BEL, THE CHRIST OF ANCIENT TIMES

BY

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THE following pages herewith issued in book form have appeared in The Monist, as early as October, 1903, pp. 67-119. At first it was my intention to issue together with them another paper entitled "The Babylonian Trinity, the Prototype of the Christian," but I have decided, upon the request of other scholars, to issue them now and wait with my other article till I have made accessible to the learned world a very small fraction at least of the immeasurably rich material of the Temple Library of Nippur, the discovery of which will always remain a monument to the immortal fame of Prof. Dr. H. V. Hilprecht.

At present I am engaged in copying and translating some of the oldest religious texts found in the Temple Library of Nippur. To my great surprise these texts more than corroborate my contention that the Babylonian religion is a purely monotheistic religion, more particularly a monotheistic trinitarian religion, patterned after the Nippurian prototype Enlil ("Father"), Errish (or NIN-IB, "Son"), Ninlil ("Mother"), which Trinity in Unity is represented in the Old Testament by Yahveh (or Elohim, "Father"), Mal'ak Yahveh (or "Angel of the Lord," "Son"), Ruach ("Spirit," "Mother") and in the New Testament by "Father," "Son," "Holy Spirit," and in my forthcoming volume I shall take the liberty to refer repeatedly to these pages.

It is to be expected that in the course of five years
Assyriological science has made some progress, but though
this is the case, I do not see that it has in the least affected
a modification of any of my contentions here.

In issuing these pages it is my hope that the prospective
readers will see in the Christian Religion, as I do, the
glorious culmination of the wisdom and faith of ages past.
The “Light that lightens the world” said of himself, “be-
fore Abraham was I was.”—He was and existed and was
worshiped as “Son of the God of Heaven and Earth” under
various names as early as 7000 B.C., when the mono-
theistic trinitarian religion of Babylonia was systematized.

Hugo Radau.

Philadephia, Pa., March, 1908.
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II. THE ESSENTIAL DOCTRINE OF BABYLONIAN RELIGION.

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I. THE BABYLONIAN PANTHEON.

THE GENEALOGIES OF ISHTAR AND NUSKU AND THEIR DIFFICULTIES.

It is admitted by every one who has studied the religion of the Babylonians, that it is from the first to the last polytheistic. If we were to take the trouble of counting together the Babylonian divinities occurring in the inscriptions and especially in the several "lists of gods," we would get nearly as many as 500-1000 different gods. This state of affairs is indeed annoying for one who tries to understand such a "theological system." The difficulty is, however, still more increased, not only by the various identifications of one god with another, but especially by the so-called different genealogies of one and the same divinity. Take, e.g., the goddess Ishtar!

She appears in one inscription as the daughter of the moon-god, Sin; in another as that of the god Anu, in a third as a child of Anshar or Ashshur, in a fourth as that of Bel, in a fifth as a child of Nin-ib, thus being considered not only as a daughter of Bel, but also

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1 ishtar (SUCH) mārat (dumu-sal) šīnu Sin (ESH), Ishtar's descent, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (= K. B.) VI, p. 80, 2 et passim.

2 illik mārat Anum ana pān Bēl abīsha = the daughter of Anu went to Bēl her father. IV. R. 65, col. II. 32; Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 273.


4 See note 2 above.

5 As such she is known under the name ẖ-ṯ-a, which means, according to Haupt, S. A. K. T. p. 214, 11 = kal-la-a-tu = "bride." ẖ-ṯ-a dumu-sag dink IB-A: Reisner, Hymnen, pp. 132, 44: 79, 14: 56, 10; IV. R. 21, No. 2, Rev. 54: Craig, R. T., I. p. 20, 28 is therefore translated by: kal-lat mar-tum resh-ti-tum sha šīnu Nin-[ib], i.e., "the bride, the principal daughter of Ninib," Reisner, loc. cit., p. 65, 13. This latter passage proves also dink IB-A is šīnu Nin-ib, who
as a daughter of the first-born of Bel, for *Ninib* himself is a son of Bel.\(^1\) Furthermore, the divinity *itū SUCH* is not only = Išhtar,\(^2\) but also = Ninib himself,\(^3\) nay, even = *dingir Lugal-banda*,\(^4\) the god of Eshnunna, and husband of *dingir Nun-sun*, his wife. Išhtar is also = *An-tum*, the wife of Anu,\(^5\) and as such = *itū Nin-shar*,\(^6\) who again is the "thunderbolt carrier of *Nin-Girsu,"\(^7\) or of the *Ē-kur*.\(^8\) Yes, Išhtar has become even a common name for "goddess," and suffered to have a plural form "Išhtarāte" = goddesses.\(^9\) Not very much better is it with god *nusku* (PA+KU). In one and the same sentence, he is called: "The one begotten by Anu," the "firstborn of Enlil," the "sprout of the ocean," the "creature of the lord of heaven and earth.\(^10\)

In another inscription he appears as the "son of *Ē-kur," the great one, who like Nannar (the moon-god)... busies himself with

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Changes again with *dingir IB* in Zimmern, *Ritualeinschr.,* No. 26, col. III. 48, 49, where *dingir IB* is called the *gash-su bu-kur itū Bel* (*dingir BE*), i. e., "the mighty, the first-born of Bel." The title *kallatu, "bride," is not only boatne by (a) Išhtar but also by (b) *itū A-a*, the *ē-gi-a rabītu*, V. R. 65, 19b, who as such is identified not only with the Išhtar Annunit of Sippar, the wife of Shamash, the sun-god: V. R. 61, 5b; 40b; 65, 35a, etc., but even with Shamash himself: II. R. 57, 15a; (c) by Tashmetum, the wife of Nabû: IV. R. 59, 41b; Zimmern, *Shurpu*, II. 157: *kall-ta-tum rabī-tum, "the great bride." Here Tashmetum is mentioned in close connection with *itū Na-na-a*, who in loc. cit. l. 156 is directly coupled with Nabû, while in l. 197 it is Tashmetum again who is mentioned with Nabû. Hence Tashmetum = Nanâ! (d) *Tsarpantiṭum: itū Tsar-pa-na-tum be-el-tum rabī-tum kirra itū En-bi-lu-lu ka-lat itū Nu-[gim-rul],* i. e., the great mistress, the wife of Enbilulu (= Marīdūk, see Reisner, *Hymnen*, pp. 53, 19; 46, 10: *umun dingir En-bi-lu-lu dumu-sag dingir En-ki-ge*; cf. also Reisner, *loc. cit.*, 138, 118), the kallat of Nūgimmūt, Cfaig, R. T., I. p. 31, 22, cf. l. 16.

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1 See preceding note.  
2 See p. 1, note 1.  
3 ID R. 57b, Rev. 35: *dingir(ti.ish.chu)SUCH = ditto (i. e., itū Nin-ib) sha ra-am-ku-ti, i. e., dingir SUCH*. When pronounced Tischu, is the god Ninib of "the pouring out," or better of "the Washing, cleansing, himself" (Jensen, K. B. VII p. 365).  
4 See my forthcoming article on Jahveh.  
5 Hence his daughter and his wife!  
6 II. R. 54, No. 3, l. 19.  
7 See my Creation Story, (= C. S.) p. 44, note 1, and p. 46.  
9 See Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 154a. This is the reason why Išhtar may signify almost any goddess.  
the command of the "Enlilship," who guardeth the mystery. In a third he is called the "son of the thirtieth day of the month. In a fourth he is designated "the great one, the one begotten by Dur-an-ki." He is identified not only with Nergal, the god of the nether world, whose "day of death" was celebrated on the twenty-eighth of a month, but also with \textit{dingir BIL-GI}, resp. \textit{dingir GISH-BAR}, etc., etc.

Provoking as such genealogies might seem at the first glance, yet, we will have to admit, that they had, yes, must have had and still have a reason. If, therefore, we want to bring light into this chaos, we cannot do it by ridiculing these genealogies, nor by building up, first of all, a theory of our own and then try to fit and force the different gods into our theory, but we always and under all circumstances must maintain the accuracy of these "contradictory" genealogies and explain them by other passages of the Cuneiform Literature, which may help us to the right understanding of

\textsuperscript{1} Môr (dumu-ush) É-kur shur-bu-ú sha ki ma \textit{\textit{d}u URU-KI-ri} (= Nannaš-ri!) \ldots \textit{mut-ta}b-úl \textit{pa-ra-at}s \textit{\textit{d}u} \textit{EN-LIL-ú-ti na-tsr pí-r[tis-ti].} Craig, Religious Texts, I, p. 35, obv. 7, 8. Zimmerf, Keilinschriften und das Alle Testament (= K. A. T.\textsuperscript{2}), p. 416, note 3. Wants to find in this inscription the statement that Nuku is also the son of Sin! The reading \textit{\textit{d}lid}dishu, which he finds in the Rev. I. 6 f., is—at least according to Craig's copy—not justified!

\textsuperscript{2} IV. R\textsuperscript{2}. 23, 3 f.

\textsuperscript{3} K. 3285, Bezdol, Catalogue, p. 520: \textit{\textit{d}uPA+KU} shur-bu-ú \textit{\textit{i}lid-ti} Dur-an-ki.

\textsuperscript{4} See Cossean Vocabulary.

\textsuperscript{5} IV. R. 33, 33. From these latter three references Jensen (K. B. VI. pp. 413 and 466) concludes that Nuku = Nergal, the former being the Neumondsichel, the latter the abnehmender Mond,—a conclusion which I am willing to accept with the following reserve: Nuku = Nergal is = SIN or Nin-Girsu. As Nin-Girsu was the chief messenger of Enil, so \textit{\textit{d}ingir Nuku} \textit{lugh-mag\textit{h}d \textit{\textit{d}ingir En-lil-lal} (E. B. H. 223, 3), i. e., "the exalted ambassador of Enil," originally = Nin-Girsu, became, when Sin was made the highest god of the Babylonian pantheon, thus being identified with Enil (Creation Story, p. 50), his (Sin's) messenger. And as the \textit{\textit{n}in-girsu} was identified with \textit{\textit{n}in-\textit{n}in}, so was Nin-Girsu with Enil, and Nuku or Nergal with Sin,—hence Nuku's worship in the temple of the moon-god at Haran, Inscript. of Nabu-nâ'id, K. B. III\textsuperscript{2}. p. 101, col. II. 18, 42. But the messenger of a god is always his son! Hence Nuku or Nergal, the messenger of Sin, had to become also his (Sin's) son. The son of Sin (or ZU) is Shamash (or UD), thus it happened that Nergal (= Nuku) was said to be = Shamash, see Sp. I. 131 (Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, VI. p. 241) l. 52 ff.; Zimmer, K. A. T\textsuperscript{3}. p. 388.

\textsuperscript{6} As Jensen, K. B. VI. 319, 320; Kosm. 273 does it.

\textsuperscript{7} As is done by Barton, Sketch of Semitic Origins.
the nature of the god in question. If in course of such an investigation we come to understand his nature and his essence correctly, we also will and must be able to account for his genealogy, even if it were the most contradictory.

That so many different genealogies of one and the same god do exist in the religious doctrines of the Babylonians, is, no doubt, due to the various elements to be found in the Babylonian population. The little valley between the Tigris and the Euphrates was since the "dawn of history" the land which, on account of its fertility, almost all the nations of the ancient world tried to possess and actually did possess. In the inscriptions discovered in this valley we find mentioned, besides the specific Semitic-Babylonian, also Persian, Aramaeán, Arabic, Hittite, Elamitic, Cossean, Canaanitish, and Sumerian gods. A religion of the Babylonians must, therefore, be primarily a history of their religion; and if the investigator ignores such a historic development, his results must be pronounced, from the very first, a failure.

THREE EPOCHS OF BABYLONIAN RELIGION.

It is not my intention to give such a history of the Babylonian religion here—the material so far accessible to scholars would prevent me from doing this—but I want to show by a few examples that we are still able to bring some light into the chaos, if we study the religion historically.

To put it briefly, we may say that the religion of the Babylonians may be divided into three epochs:

I. The Sumerian, embodying the oldest so-called "Semitic Babylonian" religious elements. What these latter are or were, we cannot tell as yet. It would seem, however, that the oldest Semitic religious ideas, as expressed in the inscriptions, were in all essentials and particulars the same as those of the Sumerians, i. e., the so-called Semitic-Babylonians seem to have adopted the Sumerian pantheon "in toto" without any perceptible admixture of their own.

II. The Canaanitish epoch. This began at about 3000 B. C.¹

¹ Shortly before the "kings of Ur and of the four quarters of the world." The inscriptions of these kings distinguish very often between the "Nippurian Enlil or Bel" and another, i. e., probably Marduk or possibly Dagan.
when the Canaanites invaded Babylonia. At the time of Hammurabi, at about 2200 B.C., they are masters of the whole of Babylonia. Their own specific god has become the god κατ’ ἑκοχήν. These Canaanites made Babylon their capital. Their god became thus the city-god of Babylon, and when, in course of time the whole of Babylonia had been subjugated, the city-god of Babylon became the "god of Babylonia." We may call, therefore, this epoch, also the Babylonian epoch.

III. The Assyrian. During this time we find nearly all the characteristics, not only of the Sumerian but also of the Babylonian period, with this exception, however, that the specific god of the Assyrians is put at the head of the pantheon and worshipped in the royal capital of the Assyrian kings.

The god of the first epoch was Enlil, that of the second Amarud or Marduk, that of the third An-shar, which name was read at this time Ashshur. As Marduk displaced Enlil, so did Anshar displace Marduk. Such a "displacing," however, was only one in "name,"¹ not in essence, i.e., simply the name of the new victorious god was substituted for that of the old conquered god. Thus it happened that the attributes, genealogy, court, servants, etc., of the conquered god were added to those of the victorious god, to whose glory, power, and honor they were thought to contribute greatly. Thus we get the strange phenomenon, that one and the same god may have two genealogies, two different kinds of servants, etc. In a historic investigation, such a phenomenon will always have to be kept in mind, and the question will have to be asked and answered: What genealogy belongs to the god originally, and what was transferred to him? That such questions can be answered only by taking into consideration the historic development of the Babylonian religion, is, of course, self-evident. As times went on, the attempt was made to harmonise or better identify such two originally very different genealogies. The result of such harmonising or identification was that, e.g., the father of the conquered god was made to be the same as the father of the victorious, at that

¹See also my remarks with regard to the change of the name of El-shaddai into that of Jahveh, Creation-Story, p. 58.
time reigning, god, and so on. The outcome of such an attempt was finally not merely henotheism but an almost pure monotheism.

IDENTIFICATION OF ENLIL, MARDUK AND ANSHAR (ASHSHUR)

Not only, however, were the attributes of the Sumerian Enlil transferred to Marduk resp. Anshar or Ashshur, but even the very name "Enlil" became a title of these latter gods—a title, which is generally transcribed and read bêl, i. e., "lord," but which still betrays to us the fact that Marduk as well as Anshar played the rôle of Enlil, nay, were in all particulars—even with regard to their respective genealogies—identified with him. In a hymn, written at the time of Ashshur-bân-apal, King of Assyria, Ashshur is addressed as follows: 2

1. "The great one, the hero of the gods, the omniscient,
2. "The esteemed one, the glorious one, the En-lil-lal of the gods, he who determines the fates,
3. "An-shar (=Ashshur), the great lord, the omniscient,
4. "The esteemed one, the glorious one, the En-lil-lal of the gods, he who determines the fates
5. "[ ] An-shar, the powerful one, the hero of the gods, the lord of the lands."

In the very same hymn we further learn, that Ashshur has his abode in É-char-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra, i. e., in the "house of the great mounain of the lands, or in the É-shar-ra, i. e., "the house of the totality." 4 He is "the creator of AN-NA, the builder of the forests," 5 "the creator of the gods, the one who begot Ishtar." 6 His lordship is glorified by Anu, Enlil, Ea, Bêlit-îlî, the Igigi, and the

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1 C. S. p. 69.
2 1. shur-bu-â e-tîl ilâni mêk mu-du-û ka-la-ma
   2. kab-tu šû-tu-qa īnu EN-LIL-LAL ilâni mêk mu-shim shi-ma-a-ti
   3. An-shar bêlu šur-bu-û mu-du-û ka-la-ma
   4. kab-tu šû-tu-qa īnu EN-LIL-LAL ilâni mêk mu-shim shi-ma-a-ti
   5. [ ]-bi An-shar dan-dan-nu e-tîl ilâni mêk be-el ma-ta-a-ti.

3 [īlu a]-shib É-char-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra, Craig, loc. cit., l. 8.
Anunnaki in the Ubshugina, i. e., the place or room of the assembling hand." 1 Similar are Anshar's titles in a prayer of Sinacherib (?), where we read: 2

1. "To Ashshur, the king of the totality of the gods, to him who begot himself 3 the father of the gods,
2. Who prosper by his hand in the abyss, 4 the king of heaven and earth
3. The lord of all the gods, to him who begot 5 the Igigi and the Anunnaki,
4. Who built the heaven of Anu and the "great place," who made all men, 6
5. Who inhabiteth the bright heavens, the Enil of the gods, who determines the fates,
6. Who dwelleth in É-shar-ra, which is in Ashshur, the great lord, his lord."

Not satisfied with this, the Assyrians went still a step farther. If Anshar be equal to Enlil, be indeed identical with him, then, it was quite natural for them that they should consider Ninlil, the wife of Enlil, to be also Anshar's wife. Sinacherib, when praying to Anshar, includes in his supplication also an address to the wife of Anshar, whom he calls:

"Nin-lil, queen of É-shar-ra, wife of Anshar, who created the great gods." 7

These passages will suffice to prove that Anshar or Ashshur is in all respects the same as Enlil, whose name he even received.

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2 1. a-na An-shar shar kish-shat ilānmēš ba-nu-u ʾaṃ-ni-shu ʾaš= (=ad) ilānmēš.
2. šaš ina apš ish-mu-chu qat-tu-ush shar šamēc u ʾiršitīmī(m) 3. bēl ilānmēš ka-la-ma ša-ʾpi-šu ʾēnIgigi (= V + IL) u ʾēnA-nun-no-[ki].
4. ša-ti-ig sa-ʾmi ša-ʾnu-ʾa-nim u ki-gal-li e-pšu kul-lat ʾa-ad-me
5. ʾa-shib du-ru-mu ʾēltīmēš ša ʾēnEN-LIL ilānmēš mu-shim ʾūmašīlūmēš
3 Ashur is here without father and mother, the self-existing god.
4 I. e. the Anunnaki.
5 Lit. = "poured out" = rachâ. The Igigi and the Anunnaki are repeatedly called the richêt ēnA-nim, i. e., "the outpouring" = seed of Anu. For this signification of rachâ see Jensen, K. B. VI, pp. 365 ff. 513.
6 Or human habitations.
Both are "the father and god of the gods,"\(^1\) the "king of the gods," "the king of heaven and earth," the "creator of all mankind";\(^2\) both have the same wife: Nin-lil.\(^3\) We may make therefore the equation:

\[
\text{Anshar} = \text{Enlil} = \text{Ashshur} \\
\text{Ninlil} = \text{Bēlit} = \text{Ishtar.}
\]

Anshar has his abode in É-char-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra or in É-shar-ra; Ninlil, his wife, dwells in É-shar-ra; Enlil of the Sumerians dwells in É-kur. If Anshar and his wife be the same as Enlil and his wife, it would follow that their respective habitations—their temples, which here, as in all other cases, stand for a certain definite cosmic quantity—are also the same, i.e., that the cosmic É-char-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra or É-shar-ra be = the cosmic É-kur. If É-kur, "the mountain-house," be the realm of Enlil, and if Enlil be the king of "heaven and earth," then É-kur = É-shar-ra = É-char-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra must be = "heaven and earth" too!\(^4\)

**SOLUTION OF THE DIFFICULTY.**

When making the equation Anshar (Ashshur) = Enlil, we would seem to be in straight contradiction not only to Damascius, but also to the Babylonian Creation Epic.

Damascius\(^5\) informs us that Tauthe (= Tiâmat), the mother of the gods, and Apason (= Apsû) begot 1. Mōûmis (= Mummu); 2. Lache (= Lachamu) and Lachos (= Lachmu); and 3. Kissare (= Kishar) and Assoros (= Anshar). By the latter two were born Anôs (= Anu), Illinos (= Enlil), and Aos (= Ea). Damascius's authority for this statement is generally supposed to be the first tablet of the Babylonian Creation Epic, from which we learn, that Tiâmat and Apsû, "when their waters in one joined themselves to-

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\(^1\) Thus the *ab-bal dingir dingir-ru-ne* in E. B. H. p. 97, and C. S. p. 19, 9, ought to be translated.

\(^2\) For these attributes in connection with Enlil see my *Creation Story*, p. 19 f.

\(^3\) Just as Enlil became a title, viz., *bēl* = lord, so Ninlil became at this time — *bēlīt* = mistress — an attribute borne chiefly by Ishtar, who therefore appears in most cases as the wife of Ashshur.

\(^4\) This against Jensen, *Kosm.*, p. 194; K. B. VII. pp. 50, 41; 369, who thinks that É-kur, etc., be = earth!

together," brought forth Lach-mu and La-cha-mu, and later on also (?) An-shar and Ki-shar. A long time after these latter two there were born also Anu, Enlil, and Nugimmut (= Ea). If we compare these two accounts we find, that Moûmis (= Mummu\textsuperscript{1}) is not mentioned at all in the beginning of the Babylonian Creation Epic. Later on he is introduced quite abruptly and seems to have been a "son of Apsû."\textsuperscript{2} In the newly-discovered fragments of this very same Epic\textsuperscript{3} Mummu appears as a messenger (!)\textsuperscript{4} of Apsû, which latter, together with his wife, Tiâmat, and Mummu enters into a conspiracy against the newly-created gods, who had by their "action" disturbed him. Ea hears of this conspiracy and puts—it would seem—an end to Apsû and Mummu.\textsuperscript{5}

But how could Damascius possibly put Mummu before Lachmu and Lachamu, seeing that the first tablet of the Creation Epic cannot have been in this respect his authority?

In order to explain this we shall have to consider somewhat more fully Damascius's statement as well as that of the first tablet of the Babylonian Creation Epic. We begin with:

\textbf{A. MOMMU.}

The Babylonian Mummu was correctly recognised to be the prototype of the Greek \textit{Μουμμας} (Moûmis)—an attribute not only of Tiâmat,\textsuperscript{6} but also of god Ea.\textsuperscript{7} The god Ea is the Sumerian En-KI,
i. e., "Mr."¹ KI, and as such the "god of the terrestrial ocean." On another place² I have shown that "Mr." KI was a brother of AN, "the heavenly ocean." Mr. KI’s mother is said to have been dingir GUR—the primeval ocean or Tiâmat; hence, if dingir GUR be the mother of Mr. KI, she also must have been the mother of Mr. AN. At the time when I wrote my Creation-Story, I was not aware of the fact that there was to be found in the cuneiform literature an excellent corroboration of this statement. While studying Jensen’s Kosmologie I found that he already had mentioned two passages³ in which dingir Gur is called the dingirám-ù-tu-AN-KI, which name can be translated, however, only by "the mother that brings forth AN and KI," and not, as Jensen does, "the mother that brings forth heaven and earth," for if dingir GUR be the mother of Mr. KI, and if Mr. KI be "the terrestrial ocean," it follows, that KI in the name dingirám-ù-tu-AN-KI cannot mean "earth." And if KI means "the terrestrial ocean," then AN must mean "the heavenly ocean," who is a brother (achu) and as such opposed to (an achû) the terrestrial one. This name also proves that according to the Sumerian conception, upon which Genesis i. is based, the world was not created but generated, that we have to see indeed in Genesis i. a מֹדֵלַח (Toledoth), a "generation" of heaven and earth, a cosmogony, which cosmogony in Sumerian is at the same time a theogony!

Mr. KI or Ea, the god of the terrestrial ocean, was considered to be the father not only of the "produce of the sea," but also of the "produce of the earth,"⁴—he, therefore, is called the mummu or ocean,⁵ that builds, creates, produces (ba-an) everything (ka-la).⁶

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¹ [illegible] KI = the son of Ea, called (Craig, Rel. Texts, I. p. 31, 23) =mār mu-um-me, i. e., the son of mumme.
² "Mr." = en is used here in opposition to "Mrs." = nin, i. e., en is the husband and nin is the wife. The translation "lord" for en and "mistress" for nin does not give in this particular case the correct and intended meaning. In other words: en = lord is the sensus litteræ, while en = Mr. is the sensus litteralis.
⁴ Creation-Story, p. 37; Monist, XII. p. 604.
⁵ Sie! Against, Jensen, K. B. VII. p. 303: "Form." See also Delitzsch, Handwörterbuch, p. 415b. Marduk, the mār mu-um-me is therefore the same as Marduk mār aṣf.
⁶ See above, p. 9, note 7.
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amu came into existence, etc.” By this translation we are left in
doubt with regard to the parents of Lachmu and Lachamu, who
otherwise are mentioned quite frequently in the Babylonian Cre-
tion Epic. What else we learn about Lachmu and Lachamu may
be classified under the following heads:

B. LACHMU AND LACHAMU.

1. They are the parents of An-shar, who therefore is the son of
Lachmu and Lachamu.  
2. They are the parents of Marduk. Marduk becomes thus,
together with Anshar, a son of Lachmu and Lachamu.  
3. Tiâmat appears as the enemy of Lachmu and Lachamu.  
4. Lachmu and Lachamu are creators, and those whom they
had created are to be found at the side of Tiâmat.  
5. *ImLa-cha-mi is one of the eleven helpers of and created by
Tiâmat.  

Summing up these facts we would have to distinguish—it
seems—between at least the following Lachmus and Lachamus:

a. the parents of Anshar and Marduk, Nos. 1, 2.
b. the enemies of Tiâmat and creators, Nos. 3, 4.
c. and Lachami as one of the eleven helpers of Tiâmat. 

This confusion is increased, if we take into consideration two
lists of gods, where *ImLach-ma and *ImLa-cha-ma form one pair.

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1 K. B. VI. p. 12, l. 11 ff.: 11. “Go, Gaga, present thyself to them.” 12. “The
command which I gave thee, make known unto him.” 13. “An-shar, your (i. e.,
L. and L.’s) son hath sent me.” Conf. loc. cit., p. 16, 67: CaRus, Monist, loc.
cit., p. 414, where it is recorded that Gaga did go to L. and L., and, when he
appeared before them, said unto them: “An-shar ma-ru-ku-nu u-ma-i-em-an-nu,”
i. e., “Anshar, your son hath sent me.” See, however, below sub C. 1.
2 K. B. VI. p. 14, 55: CaRus, loc. cit., p. 414. Anshar dispatches his mes-
senger Gaga to inform L. and L. that Anu and Nugimmut had been sent out
already by him (i. e., Anshar) against Tiâmat—but with no result. “Whereupon
I (i. e., Anshar) commanded Marduk, the wise one among the gods, your son
(to go against Tiâmat).”
3 K. B. VI. pp. 16, 65; 20, 124, 125; cf. p. 12, 4. and see below, C. 3.
4 K. B. VI. p. 4, 4 below; cf. pp. 12, 17-18; 17, 76.
5 K. B. VI. pp. 6, 17 (= CaRus, loc. cit., p. 411); 18, 89.
6 II. R. 54. No. 3. 9. and III. R. 69, No. 1, obv. l. l. 14, 15.
among the "twenty-one who have An-na for their parent"\(^1\) and where they are identified with \(\text{\textit{Il}nuAn-\textit{nu-um}}\) and An-tum. In a third list\(^2\) appears \(\text{\textit{Il}nuLach\text{-ma}}\) even as the "\(\text{\textit{Il}nuAn-\textit{nu}}\) of the totality of heaven and earth."\(^3\)

The same confusion is met with

C. ANSHAR AND KISHAR.

1. The first tablet of the Babylonian Creation Epic mentions Anshar and Kishar after Lachmu and Lachamu, as children of whom? of Ti\(\text{\textit{am}}\)at and Apsû? or of Lachmu and Lachamu?\(^4\) Later on, however, appears Anshar as the son of Lachmu and Lachamu.\(^5\)

2. Anshar is the father of \(\text{\textit{Il}nuAn-\textit{ni}u(m)}\).\(^6\)

3. Anshar\(^7\) sends out Anu and Nugimmut against Ti\(\text{\textit{am}}\)at after he had been informed of her rebellion by Ea.\(^8\) Anshar appears here evidently as the chief opponent, chief enemy of Ti\(\text{\textit{am}}\)at.\(^9\)

4. Marduk, after having overcome Ti\(\text{\textit{am}}\)at, put into prison her helpers, taken the tablets of fate from Qingu, had, by doing all this, "completely established Anshar's supremacy over the enemy."\(^10\) Marduk apparently is here the champion of Anshar, the enemy of Ti\(\text{\textit{am}}\)at.\(^11\)

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\(^1\) See below.

\(^2\) II. R. 54. No. 4, 7.

\(^3\) \textit{sha kish-shat AN-KI}, see below! For still other occurrences of \(\text{\textit{Il}nuLach\text{mu}}\) see, besides the places quoted by Jensen, \textit{Kosm.}, p. 275, also Craig R. T. I. p. 8, Rev. 1: \(\text{\textit{Il}nuLach(=Tseb-)mu}\), Craig, loc. cit., p. 30, 37: \(\text{\textit{Il}nuLach-me}\); Zimmerm, Shurpu, VIII. 19: \(\text{\textit{Il}nuLa-ach-mu}\).

\(^4\) See K. B. VI. p. 2, 12; C\(\text{\textit{ar}}\)us, loc. cit., p. 410. According to this passage, then, we are left in doubt as to the parents of Anshar and Kishar! According to Damascius, however, (see K. A. T\(^3\). p. 490: \(\textit{etra a}v\ \textit{trigyn} \textit{ek twn a}v\(\text{\textit{tov}}\) i. e., Tauethe and Apason, \textit{Kasara kai 'Asowron}), were Anshar and Kishar, the sons of Ti\(\text{\textit{am}}\)at and Apsû. If this be true, then Damascius would contradict himself here again, for he expressly told us that Mummu = Moûmis was the "only begotten" son of Tauethe and Apason!

\(^5\) K. B. VI. pp. 12, 13; (=C\(\text{\textit{ar}}\)us, loc. cit., p. 413); 16, 68 (=C\(\text{\textit{ar}}\)us, loc. cit., p. 414). See already above, sub B. 1. Also these passages show quite clearly that Damascius's statement cannot be true.

\(^6\) K. B. VI. p. 10, 1, 8, 10, 12.

\(^7\) K. B. VI. p. 14, 53, 54.

\(^8\) King, Tablett II.

\(^9\) Cf. above, B. 3, where Lachmu and Lachamu are opposed to Ti\(\text{\textit{am}}\)at.

\(^10\) K. B. VI. p. 28, 125; C\(\text{\textit{ar}}\)us, loc. cit., 418.

\(^11\) See No. 3 and cf. B., No. 3.
5. Anshar and Kishar are likewise to be found among the "twenty-one who have An-na for their parent," and as such again either =i₂uA-nu-um and An-tum, or =i₂uAn-num "of the totality of heaven and earth."¹

6. An-shar is the builder of Š-šar-ra;² according to the fourth tablet of the Babylonian Creation Epic it is Marduk who builds it.³

7. An-shar is, as we have seen above, the common ideographic writing of the chief-god of the Assyrians: Ashshur.

CORROBORATIONS.

This confusion throws a striking light upon the literary character of the Babylonian Creation Epic. Taking the above-given peculiarities into account, we would have to distinguish at least the following different sources—each source being represented by its own specific god, who at one time or another was the opponent of Tiāmat:

3. Marduk: the whole of the Creation Epic as we have it now.
4. Ashshur, whose name is only the Assyrian equivalent of the Sumerian Anshan.

From this it would also follow, that these four gods were the same—at least in "essence," if not in name:

I. Anshar is = Lachmu⁴ (and Lachamu), because both appear

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¹ II. R. 54, No. 3, 6; III. R. 69, No. 1, obv. 8, 9; II. R. 54. No. 4, 4.
² K. 3445 + Rm. 396, published in Cuneiform Texts, XIII. 24 ff. See also Delitzsch, Weltschöpfungsepos, No. 20, p. 51 ff.
³ After the lord (i. e., Marduk) had measured the form (?) of the ocean
He erected 'a great house' (esh-gal-la) like unto it; (i. e., like unto the ocean), viz., Š-shar-ra,
'The great house,' viz., Š-šar-ra, which he had built as a (or: to be a) sha-ma-mu
He caused i₂uA-num, i₂uEn-lil, and i₂uŠ to inhabit as their city."
K. B. VI. p. 30, 144–146 (Curru, loc. cit., p. 419).
⁴ Just as Nin-Girsu, the son of Enlil, was identified with his father, cf. among other arguments also the name: Š-ninnu-dingir Im-gig-ghu-bar-bar (ninnu=Enlil!), and as the "angel of the Lord" with the "Lord," so was Anshar, the son of L. and L. (B. 1.), with Lachmu, and i₂uA-ni(u)m, the son of Anshar, with Anshar (C. 2.).
a. as the enemy of Tiâmat: C. 3, 4; B. 3;
b. among the "twenty-one who have Anna for their parent";
c. are identified (a) either with $\text{i}lu\text{A-nu-um}$ (and An-tum), (\(\beta\)) or
with $\text{i}lu\text{A-num}$ "of the totality of heaven and earth."

II. Anshar = Marduk:

a. both are the sons of Lachmu (and Lachamu): B. 1; B. 2;
C. 1.
b. both are the builders of É-shar-ra: C. 6.
c. both are the enemies of Tiâmat; Anshar: C. 3, 4; Marduk:
the whole Creation Epic in its present literary form.

III. Anshar = Ashshur: C. 7.

The rôle of Ashshur as creator was derived from Anshar, or
better: "Ashshur the creator" can also be read "Anshar the crea-
tor." Marduk the creator derived his power from Enlil, whom he
displaced and whose name and attributes he received. Above we
have seen, that even Anshar = Ashshur was completely identified
with, and even called, Enlil. If therefore Anshar be = Enlil, and
if Anshar be also = Lachmu, then Lachmu must be = Enlil too!

Enlil is the "king" of "heaven and earth," Anshar as well as
Lachmu are = $\text{i}lu\text{A-num}$ "of (the totality of) heaven and earth"—
hence if our identification, Enlil = Anshar = Lachmu, be correct,
then Enlil the "king of heaven and earth" must be = $\text{i}lu\text{A-num}$ "of
(the totality of) heaven and earth," i. e., Enlil = Anum!

This result sheds a new and unexpected light upon the hitherto
completely misunderstood¹ three lists of gods, mentioned above.

For the sake of completeness and on account of their impor-
tance I may be permitted to give them here in transcription.

LIST I.: II. R. 54, NO. 3.

This list arranges the "twenty-one who have Anna for their
parent," in pairs. These pairs are husband and wife. The first
three lines, which are separated from the rest, must contain only
one out of the twenty-one names. This one name is explained ac-
cording to its different meanings, which it may have when brought
into relation to the following ten pairs. It reads:

¹ Jensen, Kosm., pp. 192 f., 272 f.; Zimmernm, K. A. T², p. 506.
BEL, THE CHRIST OF ANCIENT TIMES.

1. AN

2. AN, i. e.,3 An-tum4

3. AN-KTI

II. 4. di\n
III. 5. An-shar-gal9

IV. 6. An-shar11

The Roman numbers indicate the "pairs." The Arabic numbers give the lines of the inscription.

2 Copy gives for A-nu = ZI, but wrongly.

3 Sign GUR : Sc 239 = Brünnow, List, No. 7315.

4 The sign for god is wanting in order to avoid a possible misreading: il\n
5 (= gods of) Tum. See also note to Anshargal!

6 The common "sign of separation," Brünnow, List, No. 7757.

6 Written KI[ ]. Notice here that AN = KI.

7 If KI = ir\n
8 According to II. R. 54, No. 4 (see below!) IB has the gloss: "u-ra-\n
9 Shar = CHI = kishshatu = totality. The sign for "god" = an is wanting before this name, because, if it had been written, one might read "d\n
10 "The great lower totality"—as such opposed to the upper one!

11 For this writing instead of di\n
12 The lower totality."
BEL, THE CHRIST OF ANCIENT TIMES.

V. 7: ʹdingir En-shar¹
VI. 8. ʹdingir Du-ur[uru]²
VII. 9. ʹdingir Lach-ma³
VIII. 10. ʹdingir ʹE-kur⁴
IX. 11. ʹdingir A-la-la
X. 12. ʹdingirditto (= A-la-la)-an(u)
XI. 13. ʹdingir En-ur[ru]-ul-la⁵
14. 21 en ʿām-

¹ Either Mr. Shar (= totality) or "Lord of the totality."
² Mrs. Shar, or mistress of the totality. These two names as well as those in l. 13 show, that these pairs are husband and wife.
³ Both these names have to be translated by "Eternal (one)" = Hebr. נָח, and are as such Semitic names. Cf. also l. 13.
⁴ Sign lach = LUCH, so generally. For other writings, see besides note 3 above p. 13, also ʹdingir Lach-mu, K. B. VI. pp. 2, 10 [12, 4]; 16, 68; ʹdingir Lach-cha, K. B. VI. p. 20, 125, and ʿAḫḫu.
⁵ Also written ʹdingir La-cha-mu, K. B. VI. pp. 2, 10; [12, 4]; 20, 125. ʹdingir La-cha-me, loc. cit., p. 16, 68. (In loc. cit., p. 18, 89 appears this name among the eleven helpers of Tiāmat); ʿAḫḫu. What these names mean, is not yet apparent, but cf. at the present note of Houtsma, Zeitschrift für altertestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1920, p. 329 ff., on ʾḥḥ, ʾḥḥ, and ʾḥḥʾ.⁶ "The god of E-kur." ʾE-kur is the temple of ʹdingir En-lil in Nippur. Hence ʹdingir ʾE-kur = ʹdingir En-lil! ʹdingir Gā-ra for Gar-ra = Gāl-la = Assyrian Muallidtu = "the one who brings forth." For ṣā = gal see Jensen, Z. A. I. 192; Strassmaier, Syll. 154. This pair is left out in the list III. R. 69, No. 1, obv., where instead of it the pair AN+KI is added.
⁷ For this reading see Jensen, Kosm., 272, 2. She appears as the sister of Tammuz, who is "her only brother" (a-chī e-du) as well as "the paramount (Buhle) of her youth" (cha-mer ti-ṣi-ru-[ti-sha]); K. B. VI. p. 90, 51, 55, 47. Jensen, loc. cit., p. 404, thinks it not impossible that Belīli be = Bulāla, the queen of PA-AN, mentioned in II. R. 60, 27a and 26b. PA-AN he takes to be a name for "the nether world." An identification of Belūli with the Elamitic divinity Belala or Bilala he does not venture to maintain.
10 III. R. 69, No. 1, obv. 22 has: 21 en ʿām-a-a An-na-ge-ne. Am-a-a is transcribed in IV. R. 25 f. by a-bi um-mi:
25. zī ʹdingir En ʿām-a-a ʹdingir En-lil-lal-ge ghe-pad
26. nish be-el a-bi um-mi ša ʾen En-LIL lu-ṭa ma-a-ta.
27. zī ʹdingir Nin ʿām-a-a ʹdingir Nin-lil-lal-ge ghe-pad
28. nish be-el-ti a-bi um-mi ša i-ʿudditto (= NIN-LIL) lu-ṭa ma-a-ta, i.e., "by Bel resp. Belit the ʿām-a-a of Enlil resp. Ninlil mayest thou swear. This shows that ʿām-a-a may be applied to a male or a female god. ʿAm-a-a lit. translated is "mother-father," the Assyrian translates it by "father-mother"
Similar to the preceding is

**List II.: III. R. 69, No. 1, Obv.,**

where the names of the single pairs are arranged—with the exception of the second—not side by side, but one below the other. This list reads:

| I. 1. AN | 1\textsuperscript{st} A-nu-um |
| I. 2. AN | An-tum |
| II. 3. AN-kt\textsuperscript{1} | \textsuperscript{1}A-nu-um u (i. e., and) An-tum |
| III. 4. dINGIR IB (= URASH) | ditto (i. e., \textsuperscript{1}A-nu-um u An-tum)\textsuperscript{2} |
| III. 5. dINGIR Nin-IB (= URASH) | ditto |
| IV. 6. An-shar-gal | ditto |
| V. 8. An-shar | ditto |
| IV. 9. dINGIR Ki-shar-gal | ditto |
| IV. 10. dINGIR En-shar | ditto |
| II. 11. dINGIR Nin-shar | ditto |
| VII. 12. dINGIR Du-uru | ditto |
| VII. 13. dINGIR Da-uru | ditto |
| VIII. 14. dINGIR Lach-ma | ditto |
| VIII. 15. dINGIR La-cha-ma | ditto |
| IX. 16. dINGIR A-la-la | ditto |
| X. 17. dINGIR Be-ll-lī | ditto |

(Conf. also II. R. 62, 21c: AM-TU [which has the gloss a-ga-ri-in in V. R. 29, 67g']=a-bu um-mu). It is a shorter form for \textit{am tu-ud-da} and \textit{a-a tu-ud-da}: IV. R. 10, Rev. 51, and corresponds to our word "parent." The line in question may therefore be translated: "twenty-one of \textit{(ge)} the lord \textit{(en)}, the parent \textit{(am-a-a)} An-na they are \textit{(ne)}," i. e., twenty-one who are of the lord, the parent Anna or who have Anna for their parent. If this translation be accepted, then AN-NA-Ge would be a genitivus objective. It may be, however, also a genitivus subjectivus. In this latter case the twenty-one would be the "parent AN-NA"—thus leaving us in doubt with regard to the "parentship" of these twenty-one gods. If the AN-NA-Ge be construed as a gent. subj., the translation would be: twenty-one (sc. names) of (= for) the lord, the parent AN-NA (they are). But whatever translation we accept—the result remains the same!

\textsuperscript{1}This pair is not found in the above-given list, for there \textit{an-kt} is used as a kind of introductory explanation not only to all the following pairs, but also to the pair AN! An-\textit{kt} here takes the place of \textit{dINGIR Ė-kur} and \textit{dINGIR Ga-ra} of the preceding list.

\textsuperscript{2}We would expect that \textit{dINGIR IB} would be \textit{\textsuperscript{1}A-nu-um only}, but not so here. Cf. for the present here \textit{dINGIR En-līl}=king of heaven and earth, and \textit{dINGIR Nin-līš} also=queen of heaven and earth, and see below, p. 29, note 1.
of Š-šar-zi. Š-šar-zi is the temple of Enlil—he hence "the god of Š-šar-zi" can be only Enlil. And if Š-šar-zi be = Š-šar-zi Enlil, then his wife Š-šar-zi to must be Š-šar-zi Ninlil. We are justified in saying:

The "twenty-one who have Anna for their parent" are nothing more nor less than twenty-one different names (!) of god LIL "the king of heaven and earth," the son of AN or "heavenly ocean"—of god LIL considered either

a. as a whole = AN = LIL = ʾtīr (firmament) = "heaven and earth" = an + an or an + ki = Anum + Antum.

b. or as consisting of a male or female, i.e., of husband and wife: En-lil + Nin-lil = En-shar + Nin-shar = En-shar-gal + Nin-shar-gal = En-uru-ul-la + Nin-uru-ul-la = Anum + Antum.3

c. or as "brother and sister" (i.e., achu + achatu): En-lil + Nin-lil = En-shar + Nin-shar = En-shar-gal + Nin-shar-gal = En-uru-ul-la + Nin-uru-ul-la.4

d. or as "opposed to each other" (i.e., as achu and achatu): 5

AN + KI = An-shar + Ki-shar = An-shar-gal + Ki-shar-gal.

Although we have only twenty-one (!) names, yet we are supposed to have, according to the arrangement of the lists, eleven (!) pairs. This difficulty would require a few words of explanation.

AN is the first name, but also the first pair, for AN is not only explained by Anum and Antum,6 but also by an = Anum and an = Antum = KI, i.e., = ʾirsitim or earth.7 If Antum, the wife, be the "earth," then Anum, the husband, must be the heaven. Hence the

1 C. S. p. 19, 4: Monist, XIII. P. 586.
2 See below!
3 From this it follows that lii = shar = shar-gal = ʾuru-ul-la = (Anum + Antum sha kish-shat) AN-KI, i.e., "the totality of heaven and earth." Hence the shar -kish-shat = totality in Enlil's and Anshar's temple Š-šar is = the totality of heaven and earth—and the cosmic Š-šar must be = heaven and earth!
4 Does our modern custom of the wife's taking the "name" of her husband go back to this oldest of historic times, when the wife was the sister—thus also of one flesh—of her husband? Has anyone made this point the subject of a special investigation?
5 C. S. p. 34 = Monist, XII. p, 601.
6 See second list!
7 See first list.
name AN reveals to us the remarkable fact that it is a *pair*, consisting out of *husband* and *wife*:

Anum + Antum, that the husband and wife are also brother and sister:

\[ \text{an + an,} \quad \text{and that the husband is opposed to the wife:} \]

\[ \text{an + ki} \quad \text{— heaven + earth—the husband being “above”} \]

\[ \text{and the wife being “below.”} \]

Thus we find here a welcome corroboration of our statement\(^1\) that “*heaven and earth*” were considered to be *one*. This one cosmic quantity was called not only LIL, but also AN. AN when translated into Semitic-Babylonian becomes = *shamē*. *Shamē*, therefore, *must* stand for “*heaven and earth*” too! “Heaven and earth” are the Sumerian as well as Semitic-Babylonian and Hebrew *terminus technicus* for “*cosmos*”—hence *shamē* must be = *cosmos*! Now we understand Hesychius’s remarkable statement quoted, but misunderstood, by Jensen in his *Kosm.*, p. 3: Σανη (read Σανη) ὁ κόσμος Βαβυλώνος, i. e., “*shamē* is the Babylonian cosmos,” and Hesychius’s gloss to Βῆλος (= Marduk): οὕρανός καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος νεός, i. e., Bel or Marduk (originally = Enlil!) is not only the οὕρανός (=*shamē* = AN = an + ki = heaven + earth), but also (our) Zeus, and a son of (our) Poseidon, the terrestrial ocean = EN-KI or Ea (originally AN, the heavenly ocean!).\(^2\) The Sumerian AN, thus, is indeed a word for *cosmos* and stands as such for the first “*pair,*” i. e., either for an + an, or for an + ki = Anum + Antum, the personifications of “heaven and earth.”\(^3\)

In Craig, *Religious Texts*,\(^4\) we learn of “*a house in Nippur*” called *Dur-an-ki*\(^5\)—a name which is translated by “*band of heaven*

\[ ^{1} \text{C. S. p. 52; Monist, XII, p. 619.} \]

\[ ^{2} \text{All this against Jensen, Kosm., p. 391.} \]

\[ ^{3} \text{Against Jensen, Kosm., p. 3.} \]

\[ ^{4} \text{Vol. I. p. 19, l. 9: esh En-il-li Dur-an-ki.} \]

\[ ^{5} \text{This *Dur-an-ki* has now been discovered by Hilprecht as one of the names of the zigurrat of Nippur. See Hilprecht, *Excavations in Bible Lands*, p. 462: “A fourth name (viz., of the zigurrat of Nippur), to state this distinctly here, occurs in another unpublished text, . . . . belonging to the results of our latest excavations at Nuffar.”} \]
and earth.\textsuperscript{1} According to Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Vol. X., p. 294, l. 1, this [Dur-an]-ki is called "the band of heaven and earth, the band of the world" (mar-kas shame-e u irtsitim-tim ri-kis kib-ra-a-ti), which was situated in Nippur (En-lil-ki, l. 3) and which En-lil himself has made (l. 4.). Above\textsuperscript{2} we have seen that "É-char-sag(-gal)-kur-kur-ra is not only = É-shar-ra but also = É-kur "the mountain house," hence also this latter must be = "band of heaven and earth." But the god of É-kur, the dingir É-kur, is one of the "twenty-one who have Anna for their parent," hence the "god of É-kur" must also be the "god of the band of heaven and earth." The god of Ékur being Enlil, Enlil becomes thus the "god of the band of heaven and earth," as which he appears in K. B. VI\textsuperscript{1}, pp. 46, 8; 48, 10.

Furthermore, just as the "band of the sill" is = sill,\textsuperscript{3} and as the "firmament of heaven" is = heaven,\textsuperscript{4} so is the "band of heaven and earth" = "heaven and earth"\textsuperscript{b}—hence \textit{Dur} = מ"ם, and \textit{dur-an-ki} = firmament of heaven and earth = heaven and earth. The god of Dur-an-ki, Enlil, is therefore again the god of "heaven and earth" or of the "firmament of heaven and earth"!

Above we saw that \textit{AN} is = heaven and earth = cosmos, hence the dingir \textit{Dur-an},\textsuperscript{6} who is said to be = ilu \textit{BE} (= Bêl = Enlil!), is not only a corroboration that our conclusions be correct, but this name also shows, that dingir \textit{Dur-an} is not an abbreviation of dingir \textit{Dur-an-ki},\textsuperscript{7} but a correct and justified writing. dingir \textit{Dur-an} means the "god of the band of the shamé" = \textit{Σανη}, which is the "Babylonian cosmos," i. e., heaven and earth = an + ki!

**COROLLARIES OF THE SOLUTION.**

These considerations put us into a position to explain also the following peculiarities:

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{Rikis shamé u itsirtim}, from rakāsu to bind. \textit{Dur}=ri-ki-is, A. S. K. T. p. 71, col. I, 22.
\textsuperscript{2} P. 8.
\textsuperscript{3} K. 8665, Meissner, \textit{Suppl.}, p. 14, hinten: \textit{rikis sitṭi}=sitṭi.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{שָׁמִי} = הָרָץ, Gen. i. 8.
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Dur-an-ki}=an-ki.
\textsuperscript{6} II. R. 54, 4a.
\textsuperscript{7} As Hilprecht, \textit{Excavations}, p. 463, 2, thinks.
a. The god IM, whom we identified with Nin-Girsu or Im-gig-
ghu-bar-bar is called "the son of Anna,"¹ instead of—as in
case of Nin-Girsu—the son of Enlil. Anna being here only
another name for Enlil, the "king of heaven and earth,"
must stand here likewise for "cosmos."²
b. Very often we read of the "hosts of A-nim"³ as well as of the
"warriors of A-num, i.e., (sic!) Da-gan."⁴
That Anum be here = Enlil is apparent from the follow-
ing reasons:

a. The tsa-ab resp. qi-its-ri Anim was rightly recognised⁵ to
correspond to the Hebrew יהוה נבואה—hence Anim = Jah-
veh!

b. According to Gen. ii. 1, the "hosts" belong to "the
heaven and the earth"⁶—hence the "hosts of Jahveh"
are those of "heaven and earth," i.e., Jahveh = cosmos.

γ. "Heaven and earth" or the cosmos are in Hebrew as
well as in Babylonian the respective domains of Enlil or
Jahveh. The former has therefore the title "king of
heaven and earth,"⁷ and the latter "god of heaven and
earth"⁸—hence Jahveh = cosmos = Enlil.

δ. Anum is one of the "twenty-one who have Anna for their
parent" and corresponds not only to the Sumerian
an + an or an + ki, but also to AN, i.e., the סער, and
to the AN in dingir Dur-AN, i.e., he is the personified
cosmos, as such also called dingirĒ-kur who is the Enlil.
Hence Anim = Enlil. But if Anim be here = Enlil, then

¹ Reisner, Hymnen, p. 120, 10, 15.
² See also the different genealogies of Ninib in my forthcoming article on
Jahveh, and also the genealogies of Nusku, the son of Anu = Enlil = lord of heaven
and earth = Ė-kur = Dur-an-ki, who again were identified with Ea = ocean and with
Sin.
³ See e.g. K. B. VI. pp. 122. 4; 134. 31 et passim: qi-its-ri sha ûuA-nim.
⁴ Sargon, Bronze-Inscript., 14: tsa-ab ûuA-num u (Var. ü) ûuDa-gan.
⁵ Jensen, K. B. VI. 431.
⁶ יכלה השמדה וחראין קנ למאב
⁷lugal an-ki.
⁸ יהוה אנ控股集团 וחראין.
the hosts can be only the children resp. grandchildren of Enlil, i. e., ZU or the moon, Nin-Girsu or the thundering dark cloud, UD or the sun, Innanna or the morning resp. evening-star, etc. These children are gods and stars— even Nin-Girsu = Adad was considered to be a star: VR. 46, 44ab = mul nu-mush-da = iluSha-gi-mu and K. 263: [ ] nu-mush-da = namashšu = iluAdad. Shāgimu is a name of Adad and signifies: "the one that roars or thunders." See also Jensen, Kosm., p. 140. Hence the mentioned together with Jahveh in Psalm xxix. 1 ff., can be only = the children of Enlil, as such also gods and stars and the powers of nature—for even according to Hebrew conception the stars belong to the √אז (Gen. i. 14; C. S. p. 53), which √אז again is = Dur-an-ki, the habitation of dingir Dur-an or Enlil! The מאמז corresponds, therefore, exactly to the title of Enlil "king of the gods" (lugal dingir-ri-ne) or to the tsu-ab resp. qi-its-ri Anim.

c. Above, p. 6, we heard that Anshar = Ashshur is said to have been the "creator of An-na"—an expression which signifies the same as that on p. 7, above, where Anshar = Ashshur appears as the "builder of the heaven of Anim." Anu is in our three lists a name for "the god of É-kur," i. e., for Enlil. AN or AN-NA, we saw, means = Ša综艺节目 = Assyrian shamâ—hence "the builder of AN-NA" can mean only the "builder or creator of the cosmos," as such it is parallel to the "builder of the sa-mi (i. e., Ša综艺节目 = cosmos) of iluA-nim = Enlil. The "heaven(s) of Anu" therefore are not the abode of god AN, the heavenly ocean, but are in each and every case the cosmos, "heaven and earth" the abode of Enlil, or more especially, the "firmament of heaven" or "heaven" as opposed to the "firmament of the earth" or "earth," the specific domain of Ninlil. "The great gods that inhabit the shamâ of Anim" are therefore the moon, sun, the stars, and the powers of nature (= Adad),

etc. Hence we cannot find in this phrase the idea—as Jeremias, *Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 60, wants it—that the "Wohnsitz der Götter in verschiedene abgegrenzte Himmel geteilt ist." See also Jensen, *Kosm.* , p. 11.

d. In the sentence "the daughter of Anu (=Ishtar) went to Bel her father," above p. 1, note 2, Anu and Bel signify the same god. Ishtar is the daughter of Bel because she is the *wife* (as such called *Bau*) of *Nin-Girsu*. But Nin-Girsu being the son of Enlil or Bel, his wife had to become also a daughter of Bel—because a wife is always the *sister* of her husband.

e. As already said, the "heaven and earth," originally one, were later on differentiated and considered as husband and wife: Enlil + Ninlil = Enshar + Ninshar, etc.,—the wife being not only the sister but also "opposed" to her brother or husband. Thus it happed that there corresponds to the Enshar, the husband, an An-shar, and to the Ninshar, the wife, a *Ki-shar*, in other words: the husband was considered to be "above" = an, and the wife to be "below" = ki. The "heaven" becomes thus the husband of the "earth." This "heaven and earth" had two sons: the "moon (ZU) and the "thundering, lightning, dark cloud" (Nin-Girsu or Im-gig-ghu-bar-bar), who by means of his nature was the "mighty hero or prime minister" of his father. The "moon" had for his son the sun (UD). Exactly the same genealogy we find again in *Orac. Sib.* , III. 110 ff., where *Kronos, Titan*, and *Japetos* are called the sons of *Ouranos (= heaven)* and *Gaia* (the earth). Now, there cannot be any doubt that Kronos was originally the moon, who had become at the time when this genealogy was imported from the Babylonians, the "sun."¹ This change took place at a time when the people began to reckon according to "sun-years." We would like, therefore, to identify *Kronos* with UD the *sun*.

¹An analogy of this we find also in the Old Testament, Gen. i. 16, where the sun is likewise put before the moon and called "the greater light." See C. S., p. 65.
(originally the moon), *Titan* with *Nin-Girsu*, "the mighty hero," and *Japetos* with the *moon* (originally the sun).¹

These identifications explain also correctly the hitherto misunderstood statement of Berosus,² according to which *Kronos* warns Chisouthros (＝ *Ut-napishtim*), while according to the Babylonian flood-story it is *Ea*. On account of this peculiarity Jensen³ identified *Kronos* with *Ea*; but wrongly! *Ea* is＝*Poseidon*. *Marduk* is in the *theological* system the son of *Ea* or *Poseidon*. But *Marduk* is the AMAR-UD, i.e., the son of *UD*—according to his *name*—and *UD* is＝*Kronos*, hence *Markuk*, the AMAR-UD, may quite correctly be called the "son of *Kronos".* If *Kronos* was the father of *Marduk*, the chief-god of the Babylonians, then Ahuramazda *had to have* likewise *Kronos* for his father! Hence the gloss to Belos in the Arm. Vers. of Euseb. Chron., *loc. cit.*, p. 19: *κρόνος, quem patrem nuncupant Aramazdi.*⁴

Returning once more to our three lists we will have to distinguish between

a. AN＝"heavenly ocean," who is called in two of our lists "the lord, the parent AN-NA," and is as such the *father* of those twenty-one gods—or better of one god under twenty-one different names. In Assyrian this god is called *Anum*, and is a brother of *Ea*. *Anu* and *Ea* again are sons of the "mother" that brought forth AN and KI＝"heavenly and terrestrial ocean," i.e., of *dingir GUR*.

b. AN＝cosmos. As such it stands either for *an＝Anum + an＝Antum* or for *an＝Anum + ki* (i.e., earth)＝*Antum*.

¹ This against Zimmerm., K A. T³, p. 351, who thinks that they are "genau entsprechend der babylonischen Trias Anu-Bel-Ea als Söhnen des Paares Anshar-Kishar.


³ Kosm., p. 391.

⁴ This statement is very important. It shows that Ahuramazda was considered to be the same as *Marduk*—had therefore to have the same father. Ahriman and Ahuramazda is *Marduk* differentiated into the *Marduk* of the winter＝darkness, and the *Marduk* of the summer＝light. The *Marduk* of the winter is＝*Nebo*, and the *Marduk* of the summer＝AMAR-UD. Cf. the important passage Isaiah xlv. 7: "I am the lord, . . . I form the light, and create darkness." Here the prophet expressly denies that light and darkness have two different sources. Both have *one* god for their author,—a very correct Babylonian idea.
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c. AN either = shamā, i. e., "heaven" or = KI, i. e., "earth." The former, when personified may also be called Anum or Enlil, and the latter Antum or Ninlil. That KI = earth was called Antum follows also from different other passages in the cuneiform literature, as, e. g., Reisner, Hymnen, p. 133, No. III. (sic!), ll. 10–13, where Antum is expressed in the Sumerian line by KI, the ideograph for irtsišu = earth. Again on another place this AN-NA is directly translated by shamē or "heaven," and the KI (or KI-a) directly by irtsimtim or "earth"—thus proving beyond a shadow of doubt

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1 dingir A-nun-na AN-NA a-ri-a-ne
     ūdi ditto ša ri-chu-ut ūdi A-nim ri-chu-u

dingir A-nun-na KI (sic!) a-ri-a-ne
     ūdi ditto ša ri-chu-ut An-tum ri-chu-u.

Instead of KI we have the correcter writing KI-a in Reisner, loc. cit., pp. 132, 19, 20; 78, 12, 13. Cf. also IV. R. 21, No. 2, rev. 1. For rihūti see Jensen, K. B. VII, p. 365, 6.

2 dingir A-nun-na AN-NA mu-usši V-bi
     ūdi A-nun-na-ki ša shamē V shu-shi

dingir A-nun-na KI-a mu-usši X-bi
     ūdi A-nun-na-ki ša irtsimtim ni-ešr-shu.

Reisner, Hymnen, p. 139, 155–158.

See also Reisner, loc. cit., pp. 92, 24, 25; 135, col. III. 30. With regard to the 300 (=5 soss!) "Anunna of heaven," and with regard to the 600 (1 nēr) "Anunna of the earth," see Zimmern, K. A. T³ p. 453; Jensen, K. B. VI, p. 587. The passages cited in this and the preceding note are important. (1) We have here the Anunna of heaven, i. e., the Igigi and the Anunna of the earth, i. e., the Anunnaki, as they are generally called in the Assyrian inscriptions. Both classes are said to be the rihūti, i. e., lit. "the pouring out" = seed or sons of Anu and Antum. (2) We have seen (C. S. p. 49) that the king of the stōm-flood is Enlil, while the stōm-flood itself is Nin-Girsu or Imgigghubbarbār, the son of Enlil. Hence, when we read, that either Bēl, i. e., the old Enlil, be the "lord, the king of all Anunnaki" (Tiglat-Pileser I.= K. B. I, p. 14, col. I. 3), or that Anu be "the king of the Igigi and the Anunnaki" (Shalmanassar II., Obelisk=K. B¹, p. 128, l. 2), or that Ashshur (=Anshar) be termed "the king of the Igigi" (Adad-nirârî III = K. BÌ, p. 188, No. 2, ll. 2, 3), we must understand these statements as above, i. e., that these kings of the Igigi and the Anunnaki are at the same time their fathers, and if so, then Enlil is = Anu = Anshar. See here also above, p. 7, where it is expressly said that Anshar is he "who begot (šadap = rāchāti) the Igigi and the Anunnaki"! Where the moon-god Sin was considered to be the highest god, it is, of course, natural to find that these very same Igigi and Anunnaki should be assigned to his court, as is done in the celebrated hymn to Sin: IV. R. 9.
that $Anum = AN$ is $=$ heaven and $Antum = KI$ is $=$ earth. AN thus means indeed either heaven or (!) earth.\footnote{That one and the same ideograph should have two diametrically opposed significations is not by any means uncommon—it is simply a corroboration of Winckler's maxim: 'Jedes Ding schlägt schliesslich in sein Gegenteil um, wie es der Kreislauf der Natur vorschreibt und bedingt: Wir haben die unzertrennlichen und doch getrennten Dioskuren, Mond und Sonne=Tag und Nacht=Licht und Finsterniss=Winter und Sommer, die beiden Sonnen- und Naturhälfte.' (M. V. A. G., 1901, IV., Part I., p. 15, note 1), and I may add the "two halves of the world": heaven and earth. Among the different ideographs that may stand either for heaven or for earth, I mention besides AN only the two following:

\begin{enumerate}
\item $IM$=heaven, Sc. 288; $=$ earth, ibidem. A double IM, Brunnow, List, No. 12241, cf. No. 8502, is translated in II. R. 50, 28c; II. R. 48, 26a-b, by $shamā$, which latter can mean here only $=$ cosmos=heaven + earth. Hence the $dingir IM + IM$ in III. R. 67, 45e; III. R. 67, 42c, cannot signify originally the god Adad (or Rammān) but Enlil or Bēl, the god of heaven and earth." Cf. here also "the gods who are above (eli) the IM and below (shapal) the IM" (Finches, P. S. B. A., 1882, p. 164, 10-11), i. e., beyond the firmament or "heaven and earth," in the passage cited, p. 163, l. 10, is called the Char-sag-kalām-ma=mountain of the world!
\item $U$=shamā "heaven": V. R. 36, 45b; $U$, also read $buru=irtsitu$: V. R. 36, 46b and $U$ is the ideograph for $dingir En-lil$: V. R. 36, 5a. This ideograph therefore signifies Enlil as the god of heaven and earth—and just as in later times Enlil became an ideographic writing for bēl or lord, so $U$ was used as an ideograph for bēl. Conf. here also V. R. 37, 4d, e, f: $bifu$ or A-buru=$shamā yawttum "the far away heaven," and 1. 5: $buru=$shamā šapāštum "the lower heaven," which latter does not speak so much in favor of the "different" heavens, as it proves that the "lower heaven" be the earth.\footnote{\textsuperscript{1}}
\end{enumerate}
band being considered the *upper* and the wife the *lower* part. The upper part is the heaven and the lower part the earth. This gives us the most important fact of our whole investigation, which is: heaven and earth are husband and wife, as such called Anum and Antum who again are only two other names for Enlil and Ninlil—Enlil is the heaven and Ninlil is the earth when considered as husband and wife, but when considered as "one flesh" Enlil resp. Ninlil is the "heaven and earth" or "cosmos," hence may be called "king resp. queen of heaven and earth."  

1 Therefore Anu is called also "(the one) of the totality of heaven and earth." See p. 18, note 2.
II. THE ESSENTIAL DOCTRINE OF BABYLONIAN RELIGION

THE BELIEF IN RESURRECTION.

It was not without some very definite reason that we had to linger so very long over this preliminary investigation, for here we are in direct opposition to all other Assyriologists, who either take Enlil to be the "god of the earth" or the "god of the air."

Our result is of the highest importance, not only for a right understanding of the Babylonian religion as such, but also for the religion both of the Old and the New Testament. In the latter it is especially the doctrine of the Resurrection which from our investigation receives a new and welcome light.

The doctrine of the Resurrection, because so closely connected with the personality of Christ, is the central doctrine of the Christian religion. It is the pillar upon which the Christian Church is built. With it Christianity stands and falls. Says St. Paul:

"If Christ be not raised, then is our preaching vain, our faith also is vain" (1 Cor. xv. 14.)

And again, v. 17:

"If Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain."

It is, however, here of special interest to notice what philosophic proofs St. Paul is able to adduce for the resurrection of Christ. His proofs are:

"Now if Christ is preached that he hath been raised from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised."¹

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 12, 13.
The same argument is to be found also in verses 15, 16:

"We witnessed of God that he raised up Christ: whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead are not raised. For if the dead are not raised, neither hath Christ been raised."

Notice, St. Paul does not say: "because Christ rose, therefore the dead rise," but *vice versa*: "If there be no resurrection of the dead, then Christ did not rise;" he wants us, however, to draw the last conclusion: "there is a resurrection of the dead, and if there be, then did Christ rise!" Paul, then, takes it for an indisputable fact that the dead *can* and *do* rise, and because *they* can and do rise therefore *Christ* also *could* and *did* rise. Hence with the resurrection of the dead, the resurrection of Christ is given. The fact of Christ's resurrection is thus based, according to St. Paul's argumentation, upon the fact of the resurrection of the dead as such. If you deny the latter, you *ipso facto* deny the former. Everything depends upon our belief in the resurrection of the dead. If we do not believe in this, we do not and cannot believe in Christ's resurrection! Hence, it is quite natural, that St. Paul, when adducing the arguments in favor of the resurrection of Christ, should bring in also those proofs which establish the truth of the resurrection of the dead! And what are these?

"But some one will say, how are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come? Thou foolish one, that which thou thyself sowest is not quickened, except it die: and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not the body that shall be, but a bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other kind." ¹

The proof in favor of the resurrection of the dead is taken from *nature!* He compares the human bodies to "*grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other kind.*" The grain is put into the earth not to die and remain there, but to die and be quickened again, and thus sprout anew, rise to new life, and bear fruit. But this the grain does only in the *spring!* St. Paul's argument then is this: As in the spring nature or mother earth brings forth new life,

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 25.
quickens the "grain," makes it sprout again, so also the "dead" will be quickened, be raised to new life on that great morning when the eternal spring begins! *Nature* demonstrates the fact of the resurrection. This "resurrection," because a fact in nature, was *transferred* to "men" also—because they too are a part of nature! Men, as a part of nature, could not make an exception, could not upset the laws of nature, hence had to rise. But if men, as a part of nature, do rise, then Christ also had to rise,—for he belongs to "man." That is the argument of St. Paul.

DETAILS.

Having made this clear, we may now pass to the details in connection with Christ's resurrection. These are probably enumerated best in the well-known, but most difficult, passage of 1 St. Peter iii. 18 ff., where we read:

"Christ also suffered for sins once....being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit, in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient....the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who is on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven; angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him." 1

According to this passage the specific historic facts connected with the resurrection of Christ occurred in the following sequence:

1. suffering, 2. death, 3. quickening, 4. (a) going and (b) preaching unto the spirits in prison, 5. resurrection.

As Christ's suffering has nothing to do with our investigation here, we confine ourselves to facts Nos. 2–5.

"Death" according to N. T. *usus loquendi* is the separation of the "life-principle" or "soul" from the "body." The body is put into the grave while the soul continues to live as a "spirit." To

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1 ὁτι καὶ Χριστὸς ἀπεθανόκερκτος ἠθάνατε....θανατώθησι μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιήθησι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι ἐν ζωῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι πορευθέντες ἐκκένωσιν ἀπειθησάι ποτε....διὰ ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὃς ἐστιν ἐν δεισὶν τοῦ θεοῦ, πορευθέντες εἰς οὐρανον, ὑποταγέντων αὐτῷ ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐξοσιάς καὶ δυνάμεως. 
such spirits, i. e., souls separated from the body¹ Christ went and preached.

If "death" be a separation of the soul from the body, then the "quickening" must be a joining together, a reuniting of the soul and body. Christ had to be dead, according to Scripture, for three days. During these three days, then, body and soul were separated. After these three days—or as the variant gives it: on the third day—he had to rise, hence his "being quickened" and his resurrection had to fall on the same day! Christ is said to have risen on early Easter-morning, hence his quickening or the reuniting of soul and body must have taken place on early Easter-morning too! As soon as this "quickening" had become a fact "he went and preached." If, therefore, the question be asked: "When did Christ go and preach?" the correct answer can be only this: "On early Easter-morning, immediately after his being 'quickened in spirit'!" In this (ἐν φ) "being quickened in spirit" he went. Hence Christ's going and preaching did not take place during those three days, while his body was lying in the grave; nor did his soul only go down to the prison, but "his soul reunited to the body"—for he was quickened! Christ's journey to prison, then, falls between his being quickened and his resurrection, i. e., likewise on early Easter-morning. As such a "quickened one in spirit," i. e., as one having acquired new life—a spiritual life?—he went and preached, or better: "he going preached" (πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν). And what did he preach? The "contents" of Christ's preaching is not given here. We are therefore obliged to determine the exact nature of this ἐκήρυξεν from the context. The word κηρύσσειν expresses simply the idea that Christ "was a herald," or "officiated as a herald," or "proclaimed something after the manner of a herald." A herald always acts in the name and upon the command of a higher person—hence whatever Christ proclaimed or heralded

¹Also according to Babylonian conception the death consists in a separation of the napishtu or life-principle from the body. This napishtu continues to live after death as a so-called ekimmu or utukku, see also Jensen, K. B. VI¹. pp. 406, 453.

²This is the common explanation of the phrase, which, however, does not explain the difficulties involved, see my article on Jahveh!
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ekimmu or utukku are to be found. The ekimmu and utukku have, according to Babylonian ideas, their abode in the "nether world"—a place which was considered to be (within) the "earth." It would therefore be natural to suppose that this place, the nether world, Hades, place of departed spirits, be also meant here. If it be, then it has to be subdivided again—according to the parable of the "rich man and poor Lazarus"—into two subdivisions: (1) a seemingly comfortable place, which is called in that parable: Abraham's bosom (κόλπος Αβρααμ); (2) an uncomfortable one or Hades proper. In the former we find Lazarus, in the latter the rich man. Both of these men arrive in their respective abodes as soon as they die:

"And the beggar died, and....was carried away by the angels into Abraham's bosom, and the rich man also died, and was buried....and in Hades he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom!"

If the "prison" of St. Peter be the same as the Hades with its two subdivisions, the question may be asked: Did Christ go to the "uncomfortable" or the "comfortable" part of Hades in order to preach? According to St. Peter Christ preached "unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient." The assumption, therefore, might seem to favor the view that he went to Hades proper, the uncomfortable place, the abode of the rich man. Granted he went to this place, and granted also that he preached the gospel to the spirits in this "place of torment" in order to give them a last chance to secure their salvation, then again we would be in contradiction to Christ's express statements, who quotes Abraham as saying:

"And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf (χάρακα μέγα) fixed, that they who would pass from hence to you may not be able, and that none may cross over from thence to us."

In other words: there is "no getting out" any more—those that are in Abraham's bosom remain there for ever, and those that are in Hades proper cannot be transferred any more to Abraham's
bosom! Hence if Christ had indeed preached the "gospel to the spirits in Hades proper" he would have done something which was—to say the least—useless, for he knew that he could not help them! From this it follows that Christ did not and could not have preached the gospel, nor did he or could he have gone to Hades proper, the uncomfortable place!

Above we saw that the verb κηρύσσεω simply expresses the idea that Christ as the messenger of a higher person, heralded or proclaimed something. This he did immediately after his "being quickened in the spirit"—after having acquired a new (spiritual) life. With his being quickened Christ's battle against the powers of darkness: death and grave comes to an end. It is the assurance that he has become the victor, the king not only over death but also over life. As such a king over life and death it behaves him to sit in judgment over the life and death of the spirits in prison—and not only over these, but also over that of all mankind. Christ's heralding—because it cannot be a preaching of the gospel—must therefore express the idea that He as king over life and death has now also the fates with regard to the life and death of the whole of mankind and in particular of the spirits in prison in his hand. He instantly exercises the powers that belong to him: he sits in judgment over the fates of the spirits—he becomes what the Babylonians would call a mushîm šimâtû, i.e., "one that determines (and destines and seals) the fates." As such a mushîm šimâtû he is a herald—one that acts for another person. This "other person" is, as we shall see shortly, "the great gods," or in New Testament language "God the Father."

Judgment, however, is not passed except in a place especially set aside for this purpose. This place is called here "prison"; as such it is a house, a room in which the spirits are "kept" to await their judgment, and has, therefore, nothing to do with Hades. We shall hear more about this room when we come to speak of the Babylonian Ubshugina.

If we sum up our results they would be the following: Christ died: body and soul were separated, this separation lasted for three days! On the third day his body and soul were reunited again:
he was quickened in the spirit—acquired a new spiritual (?) life. This took place on early Easter-morning. But not only the quicken-ning occurred at this time but also his "showing or his proclaim-ing himself as the victor," and his resurrection. The proclaiming himself as victor took place in a room called "prison," where the departed spirits were kept, held for judgment. By this heralding the fates of the spirits were sealed or determined,—Christ becomes thus a Babylonian mushîm šîmâṭî, i. e., "one who determines the fates," as such he acts again as "herald," i. e., as one commis-sioned by a higher authority, which latter are the gods. After Christ had "determined the fates" of the spirits in prison, he rises. He could and did rise, because he was man. Man again can and does rise because he is part of "nature," and nature demonstrates to us every year in the spring that "the dead do rise to new life"—hence as there is a resurrection of nature, so there is and was also a Resurrection of Christ!

**ORIGIN OF THE DOCTRINE OF RESURRECTION.**

That this doctrine of the Resurrection cannot have its source in the Old Testament is now admitted by all who made this the subject of a special investigation; see here especially Professor Gunkel's article in *The Monist* for April, 1903, pp. 417–419 and 439–440, where he considers the resurrection of Christ and his descent into Hades, inclining to the belief that these doctrines were brought to Judaism from "a stellar religion in which it was the ideal of the faithful to be snatched away from the transitoriness of the earth and to become like unto the ever-beaming divine stars." And a little further below he says (p. 419): "It is well known that the be-lief in life after death has long been present in a number of Oriental religions, for example, the Egyptian and the Persian, and that the whole Orient was filled with it at the time of which we are speak-ing. It is not remarkable that Judaism also finally adopts this be-lief, but rather is it strange that it resisted the belief so long." Indeed, it is strange that Judaism did resist this belief so long, seeing that the belief in the resurrection existed among the Babylonians as early as the time of Gudea, patesi of Shîrûpa, at about 3200 B. C.
But some one may say that there are several passages in the Old Testament which do show that the Hebrews did believe in a resurrection, quoting especially the familiar passage in Job xix. 25: "I know that my redeemer liveth, etc." Professor Gunkel, when speaking of this passage, remarks quite rightly, all we can gather from this passage is that "Job thinks for a moment of the possibility that God may justify him even after death" (loc. cit., p. 417). On account of the importance of this doctrine it would seem advisable to examine the several passages of the Old Testament more closely and see whether we cannot detect in them at least some traces of a belief in a resurrection and a life after death.

The several passages of the Old Testament with regard to a life after death and a possible resurrection may be divided into three classes:1

1. Those according to which the "state" after death is a continuation of the life upon the earth. According to this view the dead possess a certain degree of self-consciousness, retain their power of speech and movement,2 have knowledge, are therefore called יִדְעָנִין—"knowing ones";3 they not only know what happens upon the earth, but they also take an interest in the fortunes of their living brethren: "Rachel weeps for her children,"4—as if she knew what had happened to the Jews during the time of their captivity; they know the future,5 whence they were consulted about it by the living. And because this life after death is simply a continuation of the life upon the earth, therefore it is natural to expect that the prophet should wear his garb of distinction, the mantle, even in Sheol.6 Kings appear here with crowns and sit upon thrones,7 the uncircumcised retain their foreskin, nations their national garb and customs,8 old people their gray hair,9 and those slain with the sword bear forever the tokens of a violent death.10

1 Conf. for the first two classes especially Cheyne in his Encyclopædia Biblica sub "Eschatology," Vol. II., pp. 1340, 1341.  
2 Isaiah 14.  
3 Lev. xix. 31.  
4 Jerem. xxxi. 15.  
5 1 Sam. xxviii. 13-20: Saul and the witch of Endor.  
6 1 Sam. xxviii. 14.  
7 Is. xiv.  
8 Ezek. xxxii.  
9 Gen. xlii. 38.  
10 Ezek. xxxii. 25.
Cheyne, no doubt, is right when he calls this view "the older." Of a resurrection we hear in these passages not a single word, although they clearly prove that with death life has not come to an end.

2. Those that express a later idea and are as such diametrically opposed to the former. According to these, death is destruction, and destruction is Sheol, or also called (the place of) violence, a place out of which "he that goeth down shall come up no more," a place not only where "kings," "counsellors of the earth," and "princes" are to be found, but also where "the wicked cease from troubling, and where "the weary are at rest," where "prisoners are at ease together," "the small and great are there, and the servant is free from his master." It is indeed a place for all classes and conditions of men! There "Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us,"—the dead therefore have absolutely no knowledge of what is happening or going on upon the earth!

Especially important is here the passage in Job xiv. 7:

"For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again,
And that the tender branch thereof will not cease.
Though the root thereof was old in the earth
And the stock thereof die in the ground,
Yet through the scent of water it will bud
And put forth boughs like a plant.
But man dieth, and wasteth away:
Yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he?
As the waters fail from the sea
And the river decayeth and drieth up,
So man lieth down and riseth not:
Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake,
[Nor be roused out of their sleep.]

What a difference between Job and St. Paul! Both employ the same method of reasoning,—but how different are the conclusions reached. For St. Paul it is just the nature which proves

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1 Job xxviii. 22. 2 Job xxvi. 6. 3 ψ cxv. 17.
4 Job vii. 9. 5 Job. iii. 14 ff. 6 Is. lxiii. 16.
conclusively that there is a resurrection, but alas! for Job the tree, though the root thereof was old, and the stock thereof die, will bud again, but man when he dieth will never rise again! Two arguments, though both based upon the phenomena of nature, lead to two diametrically opposed conclusions! And because there is absolutely no hope for man after death, therefore argues Ecclesiastes (ix. 5 ff.) in his pessimistic spirit:

"Eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart; for God hath already accepted thy works....Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he hath given thee under the sun, all the days of thy vanity: for that is thy portion in life, and in thy labor wherein thou laborest under the sun. Whatever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest."

Dark, very dark is the outlook indeed, which men have according to this view! No life, no joy, no resurrection after death! With the death everything comes to an end.

3. And yet, there are some passages in the Old Testament which do indeed betray to us a belief in a deliverance out of the grave! All these passages, however, belong to the very latest portions of the whole Old Testament writings. Now it is not necessary to construe with Professor Gunkel (*Monist*, April, 1903, p. 487) such sayings as meaning that "the faithful expects in this connection not the resurrection from the dead, but rather something very different, namely that God will save him in present danger and not permit his soul to go down into Sheol (the grave)." This explanation might possibly hold good of such passages as:

"God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol" (ψ ixl. 15).

"For thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheol" (ψ xvi. 18).

But it never could be applied to ψ xxxvii. 28:

"For the Lord knoweth judgment
And forsaeth not the saints
They are preserved *for ever* (בָּאָבִיתוֹ),
But the seed of the wicked shall be cut off."

This "for ever" clearly shows that the psalmist not only believed that God could and would preserve the soul of the saints in *present danger* but continually, always and always, for ever and ever, unto all eternity.

Meagre and few as these passages are, yet they help us to follow up the path that leads us to the source whence such a view possibly might have been important. These passages, belonging to the latest portions of Hebrew literature, and as such having been written *after* the Babylonian captivity, point thus to *Babylonia* as their source.

Quite recently Zimmern, in his K. A. T3, p. 638 et passim, saw fit to make the statement, "von einer Auferstehungslehre ist bis jetzt wenigstens keine sichere Spur in der babylonischen Litteratur zu finden." That this cannot be maintained any more now I hope to be able to show.

**WEDDING FESTIVALS OF THE GODS.**

We have seen above1 that Enlil, the husband of Ninlil, was the "heaven," while his wife was "the earth." This "wife" had in the three lists, transcribed above, different names, among which there was to be found one, viz., *dingir Ga-ra*, i. e., *Muallidtu* or "the one who brings forth," — a name which is even found in Herodotus i. 131, 199 under the form *Muurrta*.2 In our *Creation-Story*, p. 19, we heard that the wife of Enlil had several names even in the oldest Sumerian inscriptions—such as: (a) *dingir Nin-tu*, i. e., the divine mistress of the TU or "*bringing forth*" (= alâdu), therefore she is also called "the *mother of the gods*"; (b) *dingir Nin-in-si-na*, "the *mother of the world* (or people), who created the creatures of the world," but especially (c) *dingir Ba-û*, who as the wife of Enlil becomes thus the *earth*. Now it happens that we read in several inscriptions of Gudea, the patesi of Shirpurla, who lived at about

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1 See also C. S. p. 52.

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called Gi-gunu\(^1\) out of cedar-wood. This Gi-gunu appears in IV. R. 24, 4b\(^2\) not only in parallelism with É-kur and with Arallû, i.e., the "nether world," but is called there even the ashar la naptusi, i.e., "the place of the not-seeing," i.e., where one does not and can not see—the place of darkness. Nin-Girsu then dies every year and goes to the Gi-gunu. Here he is during the winter. In winter he is dead: there are no rains, thunders, and lightnings at this time! But in spring he is quickened and rises again, this he indicates by his first lightnings and thunders that even at our present times take place in the early spring. As soon as he is quickened, he rises and marries the mother earth, i.e., Ba-ú: the warm rains of the spring unite themselves with the earth, who becomes pregnant: in consequence of this pregnancy the dead things of the earth are quickened, they rise and new life sprouts! If this wedding could take place in the spring only, and if this was at the same time "the New Year's day," it follows that already at Gudea's time or about 3200 B.C. the year began with the spring, with the first of Nisan, the vernal equinox,\(^3\) and that the wedding of Nin-Girsu and Ba-ú is nothing but a spring festival celebrating the resurrection of nature to new life! It is a Resurrection Festival.

In view of this fact we now understand why Nin-Girsu should have become the "god of vegetation": he it is, who by his fructification of the earth produces vegetation, he is therefore the "god of the farmers." That Nin-Girsu was = Ninib has been recognised long ere this. Our investigations,\(^4\) however, force us to abandon the erroneous idea that Ninib was either the South or Summer sun\(^5\) or the East sun.\(^6\) Ninib (because = Nin-Girsu) is the god of storm, rain, lightnings, etc., as such also a god of vegetation,\(^7\) and a god

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\(^1\) See E. B. H., Index, sub buildings, and Gudea, Statue B, V. 15-19; Statue D, II, 7-III 1.

\(^2\) See Jensen, Kosm., p. 185.

\(^3\) This is the answer to Zimmerm., K. A. T.\(^3\) p. 514.

\(^4\) See also my forthcoming article on Jahveh.

\(^5\) Winckler, Geschichte Israels, II., 79.

\(^6\) Jensen, Kosm., p 457 f.

\(^7\) K. 133 Rev. 20 (A. S. K. T. p 81): mit-cha-tish shumi-shu im-bu-u šam-mu (= ū-mu) ana ššar-ru-ti-shu-nu = with one consent the plants called his (i.e., Ninib's) name to a kingship over them.
of the farmers. And just as Nin-Girsu quickens the dead, so it is said of Ninib: "Who has been brought down into the nether world, his body thou bringest back again." 2

Nin-Girsu was the ur-sag, i. e., prime minister of Enlil, and as in the Old Testament the "angel of the lord" was in course of time identified with "the lord," so was Nin-Girsu, resp. Ninib, with Enlil! So it happened that when the Canaanites had invaded Babylonia and made themselves masters over it, Marduk displaced not only Enlil but also his "prime minister,"—both of whose attributes and functions were now attributed to him (i. e., Marduk).

Marduk's wife was Tsarpanitum, i. e., "the one who shines (like silver)," as such she was again identified with Ishtar (=Innanna, another name for the wife of Enlil). Now, it is strange to notice that the name Tsarpanitum should have become, according to the folk-etymology, Zêr-bânîtu, i. e., "the one who creates, produces, seed!" That this must have had a reason is, of course, evident! And what is the reason?

The spring-festival of the resurrection of nature, which was conceived to be (at the time of Gudea) a wedding of Nin-Girsu and Ba-û, was transferred to Marduk who now took the highest place in the Babylonian pantheon,—it became a wedding 3 of Marduk and Tsarpanitu, which wedding likewise took place in the spring, in Nisan. This event was also considered to be a tabû 4 or resurrection of Marduk and the beginning of his "kingship" 5 upon earth. These facts alone help us considerably to explain more fully the nature of god Marduk. Marduk begins his reign, his kingship in the spring. What precedes the spring is again the winter. In winter, then, Marduk has no kingship,—he is powerless. In the

1 Cf. here Engâr = ikkarû = farmer; and dîngûr Engâr = ūu Ninib. See also p. 16, note 8.
2 King, Magic, No. 2, 21: ša ana arallê shûardušu ʒagarûtu tuterra!
5 Ir-mu-û ana sharrû-û-tu, i. e., he sat down for the kingship. Reisner, loc cit., l. 9.
spring he rises, during the winter he must be in the grave, must be dead. In the spring he "hastens to the brideship," i.e., he weds, he unites himself with Tsarpanitu. The result of this is again that Tsarpanitu becomes a mother, is fructified and vivified,—hence the Tsarpanitu becomes a Zēr-bānītu, as such she brings forth seed. This she does because she takes the place of Ba-ú or Ishtar (= Innanna), the earth! The earth by wedding Marduk is made to produce the "green things of nature," and Marduk, who causes all this, is therefore called sha miti bulluta irammu, i.e., he "who delights in quickening the dead,"—therefore he has the name bēl balātī, "the lord of life." These "dead," whom Marduk quickens can therefore be primarily only = "the dead things of nature," but came to include, because man is a part of nature, "mankind" also. In another place I have shown that Marduk was the god of light, —the light considered, however, not as an illuminating power, but as a ḫe-giving principle. Marduk, the AMAR-UD, i.e., "the son of the sun," if he were an illuminator only, could never be called "dead" or "powerless" during the winter. The "rays of the sun" —for these are Marduk—are dead or powerless in the winter, because they do not give warmth. Marduk, the god of light, becomes thus the god of the warmth of the spring, because in the spring, when he is quickened again and rises, when he begins his "kingship" and enters into a wedlock with mother earth, the rays of the sun become to be felt,—his power begins, the earth is fructified,
brings forth fruit: the dead things of the earth are quickened, rise to new life. The fight of Marduk against Tiâmat appears thus as a fight of the light, i. e., the warmth (the summer beginning with the spring) against the darkness, i. e., the cold (the winter, chaos, when everything is barren, dead), which fight took place not only "in the beginning" on "the first spring," but which repeats itself every year and which will go on ach-ra-tash nishi la-ba-rish ûmêmê,\(^1\) —for all eternity, for ever and ever. After having overcome his enemy, the winter, and thus made the creation possible, Marduk receives the highest honor which a god can or may receive: he is henceforth called by the name of that ancient Sumerian god, viz., En-lil, the "king and father of the gods," the "king of the lands,"\(^2\) as such a "king" he also has the life and death of his people in his hands. He can now determine their fates, he is a mushîm shîmâti.

This latter point leads us over to another important event which took place in connection with this New Year's festival.

The resurrection of Marduk was celebrated by the people in this way:

Just as Marduk left the nether world—a place within the earth—so his statue left or went out (atsû) of the temple Esagil and was wheeled around on a ship\(^3\) in solemn procession (mashdachu). This "wheeling around" took place on the most celebrated street in Babylon, the street Ai-ibur-shahum, i. e., probably, "not shall the dark one gain victory."\(^4\) Especially sacred during this festival were the eighth to the tenth day, on which Marduk as the highest and as the spokesman of all the other great gods "determines the fates" of mankind in a place called Du-azag, which again was in another called Ubshugina. See here especially K. B. III. 2 p. 15 ff. (=Neb. II. 54.):

\(^1\) K. B. VI.\(^1\) p. 36, 10 f.  \(^2\) K. B. VI.\(^1\) p. 36, 13.

\(^3\) That is: the ceremonies connected with this festival were such that went against "the common order of things,"—it was a festival "der ausgelassensten Freude," where everything went "upside down, the vilest car-nival" (Winckler).

\(^4\) Shâbû not = "enemy" as Del. H. W. B. p. 637 wants, see Jensen, K. B. VI.\(^1\) 335. The "dark one" is the "death," "winter," "chaos," "darkness," Tiâmat, etc.
Du-azag, the "place of the destiners of fate," which is (in) Ub-shu-gin-na, the chamber of fatces (= the room where judgment is given!), where at (the time of) the ZAG-MU-KU, the "New-Year," on the eighth (to the) eleventh day the "king of the gods of heaven and earth," the "lord of the gods," takes his abode (= sits down sc. for judgment), and where he, while the gods of heaven and earth reverently listen (?) and stand, doing homage to him, determines a fate of eternal days (to be) the fate of my life.¹

Du-azag means "bright or holy hill," and Ubshugina the "room of the assembling hand"²—we have, then, here a larger place within which there is a "hill." On this hill the great gods are assembled and determine under the presidency of Marduk the fates of mankind. Whatever may be the outcome of this šimtu šimu, this "determining of fates," Marduk declares it; he appears thus as a "herald" who although the highest god acts only with the consent of the other great gods!

Taking all these facts into consideration, the sequence of the events, connected with this New-Year's festival, has probably to be conceived of as follows:

1. During the winter Marduk is powerless, i. e., dead.
2. In the spring or in Nisan, which is the beginning of the New Year, Marduk enters upon his kingship again, i. e., he acquires new power, new life; is quickened.
3. As soon as he is quickened he rises—his quickening and his resurrection practically fall together.

¹ Du-azag ki-nam-tar-tar-e-ne
ša Ub-shu-(u)gin-na parah ši-ma-a-ti
ša ina ZAG-MU-KU ri-eshe ša-at-ti
šumu VI323 šumu XI₃²
dimme Lugal-dim-me-ir-an-ki-a bēl ili
i-ra-am-mu-u ki-ri-ib-shu
ilāni šu-ut šamē irtšiti
pa-al-šiš-ši ta-ak-ku-shu
ka-am sū in-za-zu mach-ru-ush-shu
šima at ša-em da-er-u-tim
ši-ma-at ba-la-ti-ia
i-ši-im-mu i-na ki-ir-bi.

² Jensen, Kosm, p. 240, translates this name by "Raum der Versammlung," but in this translation the šu is not accounted for.
4. Having thus been quickened and having risen, he unites himself with mother earth.

5. This union makes the earth "give up her dead"—the resurrection of nature is thus conditioned by Marduk's resurrection—if Markuk had not risen, nature (vegetation) could not rise to new life!

6. Marduk as the victor and conqueror of darkness enters in solemn procession the "holy hill" within the "room of the assembling hand" and determines here in the name of all the other great gods the fates of mankind.

This festival of the resurrection of Marduk and that of nature was celebrated every Nisan while the Jews were in the Babylonian captivity. Surely we must suppose that this spring-festival was known to the returning Jews, if we do not want to maintain that they were dead, absolutely dead, to their surroundings. We saw above that we could detect in the Old Testament at least some meagre relics of a doctrine of the resurrection, which doctrine, however, in the New Testament holds almost the same place as it did in ancient Babylonia.

THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

As Marduk had displaced old Enlil and his messenger, so Christ displaced Marduk. Marduk is the god of light—and Christ is the "light of the world," he was therefore made to have been born on the 25th of December—the festival of light—when the days begin to lengthen again and thus save the world from falling into utter darkness. Marduk was the light as a "life-giving principle," he died, and was in the grave during *three* double-months,¹ but rose again in the spring, on the first of Nisan, when he acquired new life, new strength, new power, and entered into a wedlock with mother earth, his wife, i. e., with Tsarpanitum or Ishtar. Christ, too, died, and was put into the grave, where he was for *three* days, but had to rise again on *Easter*—the festival of Ishtar.²

¹ I. e., during the six months of the winter.
² Easter and Ishtar are one and the same word. It has come into the English language from the Germans, who worshipped the goddess Ostara. This Ostara
By his resurrection he demonstrated that he, like Marduk, had overcome the powers of darkness (= the old dragon, the serpent!) and had entered upon his kingly rulership, and thus became the bêl balâti, "the lord of life." Marduk, however, not only rose himself, but forced by entering into wedlock with mother earth, this latter to give up her dead. Thus also Christ, if he really wanted to show that there began with his resurrection also his kingly rulership upon earth, had to force the earth to give up her dead—therefore it is said 1.

"And behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, and the earth did quake; and the rocks were rent; and the tombs were opened; and many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep were raised, and coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection they entered into the holy city and appeared unto many."

This passage proves, more than anything else, that there was transferred to Christ all that originally belonged to Marduk! Although we hear in these verses of all the circumstances connected with the death of Christ yet it said that "many bodies of the saints were raised, and coming forth out of the tombs after his resurrection they entered the holy city! According to Babylonian ideas there never could come forth the dead out of the earth at the death of Marduk. Matthew wanting to record the terrible earthquake in connection with Christ's death—an earthquake so terrible that even the graves were opened—feels that it was impossible to say that the "saints" rose while their life-giver was dead—hence he makes the addition "after his resurrection." With Marduk's resurrection the resurrection of the dead was given, the dead could not rise if Marduk had not risen first—hence Matthew's statement: the dead rose after his, i. e., Christ's resurrection! Christ had to

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1 Matth. xxvii, 53.

2 καὶ ἔξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν μυστηρίων μετὰ τὴν ξερασίαν αὐτοῦ ἔξελθον εἰς τὴν ὁδόν πόλιν.
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“spirits” in prison. Christ appears here like Marduk as one "who determines the fates." If this be true, then we may also venture to decide the exact nature of the Ubshugina. resp. the prison. The Ubshugina is never identified, as far as I know, with the Babylonian Hades. Taking all the places in consideration where we hear something about the Ubshugina, we may say at the present this much: It is a room in the temple of Marduk. This temple of Marduk called Esagila represents as each and every temple does "the world" or "cosmos," hence Ubshugina must represent also a cosmic quantity and as such be situated in the Cosmos. In the Ubshugina the Anunnaki are said to live. The Anunnaki, however, play an important rôle in the "judgment" of the departed souls. Hence the Ubshugina is the "place or room in which the souls of the departed are assembled" and where judgment is passed upon them. This "judgment" is given by the great gods under the presidency of Marduk, who are therefore likewise assembled in the Ubshugina. While the gods thus "determine" what shall be done with this or that soul, they sit on the Du-azag 2 or "holy hill" which likewise is to be found in the Ubshugina. After the judgment has been passed, the "souls" are dismissed to the nether world proper, where they enjoy, resp. do not enjoy their fates. The Ubshugina, therefore, as well as the "prison," is the judgment hall 3 for the departed spirits, and is as such situated likewise in the cosmos, more especially in the earth, and clearly distinct from the nether world.

Christ as well as Marduk, after having overcome the powers of darkness, and thus shown that they have power over life and death, take upon themselves instantly the functions of the highest judge, by "determining the fates." But not only this is their only reward: Marduk was made the highest god and called "En-lil of the gods," thus practically put at the head of all the other gods, so also Christ,—he was seated

1 See also my forthcoming article on Jahveh, and cf. Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 239 ff.
2 See Jensen, Kosmologie, p. 234 ff.
"on the right hand of God, having gone into heaven; angels and authorities and powers—i. e., the whole heavenly world—being made subject unto him" (1 Peter iii. 21).

Our investigations will have shown us, I hope, the following.

The doctrine of the Resurrection was known in Babylonia as early as 3200 B. C., at which time there was celebrated a spring festival. This spring-festival was a marriage between "the rains of the spring" and "mother earth." In consequence of this marriage the earth became a mother and brought forth in due time "the green things of the earth": the vegetation. These "green things of the earth" as well as mother earth and the god of rain were also considered to be "dead during the winter,"—Nin-Girsu therefore had a tomb or burial-place, the Gi-gunu, for his abode during the time of his "death." This was again based upon the common phenomena of nature: during the winter there are no rains, no thunders, no lightnings,—hence Nin-Girsu must be dead. In the spring, however, with the first rolling of the thunders,1 the people gathered that Nin-Girsu has been quickened again! Very soon there appeared also the first rains of the spring, who fructified the earth. As Nin-Girsu is not only the god of the thunder and lightning, but also that of the rain, this "raining upon the earth" was considered to be a marriage between the "god of the rain" and the "goddess of the earth." The resurrection of nature has thus two causes: the vivification or quickening of the god of rain (and mother earth) and the marriage relation between Nin-Girsu and Ba-û. No wonder, then, that even at our present times this latter aspect should play such an important rôle at Easter, the festival of the Ishtar, i. e., the goddess of love!

At the time when Marduk was introduced into the Babylonian pantheon, these two aspects, i. e., the quickening and the marriage—were retained, only the names of the parties concerned were changed: Nin-Girsu, the god of rain, became Marduk, the god of light, and Ba-û became Tsarpanimit or Ishtar. Besides these two

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1 Mathew's statement about the earthquake in connection with the death of Christ ought to have occurred at his (Christ's) resurrection! Cf. the remarkable addition "after his resurrection"!
ancient features there was introduced a third one. The new life of
the nature was not merely considered to be the result of a quickening
and a marriage, but they were made dependent also upon a preceding
fight. The Canaanites before they could think of mastering
the whole of Babylonia had first of all to fight, subdue their ene-
 mies. Marduk being their god, becomes thus the god who sub-
dues his enemies. And as he subdued them once, so he always
has and will continue to subdue them for all eternity. Marduk
subdued Babylonia, conquered his enemies who lived there before
him. With this subjugation the "new life," the new forms and
governments of Babylonia were made possible. For these con-
quering Canaanites, Babylonia became the "world," kar' ē xo šā, and
Marduk their god, kar' ē xo šā. Just as Marduk conquered the ene-
mies of Babylonia, so he also must have conquered the old, old
enemy of the "world,"—the Tiāmat, or chaos; just as with the
subjugation of his Babylonian enemies the new life and develop-
ment of "Babylonia" were made possible, so also was with his
conquering Tiāmat the life and development of the "world." Mar-
duk means according to his name AMAR-UD = "son of the sun," and
is, therefore, a god of light, hence if he be the light, then his
enemy can be only the darkness. Marduk's fight becomes thus a
fight of the light against the darkness;—after having overcome the
darkness the creation of the world is possible. But Marduk is not
a "light" because it illuminates but because it warms, gives life,
hence his enemy, the darkness, must be the winter! The fight of
Marduk and Tiāmat thus repeats itself yearly: it is the fight of the
"rays of the sun" in the spring against the cold! The "rays of the
sun" gain in this fight the victory: the cold, the darkness is over-
come, a new order of things is now initiated, the earth is forced to
give up her dead, new life sprouts, the resurrection takes place!

Again a change of names takes place—but only of names! Mar-
duk becomes Christ, Tiāmat = "the old serpent, the dragon," and
Tsarpanitum or Ishtar = who? According to analogy, Christ also
ought to marry—an idea almost obliterated, but still preserved in
allusions to the bride of the lamb, the personification of the Church.

Just as Marduk conquered the primeval dragon, Tiāmat, and
created the world, so Christ had to create the world; just as Marduk rose as the god of light every spring, and married Ishtar or the earth, and fructified and vivified her, by means of which she begat children or produced new life, so did Christ because he too is the light. He did rise because he was — Marduk. Marduk is the author not only of the first creation but of every new creation, so is Christ: only in and through Christ men do rise. Marduk in consequence of his victory over the dragon was exalted, and received the name of Enlil, the "father and god of the gods," the "god of heaven and earth," the Bêl or Lord, καρ' ἐξωθίνι, so Christ was taken up into the heavens and enthroned on "the right hand of God," for "God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name (!); that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord!¹

Our Easter-festival is the old, old spring-festival, celebrating the resurrection of nature, made possible by the victory of the spring over the winter. Nature does indeed rise, man is a part of nature, Christ is man, therefore Christ did rise! And the risen Christ is the Bêl, the Lord!

¹ Phil. ii. 9 ff.
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