the words "Tohu" and "Bohu." This is more particularly described as the "Tehôm"²⁴ or the Watery Deep taken together with a superincumbent darkness. Within the "Tehôm" or Deep, is the material of the "dry land," which "appears" as the waters are removed from it later on in the creative work.²⁵ This primeval chaotic world-stuff plays a part in many mythological cosmogonies. Sometimes, it is represented as a great monster who is opposed to the Divine powers of order and light²⁶; sometimes, it is an inert watery mass out of which, when acted upon by Divine forces, all things arise.²⁷ Something like this occurs in our narrative, where the preliminary step coming before the appearance of light is the brooding or fluttering of the Spirit of God as a bird over the face of the "Tehôm."

In the first narrative there are apparently two divisions of three days each and at the head of each, on the first²⁸ and fourth days respectively, stands a creation of light. (Vd. supra p. 75, n. 21.) The dual creation of light finds a parallel in the Babylonian Creation Myth in which the light-god Marduk brings light into the world, and later places the celestial luminaries in the vault of heaven. There, as in the Hebrew narrative, the firmament is a solid structure. In Gen. 8 : 2 (P), "windows" in the solid firmament let down upon the earth in the form of rain the "waters" which are above the firmament.²⁹

CREATION AND PARADISE

In the record of the fourth day's work (Gen. 1 : 14-19) there is a survival of old Babylonian astral theology. The Creator made the "greater light," the sun, "to rule the day" and "the lesser light," the moon, "to rule the night."

The Special
Significance
of the Fourth
Day's Work
in P

Whether this implies anything more than the use of a conventional form of words is doubtful, but in the mythology of other nations it would mean that the sun and moon were identified with divine beings.³⁰ There is in the Hebrew account an indication of a very special kind suggesting the purposes for which the heavenly bodies were created, namely: to mark off the night from the day, to afford means of preparing the calendar,³¹ to give notice of the feasts and other appointments of the sacred year, to furnish signs by means of which the secret and the future might be known,³² and to give light to the creatures having organs of vision. (Vd. supra p. 38.)

In both Gen. 1 and the second narrative in Gen. 2 the giving of names to various items in the creative result is a matter of definite record: 1 : 5, 8, 10; 2 : 19, 23; cf. 5 : 1. In the mythologies of the nations names sometimes play a significant part in the creation stories.³³ The gift of a name carries with it the powers and prerogatives of the object which bears it.³⁴

At the close of the six days' work of creation God rested on the seventh day and on that account blessed and sanctified it. It is not said that God ordained the seventh day as a Sabbath in the technical religious sense, but the use of the Hebrew verb "shabbath" ("to cease from a task, to rest") with reference to the seventh day is suggested by the Sabbath institution already existing among the Hebrews.³⁵

The Creator's
Rest on the
Seventh Day

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

The second of the two Genesis narratives has its interest mainly in the creation and earliest history of man. It is not an independent narrative, but a part of a larger piece of narration, Gen. 2 : 4b — 4 : 26, 5 : 29,³⁶ which would set forth how man, having been created in happy innocence, lost his innocence and also his blessedness through his self-assertive desire for wisdom. As the arts and conveniences of human life multiplied and men became less dependent upon the direct bounty of the Creator, the sin of self-assertion increased, life became toilsome and strife between men was intensified.³⁷ The dogmatic interest of the prophetic author is sufficiently evident.

**THE SECOND
CREATION
STORY: Its
Dogmatic
Motive**

In the account of man's creation it is shown that man has a dual nature; one part, his body, is made out of clay, the Creator fashioning it as a potter makes his vessel; the other part, the invisible life-soul portion,³⁸ is part of the Creator's own life-soul breathed into man at the beginning of his career.

**The Gift of
Immortality**

It was the intention of the Creator that the gift of the life-soul should remain in man and that man should be immortal³⁹; but owing to sin the Creator withdrew the gift,⁴⁰ and man's body left without its active and preservative principle would have disintegrated and returned to the ground from whence it was taken. This account of the first creation of man is suggested by observation of the common facts of life and death among men.

**THE PRIMI-
TIVE HIS-
TORY OF
MAN: Gen.
2 : 9ff**

Far in the east in the land called Eden, God prepared a garden of trees and placed man therein.⁴¹ His first occupation was the dressing and keeping of the trees of this Garden of God. Into the Garden flowed a

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great world-river which as it issued from the Garden divided into the four great streams which divide and surround different parts of the world.⁴² By God's permission man might eat of all the fruits of the Garden,⁴³ but over against this wide permission there was a single specific prohibition, on the observance of which the permanence of God's gift of life to man depended.⁴⁴ The generous freedom given man was but very slightly conditioned.

**Creation of
Animals in
Gen. 2** The need of social satisfactions for man led to the creation of the land and air creatures who were brought into close relation with man and received their names only as man gave them. Sufficiently intimate and intelligent social life not being found for man in the companionship of animals the Creator was led to provide for the increase of the human species and for the adequate social satisfaction of man by the creation of woman, who is a derivative human being taken from man himself. The relationship introduced by the creation of woman takes precedence in its rights and duties over every other human relationship. The account has no thought of giving special sanction to the institution of the matriarchate or to monogamous marriage.⁴⁵

**Parallels
Between the
Hebrew and
Babylonian
Cosmogonies**

It has been suggested in the preceding discussion that there was a likeness between features of these two Hebrew cosmogonies and parts of the Babylonian Creation Myth. The myth of Creation is presented in varying forms in Babylonian literature and there are parallels between elements of the Hebrew story and elements in these divergent accounts.⁴⁶ It seems sufficient to say that both Hebrew authors (or schools?) were familiar with the Babylonian myths of Creation and con-

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sciously modified these older foreign views in the framing of their own narratives. The description of the creation of man in Gen. 2 : 7, furnishes analogies with accounts coming to us from two distinct Babylonian sources. In one of these,⁴⁷ man is created by a god⁴⁸ out of clay which has been mingled with the blood of the Creator Marduk. In a second source human beings are created by Marduk and the Mother-goddess Aruru-Ishtar out of clay⁴⁹ according to an image of the heaven-god Anu which the goddess has in her mind. The mode of creation is by working clay and trimming it to the form desired.⁵⁰ The Babylonians like the Hebrews recognized that the vital-psychical element in man was in an intimate way related to the same element in the gods.⁵¹ Among the Hebrews the life-soul (*nephesh*) might be identified with the breath, but it was, nevertheless, in the blood. The coming and going of the blood carried with it the coming and going of the breath.

The Incomplete and Fragmentary Character of the Second Creation Account

The second Genesis account offers no full story of the Creation and probably never did. What we have, moreover, is but a fragment, the beginning of which has not been utilized by the editor of the Book of Genesis and is no longer extant.⁵²

Are the Narratives Scientific in Purpose?

Did the editor of Genesis think of these stories as scientific accounts of creation? Scientific consistency is not a serious factor with a man who could combine P's view of Moses and his work with that of earlier sources. We may allow that *for him* both stories reflect facts and may be reconciled, if one interpret with a view to reconciling them. *For us* each story contains elements impossible to a scientific view and each story so contradicts the other that both cannot

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be true. The stories are products of the universal myth-making faculty, which attempts to take up phenomena into a comprehensive explanation, cast, indeed, in the forms of the creative imagination, but reflecting the profoundest and most dynamic beliefs of the inventor's soul. Thus myths are generally of profound religious significance and interest. It is to be expected that myths submitted to a long process of criticism, as these were, would at many points *approach* a scientific viewpoint. "The Biblical cosmogony gives us a representation of folklore not in its early, crude and superstitious form, but as it was shaped and adapted to be the vehicle of religious thought, in accordance with the needs of a much later age, with the teachings of the Hebrew prophets, and the monotheistic worship of Jehovah."⁵³

THE "FALL
OF MAN."
Gen. 3. Gen-
eral Signifi-
cance

In the prophetic writer J's account of the creation of man it is shown that the Creator provided richly for man's happiness, for his occupation, for his companionship, for his moral culture, and for the continuance of human life on the earth without the painful necessity of birth.⁵⁴ In the account of the "Fall" the same writer shews how man by self-assertion ruined his happiness, brought hardship into his labor, introduced strife into his social relations, made moral culture exceedingly difficult, and established the necessity of child-birth⁵⁵ because of the new fact of death.

The Tempter
and His
Appeal

The agent of the Fall is "a beast of the field" (Gen. 3 : 1), and the wisest of them, the serpent,⁵⁶ who at this primitive time walks upright. Like all other beasts he is on intimate terms with Adam and Eve and employs a speech which they understand.⁵⁷ He ad-

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dresses to the woman the temptation because she is the less informed one of the human pair.⁵⁸ His argument is: God has declared that to know is to invite trouble and death; but God Himself knows all things, and yet is subject to neither trouble nor death; God must know that to eat of the fruit of the Tree which bestows knowledge of Good and Not-good can bring only good. The temptation is the great typical one which meets and ruins men everywhere, viz: the temptation to believe that knowledge of things as they are will bring Divine illumination, efficiency, and satisfaction. Such, in the view of the Prophetic writer, is the fatally subtle appeal which the whole world knows. He thinks the conclusion drawn to be false to facts. Rather, has knowledge made life toilsome, full of pain, full of strife. Above and beyond all, there is the craving to prove the deepest mystery of human existence⁵⁹ — its origin — which has brought untold sorrow to men. That is the thought of the author. The writer, in his view of the event of the Fall, is influenced by his philosophical position as to the origin of sin and trouble, but he is not simply an artist composing an allegory as a literary medium for the conveying of certain practical teachings. He looks upon himself, rather, as an historian, though he has no such serious notion of his obligations as a modern writer would have.

The Sentence
of Death Before his loss of Paradise man in the Garden has free access to the Tree of Life and immortality is assured him.⁶⁰ When he falls, the attainment of immortality can no longer be by the original gift of the Creator, and access to the Tree of Life is denied to him. Man is shut up now to the sentence of death.

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The choice before Adam and Eve, as before every man, is the choice between a true moral attitude, maintained in spite of everything that would compete with it, and an attitude of desire⁶¹ which is indifferent to duty.

**The Nature
of the Choice**

It is clear that to the author the Fall implies moral wrong-doing. The disobedience is a wrong thing; it brings a sense of guilt; it entails fear of God; it causes a feeling of shame⁶²; it leads to self-excuse.

At the same time, the writer is conscious that man, by following his self-assertive desire to know and act for himself has made what he after all may consider to be gains. His happy dependence upon the free-growing bounty of nature is exchanged for an agricultural mode of life by which man proves himself the lord of the soil. His food is enriched thus in its variety. He has learned to clothe himself⁶³ and has invented some rudimentary social conventions. He has ceased to be a care-free child and become a contestant battling in a strife. Wisdom has come to him and arts will come with wisdom. But with it all comes ever-growing sorrow and vanity. He has had his eyes opened to know both good and evil.⁶⁴

**Gains
Recorded in
Gen. 3**

The woman has won knowledge of a deep Divine mystery and will have her own great honor but always through pain and cost. She, too, will know good and also evil. There is no complaint against the Creator's action. He has been just and in the deferring of death for a time shews Himself disposed to be merciful as well.

**Gain and Loss
to the Woman**

Jehovah as He appears in the story of the Fall is the same naïvely conceived being as in J's story of the Creation. He walks in His Garden in the early

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morning, He misses the human pair and not knowing where they are, calls loudly in hope of answer, the human pair are concealed from Him, He asks questions for information, He makes garments of skins and places them about the human pair, He is jealous of the man's knowledge, and therefore drives man out of His Garden and sets guards at the gate. (Vd. supra p. 53ff.)

The Conception of God in Gen. 3

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI

¹ In this chapter some matters already discussed are again taken up in order that some new aspects of special importance may be noticed.

² In reality, in its unstudied freedom and play of imagination the second account is in the highest degree artistic. Cf. Skinner, 51f.

³ Vs. 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31.

⁴ Vs. 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, 28, 29; a similar expression occurs in the second account only in 2 : 18.

⁵ Vs. 4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, not found in the second narrative.

⁶ Vs. 5, 8, 10 bis.

⁷ Vs. 22, 28; 2 : 3.

⁸ וַיַּבְדֵּל, *wayyabhdil*, "and he divided," is applied to the separation of light from darkness, and of heavenly waters from the terrestrial waters, both of which are essential, the former to the ordering of the primeval chaos generally, the latter to the ordering of the earth. A further division of the universe is indicated without the use of *wayyabhdil*, "and he divided," namely, the separation of land and sea by the gathering (*yiqqāwā*) of the waters into one place. These three separations: Light and darkness, heaven and earth, sea and land, are thought of as preparatory conditions to life on the earth. To these vast cosmic phenomena God Himself gives names; possibly the naming of the minor phenomena is thought to be left to man (cf. J, 2 : 19, etc.).

⁹ Cf. "and Elohim said, 'Let us make man in our image, etc.,"' 1 : 26, also 3 : 22; 11 : 7; Isa. 6 : 8; Jeremias, ATAO², 171f; supra p. 41, n. 20.

¹⁰ A single pair? Vd. Gen. 5 : 1ff; supra p. 42, n. 24.

¹¹ Good as was the world as it was created, man entered it to find a task awaiting him. He must look upon the whole as material and means for a creative activity of his own. Mitchell, W. B. A., 111f. Note that the life of the animal creation is not at man's disposal, Gen. 1 : 29 (nor may animals destroy life). For a comparison of P's account with scientific conclusions, vd. Mitchell, op. cit., 116f.

¹² Cf. with these the staple expressions of the first account: God "creates," "makes," "speaks" or "commands," and the desired result appears. Vd. Dillmann, Genesis⁶, 40-41; Driver, Genesis⁷, 35f. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 110, thinks that these different expressions in Gen. 1 represent different modes of operation and point to composite authorship. His conclusion seems to press verbal differences too far. Composite authorship is, however, more plausibly suggested by such duplicates as 2 : 1, 2 : 2a. Skinner, Gen. 8.

¹³ This, as being derived from the Priestly source employed in the Hexateuch, is to be designated the Priestly Narrative of the Creation.

¹⁴ This belongs to the Jehovistic Prophetic source which alone uses the Divine name Jehovah between Gen. 2 and Ex. 3.

¹⁵ Vegetation, third day; man, sixth day.

¹⁶ Water, man, trees, animals, woman is J's order. He omits any particular account of light, heaven, land and sea, heavenly bodies, plants, fishes. Gunkel, Gen.³, 4.

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¹⁷ In his view, animals are made because the Creator has seen that man in his solitude lacks something of blessing, 2 : 18, 19. The Babylonian Creation story places the creation of animals after that of man in at least one late version, KB. vi, p. 40, ll. 19-30. But in the great poem of creation "Enuma êlis" the order is animals and then man, KAT³, 585f.

¹⁸ From the conception of the image of God in which man, male and female, is created according to P it would be impossible to exclude the "body." Vd. supra 38 : 6, Gunkel, Urg. and P., 106.

According to P the "image" is not lost in Adam's descendants, vd. Gen. 9 : 6, cf. 5 : 3.

¹⁹ Such titles in P usually stand at the head of the passage concerned. Here the title comes at the end. Probably, it has been moved from before 1 : 1 by an editor, vd. supra p. 39, n. 1; Dillmann, Gen. 8, 39.

²⁰ The list has not been preserved.

²¹ Gunkel, Urg. and P., 101. The days do not correspond to the creative acts which seem to be as follows: 1. Light. 2. Heaven. 3. Land and Sea. 4. Plants. 5. Lights. 6. Fish and sea monsters and fowl. 7. Land animals. 8. Men. The Rabbinical tradition knew of *ten works*; P. Aboth 5 : 1. Most moderns give a list of eight works. Skinner, Gen. 8.

The two divisions of the Creative Period and their parallels are here shown:

I	II
Day 1 — Light	Day 4 — Lights
Day 2 — Waters divided	Day 5 — Waters peopled
Heaven placed	Fowl of heaven
Day 3 — Earth prepared	Day 6 — Earth peopled
Vegetation	Vegetation assigned as food

This day scheme is original in Hebrew, though a suggestion of it may have come from the Babylonian Epic of Creation with its seven tablets. Many have found in the dual principle of works on the one hand and days on the other evidence of an older original adapted to a new arrangement. It does not seem necessary to assume more than that a current doctrine of creation which recognized eight acts of the Creator was accepted as a matter of course by P. The doctrine perhaps included a division of the acts into two parallel groups. The uniformity of style and thought seems to preclude an interweaving of two literary sources or the adoption by P of matter from a written document. Skinner, Gen. 9f. The second Creation account speaks of the creation of heaven and earth as occupying one day (2 : 4b). Gunkel, Gen. 3, 5.

²² The Hebrew מְרִירָה, *merahepheth*, seems to imply a motion as of a bird hovering, though possibly in the present case the special meaning of "brooding" as on a nest is intended. As the effect of the brooding is not made clear, one must suppose that the allusion represents a fragment from an old Creation myth. Cf. Dillmann, Genesis 6, in loc.; Gunkel, Urg. and P, 102; vd. supra p. 40, n. 7. There are several other indications of borrowings from an older source, cf. Tôhû wabôhû, Tehôm, etc. Gunkel, op. c. 110.

²³ It seems that the distinct command to *produce* 1 : 11, 1 : 20 (cf. Mother Earth), implies the gift of a new power to things already created; and similarly in the case of the command to animals and man to reproduce their kind. Cf. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 105, vd. above p. 40, n. 18, 19, 23. J does not think of man as reproducing his kind before he sinned.

²⁴ In the Babylonian Creation Myth this name in the form "Tiâmat" is found as that of the primeval chaos monster who is identical with the turbulent Deep.

²⁵ Psa. 104 : 6.

²⁶ A conception reflected in Babylonian mythology and indeed in many passages of the Old Testament and in other Jewish cosmogonies, cf. Job. 26 : 7ff.

²⁷ So in the Rig Veda, cf. Bertholet, Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch, 155f; for Egypt, Chantepie de la Saussaye, L. R. G., i, 146.

²⁸ The difficulty of dividing between night and day before the appearance of the heavenly bodies was simply not understood. Cf. Isa. 60 : 19f; Zech. 14 : 6, 7; Rev. 21 : 23, 22 : 5; 2 Ezra 6 : 40.

²⁹ In the Hebrew conception of the firmament it rested on pillars, Job 26 : 11. In the "upper waters" Jehovah lays the beams of his "upper chambers," Psa. 104 : 3; Psa. 78 : 23f, the manna is rained down through the "doors of

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heaven." In Babylonian mythology the windows and doors of the heavenly vault are provided with bolts and bars and celestial guardians are appointed to open and close them. Vd. Jastrow, R. B. A., 428, 435; cf. Jeremias, ATAO², 176. Vd. supra 37 : 1.

³⁰ von Baudissin points out (Stud. Sem. Rel., i, 120f) that the creation of these heavenly bodies is placed at the head of the second section of the creative work in which only animated creatures appear. Cf. Deut. 4 : 19; Isa. 40 : 26; Job 38 : 7, and especially Gen. 2 : 1; Judg. 5 : 20; Jeremias, ATAO², 166.

³¹ Cf. Jastrow, R. B. A., 434.

³² Joel. 2 : 10, 30f.

³³ Cf. the last canto of the Babylonian Creation Epic, which is largely given over to the investiture of the Creator, Marduk, with honorific names.

³⁴ Cf. the name of Jehovah, God of Israel, as declared by Himself, Ex. 34 : 6. Vd. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 103. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 11.

³⁵ The Sabbath institution among the Hebrews is much older than this tradition of P as to the Creation. The institution originates in a regard for the number seven as sacred (because connected with the seven planets?) and is probably as old as the seven day week. The Sabbath conception of P with its stress on the negative aspects of Sabbath keeping is probably influenced to a considerable extent by Babylonian views of the seventh day; Gunkel, Urg. and P., 108, cf. Zimmern, KAT³, 592ff. The seventh day was called *Sepattu* among the Babylonians, and in one case was clearly connected with the new moon. The days were days when one must take special care not to displease the gods. This implied abstention from many common acts. Cf. H. D. B., Sabbath; McNeile, Exodus, 121ff; Jeremias, ATAO², 184ff. Cf. 40ff. Vd. supra p. 42, n. 29.

³⁶ This larger narrative is made up of passages taken from different sources e. g., 2 : 10-14, 3 : 22-24, 4 : 12b-15, etc., are not of a piece with their respective contexts. Vd. supra p. 48, n. 9. Cf. p. 46f, 85, n. 1.

³⁷ Cf. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 52; Gen. 3, p. 1.

³⁸ נֶפֶשׁ, "nephesh," Gen. 2 : 7, a factor embracing both the vital and spiritual elements. The same principle for primitive man as causes motion and change in the world without, Gunkel, Urg. and P., 56. Vd. supra p. 40, n. 22.

³⁹ Gordon, E. T. G., 152.

⁴⁰ (a) Gen. 6 : 3. In 3 : 22-24 it is intimated that the man who by sin has forfeited the right to immortality, by reason of his knowledge of good and evil may find and partake of the Tree of Life and regain what he has lost. This *restorative* function of the "life plant" is an aspect emphasized elsewhere, e. g., Prov. 13 : 12, 15 : 4; Ezek. 47 : 12; Rev. 2 : 7, 22 : 2; Enoch 25 : 4f; 2 Ezr. 8 : 52, and in the ethnic myths, cf. Philpot, The Sacred Tree, 130-1. If this aspect be that in the thought of J, there is no conflict between an original gift of immortality and *later* the possible regaining of immortality by partaking of the Tree of Life. This holds even if plurality of sources in Gen. 3 be established. Cf. Skinner, 52.

(b) Some modern commentators question the place of the Tree of Life in the original accounts of the Garden. Two trees are named in 2 : 9, but in 2 : 17, 3 : 3, 6, 11, only the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil is mentioned. Hence, it is claimed that "the Tree of Life" in 2 : 9 represents a later addition. But, as we have said, both trees may be looked for in God's Garden. The one that may not be touched by childlike human beings is, of course, the Tree of Dangerous Knowledge. When immortality has been forfeited (3 : 17-19), the recovery of it lies in the decision of the Divine Owner of the Garden as to whether the now mortal pair shall remain there and in due course find the other tree, the Tree of Life. The definite article in 3 : 3, etc., looks back to 2 : 17, not to 2 : 9. Vd. supra p. 48, n. 10. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 16f.

⁴¹ Eden used to be taken as a coined name, "Pleasant Land" (vd. Dillmann, Genesis⁶, 55f). It is, perhaps, better to think of it as the Sumer-Assyrian "édinú", the uncultivated steppe," which the Hebrew writer has regarded as a proper name, Zimmern, KAT³ 527ff; Jeremias, ATAO² 188; Mitchell, WBA, 123f.

⁴² The vs. Gen. 2 : 10-14 are secondary. They are however a part of the story as revised and expanded. Vd. supra p. 48, n. 9.

⁴³ Evidently, the fruit of the Life tree was included, cf. 3 : 22 (contra Mitchell,

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WBA, 125f). No such "wonder garden" would be without its "Tree of Life," cf. Rev. 2 : 7, 22 : 2; Dillmann, Genesis⁶, in loc. Cf. Jeremias, ATAO², 201f. Both Gen. 1 and Gen. 2 represent primitive man as vegetarian.

⁴⁴ He might not eat of the fruit of the tree which conferred the power to distinguish Good from Not-good. Did he do so he would rival Deity (3 : 22). Much fruitless speculation has sought to determine the kind of tree represented by this forbidden fruit. Judging from Gen. 3 : 6 it had no other name known to men than עֵץ הַיָּדָעַת הַטֹּב וְהָרָע 'ets hadda'ath tôbh wârâ' (=the tree of the knowing of good and evil). The Tree of Life also belonged to no earthly species, Rev. 22 : 2.

⁴⁵ Mitchell, WBA, 139f.

⁴⁶ Vd. Skinner, 45ff, Driver, 27ff, Ryle, Gen. 43. e. g. (1) The watery chaos (Hebr. Tehôm, Babyl'n Tiâmat).

(2) The primeval darkness.

(3) The earth when created bringing forth vegetation (cf. Berosus).

(4) The spirit and the waters (the mingling of the waters of Apsu and Tiâmat).

(5) The *wē* in the creation of man (cf. Bel-Marduk and the god who decapitates him in the account of Berosus). Cf. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 115.

(6) Light before heavenly bodies.

(7) The solid firmament as a divider between upper and lower waters.

On the subject generally, cf. Jastrow, Hebr. and Bab'n Traditions, Chap. II.

⁴⁷ That reported by Berosus.

⁴⁸ Possibly, Marduk himself.

⁴⁹ Ishtar was called the "Potter" or "Modeller" as the fashioner of mankind, KAT³, 429. Most commonly Ea is thought to be the Father or Creator of Mankind in the older Babylonian accounts, KAT³, 506, 586.

⁵⁰ KAT³, 506.

⁵¹ Both in Hebrew and Babylonian, the man is in the likeness of God. The body is made after a Divine image and is vivified by Divine blood or breath. Cf. Gordon, E. T. G., 143ff.

⁵² Dillmann, Genesis, in loc.; Skinner, 51.

⁵³ H. E. Ryle, Genesis, p. xxxiii; cf. p. xxxviii. for a just appreciation of the purpose and value of the early narratives in Genesis.

⁵⁴ Jub. 3 : 34.

⁵⁵ Jub. l. c. Apoc. Mos. 1. (Kautzsch, ii, 514). As has been pointed out (supra p. 55, n. 1) the purpose of the narrative in Gen. 3 is to explain misfortune rather than sin. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 67.

⁵⁶ (a) Vd. supra p. 55, n. 2. The serpent is not identified with the Devil as the Prince of Evil until we pass out of the Old Testament into the Apocrypha and the New Testament, Wisd. 2 : 24, 3 : 1; John 8 : 44; cf. Rev. 12 : 9, 20 : 2. Vd. Mitchell, WBA, 142f; Dillmann, Gen. ⁶, 69ff.

(b) The wisdom of the Serpent, vd. Matt. 10 : 16; 2 Cor. 11 : 3.

⁵⁷ Jub. 3 : 28. Cf. Apoc. Mos. 16ff. (Kautzsch, ii, 520f); cf. Num. 22 : 28f.

⁵⁸ Dillmann, Gen.⁶, 72. The woman herself had not heard the Divine prohibition, Gen. 2 : 16, 17. but cf. paraphrase supra, p. 53.

⁵⁹ (a) Vd. supra p. 56, n. 6. This is the meaning of the woman's tempting Adam, of the sense of shame which followed the act, and of the curse put upon the woman. In Jewish theology the temptation to eat the fruit of the tree was prepared for by an appeal of the Tempter to passion in the woman, Weber, Jüdische Theol.², 219.

(b) It should not be lost sight of that the recognition of sexual capacities is attributed in the story to the effect of the fruit which was eaten. The author in thus representing the result is a conscious allegorist setting forth familiar facts in metaphorical guise. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 18.

⁶⁰ Rel. in Gesch. u. Gegenw., Art. Baum d. Erkenntniss, I, 954f. There is a seeming inconsistency between an *original* gift of immortal life by the Divine inbreathing of the life-soul and an immortality to be *acquired* by eating of the fruit of the Tree of Life. In truth, two hypotheses of the source of immortality might appear to be blended in Gen. 2 and 3. Gordon, E. T. G., 154f. The harmony appears to lie in the fact that man feels a need of the Tree of Life only to regain a *lost* immortality. Cf. supra p. 58, n. 20. Cf. p. 48, n. 10f. In the Gilgamesh Epic the maiden Sabitu tells the hero, who seeks "life" for his

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diseased body, that the gods when they created man fixed death as his fate; Jastrow, *Hebr. and Babyl'n Traditions*, 211.

⁶¹ Especially, of desire to know. Vd. *supra*. Gordon, *E. T. G.*, 156ff, but Gordon takes too little account of the physical aspects of the Fall, vd. next note, cf. *Gen.* 3 : 16. The consequences are physical with tremendous moral implications.

⁶² The shame is connected by the narrator with the act of eating the fruit, but it is sure that it has also to do with the nakedness of the human pair, *Gen.* 2 : 25, 3 : 10f. In fact, the "knowledge" given by the fruit of the tree is related, beyond doubt, to some act which has quite changed the human view of the naked human body, Dillmann, *Gen.*⁶, 71f.

⁶³ Vd. *supra* p. 57, n. 18. Later, God made him a more adequate and permanent body covering, i. e., the beginnings of all the permanent arts are of Divine inspiration.

⁶⁴ Cf. Gordon, *E. T. G.*, 155f.

CHAPTER VII

THE INCREASE OF THE RACE AND THE
INCREASE OF SORROW

CHAPTER VII

THE INCREASE OF THE RACE AND THE INCREASE OF SORROW. GEN. 4

Eve was given from Jehovah a son² whose name she, in grateful joy, called Cain.³ After him she bore Abel.⁴ As these sons grew up, the elder tilled the soil as his father had done, while the younger followed a new calling, that of the shepherd. As crops were gathered and the flock increased each brought to Jehovah an offering, the one of the crop, the other of the firstling lambs, whose fat he presented (by burning). The offering⁵ of Abel was accepted⁶ that of Cain was not. At this, Cain was angry, but Jehovah reproved him, reminding him that if he came without sin,⁷ his offering, too, would find acceptance. Later, Cain said to Abel, Let us go into the field, and while they were⁸ in the field he in anger slew Abel his brother. Jehovah, nevertheless, had heard the cry of the shed blood⁹ and enquired of Cain where Abel was. Cain denied any knowledge of him and Jehovah brought home to him his deed and laid on him a curse. The ground¹⁰ which had received Abel's blood will no longer yield its increase to Cain.¹¹

So he went away from the face of Jehovah and dwelt in the land of Nod on the east of Eden. There his wife¹³ bore him a son whom he named Enoch.¹⁴ Cain built there the first city and named it Enoch after his son. The son of Enoch was 'Irada; 'Irada's son was Mehujael; Mehujael's son was Methushael;

The Story of
the Primitive
Race,¹ Gen.
4 : 1-12 a

¹² Gen. 4:16-24
The Genealogy
of the Cainites

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Methushael's son was Lamech. Lamech was the first who had more than one wife.¹⁵ By his wife Adah (= Dawn?¹⁶) he had a son Jabal,¹⁷ who was the first to keep herds and flocks and to follow the wandering life of one who lives in tents. Adah had another son, Jubal, who was the first musician.¹⁸ By his other wife, Zillah (= Shadow), Lamech had a son, Tubal-Cain,¹⁹ who was the first to make weapons of bronze and iron.²⁰ Zillah had, also, a daughter, Naamah. Lamech it was who was wont to recite to his wives the following boast song.

Hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech; listen to my speech.

A man I slew who merely wounded me, a boy merely for my bruise;

If Cain were seven times avenged; then Lamech seventy and seven.²¹

Gen. 4 : 12b-
15. Cain
Banished to
the Desert ²²

Jehovah doomed Cain to be a fugitive²³ among men and he complained that the punishment was too great to be borne.

He was to be banished from the arable portion of the earth away from Jehovah's face,²⁴ and as a fugitive stranger his life would be a prey to the first one who might capture him. Jehovah then mitigates the penalty so far as to put a tribal mark on Cain²⁵ and thus assure him of the protection²⁶ of those who will fully avenge any harm which may be done him.

Gen. 4 : 25-26
Resumption
of the Adam
Story in the
Sethite Line.²⁷

After Cain slew Abel God gave Adam and Eve a son who as making up for the loss of Abel was called Seth.²⁸ Seth had a son Enosh in whose days men began the worship of Jehovah.²⁹

THE INCREASE OF THE RACE

Gen. 5 : 29
(The End of
the Sethite
Descent of J)

[And Lamech begat a son] and he called his name Noah saying, This same shall comfort (niḥem)³⁰ us in the toil of our hands by reason of the ground which Jehovah hath cursed.

GENERAL
NOTES ON
GEN. 4

The race-mother brings children into the world and the avocations of men multiply. Of the first two sons the elder, Cain, follows the calling of his father Adam; the younger, Abel, takes up the new calling of a shepherd. In the Jehovist writer's opinion, the calling of the shepherd is not as old as that of the tiller of the soil.³¹ In the opinion of another Jehovist source, the shepherd does not appear in human history until the eighth generation (Gen. 4 : 20). In the process of time, it appeared that God shewed approval of the shepherd and gave no special sign of approval of the agriculturalist. The result was that hatred arose between the men of the two callings and the agriculturalist turned against his brother, the shepherd, and slew him. The sequel tries to shew apparently how the institution of blood-revenge had its origin; how through blood-shedding and the ex-communication from the kindred group which ensued the wandering Bedouin of the desert took their origin from men of settled habit of life³²; how the custom of asylum and that of clientage began.³³ There are inconsistencies in the story, but 12b-15 is only a fragment, and complete consistency with the context is hardly to be looked for. It assumes a populated earth with its designated regions having names. It is not clear why Jehovah should spare Cain, an intentional murderer; and what harmony there is between the Cain of Gen. 4 : 12b-15 and the Cain of Gen. 4 : 12a or 16f cannot be made out. It seems as

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though the verses 12b-15 were intended to account for the term "land of Nod" (wandering) and thus account for the origin of the Bedouin.³⁴

The genealogy of Cain's descendants in Gen. 4 : 16-24 represents an attempt to explain the further growth of civilization. Verse 16 is a continuation of verse 12a.³⁵ As the result of a Divine curse upon him, Cain the tiller of the soil migrates to the Far East and there his race increases. He is there the builder of the oldest city.³⁶ Five generations from that time elapse and a social change is noted in the introduction of polygamy. In the sixth generation, new arts arise. The shepherd and herdsman enters,³⁷ the musician and the worker in metals make a beginning.³⁸ With work in metals³⁹ comes the forging of weapons, and with that more strife and trouble, as the song of Lamech reveals (Gen. 4 : 23-24).⁴⁰

As Abel the man beloved of God has been slain God gives to Eve another son who is to share the Divine favor, likewise. To this son, Seth, is born Enosh, in whose time the worship of the Deity under the name Jehovah is begun.⁴¹ This author was not aware of the inconsistency between this statement and that which reports that Cain and Abel made offerings to Jehovah previous to the time of Enosh. What was intended was to shew Enosh as continuing the acceptable worship of Abel, but the discrepancy between the sources has not been harmonized and Enosh appears as the one in whose time *began* the worship of Jehovah among men.

It may be indication of conscious literary artifice when in these early chapters of Genesis we find the personages who figure in the narrative bearing names so closely suggestive of features in the stories themselves:⁴² Adam = [man from] the ground; Eve =

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[bearer of] life; Cain = worker in iron or bronze, or [man of] the spear;⁴ Abel = [man who is like] breath;⁴³ Seth = [man who is] appointed [by God]. We do not need to assume an allegorical purpose in the chapters merely because of these names. The feature just noted is indeed more suitable to myth making. What was more probably intended was to reconstruct the actual course of human life from the Creation onward. It should not be necessary to say that the Hebrew writer had no more material at his command for such an attempt than had been supplied by his own imagination or that of others, and that any thought of historical trustworthiness must be excluded. The peoples of the world have attempted the same task and in every instance we do not hesitate to think of the result as pure myth.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VII

¹ Gen. 4 contains many contradictions (vd. sequel) which require us to assume a plurality of sources of a similar character (J). There is a logical continuity between Gen. 3 and Gen. 4: 1-12a, even though Abel introduces a new vocation, that of the shepherd. The true continuation of 4: 1-12a is, however, not given. The editor of J has pieced out the story of Cain and Abel in that passage with (1) a story of Cain's descent, vs. 16-24; (2) a story of the true descent from Adam through a substitute son, Seth, who is given by Jehovah in place of Abel, vs. 25-26. Neither story agrees with 4: 1-12a; cf. Abel a shepherd with Jabal, the first shepherd, and Cain and Abel worshippers of Jehovah with the first worshipper of Jehovah in the age of Enosh. There is, finally, a fragment of another Cain and Abel story in 4: 12b-15. In this Cain a Bedawi is very different from the farmer Cain of 12a and the city builder of 17b. Cf. a different view in Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 68; Gen. 3, 40f. The story of Cain and Abel in both versions looks apparently to the explanation of how the Kenite tribe of Bedouin originated. If one ask how Kenites, who were worshippers of Jehovah, came to be brought under a curse we may recall that Cain worships Jehovah and is under Jehovah's protection, but is still not allowed to remain in the cultivated land where Jehovah's presence is found. Skinner, *Gen.*, 111f, holds that a fusion of types accounts for Cain.

Though there be logical continuity between Chap. 3 and 4: 1-12a and even verbal resemblances between them one will nevertheless discover a difference in the style of narration between the two. Note also that 2: 4b-3: 24 uses "Jehovah God" while ch. 4 employs "Jehovah." In the former passage "God" is probably a harmonistic addition to make the Creation stories more of a piece; but cf. Skinner, *Gen.* 2, 98-101.

² Children were not begotten in the Garden of God; nor will they be in Paradise regained, according to Matt. 22: 30 (Mark 12: 25; Lk. 20: 34-36). As far as man is concerned, the "curses" of Gen. 3 seem to presuppose exclusion from Eden in order to their fulfilment, cf. Gunkel, *Gen.* 3, 41.

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³ Explained as "gotten" or better "brought forth" (Dt. 32 : 6; Prov. 8 : 22; Psa. 139 : 13; Gen. 14 : 19, 22); vd. Skinner, in loc. Ryle, Gen. 68f.

The mother names the child as in J generally. The child was in theory at least the mother's property, Gunkel, l. c.

⁴ Not explained. Probably = Jabal, "herdsman," cf. v. 20. Ryle, Gen. 69.

⁵ Minḥah is not usually a propitiatory offering. Here it is eucharistic apparently. Cf. Ryle, Gen. 70.

⁶ How, is not made known; why, vd. v. 7. Ordinarily confidence was felt that a sacrifice was accepted if the ritual of the sacrifice had been precisely observed. There was no need felt of any further sign. It is to be presumed that the words "in process of time" cover a period of many years in the present instance. There was, no doubt, a Hebrew tradition which described Adam's relations to Jehovah after the "Fall." That this tradition may have included indications of the nature of acceptable sacrifice is suggested by 4 : 4 and by the words "if thou doest well . . . if thou doest not well" in 4 : 7 (= "if thou offerest as thou knowest is right, etc.," which would imply, probably, the offering of a firstling and the burning of its fat parts. There was felt to be no good reason why an agriculturalist should not do this as well as a shepherd. Cain would not. Therein lay his offence; cf. LXX, Gen. 4 : 7). For other interpretations vd. Ryle, Gen. 71.

⁷ Text corrupt. Cf. Gunkel, Gen. 3, 43f.

The special difficulty in v. 7 lies in the clause "sin coucheth at the door." It has been assumed that the figure is that of a wild beast ready to spring; but the clause which follows is clearly a reminiscence of 3 : 16 and the figure is one of *craving* on the part of sin (even as the craving of the woman). Cain is allowing himself to be mastered by sin instead of mastering it. The word translated "coucheth" refers sometimes to persons reclining or lying down or to animals lying down in a fold or pasture. It does not naturally suggest a purpose to attack some one. To harmonize with the purpose of the writer, therefore, I venture to propose a somewhat bold reconstruction of the Hebrew text as follows:

Massoretic text:

וּאִם לֹא תֵיטִיב לַפֶּתַח הַטָּאָה רִבְיָן וְאֵלֶיךָ הַשְׂוֹקֶתָּ וְאִתָּהּ הַמְשַׁלְבִי-

Suggested emendation:

וּאִם לֹא תֵיטִיב לַפֶּתַח הַטָּאָה רִבְיָן וְאֵלֶיךָ הַשְׂוֹקֶתָּ וְאִתָּהּ הַמְשַׁלְבִי-

Translation: And if thou doest not well, at (the) door of sin thou art lying, and toward thee is his desire; but thou shouldst rule over him.

⁸ Emended, following the Samaritan and Versions. Kittel, Bibl. Hebr., in loc.; cf. Ryle, Gen. 74f.

⁹ (a) Uncovered blood calls for vengeance, Job 16 : 18; Ezek. 24 : 7f; W. Robertson Smith, R. S., 417, n. 5; cf. 1 Kgs. 21 : 19.

(b) 4 : 10b. It is better to translate: "Listen! thy brother's blood is crying to me from the soil." Cf. Ryle, Gen. 74.

¹⁰ (a) The recurring relation of the "ground" (adamah) to a curse on man (Adam) is noteworthy, Gen. 3 : 17-19, 4 : 10-12a. Cf. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 71; Genesis 3, 45.

(b) 4 : 11a is an elliptical expression whose full sense seems to be: "And now cursed art thou *in respect to what thou receivest* from the ground." In Cain's case as in Adam's case it is a curse laid upon the soil which is the means of bringing a curse on the man. "From the ground" does not refer to Cain's expulsion.

¹¹ 12b-15 another version of the curse. The continuation of 12a is found in 16-24 (by another hand).

¹² Cf. Skinner 122ff. The purpose of the genealogy is to account for the rise of certain features in human civilization: (1) cities; (2) the vocation of the nomad pastoral class; (3) the art of the musician and that of the smith. The author (J) in 11 : 1-9 holds the same view that the city group is a very early development.

¹³ The Jewish legend makes her his sister, 'Awân, Jub. 4 : 1-9.

¹⁴ חֲנֹךְ Hanoch (Enoch); in Gen. 25 : 4 this is given as the name of a Midianite people. Midianites and Kenites are related, vd. Ex. 3 : 1, 18 : 1; Num. 10 : 29; Judg. 1 : 16. For Hnk as a Sabeian tribe and Qenan as a

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Sabean deity, cf. Skinner, 117. Hanoch (=Enoch) is the name of a Reubenite clan in Gen. 46 : 9.

¹⁶ This is no reproach, but rather indication of wealth. Jehovah, is represented as having two wives, Judah and Israel, Jer. 3 : 6ff; Ezek. 23.

¹⁶ Skinner, 118f. Adah is the name of a wife of Esau in Gen. 36 : 2. Both Lamech and Esau are desert dwellers.

¹⁷ Jabal in LXX traced by implication to a root 'bl and spelled as a participle. The root is not used in Old Testament Hebrew, but is found in Arabic and the participle occurs in the sense "camel-herd." In its place in this artificial genealogy the name is seemingly quite appropriate, though the sense is a more general one than that found in Arabic. The derivation from the root 'bl brings Jabal and Abel much nearer together than the Massoretic text would permit.

¹⁸ He made the first instruments of music, the kinnór, a stringed instrument (=the lyre?) and a wind instrument, the 'úgab (=the flute?).

¹⁹ (a) The connection of the first smith with a sister called Naamah ("lovely") is paralleled by the Greek myth of Hephaestos and his marriage to Aphrodite (Dill. 103).

(b) Naamah is the name of an Eastern people in Job 3 : 11. It is also the name of a Phoenician goddess. Gunkel, Gen. 3, 50.

²⁰ The smith's calling was held in disesteem among the Bedouin, vd. Skinner, 119f; Gunkel, Gen. 3, 48. The three sons of Lamech may be compared with the three sons of Noah, son of Lamech (5 : 28-32). The three arts named are characteristic of Bedouin life. In Phoenician mythology the smith's art and the art of music are connected in origin (Dill. 5, 102f).

In v. 22 the metal described as "brass" should probably be understood as "bronze." In early English literature "brass" is often used where "bronze" is meant. Ryle, Gen. 80f.

²¹ According to this line Cain is a rival clan of Lamech and not an ancestor; a Bedawi would not boast of superiority in revenge over an ancestor. The poem had originally no relation to the genealogy of Cain in 4 : 17-24. Skinner 121f. The age of the poem may be inferred from the fact that while the Cain narrative does not approve blood-revenge, this song does approve it. It is much older than the other parts of the chapter. This is true even though rather late references speak of Jehovah as a relentless avenger. This conventional manner of speaking of God is a survival from a much older and more literal usage. In the present connection the song illustrates J's doctrine of advancing human depravity. Cf. Gunkel, Gen. 3, 52.

²² As this passage is presupposed by the boast-song of Lamech it must be taken as a fragment of an ancient Cain myth according to which he became a Bedawi after being an agriculturalist. In the main story he becomes a city dweller. The main story alone seems quite consistent with the Jehovist's argument in cc. 2-4 that wisdom increased brings increased sorrow.

²³ Gen. 4 : 12b, "A fugitive and a wanderer thou shalt be in the earth." The translation should bring out some outstanding disabilities of the nomadic desert life. When one thinks of the poverty of the desert and of the constantly shifting location of its people, the translation "faint and wandering thou shalt be in the earth" appears to reflect the author's thought better than our Bible renderings. Cf. Ryle, Gen. 75.

²⁴ (a) The view that Deity inhabits the fruitful land and demons and evil beasts the desert is common, cf. Lev. 16 : 10; Isa. 13 : 20-22, 34 : 10-15; Matt. 12 : 43-45.

(b) For the elder son as a nomad of the wilderness, cf. Ishmael and Esau, Gen. 16 : 12, 27 : 40.

²⁵ Not a mark branding him as a criminal, but a protective symbol (see below). So Ezek. 9 : 4, 6; cf. Ryle, Gen. 75.

²⁶ Plainly the Cain of this story is not the son of the first human pair. He is in the midst of strangers. It is the Cain of Lamech's song, who has people to support him and to avenge his death on others sevenfold. Vd. Skinner, in loc.

²⁷ Cf. Skinner, 124. It seems natural that Cain having been disposed of, the author should supply just what these verses give, and the presence of the word Elohim and of a false explanation of the name Seth do not seem to justify ascription to another author. Any explanation which might have been given would have been forced and unnatural.

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²⁸ Num. 24 : 17. Seth is a synonym for Moab. It is more likely than not that Seth in the present passage is a purely artificial name like most of the others in the primitive history.

²⁹ (a) Enosh's generation saw the beginning of Jahweh worship, cf. Ex. 3 : 14ff, 6 : 2.

(b) "Call on the name": In the first instance to be interpreted literally, cf. many Psalms. The use of the name in addressing a deity puts the worshipper in touch with the actual being of the deity with all the character or attributes implied. Cf. Skinner, 127.

(c) The pronunciation "Jehovah" is unquestionably wrong. It is attributed to Petrus Galatinus, Confessor of Leo X, in 1518. It unites the vowels of the word meaning "Lord" *adonai* (אֲדֹנָי) with the consonants of the Sacred Name, the Tetragrammaton JHVH (יהוה); and although, in consequence of four centuries of Christian use, the name Jehovah enjoys a peculiar sanctity, it is etymologically a "mongrel word." H. E. Ryle, Genesis, Introduction, p. lvii. The use of "Jehovah" in the American Standard Revision is, of course, justified by the peculiar sanctity given by long "Christian use."

³⁰ (a) A mythical etymology which could not be the true one. The LXX "will give us rest" suggests perhaps a better reading, Gunkel, Gen.³, 55.

(b) The derivation of the name points back to a story of a curse on man as a tiller of the ground and assumes also a narrative concerning Noah as the original planter of a vineyard. Cf. Gunkel, l. c.

³¹ Gen. 4 : 2.

³² Gunkel, R. G. G., Art. Kain u.d. Kainiten.

³³ The mark put upon Cain was a mark of clientage. Gordon, ETG, 211. Vd. Dillmann, Gen.⁶, 97f. Cf. Rev. 13 : 16f. Not very different, Gunkel, l. c., who makes the mark that of the *tribe*.

³⁴ If these vs. were removed the motive to account for the rise of the Bedouin would disappear. Possibly, that motive was not in the oldest form of the Cain legend.

³⁵ Some prefer to connect v. 1 with vs. 17-24. It does not seem desirable to disconnect the v. from the vs. 2-12a which follow it in MT; but cf. Mitchell, WBA, 160, Gordon, ETG, 7; also Dillmann, Gen.⁶, 86ff.

³⁶ Mitchell, WBA, 169, by emending the text makes it appear that Cain's son was the builder of this city. It is preferable to retain the reading of MT., cf. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 52.

³⁷ But cf. the story of Cain and Abel in the early portion of the chapter.

³⁸ It is not necessary (with Gunkel, Urg. and P., 52) to assume that the writer of Gen. 4 : 17-24 did not know of the Flood. He knew of Noah's line and there is no Flood without him, and no Noah without the Flood.

³⁹ Actually, copper and iron were not introduced at the same period.

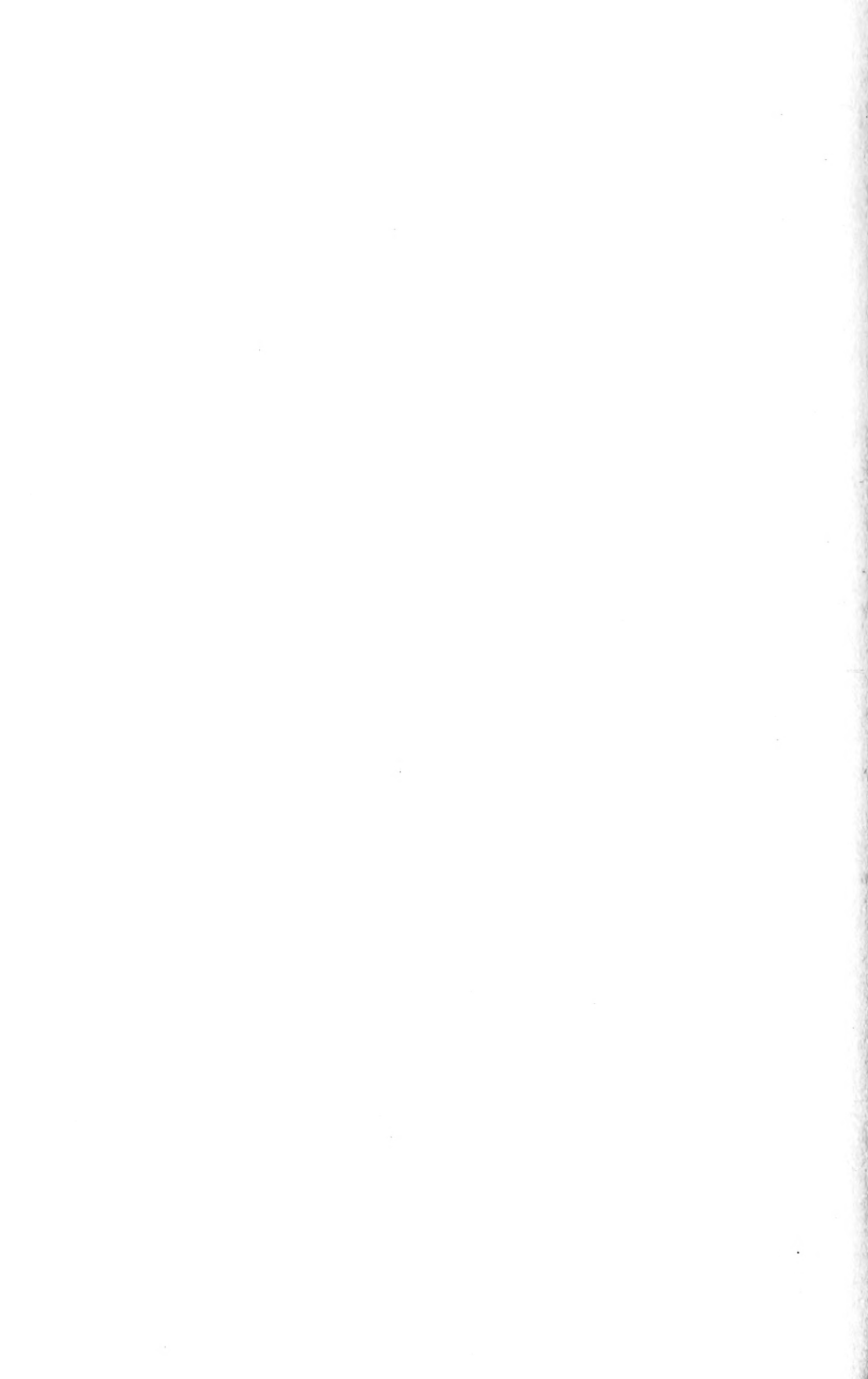
⁴⁰ The genealogy Gen. 4 : 16-24 begins with Cain a builder of a city where the arts would be presupposed and ends with the Bedawi Lamech and his sons with their simple arts (!).

⁴¹ Dillmann⁶, 105.

⁴² Dillmann, 91, KAT³, 510.

⁴³ Other meanings have been suggested, vd. Dillmann, Mitchell, in loc.

CHAPTER VIII
THE PRIESTLY GENEALOGY OF THE
SONS OF ADAM



CHAPTER VIII

THE PRIESTLY GENEALOGY OF THE SONS OF ADAM. GEN. 5

Following up his "generations of the heavens and the earth" the Priestly writer gives us his genealogy of the descendants of the first human pair to the tenth generation. The list is manifestly intended to bridge the gap from the Creation to the Flood.¹ It is in the systematic formal manner of the Priestly source. It proceeds throughout as follows: A lived so many years and begat B [his firstborn son], and he lived after he begat B so many years and begat sons and daughters; and all the days of A were so many years: and he died. There is a slight modification of the form in the case of Adam and a more considerable one in that of Enoch and in that of Lamech, due in the latter case to matter taken over from J.

According to the text as it now stands, from the creation of Adam to the birth of Noah represents a period of 1056 years; to the date of the Deluge, 1656 years.² The Samaritan text gives a total 349 years less, and the Septuagint a total of 586 years more, than the Hebrew. The Samaritan is probably nearest to the original text as it regularly diminishes the age of the individuals at the birth of the first born and at death from Adam to Noah (not inclusive).³

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The list is professedly that of the descent from Adam through Seth. In reality, it is another version of the genealogy in Gen. 4 : 16-24. The names are in somewhat different form and their order is also slightly different,⁴ but the original identity of the two genealogies seems certain. The table which follows will make this more clear:

Relation of
the Genealogy
to the Cainite-
Sethite List
of J

Gen. 4 : 16-24 (J)	Gen. 5 (P)
Adam — (No. 1 in other list)	1. Adam
[Seth]	2. Seth
[Enosh]	3. Enosh
Cain — (No. 4. in other list)	4. Kenan ⁵
Enoch — (No. 7 in other list)	5. Mahalalel
‘Irada — (No. 6 in other list)	6. Jared ⁶
Mehujael — (No. 5 in other list) ⁷	7. Enoch
Methushael — (No. 8 in other list) ⁸	8. Methuselah
Lamech — (No. 9 in other list)	9. Lamech
Noah (J in 5 : 29) ⁹ — (No. 10 in other list)	10. Noah

Relation to the
List of
Babylonian
Kings before
the Flood

The length of life attributed to these antediluvians is moderate compared with that which some other peoples attribute to men before the Flood; e. g., the Babylonian list of ten antediluvian kings represents a period of rule of 432,000 years.¹⁰ It is here sufficient to say that all such representations of antediluvian longevity are purely mythical. The possible longevity of human existence under such conditions as were present in the East at that time,¹¹ or on our earth at any time, does not exceed one fifth of the average age of the patriarchs, even if Enoch be included in the reckoning.¹²

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Enoch, "the seventh from Adam" (Jude 14), is exceptional. The length of his life is the same number of years as there are days in a solar year. He has converse with the Deity during his lifetime, and in the end does not die, but is taken out of the world by God.¹³ Among the Jews of a later time his converse with Deity and heavenly beings was thought to have given to Enoch a knowledge of Divine secrets (cf. the Enoch literature). The seventh of the antediluvian kings in the Babylonian list referred to above has also a special character as king of Sippar, the city of the sun god, and as having been specially instructed in secret knowledge by the sun god, Shamash, and the sun and storm god, Ramman.¹⁴ It is natural to think of the conception of Enoch as having been influenced by the Babylonian myth concerning this king, Enmeduranki, the seventh of the kings before the Flood.¹⁵

The Significance of Noah

The tenth name in the list is Noah.¹⁶ The editor inserts in his section an explanation of his name from J wherein Lamech, his father, is made to predict relief from the toil of the ground through Noah, a touch which must refer to Noah's being the first to cultivate the vine, cf. 9 : 20ff, Judg. 9 : 13.

The Genealogy a Descent of Individuals It is not in order as yet to consider the historical implications of the Biblical genealogies. The lists of the antediluvians are intended to represent a descent of individuals¹⁷; but at the same time there can be no thought on our part that the individuals concerned are historical personages. In character these early lists are in a class by themselves.

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NOTES ON CHAPTER VIII

¹ (a) Care is taken to state the connection with Gen. 1 : 1 — 2 : 4a by using over again the formula of man's creation there found (cf. 1 : 27 and 5 : 1f). The transmission of the Divine image to Adam's descendants is suggested by the statement that Adam begat "in his own likeness, according to his own image" a son (5 : 3).

(b) "The book of the generations." The word rendered "book" covers any written document. Jer. 32 : 10; Isa. 50 : 1, etc. Gunkel, Gen.³, 134. We may say in this passage "'the list' of the generations, etc.'"

² According to G^A and other MSS., 606; G^L, 586.

³ (a) There is probably some principle observed in the presentation of the chronological system of P in the respective versions. It is not possible to say precisely what was in view in each case. Skinner, 135ff, Dillmann⁶, 110ff, Gunkel, Gen.³, 133.

(b) In the Samaritan text Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech all appear as having died in the year A. M. 1307, which is the year of the Flood, according to the Samaritan. Both Hebrew and Greek agree that Methuselah died in the Flood year. It thus appears that in the view of these authorities the later antediluvian patriarchs were wicked men who were destroyed in the Deluge, excepting Enoch the seventh from Adam and Lamech the father of Noah the righteous head of the new human race. Gunkel, Gen.³, 134.

⁴ (a) This is due to the transposition of two names in the list. Enoch who was No. 3 in the old list of the Cainite-Adamites, has been given a more honorable rank as No. 7 in the Priestly list of the Sethite-Adamites. This caused the old No. 5 of the Cainites to become new No. 5 in the Sethite list.

(b) P had quite a different conception of the family of Adam and Eve from that of J as set forth in Gen. 4. He knows nothing of Abel by name; Cain is not the son of Adam, but the great-grandson (Kenan); he is not excommunicated, but is begotten in the likeness of Adam who is created in the likeness of God, and in turn passes on this likeness to his firstborn, Gen. 5 : 1-14.

⁵ Kenan (קֵנָן, קֵנָן), a variant probably of קַיִן Cain. A god of this name is mentioned often in Sabeian inscriptions. Vd. Baethgen Beitr. z. Sem. Rel'gesch., 127f, 152.

⁶ The Jewish tradition derives the name from the verb "to descend," and speaks of the angels "coming down" in Jared's days to instruct men in morals. In another form of the myth, some of the angels sinned in Jared's days, and "came down" upon Mount Hermon (the mount of cursing). Vd. Jub. 4 : 15; Enoch 6 : 6, 106 : 13.

⁷ LXX of Gen. 4 : 18. Maleleël.

⁸ LXX of Gen. 4 : 18. Mathusala.

⁹ Adding Seth and Enosh to this "Cainite" list it would seem almost that there had existed a variant list of ten generations, beside that in Gen. 5. Cf. Dillmann⁶, 104.

¹⁰ The enormous figures in the Babylonian list are probably to be explained as due to the Babylonian familiarity with the great periods involved in astronomical calculations. Gunkel, Gen.³, 133.

¹¹ Mitchell, WBA, 188f. It is probable that both Hebrew and Babylonian figures stand related in some way to the month divisions of the solar year. KAT³, 541f.

(b) There was a belief among the Jews that as the race grew older men became weaker, smaller, and shorter-lived. 4 Ezra 5 : 54f. Growing wickedness also shortened life, Prov. 10 : 27. In the World to Come, the Age of the Messiah, it was thought that the original longevity would be restored, Isa. 65 : 20. Gunkel, Gen.³, 133.

¹² The list in Gen. 5 as a whole seems to be based on the Babylonian list referred to. Like the latter, it covers the first ten human generations from the Creation to the Deluge. Its names apparently follow the reference or *mean-*

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ing, or in the case of the first name, the *form*, of the Babylonian names. Cf. the two sources:

<i>Gen. 5</i>	<i>Babylonian</i>
1. Adam.	2. Adapa.
3. Enosh (=man).	3. Amelon (=man).
4. Kenan (=smith).	4. Ammenon (=masterworkman).
7. Enoch (=dedicated).	7. Enmeduranki (chief priest of the meeting place of heaven and earth).
8. Methuselah (=man of [the god] Shelah).	8. Amel-Sin (= man of the moon-god Sin).
9. Lamech (father of Noah, hero of Flood).	9. Ubar-Tutu (father of hero of Flood).
10. Noah (the hero of the Flood).	10. Xisuthros (=Atrahasis, the hero of the Flood).

For the other three names the correspondence is not made out. Zimmern, KAT³, 530ff, esp. 539-540, Skinner, 135ff. Gunkel, Gen.³, 131ff. For the name Methuselah (and Methushael of 4 : 18) a Babylonian origin from Mutusha-éli (=man of the god) has also been proposed. Cf. Ryle, Gen. 79.

On the subject of this note cf. Ryle, Gen. 88f, 90f.

¹³ (a) V. 24, "And he was not." A conventional expression for a mysterious end, Isa. 17 : 14; Job 27 : 19. Gunkel, Gen.³, 135.

(b) "For God took him." It was taken for granted that Enoch was removed to the palace of God in heaven. Cf. 2 Kgs. 2 : 1-11.

(c) The name Enoch (Hanôkh) may mean "consecration" or "dedication," and may be connected with what is here related of the man.

¹⁴ Jastrow, RBA, 69, etc., Zimmern, KAT³, 540. Gunkel, Gen.³, 135f. Cf. for Enoch, Jub. 4 : 17-21; Enoch 81 : 1ff, 93 : 2, etc.

¹⁵ Both Enoch and Enmeduranki are connected with the knowledge of the "signs of the heavens" or omen-wisdom. Sir. 44 : 16 (Kautzsch, A. Ps. i, 450), Jub. 4 : 17f (*Ibid.* ii, 47); cf. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 119f; Skinner, 131f.

¹⁶ The Flood comes before sons are born to Noah's sons. Hence, the new race is uncorrupted by its environment. It is born into a world which has been purged of evil. Had Noah begotten sons at the age when the other antediluvians begat their firstborn this could not have been secured. Cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 136f.

¹⁷ In Gen. 4 cases such as those of Cain and Lamech have also tribal reference but these are exceptions.



CHAPTER IX
THE DELUGE

CHAPTER IX

THE DELUGE. GEN. 6 : 1 — 9 : 17

In the narratives of Genesis which have been hitherto studied, the materials taken from the respective sources used by the editor of Genesis have been preserved without intermingling or confusion. In the account given of the Deluge a different method has been followed by the editor and the two sources have been interwoven and blended.¹ It seems as though nearly the whole narrative of the Deluge in each of the documents, the prophetic Jehovist and the Priestly, had been used. The most noteworthy omission is the command to build the Ark and the actual building in the Jehovistic source. How closely the different materials are combined may be seen from a statement of the results of the critical analysis made by scholars. Only a small portion of the whole story is taken by way of example.

**Example of
the Method**

Gen. 7 : 6; from P. And Noah was six hundred years old when the Flood of waters was upon the earth. *Gen. 7 : 7-10; from J.* And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the Ark, because of the waters of the Flood. Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of everything that creepeth upon the ground, there went in [two and two]² unto Noah into the Ark [male and female]³ as God commanded Noah. And it came to pass after the seven days, that the waters of the Flood were upon the earth.

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Gen. 7 : 11; from P. In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the same day were all the fountains of the Great Deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. *Gen. 7 : 12; from J.* And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

(*Gen. 7 : 13-16ab from P; 16c from J.*)

Generally speaking the portions from each source when read consecutively are seen to be in the original order. This may be illustrated from the passage just quoted:

The Story of the Jehovist in 7 : 1-16 Jehovah ordered Noah with his household to enter the Ark⁴ and to take in seven pairs⁵ of clean animals and two pairs of unclean for the purpose of renewing the species after the Flood. In seven days more Jehovah will bring a forty days' rain and destroy all life from off the ground. Noah made these preparations (1-5); all were embarked in the Ark; and after the seven days, the waters of the Flood came with heavy rain upon the earth for forty days (7-10, 12); and Jehovah shut the door of the Ark (16c).

The Story of the Priestly Writer⁶ in 7 : 6-16 Noah was six hundred years old at the time when the Flood began (7 : 6).

The springs and fountains all broke up and overflowed and the rain began to fall on the 17th of the second month of Noah's 600th year (11). On that day, Noah, his three sons, his wife, and their wives, went into the Ark, taking with them two of every kind of land beasts and birds, one male and one female of each (13-16b).

The full account of the Jehovist's⁷ Flood narrative is given herewith.⁸

Men had multiplied in the earth and their women

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were so fair that the angels⁹ were led to take them as wives. Jehovah saw that man by reason of his nature was bent to evil and determined to shorten human life to a hundred and twenty years. An additional cause of violence in the earth came of this marriage of the angels, because to them were born the famous giants (Nephilim)¹⁰ of old. Under these circumstances, the shortening of human life availed very little, and Jehovah decreed that he would destroy men and beasts¹¹ because of the violence and evil with which they had filled the earth. Of Noah,¹² Jehovah made an exception (6 : 1-8).

[The order to build an Ark and the actual building of it are taken from the other source.]

The Ark¹³ having been made ready, Noah is commanded to enter with his family¹⁴ and seven pairs of clean beasts and one pair of unclean, so that, on the one hand, sacrifices may be provided and, on the other hand, animals may later be propagated upon the earth. In seven days, Jehovah will cause it to rain upon the earth¹⁵ for a period of forty days and forty nights (7 : 1-5). Noah obeys the Divine command. In seven days the rain comes and continues as had been foretold for forty days and nights. All living creatures upon the earth perish, except Noah and the others who are in the Ark, for the waters are deep over the earth (7 : 7-10, 12, 16c, 17b, 22, 23). At the end of the rain¹⁶ period the waters gradually abate. Noah [sends forth a raven which continues to go forth from the Ark and to return to it until the earth is dry] waits seven days,¹⁷ and, then, sends out from the Ark a dove, which finding no spot on which to alight comes back. After another seven days, another dove is sent forth

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which comes back bearing in her mouth an olive leaf. This shews that the waters had largely subsided. Seven days afterwards, the dove went out again and finding the earth dry enough to alight did not return to the Ark. Noah, thereupon,¹⁸ removed the covering of the Ark and saw that the ground was dry (8 : 2b, 3a, 6-12, 13b).¹⁹ [The debarkation is wanting in J; what is given in Gen. 8 : 14-19 is from P.] Noah after going forth from the Ark built an altar²⁰ and offered a great sacrifice of every clean animal and bird to Jehovah, and Jehovah was moved by the sweet savour of the sacrifice²¹ to promise ("purpose *in His heart*") that He would not again curse the ground for man's sake nor smite again the creatures of the earth; because the evil of man is an inveterate bent of his nature. Seasons and days will not again vary from their accustomed occurrence (8 : 20-22).²²

Particulars of
the Priestly
Narrative of
the Deluge

In the account of the Priestly source²³ God is not known by a proper name such as Jehovah, but is simply Elohim.²⁴ The saving of Noah²⁵ and his family is with a view to establishing a covenant between Elohim and Noah (vd. 6 : 18, 9 : 8ff).²⁶ The specifications of the Ark are given. Its dimensions are to be 300 x 50 x 30 cubits.²⁷ It is to have three stories or decks and is to be divided off into rooms or stalls.²⁸ A roof²⁹ with a pitch of one cubit is to cover the boat³⁰ and a door is to be made in the side. The animals which go into the Ark are not distinguished as clean and unclean (because sacrifice is not instituted before Moses according to this source). There are but two animals, a male and a female, of each kind, in the Ark.³¹ For the human beings and the other creatures, food of all kinds is brought into the Ark. The stages of

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the Deluge are carefully dated. The Flood began on the 17th³² day of the second month of Noah's six hundredth year (7 : 11). The waters rose for a period of 150 days³³ (7 : 24). They were made to diminish by a wind³⁴ (8 : 1), so that on the 17th³⁵ day of the seventh month of Noah's six hundredth year, the Ark had grounded upon a mountain in the land of Ararat³⁶ (8 : 4). The abatement went on until, on the 1st day of the tenth month, the mountain tops were visible³⁷ (8 : 5). On the 1st day of Noah's six hundred and first year, the waters were gone³⁸ (8 : 13a). On the 27th day of the second month of Noah's six hundred and first year, the ground was dry and those in the Ark disembarked (8 : 14) after a stay of 365 days on board the vessel.³⁹ Thus, the Flood lasted a complete solar year. In this source, the waters are sent upon the earth by means of a flood due to the overflow of streams in springtime, or during the rainy reason, and also by means of rain⁴⁰ (7 : 11). In the Prophetic writer, it is by the rain alone (7 : 4-12). In J the Ark is loaded in seven days (7 : 2-4); in P with one seventh of the number of creatures one day is consumed (7 : 13). The Priestly source knows nothing of a sacrifice after the Deluge. It knows of a covenant without sacrifice, however. Noah and his sons are blessed and given the same command to multiply and to rule over the creatures as was given Adam the first father of the human race⁴¹; and in this case (as apparently in Adam's) there is a condition: the blood of animals must not be used for food and the blood of man must not be shed.⁴² The covenant included a promise to man and beast that there will not again be a flood to destroy the earth, 9 : 8ff. The rainbow which is set in the clouds, as often as it reappears, will be a re-

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mind to God of His covenant engagement to send no more flood on the earth.⁴³

Finally, for the purpose, probably, of connecting Noah and Abram, we have in this source (P) the statement that Noah lived after the Flood 350 years (9 : 28). The genealogy of Shem's descendants in Gen. 11 : 10-26⁴⁴ shews the elapsed time from the Flood to the birth of Abram to have been 292 years. Abram was, according to this reckoning, 58 years old when Noah died.

Relation of the
Hebrew Flood
Story to the
Babylonian
Deluge Myth

There are signs in both narratives (J and P) of familiarity with the much more ancient Babylonian myth of the Deluge.⁴⁵ The word employed for the Flood (mabûl) and that used for the Ark (תֵּבָה *tēbhah*),⁴⁶ are not Hebrew words. The term employed for the bitumen or pitch with which the Ark was made water-tight is "kopher," whereas elsewhere another word, "ḥemar," is always employed for "pitch." The Assyrian term corresponding to "kopher" is the usual one for "bitumen" in Assyrian.⁴⁷ The land of Ararat is the region of Urartu, lying north and east of Lake Van. It is frequently referred to in the records of Assyria. The contents of the Babylonian Flood myth exhibit suggestive analogies with the Biblical narratives: 1. The catastrophe is a Divine judgment because men have resisted the gods. 2. The boat is not like a common boat in shape but is a large barge,⁴⁸ as high as it is broad. 3. It is built by a God-fearing man who has been Divinely warned of the coming Flood. This man is of the tenth human generation. 4. The Flood is brought on the earth by means of rain and overflow.⁴⁹ 5. Its duration is a round period (seemingly 7 days' preparation, 21 days in the ship, 28 in all).⁵⁰ 6. Birds are sent forth thrice: a dove, a

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swallow, and a raven, in turn.⁵¹ 7. The barge grounds on the "mountain of the Kordyeans" in Armenia which is the traditional location of the Biblical "land of Ararat" (so Berosus, *vd.* Gordon, 337). The Gilgamesh Epic speaks of Mount Nisir which is probably further south (KAT³, 549, n. 4, 558). 8. After disembarking, sacrifices are offered to the gods. 9. The avenging God who has brought the Flood pledges that He will never again visit a similar judgment on mankind.

It is not possible to account for these points of contact without assuming literary dependence direct or indirect on the side of the Hebrew writers.⁵² The Babylonian version is as old at least as 2000 B. C. The Hebrew writers have purged the myths of polytheism and have exercised much more restraint in their use of the imagination. In the Babylonian myth Atrahasis deceives his fellows as to the coming Deluge and the purpose of the Ark which he is preparing. The gods, too, are made to appear in a most unfavorable light. In the end, the hero does not return to the earth as Noah does but dwells with the gods. Noah, on the whole, is a far more attractive figure than Atrahasis. The Babylonian story is in poetic form, the Hebrew version in prose. This is perhaps due to the borrowed character of the story and the lack of the epic motive which is found in the Babylonian myth.

The question of the possibility of such a Deluge as that described in these chapters of Genesis ever having occurred, is not one that touches on any essential element of religion. It is a purely scientific question. The Hebrew narratives are manifestly not original with their Hebrew authors. They are, at the same time,

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not in harmony with the older Babylonian source, and furthermore they contradict one another. The possibility of a vessel being constructed according to the dimensions given and of its floating in a storm when heavily laden may be disputed.⁵³ That it could contain what is said to have been lodged in it must be denied. It cannot be imagined how the animals could be brought together from remote parts of the earth separated by intervening water from the place of embarkation⁵⁴; and as little can the redistribution of the creatures after the Flood be conceived. The universal occurrence of such rain or flood as is presupposed by the narratives is unaccountable, and the disposal of the water when it became necessary to remove it is not less so. Both of these phenomena hang together with a cosmology which assumes the existence of an ocean upon which the earth floats as a mountain island, and another ocean which is supported above the solid vault of the sky.

The question as to whether a local deluge of great magnitude is or is not possible may be answered affirmatively, if suitable conditions are presented, but the narratives in Genesis are committed to a universal phenomenon.⁵⁵ Hence the question referred to is not admissible in relation to the Biblical narrative.

When did the Flood Tradition Originate Among the Hebrews?

The exact period at which the Flood story became the property of the Hebrews cannot be determined.⁵⁶ The contact of the Babylonian culture with Hebrew life did not take place before the entrance into Canaan and Babylonian influence upon Hebrew literature probably follows the period when the old battle songs and the old hero-stories were gathered. There is therefore, no suggestion of such influence before the time of Solomon.

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Appended to the section on the Flood is a little myth (Gen. 9 : 20-27 J) intended to show how agriculture and, in particular, the culture of the vine, began after the Deluge.

**The Origin of
Viticulture**

Noah the husbandman was the first to plant a vineyard.⁵⁷ Not knowing the effects of wine, he became drunk by partaking of it and lay naked in his tent. Canaan, his youngest son, seeing his father thus, mockingly told his elder brothers Shem and Japheth. They were of different character and in a true filial spirit covered their father.⁵⁸ When Noah recovered sobriety, he pronounced blessing on his elder sons and a curse on Canaan:

Let a curse be on Canaan!

Of all slaves the most abject be he to his brothers.

Of Jehovah may Shem's tents be blessed; and let Canaan be subject to him.

May his God give to Japheth enlargement:

Let Canaan be servant to him!

**Purpose of the
Story**

The myth is made to express certain convictions of its author. He disapproves of the culture and use of the grape and regards the Canaanites as thoroughly wicked and shameless. He looks for the subjugation of the Canaanites by the Shemitic and Japhetic races round about them. Where the story now stands it is meant to lead over to the Table of the Nations which are descended from Noah's sons, ch. 10.⁵⁹

**Relation of the
Story to the
Flood Narra-
tive**

The story had nothing to do with the Flood story at first. Noah here is not the typically pious man as in that narrative, but one who has brought himself into disgrace. While Noah was known as a husbandman and the discoverer of wine there was a difference of

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opinion as to the value of his discovery. He is a benefactor of all who toil in 5 : 29 (cf. Judg. 9 : 13; Psa. 104 : 15), but a cause of trouble here (cf. Hos. 4 : 11 and the attitude of the Rechabites, Jer. 35 : 6-19).

The sons of Noah in the story itself are young, unmarried, and still living at home. The story of the Flood represents Noah's sons as married and their names as Shem, Ham and Japheth, not Shem, Japheth and Canaan. Moreover, the Canaan of this story being under a curse could not figure as being saved from the Flood. Whoever told this story never thought of a Flood, apparently.⁶⁰

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¹ For an analysis of the Deluge narratives shewing clearly the two sources vd. Jastrow, *Hebr. and Babyl'n Traditions*, 348ff.

² Editorial addition.

³ Editorial addition.

⁴ The making of the Ark has not been related so far in J, and there can have been in J no notice of the coming Deluge before this now given. J had an account of the building of the Ark, but it has given place to the more detailed description of P. If we had J's account, we might expect to find two points specially clear; Noah's pious obedience in preparing so great a vessel on dry land, with no evidence suggesting a need for it; Noah's mysterious wisdom brought out in some such naïve way as in the sequel, where, not being able to see whether or not the waters had gone, in order to obtain information he resorts to experiments with birds (8 : 6-12 J), cf. Gunkel, *op. c.*, 80. The tradition concerning Noah's mysterious wisdom is probably as old as J's story of his having introduced the culture of the vine (9 : 20-27 J). P uses of Noah the expression which implies wonderful Divine communications, "He walked with the Elohim" (6 : 9 P, cf. 5 : 22 P). In Heb. 11 : 7 "Noah, being warned concerning *things not seen as yet, moved by pious fear, prepared an ark,*" etc. This is based on the tradition of J, not P.

⁵ Lit'y, seven each, a male and his mate. Skinner, 152, favors seven only of clean animals, but there is about even modern authority for seven pairs and the present context favors *pairs*.

⁶ Previous portion of the Priestly story, 6 : 9-22.

⁷ These Flood myths originated in a country where floods were common. This would not be true of Palestine; it would be true of Babylonia. The scene places the Flood in that region. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 83. Gunkel, *Gen.*³, 67ff.

⁸ Analysis of Flood Narratives. For the lines of evidence on which it is based, see Skinner, 148.

⁹ The "sons of God," never the "sons of Jehovah," in Old Testament (female angels or "daughters of God" are inconceivable in Old Testament). These "sons of God" form a Divine council and in chorus celebrate the wonderful works of their Lord, cf. Job 1 : 6, 2 : 1, 38 : 7; Psa. 29 : 1f, 89 : 6; Gen. 1 : 26, 3 : 22; also Dan. 3 : 25, 28; 1 Kgs. 22 : 19; Psa. 82 : 1; Isa.

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24 : 21; Dt. 32 : 8, LXX; further, Gen. 28 : 12, 32 : 1; Psa. 8 : 6, 97 : 7, 138 : 1. Cf. Gunkel, *Gen.*³, 53f.; Urg. and P., 77. This in Gen. 6 is the one example in Old Testament of a myth having for its subject the amours of Divine beings. The marriage was sinful for the angels, but not for the women they took as wives, cf. Mk. 12 : 25. This kind of myth is common enough among other peoples and probably was once found more frequently in Israel. It seems to have afforded the suggestion for the metaphor of marriage as expressing the relation of Jehovah to Israel, and to have given a point of attachment for the later doctrine of a fall of the angels, cf. 2 Pet. 2 : 4; Jude 6; B. Jub. 5; Enoch cc. 6ff, 19, 86. Gunkel, l. c.

The myth in the present passage is but a fragment. Originally it must have gone on to tell of the mighty deeds of this Divine race and of a punishment visited on them by Jehovah. As the passage (6 : 1-4) now stands it embraces one fragment on the loves of the angels (vs. 1, 2) and another fragment whose lost context told of the violence wrought by the long-lived antediluvians (v. 3) with an additional note on the mighty race before the Flood (v. 4). This note explains the shortening of human life in v. 3, and the need for the Flood which is yet to be announced. Vd. the following analysis:

The Jehovah's narrative in Gen. 6 : 1-4.

A. vs. 1, 2. And it came to pass that mankind began to be many upon the face of the ground and daughters were born to them. Then the angels saw the women of humankind that they were goodly in appearance and took wives for themselves of such as they preferred.

B. v. 3. And Jehovah said my spirit will not abide in man always . . . but his days shall be one hundred and twenty years.

C. v. 4. The Nephilim were in the earth in those days and afterwards when the angels went in to the daughters of men; and they bore them children. They are the heroes who from of old were famous men.

To recapitulate: there is first a myth concerning the loves of the angels (A. vs. 1, 2); then a myth concerning the shortening of human life (B. v. 3). This myth contained a little appended note concerning the Divine origin of the Nephilim, who are explained as the heroes of the old legends (C. v. 4).

It was because of this added note that the myth concerning the shortening of life was tacked on to A. vs. 1, 2.

The Nephilim are again referred to in Num. 13 : 33, where the pre-Israelite peoples of Palestine are described as such. According to Baruch 3 : 26-28; Wisd. 14 : 6; 3 Macc. 2 : 4; Sirach 16 : 7, they were giants in rebellion against God and therefore perished in the Deluge.

I reject in the translation offered above the words "in their body, it is flesh" (v. 3); RV., "for that he also is flesh"; RV. mg., "in their going astray they are flesh." "In their body" is a gloss to "man"; and "it is flesh" is a secondary gloss to "body." Vs. 5-7a^a continue B. v. 3 and C. v. 4 is a parenthesis. For a discussion of the critical problems of the passage, vd. Skinner and Gunkel, *Gen.*, in loc.

As to the evil of the antediluvians, Jehovah concluded that the only course open was to take away the "spirit" from man and thus bring to him death at a much earlier period. Hence, the length of life now common among men, which never exceeds one hundred and twenty years, was at that time fixed. Jehovah saw that, human nature being flesh, as it was, to continue long life to man only meant to continue the augmentation of human sin.

These two stories had nothing to do with the Deluge myths, in the first instance, though it is not surprising that someone who was familiar with these different myths should try to combine them harmoniously. The combination in Genesis is not very successful, being little more than a mechanical juxtaposition of fragments of the two old stories together with the two Deluge myths of J and P; cf. Skinner, 104f. Gunkel, *Gen.*³, 59.

¹⁰ Cf. Num. 13 : 33.

¹¹ (a) In the original primeval world there was no violence wrought by the animals, nor by man toward the animals, Gen. 1 : 28-30 (P) 2 : 18-20 (J); but not only man's disregard of the Creator, but also the ferocity of the beasts has increased since the beginning to such a degree that taken together they now move the Creator to destroy both man and beast.

(b) "It repented Jehovah . . . it vexed him at his heart," v. 6. This is one of the strongest examples of anthropopathism in Genesis. It implies

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that Jehovah had no foresight of what man would become when he created him and that had he foreseen he would have refrained from creating him.

(c) It has been assumed by some commentators that the reference to beasts, creeping things, and fowl in the J v. 6:7 is interpolated; but it seems certain that J must have referred to a sentence on the animals which were in due course destroyed by the Flood. Cf. Gunkel, *Gen.*³, p. 60f., Skinner, *Gen.* 153. The original form of the reference in v. 7 has been modified; v. 7a^b is inconsistent with 7a^a which it is supposed to expound. There is no basis for even conjecture as to the older form.

¹² (a) 6:8 introduces Noah as already known. It probably looks back to the J clause in 5:29. Ryle, *Gen.* 99.

(b) Noah is mentioned as a typical pious man in Ezek. 14:14, 20; Sir. 44:17; 2 Pet. 2:5.

¹³ It is clear from 7:1 that J had his own account of the Divine command to build the Ark and of the actual construction of it. In J the building of the Ark is an act of faith on Noah's part (cf. Hebr. 11:7). The Flood was "not seen as yet" but was first announced in 7:4. Gunkel, *Gen.*³, 61.

¹⁴ 7:1 "All thy house," cf. the very different manner of P in 6:18, 7:13, 8:16, 18.

¹⁵ Except v. 10, these verses (7-10) have been much modified: cf. the detailed enumeration of Noah's family in v. 7, of beasts, fowl, and creeping things in v. 8, and the entrance into the Ark of only two pairs of each species of animal without distinction between clean and unclean (so P in 6:20, but, cf. J in 7:2-3). The distinction between clean and unclean (without taking into account the numbers) is, of course, from J's hand.

¹⁶ גֶּשֶׁם, "geshem," "heavy winter showers." The season of the Flood in J is the late winter, seemingly. Cf. Gunkel, *Gen.*³, 63.

¹⁷ Emended text as suggested by v. 10, Kittel, *Bibl. Hebraica*, in loc. It is better, however, to think of 8:7 as an addition to the original story, Mitchell, *WBA*, 211f. Dillmann, *Gen.*⁸, in loc. With the "raven" retained, the duration of J's Flood was probably 61 days; omitting 8:7 the duration is 54 days. One may conclude from "yet other" in v. 10 that 61 was the original duration in J and that mention of a third "seven days" has fallen out before the first sending forth of the dove, cf. *KAT*³, 558f, Dillmann⁸, 148. It probably is true, as some argue (cf. Gunkel, *Gen.*³, 64) that the mention of the raven comes from another Deluge tradition in which the raven was the only bird sent forth (Cf. the Babylonian Deluge Myth, *Gilgamesh Epic*, Tablet XI.) The chronology represented by the original Hebrew text is as follows: 40th day, rain ceases; 47th day, first sending out of the dove; 54th day, second sending out of the dove; 61st day, third sending out of the dove. Note the climax: dove returns at once; dove returns at eventide; dove returns not, = water over all; olive trees in leaf; ground dry.

¹⁸ Vd. foregoing note.

¹⁹ V. 13b, J. In P he could see this without removing the covering of the Ark, cf. 8:5.

²⁰ The earliest reference to an altar (Skinner, 157). The offerings were burnt-offerings; that is, the most honorific kind, and they were propitiatory in their purpose. (8:21 J.)

²¹ "And Jehovah smelled the sweet savour and Jehovah resolved, etc." (8:21.) The anthropomorphism seems to be influenced by the more extreme anthropomorphism of the Babylonian Deluge narrative in which the gods are said to gather as flies about the sacrifice offered by Ut-napish-tim (the Babylonian Noah) after the Flood. Other similar Old Testament references do not go as far as the present passages, however. Cf. 1 Sam. 26:19; Amos 5:21; Lev. 26:31; Gunkel, *Gen.*³, 66.

²² (a) The three first pairs of terms in 8:22 express the two seasons recognized in the Hebrew year, Psa. 74:17; Nowack, *Hebr. Arch.* 1, 49. Cf. Isa. 54:9.

(b) The Divine promise in 8:22 (as in some other passages, cf. 9:12f, 26f, 12:1f, 15:1, etc.) is in metrical form. The following translation may illustrate the effect of an English rhythmical form:

All the days of the earth never more shall there cease
The casting of seed and the reaping of corn;
The months of the frost and the season of heat;
The summer and winter; the daylight and dark.

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²³ 6 : 9-22, 7 : 6, 11, 13, 16a, 17a, 18-21, 24, 8 : 1-2a, 3b-5.

²⁴ Divinity par excellence.

²⁵ Noah in the view of P was the one altogether righteous man in his own generation. His family are saved because of him as its righteous head, cf. 2 Pet. 2 : 5. He walked with Elohim and was privileged to see Divine mysteries, Jub. 5 : 19.

²⁶ The covenant does not look toward the saving of Noah and his family in the Ark (Gunkel, Urg. and P., 125). It is consummated only after the Flood, so Skinner, 162f.

²⁷ The Babylonian vessel, at least in its upper works, was seemingly almost a cube, cf. Gressmann, TBAT, 51. Berosus gives its length as five stadia and its breadth as two stadia (3034 ft. x 1214 ft.).

²⁸ The Babylonian Ark had six decks and hence seven stories. Each story had nine compartments. Gilgamesh Epic., Tab. XI, 61-63. "A fair sized apartment house," Jastrow, Hebr. and Babyl'n Traditions, 329.

²⁹ Arabic, *zahr*, "roof," Gordon, ETG, 316, cf. Skinner, 161; LXX, *ἑπισυνάγων*. P does not speak of any "window" in the Ark. J does, but for it uses לַחֹמַיִם , 8 : 6.

³⁰ In 8 : 13b, J, Noah removes the cover of the Ark. Such "window" as there was in J's account (8 : 6) did not allow of his seeing the waters. Hence, the use of birds, cf. Skinner, 156; vd. supra, p. 103, n. 4.

³¹ (a) Cf. J, 7 : 2, etc.

(b) In 6 : 20, after "fowl . . . cattle . . . creeping things," LXX adds "and of all wild beasts." The addition seems to be required.

³² LXX, 27th. Josephus reckons the first month to be September-October. It is better to take the older Jewish reckoning which would make it March-April. Cf. Ryle, Gen. 107.

³³ (a) In the other source 40 days. The greatest depth was 15 cubits above the highest mountains, which implies that the Ark could just float over them. It was 30 cubits high and 50 cubits broad and would when loaded be sunk to about half its height. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 126. The Babylonian house-boat or palace was sunk to two-thirds of its mass. Jastrow, Hebr. and Babyl'n Traditions, 330.

When the subsidence of the waters began the Ark would soon ground.

(b) Water at the maximum height given would be frozen solid. Ryle, Gen. 109.

³⁴ In J by natural diminution.

³⁵ LXX, 27th.

³⁶ N. E. Armenia. The highest mountain of the region is Massis or Agridagh, 17,000 ft. Skinner, 166. It is traditionally styled Mount Ararat from a misunderstanding of Gen. 8 : 4.

³⁷ In P Noah was able to watch the abatement of the waters; in J he sends out birds to learn of its progress. He would really have been too high up to see conditions on the level. Ryle, Gen. 112.

³⁸ That is, after 161 days of decrease. In J after 21 days, vd. p. 110, n. 17.

³⁹ The Greek text makes the Flood begin on the 27th day of the second month of the six hundredth year and, therefore, reckoned the total period of stay in the Ark at a complete lunar year, instead of a complete solar year, Gunkel, Urg. and P., 126; Gen.³, 146.

P's stages of the Flood.

7 : 11. Flood began
 7 : 24. Flood at height }
 (8 : 4. Ark grounded.) }
 8 : 5. Mountains visible
 8 : 13a. Flood disappeared
 8 : 14. Earth dry and debarkation

between 7 : 11 and 8 : 4
 between 7 : 24 and 8 : 5
 between 8 : 5 and 8 : 13a
 between 8 : 13a and 8 : 14

Years of Noah's life.

600th yr. 2d. mo. 17th day
 600th yr. 7th mo. 17th d.
 600th yr. 10th mo. 1st d.
 601st yr. 1st mo. 1st d.
 601st yr. 2d. mo. 27th d.

147½ d., lunar 5 mo.
 72 d., lunar 2 mo. 13d.
 88½ d., lunar 3 mo.
 56½ d., lunar 1 mo. 27d.

Total lunar reckoning,

364½ d., or 12 mo. 10 d.

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The 150 days (7 : 24) which corresponds to the first item in the above table is from a different source from that followed in the other dates. It is a solar reckoning (5 mos. of 30 days each.)

The Greek has lunar reckoning throughout. It puts in 7 : 11 and 7 : 24, 27th for 17th, vd. foregoing notes.

Some Greek MSS. and the Book of Jubilees distinguish between the date when the earth was dry and the date of the debarkation. The former is fixed on the 27th day of the second month, while the latter is fixed on the 1st day of the third month of the second year. The authorities who make the correction probably thought it was needed in order to make the whole period a complete solar year.

⁴⁰ One is inclined to think that the Deluge began and ended in spring, according to P; cf. the overflowing of the springs and its cessation and, also, the Rainbow.

The immediately following legend of Noah's husbandry (J) and the promise in J of seed time and harvest at regular seasons seem to imply a belief in the spring time for J's Deluge, also.

⁴¹ Cf. 9 : 1 with Gen. 1 : 28. There are new elements now introduced into man's control of the beasts: they are to fear man and he may use all of them for food. Hitherto the beasts had been working violence in the earth 6 : 11, and they had not been permitted as food. It is not said that any but wild creatures will fear man, however, 9 : 2.

⁴² 9 : 4-6. A law here deemed to be of universal application. In the Priestly Law eating with the blood is a dire offence, cf. Lev. 3 : 17, 7 : 26-27, 17 : 10-14; Ezek. 33 : 25f. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 127, Skinner, 169. The prohibition affecting human blood-shedding is in the form of an ancient balanced couplet:

The shedder of the blood of man,
His blood shall be shed by the hand of man.

As the Sabbath rest from labor was associated with the Creation so the command to desist from the use of blood is connected with the institution of a new race under Noah. Ryle, Gen. 112.

⁴³ It is probable that the rainbow was viewed as Jehovah's war bow (קֶשֶׁת) qesheth = war bow) reversed and hung up. For the opposite conception of the bow *in use*, cf. Ps. 7 : 12f; Hab. 3 : 9; Lam. 2 : 4, 3 : 12. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 127f; Gen.³, 150f; Skinner, 172ff. The bow of Marduk with which he killed Tiāmat is given three names by the god Anu. Of them the third, "Bowstar," is written by Anu in Heaven, Gressmann, 21 (the Babylonian Epic of Creation).

⁴⁴ The same source, P.

⁴⁵ On this and other Deluge myths, vd. Skinner, 174-181; Worcester, Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge, 527ff; Driver, Genesis, 99-108. Gunkel, Gen.³, 67ff.

⁴⁶ (a) The Babylonian story speaks of a ship ("elippu"). It seems as though the word "tēbah," might be taken from Assyrian "tabu," used of the Ark or processional boat of the gods, cf. root *tabu*², to sink (of boats); Muss-Arnolt, HWB, 1140, 1142. An older derivation looks to the Egyptian, *tebt* = ship.

(b) Gunkel, Urg. and P., 80. While the form *mabbûl* is not found in Babylonian or Assyrian, the root from which it is derived is common; viz.: *nabalu*, to destroy. But cf. Dillmann³, 141. It is possible that *mabbûl* was also employed in the sense of "destruction" in Hebrew. At all events, J and P define the word by adding the appositive "waters," i. e., "waters of the mabbûl," J 7 : 7-10, P 9 : 11. The additional word "waters" would hardly be necessary if *mabbûl* meant only "flood." The regular word for flood in Bab.-Ass. was "abubu."

⁴⁷ "Kupru," a material employed largely in covering vessels in Babylonia and Assyria. Hebrew כֶּפֶר, ἀπ.λεγ. "Kupru" is the word employed in the Babylonian Deluge story, Jensen, K. B., vi. 1, 235f, 489; Zimmern, KAT³, 558.

⁴⁸ Cf. Harper ABL, 353.

⁴⁹ Harper, ABL, 354.

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⁵⁰ The rain period was six days, Gilgamesh Epic, Tablet XI, Col. iii. 19f; from the start to build to the debarkation was apparently four seven-day periods or a month.

⁵¹ In J's account (vd. supra p. 101) as it now stands birds are sent forth four times, the raven once and the dove three times. 8 : 7 is an interpolation, however, possibly suggested by an older Hebrew tradition, which is more immediately related to the Babylonian myth. Berosus speaks simply of birds, KAT³, 558.

⁵² KAT³, 559f.

⁵³ It is not to be questioned that under other conditions a vessel of the dimensions given might barely float, but that is not the problem here. Cf. Driver, Genesis, in loc.

⁵⁴ In Gen. 7 : 8, 9 (R) the creatures are said to have "come" to Noah into the Ark.

⁵⁵ 7 : 22, 23 P. Granting that the Hebrew version is without historical value one may still enquire whether the *Babylonian* account is not connected with some remote fact. Two things are noticeable in the account: the "Ark" is carried north, i. e., upstream, to the mountains; and the catastrophe is such as occurred neither before nor since and *cannot* again occur. It is therefore out of the natural order. This, in itself, not to speak of the mythical elements of the story, points to its being myth and not history. Cf. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 87; Gen.³, 76, where the extraordinary feature of the Ark's floating upstream is said to be explicable only on the assumption of some actual occurrence in nature. It seems more reasonable to assume that an event lying beyond the limits of actual human observation is improbable.

⁵⁶ Jastrow, *Hebr. and Babylon Traditions*, 14f, cf. 18, thinks that the Babylonian element in the Hebrew Flood narratives came over to Israel at a very early date.

⁵⁷ Like 5 : 29, J, this story thinks of [Lamech and] Noah as following husbandry. In a lost opening of the story there was an account given of Noah's activity as a husbandman; and we are now told of a new art of the field which he introduced to mankind. Of this, also, 5 : 29 is evidently aware. It is not necessary in view of 5 : 29 to think that the present narrative looks on Noah as the first to till the soil as well as the first to have a vineyard. He was, of course, the first to establish husbandry after the Flood. Vd. English versions, Dillmann, Genesis ⁶, in loc., Driver, Genesis, in loc., Gordon, ETG, in loc.; cf. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 88; Gen.³, 78f.

⁵⁸ (a) V. 23 R. V., "took a garment"; the Hebrew text has "took the garment," a reading which indicates that we have only the fragment of a narrative. Noah's "garment" must have been previously mentioned in a beginning of the story which has not been preserved; Gunkel, Gen.³, 79.

(b) For another incident illustrating the shameless conduct of children toward a drunken father, vd. Gen. 19 : 30-38.

⁵⁹ In v. 22 we must omit "Ham, the father of," cf. v. 26f. In v. 26, read, "Blessed of Jehovah be the tents of Shem," cf. v. 27. Kittel, B. H., in loc.; cf. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 88.

Vs. 25-27 seem to reflect rather early conditions: Shem lives in tents; the Canaanite, a hated neighbor is anathematized; Japheth is a subject of blessing and the wish is expressed that these more remote neighbors may crowd down from the north into Shem's tents and assist in the complete subjugation of the Canaanite. According to ch. 10, Japheth includes peoples from the Greeks on the Aegean to the Medes far away to the northeast. Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 90f; Gen.³, 79ff; Skinner, Genesis, 184ff.

Ryle, Gen., adheres to the Massoretic text of the Song. For various interpretations put upon the passage, vd. Ryle, op. c., 130f.

⁶⁰ Dillmann, Genesis ⁶, 157; Skinner, Genesis, 181ff. Gunkel, Gen.³, 78ff.

CHAPTER X
THE TABLE OF PEOPLES IN GEN. 10

CHAPTER X

THE TABLE OF PEOPLES IN GEN. 10.¹

The Hebrew
View of the
Origin of
Peoples,
Languages
and Lands

From the Ark went forth eight persons as the progenitors of a new human race. In the opinion of the Hebrew thinkers the peoples of the earth bear names which correspond to the names of the male descendants of Noah in the generations following the Flood.² The human race is therefore divisible into three major groups of peoples according as they have sprung from Japheth, Ham,³ or Shem. Originally, the ancestors of these peoples dwelt together in one homeland — such was the older view — and spoke a common language. Their dispersion and differentiation in speech are accounted for in this earlier view as due to a judgment on the profane attempt to build the Tower or city of Babel (as Gen. 11 : 1–9 tells). The later view⁴ regards the rise of varying tongues and the varying geographical location of peoples as due to causes which attend a natural evolution of mankind.⁵

The table of nations in Gen. 10 groups the principal peoples known to the Hebrews in accordance with their ethnographical relationship, geographical proximity being also considered in the greater number of cases.⁶ There are one or two instances where neither of these principles has been observed. Assyria, for example, is placed among the African races descended from Ham. This striking exception is probably due to a misunderstanding: Cush, son of Ham, begets Nim-

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rod⁷ and he goes forth from Babylonia and founds Assyria. In his source the writer read that Nimrod was a man of "Kash," and erroneously assumed that the African "Kush" was intended. Hence, the introduction of Nimrod and Assyria into the Hamite list.

Another noteworthy exception is that of Canaan, who is placed not with the other peoples of Syria and Palestine, that is, with the Shemite races, but, again, with the Hamites. The probable reason for this has been discussed in note 41, p. 121, *infra*.

Omitted Peoples
Some peoples well within the circle of a Hebrew's knowledge are not mentioned in this "table of nations" possibly for the reason that they are conceived to be of later origin than the seventh generation from the Flood, which is as far as the table goes.⁸ Or it may be, because they are to find an account of their origin at a later stage in the Book of Genesis.⁹

Historical Value of the Chapter
The "table" while lacking in consistency and scientific accuracy, has value as affording information concerning the knowledge of the world and its peoples possessed by Hebrews of the eighth century (J) and the sixth century B. C. (P), respectively.¹⁰
The Generations of the Sons of Noah (The Grouping of the Peoples)
The affiliations of the peoples are set forth in the manner following:

THE TABLE OF PEOPLES

1st Generation: NOAH

2d Generation: JAPHETH

3d Gen.: sons of Japheth (P).	1. Gomer ¹¹ 2. Magog ¹⁵ 3. Madai ¹⁵ 4. Javan ¹⁷ 5. Tubal ²² 6. Meshech ²³ 7. Tiras ²⁴	4th Gen.: sons of Gomer (P). sons of Javan (P).	Ashkenaz ¹² Riphat ¹³ Togarmah ¹⁴ Elishah ¹³ Tarshish ¹⁹ Kittim ²⁰ Rodanim ²¹
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2d Generation: HAM

3d Gen.: sons of Ham (P).	1. Cush ²⁵ 2. Misraim ³² 3. Put ³⁰ 4. Canaan ⁴¹	4th Gen.: sons of Cush (P).	Seba ⁵⁶ Havilah ⁵⁷ Sabtah ⁵⁸ Raamah ⁵⁹ Sabteah ⁷⁰	(J. <i>Niuro</i> ⁷¹ (son of Cush) sons of <i>Lulim</i> ⁷³ <i>Misraim Ananim</i> ⁷⁴ (J. <i>Lehabin</i> ⁷⁵ <i>Nalhtchim</i> ⁷⁶ <i>Patrusim</i> ⁷⁷ <i>Casluhim</i> ⁷⁸ <i>Caphthorim</i> ⁷⁹
				sons of Canaan Heth ⁴² (J).

5th Gen.: sons of Raamah (P).	Sheba ⁴³ Dedan ⁴⁴	sons of <i>Philistines</i> ⁴⁵ <i>Caphthorim</i> (J). [<i>Casluhim</i> ?]
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2d Generation: SHEM

3d Gen.: sons of Shem (P).	1. Elam ⁴⁶ 2. Asshur ⁴⁷ 3. Arpachshad ⁴⁸ 4. Lud ⁵⁰ 5. Aram ⁵¹	4th Gen.: sons of Aram (P).	Uz ⁵² Hul ⁵³ Gether ⁵⁴ Mash ⁵⁵	son of <i>Arpachshad</i> (J).	<i>Shelah</i> ⁴⁹
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5th Gen.: sons of Shelah (P).	Eber ⁵⁶	6th Gen.: sons of Eber (P).	Peleg ⁵⁷ Joktan ⁵⁸	7th Gen.: sons of Joktan (P).	Various Ara- bian tribes, 12 (13?) in all.
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NOTES ON CHAPTER X

¹ (a) *Analysis of ch. 10.*

P 1-7, 20, 22, 23, 24, 31, 32.

J 8-15, 18b, 19, 21, 25-30.

Additions. 16-18a; cf. Steuernagel, *Einl. i. d. Alte Test.*, Sec. 36.

(b) The beginning of J's genealogy is found in 9 : 18-19.

(c) The plurality of sources is well illustrated by the double beginning, 9 : 18 || 10 : 1a; the duplicates 10 : 21 || 10 : 22a; the repetition of Sheba and Havilah (10 : 7 under Cush, son of Ham; 10 : 28, 29, under Joktan of the line of Shem). Cf. Gunkel, *Gen.* 3, 84; Skinner, *Gen.* 187ff.

² Cf. the Greek claim of descent from Hellen through his three sons, Dorus, Aeolus, and Xuthus, and the two sons of Xuthus, Ion and Achaeus. From these come: Dorians, Aeolians, Ionians, Achaeans. Driver, *Genesis*, 112ff.

³ While Shem and Japheth are mentioned only in the early chapters in Genesis and in the parallel genealogy in 1 Chron. 1, Ham occurs in the Psalms (78 : 51,

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105 : 23-27, 106 : 22) as a name for Egypt. There, however, it is probably the equivalent of the native Egyptian name for Egypt, *Kémet* (Coptic *Kémi*, *chémi*). As such it has nothing to do with Ham, son of Noah; but cf. Gunkel, *Gen.*⁴, 87.

⁴ Cf. P in *Gen.* 10 : 5, 20, 31, 32.

⁵ Skinner, *Genesis*, 2, 192ff.

⁶ Compare the principle set forth by P in vs. 5, 20, 31. "According to their families, tongues, lands, and nations." Cf. Driver, *Genesis*⁷, 113; Skinner, *Genesis*, 192f.

⁷ For a full discussion of the passage, *Gen.* 10 : 8-12, vd. Gunkel, *Gen.*⁸, 87-89. In the Hebrew legend Nimrod seems to have been connected with Assyria, particularly (*Mic.* 5 : 6). In *Gen.* 10 : 8-12 he is a Babylonian king who founded the kingdom of Assyria. He was the very first "gibbôr" (hero); what this implies is explained: he was a mighty hunter, a mighty ruler, a mighty conqueror, and a mighty founder of cities. The "gibbôrîn" (heroes) of *Gen.* 6 : 1-4 were famous mighty men, born of angels and human in others, who caused much violence on the earth and were destroyed by the Flood.

This Nimrod (whose name is fictitious and may mean "rebel") found certain cities already existing in Babylonia and then went north into Assyria and established other cities there. It is significant that the city Asshur is not among these. It was the capital of Assyria until ca. 1300 B. C. (Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 94.) On the other hand, Nineveh is called the capital ("the same is the great city," =capital, has been misplaced. It should go with Nineveh). N. became the capital of Assyria under Sennacherib, 705-681 B. C., though it was an important religious centre at different periods before that (*E. B.*, *Art. Nineveh*). The position ascribed to Nineveh accords only with a date after 700 B.C.; hence, the record in this passage must be placed after that date. Probably, the note "the same is the great city" or capital, is to be treated as a late interpolation in the text. (Cf. Gunkel, *op. c.*, 91.)

Of the cities of Nimrod, Babel = Babylon, 50 miles south of Baghdad on the left bank of the Euphrates; Erech = mod. Warka, ca. 100 miles southeast from Babylon.

Accad = a city located probably near Baghdad on the Euphrates.

Calneh has not been located; Shinar is in the Old Testament an old name for Babylonia, *Gen.* 11 : 2; *Josh.* 7 : 21 marg., etc.;

Nineveh = mod. ruins of Nebi Yunus (Jonah) and Kuyunjik, east of the Tigris opposite Mosul; Rehoboth-ir is not a proper name, and what it refers to is not clear.

Calah = mod. Nimrûd, 20 miles south of Nineveh; Resen is unidentified.

The passage quite correctly implies that Assyria was colonized from Babylonia and owed its civilization to that country.

⁸ This may be the ground of omission in the case of Persia, which was no doubt well known to P (cf. *Ezek.* 27 : 10, 38 : 5), but seemed to him a "new" people.

The Chaldeans as we shall see appear to be covered by Arpachshad; vd. note 48, p. 122.

That Koa, Shoa, and Pekod, which are already known to Ezekiel (23 : 23) and Minni, which is mentioned in Jeremiah (51 : 27), should be left out is probably not to be ascribed to intention. They were not familiarly known. Cf. Skinner, *Genesis* 191; *KAT*⁹, 101, 103.

⁹ Moab and Ammon (*Gen.* 19 : 30-38), the Keturite tribes (*Gen.* 25 : 1ff), the Ishmaelite tribes (*Gen.* 25 : 12-18), the Edomites (*Gen.* 36 : 1ff) are all younger peoples of whom an account is given at a later stage.

As for Arabia (cf. *Jer.* 25 : 24) it seemed to be covered by the particular Arabian peoples which were taken into account.

¹⁰ Driver, *Genesis*⁷, 112ff.

¹¹ *Ezek.* 38 : 6. Ass. Gimirrai.

¹² *Jer.* 51 : 27 "Ararat, Minni, Ashkenaz"; Ass. Ashkuza, between Lake Urumia and the Caspian Sea.

¹³ Unidentified.

¹⁴ *Ezek.* 27 : 14, 38 : 6. Ass. Tilgarimmu, a city far up on the Euphrates and near to the country of the Tabali (Tubal). *Jeremias*, *ATAO*², 260.

¹⁵ *Ezek.* 38 : 2, 39 : 6.

¹⁶ Ass. Madai.

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¹⁷ Ezek. 27 : 13, Isa. 66 : 19, Joel 3 : 6, Zech. 9 : 13, Dan. 8 : 21, 10 : 20, 11 : 2. Mentioned along with Tubal in Isa. 66 : 19, and in Ezek. 27 : 13, the same grouping as here; "Javan, Tubal, Meshech." Ionians of Asia Minor in the first instance. In Old Testament Greeks generally.

¹⁸ Ezek. 27 : 7. Location very uncertain; the most plausible suggestion connects Elishah with the Alashia (Cyprus) of the Amarna Letters; Skinner, Genesis, 198; cf. Gordon, ETG, 320.

¹⁹ Jer. 10 : 9, Ezek. 27 : 12, Isa. 66 : 19, 23 : 1, 6, 10, Jonah 1 : 3, 4 : 2. A colony of Tyre in southern Spain at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River.

²⁰ Jer. 2 : 10, Ezek. 27 : 6, Num. 24 : 24, etc. If Elishah be not Cyprus this may be. A chief city of the island was Kition (mod. Larnaca). It cannot be restricted to Cyprus, however, as the regular form of reference is "the isles or coasts of Kittim." Cf. Skinner, Genesis, 199.

²¹ The Hebr. text Gen. 10 : 4 reads Dodanim (דודנין), but 1 Chr. 1 : 7, which transcribes this list, reads correctly Rodanim (רודנין). Vd. Kittel, Biblia Hebraica, in loc., Skinner, Genesis, 199. The reference is to the people, not the island, of Rhodes; cf. the plural form of the word.

²² Mentioned in Old Testament with Javan, Isa. 66 : 19; with Javan and Meshech, Ezek. 27 : 13; with Meshech, Ezek. 38 : 2f, 39 : 1. Ass. Tabali (Tibareni) in Cappadocia, north of the Anti-Taurus. E. Bi., Art. Tubal.

²³ Ass. Muski, northeast of Tubal, E. Bi., l. c.

²⁴ Identified by B. Jub. 9 : 13 with four islands "near to the coasts of Ham." Tiras is now regarded as identical with the people mentioned in Egyptian records of the time of Menepthah as the Turusha, a Pelasgian race of piratical habits. Of the same stock probably are the Etruscans. Gordon, ETG, 320. Skinner, Genesis, 199f; Paton, E. H. S. P., 133.

²⁵ Ethiopia = Egyptian, Kosh, Ass. Kusu. Skinner, Genesis, 200f.

²⁶ Probably on the African coast of the Red Sea. Cf. Dillmann, in loc.; E. Bi., Art. Seba.

²⁷ The northern part of Arabia, especially to the northeast. E. Bi., Art. Havilah. Cf. Gen. 2 : 11, 10 : 29, 25 : 18, an Arabian people descended from Joktan; 1 Sam. 15 : 7 (text?).

²⁸ Sabtah. Identity unknown. Possibly, Sabota, a great trading centre in Hadramaut, mentioned by Strabo, xvi : iv. 2 and Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi : 155, xii : 63.

²⁹ Ezek. 27 : 22, mentioned along with Sheba as trading with Tyre in spices, precious stones and gold. There is a Minean inscription which places Raamah south of Ma'an in Arabia. Cf. the Rammanites north of Hadramaut in Strabo (xvi : iv. 24). They are probably the people of this Raamah. Skinner, Genesis, 203.

³⁰ Unknown as yet.

³¹ Nimrod is here used of a legendary hero, not of a people.

³² = Egypt. The name Misraim has the appearance of a Hebrew dual noun. As a dual it has been thought to connote the division of Egypt into Lower and Upper Egypt, a distinction which is common in Egyptian records. If the form be a real dual, which has been disputed, the Hebrews seem to be alone among ancient peoples in employing a dual name to describe Egypt. Skinner, Genesis, 201.

³³ = Lydians, according to some, Jeremias, ATAO³, 274; others = Lutu or Rutu, i. e., Egyptians proper, Mitchell, W. B. A., 250; others an error for Lubim = Libyans, but these are rather the Lehabim, q. v. No certain identification can be made.

³⁴ Unidentified.

³⁵ Lehabim = Lubim = Libyans, Nah. 3 : 9; 2 Chr. 12 : 3, 16 : 8; Dan. 11 : 43.

³⁶ Possibly, the Na-patûh, the people of the Delta, Skinner, Genesis, 213; cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 90.

³⁷ = the land of the South = Upper Egypt, Jer. 44 : 1, 15; Isa. 11 : 11, etc.

³⁸ Unidentified.

³⁹ In the age of Thothmes iii (15th century, B. C.) the name given to a non-Semitic region identified with the Mediterranean coasts of Asia Minor and the outlying islands; = Keftiu. E. Bi., Art. Caphtor; Skinner, Genesis, 213f.

⁴⁰ Nah. 3 : 9; Jer. 46 : 9; Ezek. 27 : 10, 30 : 5, 38 : 5, etc. In Old Testament references found along with Cush, Egypt, Lud, Libya. The most

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plausible identification is with the country named *Pwnt* on the Egyptian records. It was located on the Somali coast of the Red Sea. Gunkel, *Urg.* and P., 129.

⁴¹ Canaan is placed among the "sons of Ham" out of the same feeling that led to the framing of the mythical story in Gen. 9:20-27 (J). Both records are due to the strong prejudice felt toward the Canaanites of the seaboard after Omri's policy of Zidonian alliance had brought Baal worship into Israel. Elijah, Amos, and Hosea reflect the same anti-Canaanite feeling before or in the age when J wrote. It is at the same time possible that the active relations between the Phoenician seaports and Egypt may have suggested that the Canaanites of the seaboard were descended from Ham.

Zidon is a general term for the Phoenicians. Jdg. 3:3, 18:7; 1 Kgs. 5:6, 11:1-5, 16:31.

Heth = Hittites, Gen. 23, 25:10, 27:46b, 49:32 all P. When the prophetic historian J thinks of two peoples distinct from the Hebrews, the one Zidon, the other Heth, he is probably thinking of the Phoenicians of the seaboard, on the one hand, and the Hittites from Hamath to the Taurus and the Euphrates, on the other. For the peoples mentioned in vs. 16-19 *vd.* note 42.

⁴² The three verses 16-18a seem to represent an addition to the original text. Of the peoples named therein every one has the name given in Gentilic form. Jebusites, a people connected with Jerusalem, Jdg. 19:10; 2 Sam. 5:6-9. In Josh. 10 the King of Jerusalem is said to be an Amorite prince. Cf. Gunkel, *Gen.* 3, 90.

Amorites. In J, a competing people alongside of the Canaanites in Western Canaan. They had, also, two strong kingdoms of their own on the east side of Jordan before the entrance of Israel.

Girgashites, unidentified. Cf. Gergesa? (Lk. 8:26 R. V. marg.)

Hivites, found near Gibeon and Shechem, Gen. 34:2; Josh. 9:7, both these cities are Amorite centers, 2 Sam. 21:2; Gen. 48:22.

Arkites = 'Arqa, the Irkata of the Amarna Letters. Situated twelve miles north of Tripoli, about 80 miles north of Zidon.

Sinites = Sianu of the Ass. inserr.; near 'Arqa.

Arvadites = Aradus, an island city, 35 miles north of Tripoli, cf. Ezek. 27:8, 11. Mod. Ruwád, on an island, ca. 100 miles north of Zidon.

Semarites = Ass. Simirra, an important city north of Gebal and Berytus (Beirut). Mod. Sumra, a few miles south of Ruwád.

Hamathites. There was a kingdom of Hamath which bordered on Israel's territory to the north. It was an Amorite state before it became a Hittite kingdom in the 14th century, B. C. Its capital bore the same name and is represented by the modern Hamá on the Orontes.

⁴³ Sheba is given by P as a son of Joktan (v. 29) and by J in Gen. 25:3 as a son of Abraham by his concubine Keturah. It represents the Sabceans who had a flourishing kingdom at a very early date in southwestern Arabia. At a later date, they displaced the Minean Kingdom in northern Arabia. There they are tributaries of Tiglathpileser iii and Sargon ii (745-705 B. C.). Sheba is a far away country of great wealth in the Old Testament references. Cf. Skinner, *Genesis*, 203f. Seba is a more correct spelling.

⁴⁴ Associated with Sheba, Gen. 25:3; Ezek. 38:13; with Tema, Isa. 21:13f; Jer. 25:23; located near Edom, Jer. 49:8; Ezek. 25:13, cf. mod. Daidan a ruin heap west of Teima, where the trade routes from different parts of Arabia meet, Skinner, *Genesis*, 204.

⁴⁵ Cf. Amos 9:7, where the Philistines are traced to the Capthorim; so Jer. 47:4; Dt. 2:23. It is evident that "Philistines" was not in the original Hebrew text. It is now in its wrong place and represents, no doubt, a marginal gloss intended to expand and explain "Capthorim." The Philistines take their name from the Purusati one of a number of non-Semitic tribes who were opposed to Egypt in Palestine in the thirteenth century, B. C.; cf. the Turusha, n. 24, supra. They took possession of the southern portion of the Maritime Plain in the twelfth century, B. C., and organized five strong city states at Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gath, and Ekron. From these cities they controlled the surrounding country. The coming of the Philistines was followed after a short interval by the arrival of Israel in Canaan. Cf. Gunkel, *Gen.* 3, 90.

⁴⁶ Elam was at times a province of Babylonia. Its population in the third

THE TABLE OF PEOPLES

millennium, B. C., may have been largely Semitic. It became, later, the Persian province of Susiana. Skinner, *Genesis*, 204f.

⁴⁷ Asshur = Assyria. In v. 11 (J) correctly represented as a land colonized by settlers coming up from Babylonia.

⁴⁸ The identification of Arpachshad has caused much difficulty. In both 10 : 23f and 11 : 12-14 he is a near ancestor of Eber. We should expect, therefore, that he might have something to do with "Ur Kasdim," or at least the "land of the Kasdim," whence P derives the Hebrews (cf. 11 : 31 P and the addition from P at the end of 11 : 28). But it so happens that P's list in Gen. 10 never mentions the Kasdim, much as we might expect that it should; that is, unless the name lies in this mysterious Arpachshad. If we can account for the first part of this name, the second part (chshad) gives just what is wanted, namely, the name "Chesed" as that of the country of the Chaldees, Chasdim, or Kasdim. Now, as to the first part ('arp), it might easily be a corruption of the word for "land-of" ('ars.). In the Greek text of Gen. 11 : 28-31 the translator found before him as the Hebrew reading of P, not Ur Kasdim (MT), but precisely the expression "land of the Kasdim." We may assume, then, that P was familiar with the expression "land of Kesed or Chesed" and may follow this assumption with the further assumption that Arpachshad is an ancient corruption of the expression in question. It is barely possible that P himself made up the awkward compound 'Arskshad, or 'Ereskeshad, so as to introduce "the land of Kesed or Keshed" into his list of nations. This was later corrupted to read Arpachshad. The changes in Hebrew writing may be roughly represented as follows: P wrote אֲרַפְשַׁחַד. Owing to subsequent textual corruption MT reads אֲרַפְשַׁחַד.

Accepting this explanation of Arpachshad, the various explanations looking toward all other regions may be passed by, and the name may be connected with the region of Babylonia, which in P's day was, in fact, the "land of the Kasdim, Chasdim, or Chaldeans." Cf. Mitchell, *W. B. A.*, 258; Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 129; Skinner, *Genesis*, 205f.

⁴⁹ The Greek reads in v. 24: "And Arpachshad begat Kenan and Kenan begat Shelah. . . ." The Greek similarly inserts Kenan between Arpachshad and Shelah in Gen. 11 : 12, 13. In 10 : 24 the addition of Kenan seems to be due to the reading of the Greek in Gen. 11 : 12, 13 (q. v.). Cf. Kittel, *B. H.*, in loc.

⁵⁰ There seems to be a corruption of the text in the closing words of v. 22. There is no apparent reason as the text now stands for immediately continuing the descent of Aram in v. 23. Through the influence of the words "and Arpachshad" just preceding and the words "and Arpachshad begat" at the beginning of v. 24, we have the reading "and Lud and Aram" at the end of v. 22, where we should have "and Arpachshad begat Aram." That is, for the MT, v. 22b, אֲרַפְשַׁחַד יָלַד לְאֲרָם we should read אֲרַפְשַׁחַד יָלַד לְאֲרָם. In this way the inexplicable Lud is removed and v. 23 appears as a natural continuation of v. 22. V. 24 does not follow v. 23 very naturally in any case, but its position is made better by the proposed change in v. 22. P first accounts for the older Aramean people as descendants of Kesed (Arpachshad) and then goes on to shew that Eber (Hebrews) is a collateral line from Kesed, but of later origin. Eber is, however, not really very late in appearing, being as old as the ancient tribes of the Syrian Desert (Uz, Hul, etc.). Cf. Skinner, *Genesis*, 206.

⁵¹ Ass. Aramu, Aramê. A widespread Semitic race who are found from the early part of the second millennium, B. C., all through the Old Testament period, coming up from the shores of the Persian Gulf and gradually migrating northwestward until they reach the Mediterranean; and, then, moving southward until they strike into Arabia and Egypt. Aram is older than Chesed in Gen. 20 : 22 (J).

⁵² Cf. Job 1 : 1; Jer. 25 : 20; Lam. 4 : 21. In J, Gen. 22 : 21, Uz is an uncle of Aram; in P, Gen. 36 : 28, Uz and Aram are grandsons of Seir.

⁵³ Cf. Huleh between Emesa and Tripolis, Dillmann, *Genesis* 4, 197.

⁵⁴ Unidentified.

⁵⁵ The mountain range Tûr 'Abdin, north of Nisibis, of old, Mount Masius. This is the most plausible suggestion. Skinner, *Genesis*, 207.

⁵⁶ In P, Eber is a son of Shelah and grandson of Shem (so v. 24, but cf. note

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

49, supra). In J, v. 21, is a different view of Eber: "And to Shem even to him, the father of the Eberites (Hebrews), were children born." This makes Shem and Eber to be one and the same, apparently. In this case, Eber-Hebrews is an older and not a younger people than Aram as vs. 23-24 imply. The prevailing view in the Old Testament, and probably the correct view, is that the Hebrew people are an offshoot of the great Aramean group. There is some question as to whether the name "Hebrew" did not originally apply more widely than to Israel alone. In the Amarna correspondence of the 15th-14th centuries, B. C., mention is often made of a people of the Syrian desert named the Habiri (and also SA-GAS, KAT³, 196-198) who are making incursions into the agricultural portions of Canaan, especially toward the south. They effect a settlement in the land at that early period, when as yet there is no Hebrew-Israelite people there. There is good reason to regard the names Habiri and Hebrew as identical, and if so, the case for an application of the name in one or other form to peoples outside of Israel is a fairly clear one. As to who these non-Israelite Hebrews who preceded Israel in Canaan may be, we may conjecture that the very closely related peoples, Ammon, Moab, Edom, whom the Hebrew-Israelites found already settled there when they came out of Egypt were among those included.

The Old Testament writers think of the term Hebrew as in the first instance an appellative with the meaning "those who came from the other side," sc. of the River. The river alluded to was without doubt the Euphrates. Gen. 12 : 5 (P), 24 : 4, 7 (J); Josh. 24 : 2 (E); Gordon, ETG., 171f; Skinner, Genesis, 217f; Paton, E. H. S. P., 110-114.

⁸⁷ Gen. 10 : 25 anticipates the story of Gen. 11 : 1-9 (J) and is hardly consistent with statements in Gen. 10 itself, which imply the development of races and the occupation of their several countries at an earlier time than is here implied.

⁸⁸ Joktan = Qahtan of the Arab genealogers. He is the ancestor of the various tribes of the Arabian peninsula, Dillmann, Genesis⁶, 198.

Among the thirteen tribes traced in this passage to Joktan 'Obal is read Ebal in the Samaritan and in 1 Chron. 1 : 22; the Greek of Lucian read Gebal; one MS. of the LXX omits the name. In view of this evidence it may be best to consider leaving out 'Obal, in which case there will remain twelve Joktanide Arab tribes, as there are twelve Ishmaelite tribes (Gen. 25 : 12ff) and twelve tribes of Israel and twelve Nahorites (Gen. 22 : 20-24).

Among the Joktanide peoples occur the names of some well-known regions: Hazarmaveth (=Hadramaut), Ophir (an Arabian folk for this author), Havilah (=northern Arabia), and Sheba (vd. note 43, supra).

CHAPTER XI

THE TOWER OF BABEL. Gen. 11 : 1-9 (J)

CHAPTER XI

THE TOWER OF BABEL. GEN. 11:1-9 (J)

This is the Prophetic writer's account of the manner in which the posterity of Noah were dispersed over the earth¹ and came to acquire their several languages. It will be recalled that the Priestly writer's list of Noah's descendants *presupposes* the dispersion of the nations and the existence of different languages. The present narrative illustrates the thesis of the Jehovist author that multiplied human inventions bring multiplied toil and trouble to men. The idolatrous ambition of men to rival Deity was visited with punishment in that men came to have languages that could not be understood by their fellows and came to live at great distances from one another.² It does not occur to the author that difference in speech would not be a probable cause for the dispersion of mankind, but that, on the contrary, variety of environment due to dispersion is the more natural cause of divergence in physical type and language.³

In the passage as we have it two separate myths have been combined:⁴ (a) One relating to the building of a city, and accounting for the name Babel, and at the same time for the diversity of human tongues; (b) the other concerning the building of a lofty temple-tower,⁵ and accounting for the removal of peoples to different parts of the earth.

The Composite
Character of
the Narrative

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

(a) *Myth concerning the origin of diverse languages:*⁶

Vs. 4a and b, And they said, Come let us build us a city . . . lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.

The Story of
the Origin
of Babel

Vs. 6a, And Jehovah said, Behold they are one people and they have all one language. . . .

Vs. 7, Come, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.

Vs. 8b, [So Jehovah confounded their language] and they left off to build the city.

Vs. 9, Therefore was the name of it called Babel; because Jehovah did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did Jehovah scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.

(b) *Myth concerning the dispersion of the human race:*

Vs. 2, And it came to pass as they journeyed eastwards⁷ that they found a plain⁸ in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there.

The Story of
the Temple
Tower

Vs. 3, And they said one to another, Come, let us make brick and burn them hard. And they had brick instead of stone and bitumen⁹ instead of mortar.

Vs. 4b, [And they said, Come let us build us] a tower whose top shall reach unto heaven,¹⁰ and let us make us a name.

Vs. 5, And Jehovah came down¹¹ to see the . . . tower which the children of men builded.

Vs. 6b, [And Jehovah said] this is the beginning of

THE TOWER OF BABEL

their doing and now nothing will be withholden from them which they may purpose to do.

Vs. 8a, So Jehovah scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth.¹²

The composite character of the passage seems plain from the facts which follow: the two subjects, tower and city; the inconsistency of the duplicate in vs. 7 after vs. 5; the inconsistency of the duplicate in vs. 9b after vs. 8a.

The etymology of the name Babel as from the Hebrew root *balal*, "to confuse," is entirely fanciful. The origin as explained by Babylonian records is "bab," "gate of," and, "īli," "god." The account of the foundation of Babel is quite different from that which is found in Gen. 10:10, where it is the chief city of Nimrod's kingdom and exists long before the assumed dates of the present incidents.¹³

In one of the myths the cause of the judgment is self-willed ambition;¹⁴ in the other, where a temple-tower is in question it is that and more, inasmuch as idolatry is implied.

Generally speaking, Shinar is for the prophetic writers of the Old Testament *the* land of idolatry and wickedness (cf. Zech. 5 : 8-11).

NOTES ON CHAPTER XI

¹ Cf. Gen. 10 : 25 (J).

² Dillmann, Genesis⁵, 203. Cf. Jastrow, Hebr. and Babyl'n Traditions, 6.

³ Driver, Genesis⁷, 132ff.

⁴ The narrative is taken as representing a single enterprise in Jub. 10 : 18-27.

⁵ Babel was deemed the oldest and greatest of cities (10 : 10), and it would be no strange thing for Hebrews at different periods to see therein a great temple-tower partly finished or falling into ruin. Jastrow, R. B. A., 642-651; Sayce, Relig. of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia, 449ff. Egypt, likewise, furnished suggestive illustration in its crumbling pyramids, Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt, 26, 39, 325f; Petrie, Hist. Ancient Egypt, i, 32f, 58ff, etc.; Gunkel, Gen.³, 96f.

⁶ The myth looks back to the historical fact that Babylon was a great cosmopolitan centre of commerce where people of many races and tongues had gathered from early times; Gunkel, Gen.³, 98.

⁷ Perhaps, we should render the Hebrew: "As they went from place to place in the East," cf. Gunkel, Gen.³, 94.

⁸ *πεδίων μύγα*, Herodotus calls the vicinity of Babylon, Dillmann, Genesis⁵, 205.

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

⁹ (a) Dillmann, *op. cit.*, 206. Vs. 3 describes the discovery of the arts of brick making and building, Gunkel, *Gen.*³, 94, 96.

(b) This story originated where buildings were made of stone and mortar. Hence not in Babylonia. There is no reason against its having originated in Palestine.

¹⁰ Often said of Babylonian temple towers, Jeremias, *ATAO*², 278.

¹¹ In the mythology of the Hebrews, Jehovah dwelt on earth in the primitive age of mankind (cf. *Gen.* 2-4) and possibly down to the time of the Deluge; at least, the "sons of God" who are on earth at the Creation (cf. *Job* 38 : 4-7) are said to marry on earth human wives in the age just before the Flood. In this story Jehovah comes from heaven as he regularly does later.

¹² For a different analysis, *vd.* Gunkel, *Urg. and P.*, 95; Skinner, *Genesis*, *in loc.* Some have assumed that an original polytheistic myth or myths lies back of *Gen.* 11 : 1-9 (cf. v. 7). This may be so, but the authors of the Hebrew versions can hardly have known of any polytheistic connections of the story or stories. Cf. Skinner, 227, 228ff.

¹³ The truth is that this city legend has been misplaced. It relates to the building of the *first* city and should have been brought in among the earliest developments of civilization, cf. *Gen.* 4 : 17. The tower legend belongs to the same early stage; but *vd.* note on v. 5, *supra.*

In its present position *Gen.* 11 : 1-9 is deliberately placed by the editor of *Genesis* side by side with *Gen.* 10 as an alternative account of the origin of languages and races. In the same way, he of full purpose set side by side the two Creation narratives (*Gen.* 1 and 2), and the parallel genealogies (*Gen.* 4 : 16ff and *Gen.* 5).

¹⁴ Cf. the severe judgment of the early prophets on the manners of city life.

CHAPTER XII

THE PRIESTLY WRITER'S GENEALOGY
OF SHEM

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THE PRIESTLY WRITER'S GENEALOGY OF SHEM

The passage in Gen. 11:10-26 is taken up with the Priestly writer's genealogy of Shem.

In Gen. 10, there was a fragment of P's account of the Shemites. There, the sons of Shem, presumably in order of age, are, Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, Aram; and yet the descent is continued through Aram.¹ Here Arpachshad is the eldest son and the descent continues through him. The next steps, Shelah, Eber, Peleg, agree with P's genealogy of the Shemites in Gen. 10:24f.

This genealogy has the usual ten² generations of the Priestly source; but, whereas in the genealogy of Adam, the generations were rough multiples of thirty years, here the generation is roughly speaking thirty years, except for the one hundred years in the case of Shem (because it has been already intimated that he had no son when he entered the Ark, Gen. 6:18 [P], cf. 5:32), and the approximate double generation in the case of Terah.³ There seems to be a purpose to represent life as growing shorter from Shem downward (cf. Sam.). In the Hebrew text Terah's case alone contradicts this. The whole period covered by the genealogy is 292 years in the Massoretic text. In the Septuagint it is given as 1070 years and in the Samaritan, as 940 years.⁴ No doubt, the

The Shortening of Human Life

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

Hebrew is nearest the original, it being the intention as stated above to shew that human life was becoming shorter as time passed.⁵

The Samaritan supplies in the case of each name the total age at death. The LXX simply adds to M. T. in each case the words "and he died."

THE GENE-
ALOGY OF
TERAH. Para-
phrase of Gen.
11 : 27-32 *The account of J, 11 : 28-30 . . . and Haran died in the presence of Terah his father in the land of his nativity,⁶ the land of the Chaldees.⁷ Abram and Nahor married Sarai and Milcah, respectively. Milcah was Haran's daughter,⁸ and sister of Iscah. Sarai was childless.⁹*

The account of P, 11 : 27, 31, 32.

The generations of Terah: Terah begat Abram, Nahor, Haran; Haran begat Lot. Terah, Abram, Lot, and Sarai, Abram's wife, started from Ur¹⁰ of the Chaldees for Canaan. They arrived at Harran¹¹ and remained there. Terah died there, aged 205.¹²

The Narrow-
ing Scope of
the Tradition The world traditions of Gen. 1-11 now have given place to a distinctly ethnic tradition, that of the Semites, and this will at once give place to a tradition relating solely to the Hebrews.

Corresponding to this restriction of interest, myths tend to become fewer, legends increase in number, and a definitely historical element emerges in the narratives of the Hebrew patriarchs.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XII

¹ The text in Gen. 10 : 22-24 is corrupt (vd. supra); cf. suggested emendations, notes 48 and 50, page 123f. The Priestly editor has reckoned in Gen. 10 on the genealogy of Shem and Arpachshad as about to appear in his narrative, though the same original hand is not responsible for P's genealogy in Gen. 10, and P's list in Gen. 11 : 10-26.

GENEALOGY OF SHEM

² There are only nine in MT, but LXX introduces Kenan (Καιναν) after Arpachshad. LXX has the same addition in 10 : 24. The addition probably does not represent what originally stood in the text. The original was probably illegible to the Greek translator. He resorts to conjecture; while the Hebrew textual tradition has omitted altogether the member of the genealogy concerned and left the total number of names one short.

³ LXX adds Kenan 130 + 600, or 100 years each for six generations from Arpachshad to Serug + 50 years for Nahor = 780.

⁴ Sam'n is same as Greek, but omits Kenan. Jub. 10f allows double the natural generation in all cases except Shem, 102 years, and gives the total 669. Dillmann, Genesis,⁶ 209f.

⁵ Dillmann, Genesis⁶, 210. Accepting the Hebrew text we may note that it makes Noah, Shem, and all their descendants, contemporary with Abram. Moreover, Shem, Shelah, and Eber overlive Abram. The LXX and Sam. avoid these awkward difficulties by increasing the interval between Abram's predecessors and himself, Mitchell, W. B. A., 276n. A correction must be made in the case of the period of Eber's life after the birth of Peleg. Read 370 years (11 : 17). Dillmann⁶, 210 (cf. Samaritan, LXX).

The names in the list, as far as identified, stand related to Aramean place names. This seems to be true of Shelah, Reu, Serug, Terah (cf. Gunkel, Urg. and P., 130; Skinner, 232). Nahor seems to be an artificial name made from Harran (חָרָן) by transposition of consonants. One may venture to suggest that Terah's son Haran, the father of Milcah, is, also, but an artificial variation of the place name Harran, based upon Assyro-Babylonian pronunciation. This argument is strengthened by the J genealogy in 11 : 28-30, where Nahor is the husband of Milcah (Ishtar of Harran?), and the J list in 22 : 20-24, where their descendants have Aramean place names in good part, cf. Uz, Buz, Aram, Chesed (?). The next incident to this genealogy of Nahor (22 : 20-24) in the J source rather significantly concerns the errand of Abraham's steward, who goes to Harran by Abraham's command. There is no violence done to the laws of phonetic exchange in the Semitic dialects if we assume that Harran (חָרָן) was pronounced in Hebrew like Haran (חָרָן) Lindberg, Vergl. Gramm. vd. Sem. Sprachen, i. 29-36, cf. Skinner, 236. For Harran and Milcah, cf. KAT³, 364f. The Terahite genealogy 11 : 27ff has the purpose to account for Aramean peoples apparently. Perhaps, this applies also to the Shemite genealogy. Cf. Skinner, 233f.

With Haran of 11 : 26, cf. Bethharan, Num. 32 : 36. The place is a Gadite (Aramean ?) city.

⁶ Elsewhere in J this is Harran or Mesopotamia 24 : 4, 7, 10, cf. 27 : 43, 28 : 10, 29 : 4.

⁷ So LXX here and in 15 : 7. This is either a mistaken location of Harran or a gloss of ancient date which has become the basis of P's "Ur of the Chaldees."

⁸ Endogamy among the Terahites; cf. 20 : 12, 24: passim, 29 : 19; cf. Skinner, 237f.

⁹ Continued in 12 : 1ff.

¹⁰ For Ur = fire, cf. Jub. 12 : 12-14, where Haran perishes by fire (ûr) in Ur of the Chaldees.

¹¹ Vd. Skinner, 238.

¹² Haran died in Harran; Terah and Nahor remained there; Abram and Lot go to Canaan.

CHAPTER XIII
A SUMMARY OF THE TEACHINGS OF
GEN. 1-11

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GEN. 1-11

Cf. H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, Chap. II.

H. E. Ryle, *Genesis*, xlv.-cv.

R. Smend, *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte*, 434-440.

Purpose in
View

Though in the preceding pages attention has been constantly directed to the convictions expressed in the several passages discussed, it seems, nevertheless, desirable to bring together in one view the teachings thus casually referred to. To do this will enable the reader more easily to grasp the two systems of belief underlying the two great sources, J and P, and to compare them the one with the other. The respective sources represent widely separated periods of Hebrew thought (J the early eighth century; P the late sixth century); they furthermore represent different circles of thought, J the early prophetic circle; P the growing scholasticism of the literary priesthood. It goes without saying that other views touching the subjects treated in Gen. 1-11 were held by other writers who lived in the times of J and P or at other times in the Old Testament period. A fair view of the whole development of ancient Hebrew thought would necessarily take account of what these other writers have taught, but conciseness and clearness of presentation demand that for our special purpose

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

we confine our outline to the early chapters in Genesis and those only.

Comparison of J and P In estimating the views expressed in J one has to keep in mind that "he" (J is the symbol of a school of writers) writes before Israel had been brought into close and continuous contact with Assyro-Babylonian culture; that he has the intense human touch of the early prophets; that he has their patriotic sympathy with social wellbeing; and that like them he would recall his compatriots to a primitive simplicity and loyalty to Jehovah. P writes in Babylonia where "he" (P also refers to a school) and his fellow exiles had long been familiar with the literary methods and spiritual temper of a dominant priestly class. The themes treated in these chapters of Genesis were staple themes with the temple priesthood of Babylonia. The ordered and formal style of Hebrew priestly literature is a restrained and stately imitation of Babylonian models.

The interest of P is in God rather than man; in themes of the school more than in sensitive human beings; righteousness has become a rule with him and not a character of the spirit.

The Subjects Treated by J in Gen. 1-11 The subjects treated by J in the order of their occurrence in Genesis are as follows:

1. The Creation of man, Gen. 2 : 4b-7.
2. Man's primitive life (in Eden), Gen. 2 : 8-25.

3. The origin of human sin, Gen. 3 : 1-21.
4. The loss of Paradise, Gen. 3 : 22-24.
5. The advance of civilization and the aggravation of sin, Gen. 4.
6. Human descent, Gen. 4 : 16-26.
7. Judgment on sin (the Deluge), Gen. 6-8.

SUMMARY OF GEN. 1-11

8. The new beginnings of human history:
 - (a) Husbandry and Viticulture, Gen. 9 : 20-27.
 - (b) The origin of peoples, Gen. 9 : 18f, 10 passim.
 - (c) The renewal of sin, Gen. 11 : 1-9.
9. The origins of Israel, Gen. 11 : 28-30.

The subjects treated by P are as follows:

**The Subjects
Treated by P**

1. The Creation of the heavens and the earth (with special notice of the creation of man and the Creator's rest on the seventh day), Gen. 1 : 1 — 2 : 4a.
2. Human descent, Gen. 5.
3. Judgment on sin (the Deluge), Gen. 6-8.
4. The covenant with the new race, Gen. 9 : 1-17.
5. The origin of peoples and languages, Gen. 9 : 28f; 10 passim.
6. The origins of Israel, Gen. 11 : 10-26, 27, 31, 32.

1. The Doctrine of Creation in J

1. The Creator is Jehovah alone, Gen. 2 : 4b.
2. The material of the world is already existent, 2 : 5ff.
3. Jehovah does not create by fiat (as in P), but by manual art works up and moulds the existing material into the forms of the phenomenal universe. The Creator at work is conceived after the figure of a potter fashioning clay into vessels.
4. Jehovah as Creator follows His own plan and seeks His own appointed end. The whole is, therefore, undertaken for His own sake. Cf. 2 : 8, 15-17.

The Creator

The World-stuff

**The Creator's
Method**

**The Plan,
End and
Motive**

ISRAEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNINGS

5. The Creator is not all-prescient. Things do not realize the Creator's idea for them. Hence, He is led to create a new thing in order that His design may be fulfilled (2 : 18-20, 2 : 21-23). His design may be so far frustrated that He may "repent" of having created certain beings; cf. 6 : 5ff.

The Creator's
Limitations

6. The primeval condition of the earth was that of a rainless waste which was moistened only by occasional overflow from subterranean sources; cf. 2 : 6.

The Primeval
Earth

7. Vegetation did not begin to exist until the Creator had fixed the firmament with its provision for allowing rain to fall upon the earth and had fashioned man to cultivate the soil; cf. 2 : 5.

Vegetation

8. Before the art of agriculture, vegetation actually did exist by special exception in the Garden of Jehovah which He Himself planted in the East, on the steppe called Eden. It was a garden of beautiful foliage and fruit trees which Jehovah caused to grow up out of the ground, and in it Jehovah lived and walked about; cf. 2 : 9, 3 : 8.

The Garden
of Jehovah

9. The Creator when He created man intended him to live in this Garden of God. There he would be Jehovah's servant in protecting the Garden and dressing its trees. His food was to be the fruit of the various trees, with one particular tree, that of the discerning of the *good* and *not-good*, alone excepted; cf. 2 : 8, 15f.

Man's Posi-
tion in the
Garden

10. The body of man was moulded by Jehovah of moistened clay. When the body had been formed, it was constituted a living being by Jehovah's breathing into the nostrils the living breath of His own spirit; (cf. 2 : 7 and 6 : 3). This new principle embracing

The Creation
of Man

SUMMARY OF GEN. 1-11

what we know as life and mind was as definitely material a substance as the breath which passes ordinarily through human nostrils.

The Life-soul Principle in Man 11. This principle of "living breath" from the spirit of the Creator which gives life and soul to man is simply lodged by the Creator in man's body and may be withdrawn by Him. Man is immortal while it remains with him, but dies if it be taken away. It was the intention of Jehovah that man should retain the life-soul principle permanently, though the loss of it is contemplated as possible. The violation of the specific prohibition against partaking of the tree of *good* and *not-good* would entail such a loss.

The Perpetuation of the Human Species 12. At first, the Creator did not provide for the reproduction of the human species. Man was not created as a pair, male and female, but as an individual. By reason of the gift of the life-soul he was immortal and other provision for the perpetuation of the species was not necessary.

The Creator's Intention for Man 13. The Creator's purpose for man was that he should live a happy life whose factors were a pleasant physical environment, congenial intimacy with his Creator, an easy provision for his physical wants, pleasant occupation without either pain or toil, obedience to the Creator in an attitude of spontaneous loyalty, excepting with respect to one positive command which called for reflective decision (cf. Nos. 9 and 11, supra).

The Provision for the Moral Growth of the Man and Woman 14. The positive command laid upon man constituted a means of moral development. At the same time it has no force except as the possibilities of the sex relationship are already in existence. The com-

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mand does not apply to man in isolation, but to man as related to woman, and with equal necessity to woman as related to man. In other words, the beginnings of moral growth according to J must have waited until woman and man were placed in relation to one another. Gen. 2 : 16f which places the prohibition against eating the forbidden fruit two stages before the creation of woman is contradicted by the conversation with the serpent in Gen. 3 : 1ff. That passage correctly implies that the woman had received the command as well as the man.

15. Actually, man as he was first created was not completely happy. He was without the companionship of creatures like himself. To meet this unforeseen social need, the Creator fashioned by moulding clay the various kinds of land animals. These were brought into relation with man and for the most part were at first friendly in their attitude toward him. They did not fill man's social need as Jehovah the Creator had intended they should; cf. 2 : 18-20.

16. The animals failing to provide the needed "helper corresponding to" man, Jehovah by a mysterious process unknown to man built up of materials taken from man's body a woman, in whom man recognized the biological and social counterpart needed to complete his blessedness.

II. The Doctrine of Creation in P

The Creator 1. The Creator is the God of the Hebrew generations; cf. 1 : 1, 2 : 4a.

The World-Stuff: Chaos 2. He created the heavens and the earth out of the materials of an existing chaos. The chaos consisted of a watery deep in which was held the material of the dry land. Over

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the waters hung darkness, in the midst of which brooded the spirit of God as a bird over the waters; 1 : 2.

The Method of Creation 3. The method of the Creator in His work was apparently threefold: (1) To produce by fiat directly out of the chaos materials, e. g., light, firmament, dry land, heavenly bodies, birds; (1 : 3, 6, 14f, 20b).

(2) To command existing things to bring forth other things; e. g., the earth to produce vegetation, the waters to produce the aquatic creatures, the earth to produce the land animals; (1 : 11, 20a, 24).

(3) To directly make by a Divine act in the single case of man; 1 : 27.

The Creative Period 4. The process of Creation is not the slow process which science demands. It is begun and ended within a period of six ordinary days.

The Relative Perfection of the Creation 5. The created result as far as it goes is without fault. It is all "very good." Nevertheless, it may be carried still farther. The creatures, including man, are to fill the world with their respective kinds. (In the case of the land animals the command to do this has been omitted, probably through inadvertence.) Man, too, is to enlarge the perfection of the world by his dominion over its creatures and his "subjugation" of its elements.

The Progressive Character of the Results 6. There was a rational progression in the process of creating. Each stage was a preparation for what was to follow, e. g., light being the condition of all order and organic existence came before these; the firmament must have been fixed before it was possible for any earth to be distinguished from heaven; hence, the

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firmament appears on the second day and the earth only on the third. Throughout the account results are prepared for by what has been created previously.

7. In the creation of plant and animal life, kinds and not merely individuals were created. Abundant reproduction of species is expected and therefore a fairly equal proportion of sexes was brought into being.

8. Each department of Creation has its purpose with relation to some higher department or order: the inanimate world is the sphere of plant life; plants exist to furnish food to animals and man; animals are to serve man; and, finally, man is to act for the Creator in ruling the earth and its creatures.

9. The creation of man was an act quite apart from the other works of the Creator in its preëminent significance. The Creator's purpose to create man was a subject of conference between God and His host of divine beings before the work was proceeded with (1 : 26). In his whole being, physical and spiritual, he was created in the likeness of God; (cf. 5 : 1ff P). There were apparently two human beings thus created, a male and a female; (1 : 28; cf. 5 : 1ff).

10. The reproductive function is not discovered through wrongdoing as in J (cf. Gen. 3), but is known by its possessors from the beginning and is specially approved by the Creator (1 : 28).

11. Man is in the image of the Creator and is to fill the earth with a race which likewise is to bear the Creator's likeness. The reason appears to be that man's race is to take the Creator's place in controlling and

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ruling the world and its creatures. (Cf. the Garden of God in Gen. 2:8ff and the human creature animated by Divine breath who is to guard and dress it.)

The Food of Animals and Man 12. Herbs find their purpose in furnishing food for animals and man; fruit trees find theirs in providing food for man; 1:29, 30.

The Seventh Day 13. The six day period of creative activity is followed by a seventh day to complete the week cycle. On this day the Creator rests, that is, produces no new thing, and declares the day holy; 2:2-3 (cf. notes supra).

The Creator Not Localized 14. The Creator in P's account is not localized further than is implied in His being in communication with the divine beings who form His host and with the created objects addressed in His commands to bring forth, multiply, etc. It is likely that this manner of representing the Creator is largely a survival from the past with which P has not been able to dispense. The general view of P was that God was in heaven (with a special concession in later times to Israel in the midst of whom He condescended to dwell).

The Attendant Heavenly Beings 15. The origin, nature, number, and location of the beings who are with the Creator while His work is in process are not made known. (Cf. 1:26; 3:22; 11:7; Job 38:7.)

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III. *The Account of Primitive Man*

Some features of J's teaching have been already noticed, vd. 1 : Sec. 9ff above.

Primitive Innocence (J) According to J, the human pair lived in the Garden of God the simple life of childlike races who know nothing of the conventions of civilization.

The Hostility of the Serpent (J) Among the beasts of the Garden, one at least was hostile to Jehovah the Creator, namely, the serpent, the wisest of them all.

Being hostile to the Creator, he was an enemy likewise to the man and woman, as long as they obeyed their Creator, 3 : 1ff.

P's Teaching As far as the Priestly source (P) is concerned we may conclude that he did not share the realistic view of J as to a primitive age of innocent happiness when men lived in intimate physical nearness to God. For P the earth needs to be subjugated and its creatures need to be ruled over by man. Men live long and the human race multiplies fast. The opportunity for the corruption of the race and the growth of strife is great and as a result mankind degenerates fast. P does not explain how sin originated, any more than he explains how human arts arose, or how languages and peoples came to be differentiated; cf. 10 : 5, 20, 31, 32.

IV. *The Loss of Blessedness. The Account of J, Gen. 3*

The Occasion of the Loss 1. The loss of primitive blessedness was occasioned by the disobedience of the first human pair to the one positive command of Jehovah the Creator.

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2. They were induced to disobey by a subtle external appeal which sought to undermine the loyal confidence of the first man and woman in the Creator, and to create a new viewpoint and motive in their minds, namely, that of self-interest.

The Temptation to Disobedience

3. The appeal was presented by an external agent who was probably conceived to be a literal serpent, cf. 3: 1.

The Tempter

4. The tempter availed himself of the confidence of the woman; of her sense of limitation in not knowing how to discriminate between *good* and *not-good*; and finally, of the sexual appetite.

Conditions Favoring Temptation

5. The appeal was an invitation to sexual gratification and the root of all sin and trouble in the human race lies in the first sexual act of the first human pair.

The Nature of the First Human Sin

6. On its moral side, such an act involved disloyalty and disobedience toward Jehovah the Creator, and the substitution for these of self-assertive and self-seeking independence on man's part.

Moral Implications of this Sin

7. The sin committed led to the experience of the *not-good* as a new element in human knowledge. God, indeed, as the serpent had intimated, knew the *not-good* by reflection, but not experimentally, as man did.

The Knowledge Gained of Not-good

8. The natural results of the act of disobedience committed by the man and woman were: the awakening of sex consciousness; a sense of shame attaching thereto; the introduction of conventional decencies as to sex; a feeling of guilt which included a sense of

The Natural Results of the Act of Disobedience

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accountability, a sense of ill-desert, a fear of God, and a fear of punishment.

9. Certain evil factors which exist in the world are regarded by J as due to penalties positively imposed by Jehovah the Creator on the agents involved in the first act of disobedience, namely, the Serpent tempter, the Woman, and the Man. All serpents go crawling on the ground and eat dust (cf. Isa. 65 : 25; Mic. 7 : 17), because their ancestor who tempted the first woman was degraded from an upright posture by the Creator. The relentless mutual hostility between man's race and the serpent race is due to an original penalty placed upon the Tempter. The trouble and pain attendant upon the frequent conception of women and the ensuing childbirth have their beginning in a punishment visited upon the first woman. Similarly, the desire of women which becomes an occasion of their subjection to their husbands is to be traced to the same cause (3 : 16). The tilling of the soil in order to obtain food involves toil and hardship, much of which results only in the production of noxious weeds. Moreover, the ground with which man contends in lifelong battle claims him in the end. He is inevitably turned back to dust. All this is simply the inheritance of a penalty imposed upon the first man for his disobedience.

10. The first pair did not remain in their happy conditions in the Garden. They had struck into the path of discovery for themselves and smitten with misfortune and the prospect of death would certainly have sought and found the Tree of Life in order that they might reverse the penalties imposed upon them. Because, therefore, they had become too knowing

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and might defeat the purpose of the Creator, He removed them from the Garden and settled them in the far East there to begin the life of hardship which the Creator's sentence involved and which men have been familiar with since that time. J implies that there is no hope whatever of man ever regaining the forfeited conditions of life in the Garden of God.

11. Agriculture as a means of livelihood was introduced, after man had lost the easy conditions of his primitive life.

**The New Life
of Toil and
Pain**

Similarly, the first children were born and motherhood began only when Paradise was lost and the life under penalty was entered upon (3 : 22-24; 4 : 1, 2a).

V. The Growth of Civilization

1. In the second generation of the human race there are two human vocations. To the existing one of agriculture there is added that of the shepherd (4 : 2b). The worship of Jehovah by means of sacrifice is in existence and there is a right mode of sacrifice, in observing which one is said to "do well" (4 : 7). It is not right to offer exclusively cereal offerings; it is right to offer animal sacrifice.

2. Bloodshed leads to the foundation of a rude primitive justice involving excommunication from the clan or kindred group, the institutions of clientage and asylum, and that of blood revenge, cf. 4 : 15, 16.

3. The origin of Bedouin life in the desert is traced to feud between the shepherd and the agriculturalist leading to the driving away of the latter to become a desert wanderer.

4. In immediately following generations there are found these stages of advance: the first city built in

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the third generation of the race (4 : 17); the arts of music and metal-working in bronze and iron in the eighth generation (4 : 20-22). It is not necessary to speak of the reference in 4 : 20 to the introduction of animal husbandry. Another J source, 4 : 2, has placed this event at a much earlier stage. This may stand as the final judgment of the J school of writers on the question.

5. There is indication of the growth of social injustice and correspondingly of the spirit of blood revenge (4 : 23f).

6. In J's view, the worship of Jehovah is of unknown antiquity. It is said to have begun in the days of a certain Enosh (=man!) a grandson of Adam.

P gives nothing which would represent the ground covered by J (vd. Sec. 1-5 supra). The conditions of human life were necessarily different from those found in historical times. Physical maturity was reached very slowly and children were not born until their parents were from three to four times as old as they now are at the age of parenthood. The physical organism was of much more durable nature than was the case in later periods. Human longevity was, therefore, nearly ten times as great as it became in course of time. Mortality was the universal rule from the beginning, according to P. One man alone was excepted from the rule, namely, Enoch of the seventh human generation (cf. Jude 7), who lived his life in the companionship of divine beings (hā-'elohîm, 5 : 22, 24); and in the end did not die, but was taken by God ('Elohîm, 5 : 24) to be with Himself.

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VI. *The Judgment of the World. J's Account of the Deluge, Gen. 6-8, passim*

1. Sin increased in the earth until Jehovah the Creator repented of having made man at all. The special reasons for the increase of human wickedness are three in number: (1) The presence in the earth of the Nephilim, giants who were the offspring of the "sons of God" (angels) and human women; (2) The long life of the antediluvians; (3) The total depravity of the formed desires of man's heart (לְכָל־יִצְרָתוֹ טָמְאָה לְפָנָיו), lit'y, "every form of the thoughts of his heart"); cf. 6 : 1-5.

2. As a remedial step, human life was reduced to an extreme limit of one hundred and twenty years. The spirit of the Creator did not remain in man's body longer than that and without it he died.

3. Owing to the continued prevalence of evil in the earth, Jehovah destroyed all land animals and men by a flood, saving only the family of Noah and a sufficient number of the animals to preserve alive the various species and to provide for the continuance of sacrifice. Those who were spared were rescued in a large ark or barge.

4. Worship was reinstated by Noah who built an altar and offered sacrifices after the Flood.

P's account of the Flood introduces a few new features. It is not merely the sin of men which is judged, but the violence wrought by the beasts of the earth. Sacrifice is not observed, according to P, until the age of Moses; hence no special provision was made for the saving of animals for sacrifice, nor is any sacrifice observed after the Flood. A covenant between God, on the one side, and man and the beasts,

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on the other, is entered into after the Flood. By its terms God will send no more universal flood upon the earth; He will put the fear of man upon the beasts of the earth; He will permit the use of animals for food. Man, on his part, is to abstain from the use of the blood of animals for food; and both animals and man are forbidden to shed human blood. He who sheds blood will yield up his own blood as a penalty.

The reversed warbow of God in the sky (the rainbow) is now fixed and is constituted a sign to remind God of His covenant, and to reassure man; (cf. 9 : 1-17).

VII. *J's Account of Human Progress After the Flood.* *Gen. 9 : 18 — 11 : 32, passim*

1. The new human race which began with Noah and his sons were agriculturalists (9 : 20); but already in the first generation after the Flood Noah introduced the culture of the vine and the manufacture of wine (9 : 20). The new discovery was felt to be a blessing (5 : 29J), though its danger was not overlooked (9 : 21ff).

2. From the three sons of Noah arose in time the various peoples of the earth, who are therefore divisible into three major groups, each of which is descended from a son of Noah. The dispersion of the peoples and the differentiation of human language is attributed by J, in one account, to Jehovah's judgment on the builders of the first city which is thought to have been the city of Babel (Babylon). In another account, also from J, the judgment falls upon the presumptuous builders of a lofty temple-tower in the wicked land of Shinar (Babylonia); cf. 11 : 1-9.

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3. The Hebrew people are descended from Shem through the Kaldeans (Arpachshad = 'ereç kesed = land of Kaldû) and the Habiri (Eber = Habiri) to whom belonged Terah and his son Abraham, the "father" of the Hebrews.

4. The "land of Abraham's nativity" (cf. 24 : 4, 7) was the region of Harran in Mesopotamia. His kindred remained in that region when he set out for Canaan.

P looks upon the different races, languages, and countries as due to differentiating factors incident to human development. He makes no attempt to explain these factors (cf. 10 : 5, 20, 31, 32). The Hebrew people had their origin at Ur in southern Babylonia. They are, however, closely related to certain Aramean peoples (cf. the names in Gen. 11 : 10-26 and the commentaries in loco). This fact P accounts for by assuming that the Terahites, to which family Abraham belonged, migrated from Babylonia to the region of Harran, cf. 11 : 31.

P represents the human generation after the Flood as of the ordinary length, that is, about thirty years, cf. 11 : 10-26.



CHAPTER XIV
THE PERMANENT TEACHING OF
GEN. 1-11



CHAPTER XIV
THE PERMANENT TEACHING OF
GEN. 1-11¹

1. The origin of all things in the will of an omnipotent Creator who exists apart from what He has created and yet in close relation to all things.

2. The unity of all things in an orderly system.

3. The ascending order in the phenomena of the universe, with human beings as the destined rulers of all terrestrial creatures.

4. The possession of a relative causal efficiency by natural forces and finite creatures.

5. The possession of the likeness of God by man giving to him the capacity to rule the earth and the promise of a blessedness unknown to other terrestrial creatures.

6. Marriage the supreme social relation both as to its duties and privileges.

7. Religion the *summum bonum*: Its implications; faith in the Supreme Creator, complete devotion of will and affections to Him, the spiritual recompense of realized friendship with Him.

8. The universal fact of a "fall" in the experience of blameworthy failure to realize the true religious relation.

9. The spiritual perils of advancing civilization.

10. The fact of a Divine Providence over all things and of a Divine Government over mankind.

11. The judicial nature of Providence and the automatic operation of spiritual penalties.

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12. The redemptive element in Providence.
13. The social organization of mankind and the propagation of evil.
14. The transmission of characters by heredity.
15. The moral perils of the sexual relation.
16. The mutual antagonisms of animals and of animals and man.
17. The ebb-tides in human progress.
18. The optimistic outlook conditioned by the religious relation: The Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.

NOTE ON CHAPTER XIV

¹ Cf. H. E. Ryle, *Genesis*, Introduction, pp. xlii-liii.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A. A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE BABYLONIAN EPIC OF CREATION

To begin with, Apsu, the Ocean, and Tiâmat, the stormy Deep, mingled their waters and the gods were created through a series of ages. As time passed, the gods sought to introduce order into the universe and the Chaos-Mother Tiâmat in rage set out to destroy them and prevent the plan. For this purpose she creates and marshals for battle a brood of monsters. One and another of the gods is urged to fight the Chaos brood and slay the Chaos-Mother, but they are fearful and accomplish nothing. Then Marduk, the god of the young sun, offers and with much ceremony is designated as the champion of the gods. He equips himself with wonderful weapons, takes with him the lightning and the winds of the storm, mounts his four-horsed chariot and goes to the fight. Overwhelmed, the host of Chaos drew back and left Tiâmat alone to contend with the young Sun-god. He quickly overcame and slew her, split her body from head to foot, and of one half made the vault of heaven with its doors and bars, and of the other the earth. In heaven, the city of the great gods Anu, Bel and Ea, was prepared. The divisions of time were arranged by the appointment of the places and motions of the heavenly bodies. Finally, the Creator Marduk undertakes a great and wonderful work in the creation of man:

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“ I will gather blood and fetch thereto bone.
I will make ready man, yea, human kind [. . .]
I will create men who inhabit the earth;
On them be the veneration of the gods, may they
be [. . .].”

There was in the account a description of the creation of plants and animals but that portion of the record has perished.

After the work of Creation, Marduk the Creator enters again the assembly of the gods. Now, he, as the conqueror of Chaos and the orderer of the universe, comes bearing the Tablets of Fate. He is the Lord of all destinies henceforth. The gods bestow upon him the fifty honorific names signifying that he is endued with the prerogatives and functions of all divine beings, especially with relation to the world.

For other Babylonian texts relating to creation, vd. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, in loco; Gressmann, *Altorient. Texte u. Bilder z. A. T.*, 25-30; Jensen, *KB. vi. i.*, 38ff; Jastrow, *Hebr. and Babylonian Traditions*, Chap. II.

B. A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE BABYLONIAN DELUGE MYTH

The Myth is found in Tablet XI of the Gilgamesh Epic. The earlier part of the story had related among other incidents how Gilgamesh smitten with fell disease and crushed by the death of Engidu his companion, had made up his mind to go to his ancestor Ut-Napishtim, who has been translated to the Islands of the Blessed. He will learn from him the secret of the immortal life he has won and secure the

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balm which will rid him of the plague of death which has smitten his frame. After a long journey full of marvellous and dangerous experiences, he comes to the Sea of Death and embarks in the ferry with the boatman. After many days of toilsome rowing, they come to the island of the immortals and are greeted by Ut-Napishtim. Gilgamesh tells how his friend Engidu has died and how he fain would escape so sad a fate. For answer, Ut-Napishtim tells him death is a decree of the high gods and cannot be evaded. But how is it, enquires Gilgamesh, that his ancestor stands there passed beyond the world of mortals indeed, but still without hint or sign of death upon him? For reply Ut-Napishtim relates the story of the Flood.

The city of Shurippak on the Euphrates was corrupt and the gods in anger decreed a general deluge. The God of the Deep, Ea, informed Ut-Napishtim of the plan and bade him prepare a ship and give out that on account of the great god Bel's anger he is leaving the land to dwell with Ea. The size and design of the ship were settled, it was loaded with animals, wild and domestic, with artisans, with the family of Ut-Napishtim, and with his possessions. The enterprise had been accompanied thus far by lavish observance of sacrifice to the gods. All was completed inside of a few days (seven?) and when the ship was ready, the door closed and the pilot placed in charge, a furious storm broke and raged for six days. It raised great waves which stormed heaven itself and terrified the gods. On the seventh day the tempest ceased and the sun shone forth. As Ut-Napishtim looked out from the ship water covered everything and mankind had perished completely. After some days the ship grounded on Mount Nisir. It remained there six days. On the seventh day Ut-

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Napishtim sent out a dove which not finding a resting place came back. He then sent out a swallow with a similar result. Finally, he sent forth a raven, which found wading depth and remained feeding. Seeing this, it was decided to allow those in the ship to disembark and go as they would. Ut-Napishtim's first act on landing was to offer a splendid sacrifice which was graciously accepted by the gods, except Bel, who was furious that his purpose to destroy mankind should have been frustrated by Ea's counsel. Ea manages so fully to pacify Bel that he brings Ut-Napishtim and his wife on board the ship once more and takes them that they may be like the gods and may dwell in the enchanted land at the mouth of the two rivers.

The rest of the XIth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic tells how, at the solicitation of his wife, Ut-Napishtim consents to give Gilgamesh the magic food which transforms him and gives him back his health. He also tells him how to secure the plant of divine mystery at the bottom of the sea. He will now have perpetual youth. On his way home in company with the ferryman of the Sea of Death, he bathes in a refreshing fountain and seduced by a serpent lets the plant of life slip from his grasp. It is at once seized by the serpent and carried off. Crushed with grief Gilgamesh and the boatman go on and he reaches at last the city of Erech his home.

Vd. Rogers, *Cun. Par. O. T.*, 90ff; Jensen, *KB. vi. i.*, 228ff; Gressmann, *op. cit.*, 50ff; Fowler, *Hist. Lit. of Ancient Israel*, 79-84.

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