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A table of contents for *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* can be found here:

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JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

VICTORIA INSTITUTE,

OR

PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN



ORDINARY MEETING.*

PROFESSOR E. HULL, LL.D., F.R.S., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following paper was read by the author :—

THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE BABYLONIANS.†

By THEO. G. PINCHES.

THE most extensive work upon the religion of the Babylonians is Prof. Sayce's book, which forms the volume of the Hibbert Lectures for 1887; a voluminous work, and a monument of brilliant research. The learned author there quotes all the legends, from every source, connected with Babylonian religion and mythology, and this book will always be indispensable to the student in that branch of Assyriology.

I do not intend, however, to traverse the ground covered by Prof. Sayce, for a single lecture, such as this is, would be altogether inadequate for the purpose. I shall merely confine myself, therefore, to the points which have not been touched upon by others in this field, and I hope that I may be able to bring forward something that may interest my audience and my readers.

It has been pointed out already more than once, that the origin of Babylonian religion is astral. The sign for "god," placed, as a rule, before the names of deities to indicate their nature, and leave no room for doubt as to what the writer intended to be understood, is an eight-rayed star, ✨,

* 16 April, 1894, 9th of 29th Session.

† Discussion completed, August, 1895.

changed, by the development of the writing, into ✨, and ultimately into >†. In consequence of this, the sign for constellation, ✨, the late form of which is ≡†>† (3 stars), was generally used for star, as well as for constellation. This astral origin of the Babylonian pantheon is probably due to the Akkadian influence.

The chief deity of the Babylonian pantheon was Merodach, whose name is generally written >† <≡†, *Amar-uduk*, abbreviated, in late times, when used as the name of a man, to † ≡†- ≡≡≡†, *Marduk*, and often found, in this case, with the termination *u* or *a* (*Marduka* = *Mordechai*). The translation generally given to the name *Amar-uduk* is "the brightness of day," *uduk* being an old Akkadian word meaning "day." Merodach had also a large number of other names, such as >† >†<†-† ≡≡≡† ♠, *Šilig-lu-dugu*, "the prince of the good;" >† >†<†-† ††<†, *Asaru* (or *Asari*), identified by Prof. Hommel with the Osiris of the Egyptians. He bore these names as the son of Êa or Aê, king of the underworld, and this shows that he was not the father or the oldest of the gods, and a short account of how he obtained his dominion over them may not, therefore, be uninteresting, enabling me, as it does, to give a fairly complete outline of the Semitic Babylonian legend of the creation.

The Semitic account of the creation is a long story, and covers many rather large tablets, the original number of which is supposed to have been seven. This legend begins by describing the time when the heavens proclaimed not and the earth recorded not a name, everything existing having been produced by Mummū Tiamat (or Tiawat) (Moumis Tauthe), the dragon of chaos. All was at that period naturally without order or completeness, and was followed by a time in which the creation of the gods (*Laḥmu* and *Laḥamu*,* *Anšar* and *Kišar*, "the host of heaven," and "the host of earth") took place. Father Anu ("the heavens") is also mentioned.

In the break which follows (the text being very imperfect in parts) there was probably described the creation of further deities, as well as the introduction to, and account of the origin of, the fight between Merodach and Kirbiš-Tiamat (or

* See page 4.

Tiawat), or Bel and the Dragon. (In what Kirbiš-Tiawat differs from Mummu Tiawat is doubtful.) Word of the hostility of Tiawat to the gods seems to have been sent to the latter by $\rightarrow\text{Y}\Delta$, *Anšar*, the personification of the host of heaven. All the gods, the messenger announces, have rallied around Tiawat, and they seem to be represented as calling out to each other: "Ye have made her agreement (that is: "agreement with her"), go to her side!"* The messenger then says: "They forsook me, and they are going to Tiawat's side." Then all the mighty ones made ready for battle. "Mother Hubur, the opener of the hand of everything" (apparently one of the titles of Kirbiš-Tiawat) seems, at this point, to speak for herself. She says: "I have collected unrivalled weapons—the great serpents are hostile—sharp-toothed also, and I have rendered them relentless. I have filled their bodies with poison like blood. I have clothed dreadful monsters with terrors—fearful things I have set up and left on high." She seems also to have brought forward various other fear-inspiring creatures—"great" (that is, probably, "excessively sultry and oppressive") "days," "scorpion-men," "fish-men," &c., "wielding weapons, ruthless, fearless in battle—their courages are strong, and have no rival." Over these she raised her husband Kingu. In consequence of these preparations, Anu, the god of the heavens, was sent, but was powerless before her (*ûl ili'a maḥar-ša*); Nudimmud (*Ēa* as god of reproduction) feared, and turned back. The text here continues in the following strain (the narrator is addressing the gods):—

"Merodach, the sage of the gods, your son, was urged on,
In opposition to Tiawat, he brought his [br]ave (?) heart—
He opened his mouth and he said to me:

• If I (become) your avenger,
I will confine Tiawat—I will save you.—
Convene the assembly, make them return, proclaim a
decree.

Afterwards let them command the army forward gladly—
I have opened my mouth, like you let me fix the decree
and

It shall not change. Whatever I, even I, shall do
Let it not turn, let not my word be changed.

Get quickly ready, and let your ensigns appear (?)—

* In the original: *Adi-ša attunu tabnû, ida-šu alka!*

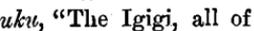
Let your powerful enemy come and advance.'

The god Gaga went, he hastened along his road :

At the place of Laḥmu and Laḥame, the gods, his fathers
he stood, and he kissed the ground beneath them."

Gaga tells Laḥmu and Laḥame of Tiawat's rebellion in the same words as Anšar had used at the beginning, reporting the failure of Nudimmuṭ and Anu, and Merodach's magnanimous offer to come to the rescue. Laḥmu and Laḥame heard, suckling the while "the Igigi,* all of them." They asked: "Who is the enemy? we do not know who Tiawat is!" Apparently, Laḥmu and Laḥame had something else to think of, for, as far as one can see from the mutilation of the text in this place, they make no suggestion, and the gods settle that Merodach shall be their avenger.

The next (the 4th) tablet begins with a description of the honours conferred upon Merodach. Princely habitations were made for him, and he was set as ruler in the presence of his fathers (as the tablet has it). Miraculous powers were given to him, and when Merodach tested them successfully, the gods rejoiced and gave him blessing, and proclaimed him king. Merodach then armed himself for his struggle with Tiawat, the Dragon of Chaos, taking spear, bow, and arrows. He made lightning before him, filled his body with darting flames, and set his net ready to catch and entangle his evil opponent. He placed the four winds so that she should not escape, and roused every other kind of wind, with storms, to attack her. Kingu, her husband, was soon disposed of, and then she herself was challenged to do battle. She cried aloud in her rage, uttered incantations and charms, and begged weapons of the gods of battle. The combatants, after this, drew near to each other to begin the fight, and with the help of the net, a friendly hurricane, and his spear, Merodach soon put an end to her. All her followers, Kingu her husband included, were captured, though their lives were spared. The body of Tiawat, who personified the great waste or chaos of waters, was then divided, one portion being made into a covering for the heavens—"the waters above the firmament"—whilst the other remained below—"the waters under the firmament." Chaos and confusion having thus been ended, Merodach set about ordering the

* The gods of the heavens. The original text is :    D.P. *Igigi, napḥar-šunu, inuku*, "The Igigi, all of them, they suckled."

world anew, and with the opening lines describing this the 4th tablet ends.

We know, from the bilingual account of the creation, that Merodach, with the goddess Aruru, was the creator of all existing things, and in the Semitic account of the creation also he is represented as taking a prominent part in it, being the creator of the world, and apparently the orderer of the heavenly bodies. This being the case, the Babylonian scribe or narrator gives, in a series of numbered paragraphs which occur on a large fragment of the last of the series that has been handed down to us, praises of a deity who was apparently the chief of the Babylonian pantheon. He is called Zi ("life") :—

"Zi, thirdly, he called him,—he who doeth glorious things,
 God of the good wind, lord of hearing and obeying ;
 He who causeth glory and plenty to exist, establishing
 fertility ;
 He who turneth all small things into great ones—
 (Even) in his strong severity we scent his sweet wind.
 Let them speak, let them glorify, let them pay him
 homage!"

This paragraph is immediately followed by one which is very interesting indeed, speaking, as it does, of the creation of mankind as one of the things which this deity, the king of the gods, had done, and giving the reason for it—a reason strangely agreeing with that given by Caedmon in "The fall of the Angels," and Milton in "Paradise Lost" :—

"(He called him), fourthly, Aga-azaga (*i.e.*, 'the glorious crown')—

May he make the crown glorious—
 The lord of the glorious incantation raising the dead to life,
 Who granted favour to the gods in bondage,
 Fixed the yoke, caused it to be laid on the gods who
 were his enemies (and)
 On account of their sin, created mankind.
 The merciful one, with whom is the giving of life--
 May his word last, and may it not be forgotten
 In the mouth of the black-headed ones* whom his hands
 have made.

* The "black-headed ones" (*šalmat kakkadi*) apparently stands for "mankind," or, perhaps, "the dark race" in contradistinction to the fair sons of Japheth.

(He called him), fifthly, Tu-azaga (*i.e.*, 'the glorious incantation')—

May he bring his glorious incantation to their mouth—
He who, by his glorious incantation, has removed their affliction—

Ša-zu, 'knowing the heart' of the gods who raised rebellion,

Doing evil things, he let (them) not go forth with him.

As he tirelessly thwarted Kirbiš-tiawat,

Let his name be Nîbiru, the seizer of Kirbiš-tiawat.

May he restrain the paths of the stars of heaven.

Like sheep let him pasture the gods, all of them.

May he imprison the sea (*tiawat*), may he remove and store up its treasure,

For the men to come, in days advanced.

May he hear and not reveal, may he bring (back) at a future time.

As he has made heaven* and appointed the firm (ground).

Father Bêl called his name 'lord of the lands'—

An expression (that) the Igigi pronounce (as) their oath(?).

Ēa also heard, (and) in his heart† he was glad,

And with his word, he made glorious his (Merodach's) fame:

'He is like me, so let his name be Ēa—

Let him effect the performance of all my commands,

Let him, even him, bring to pass all my wishes.'

By the record of the 50 great gods,

His 50 names he proclaimed and he caused to be added:

'His path

May he take and may he show himself (to be) the first—

Wise and learned, may he take counsel . . .

May the father repeat (it) and the son accept (it),‡

May he open the ears of the Lord and the Ruler,

That he may rejoice over the lord of the gods, Merodach;

That his land may prosper and he himself have peace.

Faithful is his word, his command changeth not—

What goeth forth from his mouth no god altereth."

* Lit. : "the place," *asru*, explained as being equivalent to *šamâ*, "heaven," in the commentary, W.A.I. V., pl. 21, line 55 *cd*.

† Lit. : "liver."

‡ Ēa, the speaker, was the father of Merodach, so that these words are equivalent to a promise to aid him with his counsels, and express the hope that Merodach would accept the advice tendered.

Such is the history of Merodach, the chief god of the Babylonians, who was also greatly honoured by the Assyrians. Yet, strange to say, there are fewer men's names compounded with the name of Marduk than with that of Nebo, and in the introductions to letters from Assyria the name of Nebo precedes that of Marduk. Of course the latter fact would not, of itself, be strange, because Aššur was the name of the chief god of Assyria; but that Nebo should be more popular than Marduk in Babylonia requires some sort of explanation. The proportion in favour of Nebo is about 75 per cent. These names are ejaculations in praise of the deity similar to those found in Hebrew. "Merodach is lord of the gods," "With Merodach is life," "Merodach is master of the word," "The dear one of the gods is Merodach," "Merodach is our king," "(My, his, our) trust is Merodach," "Be gracious to me, O Merodach," "Direct me, O Merodach," "Merodach protects," "Merodach has given a brother" (Marduk-nadin-âhi, one of Nebuchadnezzar's sons), "A judge is Merodach," &c., &c., are some of the names of men in which the god is invoked, and they show fairly well the estimation in which he was held. Precisely similar names, however, are given to Nebo, such as "Nebo is prophet to the gods," "My eyes are with Nebo," "Nebo is lord of the names," "Nebo has given a name," "Nebo, protect the son" (Nabû-apla-ušur or Nabopolassar), "Nebo, protect the landmark" (Nabû-kudurri-ušur or Nebuchadnezzar), "Nebo, protect the king" (Nabû-sarra-ušur, one of Nabonidus's scribes), "Nebo is a defence before me" (Nabû-dûr-pani-ia), &c., &c. Some names, however, go beyond these, and give to Nebo titles properly belonging to Merodach, for not only do we find such names as "Nebo is lord of the gods," "Nebo is prince of the gods," "Nebo is king of his brothers," but we find also "Nebo is king of the gods" (Nabû-šar-îlâni)—a name which ought to belong to Merodach alone. The sungod (Šamaš, apparently pronounced by the Babylonians *Šawaš*) bears similar titles. "Šamaš is lord of the gods," "Šamaš is master of the word:" Life was not only to be found with Merodach—it could be found also with Nebo and Šamaš (Itti-Nabû-balaṭu, Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu), and in many other things the deities seem to have had identical powers—they could "create," they could "give" and "increase" sons and brothers, they could save, they could "make" one's name, they could "save" and "protect," they could "plant." Ea, Nergal, Ninip, Kuru-gala, Addu or Rammanu (Hadad or Rimmon), Mur, Sin (the moon-

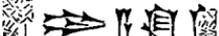
god), Zagaga, Zariķu (or Zaraku), Pap-sukal, Anu, Mâr-bîti ("the son of the house"), Uraš, Igi-gub, &c., &c., also had, more or less, the same power, notwithstanding the various attributes assigned to them in the inscriptions.

The fact is, all these gods were really one.

It is many years since, in consequence of the identification of so many gods with Ya or Yau (=Heb., Jah), I had come to this conclusion—a conclusion which I am now in a position to prove. The most important text for this I reproduce here:—

81-11-3, 111.

OBVERSE.

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REVERSE.

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TRANSCRIPTION.

Obverse.

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| | Marduk ša e-ri-šu. |
| Lugal-a-ki* | Marduk ša nak-bi. |
| 3. Nin-eb | Marduk ša al-li. |
| Ne-uru-gal | Marduk ša kab-lu. |
| Za-ga-ga | Marduk ša ta-ḥa-zi. |
| 6. Bēl | Marduk ša be-lu-tu u mit-lu-uk-tu. |
| Na-bi-u ^m | Marduk ša nikasi. |
| Sin | Marduk mu-nam-mir mu-ši. |
| 9. Šamaš | Marduk ša ki-na-a-ti. |
| Rammānu | Marduk ša zu-un-nu. |
| Tišbu | Marduk ša um-ma-nu. |
| 12. Sig | Marduk ša kir-zi-zi. |
| Su-ka-mu-nu | Marduk ša pi-sa-an-nu. |
| | ti. |

Reverse.

- Za-ga-ga.
 řa-lam Na-bi-u^m.
 3. ∇ sag-řub-bar řa-lam Nergal.
 ∇ mu-bar-ru-u řa-lam Dâani.
 ∇ za-zak-ku řa-lam Pa-pil-sag.
-
6. Gamru samnet řa-lam ilâni rabûti.
 Ku-tal bâb Tin-tir ki.
 Ki pi-i la-bi-ri řa-řir bari^m.
-
9. Duppu ∇ Kudurru (?) abil ∇ Mař-tuk-ku.
-

TRANSLATION.

Obverse.

- is *Merodach of planting.*
*Lugal-a-ki** is *Merodach of the water-channel.*
 3. *Nûip* is *Merodach of strength.*
Nergal is *Merodach of battle.*
Zagaga is *Merodach of war.*
 6. *Bel* is *Merodach of lordship and dominion.*
Nebo is *Merodach of wealth (or trading).*
Sin is *Merodach the illuminator of the night.*
 9. *Samař* is *Merodach of decisions.*
Rimmon is *Merodach of rain.*
Tiřhu is *Merodach of handicraft.*
 12. *Sig* is *Merodach of kirzizi*
Suřamunu is *Merodach of the reservoir.*

Reverse.

- *Zagaga.*
 is the image of *Nebo.*
 3. *The Sagřubar* is the image of *Nergal.*
The Mubarrû is the image of the *Judge.*
The Zazakku is the image of *Papilsag.*
-
6. *Altogether 8 (?) images of the great gods.*
The wall of the gate of Babylon
According to the old copy written and done.
-
9. *Tablet of Kudurru (?) son of Mařtukku.*
-

We here get Merodach expressly identified with no less than thirteen other gods, and as the tablet is broken, it is probable that he was, when the text was perfect, identified with at least as many more—in fact, these gods were all manifestations of Merodach with reference to the various things (agricultural, military, &c.) named. This, in itself, is sufficiently remarkable, and may be regarded, it seems to me, as being at least an approach to monotheism. But this is not all. Aššur-bani-âpli, king of Assyria, in a letter to the Babylonians, of a date (650 B.C.) possibly anterior to that of the text printed above, mentions only the deities Bêl (once), and Merodach (twice)—both of them designations of one and the same deity; and in the body of the letter he twice uses the word *ilu*, “God,” in the same way as a monotheist would. When exhorting the Babylonians to keep to the agreements, he says: *û ramankunu, ina pân îli lâ tuhattâ*, “and commit not, yourselves, a sin against God;” and: *u hattû ina lib âdî ina pân îli*, “and a sin concerning the agreements is before God,”—the whole letter, in fact, seeming to be written in accordance with the views current at the time.

These, however, are not the only indications of a tendency to monotheism, or to the idea that all the gods were but mere manifestations of one supreme deity; nor have we far to look for an example, for the name of the eponym for 651 B.C.—the year before the abovenamed letter was written, is handed down to us in the following form:—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \rightarrow \text{𐎶} \quad \text{𐎶} \quad \text{𐎶} \\ \text{Aššur} \quad - \quad \text{A} - \text{a} \end{array} \right\} = \text{“Aššur (is) Aa.”}$$

An examination of further texts gives still more examples of this, thus the eponym for 723 B.C. is 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, D.P.P. Ninip-D.P. Aa, “Ninip (is) Aa,” whose name occurs in one copy written 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 as eponym for 737 B.C. As eponym for 770 B.C. we find 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, Bêli-D.P. Aa, “(My) lord (is) Aa;” for 810 and 819 B.C. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, D.P.P. Nergal-D.P. Aa, “Nergal (is) Aa;” for 820 B.C. 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶, D.P.P. Šamaš-D.P. Aa, “Šamaš (is) Aa.” Nergal-Aa (Nergal (is) Aa) occurs, written 𐎶 (𐎶) (𐎶) 𐎶 𐎶, as the name of the eponym for 832.* We find the

* In one copy the divine prefix is wanting before the name of Nergal, but is present in both cases before that of Aa (see Delitzsch's *Lesestücke* 2nd edition, p. 89, l. 81).

name Ninip-Aa (𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵) again as eponym for the year 839 B.C., Aššur-Aa again as the name of the eponym for 863 B.C., Ninip-Aa again for 865 B.C., and, last but not least, 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, Abi-(D.P.) Aa, "My father (is) Aa," is the name of the eponym for 888 B.C. Had we the list complete, there is hardly any doubt that we should be able to trace names of this class right back to the earliest times.

We have not far to go to find an explanation of who this 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Aa* or *Á*, was, with whom so many of the gods of the Assyrians and Babylonians seem to be identified, for the very same text offers a suggestion. The eponym for the years 826 and 823 B.C. was a certain 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Yaḥalu*, whose name is also written 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Aaḥálu* or *Áḥálu*, thus showing the identity of the groups 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 and 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, which is further confirmed by the two variant forms of the name *Ya-da'u*, which is written both 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 (D.P.P.) *Ya-da'* and 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Aa'-da'* (*Aa'u-da'u* or *Á'u-da'u*). The Rev. C. J. Ball regards this name as being, in all likelihood, the same as 𐤎𐤊𐤁, and related to *Beeliada* or *Eliada* as *Nathan* to *Elnathan*. 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Abi-Aa*, the name of the eponym for the year 888 B.C., is therefore none other than the Assyrian form of the name 𐤁𐤁𐤊, *Abiah*, and all the other names, compounded with the element 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, simply identify that god with deities of the Babylonian and Assyrian pantheon with which it is combined.

In addition to the above, the following may also be quoted:—

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Bél-Yau*, "Bel is Ya" = 𐤁𐤁𐤊𐤁, *Bealiah*, the name of one of David's mighty men.

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Béli-Aa*, "Bel is Ya," or "My lord is Ya."

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Nusku-Aa*, "Nusku is Ya."

𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Ya-habi*, "Ya has covered" (?),* a slave sold to Neriglissar in the 34th year of Nebuchadnezzar. His father's name was 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, variant 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Abi-nadib*, Heb. 𐤁𐤁𐤊𐤁, *Abinadab*.

* Compare 𐤁𐤁𐤊𐤁, with the same meaning, and *Ya* at the end instead of the beginning.

𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Daddi'-ya*, "Hadad is Ya," also given under the form of 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Dadi-ya*, and 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Daddi-ya*.

In this short list Bel, or "the Lord," the god Nusku, and the god Daddu (= Hadad or Rimmon) are all identified with Ya or Jah. In addition to this, we find that the moongod Sin, in the name 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Sin-Aa*, "Sin (is) Ya" is also identified with him, and that it has a very interesting variant, 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Šer-Aa*, "Ser (is) Ya."

As many of the gods could be identified with Merodach and with Ya, it is probably not going too far to say that, to the initiated Babylonian and Assyrian, Merodach and Ya were one and the same.

To trace the history of this quasi monotheism would be difficult and probably unsatisfactory with the materials at our command. Later it may be done. It will be sufficient at present to say that the name *Yâ* not only occurs upon documents of late date, but also upon tablets of the third millenium B.C. Thus we have the name 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Abi-ya*, Heb. אֲבִיָּהּ, *Abiah*, together with 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Šamsi-ya*, "My sun (is) Ya," and its curious and interesting variant 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Šamaš-mušizib*, "the Sun-god (is) a saviour."

With a view to find out the comparative popularity of the various gods, I have made lists of the names containing them. Thus for 179 names containing the name of Nebo, there are only 47 containing the name of Merodach and 73 containing the name of Bel; 22 containing the name of Sin, the moongod; 59 containing the name of Šamaš, the sungod; 34 containing the name of Hadad or Rimmon; 37 containing the name of Êa. The other gods occur in very small number, but I have registered no less than 70 names containing the element *ya*, which, however, in many cases, may be simply the possessive pronoun of the first person singular.

Less doubtful than the names ending in *ya* are those ending in *ilu*, "god." We have 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Èpeš-ilu*, and 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Ibnî-ilu*, "God has made;" 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Šama'-ilu*, "God has heard" (Samuel); 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Arad-îli*, "Servant of God;" 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Amel-îli*, "Man of God;" 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Rêmut-îli*, "Grace of God;" 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭, *Bariki-ilu*, "Whom God has blessed"

(Heb. בְּרַחֵל, Barachel) the son of a slave-woman named *Aḥat-ābi-šu*; 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣, *Ilu-šarra-ušur*, "God, protect the king," and several others, many of them indicating a strong monotheistic tendency. Archaic inscriptions present us, in addition, with the well-known 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣, *Išmē-īlu*, "God has heard" (Ishmael); and 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣, *Mut-īli*, "Man of God" = *Mutu-ša-īli*, Methusael; as well as 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣, *Gamat-īli*, "Benefit of God" (Gamaliel); 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣, *Ilu-našir*, "God protects," with some others.

It cannot be said, however, that the monotheistic side of the Babylonian religion was by any means so strong as the polytheistic. It was as likely as not a pandering to the desires and the ignorance of the people—indeed, it is probable that mysticism was firmly fixed even in the minds of the most enlightened, who must have imagined the deity to be able to divide himself, and manifest himself to the people, under any of the many forms under which they conceived him. As the creator and ruler of the world, he was Merodach; as the illuminator of the day and the night, he was the sungod, the moongod, and also any or all of the stars. As god of the waters, of all water-channels, and of reproduction, he was Êa (Aê or Oannes); as god of the atmosphere, he was Rimmon or Hadad; as god of war, he was Nergal or Zagaga; and he had also a large number of other forms, too numerous to mention.

The god Êa or Aê is indicated by the groups 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣 (or 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣), and 𐎠 𐎡 𐎢 𐎣, in the former case as god of the "house of waters," or abyss, in the latter as god of water-channels. From the names compounded with his name we learn that he was creator of the gods (*Êa-êpeš-īli*), that he created divinity (*Êa-īlūtu-ibnī*), that he was a maker and giver of seed (*Êa-zēra-ušabši*, *Êa-zēra-ikīšā*), and a giver of happiness (*Êa-mudammik*). He could also be invoked in names: *Êa-tabbani*, "Êa, thou createst!" *Êa-rēmāni*, "Êa, be gracious to me!" *Êa-pir'a-ušur*, "Êa, protect the branch" (offspring); and one name exhorts men to keep his command (*Ušur-amat-Êa*).

Rimmon or Hadad, the god of the atmosphere, &c., was invoked in the same way. His most enthusiastic worshipper asks, in the name he gave his son, "Who is like Hadad?" (*Mannu-aki-Addu*). We also find such names as "Hadad gave life" (*Addu-uballit*), "Hadad plants" (*Addu-êreš*), or "plants the name" (*Addu-šum-êreš*). He was also a protector

(*Addu-našir*), and is called upon to protect the king (*Addu-šarra-ušur*); he was also a comforter (*Pasiḫu-Addu*) and a healer (*Addu-rapa'*). As god of the lightning he could shine (*Addu-unammir*), and as Rammānu (Rimmon), Ramimu, or Ragimu, he was "the thunderer," a name which is also reflected in the Akkadian $\rightarrow\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \rightarrow\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦} \leftarrow\text{𒌦} \leftarrow\text{𒌦}$, *Utu-gude*, "the Sungod proclaimer." In a list giving over 40 names for this god we see that he was likewise called Adad, and that Addu and Dadu * were his Amorite (Phœnician) appellations. On the tablet K. 100 he is called "chief of heaven and earth, lord of wind and lightning, . . . giver of food to the beast of the field." It is not improbable that the god $\rightarrow\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$, *Mur*, is to be identified with Rimmon or Hadad. His name is found in the following: *Mur-âḫa-iddina*, "M. has given a brother;" *Mur-zēra-ibni*, "M. has created seed;" *Mur-šimānni*, "Mur, hear me;" &c.

The West-Semitic deity Ben-Hadad, "the son of Hadad," was imported into Babylonia as Abil-Addu. The following names are found containing his name: *Abil-Addu-natanu* (Ben-Hadad-nathan), "The son of Hadad has given," *Abil-Addu-amāri*, "The son of Hadad has spoken," and *Kullum-ki-Abil-Addu*, "He is revealed like the son of Hadad." Abil-Addu is naturally quite a late importation into Babylonia.

Considering the importance of the deity, it is remarkable how few names are compounded with the name of Anu, the god of the heavens. He is described as *rēštū, ābi ilāni*, "the primæval one, father of the gods," and there was a temple to him, associated with Merodach, at Aššur, as well as other fanes both in Assyria and Babylonia. Among the names we may quote *Anu^m-šum-lišir*, "May Anu direct the name;" *Anu^m-zēra-iddina*, "Anu has given seed;" *Anu^m-âḫa-iddina*, "Anu has given a brother;" and *Silli-Anu^m*, "My protection (is) Anu." The name of this god is often found in men's names during the time of Seleucus and Demetrius, from which it may be gathered that his worship was at that time in great favour. Anu, the god of the heavens had, as his consort, Anatu, and these two are regarded as the Laḫmu and Laḫamu of the Creation-story, who suckled, at the beginning of the world, all the Igigi, or gods of the heavens (see p. 4, text and footnote).

The name of the Moongod is Sin, represented by the

* Compare p. 7.

groups 𐎶𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, i.e., the god XXX, from the 30 days of the Babylonian civil month; and 𐎶𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, rarely 𐎶𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫, *En-zu(-na)*, explained by some as being possibly for Zu-en-na, later corrupted to *Zenna* and then to *Sin*. *En-zu* means "lord of knowledge," and is a very fair suggestion as to the meaning of his name.

Apparently the Moongod was a very lucky divinity, for we find such names as *Sin-udammik*, "Sin gives luck," or "joy," and *Sin-udammik-unninu*, "Sin gives joy (for) weeping"—also *Sin-damaku*, "Sin is lucky." He could be a protector (*Sin-našir*), a guardian (*Sin-êtir*), and the giver of a name (*Sin-nadin-šumi*). A very common name is *Sin-šadûnu*, "Sin (is) our mountain (of defence)," likewise *Sin-îmitti*, "Sin is my right-hand;" and the names *Sin-karabî-išmé*, "Sin has heard my prayers," *Sin-šimânni*, "Sin, hear me," and *Sin-iḫbî*, "Sin has spoken," seem to carry with them an indication of their origin, and to explain or illustrate the titles generally given to this god in the texts, where he is called *bêl purussî*, "lord of the decision." As the moongod, one of his titles was *naš ḫarni birâti*, "raiser of the horn of intelligence."

Though Nergal was the god of war, this is not the side of his character which is by any means prominent in the names of the people. *Nergal-ušallim*, "Nergal has delivered," or "given peace;" *Nergal-iddîna*, "Nergal has given;" *Nergal-banunu*, "Nergal (is) our creator;" *Nergal-rêšûa*, "Nergal (is) my helper;" *Nergal-dânu*, "Nergal judges"—such are the names one meets with. Others are *Nergal-šarra-ušur*, "Nergal, protect the king" (*Neriglissar*); and *Nergal-šûzibanni*, "Nergal, save me." His name is generally written 𐎶𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫, but it often appears in phonetic form, 𐎶𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫. He was "lord of strength and power (*bêl abari u dunnî*), and a long text printed in the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* is devoted to him.

The sungod was another favourite deity. His name is generally written 𐎶𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫, D.P. Utu "Day-god," or "Bright one," but it is often found written (𐎶𐎠𐎫) 𐎠𐎫, and sometimes 𐎶𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫 𐎠𐎫. A man would call his son "Light of the Sungod" (*Nûr-Šamaš*), or he would say that he was "a Sungod to his house" (*Šamaš-ana-bîti-šu*), and naturally those names would stick to him. But this god was also a judge, and we have therefore such names as *Šamaš-dânu*, "Samas

judges;" and *Etilli pi Šamaš*, "Šamas is prince of the word."* Like the other gods, he could protect (*Šamaš-bela-(šarra, āba, pir'a)-ušur*, "Šamaš, protect the lord (king, father, offspring)," he could give peace (*Šamaš-šulum-šukun*), grace or favour (*Šamaš-rēma-šukun*), and life (*Šamaš-uballit, Šamaš-balaṭ-su-ikbi*). He could save (*Šamaš-ušēzib*), confirm one's name (*Šamaš-šum-ukin*)† or direct it (*Šamaš-šum-lisir*), create seed (*Šamaš-zēra-ušabši*) and protect one's life (*Šamaš-ētir-napšāti*). Among the more poetical combinations in which his name is found, are *Lušēsi-ana-nūr-Šamaš*, "Let (my son) go forth to the light of the Sungod;" *Gabbi-ina-kātā-Šamaš*, "All is in the hands of the Sungod;" *Šamaš-dūrūa*, "The Sungod is my fortress;" *Tābu-šil Šamaš*, "Good is the protection of the Sungod," and *Itti-Šamaš-lūmur*, "Let me look with the Sungod."

Zagaga (𐎠𐎵 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵), who was, like Nergal, a god of war, was also looked upon with favour by the Babylonians, who named one of the gates of the capital after him. He was identified with 𐎠𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, *Nin-ip*, the god who, according to the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, was worshipped at Jerusalem. Zagaga was the patron deity of the city of Kêš (Hymer), near Babylon. The names containing his name are *Zagaga-aldū*, "Zagaga begets;" *Zagaga-pir'a-ušur*, "Zagaga, protect the offspring;" *Zagaga-napisti-ušur*, "Zagaga, protect my life;" *Zagaga-šarra-ušur*, "Zagaga, protect the king;" *Zagaga-silim*, "Zagaga, give peace," &c.

Ninip seems to have been identified with many gods. Besides Zagaga, he appears as the same as Anu and Anatum, the male and female personifications of the heavens; Nebo, the god of wisdom; *Bēl mātāti*, "lord of the lands," one of the titles of Merodach;‡ and Ēgirsu, the god of Lagash.§ He had also many other names, as, for instance, Madanunu, explained as "Ninip, the proclaimed (?), the renowned, the high;" En-banda, "Ninip, he who takes the decision of the gods;" Hal-halla, "Ninip, protector of the decision, father of Bel," Me-maḡa ("supreme word"), "Ninip, guardian of the supreme commands;" with many others. It is probably on account of his being identified so often with other gods, that his name occurs so seldom in composition with the names of

* Lit. : mouth.

† The Saosduchinos of Ptolemy.

‡ See page 6.

§ See the Journal of the Victoria Institute, Vol. XXVI., p. 123 ff.

men. Besides the name of the well-known Assyrian kings *Tukulti-Ninip*, "My trust is Ninip," and *Ninip-tuklat-Aššur*, "Ninip (is) the trust of Assur," we have only *Rabu-ša-Ninip*, *Raba-ša-Ninip*, "Ninip's great one;" *Šangu-Ninip*, "Priest of Ninip" (perhaps really a title), *Ninip-šarra-ušur*, "Ninip, protect the king," and a few more. Nevertheless, a great deal may possibly hang on this deity, when we have more material and information about him, for it is he whom the ancient inhabitants of the East identified with "the most high God" of Salem or Jerusalem.* One of his titles was *Igi-gubu*, = *alik mahri* or *alik pāni*, "one who goes before," probably meaning "a primæval god." It is not impossible that Ninip is intended in the following names:—

Igi-gubu-na'id, "I. is glorious."

Igi-gubu-reûa, "I. is my shepherd."

Igi-gubu-âba-ušur, "I., protect the father."

Igi-gubu-âha-iddina, "I. has given a brother."

Igi-gubu-sum-iddina, "I. has given a name."

Igi-gubu-šarra-ušur, "I., protect the king."

Igi-gubu-ikîša, "I. has given."

Igi-gubu-kînu (*-kîni*), "I. is faithful or everlasting."

Among the other less frequent deities may be quoted $\rightarrow\ddagger \times \rightarrow \rightarrow\Delta\rightarrow \rightarrow\Delta\rightarrow$, which is probably to be read Bunene. We find the following names which refer to this deity: *Bunene-ibni*, "B. has created;" *Bunene-âha-iddina*, "B. has given a brother;" *Bunene-šarra-ušur*, "B., protect the king;" and *Arad-Bunene*, "Servant of B." He was worshipped at Sippara, and also in the temple of the Moon and the Sun at Aššur. He, too, was one of the deities invoked when sacrifices were made to the Sungod.

$\rightarrow\ddagger \text{E} \times \rightarrow \text{F}$ is apparently to be read *Šugidla*. He was god of $\rightarrow\ddagger \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$, Sumdula. One of the names compounded with his is *Šugidla-êreš*, "S. has planted."

$\rightarrow\ddagger \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow$, *Išum*, "the glorious sacrificer," who bears the surname *muttalliku*,† appears in the name *Išum-uballit*, "Išum has given life," and in *Nûr-Išum*, "Light of Išum," about 2000 B.C. He is given as one of the gods who were in

* His principal temple in Babylonia was at Nippur. Cf. W.A.I. II. 61, 50.

† Probable meaning, "He who goes quickly."

the presence of Merodach, and he was worshipped in the temple of Anu and Rimmon at Aššur.

→† 𐎠𐎢𐏁, *Nusku*, the great messenger of Bêi, was a god much thought of. He was one of the judges of the temple of Aššur; his name was invoked when sacrifices were made to Samaš, the sungod, and he was one of the gods who were in the presence of Merodach. Among the names containing that of this god are *Nusku-šarra-ušur*, "N., protect the king;" *Zêra-êšir-Nusku*, "N. directs the seed;" *Nusku-barakku*, and *Nusku-lamanu*. There is also a god Nussu, whose name occurs in *Atamar-Nussu*, "I have seen N.," and who may be the same deity.

→† 𐎠𐎢𐏁, *Pap-sukal*, was also a deity who was among those held in esteem. Under eight different aspects he was known by eight different names, besides that given above, which was his special appellation as god of decisions (*ša puruše*). →† 𐎠𐎢𐏁 was *Pap-sukal ša lamasi*, "Pap-sukal of colossi." He was worshipped in the temple of Merodach at Aššur, in the city of the temple of the lady (of Akkad) (→† 𐎠𐎢𐏁 →† 𐎠𐎢𐏁), and in "Ê-kiturkani, the temple of the lady of heaven, which is beside the brook of the New Town, which is within Babylon." Among the names compounded with his are *Iddin-Pap-sukal*, "P. has given," and *Nûr-Papsukal*, "Light of Pap-sukal."

Another of the minor deities held in esteem was Zaraqû or Zariķu, probably meaning "the scatterer." He was one of the gods of the temple Ê-sagila and Babylon, and his name was invoked when sacrifices were made before Bel. The priest of Zaraqû or Zariķu is often mentioned in the Babylonian contract-tablets. Names compounded with his are *Zariķu-zêra-ibnû*, "Z. has created seed;" *Zariķu-šum-iškun*, "Z. has made the name;" and *Zariķu-rêmanni*, "Zariķu, be gracious to me."

There is a mysterious deity →† 𐎠𐎢𐏁 𐎠𐎢𐏁 *Iltammeš* (sometimes written with one *m*), of whom the inscriptions say nothing. Names containing this are *Iltammeš-natanu*, "I. has given;" *Iltammeš-ilâa* and *Iltammeš-lâa*, of doubtful meaning; *Iltammeš-dîni*, "I. give judgment;" *Abu-Iltammeš*, "(My) father is I.;" *Iltammeš-nûri*, "I. (is my) light." This is seemingly not a native god—probably west Semitic. Of another deity, Ilteri, found in the name *Ilteri-ḥanana*, the same may be said, for it is certainly not Babylonian, and

probably means "Ilteri is gracious." Compare the Heb. יְהוָה and יְהוָה .

Of 𐎠𐎵 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 , *Martu*, who was called "the son of Anu," I have only as yet come across one name, and that a slave's, compounded with his, namely, *Martu-zēra-ibnī*, "M. has created seed."

Other deities whose names occur are 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 , *Amar*, perhaps sometimes a mistake for 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 , *Amar-uduk* or *Merodach* (*Amar-âhê-ušur*, "A., protect the brothers; *Amar-ušallim*, "A. has given peace;" *Amar-apa*; *Amar-âha-iddīna*, "A. has given a brother;" *Amar-natanu*, "A. has given"); 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 , *Dāanu*, the judge, probably another name for the sungod (*Dāan-šum-ibnī*, "D. has created the name;" *Dāan-šum-iddīna*, "D. has given a name;" *Dāan-âha (âhê)-iddīna*, "D. has given a brother," or "brothers;" *Dāan-šum-ušur*, "D. protect the name"); 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 , *Illat* (*Illatu*, *Illati*, *Illata*; *Arad-Illat*, "Servant of Illat"); 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 , *Mār-bīti*, "the son of the house" (*Mār-bīti-iddīna*, "M. has given;" *Mār-bīti-âhê-iddīna*, "M. has given brothers"); 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 , *L. mlum* or *Humhum* (*Lumlum-âha-iddīna*, "L. has given a brother"); and a few others. It is noteworthy that we find the name 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 = 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 , *Aššur*, Asshur, the national god of Assyria, Babylonia's ancient foe, in the names *Ana-Aššur-taklak*, "I trust in Aššur; *Aššur-kiṛu*, "A. is an aid;" *Aššur-rēmanni*, "Aššur, be merciful to me;" *Aššur-zēra-ibnī*, "A. has created seed;" *Aššur-šarra (âha)-ušur*, "Aššur, protect the king," or "the brother," &c. 𐎠𐎶 𐎠𐎶 , *Aššur*, was also used as a man's name by itself, and without any prefix.

As names of goddesses compounded with men's or women's names (probably mostly the latter) we find *Bēltu* (*Beltis*), *Ištar*, *Inninni* (*Inninnu*), *Anunitu*^m, *Nanâ*, *Bau* or *Gula* (also called, apparently, by the Akkadians, *Meme*), *Aa*, *Tašmētū*^m, *Banitu*^m, *Mammitū*^m, *Ba'ti* or *Ba'iti*, *Šarrat*, *Bidinnam*, *Aškā'itu*^m, *Kibi'tu*^m, &c. Many of these could, like the gods, be identified with each other, but it is doubtful if any goddess was identified with any god, except in so far that she might represent him as his consort (for every god had his feminine counterpart). Of many of these goddesses the same things are stated as of the gods, as, for instance, *Bēltu-tēreš*, "Beltis has planted;" *Bēltu-tētir*, "B. has guarded;" *Bēltu-šadūc*,

"B. is my (protecting) mountain;" *Ištar-šum-tēšir*, "Istar has directed the name;" *Ištar-âha-tadinna*, "I. has given a brother;" *Naná-réminnu*, "Naná, be gracious to me;" *Naná-ana-bīti-šu*, "A goddess Nanâ to her house" (compare *Šamaš-ana-bīti-šu*, "A sungod to his house"); *Bau-êtirat*, "Bau-guards;" *Bau-têreš*, "B. has planted;" *Rêmut-Bau*, "Grace of Bau;" *Bau-âha-taddina*, "B. has given a brother;" *Gula-zêra-tabnî*, "Gula has created seed;" *Gula-balat-su-takbî*, "G. has commanded his life;" *Gula-šarra-ušri*, "Gula, protect the king," &c., &c. It would take too long, however, to quote all the names, or even all the interesting ones, but those already given will suffice to show their nature to be similar to those compounded with the names of male deities.

That the goddesses are not actually identified, in the Babylonian religious texts, with the gods, says but little against the theory now advanced,—namely, that with a certain select circle of the initiated, a kind of monotheism existed in ancient Babylonia and Assyria. If the consort of a god could be in any way identified with him, and all the gods were identified with each other, then all the goddesses could also be identified with each other (as is, indeed, indicated by the lists). A Babylonian member of the initiated circle (if such existed) would, in this case, have no difficulty in giving a consistent explanation of his attitude towards the national religion, grossly polytheistic as it undoubtedly was to the great majority of the people of those ancient realms.

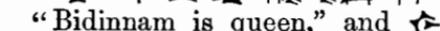
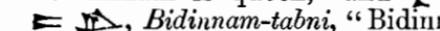
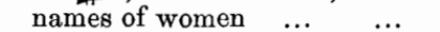
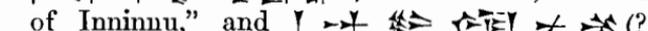
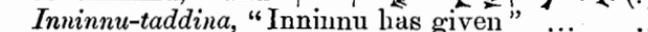
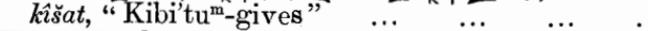
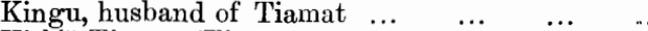
This Paper is based principally upon the trade-documents of Babylonia, but there are numerous other inscriptions which throw light upon, or raise, religious questions, some of them of more than ordinary interest. I have already alluded to Ninip being the name given to the "most high God" of Salem, and this is a point which is not without its value, especially as it may throw light upon an Old Testament allusion. One of the titles of Ninip is *âpil Ê-šarra*, "son of (the temple) Ê-šarra," an epithet that enters into the name of the well-known Assyrian king Tiglathpileser III, in Assyrian *Tukulti-âpil-Ê-šarra*, "My trust is the son of Ê-šarra," and it is not impossible that Ahaz (2 Kings xvi) may have been induced to become the vassal of the Assyrian king by the thought, that one who bore, as part of his name, one of the titles of the god of Salem of old, could not be such a heathen as he was painted.

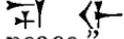
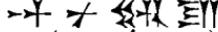
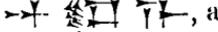
Though Nabonidus was probably not any more of a

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF THE DIVINE NAMES MENTIONED IN THE FOREGOING PAPER.

	PAGE
Aa (A), Aau (Âu), etc. (the same as Yá, Yâu) ...	11-13
Aa, the consort of the sungod	20
Abil-Addu (= Ben-Hadad), 𐎠𐎹 𐎶 𐎠𐎺𐎠, etc. ...	15
Addu (= Hadad), 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠	7, 14-15
Aê, see Êa.	
Aga-azaga, a title of Merodach	5
Amar	20
Amar-uduk (= Merodach)	2
Anatu (consort of Anu)	15
Anšar	2-4
Anu, the god of the heavens	2, 4, 8, 15
Anunitu ^m (goddess)	20
Apil-Ê-šarra, one of the titles of Ninip ...	21
Aruru (goddess)	5
Asaru (Asari), a name of Merodach... ..	2
Aška'itu ^m , a goddess whose name occurs in the name 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠,	
Aš-ka-'i-ti-têreš, a slave (13th year of Nabonidus) ...	20
Aššur (= Asshur)	7, 11-12, 20
Banitu ^m (𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠), "the producer," name of a goddess found in names of female slaves ...	20
Bau (goddess)	20-21
Ba'ti (or Ba'iti), a divine name found in the name 𐎠𐎹 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠 𐎠𐎺𐎠, Ba'ti-ílāni-idi'	20
Bêl ("Father Bêl")	6, 8
Bel and the Dragon	3
Bêl mâtāti, "lord of the world"	6, 17
Bêltu (Beltis)	20
Ben-Hadad	15

	PAGE
Bidinnam (or Kaštinnaṃ), name of a goddess found in  , <i>Bidinnam-šarrat</i> , "Bidinnam is queen," and    , <i>Bidinnam-tabni</i> , "Bidinnam has created," names of women	20
Bunene	18
Dâani, Dâanu, Dâan	9-10, 20
Daddi', Daddi, Dadi, Dadu (= Hadad)	13-15
Dagon (Dagunu)	22
Êa	2, 6-7, 14
Ê-girsu	17
En-banda, a name of Ninip	17
Gaga, a messenger of the gods	4
Gula, goddess of healing	20-21
Hadad	14
Hal-ḫalla, a name of Ninip	17
Ḫubur ("Mother Ḫubur")	3
Ḫumḫum	20
Igi-gubu	8, 18
Igigi, "the gods of the heavens"	4, 6, 15
Ilu, "God"	11, 13-14
Illat	20
Iltam(m)eš ( , )	19
Iłteri ()	19
Inninnu, name of a goddess found in the names  , <i>Arad-Inninni</i> , "servant of Inninnu," and    (?), <i>Inninnu-taddina</i> , "Inninnu has given"	20
Išsar	22
Ištar	20-21
Išum, "the glorious sacrificer"	18
Kibi'tu ^m , name of a goddess found in the woman's name    , <i>Kibi'tu^m-kišat</i> , "Kibi'tu ^m -gives"	20
Kingu, husband of Tiamat	3-4
Kirbiš-Tiamat (Tiawat)	2, 6
Kišar	2
Kuru-gala (a deity called "the great mountain")	7
Laḫmu and Laḫamu (Laḫama, Laḫame)	2, 4, 15
Lugal-aki*	8-10
Lumlum, see Ḫumḫum.	
Madanunu, a name of Ninip	17

	PAGE
Mammitum, a goddess. 	
  , Mammitu ^m -silim, "Mammitu ^m , give peace"	20
Mâr-bîti	8, 10
Marduk (Merodach)	2, 11, 14, 15
Marduka (Mordecai)	2
Martu (god)	20
Me-maġa, a name of Ninip	17
Meme (goddess)	20
Mummu-Tiamat or Tiawat (Moumis-Tauthe)	2
Mur (god)	7, 15
Nabiu ^m or Nabû (Nebo)	7-8, 10, 17
Nanâ (or Nana'a)	20-21
Nebo, see Nabiu ^m .	
Nergal	7, 8-10, 11, 14, 16-18
Nîbiru or Nêbiru, a name of Merodach	6
Ninip	7, 8-10, 11-12, 17, 21
Nudimmud, a name of Êa	3, 4
Nusku	12-13, 19
Nussu, 	19
Pa-pil-sag (= arcitenens)	9-10
Pap-sukal	18-19
Ragimu (Rimmon)	15
Ramimu (Rimmon)	15
Ramânu (Rimmon)	7-8, 10, 14
Samaš	8-10, 13, 16-17
Šarrat,   , a goddess	20
Ša-zu,   , a name of Merodach	6
Šer	13
Sig	8-9
Silig-lu-dugu, a common name of Merodach	2
Sin, the moongod	7, 8-10, 13, 15-16
Sugidla	18
Šukamunu	8-10
Tašmêtu ^m , consort of Nebo	20
Tiamat (Tiawat)	2-3
Tišhu	8-9
Tu-azaga, a name of Merodach	6
Yâ (Yâu) = Jah	8, 12-13, 22
Yâwa (= Yahwah = Jehovah)	22
Zagaga	8-10, 14, 17
Zarîku (Zaraku)	8, 19
Zi,   , a name of Merodach	5

THE NAMES CONTAINING THE ELEMENT -*Yâwa*.

	PAGE
Abi'-Yâwa, daughter of Iri'(u)	22
Akabi-Yawa, י ץ ם י ם ם ם ם ם י, עקביה (Akabiah).	
Azzi-Yâwa	22
Banâwa, י ם י א י ץ י, = בניה (Beniah).	
Gamar-Yâwa, י ם י א י ץ י, = גמריה (Gemariah).	
Hûl-Yâwa	22
Malaki-Yâwa, father of Nergal-êtir	22
Natanu-Yâwa, י א י א י א י א י א י, = נתניה (Nethaniah).	
Šubunu-Yâwa, י י א א י א י א י א י, = שבניה (Shebaniah).	
Yaše'-Yâwa, father of Tâbat-Iššar	22

APPENDIX II.

YÂ AND YÂWA.*

IN consequence of certain prevailing opinions concerning Yâ (= Jah) and Yâwa (Jehovah), a few additional remarks upon these words may not be useless.

In view of the list of names given on p. 26, there can be hardly any doubt that in Old Testament names ending in *-iah* and *-iahu*, these terminations are shortened from *-yahuah* (or *-yahwah*), probably on account of the unwillingness of the Jews of old to pronounce this divine name. The name Yah (or Jah), which frequently occurs in the Old Testament, and especially in the Psalms, cannot, on the other hand, be regarded as an abbreviation of Yahwah, for it is not only extensively found in Assyrian under the forms *Á*, *Áu*, *Á'u*, *Yá* and *Ya'u*, in proper names, but it also occurs, under the form *ya'u*, in one of the four-column syllabaries, found by Mr. Rassam at Abu-habbah, as one of the Semitic Babylonian words for "God," and is there even furnished with a feminine form, *yâti*. Both *ya'u* and *yâti* are referred to by Prof. Sayce (*Higher Criticism*, p. 90); who, in consequence of their being the same as certain Babylonian words for "I," regards them as an attempted etymology, on the part of the Babylonian scribe, connecting them "with words signifying 'myself' in his own language."†

The existence of the word *ya'u*, meaning "God," in Assyro-Babylonian, vouches for the extreme antiquity of the word, and shows that it was common to a large portion of the Semitic race. Yahwah (Jehovah), however, was a name of God peculiar to the Hebrews, and there is apparently no reason to doubt the statement in Exodus vi, 3, that He was not known by this name to the ancestors of the Hebrew nation. Its earlier occurrence in the Bible is due to the scribes later on. (*Aug.* 1895.)

* See pp. 12-13, 22 and 26.

† Compare Exodus iii, 14.

The CHAIRMAN (Professor E. HULL, LL.D., F.R.S.).—I am sure you have all listened with great gratification and interest to this very suggestive paper. It shows an extraordinary amount of learning and research into those ancient tablets of Babylonia, and it contains so many references which we all recognise as regards their Hebrew equivalents. I will ask you to return your hearty thanks to the Author, and after one or two letters have been read, we shall be very happy to hear any observations from those present.

The HON. SECRETARY (Captain F. PETRIE).—Among other letters the following have been received :—

The Rev. G. ENSOR, M.A., writes :—

I very really appreciate the vital work which the Institute is accomplishing.

I have read Mr. Pinches' paper with great interest, and think it disposes excellently of the imagination that Abraham was the first Monotheist, an opinion which has found credence in certain high quarters. I think, too, that the author's presentation of the tablets on p. 5, contributes very importantly to supplying the background and environment of vaguely monotheistic thinking mingled with polytheism ; which is exactly what we might look for in the circles outside the family of God in Patriarchal times.

The Rev. Canon R. B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A., writes :—

I have read the proof of the paper with the deepest interest, as it points in the direction of Primitive Monotheism* and illustrates the antiquity of the name "Jehovah."

Major C. R. CONDER, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D., writes :—

In this valuable paper, Mr. Pinches sums up the results of discoveries which he has been making for some time past, and which are of great value and importance. I feel convinced that his view as to the monotheism of the Babylonians is correct. Their

* Mr. Pinches has deduced many valuable facts from the inscriptions to which his paper refers, but I venture to think the one of highest interest in these days is that the Babylonian records point to the fact that in the earliest known times men were Monotheists; and in this connection it may be noted that another member—the late Canon F. C. Cook—arrived at the same conclusion from his investigations of the earliest known Egyptian records.—Ed.

higher teachers very early perceived that the animism of the lower orders was but a worship of the phenomena of nature. Their great gods (as among Akkadians, Egyptians, and Greeks) were heaven, earth, ocean, sun, moon, light, the breeze, the planets, with a host of spirits or angels, against whom were arrayed the demons, under death and the infernal deities. The Pantheon of the Hittites and Amorites was the same as the inscriptions show, though the names were often different.

The story of Marduk and Tiamat appears to be a myth of the sun fighting the storms, such as occurs in all other mythologies, as Mr. Pinches would no doubt allow.

His discoveries as to the name of Jah or Jehovah in Chaldea are of high interest, and the fact that this name occurs, as that of the Supreme Deity, before 2000 B.C., is so important that it is to be regretted that he has not elaborated this part of his paper,* and given us the earliest texts in which it is found. The discovery would fully agree with the Biblical statement (Gen. iv. 26) that the name of Jehovah was used very early by mankind in Western Asia. Its occurrence in the ninth century B.C., explains how Sennacherib claimed to be a servant of Jehovah (2 Kings xviii. 25); while Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, are also called "servants of Jehovah" in the Bible, and Balaam from Pethor on the Euphrates worshipped Jehovah. These discoveries of Mr. Pinches militate against the view that Jehovah was the name of a "tribal god" of the Hebrews. In the Babylonian account of the flood, *Ya* or Jehovah is the name of the God who causes the deluge.

The name El for God is very ancient, and in the Amorite and Philistine letters we find Elohim, as well as on a text from Samâla in the extreme north of Syria (8th century B.C.), so that neither the name Elohim nor the name Jehovah, in the Bible, is any mark of late authorship.

On the Samâla texts, written in Phœnician characters about 800 B.C., and 730 B.C., Hadad is mentioned, and called "Sun and Cherub and Light." He was a Syrian deity, and adored by Phœnicians as *Addu* before 1500 B.C., at Gebal. I think, however, when Mr. Pinches has time to read the Jerusalem letters to Amenophis III, he will not find that the worship of *Ninib* at that city is mentioned in the passage to which he alludes.

Just as the Babylonian upper class discovered that the popular

* See Appendix II., and reply to Dr. Hommel.

deities were only the representatives of natural phenomena, controlled by law and subject to a single power, so the Egyptians also discovered the "One with many names," as early as 1600 B.C. In Palestine the prophets found themselves surrounded, in the same manner, by an ignorant populace worshipping Baal, Ashtoreth, Tammuz, Ashera, and many other Canaanite idols. Even in our own times the superstitions of remote ages survive among the peasantry, though the religion of the Korân proclaims the unity of God.

Rev. A. Löwy, LL.D.—I am particularly interested in the subject broached by the learned lecturer, having written some years ago an essay akin to the one that we have heard to-day; but not being versed in Babylonian inscriptions, I confined myself to Biblical investigations. My article was published by the Society of Biblical Archæology in 1889.

Our able author has thrown considerable light upon the historical and religious antiquities of the Hebrew Scriptures and especially upon the study of Hebrew proper names, and I should like to advert to a few of the salient points. The poetic language of the Hebrews unquestionably embodied, to a large extent, the religious imagery of cognate nations. While the Babylonians are represented to have allied their gods with the stellar regions, we meet with numerous instances in which the Hebrews likewise described the God of the Universe as "Jehovah Zebaoth", *i.e.*, the Jehovah of the (Heavenly) Hosts.

In noticing the names of the unruly *Tianat*, or *Tiamat*, one is tempted to compare these two terms with the apparent Hebrew cognates *Tohu* (chaos), and *Tehom* (the bottomless deep).

The names of the food-giving gods, *Lakmu* and *Lahamu* may be connected with the Aramaic word *Lahma*, and the Hebrew *Lehem* (food or bread); and since the Babylonian Pantheon extended at an early period to Palestine, we may surmise that *Beth-Lehem* was originally the temple of a food-god, just as *Beth-Shemesh* designated the temple of the Sun-god.

The region of the God *Nebo* on the borders of Palestine is noticed in the Book of Numbers, Chapter xxxii, and in connection with the death of Moses. *Zi*, the god of life, calls to mind the Aryan (especially the Slavonic) term *Zhi* which is equal to *Vi-ta* (life). The migration of mythological terms from one

stock of nations to another is now and then discredited as "unscientific," but the objection only rests on dogmatic subtleties. I concur in the opinion that primeval polytheism was in some measure based on faint monotheistic notions, while the manifestations of distinct forces of nature would likewise help to foster deifications. It is obvious that in some idolatrous quarters the god of the locality may have been supposed to be the Ruler-in-Chief; but on the occurrence of successful wars and conquests the victorious tribes and nations would allot the supremacy to one or more of their own newly-imported deities, and then the tribal and national deities of the subjected people would be placed in a co-ordinate or more likely in a subordinate rank.

The treatment of the final *ea*, as equal to the Jehovistic ending *iah* (Lord) in Hebrew names, opens the door to new researches in the diffusion of religious ideas; and also this suggestion of Mr. Pinches merits the best thanks of unbiassed students. (Applause.)

Mr. D. HOWARD, F.C.S.—I hardly like to venture into a discussion without special knowledge of the subject, but might I suggest that the curious attitude of the mind of Balak when taking Balaam from hill-top to hill-top contained the idea, that somehow or other, the god that he worshipped might alter his mind by a change of place. It is curious how similar ideas are found in the Indian worship of their gods who were one and many; and it is most difficult to shake their faith because of this strange mixture—this double frame of mind—a belief in one god, and yet in many gods. This strange confusion is well deserving of study by those who are brought into contact with the heathen; for it is a fact that they worship many gods with a much less definite idea of distinct personality than we attribute to them.

The CHAIRMAN.—Perhaps Mr. Pinches will now reply.

The AUTHOR.—I will reply to the discussion as briefly as I can. I am very much obliged to you, I need not say, for your kind attention, and to Dr. Löwy and the other speakers for their very interesting remarks. I do not think, however, that many of them require an answer on my part. What Dr. Löwy has said is very suggestive, and I shall note it for future consideration and examination. With regard to Lahmu and Lahamu, I must confess that I do not know the meaning of these words, nor do I know of any meaning having been suggested (but I am not certain on that

point). The likeness of the word Zi, in Akkadian "life" or "the soul," to the Russian *Zhi*, and the Greek *ζωή*, is very remarkable. I have myself noticed likenesses between Akkadian words and those of the Indo-Germanic languages, but I have always been afraid to make comparisons with them, as such might, in most cases, turn out to be merely chance-likenesses. Nevertheless they are always worth observing.

Of course, as Dr. Löwy said, some villages may have had their own deity, and that deity was, to the people of that district, the most important, and the head, to them, of the pantheon, and that would, of course, tend to monotheism, *i.e.*, amongst those people that deity was the one deity, and as far as that deity was concerned, this would be monotheism.

It is peculiar, as was remarked by the second speaker, that Balak seems to have thought that by a change of place he could get a change in the mind of the deity directing the prophet whom he was consulting. He evidently thought that by going to another place he would get under the influence of another deity, or form of that deity, and be able to get a more favourable answer.

May I here say how very much we are indebted to Mr. Rassam for his discoveries. They have been most important to our researches, the amount of material which he has gained—and thus enables us to add to our knowledge—is enormous, and of exceeding great value. If I remember rightly, the text of 81, 11, 3, 111 was found by him, and many of the most important names, including that of Yasé-Yâwa, come from tablets found by Mr. Rassam.

As regards the third letter read, I observe that Major Conder points out that the god Ninip was not the god worshipped at Jerusalem, and suggests that I should look at the passage again. I have done so, and the text, in those lines referring to Jerusalem, runs as follows:—"The City of the Mountain of Jerusalem—the City of the god Ninip, its name is the City of the King, *patarat*." Now *patarat* is the third person singular for *patrat*, from *pataru* "to open" or "split." One may take that passage in two ways. Either three cities are mentioned, or one is mentioned in three different ways. As the verb is the third person singular, I am inclined to think that one city is intended and that the three lines are to be translated either, "The city of the mountain of Jerusalem. Its name is the City of the Temple of Ninip—the city of the King—was

taken," or else, "The city of the Temple of the god Ninip. Its name is the City of the King was taken, *i.e.*, the words "its name" may refer either to "the City of the King," or to the phrase, "the city of the Temple of Ninip," but in any case, it seems to me, the name applies, and we must regard the three expressions as being in apposition, the Temple of Jerusalem at that time being regarded as the Temple of Ninip.

I am much obliged to Major Conder for his kind remarks, as well as to Canon Girdlestone and the other scholars who have written. I have also received a note from Sir Henry Howorth, who, is unavoidably obliged to be away from London. He says he agrees with the arguments in my Paper, and that it seems incredible that some races should have manufactured an absolutely new god in every locality where they settled. They were local gods, or local names, but apparently forms of one deity, or a small pantheon. They are called gods—they may originally have been saints.

The meeting was then adjourned.

REMARKS.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING PAPER.

“SOME ANNOTATIONS.” By PROF. DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

IN my paper on the Babylonian Creation Story (“Glossen und Excuse” II and III, in the *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, 1890-1), I proved that *kirbish* in the expression *kirbish Ti'amat* is only adverbial, in the sense of “in the midst;” therefore the name *Kirbish-Ti'amat* (instead of *Ti'amat* alone) must disappear from our translations of the Babylonian Creation texts.

The last tablet of this text, of which Mr. PINCHES gives a translation, is a mere recapitulation of the different acts of creation; before the poet speaks of the creation of mankind, he spoke in unmistakable words of the creation of plants and animals; the line which Mr. PINCHES translated:

“He who causeth glory and plenty to exist, establishing fertility,”
(in the original: *mushabshê simri u kubutti, mukîn khigalli.*)

I think ought to be translated:

“Creator of leaves” (comp. Heb. *šamméret*) “and vegetables” (lit., magnificence, viz., of plants; German: Pflanzenpracht, comp. *kebôd*, Ies., 10, 18; 35, 2; 60, 13), “establisher of fertility” (meaning here the animal fertility, in opposition to the before-named vegetable fecundity).

Concerning the proper names compounded with the name of Nebo, I found a similar proportion in favour of Sin for the time of Khammu-rapaltu (Khammu-rabi), whereas names with Nebo are almost wanting in this early period of Babylonian history. Comp. my “Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens,” p. 377.

Concerning the tendency to monotheism in Babylonia, I entirely agree with the interesting and learned deductions of my esteemed friend Mr. PINCHES. As to the numerous names ending in *-iya*, *-ua*, which seem, at the first glance, to contain the pronominal suffix of the first person, I wish to call your attention to the remarkable variants in Strassmaier's “Nabonidus,” 132, 4:—

Kabti-ilanî-Marduk abil-shu sha Nabû-tabni-uşur.

comp. with 133, 4, *Kabtiya abil-shu sha Tabniya.*

We learn from such variants that all these names in *-iya* and *-ua* are mere hypocoristical abbreviations of fuller names (comp. PEISER, “Aus dem Babyl. Rechtsleben,” I (1890), p. 11). So are

also the old Babylonian names *Imguráa*, *Ibnáa*, only abbreviations from *Imgur-Samas*, *Imgur-Bel*, etc., and from Ibni-Martu, Ibni-Sin, and other similar names.

Quite another question is to find the right explanation of the numerous names ending in $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III}$, collected by Mr. PINCHES. Whilst names such as *Ya-khálu* (Yah is my خال), *Ya-khabí* (Yah is my عم , here *khavi* standing for 'ammí, 'avvî), *Abi-nadib* (father of the latter), *Nadbi-yau* a.o. are pure Canaanitic, the names with $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III}$ must contain a national Babylonian-Assyrian male deity. We know besides it a female deity $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III}$, the consort of Samas, a variant of which is $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III}$ *Nin-a-a*; ¹ it is a synonym of *Anunit*, and in the same manner as *Anunit* is a female personification of *anun*, "heavenly ocean;" also $\text{II} \text{III}$ is such an one of *anna*, *an-i* (*ayi*) "heaven" ² But who is the male deity $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III}$, with whom are identified in proper names almost all of the other Babylonian-Assyrian gods (e.g., *Nindar-Ai*, *Bel-Ai*, *Nirgal-Ai*, *Samas-Ai*, *Aššur-Ai*)? Is Professor Delitzsch right, who, in his book, "Wo lag das Paradies?" postulated a Babylonian (originally Sumerian) word *i*, *ya*, *ya'u*, "god," which he thought the prototype of the Hebrew *Yahu* or *Yahve*?

In my opinion, we have only two possibilities to find the origin of this enigmatical name. Either it is the same as the name for the goddess $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III}$, only as a male personification; then it would be originally no more than *Anu* or "Heaven," perhaps also metaphorically used for "god" (= *ilu*). Or, it is the same name (only written in other characters) as the well-known god *Ea* ($\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III} \text{III} \text{III}$), the god of the Earth and of the subterranean waters, and also sometimes, like his son *Merodach*, the god of the creation. ³ In every case this male deity $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III}$ (*ya*, *Ai*) seems to me in its semiticised form *Ya'u* to be the original of the Hebrew

¹ Comp. *Nanai*, *Navaia* as a name of Istar.

² Comp. my paper, "Babyl. u. aeg. Göttergenealogie" (Transactions of the ninth Congress of Orientalists, II), p. 219, *bit* $\text{II} \text{III}$ -ak=*bit an-na* (Haupt, "Keilschrifttexte" No. 21, lines 29 and 30). In W.A.I. III, 66, 2d, the wife of Samas is called $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III}$ $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III}$, i.e., *Iyáitu*, a name formed from *aya* or *iya*, like *Anunitu* from *anun*.

³ It is deserving of attention that the oldest Sumerian name of this god *Ea* is not $\rightarrow\text{I} \text{II} \text{III} \text{III} \text{III}$, *E-a* (this latter only used in the Semitic translation of the Sumerian incantations), but *In-ki* and *Dugga* (or *Zibba*); so that it would be not impossible the god *In-ki* (lord of Earth) got his other name *E-a* only in later times, *Ea* being then only a variant of the old word *ya* *ia*, *ai*, for "heaven" or "god."

*Yahu*¹, which Moses transformed to *Yahve* (the Creator), so filling the old heathenish word for Heaven (or Ea) with new substance, and giving it a new theological meaning instead of the old mythological. This seems the more probable, as even with the Assyrians (according to the instances given by Mr. PINCHES) the word $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Υ Υ had also the general meaning of "god" in a half monotheistical sense.

Concluding, I should like to remark that the goddess $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Ξ \rightarrow Υ is not to be transcribed *Shu-gid-la* (PINCHES), but *Shu-sil-la*. Sometimes this deity is male, but then in the older form $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ $\langle\Upsilon\rangle$ \rightarrow Υ (or $\langle\Upsilon\rangle$ \rightarrow Υ), *Ku-sirra*. *Shu-silla* is the consort of *Ishum*, *Ku-sirra* the god *Ishum* himself, who bears also the name *Zariku* (comp. for the latter identification TALLQVIST, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, VII, p. 275). For *Iltammish* (out of *Ishtammish*) may be compared *Shamash*, and for *Ilteri* (out of *Ishteri*), the Arabic name of the planet Jupiter, *al-Mushtari* (otherwise $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ *Mush-ta-ri-lu* = *Mushtari* + *ilu*?)—والله أعلم.

¹ On the contrary, the Assyrians of the time of Sennacherib wrote the Edomitic name *Yahu-ram* (*Yoram*) $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Υ Υ -*ram-mu* (Sen. 2, 54), so using their national religious name $\rightarrow\Upsilon$ Υ Υ for expressing the Hebrew-Edomitic name *Yahu*; comp. PINCHES, *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. VIII (1885-6), p. 28. The transcription *Malik-rammu* is wrong, *Ya-rammu* or *Ai-rammu* is the only right one, as Mr. PINCHES has shown.

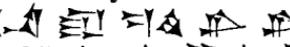
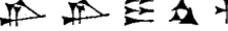
THE AUTHOR'S REPLY.

To the foregoing suggestive remarks of Prof. Hommel, I have but little to add.

I fully accept Prof. Hommel's rendering of Kirbiš Tiamat as "the central ocean," *i.e.*, "the waters under the earth" (such has, indeed, been my view all along), but I still think that Kirbiš ought to be retained as part of the name, for it was apparently to distinguish Tiamat of the creation-story from *tiamat* or the ocean in general, that *Kirbiš*, "in the midst" was added to it.

Though quite inclined to accept Prof. Hommel's fuller renderings of *šimri* and *kubutti*, I should, nevertheless, like to see a determinative prefix to one or both of these words.

With regard to proper names compounded with those of deities the proportion in favour of certain of the divine components naturally differs with time and place. The god Sin was certainly a very favourite deity during the time of the dynasty to which Hammu-rabi belongs.

Prof. Hommel's reference to Kabti-ilāni-Marduk, son of Nabū-tabri-ušur, variant Tabnīa, is very important, and is a parallel to my quotation from a tablet of nearly 1,700 years earlier (cf. p. 13, paragraph 3). In connection with the divine termination *ia* (*ya* or *aa*), I, too, have often asked myself, "May not Prof. Fried. Delitzsch be right, after all, as to the Sumerian (Akkadian) origin of Jah?" The character , *ni*, bore the name of *i* or *iau* (*ya*). In its reduplicate form  the syllabaries indicate that it was pronounced *ili*, which is constantly found as the word for "God" in Archaic contracts (, *Na-ra-am-ili-su*, "beloved of his god," , *Ili-i-din-nam*, "God has given, etc.), and *ya*, the name of the simple form (Assyr. , Bab. , might, upon occasion, have been read, in these strange names, instead of *ili*. Jah (*Yá*) may therefore have been derived from it. I do not believe, with Prof. Hommel, that Moses knowingly transformed a form of the divine name  *Ea*, the god of the earth, and of the waters beneath, into *Yahve*. *Ea* was, it is true, a creator, but he was apparently not so

much the creator of terrestrial things, as of the gods* (see p. 14). The earth and mankind were created by Merodach, aided by the goddess Aruru (see p. 5). If, therefore, Moses transformed a form of the name of the god Êa into Yahve (or Yahwah), he was ignorant of its being the name of "the creator of the gods," for this would have been much too distinctly polytheistic. At present we cannot bring documentary philological data such as will bridge over the gap between *Ea* and *Ia* (Yâ, Jah).

Prof. Hommel's derivations of *Iltammeš* from *Šamaš* and *Ilteri* from *Išteri* are very interesting. With regard to the former, however, the spelling 𐎶 𐎠 𐎢𐎪𐎫 (Strassmaier, Nabonidus 554,4), where 𐎶 (*ilu*) "god," seems to replace 𐎶𐎠𐎢𐎪, *il*, as well as the name 𐎶 𐎠 𐎢𐎪𐎫 𐎶 𐎠 𐎢𐎪𐎫 𐎶, *Tammeš-natanu*, K. 961, 15, which is apparently the same name (though not the same person) as 𐎶 𐎠 𐎢𐎪𐎫 𐎶 𐎠 𐎢𐎪𐎫 𐎶, *Iltammeš-natanu* (Strassm, Nabon., 497, 4), seem to militate against the derivation from *Šamaš*. For this and for *Ilteri* our cry must be "More light!"

I tender to Prof. Hommel my thanks for his kindly and learned criticisms, and I am glad to see that, upon the main points, we are altogether of one mind.

T. G. PINCHES.

August, 1895.

* He was, however, also god of reproduction (see pp. 3 and 14).