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ORDINARY MEETING, JANUARY 4, 1886.*

THE REV. R. THORNTON, D.D., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The CHAIRMAN then said : I have the pleasure of calling on Mr. St. Chad Boscowen, who is well known among Assyriologists, for his learning and research, to read his paper on "The Historical Evidences of the Migration of Abram." I think Mr. Boscowen has very properly used the designation "Abram," because the migration to which the paper refers took place, as we all know, at a time when he was called "Abram," and not "Abraham."

The following paper was then read by the Author :—

*HISTORICAL EVIDENCES OF THE MIGRATION
OF ABRAM.—By W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN, Esq.,
F.R.Hist.Soc.*

NOT many years ago it would have been considered almost impossible to deal with the subject of my paper this evening, and two strong objections would have been urged against its adequate treatment. In the first place, to many it would have seemed irreverent thus to place the Scriptures in comparative contact with secular records, and it would have been urged that to do so threw at once an onus of doubt upon their authenticity. A second, and still more forcible objection could then have been advanced, that provided that such a comparison was proposed, where were the monuments by which the Hebrew records were to be tested? The few traditions preserved by the Greek writers, Herodotus and Ctesias, were so brief and so full of late oral tradition and second-hand caricatured history of the ancient empires of the East that they could not throw any light upon the birth of the Hebrew nation. In like manner the writings of Josephus, the Greco-Hebrew historian, were too essentially based upon the Scriptures themselves to be admissible as evidence. If, however, thirty years ago, it was impossible to

* The large number attending this meeting rendered it necessary to hold it at the Hall of the Society of Arts, which is close to the Institute's House.

institute such a comparison, and to produce evidence which would tend to prove the migration of Terah and his descendants to be a great and important historical event, such is no longer the case.

Only of late have the grave-mounds of the land of Chaldea yielded up the monuments and inscriptions which the decipherer has revivified by his almost magic skill, and breathed into their long silent characters the breath of life, forcing them to become living witnesses in the cause of truth.

The discoveries made by Sir Henry Layard and M. Botta in Nineveh, followed by those of recent years resulting from the explorations of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam in Chaldea, have given to the history of the East a retrospective enlargement far beyond the expectations of the most ardent believer in the resurrection of the past.

When we remember that this series of historic records, won from the bosom of the earth, extends back to a period of twenty-five centuries before the Christian era in almost unbroken sequence, and that further still we find isolated and epoch-marking records, we may naturally expect that points of contact may be found between the Hebrew writings and these monuments, and that they will afford us the evidence we require.

Before proceeding to deal with these valuable stone commentaries which come from the dark storehouse of centuries, as new and illuminating lights, it is necessary to glance at the Hebrew account of the migration of Abram to see upon what points we have to obtain evidence to emphasise more strongly for those who doubt its accuracy, the historical character of the events, and their agreement with contemporary testimony.

The points we require to treat of are :—

- 1.—That the ancestors of Abram belonged to the Semitic branch of the human family (Gen. xi. 10-27).
- 2.—That their original home was on the east side of the Euphrates (Josh. xxiv. 2).
- 3.—That the dwelling-place of Terah was in Ur of the Casdim or Chaldeans, that is, in Chaldea (Gen. xi. 31, and Neh. ix. 7).
- 4.—That the first step in the migration was from Ur to Kharran, in North Mesopotamia, and that all the tribe of Terah took part in that migration (Gen. xi. 31).

- 5.—That while Abram journeyed still further to Canaan (Gen. xii. 5), the rest of the family of Terah remained in Kharran and established a colony there (Gen. xxiv. 10–15; xxix. 4).
- 6.—That at the time of the leaving of Chaldea, or shortly after, that country was ruled by a confederation of Mesopotamian tribes; at the head of which was the King of Elam (Gen. xiv.).

With these points before us, therefore, we turn to the monuments and inscriptions from Chaldea. The most ancient inscriptions of the land are the work of the ancient Akkadians, or mountaineers, who had come down from the mountains of the East to the plains of Chaldea, and brought with them the germs of civilisation and the first elements of the Cuneiform writing. A record of this migration is preserved in the Hebrew writings: "And it came to pass as they journeyed in the East, they found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt there" (Gen. xi. 2). Turning to the Cuneiform inscriptions, we meet with a most emphatic endorsement of this statement, both in tradition and legend, and by evidence of a still more solid character. In the legends and traditions of the earliest inhabitants of Chaldea, as preserved in the Deluge Tablet, and in the hymns and Magical litanies, we find all the traditions of origin centre round the "Mountain of the East," the "Mountain of the World," the "Mountain of the Nations," to which evidently reference is made by the Prophet Isaiah (xiv. 13): "I will sit upon the Mountain of Congregation in the uttermost parts of the North"*(R.V.). That these people were the inventors of the Cuneiform mode of writing is shown by an examination of the characters composing the syllabary. The Cuneiform writing, like the Egyptian and Hittite characters, was originally pictorial, and we can see in these characters—that is, in the more primitive forms—a picture of the home and surroundings of the people who invented them. The pictures would be derived from the objects around, as an Esquimaux would draw a reindeer, but not a lion; a bear, but not a tiger; fir-trees, but not palms. So, when we turn to this ancient series of pre-historic sketches placed before us in the earliest forms of the Cuneiform characters, we at once see that they must have been depicted in a locality *different* from Chaldea—a more northern and mountainous one.

* The arrangement of the cardinal points in Chaldea was not in true correspondence with the magnetic points, N., N.W., S., S.E., E., N.E., W., S.W. The writer, therefore, refers here to the north-east in the expression north:

Thus the sign for mountain and country  are synonymous, showing that the country, *par excellence* the home, was a mountainous one. As an illustration of this, we may show how this pictorial representation of land was carried out in the pictorial systems of the Egyptians and Hittites. Thus the home royalty of the flat plains of the Nile valley was represented by the sign  NEB-TA, "lord of the two lands," — being the ideograph of country; but the sign for a foreign land was , a picture of mountain-peaks similar to that Hittite group which Professor Sayce identifies as the sign for country. In the fauna of the land we find individual ideographs for the bear and the wolf, but not for the lion, tiger, and jackal, which were common in Chaldea; and still more important is the fact that the compound ideograph for camel denotes an animal with two humps—that is the species of Upper Asia, as distinct from the Arabian species. In the flora we find the pine and cedar, but not the palm or the vine; while the earliest form of the house or dwelling was a cave. All these facts tend to show that if the Cuneiform writing did undergo a considerable enlargement and modification in Chaldea, yet, at any rate, the first elements were invented in a land differing in many respects from the delta of the Tigro-Euphrates valley. The language of these first inhabitants is known to us from numerous inscribed bricks and tablets, and the labours of Dr. Paul Haupt and the late M. François Lenormant have elucidated the nature of the grammar and vocabulary, showing it to differ entirely in both of these important features from the Semitic families. The mode of reading the characters from left to right, the use of ideographs and polyphones, all point to the non-Semitic origin of the writing, and this fact is stated most clearly by so great an authority on all relating to Semitic languages as M. Ernest Renan, who says, "No one in the present day can doubt that this (Turanian) civilisation possessed, and most probably created, the writing called Cuneiform,"—that is, he adds, if we take the word Turanian as a synonym for that which is neither Aryan or Semitic.

While the Chaldean inscriptions show, undoubtedly, a Turanian civilisation at the base of the culture of the nations of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley, they also reveal the important fact that at a very early period, tribes of Semitic nomads had come and settled in the land and had adopted the Cuneiform mode of writing which they found in use among their Akkadian countrymen.* This borrowing must have taken

* A curious and important record of the relative position of the homes of the Semitic and non-Semitic elements in the population of Chaldea is pre-

place at a very early period, for as early as B.C. 3750, the kings of North Chaldea wrote their inscriptions in Semitic Babylonian, thus affording proof of the existence of a Semitic population in the land. In the British Museum there is a small ovoid of pink and white marble, bearing an inscription of Sargon I., King of Agadhe, or Akkad, one of the quarters of the city of Sippara, the Sepharvaim of the Bible, in North Chaldea ; and an inscribed vase belonging to Naram-Sin, the son of this ruler, was found by M. Fresnel, but unfortunately lost in the Tigris ; also a third inscription of this period is the seal of IBNI SAR, the tablet-writer of Sargon I. This inscription, of which I give a facsimile, is one of particular interest, as showing the importance of the scribe caste even at this early period. All of these inscriptions are written in very archaic characters, quite in agreement with their great antiquity.* The inscription upon the seal of Ibni-Sar reads, when transcribed into modern Babylonian characters,

1.	2.	3.
AN - SAR - GA NI <i>To Sargon</i>	SAR LUKH <i>the good King ?</i>	SAR <i>King</i>
4.	5.	6.
A - GA - DHE <i>King of Agadhe (AKKAD)</i>	IB - NI - <i>Ibni -</i>	SARRU <i>Sarru</i>
7.	8.	
DUP - SAR <i>the scribe</i>	ARAD - SU <i>his servant.</i>	

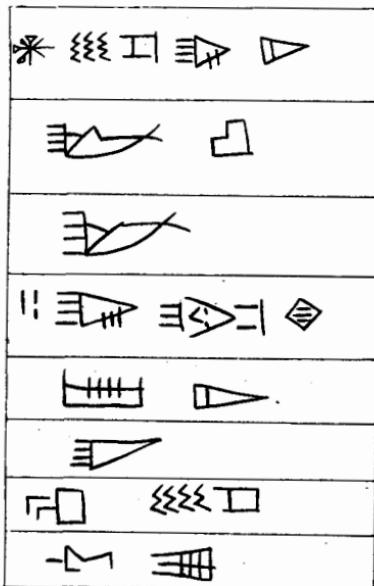
This word DUP-SAR or TUPSARRU, literally "Tablet-writer," was of Akkadian origin, being composed of DUP tablet and

served in the names of the cardinal points. From a small astronomical tablet we learn that the North-East was the land which the Akkadians placed behind them, the land which they left in their journey from the East ; while the Semites called the West Akharri—the "Hinterland" of the Germans—pointing to Arabia as their home.

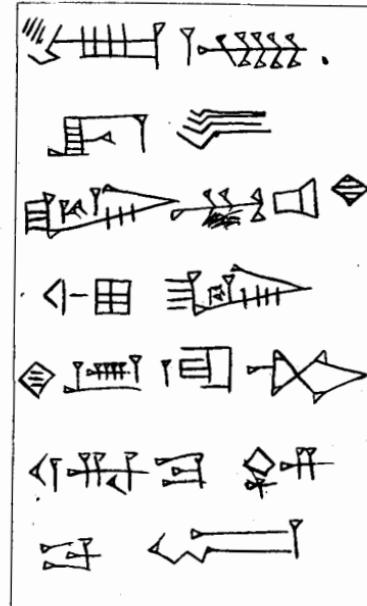
* The date of these inscriptions rests upon the statement, twice repeated in cylinder inscriptions, of Nabonidus, King of Babylon (B.C. 555-538), that in his restoration of the temple of the Sun-god he found in the foundations the memorial record of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon, which for 3,200 ($\text{XXX} \text{ } \text{L} \text{ } \text{I} \text{ } \text{I}$ = $3 \times 10 \times 100 + 2 \times 100$) years none of the kings his predecessors had seen (W.A.I. v. 64, ii. 61). In a second cylinder (W.A.I. v. 65, i. 38) the king also speaks of this discovery. In the former of these records the king speaks of the Kassite king Sagarakteyas, son of Kudur-Bel, or more probably Kudur-Kharbi, whose reign, he says, was 800 ($\text{XXX} \text{ } \text{I}$) years

EARLY SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

SARGON. B.C. 3750.



DUNGI. B.C. 2500.



SAR to write, borrowed by the Semites, and is found in the form שְׁפֵטָה in the passages—such as in the difficult passage in Jer. li. 27, where the A.V. has “appoint a captain,” and the R.V. “marshal.” We should perhaps now read “a scribe,” one who should write the summons to the nations against Babylon. And also in Nahum iii. 17, “Thy scribes are as the swarms of grasshoppers,” a most pointed allusion to the vast number of scribes attached to the royal library and temple-schools of Nineveh. The name of this scribe is pure Semitic, both words being found in Hebrew “the king has made.” These two inscriptions of Sargon and that of Naram-Sin* his son are ample evidence of the existence of a people speaking a dialect akin to the Hebrew as early as the thirty-eighth century before the Christian era. From time to time in various inscriptions we meet with kings or officials bearing Semitic names. About B.C. 2500 we have another inscription of great value in a royal record of Dungi, King of Ur, and from this time onward the inscriptions increase in number and importance. This inscription of Dungi, of which I give a facsimile, is engraved on a small tablet of black basalt, and is now in the Louvre. In this inscription the king claims the title of *Sarru daluv*, “Strong king,”† and *Sar kiprativ arbaiv*, “King of the four quarters,” and states that he was the builder of the temple of the Moon-god in the city of Ur. This King Dungi was one of three important rulers in southern Chaldea. He was the son of Ur-bahu, “Servant of Bahu”—whose name has been before read Uruk, Urbagas, and Likbagas—and under him there ruled a very important viceroy, Gudea, in the city of Sergul or Lagas, the ruins of which are marked by the mounds of Tello on the Shat-el Hie, where M. de Sarzac has recently made such important discoveries.

From this time onward the names of Semites appear among the rulers of various city kingdoms, and such names as Gamil-Adar, “The favoured of Adar,” Ismi-Dagan, “Dagan the hearer,” Sin-Iddina, “The Moon-god has given,” &c., are

before his time, that is, B.C. 1350, a date which is confirmed by the tablet of synchronous history. In this cylinder also the names and genealogies of Shalmaneser III. (B.C. 858) and Assurbanipal (B.C. 668) are given correctly (col. ii. 3, 4). So that we may conclude that the writer of the inscription had historical records to refer to when making these statements as to the remote antiquity of these inscriptions.

* Naram-Sin means “beloved of Sin,” from root, סִינָה, Heb. סִינָה, to love. Naram is given as a synonym of Dudu, the same as Hebrew David, “beloved.”

+ This may be *idluv*, as the archaic forms of DA and ID are very much alike; it would then read Sar *idluv*, “hero King.”

found on the bricks and tablets, indicating the gradually-increasing power of the Semitic element in the population.

How long this dynasty of kings of Ur, of which Urbahu was the founder, lasted, it is difficult to say, but it was certainly seriously reduced in power by the invasion of Chaldea in B.C. 2280 by Kudur-Nakhundi, King of Elam, who sacked the city of Uruki, or Erech, the then capital of the country, and carried the image of Nana, the protecting goddess, away to the city of Susa, where it remained until recovered by Assurbanipal seventeen centuries later.

Now at this period in Babylonian history we come in contact with a most highly important series of Babylonian documents—namely, the chronological lists discovered by Mr. Pinches, and which for the first time enable us to arrange the kings in a systematic order.*

These tablets give a dynasty of eleven kings ruling at **𒌵 𒂗 𒂔 𒂔 𒂔 𒂔 𒂔 𒂔 𒂔 𒂔 𒂔** DIN-TIR (xi), or Babilu, from B.C. 2232–1969, together with the length of their reigns and their relationship to one another :—

DYNASTY OF BABYLONIAN KINGS (B.C. 2232–1969).

No.	DATE B.C.	NAME.	RELATIONSHIP.	LANGUAGE.	REMARKS.
1.	2232	Su-mu-abit†		15	
2.	2217	Su-mu-a-ant†		35	
3.	2182	Zabu	Son of above	14	Mentioned in Cylinder of
4.	2168	A-bil-(Ilu) Sin	"	18	"
5.	2150	(Ilu) Sin-Mu-bal-lidh	"	30	[Nabonidus.]
6.	2120	Kha-am-mu-ra-bi	"	55	[Louvre.]
7.	2075	Sa-am-su-i-lu-na	"	35	Monuments in B.M. and
8.	2040	E-bi-su-m	"	25	Monuments in B.M.
9.	2015	Am-mi-di-ta-na†	"	25	
10.	1990	Am-mi-di dung-gat†	"	21	
11.	1969	Sa-am-su di-ta-tam†	"	31	

The importance of these dates is very great, as the 273 years of their reigns cover the area embracing the very period we have under consideration, as the dates given for the birth of

* *Proceedings of the Soc. Bib. Arch.*, January 11, 1881, p. 42.

† The reading of these names seems uncertain. The first elements in Nos. 1, 2 seem to be to be *sumu*, a name, but the rendering of the second is very obscure. The first may read, *Sumu-abi*, "The name of his father." In Nos. 9, 10, the first element is probably the Semitic *ammu*, "family, tribe." The Hebrew *בָּנָה*, as in W.A.I. v. pl. 44, col. 1, No. 22. *Ammididuga* is expressed by *Kimtum Kittim*, "the family is legitimate." *Samsu* in No. 11 is probably the same as in No. 7, the Sun-god; but the termination of the name is difficult, probably a compound ideograph. Some valuable notes explanatory of these names are found in Dr. F. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 64–75.

Abram in the Bible chronology are : Usher, B.C. 1996 ; Hales, B.C. 2153 ; and for the arrival in Canaan, Usher, B.C. 1921 ; Hales 2078 ; and we shall see, from the comparison of these dates with the monuments of the period, that the chronology of Hales is in fairly close agreement with the records.

The History of Chaldea B.C. 2500 to B.C. 2000.

In this important period, within which falls the exodus of the family of Terah, the history is naturally not given with that clearness of detail which is so valuable a characteristic in the history of the later empires of Assyria and Chaldea. Nevertheless, there are not wanting certain indications of the course of events.

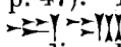
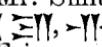
In the days of Gudea, the viceroy of Sergulla, who ruled in that city under his lord, Dungi, King of Ur, the Chaldeans appear to have had considerable influence on surrounding lands. In one of his inscriptions, which is upon a statue in the Louvre, he speaks of sending to the land of  Magan or Makan, for "hard stone" from which to carve his statue. The stone from which this statue is cut is hard green diorite, which could not be obtained from any nearer spot than the Sinaitic peninsula—certainly not in Chaldea. The connexion between the land of Sinai, with its copper and turquoise mines and stone quarries, and the empire of Chaldea was established at an early period. The land of Makan has been identified by both Professor Sayce and M. Lenormant, with the Mafka or turquoise land, the Sinaitic peninsula of the Egyptians, and in the inscriptions it is called the land of copper and the blue stone.* The mines in the Sinaitic peninsula were worked as early as the days of Senoferu of the third dynasty, whose date, according to Brugsch, was B.C. 3766, and the neighbourhood abounds in excavations votive stelæ, and the *débris* of ancient workings. Naram-Sin, whom we have already spoken of, in his inscription on the vase discovered by M. Fresnel, claims the titles of King of Apirakh and Magan, that is of part of Elam, east of the Tigris and of the land of the Sinaitic peninsula.

In another inscription on the large statue this King Gudea

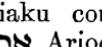
* The stone is called  TAG-SA, "the blue stone," by the Akkadians, and by the Assyrians  Aban Sāmu, "the blue stone," the  of Gen. ii. 12, which our A.V. renders "onyx," and the R.V. gives the strange rendering of "beryl." The meaning of the word is quite clear, as it is applied in Chaldean hymns to the sky and the sea. In the same way we may identify the Akkadian  TAG-GIR, that is, the "cutting or piercing stone," which is rendered by *semiru*, with the Hebrew  "diamond."

speaks of an expedition he sent to ravage the land of Anzan. This land of Anzan (→ ፩ ፪ → ፻) was the district of Elam, watered by the Ulai—the modern Karun—and its tributary the Disful, and had for its capital the city of Shusan, the region which in after-time formed the kingdom of Cyrus before he became ruler of Media and Persia. Another name of this region in the inscriptions appears to have been Aipir, or, in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian age, Khalpirti, with the prefixed guttural and inserted labial. This must be the same as the Apirak mentioned in the inscriptions of Naram-Sin. The constant wars between the States of Ansan or Elam and Chaldea led to the overthrow of many dynasties in either land, and it was no doubt on account of one of these campaigns that Kudur-Nakhundi invaded Chaldea in B.C. 2280, and conquered southern Chaldea, with its capital city of Erech—the ruins of which are marked by the mounds of Warka.

This conquest of Chaldea by the King of Elam was a very important event, and very closely connected, we shall see, with the migration of Abram. In B.C. 2280 this Elamite dynasty was established by Kudur-Nakhundi, and early in the reign of Khammurabi, the seventh king in the Babylonian dynasty I have already given, we have this date given on a tablet. "In the month Sebat, 23rd day, the year Khammurabi the King, in the service of Bel, favourably marched. The lord of Yamutbul and King Rim-Aku he defeated." (W.A.I., iv. 37, No. 22.) The tablet therefore, I believe, records the overthrow of the dynasty of Elamite rulers in Chaldea, and so we must place our dynasty between B.C. 2280 and 2120, that is a period of a hundred and sixty years. The tablets afford us some more information as to this Elamite dynasty and their rule. In another tablet dated in the reign of this king Rim-Aku, -UR-UN(KI) U UD-UN-(KI), he is called King of UR-UN(KI) U UD-UN-(KI), UR-UN(KI) U UD-UN-(KI), King of UR and LARSA. Now the marble cylinder of this king, which I give a translation of at the end of this paper, commences with the words "To the Goddess of Zariuna, his lady ERI-AKU, King of Larsa (UD-UN-KI) for his life, and the life of his father KUDUR-MABUG." This text, therefore, gives us the name of the father of ERI-AKU or RIM-AKU, and on the bronze statue in the Louvre dedicated by these two kings, KUDUR-MABUG has the title of Lord of Yamutbul, a district of Elam. We may therefore identify RIM-AKU or ERI-AKU and his father KUDUR-MABUG as the two kings defeated by KHAMMURABI. In his valuable guide to the Koyunjik Gallery of the British Museum (p. 8) Mr. Pinches says, "KHAMMURABI ruled in Babylon, whilst KUDUR-MABUG and RIM-AKU, his son,

governed in the south and east of the country; but being a more vigorous ruler and warrior he defeated their forces and made himself ruler of the whole of Babylonia.” Mr. George Smith was of the same opinion in his *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 233, and so is Professor Sayce (*Fresh Lights from the Monuments*, p. 47). Mr. Smith has very clearly proved that the names  and  reading Erim or Eri-Aku, Rim-Aku, and Rim-Agu were all the name of the same king (*Notes on Babylonian and Assyrian History*). Turning now to the Hebrew records we read that shortly after the migration of Abram to Canaan, a very important event in Western Asiatic history took place—namely, the invasion of the land of the west, that is Syria, by a confederation of Mesopotamian kings, headed by Chedorlaomer, King of Elam (Gen. xiv.). The passage is so remarkable, even in its wording, that it must be quoted in full. “And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel, King of Shinar, Arioch, King of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer, King of Elam and Tidal, (Sept.) Targal, King of Nations (Goim) that they made war with the Kings of the plain of the Dead Sea;” and again, “Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer, and the thirteenth they rebelled. And in the fourteenth came Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him.” The historical character of this passage is not to be doubted, and so great an authority as Ewald thus writes, “In the oldest extant record of Abram (Gen. xiv.) we see him in the clear light of history, the separate rays of which were nearly all gathered in focus, and we only lament that its brevity does not allow us to collect many more such rays, and from them to form a connected history of this hero of the remotest past.”*

Now let us apply this valuable fragment to the monumental history we have collected, and we shall find it productive of some very important results.

The name Eriaku could only be written in Hebrew characters as  Arioch, and would correspond to the name of the King of Elassar, a name which closely resembles the name of Larsa, the city of which Eriaku was King. The father of Eriaku was Kudur-Mabug, King of Elam, and in his inscriptions he claims the title of ADDA MARTU, literally, father of the land of the Setting Sun, a title which is equivalent to the Assyrian *Sar Akharre*, “King of Syria,” the very title which Chedorlaomer must have assumed during his fourteen years’ rule over the land of Southern Palestine.

* Schräder, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* on Gen. xiv. 1.

Let us now examine the other names of the confederate kings. Amraphel, a name which does not admit of a Semitic etymology to which Gesenius gives the far-fetched explanation of אַמְרָה and לְפָקֵד, "the commandment which went forth," now finds its explanation in the inscriptions. The name of the father of Khammurabi is given in our list of Kings as Sin-muballit. "The Moon-god is the life-giver." Now, many of the Chaldean kings having a bilingual population, had dual forms of their names in Akkadian and Semitic Babylonian, and the form which this name would take in Akkadian would be that of Amar-pal, a name corresponding exactly to that of Amraphel in this important Hebrew record. Babylon, as we know, was built in the land of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2).* The third member of the confederation was called Tidal, King of the Goim, or Targal, as the Septuagint reads, which is probably the more correct reading. This name is, in all probability, to be restored in the Akkadian form of Tar-gal, "the great Judge," while the land of Goim (R.V.) is the land of Guti, or Gutium of the inscriptions, the district of South Kurdistan to the north-east of Chaldea. Lastly, as to the name of the Elamite king. It is evident from the expression, "twelve years they served Chedorlaomer," that the Elamite king was the head of the confederation, the kings of Shinar, Larsa, and Goim being of his vassals. Now we have seen Kudur-Mabug, the father of Eriaku, claiming to be ruler of Elam, and his son acting as viceroy under him. He also claims to be ruler of Sumir (Shinar) and Akkad, that is, North and South Babylonia, so that together with his rule over the West (Syria), he ruled exactly such an empire as that of Chedorlaomer. The Hebrew name Chedorlaomer כְּדָרְלָעֹם is, as M. Lenormant has shown, an exact equivalent of the Elamite name KU-DU-UR (DP) LA-GA-MAR-RA, the g here corresponding to the guttural y. The name, which means "Servant of the God Lagamar," is formed like Kudur-Nakhundi, "Servant of Nakhundi," or Kudur-Kharbi, "Servant of Bel," will, I have no doubt, some day be found on the monuments.

Of the Elamite kings of this period we have the names of Kudur-Nakhundi, Simti-Silkhak, and Kudur-Mabug. And to these three we may add the name of KUDUR LAGAMAR; and others no doubt some day may be found on the monuments to complete the dynasty from B.C. 2280-2120.

* Shinar—M. Lenormant has shown that the Shinar of the Bible is the same as the Sumir of the Monuments, the district of Babylonia south of the Nahr Malka.—*Etudes Accadiennes*, Part 1.

The following will show the arrangement of the reigns of the period :—

—	Kings of Shinar or Babylon.	King of Larsa.	Kings of Elam.	—
B.C. 2280			Kudur-Nahkundi	Capture of Erech.
2232	Sumu-abi			
2217	Sumu-lan (?)			
2182	Zabu-			Built Temple at Agadhe.
2168	Abil Sin			
2150	Sin-Muballidh (Amraphel)	ERI-AKU (Arioch)	{ KUDULAGAMAR SIMTI-SILKNAK KUDUR-MABUG	(Chedorlao- mer) TARGAL King Guti (Goim) Battle of Sid- dim. Shortly before this broke the power of the Elamite rulers
2120	Khammu-rabi			

From these inscriptions we find that from B.C. 2280–2120, the kings of Elam were supreme over a large portion of Chaldea, and that the King of Larsa or Elassar was the son of one of them, and acting as viceroy under his father. The kings of Shinar or Sumir and the King of the Guti or Kurdistan were also in alliance with the others. A very valuable proof of the relationship between the kings of the land of Guti or Kurdistan, and Babylonia, is furnished by a monument discovered by Mr. Rassam at Aboo Hubba, the ancient Sippara. It is a stone cap of a column, much injured, which bears a votive inscription of a king of Gu-ti-im (𒄀-𒄑-𒄩-𒄑), the name is unfortunately obliterated, to the Sun-god of Sippara. The inscription is very archaic, and apparently of great antiquity.

The geographical horizon of the Chaldeans at this early period is very well revealed in the astronomical omen tablets, forming part of the great astrological work entitled the *Book of the Observation of Bel*, which consisted of seventy tablet books, and the compilation of which was attributed to Sargon I., King of Agadhe (B.C. 3750). It is, of course, impossible to prove that this is a correct attribution, but, judging from the omens and records of eclipses, &c., the work is certainly older than the twenty-fifth century before our era. In this work, the most important tablet of which is a list of omens derived from eclipses (W.A.I., iii. 60), we find

reference made to many lands with which the scribes were acquainted, and the fate of which they read in these celestial signs.

On the east of the Tigris we find Elam, called NUM-MA, "the high land," mentioned, and along with it the land of Anzan (68); that is the district of which Susa was the capital. North of these were the two important states of SU-EDINA and Guti. The land of Guti, Gutium, and Kuti, as it is variously called, was the mountain region lying to the north-east of Babylonia, and corresponding to the modern Kurdistan. This district was the Goim of the Hebrew writers, of which Tidal or Targal was king. It embraced the mountains about the modern Holwan, the Halman or Alman of the inscriptions, and extended as far north as the plain of Assyria, and the head-waters of the Greater and Lesser Zab. The land of Suedina—which means "The land of the border plain,"—was the low land lying between the mountains above mentioned and the Tigris, and watered the Mie Dhurnat or Tornadotus, and the Mie Kaldu or Gyndes. In the inscription of the Kassite king Agu-kak-rimi, the arrangement of these provinces is very clearly set forth. The king claims the titles of king of the Kassi or Cosseans, and the Akkadians, king of the wide-spreading land of Babylonia, the coloniser of the land of Asnunak, a vast people, king of Padan and Alman, and king of Guti, male and female. Here we see Padan replaces Suedin, and Alman is specified as a province of the land of the Guti or Goim. The names Suedin and Guti, as Dr. Delitzsch has shown, are sometimes shortened into Suti and Kuti, and even Kū and Sū, and may be identified with the Koa and Shoa of Ezekiel xxiii. 23. "Therefore, I will bring them against thee on every side; the Babylonians, the Chaldeans, Pekod, and Shoa, and Koa, and all the Assyrians with them." These tribes formed the eastern neighbours of the Babylonians. For the western neighbours we obtain from these tablets two nations, "The land of Martu," of the Akkadians, that is, "The land of the house of the setting sun," the "Mat Akharri," or western land of the Semites, and the land of the Khatti or Hittites. In ancient times Martu meant rather the west in general, but in later time, especially during the days of the Assyrian rule, it became applied particularly to Phœnicia. The Akharri or Phœnicians were the Khar or Khal of the Egyptians; and the Khatti of the astronomical tablet are the Kheta of the Egyptians, the Hittites of the Bible.

We thus see the geographical area of these astronomical inscriptions exactly embraces that which such an alliance and

such a campaign as is recorded in Gen. xiv. would require. Another point of interest preserved in the Hebrew account is that the advance is made from Chaldea from the south, and not by the ancient military road through Northern Mesopotamia and Syria, entering Palestine by the north.

Some of the omens in these tablets are especially curious; we may quote the following: "On the 20th day an eclipse* happens; the king of the land of the Khatti plunders and on the throne seizes." And one relating to Elam is especially interesting, as it has a curious correspondence to the termination of the campaign of Chedorlaomer.

"In the month Tasrituv on the 14th day an eclipse happens, and in the south it begins and in the west it ends. In the evening watch it begins, and in the middle watch it ends. Southward at the time of its appearance the shadow is seen. Then, to the King of Elam, an omen it gives. The forces of Elam in battle are, there is no return in peace to his people." The city of Ur, the birthplace of Abram, was also the subject of astrological omens, as we read regarding an eclipse in the month Adar to the King of Kisarra,† an omen is given. Disaster to Ur (☶ ☰ ☱ ☰).

As an example of one of these very curious and most Chaldean series of tablets, that land being always regarded as the home of astronomy and astrology, I quote the following, which embraces some of the lands referred to in its prognostications.

W.A.I., iii. 58. 1.

1. । ॥ <====> <<< < << <====> ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥ ॥
 INA YUM XVI. SIN u SAM A - KHI INNAMARU

On the Sixteenth day the Moon and Sun with each other are seen

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|-------|---------|---------|
| 2. | | | | | |
| | SARRU | ANA | SARRI | NAKURTI | ISAPAR. |

King to king hostility sends.

3. SARRU INA EKALLI SU A - NA MI - NA - AT AR - KHI.
The King in his palace for the space of a month

* → ¶ *antalu*, or *attalu*, really “dark sky,” from נָטַל “to cover.”

[†] The desert land to the west of Chaldea.

4. U - TA - KHIR SEPA NAKRI A - NA MATI - SU
remains. *The feet of the enemy to his land (come)*

5. NIS NAKRI INA MATI-SU SAL - DHA - NIS ITALLAKU.
The enemy in his land as rulers go to and fro.

6. ENUVA SIN INA ARKHI DUZU LU - U YUM XIV
When the Moon in the Month Tammuz either on the 14th
 LU - U YUM XV.
or on the 15th day

7. ITTI DP SAMSI LA INAMM-JR.
with the Sun is not seen.

8. SARRU INA EKALLI SU U - TA - KHIR.
The King in his palace remains.

9. YUM XVI. INAMMIR-VA DUMKU MAT SU - EDINA.
The 16th day it is seen and fortunate is the land of Suedin.

10. LIMNUTUV MAT AKKADI U MAT MAR-TU (Akharri).
Unfortunate is the land of Akkad and the land of Phoenicia or Syria.

11. SA NABU - KUL-LANI.
The report of Nabu-Kullani.

If, then, the campaign of Kudur Lagamar and the other Mesopotamian kings took place between B.C. 2280 and most probably about B.C. 2235, the date makes a close synchronism with the period when the Asiatic Hyksos kings invaded Egypt. The account given by Josephus, quoting Manetho, of this event, is as follows :—

“There was a certain king called Timaius. In his reign, I know not for what reason, God was unpropitious, and people of low origin from the country of the East suddenly attacked the land, of which they easily and without struggle gained possession. They overthrew those who ruled there, burnt down the cities, and laid waste the temples of the gods. They ill-treated all the inhabitants, for they killed some and carried into captivity others, with their wives and children.

“And they made one from the midst of them king, whose name was Salatis.* He fixed his seat in Memphis, collected the taxes from the upper and lower country, and placed garrisons in the most important places. But he particularly fortified the eastern boundary, *for he foresaw that the Assyrians, then the most powerful people, would undertake to make an attack on his country.*”

Brugsch, whose chronology seems the most systematised of all, would make the commencement of the Hyksos rule B.C. 2233, and if we may suggest that Manetho has here written Assyrians for Chaldeans, the synchronism is almost exact with the campaign of Kudur Lagamar. Abram had been favourably received in Egypt, and was dwelling at Hebron or Kirjath Arba, where was a Hittite colony, and these people we know took a prominent part in the Hyksos invasion.

“THE FAMILY OF ABRAM.”

The genealogy of Abram given in the Scriptures (Gen. x. 10, 31) is most valuable on account of the names there given, and many of these are to be found in the inscriptions—or at least have their equivalents in some Assyrian nouns :—

* Evidently from root *שָׁלַח* “to rule,” *saladhu*, “to govern,” in Assyrian, *saldhanu*, “sultan or governor.” Note the use of this word in Saldhanis in the inscription just translated. Line 5.

TABLE OF NAMES IN THE GENEALOGY OF ABRAM.

No.	Name.	Hebrew.	Assyrian Equivalent.	—
1	Shem	שֵם	Samu	
2	Salakh	שָׁלַח	Salakhu	To branch or sprout.
3	Eber	עֵבֶר	Ebiru or Abar	Place of crossing.
4	Peleg	פְּלִגָּה	Pulug	Division.
5	Reu	רֵעוֹ	Reuv	Prince or shepherd.
6	Serug	שְׁרוּגָה	Sarik ?	
7	Nahor	נָחוֹר	Nakhiru	Snorter : name given to dolphin.
8	Terah	תֵּרָה	Tarakhu	To wander or migrate.
9	Abram	אַבְרָם	Abramu	High father.
10	Haran	חָרָן	Kharranu.	Kharran.
11	Sarai	שָׂרָאִי	Sarratu	Princess.
12	Milkah	מִלְכָה	Milkatu	Queen or princess.
13	Ishmael	יְשֻׁמָּאֵל	Ismi-ilu	God has heard.
14	Laban	לָבָן	Labanu	White.
15	Hagar	חָגָרָה	Hagaranu	The wanderers.

NOTE.—In connexion with these early Hebrew names I may note that in a list of verbal forms in W.A.I., vol. v. plate 45, the verbal forms *tutamrad*, *tutamrada* and *tumara*—all derivatives from *maradu*, Hebrew נָמַד “to rebel,” from which Nimrod is derived, occur, so that this long-disputed name must be Semitic, and not a corruption of the Akkadian Amarud, as many have thought.

I have already shown how the existence of Semitic inscriptions from a very early period in Chaldea indicates the existence of a Semitic population, and as to the population during the reigns of Rim-Aku, Khammurabi, and his son Samsuiluna, we have access to some most valuable information. The existence of this Semitic population in the cities of southern Chaldea at this time side by side with Akkadian and other Turanian people is proved most clearly by the discovery of a bilingual inscription of King Khammurabi, now in the British Museum, and one column of which is written in Akkadian, the other in Semitic Babylonian,* and by the dis-

* Too mutilated to be published.

covery of inscriptions both in Akkadian and Semitic Babylonian. Of the Semitic inscriptions of this king both are in the Louvre. One of these has been known a long time, and was first published by M. Menant; the other, on a small alabaster tablet, was first published by myself in 1879. Throughout this long inscription of thirty-seven lines there are only six words that are not pure Semitic, or which are not to be found in the Hebrew Bible. The inscription reads, "To Merodach the great lord, the giver of fertility from the gods Lord of the (Temples) E-Sagila* and E Zida† his lord, Khammurabi The proclaimed of Anu. The beloved of Bel, the worshipper of Samas—the prince beloved by Merodach. The great King King of the people of the Sumeri‡ and Akkadi,§ King of the four quarters The Prince who the people and land to be his dominion the god Bel has given him. Their seed to his hand he has entrusted. To Merodach the god his Creator, in Borsippa|| his beloved city E Zida his holy shrine he has made it."

Still more important than these inscriptions, which are in themselves absolute proof as to the existence of a Semitic people who were subjects of the great king and to whom these texts appealed, are a series of tablets found in the mound of Senkereh, the ancient Larsa, which we know was the capital of the province ruled by Eriaku the son of Kudur-Mabug.

These tablets are a number of legal and commercial inscriptions, which were found stored in the ruins of one of the temples of Larsa, probably the temple of the Sun-god, which was the chief edifice of the city. This temple in Larsa, which was the southern Heliopolis, was called  E-PAR-RA, "the House of Light"—and, like most temples in Chaldea, was the law court and treasury of the district. In this treasury at Larsa more than four thousand years ago these precious documents, which now form the treasures of the British Museum, and which yield up such important evidence for my paper, were stored. The tablets are of peculiar make, belonging to a class known as envelope tablets—that is, the inscriptions are written in duplicate and placed one inside the other. First a tablet is inscribed and partially dried, then round it a clay envelope is made and the inscription repeated, so that if

* The House of the Lofty Head.

† The House of Life.

‡ South Babylonia, the Shinar of the Hebrews.

§ North Babylonia, with Agadhe or Akkad as its capital.

|| The city whose ruins are marked by the Birs-Nimrud, a sister city of Babylon.

the outer text is damaged, the inner one is complete and the deed preserved.

The majority of the tablets are written in the agglutinative Akkadian dialect, but among them are six written in Semitic Babylonian. Among the witnesses, however, in the Akkadian tablets many Semitic names appear. These tablets, coming as they do from the immediate region of Ur of the Chaldees at a time almost exactly contemporary with the time of Abram, furnish an undoubted proof of the existence of a people speaking a language and bearing names similar to those of the early Hebrews.

In the following list I have selected only a few, but many more might be added.

LIST OF NAMES FROM TABLETS DATED IN REIGNS OF
KHAMMURABI AND ERIAKU.

—	Name.	Meaning.	Hebrew Equivalent.
1	Aba	My Father	Abi (2 Kings xviii. 2).
2	Abuni	Our father	
3	Abil	Son	Abel (Gen. iv. 2).
4	Abil irzituv	Son of the Soil	
5	Abil-Sin	Son of the Moon-god	
6	Amil Martu	Servant of the God of the West	Evil Merodach (2 Kings xxv. 27).
7	Amil Uruki	Servant of the Moon	
8	Amil Nana	Servant of Istar	
9	Amil Sin	Servant of the Moon-god	
10	Khatte	(The) Hittite	Heth or Kheth (Gen. x. 16).
11	Naram-ilani	Beloved of the Gods	
12	Ana-panu-ili	To the face of God	Peniel (Gen. xxxii. 30).
13	Ismi-ilu	God hears	Ishmael (Gen. xvii. 11).
14	Ilu-ka-Dibbara	Thy god is Dibbara	In these compounds compare
15	Ilu-ka Hea	Thy god is Hea	Eli-ka (2 Samuel xxxiii. 25).
16	Ilu-ka-Sin	Thy god is the Moon	Eli-ka (2 Samuel xxxiii. 25).
17	Ilu bani	God has made (me)	El-kanah (1 Samuel i. 1).
18	Ilu-nazir	God protects	Eli-ezer (Ex. xviii. 4).
19	Ilu-balidh	God lives	Hiel (1 Kings xvi. 34).
20	Ilu-su abi-su	His god is his father	
21	Ilu su-bani	His god is his creator	Benaiah (2 Samuel viii. 18). Comp. No. 17.
22	Ilu su ibni-su	His god has made him	Benaiah (2 Samuel viii. 18).
23	Ilu-su-nazir	His god protects	
24	Kainuv	The Settler	Cain (Gen. iv. 1).

The resemblance of these names from the private documents of the inhabitants of Larsa to those of the Hebrews is so striking, as to at once mark them as the product of a people of the same language and thought. This list also affords a striking commentary and confirmation of the words used by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne in his description of Hebrew proper names in the Teacher's Bible. "The nations related to the Jews, and especially the Assyrians and Babylonians (who early came in contact with the ancestors of the Israelites), seem to have possessed a leaven of something akin to spirituality which distinguishes them from other Gentiles. Even to readers who remember that it was from Padan-Aram, the Piedmont beyond Euphrates, that Abram sought a wife for the Child of Promise, and Rebekah a wife for Jacob, the next heir to the promises, it will be a pleasing surprise to notice the similarity in the expression of religious faith between the Israelitish proper names and the few Assyrian and Babylonian preserved in the Old Testament." The list which I now publish will still further strengthen these remarks of so able a Hebraist. Another very important fact in connexion with these names is that they come from the common people; they express in simple language the religious thoughts, convictions, and feelings of persons in all ranks of society. How truly trustful and religious is the thought in *Ilu bani*, "God has made (me)," *Ilu nazir*, "God protects me," *Ilu-su-abi-su*, "His god is his father," and others. The word *ilu* or *iluv* which enters into the composition of these names is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew forms *לָהּ* and *לְהָ*, which form an element in so many Bible names, and would seem to indicate the worship of one supreme God, worshipped under the abstract form of *El*, *El*, or the *Allah* of the Arabs, as "the God." The names, such as *Ilu-ka-Hea*, *Ilu-ka-Sin*, and *Abil-Sin* show that other gods were worshipped, which is in conformity with the statement in the words, "Your fathers dwelt of old beyond the river,* even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor, and they served other gods" (Josh. xxiv. 2, R.V.). We may also notice the passage, "The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor," *the gods of their fathers* (Gen. xxxi. 53), where there is a manifest contrast between the god of Abram and the gods of Nahor, Terah, &c. Indeed, the margin gives the reading, *gods*. The next phrase in the verse seems to emphasise this, and "Jacob sware by the fear of his father Isaac." The word here rendered *fear* is *פִתֹּחַ*,

* The Euphrates.

and may find its equivalent in the *pakidu ilani*, *pakidu killān*, "Fear of the gods," "Fear of the world," literally "reverenced one," which occur in hymns.

The names occurring in these tablets contain the names of many gods, but of the Semitic names *more than thirty per cent.* are compounds of the name of the Moon-god Sin. Such names, to quote only a few, as *Sin-isme*, the Moon-god hears; *Sin Magir*, the Moon-god is revered; *Abil Sin*, son of the Moon-god; *Ilu-ka-Sin*, thy god is the Moon-god; *Avil Sin*, man or servant of the Moon-god; *Sin Mubanit*, the Moon-god is the Creator, and others. The discovery of these names is of the highest importance, because to my mind it removes for ever the theory of the mythological character of Abram and his family, and substitutes a perfectly rational meaning in accordance with Oriental thought, in place of the mythological theory. The argument of Goldziher is that because Abramu means "High Father," therefore he is the High Father, the Night Sky, akin to the Chaldean ANU, who has also the title of *Abu ramu*. In the same manner Sarai or Sarah is the Moon as the wife of the Night Sky, the high father, or Milcah the daughter of the Moon, Laban, because their names mean "the Princess" or "Queen," titles often applied to the Moon-goddess. These tablets show how the Moon, Sun, and other powers of Nature were worshipped, and how nature was used as a magazine of symbols, but there is no need to say because the people bore names derived from Nature that they were but mythic nature—gods, and heroes. The prevalence of names which might readily be turned into mythic characters seems to me to be accounted for by this revelation of the tablets from Larsa and Ur. Here the Moon and Sun were the great gods, and such names as Abu ramu, Laban, Sarratu, and Malkatu would be familiar as epithets of the gods, and become among the people proper names.

In a list of synonyms of titles (W.A.I., v. pl. 41, Ob. 11) we find MA-AL-KA-TUV, Milcah, a synonym of SAR-RA-TUV, Sarah.

The prominence given to the Moon-god in the popular names of the people again throws light upon the migration from the city of Ur to Haran.

Ur was called by the Akkadians UR-UNU-KI, literally "Moon dwelling place," and by the Semitics *Uru*, the exact equivalent of the Hebrew (Gen. xi. 28). The great temple which formed the Acropolis of Ur, and which was partly restored by UR-BAHT,

or Likbagas, and completed by his son, 𒀭𒀭𒀭 DUN-GI, was dedicated to the Moon-god, called "Sin, the Lord of the gods of Heavens and Earth."

The Moon-god had three chief names in his inscriptions:—
 1. 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, the Akkadian rendering of which was UR, and which was equivalent to the Semitic NANNARU, "the Illuminator," from Namaru (נָמָרָע), "to be bright," "to see." The epithet applied to the Sun and Moon in the inscription from Aboo Hubba, a translation of which is appended to this paper, Merodach the great Lord, and Sin the Illuminators (Nānnari) of Heaven and Earth, includes this title. Another epithet was 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 EN-ZU-NA, "Lord of increase and decrease," that is, "Lord of waxing and waning;" and the third title was that of 𒀭 𒀭, Lord of (the) thirty, that is of the month. Another title of the Moon-god, though less frequently used, was that of 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 or 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭, Aku or Agū, the meaning of which is apparently the god of the circle or crown, from *aga* and *ega*, "the crown."

The prominence given to the Moon over the Sun, as implied in the words "(Ilu) Samas u (Ilu) Istar zit-libbi-su namra ana Sin abi bani su-nu likbu damikati." "May the Sun-god and Istar, the bright offspring of his heart, to Sin the father their Creator speak favourably," is a relic of the old nomadic life, when the bright Moon-god furnished the wanderers with light in the cool night, and was worshipped by the pre-Islamic Arabs.

The following extract from a cylinder found in the temple of the Moon-god at Ur shows very clearly the high religious ideas which were held of this god in that ancient city:—

"Oh Sin, Lord of the Gods, King of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, (and) God of the Gods who inhabit the heavens, the mighty ones, for this temple with joy at thy entrance, may thy lips establish the blessings of Bit Sagila, Bit Zida and Bit Giz-nugul, the temples of thy great divinity. Set the fear of thy great divinity in the hearts of his people that they err not; for thy great divinity may their foundations remain firm like the Heavens. As for me, Nabonidus, King of Babylon, preserve me from sinning against thy great divinity, and grant me the gift of a life of long days; and plant in the heart of Bel-sarra-utzur (Belshazzar), the eldest son, the offspring of my heart, reverence for thy great divinity, and never may he incline to sin. With fulness of life may he be satisfied."

The hymn to the Moon-god published by M. Lenormant, and also given by Mr. Tomkins in his paper on "The Life and Times of Abram," formed, no doubt, part of the liturgy of this temple, and the position which this god holds in the

theogony of Chaldea is very clearly set forth in the creation tablet.

The Illuminator he made to shine, to wander through the night.
 He appointed it to fix the night, until the coming forth of day.
 Every month without fail by its disk he established
 In the beginning of the month at the appearance of evening
 Horns shine forth to enlighten the night.
 On the seventh day to a circle it approaches
 They open then the darkness.

This prominence given to the Moon over the Sun in the Babylonian Pantheon was a remnant of the old nomadic life which the ancestors of both Akkadians and Semites had led in the early days of their national life. It is this love of the night sky, the moon, and the stars that caused the Chaldeans to be so great astronomers; and in the ancient hymns we find night taking precedence of day, as in the well-known phrase in the first chapter of Genesis, "And there was evening, and there was morning" (R.V.). It is this ancient Sabeanism or astro-theology that led to the identification of the gods as stars; and so we find  the ordinary sign for god explained by  *Kak-ka-bū*, "star;" and the names given to stars show how closely life was associated with them, as, for example, in a list of stars, from Babylon, we find "the star of the crossers of the sea," possibly the pole-star, while Mercury is called "the bringer of change to men," Venus as evening star, "the proclaimer of the stars." So also the morning star was "the light of day." Other stars were called "the star of life," "the star of the winds, the star that causes winds." All these names show a close observation of the heavens, which found its outlet in the Sabeanism of the pre-Islamic Arabs. How similar this trait in the ancient Babylonian character was to that of the Arabs is at once shown by the following passages descriptive of the love these wanderers have for the stars. One writer thus describes the relation of the Arabs to the night and the stars:—"With the refreshing dew of evening, not Venus only or the Moon, but the whole glory of the starry heavens met the eye and touched the spirit of the Arabs. High above the tents and the resting-places of the flocks, above the nocturnal raid and waiting ambuscade, and all the doings of men, the stars passed along on their glittering courses. The stars guided the Arabs on their way through the desert; certain constellations announced the wished-for rain; others the wild storms, the changes of the seasons, the times for breeding in the flocks and herds." Hence, to the tribes of the desert especially brilliant stars appeared as living spirits, as rulers

over nature and the fortunes of mankind. We are not without many traces of this observation of the stars in the Hebrew writings. In that beautiful book so full of all appertaining to desert life, the book of Job, we have numerous references, as, for example, Job iii. 9 : "Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark. Let it look for light, but have none. Neither let it behold the eyelids of the morning." "Behold the height of the stars, how high they are" (Job xxii. 12). "Canst thou bind the cluster* of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion ? Canst thou lead forth the Mazzaroth in their seasons ? or canst thou guide the bear with her train ?" (xxxviii. 31, 32). And the beautiful simile from shepherd life: "He telleth the number of the stars ; he giveth them all their names" (Ps. cxlvii. 4, R.V.). And this very symbolism, so familiar to Abram the Chaldean, is made the means of foreshadowing one of the most important prophecies : "And he brought him forth abroad, and said, Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them. And he said unto him, So shall thy seed be" (Gen. xv. 5).

At the time when Abram left his Chaldean home, the astronomy of Chaldea had attained nearly as high a development as it ever reached, and so the phases of the moon, the measurement of time by the stars, &c., would be known to him and some of the family, and no doubt some of the servants and followers of Terah were worshippers of the moon and stars.†

We now turn to the Hebrew record, and we find the first step in the migration was the removal from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran—"And Terah took Abram, his son, and Lot, the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai, his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife ; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go unto the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran and dwelt there" (Gen. xi. 31). Considerable discussion has taken place as to the site of Haran, but inscriptions now before us seem definitely to settle this question. I will first of all take the various references to this city which occur in the Hebrew Scriptures. In addition to the reference above quoted and its repetition (xii. 5), we have also the command of Jacob to flee from Esau—"Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice ; arise, flee thou to Laban, my brother, to Haran" (xxvii. 43) ; and bearing upon this we read

* Really "family."

† The worship of the stars was prohibited to the Jews (Deut. iv. 19), but this did not debar them from admiring them, studying them, and deriving most beautiful similes from them.

also, "Arise, go to Padan-Aram, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father; and take a wife from thence of the daughters to Laban, thy mother's brother" (xxviii. 2). "And Jacob went out from Beersheba and went toward Haran, and in that journey he passed through Bethel" (xxviii. 10, 19). A still more important reference as to the locality is that relative to the flight of Jacob—"And Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that he told him not he fled. So he fled with all that he had, and he rose and he *passed over the river*,* and set his face toward the mountain of Gilead. And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob had fled. And he took his brethren with him and pursued after him seven days, and he overtook him in the mountain of Gilead (Gen. xxxi. 21-23). Later references are in the message of Sennacherib to Hezekiah. "Have the gods of the nations delivered them which my fathers have destroyed—Gozan, Haran, and the children of Eden, which were in Telassar?" (2 Kings xix. 12). And in the *résumé* of the commerce of Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 23), Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, and the traffickers of Sheba,† Ashur, and Chilmad. In these extracts we find Haran definitely placed on the east side of the Euphrates, and in the neighbourhood of Gozan and Assyria. The land of Gozan was the Gil-za-nu‡ or Guzānu of the inscriptions, the province watered by the Khabur and the Belikh; while the land of Eden here is the Adini of the same records, and was situated in the same region. Charan therefore lay in the basin of the Khabur and Belik, and its site corresponds to the modern town of Haran, the Charræ of the Romans, on a small tributary of the Belikh.

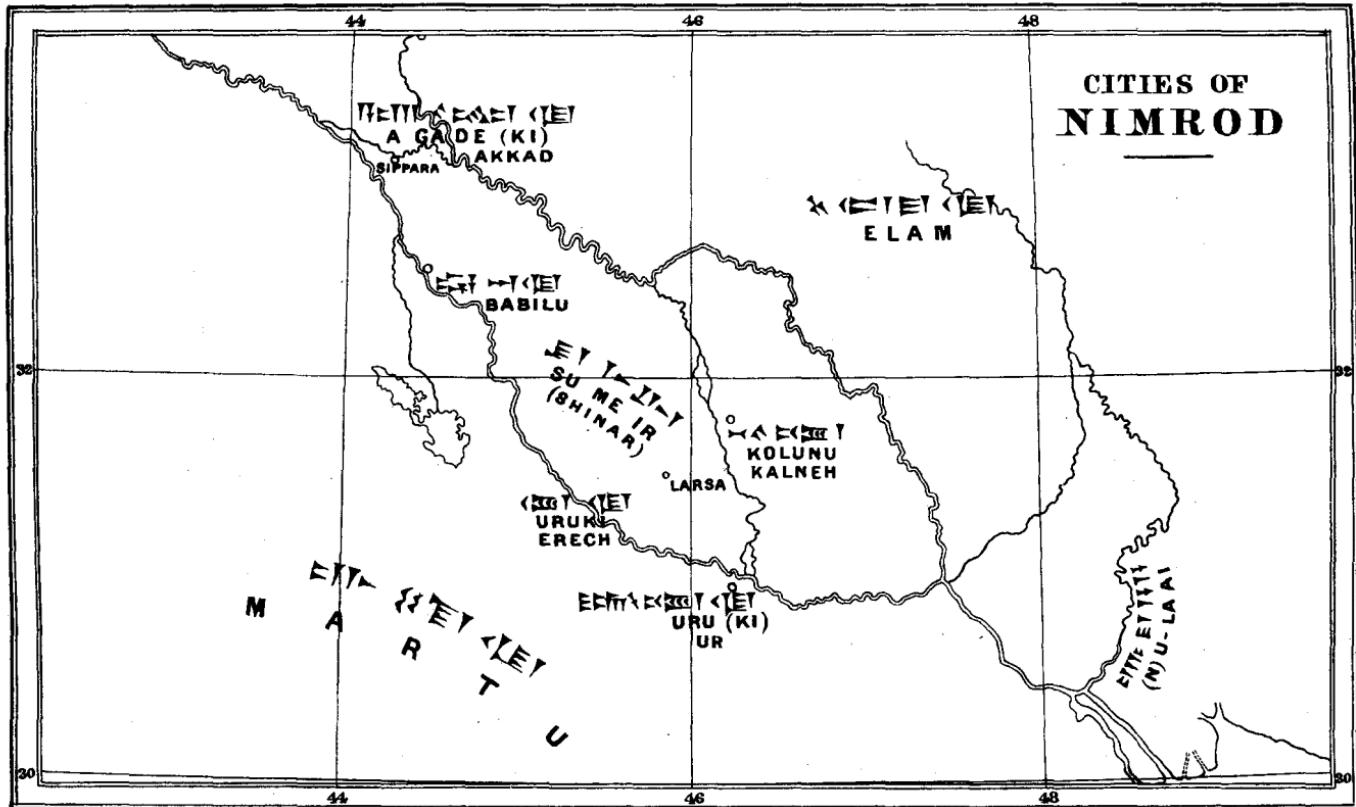
Of the ancient connexion between Kharran and Chaldea we have much evidence. In the first place, the name קַרְרָן, KHARR-ANU, is not Semitic, being a derivation from the Akkadian KHARRAN "A road." In a bilingual vocabulary this word *Kharran* is given as an equivalent of the Assyrian words *Daragu* and *Metik*, the one the equivalent of the Hebrew דָּרְקָה, "A way or road," the latter, a participial derivation from קָרַע, "To transfer," means of transfer, or road. *Kharranu* is also an ideographic meaning of the sign ☘, the ancient form of which was ✕, representing two cross roads. It was, therefore, a city which derived its name from

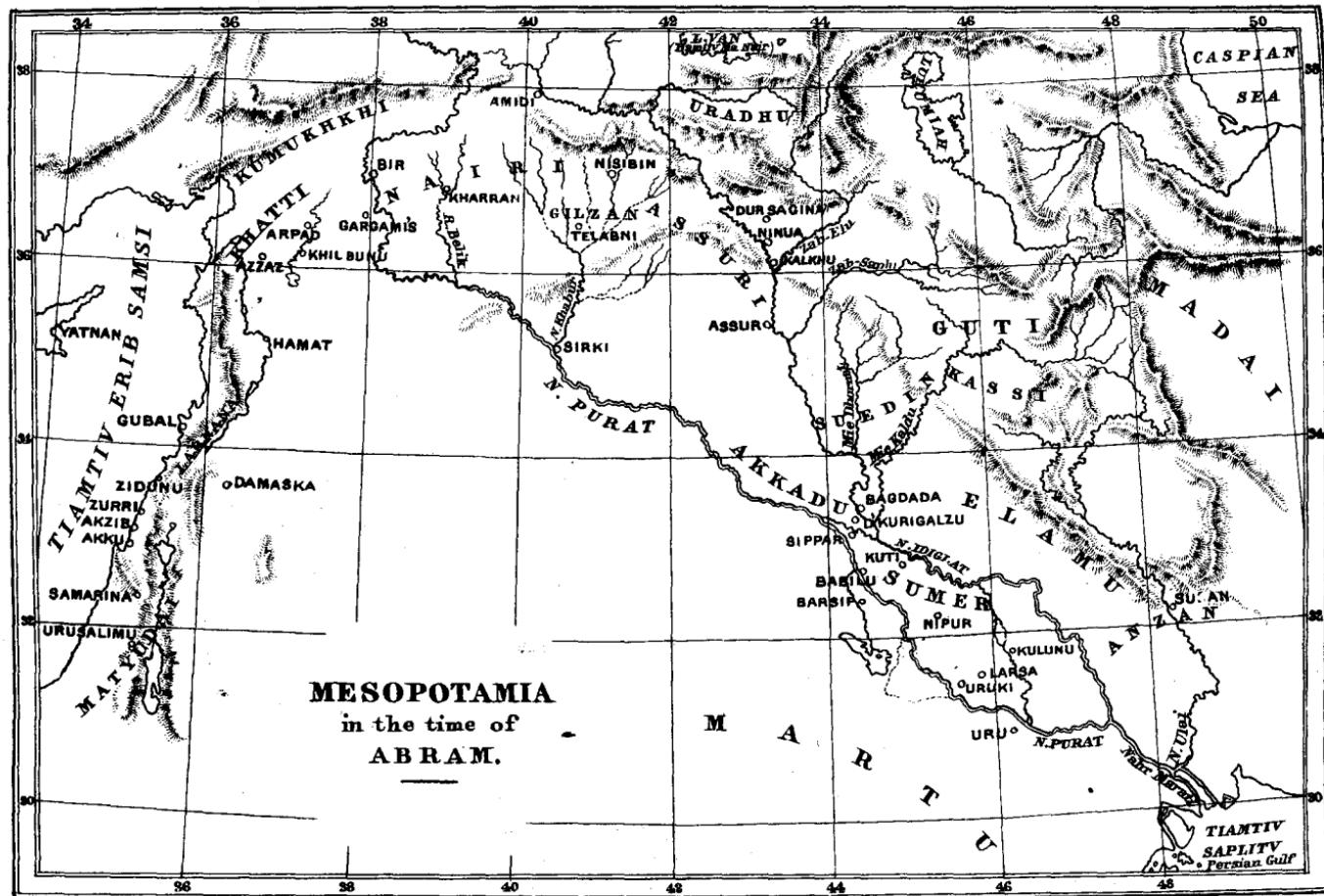
* For the use of 沙勿, "the river," for the Euphrates, compare Exod. xxxiii. 31, where the borders of the future kingdom are given; also Isaiah vii. 20, and the contrast in Jer. ii. 18 between the Nile and the Euphrates; also Micah vii. 12, &c.

† The Wady Saba near Anah, on the Euphrates.

‡ The Black Obelisk and W.A.I., v. 69, the land of Gu-za-ni.

CITIES OF
NIMROD





being on one of the great roadways of the Tigr-Euphrates Valley, or one of the centres where various roadways met. This is just exactly the position of Kharran, for from its various gateways, roads branch off to Mosul, to Diarbeker, Berijik *via* Orfa, to Balis, &c., just as in ancient days here centred the roadways from Bir, Carchemish, Sirki (at the month of the Khabour), Nineveh, and Babylon.

The early connexion between Kharran and Chaldea is shown by references to it in the great astronomical work in which Sulpa-uddu, "The Messenger of the Rising Sun," or Mercury, is called the "Prince of the men of Kharran" (W.A.I., iii. 67, 28), and on a chalcedony seal in the British Museum we have a priest worshipping before an altar, upon which is the conical stone, and above it the Crescent Moon, with the inscription ➤☒, the "God of Kharran."

Kharran was, however, chiefly celebrated as the site of a very ancient temple of the Moon-god Sin, the same deity that was the divine patron of Ur. This temple was called ☉☒☒. BIT-KHUL-KHUL, "The house of Brightness," and is called in the cylinder of Nabonidus, BIT-SIN SA KI-RIB AL KHAR-RA-NU (➤☒☒☒☒), "The house of Sin (Moon), which is within the city of Kharran." The history of this temple is preserved to us in the cylinder of Nabonidus, which records his restoration of this temple. In exploring this temple at the time of its restoration, the king states that he found there the cylinder of Shalmaneser II., son of Assurnazirpal, whose reign commenced in B.C. 858, but the great work of restoration seems to have been that of Assurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon, who restored the temple shortly after B.C. 670.

There is a tablet in the British Museum which throws some considerable light on the prominent part which Assurbanipal took in the restoration of this temple. It appears that in the year B.C. 670, when Esarhaddon was starting on his second campaign against TARKU or Tirhakah, that he halted at Kharran on the march. And entering into the temple, there the priests pointed out to him the moon shining over the fields with two crowns or a double halo on his head. This they interpreted as an omen that there should be two kings in the land; so Esarhaddon crowned his son king, and sent him back to Nineveh to rule. This coronation in the temple at Kharran took place on the 12th day of the month Airu, April, B.C. 670. The result of this important event was that Assurbanipal attached a great reverence to this temple, and restored and beautified it very much, so much so that the temple, in the days of Nabonidus, was almost regarded as his work. The

Babylonian king in his inscription says: "My great army from the land of Gaza* which is on the frontiers of Egypt† from the upper sea on the other side‡ of the Euphrates as far as the lower sea.§ Kings, princes, high priests, and my vast army which Sin, Samas and Istar had gathered for the building of Bit Khullkhul, the temple of the Moon-god, which is within Kharran which Assur-ban-apla, King of Assyria, son of Assur-akha-iddina, King of Assyria, a prince, my predecessor, had made." In the same inscription the king states that he found the inscribed cylinders of Shalmaneser, son of Assurnazirpal, so the temple must have existed as early as B.C. 858. The passage relating to these records reads: ELI. TEMIEN. SA D.P. ASSUR-BAN-APLA SAR MAT ASSURI SA TEMIEN DP SULMANRISTAN ABAL D.P. ASSUR-NAZIR APLA IMURU. "Upon the foundation cylinder of Assurbanipal and of Shalmaneser, son of Assurnazirpal they looked."

Kharran is also mentioned in the inscriptions of Khorsabad of Sargon II. (B.C. 721) in two places. In the Palace text we find Kharran mentioned along with Assur under its ancient name of PAL-BI-KI "the place of his crossing," (Botta, iv. 4), also in the Annals, col. ii. 2, the land of Kharran is mentioned apparently in connexion with an eclipse.

All of these references serve to show that Kharran was an important city, connected from an early period with both Chaldea and Assyria.

The inscription of Nabonidus which I have translated at the end of this paper, gives a very elaborate description of the temple and the works of restoration and adornment carried out by the Babylonian king. "Over and above the kings, my fathers, its work I made strong. I perfected its adornment. This temple from its foundation to its roof anew I made, and perfected its adornment. Great beams of fir, the product of the mount KHA-YA-TU (Hivites) I spread over it. Doors of cedar wood of which their leaves were good, I hung in the gateways. With silver and gold its walls I covered, and caused to shine like white marble. Great bulls of polished alabaster, destroyers of my foes, round about I placed in its building. Two winged figures, guardians, sweepers away

* KHA-AZ-ZA-TI, the KHA-AZ-ZI-TI of the inscriptions of Sennacherib and Sargon the גָּזָה or Gaza of the Bible, the most southern of the five great cities of Philistia, and close to the frontier of Egypt, the river of Egypt (Wady el Arish). This Assyrian נ for Hebrew י is common.

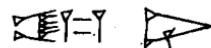
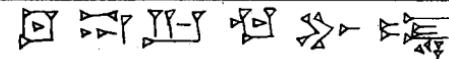
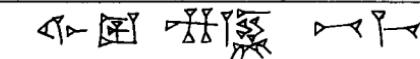
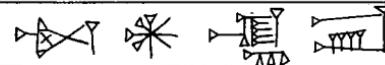
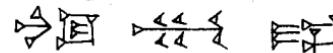
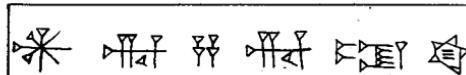
† MI-ZIR, Hebrew מִצְרַיִם.

‡ *Abarti* for *ebari* in several words. Hebrew אֶבְרֵי as in the expression, "on the other side of Jordan."

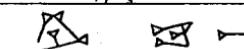
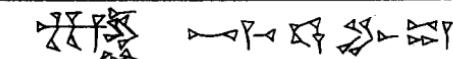
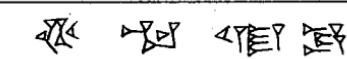
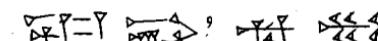
§ The Persian Gulf.

TEXT OF CYLINDER.

COL. I.



COL. II.



of my enemies, in the gate of the rising sun and left and right I placed. The hands of Sin (Moon-god), and the Great Lady of Nusku (Morning Star), and the god Sā BIL-KU-NUNA? my lords, in Suanna (Babylon), my royal city, I took hold of, and with joy and gladness (to) the seat of the joy of heart within it (the temple) I caused to be seated. Victims, great white sheep, in their presence, I offered. I arranged the servants of Bit Khulkhul The city of Kharran throughout its borders I caused its splendour to be bright as the rising moon." This splendid temple now lies buried beneath the mounds of Eski-Haran or Old Haran, waiting the explorer's advent to yield up its buried treasures, perchance some records of Abram himself. The creed of the worship of the Moon-god at Kharran was essentially the same as that of Ur, and the prayers which Nabonidus offered to the god of Ur and the god of Kharran show them to be the same deity.

In his cylinder inscription Nabonidus thus addresses the divine patron of the city of Kharran :—

1. As for me, Nabonidus, King of Babylon, restorer of this temple,
2. Sin, the king of the gods of the heavens and the earth, in the lifting up of his eyes,
3. Joyfully may he regard me, and in each future day from dawn to twilight,
4. May he bless my desires. My days may he prolong.
5. My years may he extend, and may he establish my reign.
6. My enemies may he capture, my evil opponents may he smite;
7. May he sweep away my foes. The great Lady Mother of the great gods,
8. In the presence of Sin, her beloved, may she present my works.
9. Samas (Sun), and Istar, the bright offspring of his heart,
10. To Sin, their father, may they speak (in) my favour.
11. Nusku (Morning star) his supreme messenger my words may he hear,
12. May he lay hold of evil.

This prayer is exactly the same as that which concludes the inscription of Nabonidus, found at Ur, and shows the creeds to be essentially the same. We have already seen how this worship of the Moon-god revealed itself in the names of the dwellers in Ur, as revealed to us in the contract tablets. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that in their migration northward, they would migrate to a city where was a kindred race to their own, and a creed similar to that of Ur.

To conclude this paper, we may thus sum up the evidence of the monuments. From the earliest period, as remote as B.C. 3750, we have inscriptions to prove the existence of a Semitic population in the city of Ur of the Chaldees. The inscriptions found at Larsa, which relate to the trade and commerce of these people, show them to have spoken a language closely akin to the Hebrew, and to have borne personal names similar to those of the early Hebrew patriarchs. In religion, though not monotheists, they certainly had a purer creed than their Turanian-Akkadian fellow-countrymen, and at the head of the Pantheon was the supreme god, Ilu, or El, whose name, like that of El and Jehovah, entered into the composition of many personal names. In the year B.C. 2280 Chaldea was invaded by the Elamites, and a dynasty of Elamite kings established, of which Kudur-Mabug and Eriaku or Arioch were members. The fall of this dynasty, caused by the defeat of Kudur-Mabug and Eriaku by Khammurabi in B.C. 2120 would seem to synchronise very well with the defeat of Chedorlaomer, recorded in Genesis xiv. The migration of Abram must, therefore, fall within this period of 160 years. The monuments show that at this period such an alliance of Mesopotamian kings as that recorded in Genesis xiv. was most probable, and contemporary inscriptions of the kings of Larsa, Guti or Goim, and Elam are now in the British Museum. The invasion of Chaldea by the Elamites, and the conquest of Syria by these kings, synchronises very well with the date of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, the period when Abram would have entered Egypt under the most favourable circumstances.

The invasion of Chaldea and the conquest of Ur, Erech, and Babylon by Elamites would press more severely on the Semitic than non-Semitic population, and force them to migrate northward.

The close religious affinity between the worship of the temple at Ur and that of Harran would render the migration of this people from one city to the other most probable.

All these points taken together tend to show that the evidence of the Chaldean monuments indicates that the record of the migration of Abram as recorded in the book of Genesis is in perfect agreement with the state of Chaldean and Western Asiatic history revealed to us by these monuments.

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION.

Cylinder inscription of ERI-AKU and KUDUR-MABUG, his son,
about B.C. 2130-20. (British Museum.)

COLUMN I.

1. DINGIR-RI ZA - RI - UNU KI
To the goddess of Zariunu -
2. NIN - MU - RA
To my lady
3. ERI - AKU
Arioch,
4. LUGAL UD - UNU KI
King of Larsa.
5. NAM - TIL - MU - KU
For my preservation,
6. U NAM TIL
and for the preservation
7. KU - DU - UR MA - BU - UK
of Kudur Mabug
8. AI - U SAK - GIZ - KA
His father.

9. GI UN - NA AZAG.
The foundation of his holy dwelling
10. KI - KU NAM UR - SAK - KA - NI
The abode of his heroism

COLUMN II.

1. MU - NA - RU
He has made
2. KUR LIL DU NUM (?)
As a lofty mountain.
3. SAK - BI. KHU - MU - RU IN - ILA
Its summit may he make It was raised
4. KHA - AK MU - KU
May it be for a Memorial.
5. KHA - MA - DUL - E
May it mount on high.
6. NAM TIL PAR GID - DU
A lifetime of long days
7. TSI (?) - BA - AS
Well
8. KHA - MA - NA - BA E
May he complete.

SEMITIC INSCRIPTION OF KHAMMURABI.

This inscription was obtained from Babylon by Mr. Shemtob in 1879, and is now in the Musée du Louvre. I published a translation of it in June, 1879, in the *Builder*, and it has since been published by M. Ménant, "Une Nouvelle Inscription de Hammurabi, roi de Babylon (XVI^e siècle avant J.C.):" *Recueil de Travaux rel. à la Philol.*, etc., ii. 76.

1.	A-NA (Ilu) MARDUK BE-LI-IV RA-BI-IV NA-DI-IN KHE-GALLI	To Merodach The great Lord Giver of fertility
5.	A-NA ILI BE-EL BIT SAG-ILA U BIT ZIDA BIL-NI-SU KHA-AM-MU-RA-BI	From the gods Lord of Bit Sagila and Bit Zida His lord Khammurrabi
10.	NA-BI-UV A-NAM. [NA-RA]* MU [SA]* (Ilu) BEL [MI]* GI-IR	Proclaimed one of Anu [beloved] of Bel Worshipper
15.	(Ilu) SAMAS REU NA-RA-AM (Ilu) MARDUK SARRU DALUM † SAR NISI SU-ME-RIV U AK-KA-DI-IV SAR KI-IP-RA-TIV	Of Samas The Prince beloved Of Merodach. The Powerful King. King of the people of Sumir and Akkad King of the four
5.	AR-BA-IV I-NU (Ilu) BEL MATA-U-NISI A-NA-BE-LI-IV ID-DI-NU-SUV	quarters When Bel the land and people to his dominion He gave him
10.	ZI-IR-RA-ZI-NA A-NA GA-TI-SU U-MA-AL-LI-SAM	(And) their seed to his hand Entrusted it

* Broken portion of the stone. † See Note on page 97.

A-NA (Ilu) MARDUK	To Merodach
ILI BA-NI-SU	The god his Creator
IN BAR-ZI-PA (KI)	In Borsippa
ALI NA-RA-MI-SU	His beloved city
BIT-ZI-DA I[]	Bit Zida
PARAKKA-SU EL-LAM	his holy shrine
IB-NI-SU-UV	he built it.

EXTRACT FROM A CYLINDER OF NABONIDUS
(W. A. I. v. pl. 64, col. i. 7; ii. 45).

7. BIT KHULKHUL BIT SIN SA KI-RIB AL KHAR-RA-NU
The Temple of Brightness, the Temple of Sin (Moon-god), which is within the city of Kharran,
8. SA ULTU YUMU ZA-A-TI SIN BEL RA-BU-U
Which from ancient days Sin the great Lord,
9. SU-BA-AT DHU-UB LIB-BI-SU RA-MU-U KI-RI-IB-SU
The seat the joy of his heart had raised within it,
10. ELI ALI U BITI SA-A-SU LIB-BU-US-SU I-ZU-UZ-VA
Upon that city and temple, his heart was fixed.
11. NISI SAB-MAN-DA U-SAT-BA-AV-VA BIT SU-A-TIV UB-BI-ID-VA.
The Sab Manda (Barbarians) had come up and this house had thrown down, and
12. U-SA-LU-SU KHAR-MU-TU I-NA PA-LI-E-A KI-I-NUV.
Turned it to ruins. When my reign was established,
13. BEL BEL RAB-U I-NA NA-RA-AM SARR-U-TI-YA
The great Lord Bel, in love of my Majesty,
14. A-NA ALU U BIT SA-A-SU IZ-LI-VU IR-SU U-TA-AI-RI
To this city and temple directed me—
15. I-NA-RE-ES SARR-U-TI-YA DA-IR-TI U-SAP-RU-H-NI-NI SU-UT-TI.
In the beginning of my long reign. They sent me a dream ;
16. MARDUK BEL RABU U SIN NA-AN-NA-RI SAMIE U IRZITIV
Merodach, the great Lord, and Sin, the illuminators of the Heavens and Earth,

17. EZ-ZI-ZU KI-LA-LA-AN MARDUK I-TA-MA-A IT-TI-YA
The Strengthener of all—Merodach communed with me.
18. NABU-NAHID SAR BABILI (KI) I-NA SUSI RU-KU-BI KA
Nabonidus, king of Babylon, with the horses of thy Chariot
19. I-SI AGGURI BIT KHUL-KHUL E-PU-US-VA SIN-BEL RABU
Come up and the walls of the House of Brightness make and Sin the great Lord
20. I-NA KI-IR-BI-SU SU-LU-VA SU-BA-AT-SU
In its interior raise up his seat.
21. PA-AL-KHI-IS A-TA-MA-A A-NA BEL ILANI MARDUK.
Reverently I spake to the Lord of the gods, Merodach.
22. BIT SU-A-TIV SA TAK-BU-U E-PI-SU
This house of which thou hast spoken I will make
23. NISI SAB-MAN-DA SA-KHI-IR TAK-BA BU-UG-GU-LU E-MU-GA-SU
The Sabmanda the tribe of whom thou speakest terrible is their power.
24. MARDUK I-TA-MA-A IT-TI-YA NISI SAB-MAN-DA SA TAK-BU-U
Merodach communed with me. Those SABMANDA Of whom thou hast spoken
25. SA-A-SU MAT-SU U SARRANI A-LIK I-DI-SU UL I-BA-AS-SI
He himself, his land, and the kings marching by his side shall cease to be.
26. I-NA SA-LU-UL-TI SATTI I-NA KA-SA-DU
In the third year in its course
27. U-SAT-BU (?) SUV VA KU-RA-AS SAR MAT AN-ZA-AN ARDU ZA-AKH-RI.
He caused to go forth Cyrus, king of Ansan (Elam), the little servant.
28. I-NA UM-MA-NI-SU I-ZU-TU NISI SAB-MAN-DA RAP-SA-A-TI
With his strong army The widespread Sabmanda
U-SAP-PI-IKH
he swept away.

29. IS-TU-VI-GU SAR SAB-MAN-DA IZ-BAT-VA KA-MU-UT-SU A-NA
MAT-SU IL-KI
Astyages, king of the Sabmanda, he captured, and his
treasure to his land he took
30. A-MAT BEL RAB-U MARDUK U SIN NA-AN-NA-RI SAMIE U
IRZITIV
The will of Merodach and Sin, the illuminators of the
Heavens and Earth
31. SA KI-BIT SU-NU LA IN-NIN-NU A-NA KI-BI-TI SU-NU
ZER-TI
Who change not their command To their supreme
command
32. AP-LA-AKH AK-SU-UD NA-KHAZ-TI AR-SE-E-VA? LU-KH
PA'-NU-A
I bowed, I took hold, the order (?) I gave and
my face.
33. LA-E-GILA-A-SE-ID A-KHI-AD AD-DA U-SAT-BA-AV-VA
Not hesitating, I hastened, I caused to go forth
34. UM-MA-NI-YA RAP-SA-TI UL-TU MAT KHA-AZ-ZI-TI PA-AT
MI-ZIR
My wide-spread army from the land of Gaza, on the
border of Egypt,
35. TAM-TIV E-LI-TI A-BAR-TI NAHR PURAT A-DI TAM-TIV SAP-
LI-TI.
(On) the Upper Sea on the other side of the Euphrates,
as far as the Lower Sea.
36. SARRANI RUBI SAKKANAKI U UM-MA-NI YA RAP-SA-A-TI
Kings, Princes, Priests, and my wide-spread army,
37. SA SIN SAMAS U ISTAR I-KI-BU-NU
Which Sin, Samas, and Istar had assembled
38. A-NA E-PI-SU BIT KHUL-KHUL BIT SIN BEL-YA A-LIK
I-DI-YA
For the making of the House of Brightness, the Temple
of Sin, my lord going by my side,
39. SA KI-RIB AL KHAR-RA-NU SA ASSUR-BAN-APLA SAR MAT
ASURI (KI)
Which is within the city of Kharran, which Assurbanipal,
king of Assyria,

40. ABIL (DP) ASSUR-AKHA-IDDINA SAR MA ASSURI (KI) RUBU
A-LIK MAKH-RI-YA I-PU-SU
Son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, a prince my predecessor had made
41. I-NA ARKHI SA-AL-MU I-NA YU-MI I-GAR I-NA BI-RI
In a fortunate month, on a holy day, on a festival (?),
U-AD-DU-NI SAMAS U RAMMANNU
When I had propitiated the gods Samas (Sun-god) and Rimmon
42. I-NA NI-ME-KU (ILU) HEA U (ILU) SILIK-MULU-KHI I-NA
KA-KHA-GAL-U-TU.
By the wisdom of Hea and Merodach by the
43. I-NA SI-IP-RI LABANU BEL US-SU U AGGURI
By the instruction of Laban, Lord of foundations and walls

COLUMN II.

1. I-NA KASPI KHURAZI ABAN NI-SIK-TI SU-RU-KU-TU HI-BIS-IS-TIR
With silver, gold, and precious stones
2. I-NA KHI-DA-TI U RI-SA-TI
. with joy and gladness.
3. E-LI TI-MI-EN-NA SA(DP) ASSUR-BA-AN-ABLA SAR MAT
ASSURI (ki)
Upon the foundation record of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria
4. SA TE-MI-EN-NA SA(DP) SUL-MAN-RIS-TAN ABIL (DP) ASSUR-NAZIR-ABLA I-MU-RU
And upon the foundation record of Shalmaneser, son of Assurnazirpal they looked.
5. US-SU AD-DI-VA U-KIN SAK-NA-AT SU I-NA SIKARI-KARRANI
DISPI
The foundation I laid, and established its position. With syrup wine and honey
6. SAL-LA-AR-SU AM-KHA-AZ-VA AB-LU-UL TA-RA-AKH-KHU-US.
. I slaughtered and I mingled its

7. ELI SARRANI AB-BI-E-A IP-SE-TI-SU U-DAN-NIN-VA
Over the King, my fathers, its workmanship I made strong,
8. U-NAK-KI-LU SI-BI-IR-SU ESER SU-A-TIV UL-TU TI-MI-EN-SU
And perfected its adornment, that temple, from its foundation stone
9. A-DI TAKH-LU-PI-SU E-ES-SI-IS AB-NI-VA U-SAK-LI-IL
SI-BI-RI-SU
To its roof, anew I made and completed its adornment.
10. GUZURRI ERENI ZI-RU-TU TA-AR-BI-IT MAT KHA-VA-TU
Great beams of cedar wood, the product of the land of the Hivites
11. U-SA-AT-RI-IZ ZI-RU-US-SU DALTI ERENI
I caused to be spread over it; doors of cedar wood
12. SA I-RI-IZ-SI-NA DHA-A-BI U-RA-AD-DA I-NA BABI
Of which their leaves were good I added in the gateways.
13. KASPI KHURAZI AGGURI SU U-SAL-BIS-VA U-SA-AN-BI-IDH
SA-AS-ŠA-NI-IS
Gold and silver its brickwork I caused to cover, and made it to shine like white marble.
14. RE-I-MU ZA-KHA-LI E-IB-BI MU-NAR-KIP GA-RI-YA
Bulls of polished alabaster, destroyers of my enemies
15. KA-AD-RI-IS UZ-ZI-IZ I-NA AD-MA-NI-SU
Round about I placed in its edifice.
16. SANE (II) SEDI MU-ES-MA-RU SA-PI-IN AI-BI-YA
Two great colossi Guardians sweeping away my enemies
17. I-NA BAB ZI-IT (D.P.) SAMSI SUMEL U IMNI U-SAR-SI-ID
In the gate of the Rising Sun Right and Left I placed.
18. GA-TI (D.P.) SIN D.P. NIN GAL D.P. NUSKU U IL
SA-AK? KU-MU NUN NA
The hands of Sin, Ningal, Nusku, and the god SAKKU-MUNUNNA?
19. BEL-E-A UL-TU SU-AN-NA ALU SARR-U-TI-YA
My Lords from Suanna, the city of my royalty
20. AZ-BA-AT I-NA KHI-DA-TI U RI-SA-A-TI
I took hold of with joy and gladness.

21. SU-BA-AT DHU-UB LIB-BI KI-IR-BA-SU U-SE-SI-IB
In the seat of the joy of heart within it I caused to dwell.
22. D.P. NIKI D.P. RI-IKH-TI IB-BI MA-KHAR-SU-NU AK-KI VA
Victims White sheep Before them I sacrificed.
23. U-SAM-KHIR KADH-RA-AI BIT KHUL-KHUL RE-ES-TUV U-SA (?)-LI-MA
I caused to draw near the attendants of the House of Brightness. The opening, I completed?
24. ALU KHAR-RA-AN A-NA PAT GIM-RI-SU
The City of Kharran to its whole extent,
25. KI-MA ZI-IT ARKHU U-NAM-MI-IR SA-RU-RU-SU
Like the coming forth of the Moon, I made bright its splendour.
26. SIN SAR ILANI SA SAMIE U IRZI-TIV SA UL-TU UL-LA-NU US-SU
Sin, the king of the gods of Heaven and Earth, of whom from of old time the foundation
27. ALU U MATU LA IN-NAM-DU-U LA I-TUR-RU AS-RU-US-SU
Of the city and province none had established, none had restored its site
28. A-NA BIT KHUL-KHUL BIT SU-BAT LA-LI-E-KA I-NA E-RI-BA KA
To the "House of Brightness," the Temple, the abode of thy Fulness in thy entry,
29. DAMKA-TIV ALU U BIT SA-A-SU LIS-SA-KI-IN SAP-TU-UK KA
May prosperity be established to the city and this temple from thy lips?
30. ILANI A-SI-BU-TU SA SAMIE U IRZITIV
The gods, the inhabitants of the Heavens and Earth,
31. LI-IK-TA-RA-BU BIT SIN A-BI BA-NI SU-NU
May they draw near to the Temple of Sin, the father their Creator.
32. YA-TI (DP) NABU-NAHID SA BABILI (KI) MU-SAK-LIL BIT-SU-A-TI
As for myself, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Restorer of this temple
33. SIN SAR ILANI SAMIE U IRZI-TIV I-NA NI-IS I-NI-SU DAMKATI
Sin, the king of the gods of the Heavens and the Earth, in the lifting up of his holy eyes

34. KHA-DI-IS LIP (?) PAL-SA-AN-NI-VA AR-KHI SAMMA NI-IP-KHI
U RI-BA-A
Joyfully may he regard me, and each month from
beginning to end
35. LI-DAM-MI-IK IT-TA-TU-A YU-MI YA LI-SA-RI-IK
May he favour my desires. My days may he prolong.
36. SATTI-YA LI-SA-AN-DIL LU-KI-IN PA-LU-A
My years may he increase May he establish my reign.
37. (D.P.) NA-AK-RU-TI-YA, LIK-SU-UD (D.P.) ZA-MA-NI-A
LI-SA-AM-KHIT
My enemies may he seize. My evil opponents may he
smite.
38. LI-IS-PU-UN GA-RI-YA D.P. NIN GAL UM ILANI RABATIV
May he sweep away my foes The great Lady, Mother
of the great gods
39. I-NA MA-KHAR SIN NA-RA-MI-SU LI-IK-MA-A BA-NI-TI
In the presence of Sin her Lover may she present my
works.
40. (D.P.) SAMAS U (D.P.) ISTAR ZI-IT LIBBI-SU NAMRA
Samas and Istar, the bright offspring of his heart
41. ANA SIN A-BI BA-NI SU-NU LI-IK-BU-U DAMKATIV
To Sin the father, their Creator, may they speak favour-
ably.
42. (D.P.) NUSKU SUKAL ZI-I-RI-SU PI-IE-A LI-IS-MI-E-VA
Nusku, his supreme messenger, my words may he hear.
43. LI-IZ-BA-AT A-BU-TU MU-SA-RU-U SI-DHI-IR SU-UM
May he take hold of evil. The inscription, the writing
of the name
44. SA (D.P.) ASSUR-BAN-ABAL SAR MAT ASSURI A-MU-UR-VA
Of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria I inspected, and
45. LA U-NAK-KI-IR NI-IZ AP-SU-US NIKI AK-KI
I did not injure. With oil I cleaned. Victims I
offered
46. IT-TI MU-SA-RI-E-YA AS-KUN-VA U-TE-IR AS-RU-US-SU
With my inscriptions I placed and restored to its place.

NOTES.

COLUMN I.

Line 9.—Subat dhub libbi su, “the seat the joy of his heart.” For the use of *dhub* in this sense compare the Hebrew expressions לִבְבָךְ—תֹּזֵב in 1 Sam. xxxv. 36, and בַּשְׁמָחִים וּטוֹבִים לִבְבָךְ in 1 Kings viii. 66, “Joyful and glad of heart.” Compare also the expression in this inscription, Column III., 16, *Mudhib libbi ka*, “rejoicing thy heart.”

Line 11.—Sabmanda, This name is first met with in the Assyrian inscriptions applied to Teispes, the Gimmerian who was defeated by Esarhaddon in B.C. 670. It became a general term in the later inscriptions for that mixed body of tribes occupying the land afterwards called Media, composed of the Madai or Medes and Gimirrai or Kimmerians, among whom were the Saki or Scyths and other tribes, of whom, in B.C. 550, Astyages was king until the capture of Ecbatana, here recorded, in B.C. 549. The name is apparently a compound one, derived from *zab*, the construct case of *zabu*, “a host,” sometimes used for a soldier; Hebrew ; and *Manda*, “barbarian,” which may possibly be akin to the Hebrew נָגֵן “unclean.”

Line 15.—Sutti, “a dream,” for *Sunte*; Hebrew שְׁנָת “sleep or dream,” as in Psalm xc. 5, “they are as a dream.” This word is expressed by the ideograph composed of *zibidhu*, “product” or “offering, and *musu*, “night,” the dream being the product of the night.

Line 16.—Nānnari, “illuminator,” for *Nanmari*, from *Namaru*, “to be bright.”

Line 17.—Izzizu, for *izizu*, from “to make strong.” *Kilālan*, an abstract form in *an*, from *kallu*, “all.”

Line 21.—Palkhis, “reverently” an adverbial form in *is*, from *palakhu*, to worship.

Line 27.—Arad su zakhari, “his little servant.” Compare the expressions in Isaiah xliv. 28, 45. Nabonidus here looks upon Cyrus as working in the cause of Merodach, by overthrowing the barbarians, but in a lower position than himself.

Line 29.—I--- Is-tu-vi-gu, Astyages, so also in the Annalistic tablet. For further information see my paper on “Cuneiform Inscriptions and Jewish Captivity.” *Kamut*, “treasure,” from *kamu*, “to cover,” “to gather together,” “wealth, that which is collected.”

Line 31.—Kibit, “command,” from *kabu*, “to speak,” *la inninnu*, “is not changed.” Compare the expression in a hymn to Gizdhubar (S. 1371): *dinka ul in-nen-ni*, “thy judgment is not changed.”

Line 36.—*Sakkani*, “priests;” *Ner-padda*, “yoke servants.”

Line 42.—*Nimiki*, “wisdom,” from *emuku*, “to have knowledge,” “to be wise.”

Line 43.—*Sipri*, a conjectural reading; the word can hardly be the same as *sibir*, Col. II., 8, 9. *Laban*. The sign is explained by *libittu* for *libantu*, “bricks,” from *Labanu*, “to make bricks.” The god *Labanu* is also mentioned in a list of Assyrian gods.

COLUMN II.

Line 3.— *Te-men-na*, “foundation stone, cylinder,” &c., literally “that which makes a foundation or line.”

Line 5.— *Sikkari karrani dispi*, “syrup, wine, and honey.” The *sikkaru* was the same as *sheker*, or drink offering of the Hebrews, sometimes called *sikar satu*, “sikar drink,” and is found in all the sacrificial codes of Chaldea, even as early as the time of Gudea, B.C. 2500. In the ordinances of the temple at Babylon, given in the Philips cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar (W.A.I., i. 65) we read, “The portion of the gods of Bit Sagila and Babylon, to each a daily portion prepared. I appointed honey, milk, beautiful butter, and bread made with oil, honey, wine, sweet syrup drink (*sikar satu*), and noble wines.”

Line 9.—*Takhlupi*, “roof,” from “to cover.”

Line 10.—*Kharatu*, “Hivites.” Delitzsch, in his work, “Wo Lag das Paradies,” first points out the identification of *Kharatu*, as distinct from *Amatu*, “Hamath.”

Line 13.—*Usanbidh*, “I caused to shine,” first person singular, aorist Shaphel of *Nabadhu*, “to shine.” *Sassanis*, “like white marble,” adverb in *is*, from *sassanu* or *sassu*. The “white marble” of Esther i. 6; perhaps “alabaster.”

Line 14.—*Remu*, “bulls,” Hebrew mis-rendered “unicorn” in the A.V. *Munakip*, from *Nakayu*, “to smite,” Chaldean .

Line 15.—*Kādris*, “round about,” possibly from *Kudur*, “a boundary.”

Line 16.— *Sedu*, “colossal figures,” the or idols; “demons” (R.V.) Deut. xxxii. 17; Psalm cvi. 37. Applied to the great winged figures, eagle-headed, &c., at the entrances of the palaces, temples, &c.

Line 17.—*Muesmaru*, “guardians,” possible from to watch or guard. Comp. , “watchmen.”

Line 18.—*Suanna*, “sacred quarter of Babylon;” in a contract tablet (W.A.I., v. 6, No. 2, 2), *irzitiv Suanna (k) Sa kirib Babili* “Land of Suanna, which is within Babylon.”

Line 23.—*Kadhrai*, “attendants,” perhaps “incense burners,” from .

Line 25.— *Arkhu*, “month” in this phrase is used for “moon,” as in *Zit Samsi*, “Rising Sun.” *Saruru*, “Splendour.” See Delitzsch, notes on this word, “Assyrian and Hebrew,” 55.

Line 28.—Lalie or *Lalē*, a derivation from the Akkadian *lal*, “full,” the equivalent of the Assyrian *malu*. *Eribi-ka*, “The entrance,” from *eribu*, “to descend, to enter.”

Line 29.—Saptuk-ka, the text reads *Saptas*. This must be an error, as the signs are almost similar of *uk* and *az*. *Saptu*, “lip.”

Line 33.—Ina nis ini su, “In the lifting up of his holy eyes.” Compare the priestly blessing (Num. v. 26), “The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.”

Line 34.—Nipkhi u riba, “Dawn and twilight.” In Col. III., 41, of this inscription we have the phrase *Arkhi sama ina zit Samsi u erib Samsi*, “Each month, from rising to setting Sun,” which seems to justify this reading.

Line 37.—Zamani, “evil opponents.” Compare Heb. זָמָן, “wickedness.”

Line 39.—Narami, “beloved.” *Naram* is a synonym of *Dudu*, Heb. דָּד.

Line 42.—Pie, “words,” Hebrew פֶּתַח, “month.” Often used in this sense, as *Ki pi duppi*, “according to the words of the tablet.”

At the conclusion of the paper, the following communications were read:—

NOTES ON MR. BOSCAWEN'S PAPER: HISTORICAL EVIDENCES OF THE MIGRATION OF ABRAM. By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE, M.A., Dep. Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford.

P. 97. The date of Dungi, the son of Lig-bagas, must be earlier than B.C. 2500. A mutilated passage in a cylinder-inscription of Nabonidus seems to show that his father, Lig-bagas, lived 700 years before Khammu-ragas, whose date is about B.C. 2280. If, however, Dungi is the same person as a Dungi mentioned on the monuments of Tel-Ho, he will be earlier than Sargon of Accad (B.C. 3800).

P. 98. I reserve what I have to say about the dynasty of early Babylonian kings to the end of this communication, only recording my disagreement from Mr. Boscawen's opinions expressed in his note about the names Ammisatana (or Ammi-ditana) and Ammi-sadúga. A bilingual tablet tells us that these are Kassite and not Semitic names, Ammi-sadúga meaning "the family is established," and Amni being a weakened form of *khammu* (as in Khammu-ragas), "a family" (Assyrian *kimtu*).

P. 100. Aipir was not another name of Anzan or Susiana, but denoted the plain of Mal-Amir. Khalpirti is "the district of Pirti."

P. 102. Is not Mr. Boscawen mistaken in saying that Kudur-Mabug "claims to be ruler of Sumir (Shinar) and Akkad"?

P. 102. Mr. Boscawen's explanation of Amraphel is very ingenious, but he does not give any reference for the statement that Amar was a name of the Moon-god. I have never come across the word so used. Moreover, the Accadian *pal* is not the equivalent of *baladhu*, "to live"; this is *tila*. *Pal* represents the Assyrian *palu*, "a regnal year," and *ebiru*, "to pass over." If I were to make any suggestion about the name of Amraphel, it would be that it has been corrupted from Amar-gal, *p* and *g* being easily interchanged in the old Hebrew script. Amar-gal would be Amar-Gula, "the glory of Gula," formed like the royal name Amar-Agu, "the glory of the Moon-god," which actually occurs on the monuments.

P. 108. The name of Serug may be connected with the name of Sargani or Sargon (p. 96), in which *ani* is a suffix.

P. 110. Kainuv, "the establisher," can have no connexion with the Biblical Kain, since the latter name is written with an initial *koph*, not with *caph*.

Mr. Boscawen's interesting and instructive paper induces me to put forward some speculations of my own in regard to the early chronology of Babylonia, which, if correct, will make it necessary to modify his dates. The dates he has given on page 98 are derived from Mr. Pinches, the discoverer of the tablets on which the Babylonian dynasties are recorded. The dates, however, are about 160 years too low, as is proved by the Assyrian monuments. Certain kings of Assyria, whose dates are approximately known, were contemporaries of certain Babylonian kings who can be fitted into Mr. Pinches' dynastic list only by raising his dates about 160 years. If this is done, everything fits into its place. With Mr. Pinches' chronology, on the other hand, the Babylonian contemporaries of Tiglath-Pileser I. and his predecessors bear names in the dynastic list which have no resemblance to those recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions. By correcting the chronology, the names and periods coincide perfectly.

The date of Khammu-ragas, consequently, is not B.C. 2120, but B.C. 2280. Now, the dynasty of eleven kings to which he belongs is distinguished by one peculiarity. The first six names are Semitic, then comes the name of Khammu-ragas, which is Kassite, followed by two Semitic ones, and the dynasty ends with three names which are again Kassite, the last of them being a hybrid. This peculiarity gives rise to the suspicion that there was a break in the dynasty, Khammu-ragas being a usurper. On the other hand, one of the dynastic lists expressly calls him a son of Sin-muballidh. In his own Canal-inscription, however, he assigns a different name to his father, and nothing is more common in Oriental history than for an usurping prince to be attached to his predecessors by means of a fictitious descent. In this way the Egyptians claimed Cambyses as a prince of their own. I therefore believe that the Kassite Khammu-ragas was an intruder, his statement in his Canal inscription excluding even the possibility that he was the son of Sin-muballidh by a Kassite wife.

Now, if we compare the dynastic list discovered by Mr. Pinches with the list of Babylonian dynasties quoted by Eusebios and the Synkellos from Alexander Polyhistor who derived it from Bérôssos, it is pretty plain that the dynasty of Sisku, consisting of eleven kings, corresponds with the nameless dynasty of the Greek writers, which also consisted of eleven kings. Consequently, the preceding dynasty of Babylon, with which the Babylonian annalist begins his list, must correspond not only to the Median dynasty of eight kings recorded by Bérôssos, but also to part of the preceding Khaldæan dynasty of Bérôssos. This will explain the difficulty that the kings, named by the Synkellos, seem to be ascribed to both the Khaldæan and the Median dynasties, the Synkellos making them Khaldæan and Eusebios Median. Let us now compare the Greek and Babylonian lists, remembering the amount of corruption as regards names, and more especially numbers, which

the Greek account must have suffered in its passage from one author to another.

'Sumu-abi (fifteen years) will correspond to Khômas-bêlos (seven and a half years); 'Sumu-la-ilu (thirty-five years) to Pôros (thirty-five years), where the regnal years agree, but not the names. Pôros was followed by Nekhoubê, or rather Ekhoubê, since the initial *n* seems derived from the last letter of the preceding word *iβασιλευσεν*. Ekhoubê is Zabû, who, however, reigned only fourteen years, instead of the forty-three ascribed to Nekhoubê. But the Greek numerals are certainly corrupt, since both Nekhoubê and his three successors are assigned reigns of more than forty years each. Evidently, the cipher "forty" has made its way from one line of the text into another. Nekhoubê is followed by Abios, the Abi(l-Sin) of the cuneiform list. He is given forty-eight years instead of eighteen, through the graphic corruption already explained. Then comes Oni-ballos for forty years, obviously the same name as Sin-muballidh (like Arkeanos for Sargon), the thirty years of Sin-muballidh being again corrupted into forty. Oni-ballos is succeeded by Zin-ziros for forty-six years, the length of whose reign agrees almost exactly with that of Khammu-ragas, but his name is quite different. Khammu-ragas, however, did not become king of all Babylonia until the conquest of Rim-Sin, the king of Shinar or Southern Babylonia, who allied himself with the Elamites; and my belief is that Rim-Sin is the Zin-ziros of the Greek writers, the two elements of the name being transposed, as in Xisuthros for Adra-khasis. The Synkellos seems to make Zoroaster the leader of the Median dynasty,—a name which is clearly corrupt, and may be transformed from Khammu-ragas. However this may be, the Kassites would naturally be called Medes by Bérôssos, since they lived in that part of the East which was known to the Greeks as Media. Similarly, he has called the dynasty of Pase Arabian, since (according to W. A. I., ii. 53, 13) Pase was a city of "Cush," or Arabia. I cannot explain why Bérôssos expanded the five successors of Khammu-ragas into seven, and gave them an additional lease of power of forty-two years.

If Rim-Sin were the legitimate son and successor of Sin-muballidh, he cannot have been the same as Eri-Agu, the son of Kudur-Mabug, as I formerly supposed. On the other hand, the true date of Khammu-ragas, B.C. 2280, exactly corresponds to the date of the invasion of Babylonia by the Elamite king, Kudur-Nakhunte, and Mr. Boscawen has drawn attention to the fact that Khammu-ragas gives the same title, "Lord of Yavutbal," to his Elamite antagonist that Kudur-Mabug claims for himself. Perhaps, therefore, it will be best to adhere to the view first propounded by Mr. George Smith, that Rim-Sin and Eri-Agu are one and the same, and to suppose that Sin-muballidh was overthrown by Kudur-Nakhunte, the result being the Kassite conquest, first of Babylon and Northern Babylonia, and then of

Southern Babylonia also. Kudur-Mabug will have been a younger brother of Kudur-Lagamar, who reigned over Yavutbal (Yatbur) on the eastern frontier of Khaldea, while Kudur-Nakhunte was the contemporary sovereign of Shushan.

Letters were also received from Professors T. K. Cheyne, D.D., and S. D. Peet, of the United States, remarking on the value of the paper, and the great need of further exploration ; and it is hoped that the remarks of the latter may be amplified and given to the Institute in the form of a paper.

The following letter was received from the Rev. H. G. Tomkins :—

“ Park Lodge, Weston-super-Mare.
“ January 1, 1885.

“ Mr. Boscawen's paper on the Abramic Migration is highly interesting, and I regret that I cannot be present when it will be read.

“ In a paper which I submitted to the Institute in April, 1877, and in a book entitled *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, I dealt with this great subject. Afterwards I was delighted to find a very remarkable agreement between the results of my inquiries and those of the Abbé Vigoroux in the early part of his now famous work, *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes*, of which a fourth and enlarged edition appeared last year.

“ Mr. Boscawen has added material and argument of a valuable kind to those already available in support of the historic character of the narrative, and especially has established the very early and influential existence of a dominant Semitic power in the plain of the Euphrates, and shown its bearing on the conditions of Abraham's life.

“ I hope the general relations of his paper to the great historic field will be duly and vividly shown in discussion on the subject ; and I feel sure this will be so, since I know that my friend Professor Sayce, as well as Mr. Budge, has devoted attention to its elucidation.

“ One thing requires constant advocacy, namely, the urgent need of well-directed excavations in the great city-mounds of Western Asia. Doubtless the ancient Kharran would yield rich spoil, as Mr. Boscawen suggests, and give us connecting links with the great Hittite land across the Euphrates, in the Western track of the father of the faithful.

“ The list of very early Semitic proper names (p. 110) is worthy of close attention. May I be allowed to refer to a paper of my own in the *Transactions* of the Institute some years ago, “ *On Biblical Proper Names*, ” in the hope that it may yet be of some use in stimulating the minds of students ?

“ Pardon a very trivial note from a busy man on New Year's Day, and with the most earnest good wishes for a good New Year to the Victoria Institute, I remain,” &c.

Also a letter from the Rev. Dr. Alfred Edersheim, in which the writer says, “ I may be allowed to express my high appreciation of a paper, which is not only full of interest, but the outcome of such extensive acquaintance with the subject.”

And a letter from Professor Howard Osgood, of the United States, saying, “ I have seen nothing in the paper deserving of adverse criticism ; and I desire to express my great indebtedness to Mr. Boscawen.”

Mr. D. Howard (V.-Pres. Chem. Soc.), writes :—“If at page 120, line 17, the words ‘Attributed by these records to Khammurabi’ were inserted, it would make the author’s meaning clearer. The particular form of vanity of claiming the credit of another’s victories, indicated here, is common enough in modern bulletins.

“ Abram and Terah did not go alone to Haran, they no doubt took many followers, and it is, therefore, not to be wondered at if we find among them the corrupt worship of the inhabitants of Ur in Haran, and Abram’s further migration was sure to enable him to escape more effectually the corruptions of the new settlement at Haran ; we find strong evidence that Laban’s family were far gone from the primitive faith, and many will suppose that their followers were more so.

“ I take it the author’s argument is that the national habit of mind which is evidenced in the expression he quotes (top of page 115), is the very same one that degenerated into the Sabæan false worship. Certainly Job shows proof of ‘observation of the stars,’ and so did the Sabæan idolaters, and the fact deserves to be noted.”

Also letters to the same effect from Canon Gibson and others, including one with the remark, “ It is interesting to notice that, on p. 99, Aban Samu, ‘the blue stone,’ derives its meaning from Aban (אָבָן) Samu (שָׁמְיָם) ‘Heaven stone.’ Heaven stone, i.e., ‘sky’ (or ‘sea-blue coloured) stone,’ showing the use of the word Heaven, as in Gen. i. for *our* firmament or ‘sky.’ But can it be proved that Aban Samu and אָבָן הַשָּׁמֶן are identical ?”

The CHAIRMAN (Rev. ROBINSON THORNTON, D.D., V.P.)—We have to thank Mr. Boscawen for his able and interesting paper, and also Professor Sayce and those authors who have so kindly sent comments thereon. Since Professor Sayce criticises Mr. Boscawen’s dates, it is clear that he agrees with his facts. We are very much indebted to Mr. Boscawen for the proof he has given, in this paper, of the correctness of the Scriptures. We know very well that the Scriptures were given, not in order to furnish us with a history of the Akkadians or Babylonians, but to instruct us in the grand scheme of salvation ; and therefore we do not expect definite history or any regular chronological system ; but we should expect, *à priori*, from the Divine Being, that where we have any history given to us it should be quite correct. Now, it is proved by reference to the ancient Egyptian and other monuments, especially some of those that have lately been disinterred, that where statements on the points to which they relate are put before us in the Book of Revelation they are absolutely correct. After the way in which we have been assailed from all sides, it is refreshing to find that the historical argument, as alleged against the Bible, must be dropped: for, wherever we compare the Scriptural statement with the monumental records of the earlier nations, we find that statement proved to be accurate. As regards Chedorlaomer, or, as the Septuagint gives the name, Χοδελλογομόρ, it is worthy of remark that the late Dr. Arnold, who did not always insist on Scripture being interpreted in a literal manner, referred to this passage as containing real and definite history. That was fifty years ago. While, however, many agree with Arnold’s view, some may hold a

different opinion, and perhaps some of those who are acquainted with the subject will favour us with a few words thereon.

Mr. E. A. W. BUDGE, M.A.—I have just one or two observations to make on Mr. Boscawen's paper. The life and times of Abram are extremely interesting and important in more ways than one ; and I think the most important point of view from which we may regard this subject is that which enables us to see that the volume of collateral evidence we are now enabled to produce is amply sufficient to prove the statements contained in the Book of Genesis to be correct. With regard, however, to Mr. Boscawen's paper, I think there are a few passages which more careful revision will have the effect of rendering more accurate. For example, the author refers, on page 95, to the "Home royalty of the flat plains of the Nile valley." This, I fancy, is a slight mistake. He also says the sign given, , refers to mountain peaks ; this I do not object to, although the word *Set* means any country which is not the native country, and does not particularly mean mountain country. Again, Mr. Boscawen refers to the discoveries of Dr. Paul Haupt and M. Lenormant, in the Akkadian language. It is well known that, as far back as the time of Edwin Norris, it was discovered that there was a double dialect in Akkad, and in 1870 Professor Sayce pointed it out very clearly. In fact, every student of the volumes of cuneiform inscriptions published by the British Museum must have found it out. Dr. Paul Haupt has since claimed the discovery as his own entirely, whereas the truth is that three or four English scholars found out this fact as to there being a second dialect, and Mr. Pinches, of the British Museum, wrote a label for the tablet to be exhibited in the Assyrian gallery two or three years before Dr. Paul Haupt came to England. The real state of the case being that Dr. Paul Haupt came here and put together all the statements on the subject, and upon that founded his claim to the discovery. This view of the case was held by Dr. Hommel, who stated it publicly. An action was brought in a German law court by Dr. Haupt to prove that Dr. Hommel had misstated the case. The decision of Germany was given in Dr. Paul Haupt's favour ; but I do not think it will stop there, and it is, perhaps, as well to give these facts here, so that those who have not gone very fully into the question may know how it stands. Again, Mr. Boscawen speaks of "the mode of reading the characters from left to right," but he omits to state that the Ethiopic reads from right to left. Curiously enough, the Assyrian and the Ethiopic have many points in common, but this particular method of reading from right to left is important, and the question has to be determined, how did it arise ? On page 96 of the paper, there is, as I think, a misprint. It is stated in a note that "the date of these inscriptions rests upon a statement, twice repeated in cylinder inscriptions, of Nabonidus, King of Babylon (B.C. 555-538)." That date should be 530. With regard to the list of names Mr. Boscawen gives, there are some mistakes, and, as every name we can find in the tablets which can also be found in the Bible is extremely important, I am sorry Mr. Boscawen has not put down many more names that he knows to be

correct, instead of those which are doubtful. He might have given names for instance, like Methuselah and a large number of others. I must also disagree with the interpretation he gives to "Nahor"; I do not think it means "the snorter," and I disagree with the statement that it is the "name given to the dolphin." Again, on page 107, reference is made to the Hyksos invasion. I think it would be safe to say that that invasion lasted about 400 years, but when it began it would be impossible accurately to determine. There is strong evidence as to when it ended, but the question when it began is a very difficult one to solve. Then, as to page 120, where Mr. Boscawen sums up his conclusions, there is a great deal more that he could have put down, and which I hope he will give us before the paper is reprinted. There are many passages he might have given,—one, for instance, in reference to the most characteristic act of Abram, in regard to the purchase of the field. I looked in vain through the paper to find mention of tablets, such as we now possess, recording sales of land, the terms of which, and even the witnesses thereto are given; this I consider would have been a very important illustration, which ought to have been included in the paper. I have no doubt Mr. Boscawen will rectify these omissions, and I know that he can, for he will remember that I have worked with him on tablets the inscriptions upon which record the sale of some of these plots of land. There can be little doubt that, as Abram bought the field, it was made sure to him; and it is moderately certain that the bargain or transaction which then took place was, I will not say in the Hittite language, but in the most important language of the country, which was, probably, the Babylonian. As to the inscriptions at the end of the paper, I will not go into them. They are more for one's private study than for general discussion at a meeting like this. With regard to the remarks by Professor Sayce, I would point out that he says "the name of Serug may be connected with the name of Sargani or Sargon, in which *ani* is a suffix." I must differ from Professor Sayce here, for I do not think it probable. Then, as to the form of the word itself, it is very important that it should be discussed; and there are many people who deny that the object, upon which the name is found, belongs to the time of Sargon I. I think Professor Sayce himself is not certain about the matter; but there can be no difficulty about the spelling of the name, and if it were written in Hebrew it could not be written in any other way than it is written in Isaiah, סַרְגֹּן — "Sargon." Of course, Professor Sayce is quite right about "Kainuv, the establisher," having no connexion with the Biblical Kain; but this is probably a slip on the part of Mr. Boscawen. In other respects, I think the Victoria Institute is to be congratulated on this paper. If we want confirmatory information about the early statements of the Bible, we must go to the Babylonian documents, and Mr. Boscawen has gone to the tablets that have been dug up in Mesopotamia for it. Eastern scholars generally, and especially students of the cuneiform writings, care most for the text of such inscriptions as may be rescued; but the more these things are studied in a broad and liberal way—

the more societies like this do to spread a knowledge of what is done—the more service will be rendered to the cause of religion generally, and the sooner will truth gain the day. I think that no one who reads these evidences in anything like a proper spirit will doubt what is said about Abraham in Genesis, and, now that criticism on Biblical subjects is so strong, it is very important that that criticism should be met, as far as possible, by testimony of an independent character. Babylon has been partly excavated ; but a great deal yet remains to be done, and at a meeting like this it is a fitting opportunity for urging the necessity of continuing the excavations that have been carried on there and elsewhere; for, if this be not done, the records obtained from the tablets remain incomplete. If we look at the Deluge tablets, as they are called, we see that they are only very fragmentary. They are made up of fragments, many of them are not so big as one's hand, others not so big as half a hand ; and there is no doubt that, where we have only halves, the other halves are yet to be dug up. If we had Mr. Rassam here, he would tell us more about it. I have merely thrown out the suggestion as one deserving consideration. Meanwhile, I offer my thanks to Mr. Boscawen for his able and interesting paper.

Rev. W. WRIGHT, D.D.—I shall not venture to detain the meeting at any length, but would prefer to limit myself to congratulating this Society and Mr. Boscawen on the way in which the paper he has read has been received, not only here to-night, but by scholars who are thoroughly acquainted with the subject of which it treats, who have received proof copies previous to this meeting taking place. The general agreement of Professor Sayce, and my friend Mr. Budge, with the chief points of the paper gives ground for satisfaction. I think, after what we have just heard, we may continue to repose confidence in the old Book. When certain discoveries are made, men are found rushing into the "Temple of Truth" and declaring that the old fabric is falling to pieces. By-and-by, scholars examine the evidence, and find that, after all, it really bears out and confirms the testimony of the Scriptures. We are here to-night on what is really the battle-field of Biblical questions. Any of those present who have read the article by a devout and good man in the January number of the *Expositor* will admit that Mr. Boscawen has made his appearance on the very battle-ground of the present day. We are now dealing with scientific inquiry into facts ; and I think that one of the most satisfactory statements in Mr. Budge's speech was that in which he drew our attention to the fact that Mr. Boscawen had not brought forward all the evidence he might have adduced—that, although he had furnished an amount of testimony that was very satisfactory, there was a still greater store of evidence to be divulged. I would here refer to what Rev. H. G. Tompkins calls the "Hittite land." There is in that part of the East a great vista of mounds that have yet to be explored. Indeed, one can hardly realise the richness of the artificial remains covering the whole of that country. At present we are only getting a few

grains, but, by-and-by, we look forward to the realisation of a full harvest. There was one point referred to in Mr. Budge's criticisms on which I should prefer to take the side of the paper, and that is, as to the lack of tablets referring to transactions like that at Hebron. The lack of evidence and tablets cannot be here used in argument. Whatever may have been the practice in Babylon and Chaldea as to drawing up tablets, it is quite certain that the transaction at Hebron was carried out as narrated just in the same manner as similar negotiations are managed at the present day. The same custom has been going on in that land from time immemorial. Dr. Thomson, who knows the manners and customs of the people of Syria and Palestine better than any living man, refers, in *The Land and the Book*, to the transaction at Hebron, in which he sees all the processes of a modern bargain. "By these means," he says (vol. i. 249), "the operation, in all its circumstances and details, is known to many witnesses, and the thing is 'made sure' without any written contract. In fact, up to this day, in the very city of Hebron, a purchase thus witnessed is legal; while the best drawn deeds of a modern lawyer, though signed, sealed, and attested, would be of no avail without such living witnesses." We have to thank the Institute for bringing forward this subject. While art and science in this country are patronised and pampered, archaeology is neglected, notwithstanding the startling discoveries which patient, unrewarded research is steadily bringing to light."

After some criticisms from M. BERTIN,*

A VISITOR said: I desire to ask a question for the information of those who are not so learned on these subjects as some of the speakers. Is there any confirmation of Mr. Proctor's statement ascribing the Abramic visit to Egypt to the time of the building of the Great Pyramid, basing his view on the astronomic period at which the Great Pyramid must have been built, namely, 3300 B.C.?

MR. W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.—I only wish to make two or three remarks, in closing this discussion. With regard to what Mr. Budge has said about the commercial tablets, I would point out that this paper deals almost entirely with the migration of Abram, and therefore I omitted everything relating to the time after Abram arrived in Canaan, intending at some future time to continue the study of the monuments in relation to early Hebrew history. With regard to the comments of Professor Sayce, I may state that I did not see them until this morning, and therefore, I have not had time to give the consideration to them that

* M. Bertin desires that the following may be taken as giving the substance of his remarks:—

"M. Bertin said that the interesting paper of Mr. Boscowen was certainly very ingenious, but, unfortunately, many of his conclusions are established on doubtful facts, which no doubt he would have rejected if he had examined them carefully. The lecturer, for instance, says that the camel is designated as 'the animal with two humps,' but the cuneiform ideogram says 'the animal of the sea.' The mistakes of transcriptions, which he is well able to avoid, are numerous; there are for instance seven mistranscriptions in the

they deserve. I noticed, however, that in one or two cases he seems to have misunderstood what I have stated. In regard to his remark connecting Serug with Sargon, I agree with Mr. Budge, and should certainly not have identified the name with that of Sargon myself. M. Bertin has criticised my paper closely, and I thank him for having bestowed so much attention upon it, and, although I differ from him, I must point out that not only does he disagree with me, but he also is opposed to other Assyriologists, including Dr. Delitzsch and Professor Schrâder. With regard to the question of the diorite, M. Bertin would seem to doubt its use in Chaldea. Such being the case, I think there is strong evidence, and it certainly was, as Mr. Flinders Petrie has proved, in use by the early pyramid builders, and I do not see why it should not have been in use in Chaldea. I have read the remarks of Sir Henry Rawlinson, which refer to the land of Magan; but they fail to convince me. If Sir Henry Rawlinson can show a land which has diorite and porphyry in its mountain ranges, and which has copper and turquoise mines in its boundaries, I am willing to believe him; but the resemblance of the Egyptian name Mafka to that of the turquoise, and the fact that Professor Sayce and M. Lenormant both identify the land of Magan with the Mafka, or turquoise land, is, to my mind, a strong argument in favour of its being the Sinaitic peninsula of the Egyptians,* and not the land of the Persian Gulf. I should add that this paper was finished in June, and since then one or

inscription of Eri-aku. The lecturer accepts too easily statements which are not proved, though generally accepted—as the identity of Agade or Agane with Akkad, the Akkadian origin of the civilization and writing, &c. The identity of the four kings mentioned in the Bible with those as yet found mentioned in the inscriptions is also very doubtful; to obtain a similarity of names the author has to translate two of them. One thing is certain, that is the non-Semitic origin of the dynasty of Dintir-ki, in which appears the name of Khammurabi, as the Babylonians themselves give us the translation of this name; the lecturer, however, gives this name as Semitic. It seems impossible also to admit that the father of Khammурabi was the vassal of the King of Elam, an assumption which nothing as yet supports. It is also doubtful that Gudea ever ruled over Sinai, and that he brought from this district the stones for his statues; the carriage of great blocks of stone across the desert seems impossible. These stones come more likely from the other Malukhha, on the Arabic coast of the Persian Gulf, as shown by Sir H. Rawlinson. As for the names of the Patriarchs, it was more rational to see in them allegorical and not personal names, many of them having probably been given after the birth of the individual. M. Bertin, after having referred to several other parts of Mr. Boscawen's paper, added that his critics do not destroy the historical character of Abram. The mistake is to look for this period so late as Khammурabi; the age of Abram is no doubt several centuries before. The Assyriologists are always glad to see any subject connected with their study investigated, for truth cannot suffer by discussion, and now what they discover too often remains unknown to the general public."

* Since this was written, Professor Hull, in his report of the geology of the peninsula of Sinai, mentions the existence of rock formations of diorite and porphyry in that region.

two things have occurred which might have caused some slight alterations in what I have written. With regard to Professor Sayce's remarks on chronological points, you all know that these are troublesome questions, and I am inclined to place more dependence on the evidence of the monuments than on that of the Greek writers to whom he appeals. The subject is one on which our knowledge is growing day by day, and very often a statement or discovery by a brother Assyriologist upsets a theory we may have been working out for years. Assyriology is not a full-grown science as yet, though it is continually growing in importance, and one can hardly take up a commentary or any work on Biblical matters which does not make use of the work Assyriologists have spent their lives in producing. I do not doubt that there are many things in my paper which will have to be altered; for I do not think that any one can at the present time write a paper on Assyriology that will be a standard work for more than a few years. The question of further excavations, which has been touched upon by several speakers, is a most important one. In regard to matters bearing on the early days of Chaldean and Jewish history, the excavations already made have far exceeded in their results anything we could ever have expected; but there are still many buried cities closely connected with early Biblical history, still hidden under mounds that have comparatively been but scratched. Some of these cities are of the greatest antiquity and importance, and I hope the day is not far distant when the spade may rescue treasures of even greater value than those Mr. Rassam has obtained from the city of Sippara. I have urged, in the name of this Society, the question of proceeding with these investigations as one that ought not to be allowed to drop, and I venture to think that we shall yet be able to stir people's minds to a due sense of the importance of such a work. I must thank the meeting for the way in which my paper has been received, and I have also to thank those who have spoken for the attention they have paid to it before coming here to-night. The subject is one on which we may differ to some extent, but all will agree as to the importance of the proof of the historical character of the Migration of Abram from Chaldea; therefore, I heartily thank those who do not entirely concur with me for the interest they have shown in the matters discussed. In reply to a question put to me with regard to the origin of the Hebrew language, I must leave that to those who have studied the connexions of the Semitic and other languages more closely than I have. I am afraid that Mr. Proctor, like some others, has elaborate theories which often are found to run directly in the face of monumental evidence. We cannot connect the Pyramids with the time of Abram, for long before he left Chaldea these towered their heads over Egypt.

The meeting was then adjourned.

NOTE.—Professor Sayce writes to say that he has been slightly misunderstood (p. 140); he did not *identify* Sargani and Serug, but thinks their common origin will be recognised by every Semitic scholar. He adds, in reply to another remark, that there are four ways in which Sargon could have been written.—ED.