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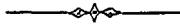
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were too pronouncedly English to facilitate his tenure of the primacy, and he must have had much unpleasantness to endure in the concluding four years of his long occupancy of the see. It can hardly have been a pleasure excursion which the Conqueror summoned him to undertake, when in 1067 he journeyed into Sussex to attend the King, who was embarking at the port—as it was then—of Pevensey on his way to Normandy. Doubtless, it was in the capacity of hostages that Stigand, Edgar Atheling, Morcar, and other Saxon nobles, were invited to accompany William on this voyage.

W. HENEAGE LEGGE.

(*To be continued.*)



ART. V.—THE FIRST HUMAN FAMILY.

THE names given in the Book of Genesis to the members who composed the first human family have proved of great interest at all times, and very varying explanations of them have been given by different scholars. It is the object of the present paper, *firstly*, to sum up what has been learnt about their meaning and derivation through recent Oriental research, and *secondly*, to inquire what light is thereby cast on the date of the composition of those chapters of Genesis (especially chaps. iii. and iv.) which contain the names of Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, and Seth.

I. (*a*) Everyone is aware that *Adam* is not originally a proper name at all; that in most places where it occurs in these chapters it is preceded by the definite article (אָדָם), which is often supplied by the Samaritan Pentateuch even when wanting in the Massorâh; and that as a Hebrew word it means the “man” (ἄνθρωπος). It, however, gradually became used as the proper name of the father of the human race, as in later parts of the Bible. But we are at present concerned to know what is the origin and what is the primary meaning of the noun אָדָם (*âdâm*). Few scholars will now support its derivation from the Hebrew words for “redness,” “blood,” or “likeness,” but some have claimed for it an Assyrian etymology, as the noun *admu* has been found in that language. But the word in Assyrian means “the young of a bird,” though it may also apparently be used to denote¹ “a child.” Other words² occur which are evidently of a cognate origin and meaning with the Hebrew meaning of *âdâm*, but they do not come from any known

Semitic Assyrian³ root. As Adam is never represented as a child, it is evident that we cannot accept this proposed Assyrian derivation of the word. But if no root occurs from which the word may be derived in Hebrew, Assyrian, or any other Semitic tongue, we are naturally led to seek its origin in Accadian (or Sumerian), a language in which we find the derivation of not a few words (such as הֵיכָל , *hēykāl*),⁴ once regarded as undoubtedly Semitic. The Assyrian dictionary is full of words borrowed from the Accadian spoken by the highly civilized inhabitants of Babylonia, whom the Semitic invaders overcame in arms, but whose arts and civilization in turn overcame them. It has now been discovered that *ādām* is actually an Accadian word, and Dr. Pinches points out⁵ its occurrence in a bilingual (Accadian and Assyrian) text in the British Museum. There, in a tablet⁶ which gives an account of the Creation, we find in Accadian the words, UR NU GIM A(D)DAM NU MU-UN-YA, which in Assyrian are rendered “Ālu ul ê-pu-uš nam-maš-šu-u ul ša-kin”—“A city had not been built, a human being had not settled down.” Here we see that the Assyrian version renders *a(d)-dam* by *nammaššu*, which latter word has various meanings in Assyrian, but among them occurs that of “human being,” “mankind,”⁷ which the mention of a *city* shows to be the one here intended. The cuneiform signs used to write *a(d)-dam* show that the word was supposed to be formed from words denoting “hand” and “lord” respectively, so that Man was in that language distinguished, not as in Sanskrit and Teutonic by his *thought*,⁸ but by his possessing “hands” and the “power” which they bestowed on him. It is worthy of notice that the Accadian language possessed a *status prolongationis*,⁹ or definite form, which the Assyrian did not, and that this form is *not* used here (it would be *a(d)-dam-mā*). Hence we see that the word in the text means “a human being,” “a person,” and is not “the man,” and hence does not refer to any person in particular. That is to say, we have no reason whatever given us to think that the Accadian writer was speaking of the first man, or that the Accadians used Adam as a proper name. The fact that the Assyrian translator rendered the word *a(d)-dam* by a common noun capable of several meanings shows that he was not aware of any Accadian tale in which the father of the human race was called by this name. We know, moreover, that in Accadian legend he was not called Adam, but *Adapa*.¹⁰ Hence we conclude that, whereas the word *Adam* is Accadian, and was taken into Hebrew (at first only as a common noun), yet there is no *proof* that the Hebrew account of the first family on earth was borrowed from an Accadian source, or first composed in

that language—though doubtless it *may* have been so. It is of interest to note that the word—in the form *âdam*—is still retained as a common noun in the Turkish language, which is cognate with Accadian, and has thence been adopted not only into Persian and Urdû, but also into modern colloquial Arabic in the sense of “a human being.”

(b) Eve's name first occurs in Gen. iii. 20: “And the man called his wife's name *Hawwâh*, because she was (*or* became) the mother of all living,” rightly explained by Onkelos and Jonathan, “Mother of all the children of men.” The LXX. translate *Hawwâh* by Ζωή, “Life,” and this idea has been very commonly adopted, it being supposed that it comes from the form חַוָּה, an older form of חַיָּה “to live,” preserved in the Phœnician חַוָּה. But if so, the word could hardly mean “life,” for it is *never* used in that sense in any part of the Bible. Even the form חַיָּה (*hayyâh*) is used in that sense “only¹¹ in late poetry.” The word חַוָּה (*hawwâh*) *does* occur in the Bible, in its plural form, but in the sense of a *village of tents*,¹² which hardly seems suitable here. If we take *Hawwâh* as equivalent to *hayyâh*, its meaning is quite evident. This latter word is repeatedly used in Genesis, and it means “animal,” “beast,” or even “wild beast.”¹³ The name *might* then mean ζῷον, but not ζωή. It will be granted that this meaning does not readily commend itself to us. Nor does the suggestion of Nöldeke¹⁴ that the word is equivalent to the Aramaic חַוָּיָה, חַוָּיָה (*hiwyâ*), Arabic حَيَاتُونَ (*hayyatun*), “serpent” (!!!). There is therefore a difficulty in finding a suitable derivation for the word if we refer it to a Semitic source; and this suggests the question whether its etymology should not be sought in Accadian, as that of Adam, and, as we shall see, those of the other members of the family.

Now, in Accadian there is a word *am* which means “mother.”¹⁵ In its definite form this word becomes *ammâ*. All students of Accadian know that in the latter tongue there was no distinction recognised between *m* and *w*, and that hence in the Assyrian syllabary these two sounds are denoted by but one set of symbols. Hence, “the mother” would be pronounced *awwâ* as well as *ammâ*. But the word is not apparently found with the strong *h* (ח or ח) prefixed, and this may seem to prevent the possibility of identifying *Hawwâh* with *ammâ*. The difficulty is, however, greatly lessened when we find that, as is now generally admitted, *Hammu-rabi* is the same name as אֲמֵרָפֶל (*Amraphel*).¹⁶ Here we see the converse change, in that the strong *h* is dropped in Hebrew. Moreover, as *hammu* seems in Assyrian to be the same word as *ammu*, “family” (*cf.* *Ammi-rapaltu* = *Hammu-rabi*),¹⁷

and as these words are probably of Accadian origin and connected with *am*, "mother," it seems very probable that, in one of its dialectic forms perhaps, the latter word occurred as *ham*.* This probability is increased by the fact that the modern Samaritans, alike in their reading of the Pentateuch and in their own modern books, invariably omit to pronounce \aleph and the other gutturals.¹⁹ Perhaps this originated from an early tendency in the country of Babylonia, whence²⁰ their ancestors came. If so, *ham* may well have been an earlier form of *am*. Now, if we accept this etymology of *Hawwâh*, the meaning of the name would be "the mother," and Gen. iii. 20 would mean, "And the man called his wife's name The Mother, because she became the mother of all living." I make this suggestion with some diffidence, but it seems to suit the context very well, which I hardly think any one of the other proposed derivations† of the name does. The fact that the names of the other members of the family are Accadian certainly indicates that Eve's name, too, should find its explanation in that language.

(c) Cain's name is introduced in Gen. iv. 1 in the words: "And she bare Cain (*Qayin*), and she said, I have gotten a man with (the help of) Jehovah"—if we take \aleph (*eth*) here, as do the LXX., in the sense of *διά*, regarding which I reserve my opinion, as that is not the matter under discussion. The most modern view is that the name is derived from the root found in the Arabic $\sqrt{\text{ق}}$, "to make artificially, to forge," and hence Professors Brown, Driver, and Briggs regard Cain as a *hero eponymos* and his name²¹ as meaning "smith." The word, if Semitic, would have this meaning, as it has in Tubal-Cain; but in this passage it hardly seems appropriate. Hence we are led, with Schrader²² and others, to turn to Accadian for the etymology. In that language we find the root *gin*, meaning "to send," and as a noun (*gin* or *kin*) it means "a message."²³ Adopted into Assyrian, it was sometimes²⁴ pronounced *qin*, as the hard Accadian *g* generally becomes *q* in Assyrian. Hence the

* An exact parallel is found in the name of the Tigris, in Hebrew $\sqrt{\text{ח}}\sqrt{\text{ק}}\sqrt{\text{ל}}$ (*Hiddeqel*), and in the original Accadian Id-igna¹⁸ or Id-igla. In this instance we see that the Accadian has lost an original strong *h*, or the Hebrew has added it.

† The Rev. C. J. Ball, in his note on Gen. ii. 18, in the Polychrome Bible suggests that *Hawwâh* is the Assyrian *Hamât*, "help, support, aid in warfare." But though Delitzsch gives this Assyrian word ("Handwörterbuch," p. 281), Muss-Arnolt ("Dict.," p. 322) shows that it should be written *Hamât*, with $\sqrt{\text{ב}}$, not $\sqrt{\text{א}}$, for the final letter. Hence the proposed etymology is impossible.

name *Qayin* would mean something (or someone) *sent*, as the cognate *gun*²⁵ in Accadian means "a gift" or "tribute." This meaning suits the context well, for we might then understand the verse thus: "And she bare *Qayin* (a gift), and she said, I have gotten a man with (the help of, or from with) *Jehovah*."

Here we must notice the question raised by the evident *παρονομασία* found in the verse (אֶת־קַיִן וְהָאָמֶר קָנִיתִי אִישׁ וְהִלֵּךְ), where *Qayin* is evidently intended to be supposed to be connected with *qānāthî*, "I have gotten." Hebrew scholars are aware that the latter word comes from the root קָנָה, from which *Qayin* cannot come. But it seems probable that the verb קָנָה²⁶ is connected with the Accadian root *gin*, and, if so, we have not merely a *παρονομασία* here, but correct etymology.

(d) *Abel's* name (Heb. *Hebbel*) occurs in Gen. iv. 2, but with no explanation of its meaning. This is probably because at the time when the Hebrew text was written its signification was patent to everyone. The word cannot be the ordinary Hebrew word for "vanity," "emptiness," as the Jews of²⁷ later times have held, for *Eve* is not represented as possessed of foreknowledge of his early death. It is the ordinary Babylonian (Semitic) word (*h*)*ablu*,²⁸ "a son," which in Assyrian became (*h*)*aplu*, and is found as an element in such proper names as *Aššur-bani-pal*. In Accadian there is no sign to represent simple *h* (ה), and hence that sound is not represented in the Assyrian syllabary, though it doubtless existed in the language. The Assyrio-Babylonian (*h*)*ablu* is, however, derived from the Accadian *ibila*,²⁹ meaning "a son," an earlier form of which was *ugulla*.³⁰ Here again we see that Accadian supplies the meaning of the name, and this meaning suits the context. We still hear a boy called "sonny," though he may possess another name also.

(e) The last member of the family is *Seth*. He is introduced in Gen. iv. 25 in the words: "And she called his name *Seth* (שֵׁת, *Shêth*), for God *hath* (שָׁת, *shâth*) appointed for me another seed in place of *Abel*." If we turn to Accadian for the etymology of the name, there we find the root *šid* (*shid*), "to number,"³¹ "to complete," "a seal," "a bond," etc., the same ideograph being also used, with the sign for a god prefixed, to denote *Marduku* (*Merodach*). Omitting the last-mentioned meaning, it seems that the original signification of the root was "to fix," "to set." The Hebrew root שֵׁת (*shêth*), from which comes the verb שָׁת (*shâth*) used in this verse ("He hath appointed"), is probably the same; hence

the writer of the verse is not only using *παρονομασία*, but is giving us the correct etymology of the name Seth. The word *šid* (*shid*) in Accadian also denotes "a helper," though in this sense it is denoted by a different ideograph,³² and *may* come from a different root.

II. We have now seen reason to believe that the names of the persons who composed the first human family are all Accadian.* The question now arises, What light does this throw on the date of the composition of these chapters (Gen. iii. and iv.)?

It is clear that, if we have correctly ascertained the meaning and derivation of these names, the original writer of the Hebrew account incorporated into the Book of Genesis must have been well acquainted with Accadian, using this expression to denote in its broadest sense the non-Semitic language of early Babylonia. There seems good reason to believe that this tongue ceased to be spoken about 1700 years before Christ, though it was studied as a classical language for centuries later. The writer of Gen. iii. and iv. must not only have known Accadian himself, but he must have been writing for people who knew that language and Semitic Babylonian in addition to Hebrew. This is evident both from the explanations which he gives and *from the points which he leaves unexplained*. As *Adam* was a word used in Hebrew as well as in Accadian, it is, of course, left without explanation. The name *Abel* (*Hebhel*), being used (in the form (*h*)*ablu*) in Semitic Babylonian, would require no comment to men who knew the word *well*, but others might confound it with the similar Hebrew word meaning "vanity," and for such persons a note would have been necessary, had there been any such readers at the time when these chapters were written. As there is no such warning given, it seems as if the writer had been writing at a time when his readers were sure to know Semitic Babylonian. His explanation of *Hawwâh* implies that his readers knew that the word meant "the mother" in Accadian, just as, if we were to write: "And the man called his wife's name *ἡ μήτηρ*, because she was the mother of all living," it would be clear that we fancied our readers knew some Greek. In the same way, if in what is said about Cain's name we substitute for the Accadian the meaning in Greek, we shall be able to appreciate the additional clearness afforded by a knowledge of the second language: "And she

* The names *Eden* (Accadian *Edin*), *Euphrates* (Accadian *Pur-rat*), *Tigris* (*Hiddiqel*), *Pishon*, and *Gihon*, are all Accadian. This supports my theory that *Eve* (*Hawwâh*) is also from that tongue.

bare Δῶρον,* and she said, I have gotten a man." The same argument applies to what is said in reference to Seth, only that here we can represent both the *παρονομασία* and the meaning in English quite as well as it is done in Hebrew, if we render Gen. iv. 25 thus: "And she called his name Seth, for God *hath set* for me," etc.

The question now arises, At what time in the history of any part of the Hebrew nation were there readers who would know Semitic Babylonian and Accadian, in addition to their own language? Not during or after the Babylonian Captivity, for Accadian was then a dead classical language. Must it not have been either before or soon after Abraham's departure from Ur of the Chaldees? It may be asserted that Abraham did not learn to speak Hebrew until after his settlement in Palestine, though that would be hard to prove, since the Phœnicians, who likewise came from the lower part of the Mesopotamian plain,³³ brought with them what was practically the same language as Hebrew, and not an Aramaic dialect. The chapters which we are considering do not bear evidence of having been translated into Hebrew from any other tongue; but, even if we suppose that they were first composed in an Aramaic dialect, our argument is by no means altered, except that in it we should have to put the word Aramaic instead of the word Hebrew. Nor can it be readily supposed that these chapters are a translation of an original Accadian document, the style being quite unlike that of any such that are known to us, and the doctrine purely Monotheistic. It should also be noticed that the name Abel, representing (*h*)*ablu* and the Accadian *ibila*, not the *earlier* Accadian *ugulla*, seems an indication of a date not much more remote than that we have suggested. As Abraham's ancestors seem to have entered Babylonia from Arabia (if Hommel³⁴ is right) with the founder of the dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged, or at least not more than a few hundred years before Abraham's own time, we have here too a date-limit for the composition of the narrative. From the fact that the names are Accadian, it may be that there existed a tradition in Babylonia incorporating the main details, even though we are not now able to adduce proof of this. But such a supposition by no means implies a doubt about the truth of the narrative as given in these chapters of Genesis. Accadian is the oldest language known to us, in that respect being rivalled only by ancient Egyptian, with which it has no slight affinity.³⁵ If traditions of the first human family lingered anywhere, we might expect to find them therefore among the Accadians;

* Cf. Θεῶδωρος, which in Accadian would perhaps be Gin-Dingir-rá.

and the names by which its members would be mentioned by the Accadians would naturally be Accadian also.

But here we have to meet the objection that, whatever may be thought by Accadian students about the names we have dealt with, yet the Higher Critics are agreed that the verses which we have quoted all belong to a part of Genesis which they attribute to J. or to JE. As to the date of their composition, the Rev. J. C. Ball in his Polychrome edition of Genesis attributes them to "J.²," a document which he³⁶ holds, "originated in the Southern Kingdom" about 650 B.C. Professor Driver, too, tells us that these verses belong to J.,³⁷ and says that J. and E. "appear to have cast into a literary form the traditions respecting the beginnings of the nation that were current among the people—approximately (as it would seem) in the early centuries of the monarchy."³⁸ With this Dillmann and Wellhausen are in general accord.

Well, of course the unknown writers who, "about 650 B.C.," in Judah, forged³⁹ these chapters (according to the Higher Critical hypothesis of their origin) *may* have had as perfect a knowledge of Accadian and Semitic Babylonian as they apparently had of ancient Egyptian language, manners, and customs.⁴⁰ But it can hardly be said that this is a hypothesis that commends itself to us on the score of probability. In the case of any other book than the Bible, the facts which are mentioned in the first part of this paper would be held to furnish internal evidence of date sufficient to refute the Higher Critical theory, at least so far as these chapters (Gen. iii. and iv.) are concerned. I cannot myself, therefore, avoid coming to the conclusion on philological grounds that, just as in the case of Gen. xiv.⁴¹ (which the Rev. J. C. Ball terms "an Exilic Midrash"!),⁴² so in these chapters we have a document belonging in the main to the age of Abraham himself.

If this conclusion be correct, it is a matter of great importance, for it may well lead us to examine with greater care than hitherto the accuracy of the "results" which the Higher Critics believe that they have attained. For, as Hommel says, "Kann⁴³ nur durch inschriftliche Denkmäler der Nachweis erbracht werden, dass auch nur ein Theil der in ihrer Echtheit bestrittenen hebräischen Tradition uralt und somit zuverlässig ist, so ist dem ganzen kühnen Bau der modernen Pentateuchkritik das Fundament entzogen."

W. STCLAIR TISDALL.

NOTES AND AUTHORITIES.

¹ Delitzsch, "Assyrisches Handwörterbuch," p. 25; Muss-Arnolt, "Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language," p. 20. ² E.g., *dadmu*: Muss-

Arn., p. 242. ³ The root *adámu*, "to build, to make," is fictitious. ⁴ From the Accadian (*He*), "house," and *gal*, "large." ⁵ Pinches, "The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia," 1st ed., p. 78. ⁶ "Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum," Part XIII., plate 35. Dr. Pinches' transcription of *ša-kin* by *šáššu* does not agree with the published text of this Tablet. ⁷ *Vide* authorities under *nammáštu* and *nammáššu* in Muss-Arnolt "Ass. Dict.," p. 689, and Del., "Handw.," p. 469, where it is shown that the former word equals Ass. *amélátum* and *ténišétum*. ⁸ Skt. *manushya*, etc., from the root *man*, "to think," so *Mann* and *Mensch*, etc. ⁹ Cf. Hommel, "Sum-Akk. Sprache," p. 19; "Sum-Lesestücke," p. 142. ¹⁰ Sayce, "Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia," pp. 383, 423-425, etc. ¹¹ Brown, Driver and Briggs' new edition of Gesenius' "Heb. Dict.," s.v., 𐤀𐤍. ¹² *Ibidem*. ¹³ *Ibidem*. ¹⁴ In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xlii., p. 487. ¹⁵ Hommel, "Sum-Les.," "Syllabary," p. 17 (No. 204). ¹⁶ *Vide* Harper, "Letters," iii., p. 257, No. 255 (K. 552), Pinches, *Proceedings of Soc. Bibl. Archæol.*, May, 1901, p. 191 (quoted in Sayce's "Rel. of Anc. Eg. and Bab.," p. 256); Hommel, "Die altisraelitische Überlieferung," pp. 88, 105, 193, *sqq.* ¹⁷ *Ibidem*. ¹⁸ Hommel, "Sum-Les.," p. 79 (No. 372). ¹⁹ Rosenbergs, "Lehrbuch der Samaritanischen Sprache und Literatur," p. 11. ²⁰ Under Shalmaneser, 2 Kings, xvii. 24. ²¹ New Ed. of Gesenius' "Heb. Dict.," p. 884, where see authorities. ²² Schrader "Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament," ed. of 1883, pp. 44-46 and p. 523. ²³ Hommel, "Sum-Les.," p. 78. ²⁴ Compare Sayce, Rosenbergs, Hommel, etc. ²⁵ Hommel, "Sum-Les.," p. 79. Dr. Pinches' remarks ("The Old Testament in the Light," etc., pp. 82 and 83) are worthy of notice, but he confesses that his proposed Assyrian derivation of *Cain* is unsatisfactory. ²⁶ In Ass. *ganû*, Ar. 𐤂𐤍. ²⁷ Cf. "Fuerstii Concordantiae," p. 1274, s.v. ²⁸ This is now generally acknowledged, but was first suggested by Schrader, "Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.," pp. 44-46. ²⁹ Hommel, "Sum-Les.," p. 78 (No. 107). ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11, *fin.* ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77. *Sid* is also there given as *siti*, where the second consonant, too, agrees with the Hebrew. Another form is to be found on p. 28. ³² *Vide* Hommel, *op. cit.*, Syll., No. 354. ³³ Herodotus I., 1. ³⁴ "Die Altisrael. : Überlieferung," pp. 56, *sqq.* He quotes Sayce's opinion to the same effect (in "Patriarchal Palestine") in pp. 95-97. ³⁵ Hommel, "Die babylonische Ursprung der ägyptischen Kultur," *passim*. ³⁶ *Vide* the explanation of the colours given on the cover of his "Genesis" in the Polychrome Bible. ³⁷ "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," 5th ed., p. 12. ³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 110. ³⁹ Möller thinks this word none too strong to express the conduct of the compilers of the Hexateuch, if we accept the Higher Critical theory ("Are the Critics Right?" p. 94). ⁴⁰ The knowledge of Egyptian is shown in the name, e.g., of Joseph (Zaphnathpaaneah), etc. See Canon Cook's excursus on the subject in "Speaker's Commentary." Some parts of Eber's "Ägypten und die Bücher Mose's" are still of value in this connexion, as is his "Eine Ägyptische Königstochter." ⁴¹ Hommel, "Die Altisrael. Überlieferung," p. 193; "Dass . . . Gen. xiv. also ursprünglich auf einer Thontafel verzeichnet stand, geht übrigens noch ganz direct aus der Form des Namens Amraphel hervor." ⁴² *Vide* the cover of his "Genesis," as quoted above. ⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

