

is undoubtedly Guthe's *Bibelatlas*, which is published in Leipzig by H. Wagner and E. Debes. Its size is 18 inches by 12. It consists of thirteen pages of maps, most of the pages containing more than one map, while on the other hand there are three magnificent maps of Palestine occupying a double page. The colouring is effective for the chief purpose of a map, the mountains being light grey and the divisions and printing in red. Thus everything is very clear and distinct, and the whole effect pleasing to the eye. The maps are in historical sequence, each of them

being strictly confined to its own period. Then the index of names at the end enables one to find a place quite readily in each of the maps in which it occurs. The maps also stand in topographical relation, and Dr. Guthe has brought them up to date, basing them on the results of the most recent investigation. But there are still some things to which Professor Driver could have drawn his attention. We doubt, indeed, if he has read the articles on the Geography of Palestine which Dr. Driver contributed to a recent volume of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. The price of the Atlas is M. 12.

## The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis.

BY THE REV. A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D., D.LITT., PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD.

### Chapter v.

1. Here we have the title of the second series of tablets, the first of which was called 'These are the generations of the heavens and the earth' (2<sup>d</sup>). The original would have been: *Duppu II. : Annâti tâlidât Adami : Enuma ilâni Adama ibni-ma ina tsalam ilâni episu. Enuma*, etc., was the title of the account of Adam's creation, corresponding with the Babylonian Story of the Creation, the title of which was *Enuma elis lâ nabû samamu*.

2. The title is followed by a description of what God did; hence the plural 'them' instead of the singular of the title, and the repetition of the phrase *enuma ibni*, which is Hebraized into 'in the day when they were created' (הַיּוֹמִים). The collective sense of Adam is confined to Hebrew; the Assyrian equivalent would have been *tenisetu* or *amelutu*. In v.<sup>2</sup>, accordingly, we must see an interpolation of the Hebrew translator. As we are referred back by it to 1<sup>st</sup>, it is possible that the author of chap. 1 and the translator were one and the same. It will be noticed that two alternative renderings of the Assyrian *tsalamu* are given, *zelem* and *dēmâth*, the latter of which was free from the polytheistic and idolatrous associations of *zelem*.

3. The reigns of the antediluvian kings of Babylonia amounted to the astronomical period of 120 sari, or 4,320,000 years, but the system upon which the different lengths of reign were ascribed to the

kings is difficult to discover. The Hebrew text makes it 1656 years from the Creation to the Deluge, and 2056 lunar years, *i.e.* rather more than 2000 solar years, to Abram's migration from Ur, while the Septuagint makes the first period 2262 years (see note on v.<sup>25</sup>). The Samaritan version reduces the period from the Creation to the Deluge to 1307 years by not allowing any of the antediluvian patriarchs to beget his first son after he is 150 years of age.<sup>1</sup> Josephus reduces the 2262 years of the Septuagint to 2256, but the Septuagint chronology was intended to harmonize with the Egyptian, and from the first year of Menes, the founder of the united monarchy of Egypt, to the end of Manetho's first epoch with the close of the eleventh dynasty and of the First Tomos of his history, is exactly 2263 years (see note on v.<sup>25</sup>).

Oppert<sup>2</sup> has suggested that the Massoretic system has been derived from the Babylonian by substituting the week of 7 days (which, according to the Introduction to the Book of Genesis, was a divine institution) for 5 solar years in the Babylonian system, the Babylonians having possessed a week of 5 days as well as a week of 7 days. The two numbers, the Babylonian 432,000 and the

<sup>1</sup> This chronological system has a Sabbatical basis, the birth of Arphaxad, two years after the Deluge, thus occurring in the 187th year of jubilee.

<sup>2</sup> *La Chronologie de la Genèse* (1878).

Biblical 1656, when divided by 72, are as 6000 to 23. But 23 years are equivalent to 1200 weeks of 7 days, and consequently to 6000 years in the Babylonian system; hence 5 Babylonian years, that is to say, a 'soss' of months, would correspond with a Biblical week. The 'soss' or 60 was the Babylonian mathematical unit, and the year was divided into 12 months, as the Zodiac was into 12 signs.

Whatever the origin of the system may have been, it is impossible to discover the principle upon which the different ages were assigned to the patriarchs at which sons were born to them, or their deaths took place. The Septuagint adds 100 years to the ages of the patriarchs at the time their first sons were born, except in the cases of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech, who were already over a hundred years of age at the time, according to the Heb. text. The Samaritan proceeds on exactly the opposite principle, subtracting 100 years from the age of Jared, 120 years from that of Methuselah, and 129 years from that of Lamech.

20. Reduced to 847 years by the Samaritan version.

21. Enoch (אֵנוֹךְ), 'the priest' (found also in the inscriptions of Southern Arabia), corresponds with Enwē-dhur-anki ('Priest of the temple of the Bond of Heaven and Earth'), the priest-king of Sippara, in the Babylonian list (see above 4<sup>17</sup>). The calendar was of priestly origin, and the calendrical character of Enoch has long been recognized. He is the 7th patriarch, and so corresponds with Tisri, the first month of the Hebrew civil year, but the 7th of the Babylonian and Hebrew ecclesiastical year, and his age, 365 years, answers to the 365 days of the Babylonian solar year.

22. The phrase 'walked with God' is taken from v.<sup>24</sup>, in which, therefore, we must see an old expression adopted by the translator instead of his ordinary 'lived.'

24. Common Assyrian phrases are *ina ili-ya alāku*, 'to walk with my God,' and *ilu ittalka idā-ya*, 'the God walked beside me.' So Cyrus says of Merodach that 'as a friend and comrade he walked beside me' (cf. also the phrase quoted in the note on 4<sup>7</sup>). Here the original would have been: *Enu (Khanuku) ina ili ittalka-ma yānu; ilu ilqi-su*. According to the Babylonians, it was Utu-napistim who was translated without dying, after the Deluge; the gods, he is made to

tell Gilgames, *ilqu-inni-ma ina ruqi ina pī narāti ustisibu-inni*, 'took me and settled me afar off at the mouth of the rivers,' i.e. in the Babylonian paradise. As Utu-napistim was called Atra-khašiš or Khašiš-atra, 'the very wise,' it is possibly the source of the Arabic name Idrīs given to Enoch. Hānoch (Enoch), 'priest,' is also literally 'the instructed' or 'initiated one' (Arab. *hanaka*, 'to understand'), and may therefore be regarded as a very fair translation of Atra-khašiš. In the Babylonian legend of the first man Adamu the same title is given to Adamu, while in the Cainite genealogy in Genesis the title is transferred to the son of 'the Smith.'

25. The current Septuagint text has 167 instead of 187. This, however, would place the death of Methuselah 14 years after the Deluge, and the reading is unknown to, or ignored by, Josephus, Africanus, and Epiphanius. St. Augustine alludes to the variant reading (*De Civ. Dei*, xv. 13. 3; *Quæstt. in Heptateuch.* i. 2).

27. Reduced to 720 years by the Samaritan version.

28. According to the Septuagint, 188 years.

29. Lamech names Noah as Adam named Seth; Seth was born to replace Abel the shepherd; Noah is born to replace Cain the agriculturist (as indeed is clearly stated in 9<sup>20</sup>), on whose account 'the soil' of Babylonia had been cursed (4<sup>11</sup>). The Septuagint, not understanding the passage, has endeavoured to extract sense out of it by changing 'console us for' into 'cause us to cease from.' But it follows from the words of Lamech that Noah, instead of being the hero of the Deluge, ought to have been the son of the first man. He must, therefore, have been moved from the position to which he originally belonged, and his name substituted for that of the builder of the ark. In Babylonian this was Utu-napistim, 'the Sun-god is life,' the polytheistic character of which would explain its rejection by the Hebrew writer.<sup>1</sup> See note on 9<sup>20</sup>.

The explanation of the name by the non-Assyrian Heb. verb נִחַם, *niham*, shows that we have here (as

<sup>1</sup> The title of Atra-khašiš, 'the very wise,' applied to Utu-napistim, was also applied to other heroes of the antediluvian age of Babylonia, to whom the origins of civilization were ascribed. This might explain the substitution of Nukhūm for Utu-napistim, one Atra-khašiš being replaced by another. Moreover, as will be shown in the note on 9<sup>20</sup>, Nukhūm (or Nukhūm-ili?) was originally the first man himself rather than the son of the first man.

in 4<sup>25</sup>) a Hebrew gloss. But *niham* is not an explanation of נח, 'Noah,' which has no final *m*. In the Babylonian cuneiform of the Khammu-rabi period, however, the name is written Nukhum, with the usual 'mimination,' and occurs among the West Semitic names in the legal documents. It must, therefore, have been the Babylonian cuneiform Nukhum which the Hebrew writer had before him when he connected it by a punning etymology with the verb *niham*. The name really means 'rest,' and is an abbreviation of names like Nakhum-Dagan. Nukhum also occurs, as well as the hypocoristic Nukhi-ya: נח, *zeh*, 'this one,' is used here like the Assyrian *annu*. The rest of the verse, however, shows no trace of an Assyrian original.

31. According to the Septuagint, 753 years; according to the Samaritan version, 653.

32. Noah was 600 years old, *i.e.* a Babylonian *ner*, when the flood came (7<sup>6</sup>); consequently his three sons were born 100 years before that event. To the Babylonian sexagesimal system, with its *soos* of 60, its *ner* of 600, and its *sar* of 3600, the later decimal system has accordingly been attached.

Shem is the West Semitic god Šumu or Šamu, from whom the Khammu-rabi dynasty traced its descent, its first king being Šamu-abi, 'Shem is my father.' In the West Semitic compound names of that period, Šumu—literally 'the Name'—is frequently substituted for the name of some individual deity which happened to be the first element in the compound. In Shem, therefore, we must see the eponym of the Western Semites of Southern Arabia and the West during the Khammu-rabi age.

Ham in the O.T. is the eponym of Egypt, which in the Mosaic age included what was then the Egyptian province of Canaan. The origin of the name is unknown. The Mendaite 'Book of Adam' changes it into Yamin.

Japhet is the Iapetos of Cilicia, who is stated by Stephanus Byzantinus (*s.v.* 'Αδαμα) to have been one of the seven Cilician gods, children of the Earth and Sky. He thus represented the Hittite and other populations of Asia Minor. Greek mythology made him the husband of Asia and father of all mankind, and counted Atlas and Prometheus among his sons.

The triad had its origin in Babylonia, where the State religion, after the amalgamation of the Sumerian and Semitic elements, arranged the hierarchy of the gods under the triad of Anu, the Sky, Ellil, the Earth, and Ea, the Water. The

human triads, whether sons of Adam, of Lamech, or of Noah, would represent the same system of arrangement.

From this analysis it results that:

- (1) Babylonian documents lie at the back of Gn 4-5. One of these was entitled *Enuma ilāni Adama ibni* (or *ibnu*), and had been incorporated into a later document entitled *Annāti tālidāt*.
- (2) There were also documents of West Semitic origin, but written in cuneiform and the Babylonian language.
- (3) Different versions of the same story existed: in some cases one version was Babylonian, and the other version West Semitic.
- (4) These documents and versions lay before a Hebrew writer who made use of them, and who also wrote in cuneiform characters and the Babylonian language.
- (5) The Babylonian list of ten antediluvian kings which is not older than the age of Khammu-rabi was known to him, and he has harmonized his history with it as the Septuagint has harmonized the Biblical chronology with the Egyptian.
- (6) His work has been translated into Hebrew by a writer who has made several additions to it, and whose translation has been partly literal, partly paraphrastic. The transference of the name of Nukhum (Noah) from the son of the first man to the hero of the Deluge seems to have been due to him.
- (7) In some cases the meaning of the Babylonian has been misunderstood, thus introducing difficulties into the narrative.
- (8) The etymologies are due to the translator, who in the case of Noah supposed the final 'mimination' to belong to the root of the name (5<sup>29</sup>).
- (9) Alternative renderings were given in some instances of a Babylonian word, just as in the cuneiform tablets alternative renderings are sometimes given of a Sumerian word; hence the expression in 4<sup>22</sup>.
- (10) Corruptions have crept into the Hebrew text since it was first written, some of which may be subsequent to the period when the Septuagint translation was made.
- (11) The reference to the ironsmith in 4<sup>22</sup> cannot be earlier than about 1600 B.C.