

a year and a half before he could earn sufficient to pay for such a necessary article as an ox-goad, or an axe. It is evident, therefore, that the writer of Samuel wishes to impress upon us the extreme oppression of the Israelites by the Philistines, and the extraordinary pains that were taken to prevent metal tools or implements finding their way among the Hebrew population.

It may therefore be claimed that the discoveries of archaeology enable us to understand clearly a passage which has been a difficulty to translators for centuries; and the generations of scribes who have handed down the text are absolved from any charge of carelessness or officious meddling; except that in verse 20 *מהרשתו* has usurped the place of *דרבנו*, and in verse 21 a false connection was made by the insertion of ל and ו, so that we ought to read *ושלש* instead of *ולשש*, and *להקרדמים* instead of *ולהקרדמים*.

“And all Israel went down to the Philistines to forge every man his ploughshare and his *'eth*, and his axe and his goad; and the inducement was a *payam* for the ploughshares and for the *'ethim*, and three *killeshōn* for the axes, and to put a point on the goad; so that in the day of battle no sword or spear was found in the hand of the people.”

BABYLONIAN AND HEBREW THEOPHORIC NAMES.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

THE narrative in Genesis relating the origin of the Hebrew nation clearly assigns as the ancestral home of Terah and Abraham, the place called Ur. This must have been either Mugheir, or the Akkadian North-Babylonian district of Uri. That is to say, in either case Abraham was a Babylonian, and the whole evidence derivable from the language of his descendants, the Hebrew, proves him to have been a member of the Semitic inhabitants of Mesopotamia, and not a Sumerian, or of another branch of the human race to be found scattered there, that is termed the Anzanite or Elamite stock.

If the statement as to Abraham's Babylonian origin is correct, it is to be anticipated that numerous evidences of similarity of thought, ideas, and the expression of these, should be apparent in the Old Testament Books, between the Jews and their ancestors and the descendants of these latter, living contemporaneously with the

Hebrews in Palestine. These proofs it is well known have in many instances been found and indicated. The identical concepts producing them manifest themselves deep down in those most primitive of all specimens of the particularities of a human race's psychology—the titles used for the personal names of a people and of their gods. Especially interesting are those illustrating the religious thoughts and cults, and it is to instances of such kind that the forthcoming remarks are devoted.

There will be minor differences noticeable in the expression of originally similar concepts, but these, in most cases, will be explained when a major premise in the investigation is allowed for. That is, that the same ideas are clothed in a polytheistic form in the old home of the Chaldees, and so have been somewhat modified to adapt them to the monotheistic theology of the "chosen people," as exemplified in the Old Testament.

In passing, it should be observed that no parallel series of instances of the identity of primitive Hebrew concepts and those of the Egyptians can be adduced. Whilst the so-called "Egypticity" of some parts of the Pentateuch is quite remarkable—the accuracy of the words employed, the phrases used, and the instances cited, indicating a complete familiarity with Ancient Egypt of the era to which the Biblical story relates, as to its manners, customs, and worships—yet the more accurate the reference is to Egyptian matters, the more do the differences appear, in the majority of instances, between them and Jewish affairs. The two nascent civilizations are here illuminated, but by contrasts.

On the other hand, as our perfection in reading the cuneiform inscriptions progresses, and the material available for comparison augments, the closer appear the numerous affinities between the Hebrews and the population of Mesopotamia.

In comparing the Assyrio-Babylonian theophoric names with corresponding ones in Hebrew, it will be found that they almost always allude to some special attribute of the deity arising from His attitude towards mankind.¹ It may be said that, given the postulate of a god by humanity, this would naturally, if the names of gods were used as part of personal titles, arise everywhere. But the instances to be adduced, it will soon be apparent, amount to more than this: the *nuances* of thought demonstrated amongst the

¹ The era is too early for such expressions as omnipotent or omnipresent.

“make-up,” if it may be so called, of the names the people—or the priests for them—selected, are identical; and are so in a degree that cannot be equalled by comparison with the onomasticon of any other ancient race, excepting of course their common relatives such as the Arameans and Arabs.

It is very important, too, to note that the same similarities can sometimes be traced to the Sumerian, or non-Semitic Babylonians, and to the semi-Semitic inhabitants of Susa and Elam.

The instances selected are only a few out of many hundreds, and are not chosen because they happen to be those most adapted for the purpose, but merely because they are surmised to be sufficient for it, and it is hoped may lead the way to scholars increasing them by the addition of still more appropriate specimens.

An interesting instance of similarity is that of the idea of God as “Shepherd of His flock,” found among many names in cuneiform annals, such as Assur-re-sunu, “Assur is their Shepherd”; Shamash-re’ua, “Shamash is my Shepherd”; and in the very first Babylonian dynasty at present known to us we find kings called Shamash-re-u and Su-re’u.¹

In the *Babylonian Expedition of Pennsylvania University*, p. 28, Prof. Hilprecht, translating a text calling Bur Sin “the powerful Shepherd of Ur,” gives instances of numerous names in *ingar*, *nagid*, and *Utul*, all also meaning Shepherd as a title of a divinity.

The belief in God as a protector, naturally, where the deity is considered as beneficent towards pure and worthy devotees, is prominent in these joint names, but so also are the variations upon the theme, such as the use of the picturesque symbols of a fortress or stronghold, a shelter, a shadow or shade, a rock, a hill or a mountain.

Shemariah,² “The Lord is my Guardian,” or Protector, and Azariah, “Whom Jehovah helps,” the meanings of which are so well illustrated by Psalm xxxiii, 20, “He is my help and shield,” are strikingly supplemented by such names as the old Sumerian Utu-ur-ra, “Ur is a Protector,” or Bel-shum³-uzur, “Bel protect the

¹ See Isaiah xl, 11, “Shall feed his flock like a Shepherd”; Psalms xxiii, 1; Ez. xxxiv, 11-14; Jer. xxxi, 10.

² Shemariah (1 Chron. xii, 5) = “Kept of Yah”; Azariah (1 Chron. ii, 8) = “Whom Yah helps”; Uziah (2 Chron. xxvi, 1) = “Strength of Yah.”

³ Prof. Jastrow considers this Shum (from Shumu) to be the Sh’mu of Samu-el. Shumu being the Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew *shem* and equal to *ablu* (Abel) and *maru*.

offspring," or Shamash-abal-uzur, "O Shamash, protect the son." Perhaps, however, Ismachiah, "God sustains," Azaziah,¹ "God is (my) Strength," are more closely allied to Ilu-nasir, "God is my Protector," or Assur-garnelia, "Assur is my Supporter," as Eliada² was "whom God cares for." The virtue of a protector lies in his might or strength, so the Babylonian who was called Iau-um-ilu is the Iao-el (Joel), "Jehovah is Mighty,"³ as Nirig-ellat-za is "Nirig is his Defender." So Nergal-tukla-tua and Nabu-tukla-tua trusted in the strength of Nergal and Nebo, as Tuculti-abal-Esharra,⁴ "My help is the son of Ishara," and Ilama-tukak, "I trust in God," and Assur-udannin-aplu, meaning "Assur fortifies the son," relied upon their gods. The notion of God being his servant's strength like a fortress or keep, as expressed in Psalm xviii,⁵ was quite a favourite one in Babylonian names, like Urkittu-duri, or Urkuti-duri, "Urkittu is my Fortress" and "Ur is my Fortress," and Belemenuri, "Bel is my Fortress." This is also shown by the shorter form of the title Belduri.

The primitive strongholds were the rocks, so we have such Hebrew deity titles as Zuriel, "God is my Rock"; Elizur, "God is a Rock."⁶ A Babylonian expressed this idea by naming his offspring Suri-addana, "My Rock be propitious." That the rock was his god is proved by the proto-Arabic deity Suriel, and by the god Sur of the Aramaic inscription of the semi-Assyrian princes at Shamal, or Zenjirli.

The Rock deity provides a grateful shade for his worshipper to hide for concealment or shelter, so Bezaleel⁷ rested in "God's Shadow," and Zephaniah was "The Lord hideth."⁸ So Ina-silli-Bel meant "In Bel's Shadow." There he hoped to be hidden and sheltered from his foe, as did Elizaphan⁹ and Eliada. God could shelter

¹ 2 Chron. xxxi, 13.

² 2 Sam. v, 16.

³ See Isaiah ix, 6, "The Mighty God," and lx, 16, "The Mighty One of Jacob."

⁴ This is, practically, as spelt in 2 Kings xvi, 7, and in the Aramaic inscription found at Zenjirli. A.V., Tiglath Pileser.

⁵ Jer. xvi, 19, "O Lord, my fortress and stronghold."

⁶ Numb. iii, 35, Zuriel; ii, 10, Elizur, "God is my Rock"; see such phrases as "Rock like our God," 1 Sam. ii, 2; "The Rock that begat them," Deut. xxxii, 18. Also Numb. i, 6, Zurishaddai.

⁷ Exod. xxxi, 2.

⁸ Isaiah xxxii, 2, "Shadow of a great Rock."

⁹ Elizaphan, "God hides," Numb. iii, 30.

one, like a bird does its tender young in a nest, hence such a name as Itti-Bel-ginni, "With Bel is my Nest." This may, however, mean the family is under Bel's protection. Compare also Silli-Shamash, "Shelter of Shamash," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1907, p. 179.

The emotions expressed by such Hebrew names as Hoshania,¹ "The Lord heareth," Ishmael, "God hears," Jaazaniah,² "God listeneth," are duplicates of a name in a Sippara tablet,³ Isma-ilum, "God hears," or Sin-sheme, "O Sin, hear," whilst the expression of Lamentations,⁴ "The Lord will regard them no more," is the reverse of that of a man's name, Bel-emuranni, "Bel has regarded me."

Although precisely similar names are not in the Biblical Hebrew, such titles, in cuneiform, as Adad-remani, "Adad, pity me," and the Sumerian one of Ningirsu-Nisag, "Ningirsu is gracious," are quite reminiscent of Hebrew thought, as are Jewish ideas of the care and mercy of God to be found in names like Atanah-ila, "I sigh after God," Ilanu-taklak, "I trust in God," and Lihdi-ili, "May he rejoice in God," also Adad-Milki, "Adad is my Councillor," also Ili-maliki, "My God is my Councillor," as voiced by Isaiah (ix, 6), "His name shall be called Councillor."

The symbolism of a rock is closely allied with that of a hill or mountain, and both peoples delighted in terming the deity a mountain.

The El-Shaddai of Palestine may be equated with Il-Shadde of Babylonia. Bel Shaddua, or B el Shedia, meaning "Bel is my Mountain,"⁵ is thus used as a name. Shadu in Assyrian might mean "mount" (or lord). Bel was Shadi-rabu, "The Mighty Mountain," like "God the Mount of my help."

Shad also, in Hebrew, meant "breast," and Gen. xlix, 25,⁶ appears to play upon this fact of the word's double significance.

¹ Azaniah, "Jah heareth"; Neh. x, 9, 1 Chron. iii, 18. Assurbanipal says in an inscription, *uznu rapastum isrugusu*, "An open (wide) ear Nabu and Tasmit have given to me"; see *Revue Biblique*, 1905, p. 53.

² 2 Kings xxv, 23.

³ *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. XXII, p. 35.

⁴ Lam. iv, 16, see Mal. i, 9, "The Lord will regard your persons."

⁵ Delaporte, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1906, p. 47, etc. Enlil had for title Kur-gala, "Great Mountain," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1911, p. 81.

⁶ "The God of thy father . . . the Almighty . . . shall bless thee . . . with blessings of the breast." El-Shaddai may suggest the translation, "The God of the breasts."

The conception of a hill, *mamelon*, resembling the breast is, however, world-wide, causing two hills in Scotland to be called by peasants the "Paps of Jura."

In connection with Shadu either meaning mountain or lord, in the *Memoires de Délégation en Perse*, III, 18, Père Scheil gives a fragment of a vocabulary which he renders thus:—

Šadi, 'my mountain' (or my prince).

Šad-du-ni, 'our mountain' (or our prince).

Šad-du-šu, 'his mountain' (or his prince)."

It is a list of divine or supreme beings, and shows how the duplicate significance was apparent and intended.

Some Hebrew names extol the Divine by intimating, in the form of an interrogation, that He is incomprehensible. Thus we have Michaiiah,¹ "Who is like Jehovah?" and Michael, "Who is like God?"² Many Babylonian names are constructed in a similar way, such as Aba-Ningirsukim, "Who is like Ningirsu?" Mannu-ki-Adad, or Mannu-ki-Ishtar, "Who is like Adad?" or Ishtar. So also Elihu, if translated "Whose God is he?" (or Whose God is here?) is answered in a Sumerian's title, Uttu-me-ne, "Utu is he"; and the Sumerian Utu-ba-ra, "Utu is Lord," is equivalent to Elijah.

The conception of God as the light to guide or to illumine our path, is very familiar in Babylonian. Thus a name found in Ilu-nuri, "God is my Light": Bel-nuri and Shamash-nuri are similar to the expression in Psalm xxii, 1, "The Lord is my Light": whilst the sentence, "Who coverest Thyself with light as with a garment,"³ is almost duplicated in a tablet text in praise of Merodach as being *illani-illabis-nuri*, "The god is clothed with light."⁴ In the same manner the Hebrew Neriah, "God is a Lamp," is allied to Assyrian Nur-ilu, or Nu-ur-riya,⁵ and Nur-ilishu, "His God is light," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1914, p. 216. The light divine must be perceived by the worshipper, so they used such names as Bel-Lamar, "That I may see Bel," like Job's desire, "Yet in my flesh shall I see God."⁶

¹ 1 Kings xxii, 8; 2 Chron. xvii, 7.

² Dan. i, 13.

³ Psalm civ, 2.

⁴ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1906, p. 199. The plural is used for a single deity here like Elohim.

⁵ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1892, p. 14.

⁶ Job xix, 26.

The fatherhood of God as expressed in the Biblical Abiel,¹ is rendered more emphatically in the Assyrian name Ilu-abi, "God is my Father." The conception is that of the deity being His child's Creator, for we have numerous patronymics such as Assur-bani, and Bel-bani, "Assur (or Bel) is my Creator." If God was creator-parent of mankind He, Himself, was the uncreated being as shown by such a name, in Sumerian, as Ba-u-da-me-a, "For Ba there is no father"; we may compare the phrase in Craig's *Religious Texts*, i, 83, where Assur is said to be "he who creates himself." God's fatherhood involved His affection for His children. Thus the Hebrew Elidad, "God is a friend," is surpassed by Eldad,² "Whom God loves," or Jedidiah, "Beloved of Jehovah." But an ancient Elamite Semitic king called Idadu-Susinak, "Beloved of Susinak," and a Babylonian Utu-ki-ram-me, "Utu is He who loves me," breathes a high confidence.

The parental affection of God rendered man His own special *protégé*. Thus Ammiel is "Man of God," so in Sumerian a Gal-Bau was "Bau's man," and Awil^{ilu} Išum, "Man of the god Ishi"; and the word Amid forming part of names signified the same conception in other cuneiform appellations. It meant a willing servant of the deity. So, many a pagan Pict was christened as Gillie Christ (Gilchrist).

Precisely so, in numerous Sumerian and Babylonian homes, a favourite form of indicating devotion to God was to name a child the deity's devotee or serf. In Sumerian, Ur, forming part of a name such as in Ur-Bau, signified "Bau's devotee." Similarly, Arad meant the same in Assyrian in such names as Arad-Bel or Arad-Banitu. Abdili, a Babylonian name, is practically identical, and also parallel, with Hebrew Abdiel. But the Biblical Mikneiah,³ "God's chattel," surpasses the cuneiform titles in fervour.⁴ The Sumerian name Ninmar^{ki} mah-kal-la, "N. exalts the humble man," is closely allied to Ezek. xxi, 26.

¹ 1 Sam. ix, 1, and Eliab, Numb. i, 9.

² Numb. xxxiv, 21; compare Babylonian Ilu-tappi, "God is my Companion."

³ 1 Chron. xv, 18. See also a Phoenician seal reading מִקְנֵי־אֱלֹהִים, *Enc. Bib.*, 3284.

⁴ The name Ahijah, "God is a brother," of 1 Kings xi, 9, is identical with Ahi-jawi of a tablet found at Taanak, but the bearer may have been an Aramean. Prof. Hilprecht gives a cuneiform name in the time of Artaxerxes, Abi-ia-a-ma. Gabriel, "God's Hero," is equivalent to Gubriya in Assyrian.

Some Mesopotamian names have such a monotheistic trait, and contain deity titles so similar to Jehovah (Yahveh), that explanations of them might lead to debatable matters. Various coincidences that must not be omitted are those between Hammurabi's calling Sin Sin-be-el-sa-me-e, and the Biblical Yahveh Shamaim of Gen. xxiv, 7.¹

Also the same king's deity Ilu-siru, who is certainly to be equated with El-Elyon. The "I am" of Exodus seems the counterpart of such names as Ibassi-ilu, "God is"; or Ki-ni-ib-ba-si, "The true One exists," quoted by Hommel and Ranke. Iawi-ilu also occurs, but may be the title of an Arab residing in Babylonia. Possibly Ibassi-ilu was of Canaanite extraction.² Another such name as Ia'we-ilu is Yau^m-ilu, which, as Dr. Pinches points out, has not quite the same meaning. He considers it to mean, "Jah is God," not "Jehovah is God." It occurs during the Hammurabi period.³

I am unaware of any cuneiform cognomens indicating contemplation of the purificatory powers of the deity, perhaps because so much of the needed cleansing was performed by the temple priesthood, but in a text setting forth the rite for driving out demons the regeneration is ascribed directly to Ishtar in these words, *ša Ištar-ana-išate lušēsu*, "Whom Ishtar rescues through the fire."⁴

Among interesting resemblances are such names as Abishua,⁵ "Father of Welfare," and the name of the eighth monarch of Babylon's first dynasty, Abi-e-shukh. Note also the similarity between the Babylonian personages Ebi-shum and Abeshua. The virtual identity in signification between the Biblical Malkiah⁶ and Abimelech and the Assyrian Abi-šarru is quite clear; as also between Habazaniah and Humbuztu.

¹ One of the new Genizah fragments of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, that for chapter xlvii, 5, reads מְלִיכָא מְלִיכָא, rendered in our version "Most High God." A personal name on a Hittite cuneiform tablet is Setsani-sar-tsabim, "Setsani, Lord of Hosts," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1907, p. 96.

² Père Scheil, among names found in records from Susa, gives Abi-ilum, almost certainly a Canaanite.

³ *The Old Testament in the Light of the Records of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1st ed., p. 199. M. Thureau-Dangin and Prof. Sayce give several instances of the name Isarlim, which is equivalent to Israel.

⁴ Jastrów, "Babylonian Parallels to Job," *American Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1906, 179.

⁵ 1 Chron. viii, 4.

⁶ Jer. xxxviii, 6. Cf. Babylonian Abi-ili.

If Shamserae of 1 Chron. viii, 26, should be read Shemserai, then the Babylonian name of Shumuabi, meaning "Shem is my father," is very similar.

The Ahuzzath of Gen. xxvi, 26, seems akin to the name Ahu-illum of a text from Sippara.¹

The identity of conception between the Biblical Ammiel, "A kinsman is God," and the Babylonian Ammizaduga has long since been noticed. See the Babylonian name Sin-shada, and the Ammi-Shadai of Numb. i, 12.

Jehoash,² "Jah gave," and Nebo ushanni, "Nebo gave me," like Nethaniah, "The Lord has given," and Natanu-ya-awa, need no comment, but Jehoshebah, "The Lord is an oath," or covenant, is closely illustrated by a common Mesopotamian phrase, when taking an oath before a divinity, to sanctify the ratification of a deed or covenant: in Assyrian, *niš-ili zakâru*. The last word reminds us of the name Zechariah, "The Lord remembers." The Hebrew concept of God's righteousness is voiced in such a Babylonian name as Shamash-shar kitim, "Shamash is king of righteousness."

Some premonition of the Logos of John's Gospel appears in a name Ilu-bi-Shamash, "The Word of Shamash is God," and in Ilu-bi-sha.³ The divination and personification of the Word of God, however, was carried very much further in cosmogonic concepts than these names imply. Dr. Stephen Langdon, in his *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (p. xix) enlarges upon this matter and, in an essay upon a seal of the Hammurabi period, he points out that the Word of the gods is identified with the first member of the Trinity, Anu, in such a title as Anu-pi-Ninib, "The Word of Ninib is Anu."⁴ There are several cuneiform copies of a Hymn to the "Word of Merodach." Upon the seal mentioned occurs a name, Erik-amat-kum, "Eternal is thy Word." Another name is Etil-pi Merodach, "Mighty is the Word of Merodach."⁵

There is a great contrast between the humility of men in connexion with their gods in the religious texts of Babylonia and of Egypt. Such appeals for forgiveness and mercy as appear in the

¹ *Recueil de Travaux*, XXII, 36.

² 2 Kings, xiii, 25.

³ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1910, p. 71.

⁴ "A Cylinder Seal of the Hammurabi Period," *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1912, p. 159.

⁵ Compare the peculiar Babylonian name Puni-rabi, "The mouth (of God) is great." Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents Pré-Sargoniques*, 87, II.

cuneiform "Penitential Psalms" and the story of the Babylonian Job, have, so far as we at present know, scarcely any like expressions in Egyptian literature or theological works. The ancient Egyptian preferred to allege, in his "Negative Confession," that he had not committed transgressions, and that he had done that which he ought to have done. If this personal guarantee of perfection was insufficient, then he relied upon the knowledge and recapitulation of magic formulae and priestly certificates to pass him through the hall of judgment to a well-deserved paradise.

It is probable that the continual warfare, and the cruelty with which campaigns were carried out in Mesopotamia, as well as the liability to disease in the low lands of Babylonia, had bred a more lowly state in the minds and the thoughts of the people. Life was more strenuous and uncertain. To the Babylonian the sack of cities, the tortures and privations of prisoners, and the carrying away of captives were quite familiar trials; and the sorrows of such events and the misery caused by epidemics kept ever before him the helplessness of man, and deepened his sense of guilt and sin.¹

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

By JOSEPH OFFORD.

X. Notes.

In Volume XVII of *The Babylonian Expedition of Pennsylvania University, Cuneiform Texts*, pp. 64-66, Dr. Hugo Radau shows conclusively, by means of records concerning the Babylonian monarchs Kuri-Galzu and Burna-Buriash, that the word translated "son" from the Black Obelisk text relating to Jehu, frequently does not mean son, or even grandson, in the ordinary sense, but merely a descendant in the kingship. It is said that some writers have condemned the authenticity of the parts of 2 Kings concerning Jehu because the biblical author did not agree with the Assyrian Annals on this point. The word used by the scribe of Shalmaneser II on the obelisk which cuneiform translators have properly (with

¹ See *Cuneiform Texts*, XXIX, 1, "Report of Plague in the City."