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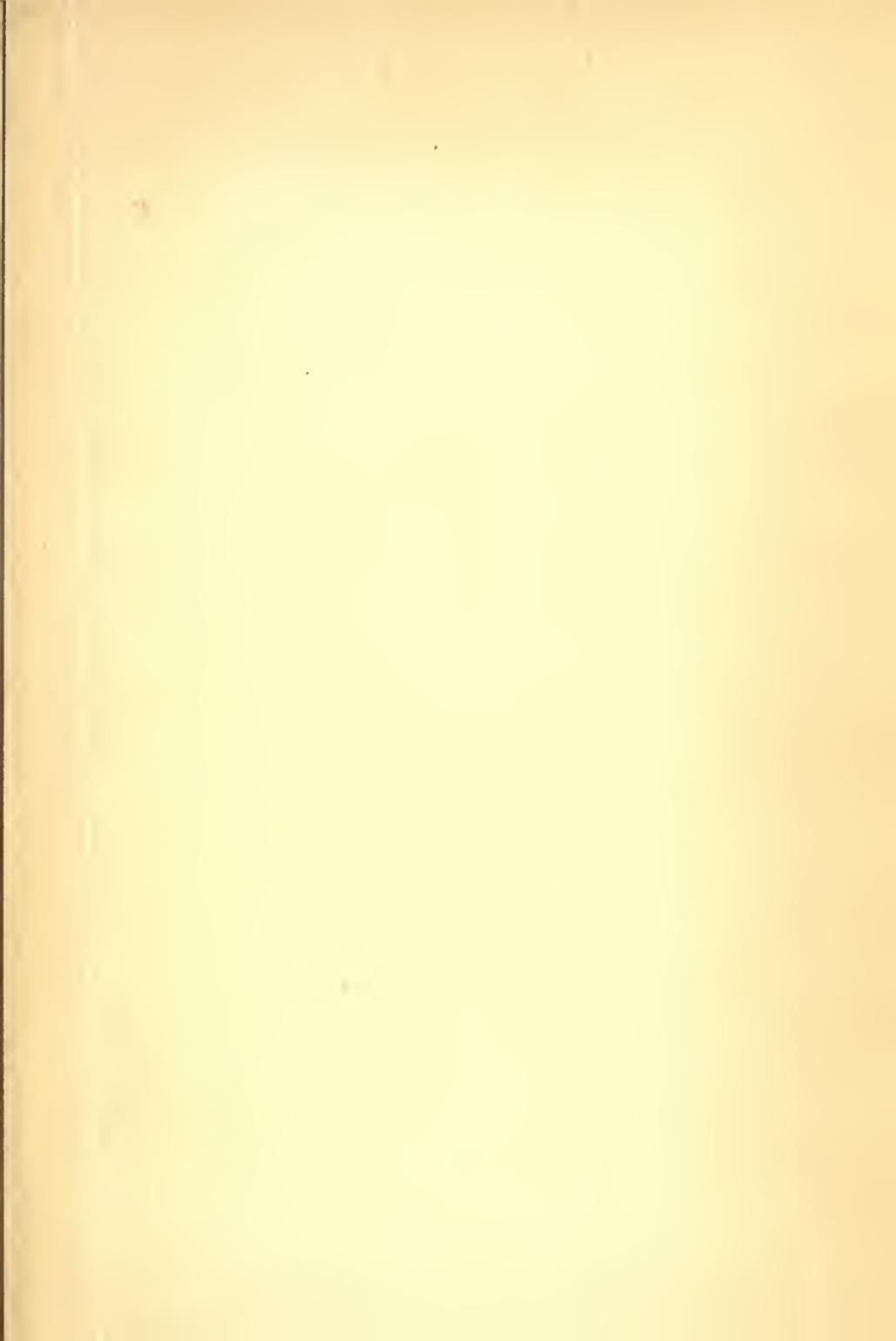


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THE BIBLE AND
BABYLON BY
HAROLD KÖNIG, D.D. Ph.D.
TRANSLATED FROM
THE GERMAN BY
THE REV. WILLIAM
JURNBULL PILTER

WITH A PREFACE
BY THE VERY REV.
HENRY WACE, D.D.

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THE BIBLE AND BABYLON





Photo Mansell,] [Oxford Street.



From a Photograph of the Plaster Cast in the British Museum.

ILLUSTRATION OF BABYLONIAN CYLINDER SEAL, AND OF A CAST
OF THE WHOLE SCENE ENGRAVED UPON IT.

The original is in the Babylonian and Assyrian Room of the British Museum (Table case D, No. 29). The Subject is alleged to be the Babylonian representation of the Temptation in Paradise, but no narrative of that event has hitherto been found in the cuneiform literature.

[See page 52.

THE
BIBLE AND BABYLON

THEIR RELATIONSHIP IN THE
HISTORY OF CULTURE

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TRANSLATED FROM THE TENTH GERMAN EDITION
WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE AUTHOR
AND BY THE TRANSLATOR

THE
REV. WILLIAM TURNBULL PILTER

FORMERLY RECTOR OF GEDDING, SUFFOLK
SOMETIME MISSIONARY IN PALESTINE AND SYRIA

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WITH A PREFACE

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PREFACE

THE short treatise which is here translated will supply an opportune warning against the hasty acceptance of a line of thought which has of late been vehemently urged in Germany, and has found too much countenance among some scholars in this country. The decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has not only revealed a good many resemblances in the Babylonian records to some of the opening passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, but has shown that the civilization of Babylonia was in many respects similar to that which is presupposed in the early narratives of the Old Testament. It is clear among other things, from the nature of the recently deciphered Code of Hammurabi, who was probably a contemporary of Abraham, that the Mosaic Code was analogous, in general character, to a system of legislation long antecedent to it. The inspiration of the Divine lawgiver was exerted, in fact, not in creating

an entirely new social order, but in illuminating and transforming, by positive Divine commands, the state of life which already existed. Nothing more consonant with the methods of Divine inspiration and education, as exhibited in later history, could well be conceived. But some writers in Germany, of whom Professor Friedrich Delitzsch is the most conspicuous, have hastily drawn the conclusion that, because the scriptural narratives and the Divine revelations are closely connected with Babylonian narratives and Babylonian civilization, they must have been derived from them, or, in epigrammatic phrase, that Babel is the real source of the Bible. A less warrantable conclusion could hardly be conceived; and it is important it should be understood that it has nowhere been more strongly opposed than among German scholars. Professor König, the author of this treatise, is one of the first Hebrew scholars in Germany; and he has subjected Professor Delitzsch's representations to a severe scrutiny, which will at least show that they are at present destitute of any adequate foundation. The translation and annotation of a learned German work of this kind is a task much more arduous than its mere length might indicate, and the cordial thanks of English readers are due to

Mr. Pilster for undertaking such a task, and for the manner in which he has discharged it.

It will, we think, surprise many readers to find how slight and problematical are many of the arguments on which Professor Delitzsch has built such far-reaching conclusions, and how strangely narrow and one-sided is his appreciation of the character and the teaching of the Hebrew Scriptures. But there are two points to which it may be worth while to draw special attention—one, that the establishment of a resemblance between Babylonian legends and the narratives of the Book of Genesis establishes no presumption whatever that the latter have been derived from the former. It is at least as possible that the Babylonian legends are a corruption of the pure narratives of the Scriptures as the reverse; and, apart from all dogmatic prejudices, many persons will think it far more probable. The other point is, that even if it had been shown, as this treatise will show it has not been, that a monotheistic belief might have been derived by the Hebrew Patriarchs from the religion of Babylonia, the main characteristic of the religion of the Patriarchs would still remain unexplained. That characteristic is not simply that Abraham and his descendants believed in one God, but that they believed that that God

had entered into a special covenant with themselves, had selected them for a special and definite purpose, and given them a special commission ; while it is a still more momentous and characteristic fact that that purpose has historically been fulfilled. The utmost, as Professor König shows, that is even suggested by Professor Delitzsch, is that certain germs of monotheistic belief may be traced to the Babylonian religion. But of what value is this in explaining the full, clear, historic faith of the earliest Hebrew Fathers in 'the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob'? Professor Delitzsch would make a great deal of a mere resemblance in details, while the broad contrast between Hebrew and Babylonian religion, and the vast spiritual supremacy of the Scriptures, seem to escape him entirely. It is of great advantage that these considerations should be pressed upon English students by a German scholar of Professor König's mature learning and recognized authority; and I am glad, therefore, to be allowed the honour of adding a tribute of gratitude alike to the author and to the translator of this work.

HENRY WACE.

THE DEANERY, CANTERBURY,
March 15, 1905.

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(1) The value of the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria is impaired because (*a*) many of them are not originals but late copies ; (*b*) some have variant readings ; (*c*) the tablets containing others are broken ; (*d*) the reading sometimes uncertain, especially on account of the polyphony of the signs ; (*e*) some of the records are not purely historical but chiefly written to glorify the king for whom they were written.

(2) The Hebrew narratives, on the other hand, contain striking internal evidence of their accuracy. First, illustration from the history of King Hezekiah ; second, from their clear recognition of the religious and moral significance of the events which (without respect of persons)

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Third, in the comparison of particular elements of culture common to ancient Israel and other nations, the peculiar features of the Hebrew must be recognized : as in the record of the primitive history of mankind ; the account of the Deluge ; and the Sabbath day.

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Conclusion. Ancient Babylonia made many important contributions to the culture of mankind, but the Bible is the classical literature of religion. The results of excavation on the Euphrates in no way detract from the prerogatives of the Old Testament. The language, traditions, customs, and laws of the Hebrews are in many respects similar to those of neighbouring nations, but the dominant character of the Old Testament is unique. This is due to its supernatural origin. 96

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ADVERTISEMENT

THE translation of this little book was made from the Ninth German edition, but has been revised throughout by the Author since the publication of the Tenth edition, and new matter added for this English issue.

The treatise was originally called forth by statements made to the grave discredit of the Holy Scriptures, as authentic and inspired records, in a lecture entitled 'Babylon and the Bible,' given in Berlin in January, 1902, by Professor Friedrich Delitzsch. That lecture (followed by two other lectures on the same subject) was under the auspices of the German Oriental Society and the patronage of the German Emperor, and was afterwards published in an attractive pamphlet form. Under these circumstances it naturally attracted much attention, and many of its assertions

called forth rebutting statements from Assyriologists and from theologians. This confutation of it by Professor König was among the first of the replies to appear ; it was one of the few, and perhaps the most thorough examination of the lecture, written from the standpoint of an earnest Christian scholar. As edition after edition was called for, the Author added (sometimes in smaller type in the text, and sometimes as footnotes) remarks on what other writers had said, and bibliographical and other references. As many of those details, which are valuable to the student, somewhat impede the main current of the argument, they have, in this translation, been for the most part either made supplementary to the sections to which they refer or else put with the Notes, which have all been relegated to the end of the book. For this alteration, for the Table of Contents, the division of the treatise into chapters, and for the additional notes in square brackets and signed TRANS., the Translator alone is responsible. The quotations from the Old Testament are usually given in the words of the English Revised Version.

W. T. P.

April, 1905.

THE BIBLE AND BABYLON

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Ancient monuments the true basis of ancient history—
The discovery of the monuments of ancient Babylonia and
Assyria.

IN the year 1774 one of the six coryphæi of the second classical period of our national literature, Johann Gottfried Herder, published the first three parts of his work on the *Oldest Documents of the Human Race*, and in the third part¹ of it he mentions the name of Anquetil du Perron, upon whose investigations he must have been looking back when, full of gratification, he wrote, 'Now, since a new path has been opened up and a connection made with so many evidences, dates, and facts—now the historical writer has ground to work upon.'² For in 1771 Anquetil du Perron had begun to

publish, as the chief fruit of his laborious sojourn in India, the first European translation of the Zend-Avesta, the sacred book of the Persians, and it was when the third volume of this appeared in 1774 that Herder became so jubilant.³ How could the publication of that important work of ancient literature have had any other effect on Herder? Was it not Herder himself who had recognized, in the most decided manner, that only by comparison with the literature of mankind in general can the literature of any separate people obtain the place which really belongs to it? What a song of triumph would he have raised had he lived to see the written monuments of Nearer Asia awakened out of their sleep of four thousand years or more!

Yet it has been only as it were a short starlight summer night which, since Herder's days, has lain over the inscribed monuments of Nearer Asia. For the first flash of the knowledge of those monuments may, like a dawn full of promise, have shone upon the susceptible soul of Herder, which ever went forth to all truth and goodness and beauty. He may even have heard—[for Herder lived till 1803]—of the supposition of Josef Hager, in 1801, that the cuneiform writing found not long before at

Babylon was also the basis of the culture of the world-empire of Assyria.⁴ Yet more probably had he heard something of the great discovery which, a hundred and two years ago,⁵ Grotefend communicated to the learned Society of Göttingen, namely, that in three sign-groups of the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions the three names, Vishtaspa (Hystaspes), etc.,⁶ were to be read. In the same year (1802) it became known that the first attempt had been made to decipher the older of the writing characters of Egypt that appear on the basalt stone which, three years previously, Bouchard, a lieutenant of engineers, had found in the fort at Rosetta.⁷

Since that time the Babylonian and Assyrian monuments have become gradually opened out as a new source of human knowledge. How this has been done need not here be told in detail; it will be sufficient to bring forward the following instances:—

C. James Rich, representative of the East India Company at Bagdad, had heard, when passing through the town of Mosul, at which place a bridge leads across the Tigris, that on the bank of the river east of that place a piece of sculpture had lately been found. This was in the neighbourhood of the two villages lying to the east of Mosul, of which the

northern is called Kuyunjik ('Lambkin') and the southern Nebi Yunus ('Prophet Jonah').⁸ Rich made excavations in the neighbourhood of these places, but the results were so small—fragments of pots and bricks—that he was able to send them to London in a case of three cubic feet capacity. The examination of these fragments, however, filled Julius Mohl, at that time secretary of the Asiatic Society in Paris, with the highest expectations.

Animated by a like spirit, Emile Botta, who had been Consul at Mosul since 1842, devoted himself to the work of investigation, and he was set upon the right track by a Christian inhabitant of Khorsabâd, a village lying about four hours' journey north-east of Kuyunjik. This man brought to Mosul from his village two large bricks bearing written signs. He was a dyer, and had hitherto built his vats of such bricks. On March 30, 1843, Botta had excavations made in Khorsabâd, and such was the result that that day is rightly called the birthday of Assyriology, for, in a few days' time, a grand spectacle presented itself to his eyes. The workmen laid bare the gates, pillars, and walls of an extensive palace, and Botta was able, as it were, to greet the builder of it, for splendid bas-reliefs on the walls of the halls

represented him as he sat upon his throne, or drove in his war-chariot, or received tribute from conquered peoples, or offered sacrifices to his gods. From all this it was recognized that the builder of this palace of Khorsabâd was the ruler of Nineveh, and later on it was discovered that this palace was built for Sarrukin, whose name is found in Isa. xx. 1 in the form of Sar(e)gon. Botta brought his rich harvest to Paris in 1845.

In the autumn of the same year (1845) Austin Henry Layard began his excavations in the above-mentioned village of Kuyunjik, and later on continued them eight or nine hours' journey to the south of Nebi Yunus, at the modern Nimrûd, where four large palaces were opened out, and he concluded his work later on still in Kuyunjik, where likewise a palace was uncovered. Layard had his treasures transported to the halls of the British Museum. Meanwhile the French carried on their excavations at two different points. North of Nineveh, at Khorsabâd, Victor Place, in 1851-55, had laid bare the annexes of the previously discovered palace, consisting of the harem, the officers' dwellings, the kitchens, storehouses, etc. To the south, excavations were begun upon the ruined plain of Babylon at the modern

Hilleh (or Hillah) on the Euphrates, by an expedition whose leader, Jules Oppert, still lives; but the ship which bore the spoil from Babylon foundered in the floods of the Tigris on May 23, 1855.

None of the highly serviceable expeditions which followed, undertaken by the English, French, and Americans, chose the royal capital of the Babylonian kingdom as the object of their investigations, so that this most important centre of Babylonian life remained most in need of systematic research. Thus the German Oriental Society of Berlin—under the gracious patronage of his Majesty the Emperor—could select for its sphere of activity no more important field than Babylon, and there it began its work in the Easter of the year 1899. The excavation operations, inspired by the zeal of Friedrich Delitzsch, and conducted under the excellent oversight of Dr. Koldewey, have already brought to light very gratifying results; for example, the representation of a Hittite god; the Street of Procession, with its richly coloured tiles in relief, along which, at the New Year's Festival of the Babylonians, the god Nabû (Nebo) was borne to visit his father Marduk (Merodach); the Babylonian national sanctuary Ê-sak-kil, and not a few inscriptions.⁹

How numerous the written monuments of Babylonia and Assyria are in comparison with the Tell el Amarna letters (also in cuneiform writing) which were found in Egypt in 1887-8, and with the [Moabite] inscription of Mesa and other inscriptions lately discovered in Nearer Asia, can be seen by comparing Eberhard Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* with Mark Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*. Schrader's collection (the fifth volume of which contains the Tell el Amarna letters) reached its sixth volume in the year 1900, while the North Semitic inscriptions are comprised in a single volume. Lidzbarski's work appeared in 1898.

CHAPTER II

THE CUNEIFORM AND THE OLD TESTAMENT RECORDS

Inquiry into the respective value of the cuneiform inscriptions and of the Old Testament books as historical records.

NOW, what is the value, as authoritative documents, of the Babylonian and Assyrian monuments which are presented to us by these surprising discoveries?

This is an inquiry which should not be entirely suppressed in a discussion with the uninitiated on Babylon and the Bible, and, in the present stage of scientific research, it can best be met by the following propositions: On the one hand, in the Babylonian and Assyrian cuneiform literature everything is not indubitably authentic, uninjured, and perfectly clear; and, on the other hand, in the Hebrew literature all is not so recent nor so biassed as a number of the latest investigators are inclined to believe. Let us consider these two propositions in order.

(1) As regards the cuneiform writings, we must remember that they are not all original texts which have been found on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. In particular, for the library of Assurbanipal (B.C. 668–626) *copies* of earlier literary works were made by royal scribes. 'He did not allow the libraries of Babylonia to be plundered, but had the literary treasures which were hidden there copied in Assyrian characters.'¹⁰ In one such copy of the seventh century B.C. the Gilgames' epic is preserved, on the eleventh tablet of which the story of the Great Flood is told. In copying there is always at least the possibility of alteration.¹¹

Again, the Assyrian and Babylonian writings suffer not infrequently from varieties of reading. For example, there exist in one text the different readings *ku* and *ki*, *namkûr* and *bushû*.¹² The editor of this text remarks in reference to *ki*, 'of course a scribe's error.' Another time (*Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek*, ii. p. 244) it is said, 'Smith's text gives double *nu*. Whether Smith or previously an Assyrian scribe was the originator of the mistake must remain uncertain.' Thus the written monuments of Nineveh and Babylon have not escaped the fate of all literature, viz., that with the multiplication of texts changes have crept in.¹³

These literary records are also partly broken, as, for instance, the tablets of the Creation epic (which also have been handed down to us from the seventh century B.C.), and on this account the order in which the works of creation succeeded one another remains uncertain.¹⁴

Apart from this, however, the meaning of these writings is not always clear, especially on account of the troublesome fact, which is well established, that particular signs possess several different equivalents.¹⁵ This character of the Babylonian and Assyrian writing does not lose its significance because it belongs 'more or less to all syllabic writings.'¹⁶

Another point with reference to the cuneiform records is that they are not all purely historical, as we should like to suppose, although they are graven on hard, imperishable material. Because, for one thing, clay tablets were merely the common writing material on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and in some other places, as elsewhere was other material more conveniently obtainable (papyrus, etc.); so that the proverb which is customary among us in reference to *paper*, by the Euphrates and Tigris would run thus: '*Clay tablets* are long-suffering.' Further, we must remember

that the object of the writers of the tablets was not always purely historical. A critical investigator like C. P. Tiele gives it as his opinion that 'the later writers did not make it their concern to write history so much as to glorify King Assurbanipal (B.C. 668-626).'17 While Carl Bezold has expressly acknowledged that in Assyria and Babylon, in order to gratify the rulers, lineages derived from ancient powerful families were inserted in the documents.¹⁸ It also cannot be disputed that Assyrian kings frequently employed a certain war-bulletin style, glorifying their triumphs, but silent with regard to their defeats. For example, Sennacherib's victory in B.C. 701 over the Egyptians at Altaqu, the modern Eltekeh, near the Mediterranean coast of Palestine, is described in detail in his great prism inscription. He speaks about it thus:¹⁹ 'They stood over against me in battle array before the town of Altaqu. They lifted up (?) their weapons. Trusting in Asshur, my lord, I fought with and defeated them. I took the commander of the chariots, etc., prisoner with my own hands,' etc. But about Sennacherib's later fugitive-like retreat from the neighbourhood of Egypt, which is reported in Isa. xxxvii. 37, with which Herodotus, ii. 141²⁰ is to be combined, not a

word has hitherto been found in the cuneiform inscriptions.²¹

(2) In considering the Hebrew historical records, on the other hand, we find that marks of trustworthiness are by no means wanting. Here are three proofs of this.

The first may be taken from that part of the Old Testament just referred to. The attentive reader of the original meets with the following phenomenon: In 2 Kings xviii. 13-xx. 21 the name of King Hezekiah is found five times in the shorter form—Chizqiyya—and twenty-nine times in the longer form—Chizqiyyahu. Do these forms of the name occur promiscuously? No; the five times that the shorter form appears all come together, namely, in 2 Kings xviii. 14-16; while the twenty-nine occurrences of the longer form are in 2 Kings xviii. 13, 17, *ff.* Now, there is a parallel passage to 2 Kings xviii. 13-xx. 21 elsewhere in the Old Testament, namely, Isa. xxxvi.-xxxix. But those three verses of 2 Kings (xviii. 14-16) in which the shorter form—Chizqiyya—occurs are wanting in the Book of Isaiah.

Now, what is the reason of this? Is it not that the little section is derived from a special source? Certainly; and with this explanation

strikingly agrees another fact, namely, that the contents of the three verses differ from their context. They are a fragment of a particular narrative of the year B.C. 701. The main point, however, is this, that when the fragment of history was introduced into the general account of the events of the year B.C. 701, it was left in its original form, and that this has been preserved through the centuries. How easily might the shorter form—Chizqiyya—have been followed either in the preceding verse (the 13th) or in the succeeding verse (the 17th). But this has not happened. The same careful preservation of the original form of its literary authorities is to be commonly observed in the Old Testament, and accordingly we can distinguish in the oldest memorials of Israel (in the Pentateuch, for instance) the various sources from which they have been derived.

For our second proof of the trustworthiness of the Hebrew records we would give the fact that the historical books clearly distinguish the degree in which certain persons swerved from the legitimate religion of Israel. For example, with one series of kings no further fault is found than that they tolerated a multiplicity of places of worship. (1 Kings xv. 14; xxii. 44;

2 Kings xii. 3 ; xiv. 3, *f.* ; xv. 4, 34, *f.*) From these relatively pious kings are distinguished the rulers who—in violation of the fundamental principle of Exod. xx. 4, *f.*—would represent the spiritual God of Israel by images perceptible to the senses, as Jeroboam I. and others. (1 Kings xii. 28, *f.* ; xiv. 16 ; xv. 26, 34 ; xvi. 13, 19, 26 ; 2 Kings iii. 3 ; x. 29 ; xiii. 2 ; xiv. 24 ; xv. 9, 18, 24, 28.) Lastly, the worst degree of religious error is ascribed to the kings of Israel and Judah who—in opposition to the first principle of the Decalogue (Exod. xx. 3)—went so far as to render allegiance to *other* gods. How clear the consciousness of these different degrees of error was in the religious history is shown, for example, by the following words concerning Ahab: ‘And it came to pass, as if it had been a light thing for him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam . . . that he went and served Baal’ (1 Kings xvi. 31); and in the following passages: 1 Kings xviii. 22 ; xxi. 26 ; 2 Kings i. 3 ; viii. 27 ; and xvi. 3, we read, in effect, the same severe reprobation of this particular sin. Thus the historical writers of the Hebrews have made a plain distinction between the violation of the merely Ceremonial Law and the denial of the fundamental religious principles of their nation,

and have in no way closed their eyes to the significance of the history they record.²²

The third proof to which I would here draw attention is to be found in the fact that in the mind of the people of Israel there was always the remembrance of a pre-Mosaic history.

Notwithstanding all the glory in which the Mosaic epoch shone as the time of the nation's youth (Hosea xi. 1), the light which gleamed in their memory from pre-Mosaic days was never allowed to fade. In spite of the pre-eminent greatness of Moses, who was the brilliant hero at the turning-point of the political and religious existence of Israel, Abraham and Jacob are acknowledged as the originators of the national existence and religious mission of this people. Evidently, then, the historical reminiscences of ancient Israel rest on a surer foundation than many now think.

We freely acknowledge, indeed, that the Hebrew tradition, with reference, *e.g.*, to dates, includes undeniable errors; this I long ago pointed out and emphasized.²³ But even with reference to this, many modern assertions go too far. It is true that the year of the founding of Solomon's temple is designated (1 Kings vi. 1) as the 480th year after the Exodus of Israel from Egypt; but from then

until the end of the Exile have another 480 years to be reckoned? Delitzsch (*Babel und Bibel*, p. 23) thinks they have. The Old Testament, however, makes no statement affirming this, which, in view of the express remark of 1 Kings vi. 1, is very important; nor does it admit of being derived from the chronological data of the Bible; while there are many arguments against the supposition.²⁴ Besides, dates are not the most important element by which to judge the credibility of a tradition. We can indeed observe this in the reminiscences of contemporaries. I have known a man who was able, with the most lively clearness, and—as subsequent examination proved—with full reliability, to narrate events of the Napoleonic wars. But with regard to the dates of particular battles and marches, he did not speak so correctly.

We see, therefore, that uncertainty in chronological statements does not necessarily show unreliability with regard to the events themselves. A proof of this can be adduced directly out of the Hebrew historical books with reference to Babylon. For the Old Testament, in the so-called Table of Nations (Gen. x.), names the city of Babylon (verse 10), in doing so designates it as the royal

residence of a hero of the Hamite family, namely, Nimrod, but in that table the Chaldæans are not mentioned at all. (Compare the interesting parenthetic cry of Isa. xxiii. 13.) They are first named in connection with Babylon in 2 Kings xxiv. 2, and thence onwards. The fact of the non-identity of Babylonians and Chaldæans, which has lately—chiefly by A. J. Delattre²⁵—been gathered from the cuneiform records, is thus seen to have been correctly preserved in the Hebrew Scriptures.

Hence a consideration of the literature of Israel and Babylon—whose characteristics I have briefly attempted to sketch—shows us that the light of the one must supplement that of the other, if we would form a correct idea of the relationships of Babylonia and Palestine in the history of culture.

CHAPTER III

VALUE OF BABYLONIAN DISCOVERIES

Babylonian discoveries greatly illuminate older knowledge ; but they do not always modify its conclusions. Example: the ethnological relations of Babylon and Palestine.

CERTAINLY the new light which streams upon us from Babylonian sources is, in many respects, the more powerful. The places which have been excavated have set before our eyes in concrete clearness many a spot which was merely named in the Old Testament. We can now, for instance, better understand why Nineveh, Rehoboth, Caleh (Nimrûd), and Resen are named together as one mighty quadrangle and designated 'the great city' (Gen. x. 11, 12). Concerning this same place, Sennacherib (B.C. 705-681) records of himself, 'At that time I considerably (?) enlarged the precincts of the city ; walls and enclosure which it hitherto had not possessed I made and built as high as a mountain.'²⁶

When we enter into the cities which the excavations have newly opened to us, what abundant creations of architecture, of plastic art, and of handicraft meet us there! How they illustrate to us the magnificence and might of the rulers who are often mentioned in the Old Testament as the conquerors of Nearer Asia! How exactly are we now able to represent to ourselves, for example, the Assyrian war-chariot, the rushing along of whose wheels is compared by Isaiah (v. 28) to the whirlwind! How clearly now stand out before our eyes the military columns of the Babylonians, of which Habakkuk (i. 8) says, 'Their horsemen come from far; they fly as the eagles [or, rather, 'as vultures'] which hasten to devour.'

But must the light of the knowledge we have hitherto possessed of the various relationships between the culture of Palestine and that of the region of the Euphrates pale at *all* points before the light shed by the newly discovered monuments?

To begin with, what are we henceforth to consider were the ethnological relations of Babylon and Palestine? This is a seasonable inquiry, for 'Race and Culture' is now a favourite theme.

Were both the lands named once inhabited by Canaanites? In reference to the Babylonians, this question will certainly be surprising to many persons, but in the brochure quoted (*Babel und Bibel*) it is affirmed. We are there told that they were 'old Canaanite tribes which about B.C. 2500 settled in Babylonia, and to them Hammurabi (Abraham's contemporary, see p. 8) himself belonged.'²⁷

Now, on what does such a statement rest? It may rest on this, that Ki-Ingi (a name which the Phœnicians are supposed to have changed into 'Canaan') has been discovered to have been 'a part of Chaldæa.'²⁸ It could not appeal for support to the fact that the Phœnicians, according to their own statement, 'came from the Erythræan Sea' (Herodotus, vii. 89; i. 1). For those emigrants need not have brought the name 'Canaan' to their new home, they may have found it there already, and 'Lowland,' which is the meaning of the word, might have been formed quite naturally to designate the southern part of the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea. At all events, Egyptian rulers, in accounts of their Asiatic expeditions, which begin about B.C. 1800, use the name *Ka-n'-na* to denote the lower coast-land of the Mediterranean just mentioned;²⁹

and the Babylonian and Assyrian writings do not speak of a western Ki-Ingî, but name the district spoken of 'Amurru.'

Then as regards Hammurabi himself, why should he be said to belong to a 'Canaanite' nation? It is more probable that his dynasty sprang from Eastern Arabia. For Hammurabi's son was named Samsu-iluna, and the form of the pronoun 'our' (namely, *na*) employed in the word points to Arabia. The Babylonians would have used *ni*, and the Canaanites *nu*.³⁰

More important, however, is the answer to the question whether the Twelve Tribes of Israel sprang from Canaanite tribes, as—in *Babel und Bibel*, p. 47—it is stated they did; those Canaanite tribes being meant to which, according to the foregoing paragraph, Hammurabi is said to have belonged.

Of any such origin of the people of Israel their own records bear no trace, and there are important considerations which contradict rather than favour the supposition. Are not, indeed, the Canaanites, in the Old Testament, constantly distinguished from the Hebrews, and that in the sharpest way? In the account of Abraham's immigration into his new home it is stated, 'And the Canaanite was then in the land' (Gen. xii. 6). And in this

connection we remember that in the Egyptian monuments the inhabitants of Ka-n'-na and 'Israel' (*Isiraal*³¹) are not mentioned together as one people, but are separately spoken of. In the Tell el Amarna letters, in like manner, the Canaanites (*Ki-na-ha-ai-u*, vii. 19), or dwellers in the land of *Ki-na-ah hi* or *Ki-na-ah-ni (na)*, are distinguished from the *Ha-bi-ri* (clxxix. 19, etc.).³²

In spite of the statement, referring to his immigration into Palestine, that 'the Canaanite was then in the land,' can Abraham himself have been a Canaanite? The following considerations militate against this supposition. From the time of the patriarchs, the Israelites knew that they were superior to the Canaanites, æsthetically, morally, and religiously (see Gen. ix. 22, *ff.*; xix. 5; xx. 11, etc.). The expression 'Canaan' (or Canaanite) even became an appellation of an Israelite who had become unfaithful to the ideal of uprightness,³³ and it is expressly said that 'the Canaanite' is to be put out of the house of the Lord (Zech. xiv. 21). How remarkable it is, then, that under such circumstances no one remembered that 'the Twelve Tribes of Israel originated from Canaanite tribes'! In short, could there be a greater national contrast than

that which separated the Canaanites from the Hebrews? Scarcely; and therefore I must hold that the theory of the 'Canaanite' origin of the Tribes of Israel is unfounded.

My opposition to the identification of the Hebrews with the Canaanites rests greatly also on the ethnographic deductions of the genial Richard Lepsius, in the introductory parts of his *Nubian Grammar*, which have been well amplified by Hommel in his work entitled *Die semitischen Völker und Sprachen* (pp. 88, ff.). Jensen also remarks (in the *Christliche Welt* of May 23, 1902, col. 491) that 'there are some who will have us believe that thousands of years before Christ a "Canaanite" stream of immigration poured itself over Assyria and Babylon, and Delitzsch (p. 46) agrees with this theory.'

H. Winckler does the same (in the *Norddeutsch. Allgem. Zeitung* of August 3, 1902), and opines that it has been 'established since 1895,' that is to say, since he himself asserted (in his *Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen*, vol. i. p. 15) that 'ethnologically there is not the least difference between Canaanites and Hebrews, the one are only really the earlier and first established tribes of the same Semitic

group of peoples of whom the Hebrews are the last offshoot.' Winckler, however, has not explained how, from the mere difference of time in the settlement of tribes of the same peoples, the thorough and manifold differences could have arisen which—as far as my knowledge goes—are found in all ancient records and in the written testimony of Israel to have existed between the Canaanites and the Hebrews. The record of those differences could not be due, on the part of the Israelites, to national hatred, because, in spite of that very thing, they considered the Edomites and other nations as their kinsmen. Moreover, no absolute linguistic identity existed between the Hebrews and the Canaanites,³⁴ and even if it had, this would not prove that they were of the same race. For the adoption by one nation of the dialect of another is not such a very rare occurrence in history, as the cases of the Lombards in Italy and of the West Goths in Spain prove.³⁵

The linguistic and other affinities which exist between the Babylonians and the Hebrews [to which we refer below, pp. 46, 47] are to be explained without this new hypothesis.³⁶

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATION OF THE BABYLONIAN CULTURE TO THAT OF THE HEBREWS

Original contributions of Babylonia to human culture—Contemporary civilization in the Ægean, in Egypt, and Phœnicia—Some features of culture common to Babylon, Israel, and other nations.

AFTER all, however, the chief subject before us is, How do the Babylonians and Hebrews stand with regard to each other in the matter of culture?

It is not difficult to enumerate important elements of ancient civilization which have set out from Babylon and won their way through wide regions of the Old World.

With reference to the knowledge of the heavens, *e.g.*, we find that the Babylonians were the pioneers of astronomy. They distinguished the twelve signs of the zodiac, as stations of the sun-god, encircling the earth. They had not only discovered the twice twelve hours of the day; they not

only calculated beforehand the time of the new moon, but recorded also solar and lunar eclipses, etc.³⁷ Herodotus wrote (ii. 109) concerning them: 'We have received from the Babylonians the polos' (an astronomical instrument which indicated the change of seasons) 'and the gnomon' (the clock, which notifies the time of day).

With regard to sciences more closely connected with the earth, if we consider the elements of all theory and practice, we find that the Babylonians likewise laid the foundations of systems of measure, weight, and money, which became very widely accepted standards. From the sun's passage through the circle of the zodiac in 360 days they borrowed not only the division of every circle into 360 degrees, but also the number sixty (which with six offered itself as the nearest factor of 360), as the basis of their system of reckoning. In this sexagesimal system they spoke of *shush(sh)u* or *ossos*, as Berossos (*circ.* B.C. 280), the Babylonian historian, tells us.³⁸ According to the table of Senkereh,³⁹ six ells go to the reed (the measuring rod), so also with the Hebrews six ells made a rod (Ezek. xli. 8). Further, the Babylonian talent of weight was composed of 60 manehs

and 3600 shekels, so also (according to Ezek. xl. 12) it did with the Hebrews.

Thus we could long continue to point out the far-reaching influence of Babylonian standards on the bases of Asiatic and South European civilization. The history of art also is, through the excavations on the Euphrates and Tigris, not only prolonged a whole stadium farther backwards, but it has become enriched with significant elucidations of its earliest development. Only just lately there has been found in the neighbourhood of the South Babylonian town of Niffer the head, in alloyed copper, of a gazelle, which, on good grounds, is ascribed to the pre-Semitic population of the southern region of the Euphrates; yet it is of surprising delicacy, and points to a long preceding development of art.⁴⁰

Quite recently, however, discoveries have been made which show that the influence of the art of the East on that of the West was but limited. For the influence of Mycenæan art is, through discoveries in the Ægean islands, in Crete and Cyprus, in Egypt and Phœnicia, proved to have been very widely extended, and this art cannot, up to the present, be derived from an Eastern source. But on

this subject see *The Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult* (London, 1901), by Mr. Arthur J. Evans, who has recently made such brilliant discoveries in Crete.

[Visitors to the Winter Exhibition of 1903 of the Royal Academy will not require to be reminded of the illustrations there shown of Mr. Evans' excavations at the palace of Knossos in Crete. Of its 'complicated drainage system, with shafts rising to the upper floors, and sanitary arrangements ahead of anything that was devised till quite recent times;' of clay archives, 'written in an advanced linear script;' wall paintings in brilliant colours, showing processions, sports, temples, and 'buildings with warriors and elegantly dressed ladies seated in their courts or looking out from their balconies and windows; griffins and sphinxes; sea-pieces with dolphins and other fish; and landscapes with naturalistic flowers and foliage. The reliefs in painted *gesso duro* are, in some respects, even more remarkable.' There were also 'the most astonishing examples of the sculptor's art, supplied by the remains of a series of ivory statuettes of leaping youths, in which untrammelled freedom of action is coupled not only with fine modelling of the

muscular contours of the body, but with the indication of the most delicate details.' Then there were evidences of cameo-cutting and excellent intaglio engraving; 'a crystal plaque, backed by part of a miniature painting of a galloping bull of microscopically fine execution;' vases of enamelled ware and fine specimens of gold jewellery. The palace itself seems to have been destroyed during the fifteenth century B.C., and was the remodelled successor of still earlier royal dwellings which 'go back well into the third, and probably into the fourth, millennium before our era.' That a high civilization was reached in Crete contemporary with the twelfth dynasty of Egypt, *circ.* '2500 B.C.,' is 'shown by some of the painted pottery belonging to this early stratum, which for eggshell-like fineness of fabric, for grace of form—in many cases pointing to prototypes in metal—and delicacy of colouring, has hardly been surpassed.' With regard to the date just mentioned, it may be added that the patriarch Abraham (and therefore King Hammurabi also, if he was, as is commonly supposed, the Amraphel of Gen. xiv.) is thought to have been contemporary with the Shepherd kings, who are grouped together as the fifteenth, sixteenth,

and seventeenth dynasties of Egypt, and therefore lived much later than the period when the Cretan art last spoken of flourished. —TRANS.]

It is thus evident that waves of culture which flowed from the East met billows which proceeded from a Western centre. Is the same phenomenon to be observed with respect to other problems than those of art in the history of civilization? Further research into the intellectual relations of Babylon and Palestine will show.

In the course of the investigation of that history, it will not escape the inquirer that the culture of the ancient nations, particularly that of the Babylonians and that of the Hebrews, possessed many features in common.

We find this to be the case, firstly, with regard to language and literature. On these two points, however, I will not now dwell, as I have pointed out the degree of relationship between Hebrew and Assyrian (including Babylonian) in my little book on Hebrew and Semitic;⁴¹ and thirteen years ago I spoke of the *Cuneiform Library* as an incomparable commentary on the Old Testament, a statement which Delitzsch in his Second Lecture (1903, pp. 4, ff.) has only corroborated.⁴²

Passing on to Hebrew rhetoric, both speech and poetry often show that so-called parallelism of sentences which I conceive to be the expression of ideal rhythm. Such parallelism meets us, for example, in the passage, 'The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament⁴³ showeth His handywork' (Ps. xix. 1). This parallelism is to be found in the Babylonian literature also, as, for instance, in the words, 'The sorrow of my god became imperceptibly my food; the trouble of my goddess imperceptibly brought me low.'⁴⁴ But the same artistic form meets us in the following Egyptian lines: 'Ra is powerful, weak are the godless; Ra is exalted, and base are the godless;' and this phenomenon is found in the literature of other nations as well.⁴⁵ In this respect, then, the connection of Babylonian culture with that of Israel is neither exclusive nor absolute.

May not the same conclusion be drawn with regard to the rites of worship and the religious views of the two peoples? Points of agreement between the worship of the Babylonians and of the Old Testament have frequently been remarked upon in recent times.⁴⁶ For example, we read in a Babylonian text that a lamb should be offered at the gate

of the palace, and the blood smeared on the threshold, and right and left on the door-posts. This regulation resembles that of Exod. xii. 7. Then among the Babylonians the sacrificial gift of a person of rank (*rubû*) is distinguished from that of a poor man (*mushkînu*); this was the case among the Hebrews (compare Lev. v. 7, 11). Among the Babylonians, too, the priests formed a separate class; no one was admitted into it who was not descended from a priestly family, was of legitimate birth, of upright growth, and without defect in eyes, teeth, and fingers. These regulations are comparable with those of Lev. xxi. 17, *ff.* Were they not, however, quite natural ordinances and ceremonies? Similar elements of culture, indeed, have recently been observed to exist among the Arabs (especially the South Arabian tribes), which are more or less accordant with those of the Israelites.⁴⁷ Representations and traditions of the oldest epochs of the history of the earth and of mankind, also, as for instance of a deluge, Israel had in common with many other people of antiquity. This has long been acknowledged, not only by Assyriologists, but by all scientific expositors of the Old Testament.

CHAPTER V

SIMILARITIES IN ISRAELITE AND NON-ISRAELITE CULTURE

First, elements of culture common to two nations may not be derived by the one from the other—*Second*, in elements of culture common to the Hebrews and the Babylonians there are important omissions from the one or the other—*Third*, certain common elements of culture have features of their own among the Hebrews which it is of consequence to recognize—*Fourth*, the place Israel occupies in the history of culture depends on its peculiar characteristics—Additional note on the Sabbath.

IN reference to the similarity of Israelite and non-Israelite civilization just spoken of, four divisions of the subject are to be considered.

First. Elements of culture common to two or more nations should seldom be regarded as being of necessity a legacy of the one people to the other. They may have been derived from a previous generation with whom both nations have been in some way connected;⁴⁸ or, they may have originated in a common human impulse.

For instance, did the Hebrews learn to make prayers and offer sacrifices from the Babylonians? Both prayer and sacrifice are mentioned in the Old Testament without being introduced by any command. They are thus evidently regarded as the spontaneous expression of longing after godly peace, a longing which dwells within the human soul in spite of and because of all its goings astray, and about which, as is well known, Augustine so truly said, 'Our heart is restless until it rests in God.'

Nor can I accept the view that the Hebrew belief in angels was derived (as in *Babel und Bibel*, p. 41) from the idea that 'a Babylonian ruler required an army of messengers to convey his commands into all lands.' Nor that the words of Isaiah (xlv. 7), 'I form the light and create darkness; I make peace and create evil' (not 'the wicked,' as it is given in *Babel und Bibel*, p. 43); 'I am the LORD that doeth all these things,'⁴⁹ be quoted as contradicting the doctrine of the existence of supernatural beings who went astray to wickedness.

As regards the Commandments, the statement made by Delitzsch (in his *Babel und Bibel*, p. 35) is refuted by Cornill in these words: 'As Delitzsch finds the (6th and 7th and 8th)

Commandments among the Babylonians in exactly the same order, does he mean to say that Moses, or whoever else composed the Decalogue, sought advice from Babylon? Surely, the blessings of life, family, and property [which those commandments safeguard and], for the protection of which man strives, concern us all too intimately for that to have been necessary; moreover, the Babylonian precepts of humanity have their parallels among the ancient Egyptians also in their Book of the Dead.' Besides, the fundamental claims mentioned 'in the [cuneiform] text alluded to by Delitzsch are not in his sequence, nor are they to be read in the form chosen by him.'⁵⁰

Second. In the comparison of Israelite and non-Israelite culture and traditions we observe that there are important lacunæ in those of the one nation which do not exist in those of the other.

Here is an important example of this. In the cuneiform literature there has not yet been found any account of the first violation of human piety—no parallel, therefore, to Gen. iii. 1, *ff.* Now, this very noticeable omission is not mentioned in *Babel und Bibel*, while the well-known picture (which we reproduce as our

frontispiece) is there spoken of (p. 37) in detail. It depicts two persons sitting one on the right and the other on the left of a tree; behind the figure on the left a serpentine line is to be seen. What this drawing meant has not yet been determined, but Delitzsch sees in it an old Babylonian representation of the Fall. Assyriologists and critics, however, like Halévy, Eberhard Schrader, C. P. Tiele, Dillmann,⁵¹ and Budde (*Die biblische Urgeschichte*, 1883, pp. 75-79), have declared their opinion that the picture does not refer to the Fall. The last-named scholar, for example, wrote: 'If the cylinder on which the drawing in question is found must represent an occurrence in the primitive history of the Bible, we are driven to the necessity of recognizing in it the Fall; but in the Assyrian and Babylonian writings that particular narrative is wanting; and there exist many other similar gaps. Who will say what very different story or situation, excellently corresponding to this drawing, filled up one of those lacunæ? Since, however, the story of the Fall is yet lacking; since, as far as I know, a human *pair* has not yet been found mentioned in the whole Babylonian-Assyrian account of the Creation, it follows that the picture ought to speak very plainly indeed

for that story to be derived from it.⁵² But it does not do so. Every one will be surprised to see that the (so-called) first two human beings sit so very comfortably on well-constructed seats and are so completely clothed. The Biblical history of Paradise—and we possess no other for comparison—strongly contradicts such a representation. In other ways also the circumstances depicted are not to be recognized. *E.g.*, in the drawing both persons are stretching out the hands in exactly the same way; this we take to signify that they will both pluck and eat a fruit, which is in opposition to the Biblical statement that the woman first ate and then gave [of the] fruit to the man. Now, if the first event, the leading astray of the woman, be here depicted, why is the man also close by in the same relation to the object of temptation, the fruit? and why does the woman turn her back on the serpent and look upon the man? Lastly, is the left figure really a woman? Only the covering of the head distinguishes the two persons; that with the horns should indicate the man. But even upon the few clay cylinders given by Smith in his *Chaldean Genesis*⁵³ there are men with the head-covering close to others without it; and male beings also with a head-

dress which almost perfectly corresponds with that which, in the picture reproduced by us, is supposed to characterize the woman.'⁵⁴ Holzinger also, who in other respects readily acknowledges the connection of the Babylonian and Assyrian with the Hebrew representations, says (in his *Hand Commentary on Genesis*, 1898, p. 47), with reference to this picture, that the serpentine line mentioned may be 'an ornamental dividing stroke.'

The justice of my doubt whether the Fall is represented in the picture has (since the first edition of this work) been recognized by many scholars. For example, by P. Jensen, who says (*Christliche Welt*, 1902, col. 488), 'If we might see in the two figures two gods who dwell by the tree of life, and in the serpent their protectress, all would be clear.' G. Wildboer (in *Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede*, 1902, blz. 746 v.), 'They may both be figures of men.' Cornill (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1902, col. 1682), 'The Babylonian pair is, apart from anything else, distinctly clothed, and therefore what is perhaps the profoundest and most significant trait of the narrative of Gen. iii. [namely, that after the first violation of piety the sense of shame awoke],

is not of Babylon, but of the Bible.’⁵⁵ J. Barth (*Babel und israelitisches Religionswesen*, 1902, p. 31), alluding to the excellent remarks of C. P. Tiele in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1882, pp. 258, *f.*), says, ‘The serpent does not stand as a tempter before the (clothed) woman, etc. It is a god, with his masculine or feminine worshippers enjoying the fruits of the tree of life; a picture of the hope of immortality, which the pious man had engraven on his seal.’⁵⁶ And P. Volz says,⁵⁷ ‘Granted that that well-known cylinder was really a representation of the Fall, etc., Delitzsch ought not to speak as if the narrative of Gen. iii. were exhausted with what is there represented.’

Another instance of the omission from the literature of one nation of that which is a feature of the other is that of demons as ‘enemies of God from the beginning;’⁵⁸ the Babylonian and Persian mythologies expressly speak of such, but not the Old Testament.

We are told, however, in *Babel und Bibel* (p. 34), that Isa. li. 9 ‘reads like a description of that little effigy, found by our expedition, of the god Merodach, clothed in majestic glory; with the mighty arm, the widely opened eye

and ear as the symbols of his wisdom, and at the feet of the god the vanquished dragon⁵⁹ of the primeval waters.' But how runs Isa. li. 9? 'Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the LORD; awake, as in the days of old, the generations of the veiled⁶⁰ times' (*i.e.* of gray antiquity). 'Wast thou not it that cut Rahab' (the raging beast of the sea) 'in pieces, that pierced the stretched-out monster?' The next verse proceeds, 'Was thou not it which dried up the sea, the waters of the great roaring flood, that *made* the depths of the sea *a way for the redeemea to pass over?*' Here we see that the speaker looks back on that deed of Jehovah by which He made His people a path through the raging sea in order to *redeem* them from the Egyptian servitude. And this act of liberation could be placed in 'the days of old' (verse 9), an expression which occurs also in Micah vii. 20, where it refers to the brilliant period of Israel under David and Solomon, which same period is designated in Amos ix. 11 as 'days of the veiled times' (that is, of gray antiquity).

Oettli, however, has recently⁶¹ given it as his opinion also that Isa. li. 9 refers to the struggle of the deity with the primeval monster Tiamat. But he says, 'Certainly the prophet

applies this mythical reminiscence immediately (in verse 10) to the deliverance out of Egypt, but he could only make use of this particular illustration because the myth lent him the colours for it.' Now, that is not correct. For Jahveh is elsewhere [and where there is no suggestion of mythology] represented as a combatant (Exod. xv. 2, *f.*; Judg. v. 13; Isa. lxiii. 1, *ff.*, etc.); and Rahab, 'raging,' could, without resting on a myth, become an expression for the kingdom of the Pharaoh who, by his warlike actions, appeared to rise like a menacing sea-monster out of the Arabian Gulf. Oettli's opinion of the necessary mythological background of Isa. li. 9 would only be really probable if the word Tehôm⁶² were used in it. And seeing that that expression is wanting in the verse of the prophet, the words of J. Barth,⁶³ that 'a heathen narrative of the monster which opposed itself to God may have been brought into Egypt,' have not any probability.

Moreover, the expression 'Rahab' exactly agrees with the reference of Isa. li. 9 to Israel's deliverance from Egypt, for this word is used in xxx. 7 as a designation of Egypt, which, in the height of its military power, rose out of the Arabian Gulf, and, further south,

out of the Indian Ocean, like a raging beast of the sea to snatch its prey. Rahab signifies Egypt also in Ps. lxxxvii. 4, and—because of the parallel expression ‘thine enemies’—probably also in Ps. lxxxix. 10.

The word *tannîn* [‘dragon’ in the English version], which properly means ‘stretched-out animal,’ and is parallel with Rahab in Isa. li. 9, is also an appellation of the land of Egypt, which stretches itself along the sea ; synonymous with it is ‘leviathan’ (Isa. xxvii. 1, etc.). In Ezek. xxix. 3, ‘Pharaoh, the King of Egypt,’ is expressly named ‘the great *tannîn*.’⁶⁴ Ps. lxxiv. 13, *f.*, also refers to the destruction of the Egyptians, whose corpses became the prey of jackals and other carrion-eating animals ;⁶⁵ and that the composer of that song, who, as we infer from verses 9, etc., most probably lived in Maccabean times,⁶⁶ should have preserved mythological reminiscences, is quite improbable. Lastly, the Book of Job,⁶⁷ it is exceedingly likely, alludes to the subduing of the primitive ocean, but we ought not to forget that those sentences are put into the mouth of foreign speakers,⁶⁸ and that in any case popular ideas and the legitimate religion of Israel are not to be measured by one and the same standard.

Third. In such special instances of culture as are common to Israel and other people, that which is peculiar to the Hebrews must by no means be ignored.

Now,⁶⁹ with reference to the beginning of the history of mankind, for example, only the apparent agreement with respect to the primitive patriarchs of the Bible and the Babylonian primitive kings is brought forward in *Babel und Bibel* (p. 32), but that the Hebrew tradition distinguishes between a relatively wicked and a relatively good series of those patriarchs (Gen. iv. and v.) is not referred to.

Again, the words from the Babylonian story of the Flood which tells us that 'the gods smelled the sweet savour of the sacrifice,' are particularly noticed (p. 31), but Delitzsch omits to say what followed, namely, that 'the gods gathered like flies about the sacrificer,'⁷⁰ and (lines 163, ff.) that a quarrel thereupon immediately arose between the gods and goddesses. Nor does he say anything with regard to the contrast between the Scriptural and the cuneiform records to which Holzinger (in his *Short Commentary on Genesis*, 1898, p. 88) called attention when he remarked that 'the spirit of both traditions is totally different. A feature of the narrative shows this: the

Babylonian hero saves living and dead property, but in both Biblical accounts⁷¹ instead of that the higher point of view is presented to us of the preservation of the animal world.⁷² The gods of the Babylonian account are purely heathen in their lies and allowing lies; in their greed for the sacrifice; their dealings; and in the changeableness of their tempers. How far removed from all this is the God who allows judgment to come upon men according to His righteousness—to the justice of which man's conscience must testify'!

With regard to the Sabbath Day also, Delitzsch makes similar omissions (on p. 29). He does not mention those special considerations which were decisive for—the real 'final cause' of—the preservation and consecration of the Sabbath among the Hebrews: that they looked upon it as a copy of the Divine rest from Creation, and that it was designed for the exercise of humanity towards servants and animals (Exod. xx. 8-11; Deut. v. 12-15).⁷³

If the explanation of this neglect to point out the peculiarity attaching to Israelite traditions and institutions is that the details of them are presupposed as generally known, even then such a method of procedure should be avoided. For, firstly, this general knowledge

is often not worth much ; and, secondly, there are many people nowadays who are disposed to overlook the characteristic force of the contents of the Bible ; but it is just that which is so important, and justice in dealing with the history demands that we should so regard it.

For, *fourth*, it was not what the culture of the Hebrews possessed in common with that of their neighbours or kinsfolks which made its character and gave it its status in the history of civilization—the place which it occupies is rather determined by its own peculiar characteristics. This is most important, and the consideration of it will occupy our subsequent chapters.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE SABBATH.

The cuneiform, 'sha-(p)bat(t,d)-um is equivalent to penitential prayer, then to a day of penitence and prayer' (P. Jensen, *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, 1887, p. 278), and the Babylonians and Assyrians solemnized the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the month, while, as far as we 'know, the only week which the Babylonians had the whole revolving year through was a week of five days' (Jensen, *Christliche Welt*, 1902, col. 492). This day was regarded by them as *hul*, 'which word of itself signifies evil' (Lotz, *Historia Sabbati*, p. 57), and on it they particularly feared the anger of the gods. Further, M.

Jastrow especially has shown afresh (in the *Expository Times*, 1898, pp. 385-387) that the *shabbatum* 'was not a day of rest from work among the Babylonians, but a day of propitiation,' and, 'besides the Assyrian noun *shabbatu*[*n*], there is a verb *shabâtu*, with a meaning like 'propitiate,' or 'to be propitiated.'⁷⁴ But in the Old Testament the Sabbath is essentially a day of rest from work (Amos viii. 5, etc.), and a day for the exercise of humanity.

Thus only an indirect connection of the Babylonian and Assyrian Sabbath with that of the Old Testament can be accepted, and this Sabbath is an important instance of an older stage in the religion of the Hebrews,⁷⁵ into which, in the epoch of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, a newer spirit was breathed. This new breath will not allow itself to be again confined in Babylonian bottles.

Most pertinently, then, has Adalbert Merx remarked, in an address on 'The Influence of the Old Testament on Universal History,'⁷⁶ that it is not the elephant which with its tusks furnished the ivory, but the genius of Phidias who wrought the ivory into an expressive statue, that possesses the greater merit in the furtherance of culture.

CHAPTER VI

CHARACTERISTICS OF ISRAELITE CULTURE

Peculiar characteristics of the culture of Israel: 1. Concerning the relation of God to Creation. 2. Its monotheism.

IN taking up the consideration of the fourth division of this branch of our subject, which was merely stated above (p. 61), it may be well to ask whether the culture of the Israelitish nation in general does really show a character peculiar to itself? This question ought certainly, since the appearance of *Babel und Bibel*, to be considered opportune, and I will endeavour to answer it briefly.

1. What was the Hebrew idea as to the relation of God and the universe? This should be asked first, because the answer is found at the very opening of the literature of Israel.

The Babylonian account of creation begins with the words, 'When the heavens above were not (yet) named; below, the solid (the

earth) bore no name; Apsû (the ocean), the First of all, who begat them, and the Prototype Tiâmat, who caused them all to be born, mingled together their waters, . . . trees did not unite, a thicket of reeds not . . . when *not one of the gods had (as) yet arisen*, no name had been named, no destiny [had been determined], *then were the gods formed*, then arose first Lakhmu and Lakhâmu. Until they had grown up,'⁷⁷ etc. How the corresponding Hebrew account of the Creation runs every one knows from the beginning of the Bible. We see, therefore, that the Babylonians made the origin of the Divine Nature an event in the creation of the universe, but the Old Testament resounds with a nobler strain, telling us that the Divine Spiritual Being existed before matter, and that it was just He who designed the wonderful plan of the universe, and with sovereign impulses brought it to fulfilment.⁷⁸

In *Babel und Bibel* much is cited from the cuneiform literature, but the beginning of the account of creation just quoted is lacking. This is to be regretted, because the lines we have given are clearly parallel to such cosmogonies as Hesiod's, where we read (*Theogony*, ll. 116, ff.) that 'Chaos truly originated first, after it the earth, then the under-world (Τάρταρα,

l. 119), next Erōs (the love yearning), which is called the most beautiful among the immortal gods (l. 120); then out of chaos arose (l. 123) darkness and the black night,' and not until line 137 does it say that '*after them arose Saturn,*' and *thereafter the rest of the gods.*

Thus we see that the material and polytheistic opening of the Babylonian account of creation forms but a foil to the bright picture of the spiritual unity existing between God and the world, which is given at the beginning of the Bible, where the Eternal is majestically brought into the foreground. The Spirit who conceived and wrought out the ideas occupies the throne of the universe, which is His own.

But, again, is there, as *Babel und Bibel* (p. 29) tells us there is, in the Babylonian literature, in its Creation epic, the Gilgames epic, and in the other texts, 'a whole series of Biblical narratives brought to light in a purer and more original form?' The answer, as will be further shown below, can only be that the statement that the Biblical narratives meet us in a *purser* form in the Babylonian literature is without foundation. Otherwise we must hold that the water which rolls along the brook in the wood is 'purser' than the crystal clear water which has been purified by the work of

the Spirit. But, with respect to these records, may we apply the expressions 'impure' and 'primitive' equally to one and the same story? We do not venture to do so.

The Babylonian account of the Creation is repeatedly glorified by Delitzsch, as for instance in the words (p. 33), 'there follows a splendid scene.' But, on the other hand, he omits, for example, the address of Merodach to his father, saying, 'When I as your avenger shall have vanquished Tiâmat and delivered you, then you shall assemble yourselves together and make my lot distinguished: (namely) when you joyfully sit together in Upshukkinaku if I open my mouth may I, instead of you, determine the lot,' etc.⁷⁹ Thus Merodach had stipulated for a reward before he undertook the battle, and the other gods practically conceded it, after they, in joy at his willingness for the battle, had made themselves drunken. As the story says:—⁸⁰

'The sweet must perverts thei[r sense];

As they drink themselves drunk, [their] bod[ies] swell.

They became very tired, there ros[e] to the[m . .]

[And] they determined the lot of their avenger Merodach:

After they had set apart for him a princely chamber,

He sat down, in the presence of his fathers, in the royal government:

"Now thou art the most honoured among the great gods, etc.,
From this time forward thy commands shall not be
changed, etc."

On the other hand, Delitzsch refers the *unmythological* quality of the Old Testament account of creation (in Gen. i.) to the 'anxiety' of a priestly narrator. He says (p. 34), 'Of course the priestly scholar who wrote Gen. i. was anxiously intent on putting away all traces of mythology from his account of the creation of the world.' Thus, what accords with the whole character of the Old Testament view of the universe—namely, the sublimity of a Divine Creator above a mythological origin of the world—that is ascribed to the 'anxiety' of one particular class, if not entirely to that of a particular individual. This treatment of the Babylonian account of creation on the one hand, and that of the Old Testament on the other, is wanting in fairness.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE PRECEDING SECTION.

The ideal sublimity of the Old Testament account of the creation which was noticed in many earlier works (as in the commentaries on Genesis of Dillmann, Holzinger (p. 17), and Gunkel (p. 112)) has quite recently been again brought prominently forward (as *e.g.* by Barth, *Babel und Israel*, pp. 24, *f.*; Oettli, *Der Kampf*, etc., pp. 9, *ff.*; and W. Knieschke, *Bibel und Babel*, etc., pp. 12, *f.*). The comparison of the story of Solomon and Bilkis in the Koran (Sura 27), and of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in the Bible (1 Kings x.)

is similarly instructive; no aroma of fables nor sensuous charm prevails in the Old Testament narrative. More on this subject may be found in my little work, *Neueste Prinzipien der Alttestamentlichen Kritik* (1902, pp. 34, ff.).

The foregoing answer (pp. 63-67) to the question (1) stated above (p. 61), and also that which follows (2) (pp. 68-79), are, in all essentials, corroborated by the following writers on the Babylon and Bible controversy: Hommel, *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament*, 1902; K. Budde, *Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen*, 1903; R. Kittel, *Die Babylonischen Ausgrabungen und die Biblische Urgeschichte*, 1903 (of which an English version by the Rev. E. McClure has appeared); P. Keil, in the *Pastor Bonus*, 1902, heft. 4; A. Jeremias, *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel*, 1903, pp. 11, ff.; Chamberlain, in the preface to the fourth edition of *Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhundert*; H. V. Hilprecht, in several discourses; E. Sellin, in the *Neue Freie Presse* of January 25, 1903; J. Oppert, in *Die Zeit*, February, 1903.

2. Did the Old Testament monotheism, which has hitherto been regarded as peculiar to the Hebrews, originate in Babylonia?

According to *Babel und Bibel* (p. 46), the monotheistic view of God had 'existed among the old Canaanite tribes which had settled in Babylonia about B.C. 2500, and to which Hammurabi, a contemporary of Abraham (*ibid.*, p. 8), himself belonged.' How does the author of that work attempt to prove this?

He starts from a strange opinion about the

word *ilu*, which consists of *il* and the old Semitic ending *u*, to which in Hebrew *ēl* corresponds. He thinks that this word may originally have possessed the meaning of 'object' or 'aim;' and in this he agrees with Lagarde.⁸¹ But such a view is erroneous. For is it in any way likely that the same expression became the preposition 'to' and the designation for 'God'? Yet it would actually have been so if this hypothesis as to the fundamental meaning of *ilu* or *ēl* were a valid one, and then the word for 'to' and for 'God' in Hebrew would have been one and the same, viz., *ēl*. But it would need conclusive evidence indeed to cause us to accept the proposition that the words for 'to' and for 'God' were originally synonyms.

Not only, however, is such evidence lacking, but there are not a few, and, to some extent, decisive arguments to the contrary. For, first of all, there exists no verb in the Assyrian or Babylonian from which a substantive expressing 'object' or 'aim' could be derived. At all events, one seeks in vain for such a verb in Delitzsch's own *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (1896), where, too, he has translated *ilu* not by 'object,' but by 'God.'

But a verb signifying 'to be mighty,' from

which *ilu* may have been derived, can easily be presupposed, according to existing analogies of Semitic verbal development, as a cognate form of the verb *alal*, which is actually found in extant Assyrian. One might also suggest the derivation of the word for 'God' from the Assyrian *ûl*, 'to be in front,' if perchance in *ilu* the ideas of 'might, mighty one,' and 'foremost, first (one)' should have become merged into one.

With regard to these suggestions, there does really exist in Hebrew a term which is found five times in the Bible, in which the word *ēl* certainly carries with it the meaning of 'might' or 'strength.' This is the expression *yesh le ēl yādî* (or similar form, in Gen. xxxi. 29; Deut. xxviii. 32; Micah ii. 1; Prov. iii. 27; and Neh. v. 5), for this can only mean 'it is in the might or strength of my hand;' it cannot mean 'it is for the aim or object of my hand.'⁸²

This view, that *ilu* and its related *ēl* originally signified 'might,' and then, as *abstractum pro concreto*, 'mighty one,' is further commended to us by the consideration that this designation of God is combined, chiefly in the history of the patriarchs, with the attributive *shaddai*, a word meaning, most probably, 'powerful,' and first met with in the familiar passage

(Gen. xvii. 1), 'I am God Almighty (*ēl shaddai*); walk before Me, and be thou perfect.' That the attribute of might was at first recognized in the Divine Being follows also from the consideration that in the time of the patriarchs the Godhead was designated (Gen. xxxi. 42, 53) as *pachad*, 'object of fear' (*numen tremendum*).

Further, after presupposing the meaning of 'aim' for *ilu* or *ēl*, the explanation is added in *Babel und Bibel* (p. 46), 'since this aim can naturally be only one.' That explanation, however, is neither logically necessary, nor is it confirmed to us by the facts of history. But apart from those considerations, cannot a man have several objects or points of aim for his striving? Even if the word *ilu* had signified 'aim,' it might also, according to both logic and grammar, signify 'an aim,' and thus the word would afford no support to the view that monotheism was held by the 'old Canaanite races, which about B.C. 2500 had settled in Babylonia, and to which Hammurabi himself belonged.' History, moreover, contradicts such a view, for, though this is not mentioned in *Babel und Bibel*, polytheism shows itself in Hammurabi's own family. They worshipped Sin, the moon-god, as we see from the name

Sin-muballit,⁸³ which was the name of Hammurabi's father. They also worshipped Samsu, for Hammurabi's son was named Samsu-iluna, *i.e.* 'the Sun is our God.' Moreover, in an inscription of Hammurabi which is preserved in the British Museum, he several times calls himself the favourite of Samas and Marduk (*Keilins. Bibliot.*, III. i. p. 117); and in other inscriptions (*ibid.*, pp. 106, *ff.*) he invokes several other gods.

Now, among a people who had, as these proofs show, a polytheistic conception of the universe, the case must have occurred in fact, which we have already represented as being logically and grammatically possible, in which *ilu* would designate 'an aim,' or rather 'a power,' that is, some one god. And so the name which is translated in *Babel und Bibel* (p. 46, l. 8 from the bottom) by 'God has given'⁸⁴ must possess the signification of 'a God has given.' For the case might occur in which the father of a child did not venture to choose out of the pantheon of his people a supernatural dispenser of the fortunate circumstances on which he was thinking when naming the child. The name bestowed in such a case would therefore merely express the thought that 'a God has given.'

This conclusion is corroborated by Greek and Roman analogies. The Greeks, not only according to the Acts of the Apostles (xvii. 23), but also according to Pausanias and Philostratus, erected altars to 'unknown gods.'⁸⁵ The Romans, in cases of doubt as to the identity of the deity addressed, were wont to say, *Seu deo, seu deæ*—that is, if the thank- or prayer-offering be valid to a god, let it be consecrated to him; if to a goddess, let it avail for her. And with regard to the Babylonians themselves, was the idea of 'an unknown god' foreign to them? By no means. For we read in the Babylonian Penitential Psalms, for example, the following lines :—⁸⁶

'May the anger of heart of my Lord be appeased,
 May a god whom I know not be appeased,
 May Ishtar (= goddess) whom I know not be appeased,
 May a god whom I know (or) know not be appeased.'

We meet with the expressions 'unknown god' and 'unknown goddess' also on pp. 61, 63, 64, and 65 of Zimmern's rendering of those psalms, and in them the possibility is assumed that the person praying may have made angry some other god as well as his own. The person praying, therefore, begs forgiveness also of every deity whom he has unwittingly

offended. In this, consequently, we see the same idea as lay in the custom of the Greeks and Romans in bringing an offering or building an altar to the unknown deity who had sent them any good or ill fortune. Thus there comes practically to be expressed in those passages the idea of a *θεὸς ἄγνωστος* which, according to the testimony of Pausanias and others, was cherished by the Greeks.⁸⁷

We see, therefore, that the cuneiform inscriptions afford no foundation for the opinion that Abraham came from a monotheistic circle, and offer no contradiction to the historical tradition of Israel,⁸⁸ which says (Josh. xxiv. 2, 3), 'Your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the river [*i.e.* the most important river in Nearer Asia, the Euphrates], even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor: *and they served other gods.* And I took your father Abraham from beyond the river [from Charran or Carrhæ in Mesopotamia] and led him' to Canaan—that is, as the connection of the words shows, to lead him away from the worship of the 'other gods.'

Moreover, if the Hammurabi dynasty and the tribes connected with it, to which Abraham has recently been put in relationship, is to be regarded as a south-east Arabian or Sabæan

one,⁸⁹ among *that* people also polytheism prevailed, as Hommel (p. 80) has expressly recognized. For to the Sabæan pantheon belonged, first of all, Athtar, who was worshipped in temples in the most diverse places. Next to him Almâku-hû played the leading part. Then came the sun-god (Shamsun), whom those people reckoned feminine, and with him 'is associated a series of inferior deities, which originally were certainly only local gods.' In spite of this, because the bare designation *ilu* often appeared in South Arabian names, Hommel himself (p. 117) has ascribed to the Minæan and Sabæan peoples using them, and to the Hammurabi dynasty, a religion 'which, in short, was essentially monotheistic.' This conclusion, however, is just as unfounded as the assertion from *Babel und Bibel* cited above. In both cases it has not been considered that among notorious polytheists the *ilu* or *il* must possess the idea of 'a god.'⁹⁰

But did other races, those which we know *were* related to Israel, possess a monotheistic faith? The matter stands thus: Among the *Edomites* the worship of the Aramean Hadad, the weather god, and Baal, the widely worshipped personification of the sun, is testified by the royal names of Hadad and Baalchanan.

2 Chron. xxv. 14 also speaks of gods of the Edomites, for there the word *elohim* is several times represented by the plural pronoun. Moreover, in the Assyrian inscriptions two Edomite royal names appear as Kaush-malaka and Kaush-gabr (*Keilins. Bibliothek*, ii. 21, 149, 239), and Josephus⁹¹ names $\kappa\omicron\zeta\acute{\epsilon}$ as a god of the Edomites. Among the *Moabites*, the god Chemosh is commonly named; the worship of Baal Peor is also mentioned (Numb. xxv. 3) as customary among them; and on the Moabite stone of King Mesha (line 17) we find the compound appellation of Athtar-Chemosh, in which Athtar perhaps represents the female deity, paired with Chemosh. Lastly, among the *Ammonites*, not only is Molech named, but Chemosh also (Judges xi. 24). The view of some modern exegetes that this may be an error by no means commends itself, for in the context of the verse named lies the thought that, with the occupation of a territory originally Moabite, the worship of the Moabite god Chemosh also passed over to the Ammonites.

It is therefore an historical fact that monotheism grew neither in Babylonia nor in South Arabia, and prevailed among no other Semitic people except Israel, by whom the prophetic religion was professed.

We are further told in *Babel und Bibel* (p. 49) that 'unbiased, enlightened minds [among the Babylonians] openly taught that Nergal and Nebo, moon-god and sun-god, the thunder-god Rimmon, and all other gods, were one in Merodach, the god of light.' On this point P. Jensen remarks⁹² that 'that were indeed one of the most important discoveries in the department of religious history which has ever been made, and therefore it is most lamentable that Delitzsch has concealed from us his authority for this statement.' And, after having lately examined the inscription upon which Delitzsch would support his assertion, Jensen comes to the conclusion that the relation of Merodach to the other gods therein expressed does not (according to the analogy of other texts) in any way necessarily imply the identity of the gods, and also that 'not an atom of Babylonian monotheism'⁹³ could be proved from it. Again, an investigator like C. P. Tiele, after thorough consideration of the subject, gives it as his opinion (in his *Geschichte*, p. 540) that, 'like the Egyptians, the Babylonians and Assyrians remained to the end monarchical polytheists.' Kittel also remarks with justice 'that in Babylon, and likewise in Egypt, we find only certain *preliminary* stages

of monotheism.' 'They occasionally identified all the gods, but they also readily worshipped them all side by side ; that is, they remained in polytheism, even if it was a somewhat purified polytheism. And at this point I take into consideration the fact, emphasized by Hommel,⁹⁴ that from the beginning of the ninth century B.C. onwards almost all the gods received into Assyria out of the Babylonian pantheon were identified with the old god Ai, or Ia : "first Asur, then Bel, Samas, etc." ' But if indeed Aï played so great a part, one wonders why he never appears as an independent god ; or, at least, why he does not possess any importance. How, then, can such a god have suddenly come to stand as the only one ? Besides, according to Zimmern,⁹⁵ if not with Hommel, the reading is not Samas-ai,⁹⁶ but Samas-ilai, 'the sun is my god.' It is not without reason, then, that W. Knieschke remarks (in his *Bibel*, etc., p. 52) that 'it is difficult to find one's way through the labyrinth of the Babylonian gods.'⁹⁷ I cannot here refrain from translating the words of Van der Flier.⁹⁸ It is indeed characteristic, he says, that, first, they wish to derive the monotheism of the Hebrews from Egypt (Brugsch) ; then from Canaan (or Phœnicia : Hartmann,

Colenso, Land); not long ago from pre-Islamic Arabia (Smend); and now from Babylon (Delitzsch). Is it not at length time to seek the explanation of what is Israelitish in Israel itself?

CHAPTER VII

CHARACTERISTICS OF ISRAELITE CULTURE

Peculiar characteristics of the culture of Israel (*continued*):—

3. Its name for God (Jahveh).

Reply to Delitzsch's later 'Remarks' on the subjects of the three preceding sections.

3. **T**HE question, for a long time debated with ardour, of the origin of the Hebrew Divine appellation Jahveh (instead of which—but only since the time of Petrus Galatinus in 1518—the impossible pronunciation 'Jehovah' has come into use), has recently, as was natural, afforded a subject of discussion among Assyriologists.⁹⁹

First of all, A. H. Sayce, the well-known Professor of Assyriology at Oxford, wrote,¹⁰⁰ 'Among the cuneiform texts recently published by the British Museum¹⁰¹ is a letter addressed to a certain Igas-nin-sakh by "Ja(h)um-ilu." The letter is included among the documents of the Khammurabi or Abraham period, and

rightly, as the palæography shows. Now, Ja(h)um-ilu is the Hebrew word Joel, which stands for Jeho-el, with the early Babylonian and South Arabian mimmation (-*m*).’ This was corroborated soon afterwards by the likewise well-known Orientalist, Professor F. Hommel, of Munich, who said¹⁰² that ‘this name Ja-ú-m-ilu or Ja(h)um-ilu, in which the syllable *ja* is written with the usual notation, *i-a*, permits of no other reading, and presupposes a divine name, Jâum, *i.e.* *ja*, with the Semitic nominative ending (*u*) and mimmation. This is, of course, the masculine divine name A-a (which I have fully discussed in my *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, a name which may also be read Aï as well as Ja), only that in Jâum further the nominative ending presents itself.’ This state of the case he reaffirms on p. 48 by a remark about ‘the name of the ancient Semitic deity Aï or Ja (with the nominative ending Jâum).’

That Ja-ú-m-ilu is really found in the cuneiform inscriptions I have convinced myself by my own investigation.

(a) The text to which Sayce and Hommel referred in 1898 is contained in the cuneiform texts which have recently been published by the British Museum.¹⁰³ There we find, in Part IV., a written tablet in the third line

of the obverse of which there are four groups of wedges, which I have marked No. 1 in the cuneiform script copied on the opposite page.

The first of the four groups there shown consists of the New Babylonian sign for *i*¹⁰⁴ (No. 2 in our copy) and of the sign for *a* (No. 3).¹⁰⁵ The second cuneiform group corresponds substantially with the fourth sign of the list in Delitzsch's *Grammar* (p. 18), and this is *ú*. The third group is a variation of his fifty-fifth sign (p. 22), and therefore is *um*. Lastly, the fourth cuneiform group in the line is the simplified star, which indicates *ilu*, 'god.' Thus these four cuneiform groups represent the complex sound *Ja-ú-um-ilu*, and this is the name of the man who sent the letter in question to Igas-nin-sakh. In that letter, therefore, Ja appears only as a constituent part of the cuneiform proper name, and this was emphasized by me in 1899.¹⁰⁶

This reading is also acknowledged by Mr. George Margoliouth, of the British Museum, who says that '*Aa* or *Ja*, a name which the Assyriologists rightly treat as the primitive form of Jahveh (Jahu, on the other hand, is probably a contraction of Jahveh), may, in all probability, be identical with the Babylonian god Ea.'¹⁰⁷

Now, the four cuneiform groups just considered, which have been under discussion since 1898, are given in *Babel und Bibel* (p. 47) as the *lower* of the two lines of cuneiform inscription there reproduced. This

No. 1.    

No. 2. 

No. 3. 

No. 4.    

No. 5. 

No. 6. 

No. 7. 

No. 8. 

GROUPS OF CUNEIFORM SIGNS DISCUSSED IN THE TEXT.

line is there transliterated *Ja-hu-um-ilu*, and although the sound *h* is not expressed by any cuneiform sign, yet it might be presupposed, because in Assyrian the gutturals, except *h* (*kh*) have lost their sound.

(b) But in the year 1899, Part VIII. of the cuneiform publication of the British Museum already referred to was published, and on the obverse of the text marked Bu 91-5-9, 314, on plate 20, line 3, are found the four cuneiform groups which we have numbered 4 in the signs copied above. Now these four groups should be the *upper* of the two lines of cuneiform writing printed on p. 47 of *Babel und Bibel*. For the well-known Assyriologist Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, Director of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum, has most kindly named to me the three tablets whose originals—likewise through Dr. Budge's good offices—are figured on p. 46 of *Babel und Bibel*, and at the Royal Library in Berlin, I copied all the passages from the cuneiform texts on those tablets¹⁰⁸ in which appears the cuneiform group that occurs last in lines No. 1 and No. 4 above. Now, of the whole of the passages copied, only the four wedge groups given as No. 4 correspond—with the exception of one detail—with the upper of the two cuneiform lines on p. 47 of *Babel und Bibel*. The one detail in which my copy of the line from the British Museum publication differs from Delitzsch's line is in the concluding sign of the first group of wedges,

which he gives as in No. 5, that is as a single wedge (like No. 6) instead of the doubled wedge which I have copied. But although he thus draws the concluding sign of the first wedge group differently from the corresponding sign in his under line, he yet transcribes this wedge group in both lines by *ʃa*, and so the whole of the first cuneiform group of his upper line must correspond with what I have copied from the English publication.¹⁰⁹

But what does the second group of wedges of that upper line mean? On my inquiring of Dr. Budge whether the form of this second group of wedges (as given in the British Museum publication, and copied in No. 4 above) really corresponded to the original, he most kindly replied,¹¹⁰ that the group in question really has the form which I have reproduced as No. 7. This can only be a variation of the group of wedges figured as No. 8,¹¹¹ and which appears in Delitzsch's *Grammar* (No. 7 in the *Schriftliste* on p. 18) as representing the sounds 'a, 'i, 'u, or a', i', u'.

The third cuneiform group of this line I immediately identified with No. 69 on p. 25 of Delitzsch's *Grammar*, where he tells us that it stands for the syllables *pi, me, ma, a, tu, tal.*

Thus the first three groups of the upper line in *Babel und Bibel* might read *Ṣa-'u-ma*. The syllable *ma* would be the particle of emphasis which very often is joined enclitically to other words;¹¹² it occurs also in proper names, as in ' *šar* Ashur-ma ; ' and in compound proper names, as in *Ilu-ma-damiḳ* (Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, § 79a). The whole four cuneiform groups of this *upper* line of Delitzsch would accordingly read *Ṣa-'u-ma-ilu*, which expresses with emphasis the meaning that *Ṣa-u* is God.

But the first three wedge groups might also be read *Ṣa-'a-me*, and as, according to a phonetic law of the Assyrian and Babylonian languages (see Delitzsch's *Grammar*, § 44), the labial *m* often changes into the labial *v*, the expression might be read *Ṣa-'a-ve*. Thus the whole four cuneiform groups of this line might have represented the name *Ṣa-'a-ve-ilu*, although it is mentioned in *Babel und Bibel* (p. 47) as if it were the only rendering.

From what I have already adduced, however, we see that this interpretation of the groups in question is by no means the only possible one; is it, then, the most probable? The name *Ṣa-'a-ve-ilu* was certainly not Babylonian, since the verb *hava*, 'to be,' did

not exist in Babylonian or Assyrian, and we seek for it in vain in Delitzsch's *Assyrian Dictionary* (pp. 31 and 230). This circumstance may, indeed, be looked upon as immaterial, as the first part of the name, (namely *Ja-'a-ve*), or the whole of it, might have been [not of Babylonian derivation but] a Canaanitish loan word, or rather have been known to the Canaanite tribes to which Hammurabi is said to have belonged. Howbeit, this explanation could only be accepted in two cases: either the expression *Ja-'a-ve* is without doubt the only possible rendering of the cuneiform groups discussed, and this, as we have just indicated, is not the case; or, it must be possible to show, in some other way, that the Divine appellation Jahveh was known among the Canaanites.

With respect to the latter suggestion, W. Max Müller, in his work *Asien und Europa* (p. 312), has remarked that as early as the reign of Thothmes III.,¹¹³ 'at the latest in the sixteenth century' (B.C.), there occurs in West Palestine the place-name of *Bai-ty-a* or *Bait-ya* (p. 162) or *Bai-ti-y'-â*.¹¹⁴ From this single fact he ventures to conclude that 'in Middle Palestine Jahu was looked upon as a [or, ? the] chief god' (p. 313).¹¹⁵

But the name of the city mentioned by W. Max Müller would not in the least prove that the Divine name Jahveh was known to the Canaanites. And how utterly improbable that it should be is shown to us by other testimony. For instance, did not Moses in the name of Jahveh lead the children of Israel to Canaan, with the fundamental command that they were not to serve *other* gods? What, moreover, was Israel's watchword after Moses' time in the struggle *against* Canaan? It was the name 'Jahveh' (rendered 'Lord' in the English version): 'The sword of the Lord and of Gideon' ran the battle-cry of Israel (Judges vii. 20). Why, too, had Elijah, the prophet of Jahveh, to endure that great struggle in religious history with the priests of Baal, the sun-god,¹¹⁶ on Mount Carmel (1 Kings xviii.)? It was because the worship of Baal in Israel had been encouraged by the Canaanitess Jezebel. Can then the Canaanites themselves have been worshippers of Jahveh? That is not in the least probable.

But may I be allowed to submit another attempt to interpret Delitzsch's upper line (our No. 4) of cuneiform writing? Might not Ja-a'-mi-ilu have meant and have been a cuneiform reproduction of the name Jahmi-ilu

(the meaning of which would be 'may God protect')? ¹¹⁷ This was my first thought. For in the Babylonian and Assyrian the spiritus lenis (here represented by the comma above the *a*) stands for five guttural sounds; for the spiritus lenis, the spiritus asper *h*, the strengthened spiritus asper *h*, etc. *Me* also stands for *mi*, as e.g. *shume* occurs for *shumi*, 'my name.' ¹¹⁸ May not then Ja-a'-mi-ilu be a cuneiform equivalent of the name *Fahmi-ilu*? And this name has been found in inscriptions of the South Arabian nations (Sabæan and Minæan) with which the Hammurabi dynasty may have been connected. ¹¹⁹

Since the appearance of the first edition of this sketch, H. Winckler has written, ¹²⁰ 'That the name of the Old Testament deity Jahveh or Jahu is that of a Canaanite deity is well known.' This statement conceals the facts of the case. What was known up to 1898 I have already pointed out above (pp. 80, *f.*), but what Delitzsch asserted in 1902—namely, that the name *Fahveh* occurs in the cuneiform writings—is new not merely to me, but also to Wallis Budge, G. Margoliouth, C. Bezold, H. V. Hilprecht, J. Halévy, and J. Oppert.

Jensen partly allows Delitzsch's interpretation of the cuneiform group when he writes, ¹²¹

‘A name is there written Ja’-wa(i,e,u)-il(u) (to be pronounced Ja’wa(i,e,u)-il(u)), for which Delitzsch arbitrarily reads Ja-ah-ve-ilu and Ja-hu-um-ilu. It is now highly probable that both groups contain the Divine name Jahveh-Jahu. Since, however, the Ja’wu in the name cannot be Assyrian or Babylonian, it must be of foreign origin, and therefore, as the whole name was most probably “Canaanite,” the bearer (or bearers) of the name was a “Canaanite” also [here Jensen for once (see above, p. 39) accommodates himself to the terminology of Winckler and Delitzsch]. But because a Müller or a Schulze appears in Paris, we do not therefore conclude that the ruling people in Paris are German, and as little does the appearance of a Ja’wu-il(u) in Babylon before 2000 B.C. show anything more than that a bearer of this name might occasionally have come to Babylon.’

The correctness of Delitzsch’s interpretation of that cuneiform group has been doubted or disputed by Assyriologists like H. V. Hilprecht and H. Zimmern (whom Kittel has cited¹²²); Dr. Wallis Budge, who in a card to me designated Delitzsch’s opinion as fantastic; J. Halévy (in his *Revue Sémitique*); and Carl Bezold, who, in a paper read before the

International Congress of Orientalists,¹²³ showed that the interpretation chosen by Delitzsch is uncertain, if not quite impossible. J. Barth's exposition (*Babel*, etc., pp. 16, *f.*) is also of importance. He supposes that the name in the cuneiform group is Ja-ah-we-ilu, 'God gives life.' Daiches, too, has lately stated his reasons against Delitzsch's view in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung* (xvi.), p. 403, *f.*

From all this, we see that it is neither proved nor is it at all likely that the Divine name Jahveh, 'the Existing,' was in use among Canaanite tribes in Babylonia. And no contradiction has been proved to the abiding conviction of the Hebrews which expressed itself, for example, in their shibboleth, 'Jahveh is *our* God' (Deut. vi. 4).

Of that conviction a further characteristic trace should be mentioned in this connection. In the Book of Jonah, the name Jahveh is very often used, as in chapter iii. 3, where it is said, 'Jonah arose and went unto Nineveh, according to the word of Jahveh.' But this appellation of God is consistently avoided when referring to the object of worship of the Ninevites. For the passage not only says that 'Nineveh was a city great unto *God*' (*i.e.* in God's judgment), but also 'the people of

Nineveh believed *God*, and 'they cried unto *God*,' and so on. Thus in the third chapter of Jonah the Hebrew word for *God* (*Elohîm*) is chosen six times (viz. in iii. 3 (latter part), 5, 8, 9, and in 10 twice). But that Jonah had a mission 'to preach *Jehovah* to the Ninevites,' as Hommel tells us he had,¹²⁴ the Old Testament says nothing at all. All that we are told in the Book of Jonah of the subject of the prophet's preaching is this, 'Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed' (Jonah iii. 4). And moreover, as already shown, the author of the Book of Jonah has throughout avoided using the name Jahveh in connection with Nineveh.

The three great themes which have been treated of in the two foregoing chapters are touched upon by Delitzsch in the 'remarks' which he has added to the new (1903) edition of his *Babel und Bibel*.

First, he seeks to make good his assertion that the Biblical account of the Creation contains mythological features. He says (p. 63), with regard to the author of Gen. i. 1, that 'Chaos was given him, and the whole (Creation story) was spun out of that.' But such a supposition contradicts the text, which, firstly, derives the existence of the universe simply

and solely from God, in the words, 'In the beginning *God* created,' etc.; and secondly, the commencement of verse 2, 'and the earth (for its part) was a mass lacking individual forms,' etc., speaks of the earth as it existed after the creation mentioned in verse 1. If 'chaos' is to be considered as 'given' to begin upon, then the statement of the second verse should be made in reference to the heavens as well as to the earth, and the text generally should read differently. The fact remains, therefore, that the priority of Spirit to matter is declared at the very beginning of the Bible. Moreover, 'traces of polytheistic features' will not be found in the first chapter of it by the reader who considers that the plural is only employed in reference to God in the self-invitation, 'Let us make man,' etc. (Gen. i. 26), and it immediately adds 'and God created' (in the singular). The plural, in a self-invitation, has only a psychological origin, as I have shown in my *Syntax* (§ 207).

Secondly, on the theme of the monotheism of the 'Canaanites,' or, as Delitzsch now says (p. 45), the 'North Semites,' to which, according to his view, the Hammurabi dynasty belonged, he seeks to prove that the right meaning of *ilu* (when equivalent to the

Hebrew *el*) is 'turning towards, direction = object.' But that the very same word should have been chosen for the preposition 'to' and for 'God' is improbable from the history of language and of religion, and Delitzsch's assertion that *el* has never been proved to have the meaning of 'might or strength' is incorrect; he might have seen the proof in my System of Hebrew.¹²⁵ The main point, however, is that Delitzsch continues to assert (pp. 3, *f.*) that *ilu* by itself, in the mouth of persons confessedly polytheistic, might show their monotheism. This is an erroneous assertion. Among notorious worshippers of many gods the bare expression *ilu* can only signify some god (that is, some representative of the pantheon) or the 'special tutelary god.'¹²⁶ And the race to which Hammurabi belonged was polytheistic—this has been shown afresh by the *Laws of Hammurabi*, which have been lately published, for there, in the first three lines Hammurabi names four gods, saying, 'When Anu and Bel had given to Merodach, the ruling son of Ea, mankind as his portion,' etc. Thus this 'contemporary of Abraham' was no follower of monotheism, and the text to which the explanation of Jensen, mentioned above (p. 77), refers, occurs on a

'New Babylonian' cuneiform tablet (Delitzsch, p. 78), which thus dates from after B.C. 625.¹²⁷ Delitzsch thinks his view (as opposed to that of Jensen) the right one, but yet closes his remark upon it with the words, 'May the future decide.'^{127b}

Lastly, with regard to the question whether the name Jahveh occurs in texts of the time of Hammurabi, Delitzsch no longer expresses himself so decidedly as he expressed himself at first. He now concedes, practically, that the matter was in need of investigation. He comes, indeed, to the conclusion (p. 75) that his interpretation, 'Ja've is God, remains by far the most probable,' but that time will show what is really correct. For the present I would remind my readers that the existence of this name Jahveh among the 'Canaanites' must have been remarkably sporadic.^{127c}

CHAPTER VIII

CHARACTERISTICS OF ISRAELITE CULTURE

Peculiar characteristics of the culture of Israel (*continued*) :—

4. The presence of God in history as recognized by the Hebrews. 5. The Æsthetic and Moral Plane of Israel compared with that of Babylon.

The pre-eminence of the Bible, and the source of that pre-eminence.

4. [THE Hebrew belief in Jahveh carried with it the idea of a harmony between Him and His people quite different from anything found among the Babylonians.]

The perception of God as the Existing One—as the Spiritual Reality existing before the universe and outlasting all its phases ; as the Heart of the world, palpitating through the world (Ps. civ. 28, 29), and faithful in all its changes—this was a reflection of the intense experience through which the Israelites passed at the time of their liberation from the Egyptian bondage, when also they were born to a new

national and religious life. Just as by that deliverance the supremacy of Jahveh over the Egyptian pantheon was manifested to the Midianite priest Jethro (Exod. xviii. 11), so was it shown to Israel also, who then sang, 'I will praise the LORD, for He is highly exalted ; the horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea' (Exod. xv. 1) ; and such was the nation's song throughout the centuries (Judges v. 3, 11). It was that epoch in the history of the Hebrews which its prophets at all times extolled as the youth and nuptial time of their nation, made radiant by God's favour ;¹²⁸ hence there is seen to hover over the history of this people a lustre all its own. There we see that harmony between God and man forms, as it were, the flaming gateway of the dawn in the history of God's ways, and, again, harmony between God and man represents the fluttering pennoned home port where God's ways discharge themselves again into eternity. But between those two points shrill discords surge in upon our ear ; the piety to be expected from men by Him who is their Benefactor in such countless ways has, we know, been violated (Gen. iii. 1, *f.*). Yet at the same time there press in upon us sweet voices of peace. With God's holiness

(by which justice, as the foundation of the world's history, is shielded) His grace struggles and establishes, as the victorious result, a human community (Gen. xii. 1, *ff.*), which is thus characterized: true religion and morality are the supreme principles (Gen. xvii. 1); God is the heavenly King (Exod. xv. 18); quietness and confidence in God are the sources of true strength (Isa. xxx. 15); self-renouncing sacrifice for others is the most glorious deed of heroism (Isa. liii. 4, *ff.*); and the communion of man with God which grows out of the expiation of all religious and moral guilt (Ezek. xxxvi. 25-28) is the exalted object of all God's dealings.

Truly, in view of such teachings of the Old Testament, I am constrained to repeat what I said above (p. 97), that as we grasp the historical significance of the Hebrew Scriptures we see them illuminated by a splendour all their own—by the rosy dawn of spiritual dominion which must gladden every eye gazing upon its blessed rays, and discerning in them the coming day of the true kingdom of the Spirit.¹²⁹

Where is the parallel to this in the Babylonian literature?

5. It remains for us to compare the æsthetic

and moral plane of Babylon with that of Israel as exhibited to us in the literature of both nations.

(i.) The moral altitude of a people can, of course, only be partially discerned in times of excitement, such as times of war, because we know that the necessity or passion of the struggle soon causes even cultivated men to sink below their usual level. Nevertheless, the degree of culture of a nation reflects itself to some extent in the treatment it allows itself to mete out to the fought and conquered enemy.

The Hebrews, it is true, often prosecuted their victory without mercy. But, in the first place, this happened with reference to nations whose history, on account of their boundless depravity, must at last have become their doom; as with the more or less Sodomite Canaanites.¹³⁰ Secondly, it occurred towards such enemies as had deceitfully attacked Israel in the rear when they were escaping from tyrannical servitude; as towards the Amalekites in the peninsula of Sinai (1 Sam. xv. 2, 6); or towards those who had denied means of subsistence to the marching troops, as the inhabitants of Succoth had done (Judges viii. 6). Further, with regard to 2 Sam. xii. 31, the

correct reading is, 'and he made the captives labour at the brick mould.'¹³¹ Lastly, we are told (in 2 Chron. xxv. 12) that the enemy was precipitated from the cliffs as an act of retaliation against the Edomites, because they had so often cruelly treated the brother race of Israel (Amos i. 11, etc.). On the other hand, however, it is said that the kings of Israel had the reputation of dealing mildly or loyally towards their enemies (1 Kings xx. 31), and they were expressly commanded to spare fruit-bearing trees (Deut. xx. 19, *f.*).^{131 b}

But what a different picture unrolls itself before our eyes when we observe how the Babylonians and Assyrians in their wars raged against plant life and human beings! In an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I., who ruled over Babylon about B.C. 1140, it is mentioned as a peculiar privilege of a district when the royal officers were not allowed to 'hew down groves and date plantations' (*Keilinschrift. Bibliothek*, III. i. p. 169). Nebuchadnezzar II. (B.C. 604-561) prays for the 'destruction of the land of his enemies' (*ibid.*, III. ii. p. 45), and beseeches Lugal Maradda to 'annihilate the whole land of the enemy' (*ibid.*, p. 69). We know also that by command of the same Nebuchadnezzar the eyes of King

Zedekiah were thrust out, and the sanctuary of Jahveh was burnt down (2 Kings xxv. 7, *ff.*). With regard to the horrors of war as waged by the Assyrians, it is sufficient to be reminded of the following: 'Beams of cedars, cypresses, etc., I felled;' ¹³² 'its gardens I cut down,' 'its date palms, which stood in the grove of the land, I hewed down.' ¹³³ What a commentary on this are Isaiah's words (referring to the destruction of Babylon) in xiv. 8: 'The cypresses also have rejoiced over thee [*i.e.* at thine overthrow], and the cedars of Lebanon: since [thus, as it were, they spake]—since thou art laid low, he no more comes up [on the mountain] who hews us down.' But specially the record of the manner in which the Assyrians treated the human inhabitants of the conquered lands forms a terrible chapter in the history of mankind. They boasted, for example, of the following deeds: 'Three thousand captives I burnt in the fire' (*Keilinschrift. Bibliothek*, i. 69, 71); 'their boys and girls I burnt in the flames' (i. 71, 75, 77, 81); 'the rest I destroyed by letting them starve' (*ibid.*, i. 101); or 'perish from thirst' (ii. 225); 'many men I took alive: I cut the hands and arms off one, the nose and ears off another; I thrust out the eyes of many men' (i. 71, 91,

113), or 'I tore out their tongues' (ii. 193, 257), or 'I cut off their lips' (ii. 197), etc., etc., in dozens of passages.^{133b}

(ii.) The moral level of a nation or period of history, moreover, cannot be directly determined by the general practice of the people. For it is well known that moral practice in all human life limps along a step or more behind the moral judgment. A David allowed himself to be led astray by passion into adultery, but this deed of the king was condemned most severely by the living conscience of Israel. Who does not know Nathan's parable (2 Sam. xii. 1-4), with its staggering concluding sentence, 'Thou art the man'?

The true standard of the moral altitude of a people or of a stage of history is the conduct which remains uncensured because it corresponds to the moral conscience of the nation or time in question. Bearing this in mind, there is brought before us, in the cuneiform epic of 'The Descent of Ishtar into Hades,' uncensured and, as matter of course, such shameless dealing that we must search through the vilest corners of Nearer Asia to find analogies to it.¹³⁴ On the other hand, the judgment of Israel on somewhat similar conduct expresses itself in the adequate

indignation which broke forth against the Canaanites of Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 2, 31); and as to the moral conscience of the Hebrews, the words of the unfortunate Tamar are exceedingly deserving of notice, 'They do not so in Israel.'¹³⁵ The deed of Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 22) was wholly abnormal; it was the tragical consequence of a situation of constraint which had its origin in wanton wickedness.¹³⁶

(iii.) The æsthetic and moral level of a people is indirectly reflected in its conceptions of deity.

In regard to this, what sort of picture meets us in Babylonian literature? There we see the gods moved by the same passions as immoral men, capable of the same weaknesses, continually involved in conflict with one another. How often are their love intrigues the subject of discourse;¹³⁷ and 'they make themselves drunk, their bodies swell'!¹³⁸

It is true that a sense of guilt from fear of having transgressed the will of the gods often finds expression in the Babylonian literature; the Penitential Psalms afford the chief proof of this.¹³⁹ Not only, however, has no narrative of the beginning of human impiety hitherto been found in the cuneiform records, but along with the utterances of the

consciousness of sin which are there found there are mingled many others of self-righteousness, which appear to be normal, whereas among the Hebrews it was a symptom of the alienation of their later history. Gudea,¹⁴⁰ for instance, meets us as 'the intelligent, the respectful servant of his lady [goddess].' Hammurabi as 'the shepherd who does good to the heart of Merodach.'¹⁴¹ But where are the Babylonian parallels to the confession of Jacob, 'Lord, I am not worthy of the least of all mercies, and of all the truth, which Thou hast showed unto Thy servant' (Gen. xxxii. 10)? or to that utterance of David, 'Who am I, and what is my house, that Thou hast brought me thus far?' (2 Sam. vii. 18)? In the cuneiform literature, moreover, I have read no such prayer as that of Solomon, 'Give Thy servant (O Jahveh) an obedient heart, that he may judge Thy people' (1 Kings iii. 9); where also we see that subjects are regarded as a charge directly received from God.

Delitzsch, in *Babel und Bibel*, ii. pp. 39, *f.*, and iii. pp. 51, *f.*,^{141b} has lauded the high level of Babylonian culture, but in his estimation of the position in which the Old Testament places woman he has overlooked the commandment,

'Honour thy father *and thy mother*,' and the case of Elkanah's going to Shiloh *with his wives* (1 Sam. i. 4, *f.*). Further, he has ignored the fact that the custom of *blood vengeance* was not introduced but mitigated by the Old Testament legislation (Exod. xxi. 13 ; Numb. xxxv. 6, *f.*). Lastly, he has not noticed, concerning slave legislation, that although the statutes of Hammurabi say (§ 199) that any one who destroys the eye of the slave of *another* master shall pay the half of the price of the slave to his master, yet they do not speak of the case in which a master injures *his own* slave by severe chastisement. What a contrast to this is found in Exod. xxi. 26, *f.*!

Babylon has truly been the point of departure for many elements of culture to near and remote regions, but religion, the decisive factor in all culture, possesses its classical literature in the Bible. Babylon may still be called the 'brain' of Nearer Asia (as it is in *Babel und Bibel*, p. 27), but that which constitutes the living principle of the Bible sprang out of an experience surpassing anything this world affords. The truth remains: in Babylon mankind strove towards heaven, but in the Bible heaven reaches down into poor human life.¹⁴²

Whatever significance the excavations on the Euphrates may have, happily they do not perform the work of grave-digging for the prerogative of the Bible in the history of religion,¹⁴³ and I wished to express this thought briefly when I gave this little book the title of *The Bible and Babylon*.

By that watchword I remain steadfast, notwithstanding that doubt as to the transcendent import of the Bible appears to be growing stronger and stronger; for my investigations have convinced me that the martyrs and Reformers stood on a foundation of rock when they defended, in the Bible, the last refuge of their life and their greatest comfort in death.

The increasingly thorough investigation of the history of the Biblical text and the more comprehensive study of the history of the Hebrew language¹⁴⁴ have, it is true, set more and more clearly before our eyes the fact that the Old Testament bears within itself traces of the different times in which its separate parts originated. It is also becoming more fully recognized, as the result of modern comparative research, that the traditions and manners and laws of the Hebrews were, in many respects, similar to the traditions and ideas

of the nations towards whom they stood in kindred or neighbourly relationship. But is an edifice sufficiently described when we point to the diversity of hands which have helped to erect it, and to the place of origin of the materials out of which the foundation-walls, buttresses, and ornaments have been raised? By no means. In such a description, whether of castle or cathedral, the chief element will be wanting, for in a building it is the design which is most essential. So also in the Old Testament, the dominant principles of it are of greatest importance.

But are there in the old Hebrew literature thoughts which impress on it a peculiar stamp and assign to it a special place in the spiritual history of the human race? These questions are to be answered in the affirmative, and because I am convinced of that I have in this work, from p. 51 onwards, emphasized the fact that in all comparison of the Babylonian with the Biblical literature the peculiar nature of the latter is not to be disregarded;¹⁴⁵ and on pp. 63, *ff.* the great fundamental ideas have been laid down which shine out from the Old Testament as from their focus of brightness, namely, that God was before matter, and with all-powerful impulses caused the

present phase of the world to come into being. This spiritual God is exalted above all representation by outward symbols, and from p. 96 I have set forth the sequence of these thoughts.

These ideas give to the Old Testament a unique position among the literatures of the ancient world; and is the well-spring of this pre-eminence to be sought for in vain? No; it manifests itself in the peculiarly powerful consciousness of the Hebrews, who, in decisive moments of their history, realized an experience surpassing this world; and it expresses itself with special force in the protestations of the prophets, who, in spite of misjudgments and tortures, and—this is particularly important—even in the conflict with outwardly related spirits (as, for example, with Hananiah, Jer. xxviii. 2, *ff.*), held fast with all clearness the conviction that they were entrusted from a higher sphere with a definite religious mission (Amos iii. 7; vii. 15, etc.). The consciousness of this mission, with all its affirmative utterances and most decided negative declarations (Jer. xxxiii. 9, *ff.*; Ezek. xiii. 2, *ff.*, etc.), cannot possibly be put on a level with the speaking of God to men mentioned in the Babylonian literature. Where is there, in that literature,

the parallel to the prophetic discourses of the Old Testament ?

The Old Testament is, after all, the monument of a religious history of which the fountain chamber lies in the usually closed background of the world, and herein we have to acknowledge a mystery ; even so, there are other problems also in the universe—for example, the origin of life and organisms—which find their adequate solution only when we acknowledge a higher governance.

BONN, April 23 and September 20, 1902 ;
January 24 ¹⁴⁶ and February 21, 1903 ;
and November 28, 1904.

APPENDED NOTE

TO THE THIRD EDITION (JANUARY, 1903) OF
THIS SKETCH

I N the 'Remarks,' already criticized by us, which Delitzsch has now added to his First Lecture on Babylon and the Bible, he has (as with regard to other writers so also) with reference to my *Bible and Babylon*, permitted himself (on page 55) to speak without restraint. In the first place, he has deemed fit to characterize the Assyriological part of this treatise as quite worthless. His right to do so may be questioned. It is quite true that I am not an Assyriologist by profession, but I have so far made myself conversant with Assyrian as to be able to test Delitzsch's assertion of a cuneiform Jahveh, and to point out that his comparison of the Bible and cuneiform literature was partial and imperfect (see above, pp. 33 and note 25, 51, 59, 63, 64, 66, 69, 71-74, 76, 80, *ff.*, etc.)

Secondly, he thinks that because and although I have expressed the conviction that the Bible bears 'a heavenly treasure in earthen vessels' (2 Cor. iv. 7), he may speak of 'sheep's clothing' and 'ravening wolves.' I will not follow him down that plane.

APPENDICES BY THE TRANSLATOR

A.—*On the suggested Maccabean date of Psalm lxxiv.*

THE allegation that the Old Testament preserves reminiscences of early mythological belief among the Hebrews, Professor König shows to be, on investigation, in every case erroneous—the analogical use of the words supposed to support that view, and their suitable application to the earlier history of Israel obviating the necessity for any such theory. But a special argument against employing it to explain Ps. lxxiv. is supplied by the late date of that composition, it being, in his opinion (see p. 58 above) of Maccabean date.

Here Professor König meets the modern critics of the Old Testament on their own ground. For while they urge the hypothesis of an early mythology, they at the same time recognize that a strong and vigilant monotheism (see p. 67 above) dominated the Hebrew nation, particularly its priestly and literary classes, from the later days of the Kingdom of Judah onwards. Now, if that was the case, we must recognize a grave and an inexplicable inconsistency in those leaders of Israel not only allowing a new mythological hymn a place in their literature, but also a place in their liturgical literature. Yet as to the date here assigned to the psalm, may I venture to express disagreement with our learned and estimable author?

His inference of a Maccabean date is based especially upon verse 9 of the psalm. 'We see not our signs: there is no more any prophet; neither is there among us any that knoweth how long.' Might not these words, however, quite well have been written at some other and far earlier time in the history of Israel than that named? Surely they would have been fully as suitable to the experience and mode of expression of the author of Lam. ii. as to those, say, of the writer of 1 Macc. iv. 46; ix. 27; or xiv. 41; and if, indeed, the Maccabean period can produce a more likely writer of the whole of Ps. lxxiv. than the writer of Lam. ii., let him be produced. In saying this I do not affirm the necessarily Jeremiah date of the psalm, but simply that the thoughts and words of the author of Lam. ii. are more in accord with that psalm than are those of any composer of the Maccabean period with whom we are acquainted.

Further, if the traditional view is the true one, that the canon of the Hebrew Bible (that is, be it observed, the books it contained, not the mere arrangement of the books) was practically closed long before the Maccabean struggle began, then, although an occasional gloss or scribe's note (such as Neh. xii. 11 and 22, 23) might, in later copying, have crept into the text of a book received as canonical, a whole psalm can scarcely have been interpolated.

Now, the general argument for the traditional view of the contents of the Old Testament canon, and for that canon being closed in a pre-Maccabean epoch, rests upon a doubly strong foundation; first, of the peculiar characteristics of the sacred volume (which have been shown in this Sketch), and which exist in no other pre-Christian literature; and second, of the evidence, both direct and inferential, for a pre-Maccabean canon afforded by ancient writers—sacred, apocryphal, and secular.

With regard to the testimony of those writers, let the following passages be compared and weighed: Mal. iii. 1

and iv. 5 taken with Matt. xi. 10-14, which intimate that no intermediate prophet was called for between Malachi and John the Baptist; while the places already referred to in 1 Macc., especially ix. 27, tell us that in the days of the Maccabees the prophets had, in fact, for some time belonged to the past. In striking confirmation of the traditional view we have the prologue to Ecclesiasticus speaking of a three-fold division of the Hebrew Scriptures into 'the law, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books,' and the sacred words of Luke xxiv. 44, 45, which not only recognize the same division, but also the Divine revelation which characterizes each part of it. Lastly, we have the well-known and most valuable passage in Josephus's dissertation against Apion (i. 8), in which he, a particularly well-informed Jew, of the priestly race, and speaking as 'the spokesman of his people,' both gives a list of the books of the Old Testament, which entirely agrees with our own, and also tells us in the most emphatic terms, that the Holy Scriptures ended with writers of the age of Artaxerxes the successor of Xerxes; *i.e.* Artaxerxes Longimanus, during whose reign over Persia (B.C. 465-425) Ezra and Nehemiah laboured and Malachi, evidently, prophesied. Now, it will scarcely be gainsaid that Josephus expressed the prevailing if not the only belief among the Jews of his day (*circ.* A.D. 37-100) as to the contents and date of completion of the Old Testament. That belief is the only one consistent with history as we know it, it is still held alike by the Jewish Church and our own, and the soundness of it in the main, no special arguments of recent critics have, in my judgment, seriously impaired.

Because, then, of the canonicity also of Ps. lxxiv., I cannot accept the view that it is of Maccabean date.

On the whole subject of the acceptance or canonicity of the Old Testament books, the excellent volume of the late Dr. W. H. Green (who was President of the American Old

Testament Company for the Revision of the English Bible) entitled *The Canon* (London, 1899), may be consulted with advantage. It should, moreover, never be forgotten, in the consideration of the canonicity of any Old Testament book, that, from the nature of its contents, 'the canonical validity of a writing would be coincident with its first appearance.'

B.—*On the integrity of the Book of Genesis, and the special character of that book as of the whole Bible.*

With further reference to the Rationalistic assault on the Book of Genesis, the newest Assyriological contributions to which are carefully investigated and met by Professor König in this treatise, Dr. Green has also published an admirable work entitled *The Unity of the Book of Genesis* (New York, 1895; also Dickinson, London, 1902), in which the documentary hypothesis of the composition of that book—as developed by the modern critical school from the suggestions of Jean Astruc (1753)—is very ably combated. Step by step, section by section, from beginning to end, the first book of the Bible is examined, and the complete harmony and mutual relation of its several parts is established. Thus the whole book is shown to bear within it the characteristic marks of single authorship,—namely, of Moses.¹

This conclusion does not, of course, exclude (compare pp. 29, 106, 107, above) the use by the author of pre-Mosaic documents—Babylonian, Egyptian, Midianite, Edomite—

¹ A series of useful and suggestive papers dealing with difficulties raised by modern critics as to the trustworthiness and historical character of the Book of Genesis (chiefly with reference to Dr. Driver's Commentary) appeared in the *Churchman*, April to November, 1904. They are by Dr. H. A. Redpath, Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford.

any more than does the recognition of the fact that a certain book of our own day is Gardiner's *History of England* prevent us from recognizing also that there have been wrought into it documents from State archives or private muniments of England, France, Spain, and the Low Countries. In thus speaking of the Bible (for what has just been said of the Book of Genesis may apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to any of the historical or narrative parts of the Scriptures), we are looking at it only on its human side, and treating it, in stereotyped phrase, 'like any other book.' Let us, however, always remember that that phrase, though reasonable enough within the limits indicated, beyond them is absurd. It is more than that, it is fatal, to have regard only, or chiefly, to the 'earthen vessel,' and to fail to perceive its inward 'treasure,' namely, the message, spirit and life, which from the beginning have dominated and moulded it. In this matter, it is 'the Spirit of the Lord' which alone 'giveth understanding.'

The integrity of the Book of Genesis and of the Old Testament as a whole is of profound importance (John x. 35; Matt. v. 17, 18), but the essential value of that volume, as well as the chief witness to its integrity, consists in its special (and Divine) character, the argument for which—so far as it falls within the range he has marked out for himself—Professor König, with true learning and great cogency, has set forth in the foregoing sketch.

C.—*Later contributions to the discussion of the early narratives of the Bible and of the so-called monotheism of Babylon.*

The length of time required for passing this little book through the press affords me the opportunity of referring to later developments of some points here under discussion.

(1) In the *Contemporary Review* for February, 1905, Dr. Emil Reich, in an article entitled 'The Bankruptcy of the Higher Criticism,' lays before us remarkable evidence which seems to show that important traditions of the Creation and early revelations to mankind are still preserved among the Masai, hitherto regarded as a negro-Hamitic tribe, but now claimed to be of comparatively pure Semitic extraction; they inhabit the neighbourhood of Mount Kilimanjaro, East Africa. His article is chiefly based on some very careful researches of Captain M. Merker, a German officer, stationed in German East Africa, where he has spent some eight years, and whose elaborate ethnographic monograph was published in Berlin, with the help of the German Kolonial Gesellschaft, in 1904. According to that evidence, the Masai have retained much of the early history recorded in the Bible far more fully and correctly than Assyriologists have so far recovered it from the cuneiform records. The Masai tradition tells of the earth as primevally a barren waste, in which a dragon dwelt alone. God came down from heaven and vanquished the dragon, made the earth fertile, created sun, moon, stars, plants, beasts, and finally the first human pair, whom he placed in Paradise to enjoy an untroubled existence, and with permission to eat of the fruits of all the trees save one. God frequently visited them in Paradise, but on one occasion found them hiding, crouched under the bushes. They had eaten of the forbidden fruit, the man having been tempted by the woman, who was first tempted by the three-headed serpent. God sent Rilegen, the Morning Star, to drive the primeval pair out of Paradise and to keep watch over it thereafter. The Masai have also traditions of the first murder, and, in detail, of the Deluge, from which Tumbainot, with his two wives, his six sons, and their wives and certain animals were saved in an ark; four rainbows being the sign that God's wrath had passed away. 'The whole story of the Decalogue,

too, 'finds its place in Masai tradition,' and the first commandment, proclaimed in a thunderstorm in the mountain, is thus given: 'There is one God alone, who hath sent me unto you. Heretofore ye have called him the Forgiver (*E'majan*), or the Almighty (*E'magelani*), but henceforth ye shall call him 'Ngai. Of him ye shall make no image. If ye follow his commands, it will be well with you; but if ye obey him not, famine and pestilence shall chastise you.'

Captain Merker, Dr. Reich tells us, 'completely disposes of any possibility of Christian influence. There is, to begin with, no trace of New Testament doctrine or history. The Masai traditions stop short with the Divine law-giving. It is, moreover, quite certain that no foreign missionaries have at any time carried their propaganda into the Masai country.' Dr. Reich declares that the only explanation of all the phenomena is that 'the Babylonians, Hebrews, and the Masai' all had their origin in Arabia, where they had these legends in common. Our own conclusion is somewhat different. If the account of the Masai tradition which he submits—and which in some important points is almost startling—should be established as accurate, and if the Masai did not receive their legends from some ancient Jewish settlers, such as the Falashas of Abyssinia, the plain inference would seem to be that the forefathers of the Masai had been in direct or indirect communication with the Hebrews at, or up to, the time of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai, and have preserved outlines of the history of Genesis and of some of the fundamental teaching of the early Hebrews with most remarkable accuracy. Further investigation into the Masai traditions and history will be of the greatest interest.

(2) An article by the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, in the *Churchman* for March, 1905, on 'The First Human Family,' contains an attractive philological investigation

which seems to bring this primeval narrative of the Book of Genesis practically within the scope of the believing Biblical student and inquirer. Mr. Tisdall's conclusions are that the names Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, and Sheth are Akkadian, the language, that is, of the pre-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia, and, moreover, Akkadian of a time when Semitic was also well understood, at least by the writer of that primitive narrative and by those for whom he wrote; language, in brief, such as would be understood by Abraham and his kindred in Ur of the Chaldees. An Akkadian origin has long since been claimed for the names Eden, Euphrates, Hiddekel (the Tigris), Pishon, and Gihon. This evidence would therefore lead us to presume that written traditions of the primeval human story were in the possession of Abraham, perhaps were written down by him, and, in the fulness of time, came into the hands of Moses, to be by him, under Divine guidance, incorporated into that wonderful and inspired record the Book of Genesis.

(3) I would call attention to the addition to Note 90, written by Professor König for this edition of his *Bibel und Babel*, on the so-called monotheism found in the culture of Babylon. Those who remember the writings on the Science of Religion by the late Professor Fried. Max Müller, of Oxford University, will scarcely need to be told that henotheism, and not monotheism, more truly defines the point of view of those ancient Babylonians who, at times, looked upon a single god as almost equivalent to the whole pantheon. We can sympathize with this approach to the true light on the part of those born and brought up in polytheism, though indeed and, alas! they failed to take that definite and saving decision for the One and Only Lord, such as a legend preserved in the Koran (Sura vi.) tells us Abraham took, before his way was directed to Canaan, when he abandoned for ever the worship of the

heavenly host for the service of the Supreme Creator. Yet even their henotheism is a fresh token to us that God has never left Himself without a witness to the sincere inquirer. But the old distinction between natural and revealed religion still holds good.

W. T. P.

NOTES

¹ Herder, *Sämtliche Werke zur Religion und Theologie*, herausgegeben von J. G. Müller, 6 Teil. p. 181.

² *Ibid.*, p. 214, and elsewhere.

³ See Herder, Part xi. p. 14.

⁴ Hager published an important 'Dissertation' translated into German by Klapproth, under the title, *Über die vor Kurzem entdeckten Babylonischen Inschriften* (Weimar, 1802). More details hereon are to be found in F. Hommel's *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 73.

⁵ On September 4, 1902, not on the '14th,' as Delitzsch says in § 3 of his *Assyrian Grammar*.

⁶ [The other two names are Darius and Xerxes.—TRANS.]

⁷ Silvestre de Sacy, *Lettre au citoyen Chaptal, ministre de l'Intérieur, au sujet de l'inscription du monument trouvé à Rosette* (Paris, 1802).

⁸ Kuyunjik, or Koyunjuk, is the diminutive of the Turkish word *koyun* ('sheep'), and the name would signify that the village lies like a 'little sheep' on the grassy plain. At Nebi Yunus the grave of the Prophet Jonah is shown.

⁹ See, further, the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*, No. 3 (November, 1899), and No. 7 (February, 1901).

¹⁰ These are the words of C. P. Tiele, of Leyden, in his *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, 2 Teile (1886-88), p. 402.

¹¹ A difference between a text of the Deluge which dates from the time of King Ammizaduga [*circ.* B.C. 2060], and was published by Father Scheil in 1898, and the text which comes to us from the seventh century B.C., and was published by G. Smith in his *Chaldean Genesis*, is shown in the *Expository Times*, 1898, pp. 377, f.

¹² *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. p. 190.

¹³ We find examples of this in Tiele (p. 374), where 'a careless copy of a stone monument' is mentioned.

¹⁴ See e.g., P. Jensen's remark, that 'the supposition that K4832 (obverse) contains the conclusion of the first tablet according to another classification, appears to me quite inadmissible' (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI. i. 9, Anmerkung). The 'beginning of Tablet V.'—in which we are told of the stationing of the stars—'we gather from K3567 + K8558 [? 8588] and K8526' [that is, the tablets so numbered in the British Museum. It may be added that the recent discovery of many more fragments of these Tablets has shown clearly the sequence of the works of Creation according to the Babylonian legends. See the *Seven Tablets of Creation*, by Mr. L. W. King (1902).—TRANS.].

¹⁵ So Eberhard Schrader tells us, in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*, p. 101. And L. W. King, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1899), p. 423, says, 'The system [of cuneiform writing] was further complicated by the fact that the majority of signs were polyphonous, that is to say, they had more than one syllabic value, and could be used as ideograms for more than one word.' It is a concealing of the facts when H. Winckler, in the *Norddeutsche Allgem. Zeitung* of August 3 [1902] remarks, in reference to these statements, that 'there is unfortunately no writing without ambiguous signs.' The Assyriologist, Carl Bezold, lamented at the last meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists that, for example, a group of wedges may signify the syllables *pi (bi)*, *me (ve)*, *ma*, *a*, *tu*, *tal*.

¹⁶ As Alfred Jeremias explains in his pamphlet, entitled, *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel* (1903), p. 5. P. Keil, the Assyriologist, has expressed himself on this point (in the magazine *Pastor Bonus* (1902), pp. 6, ff.) with more severity, I think, than I have done.

¹⁷ C. P. Tiele, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, p. 372. Compare especially the section on the 'Criticism of the Cuneiform texts as Historical Authorities' (pp. 12-37), where examples of defectiveness and other untrustworthiness of the cuneiform writings are discussed.

¹⁸ Carl Bezold (Professor of Assyriology in Heidelberg), the *Fortschritte der Keilschriftforschung in neuester Zeit* (1889), p. 16.

¹⁹ See the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. p. 93.

²⁰ See Josephus, *Antiq.*, X. i. 4.

²¹ The combination mentioned of Isa. xxxvii. 37 with Herodotus, ii. 141 is also approved by Duhm in the *Handkommentar zu Jesaja* (1902), p. 243, and by Prášek in the *Expository Times* (1902), p. 327b. See also Bezold in *Ninive und Babylon* (1903), 50, f., 61.

H. Winckler (in the *Norddeutsch. Allgem. Zeitung* of August 3 (1902) ascribes to me the opinion that 'Sennacherib had also fought against Taharka in B.C. 701.' But, firstly, I have not once named Taharka (or Tirhaka, Isa. xxxvii. 9) with B.C. 701; and secondly, I have expressly spoken of Sennacherib's later retreat.

²² It is not true, therefore, that in the Books of Kings 'real interest in the historical matter nowhere shows itself,' as Wellhausen asserts in the fourth edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 259.

²³ 'Beiträge zur biblischen Chronologie' (*Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft*, etc., 1883, pp. 281-289, 393-405, 449-458, 617-621).

²⁴ The assumptions of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith, which are always being appealed to (as in *Babel und Bibel*, p. 23), I have already shown, in my *Beiträge*, to be unproved and unprovable. I said then, for instance, that 'if the years of the reigns of the kings had been unknown, one knew not why round numbers, like 20, 40, or 80, were not chosen, as with the judges.' The totals of the years of the kings' reigns have lately been accepted as really but traditional numbers, and it is supposed by Guthe (*Geschichte Israels*, 1899, p. 151) that 'particular figures might have been changed for the purpose' of making out 480 years from the building of the Temple to the Exile. But this would have been a childish operation, and one which must often have been repeated, for an object in no way intimated in the Old Testament.

²⁵ A. J. Delattre, *Les Chaldéens jusqu'à la formation de l'empire de Nabuchodonosor*, 2 éd., pag. 2 ss.: 'Jusqu'à

Nabopolassar et Nabuchodonosor les Chaldéens habitent, au sud-est de la Babylonie la plaine de l'Euphrate et la rive méridionale du Shat-el-Arab jusqu'au golfe Persique,' etc.

It may here be added that Delitzsch has not said a word about the weakness of the cuneiform records, from the point of view of textual and literary criticism, while he does speak of such weakness as existing in the Bible. He has thus distributed light and shade unfairly. Moreover, what he has said (*ibid.*) of the Bible is incorrect, for he states that the Old Testament chronology is adapted to a system of sacred numbers, because from the end of the Exile backwards to the founding of Solomon's temple 480 years were reckoned. But this story lacks foundation, as we have pointed out above.

²⁶ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, ii. 117. Ktesias also, in Diodorus Siculus, ii. 23, speaks of Νῆνος μεγάλη.

²⁷ P. 46; the same thing, in effect, is stated on p. 47 also. [Hammurabi was the sixth and most renowned ruler of the First Dynasty of United Babylonia. Many scholars identify him with the Amraphel of Gen. xiv.—TRANS.]

²⁸ F. Hommel, *Vier neue arabische Landschaftsnamen im Alten Testament*, 1901, p. 315. Compare the same author's *Die Insel der Seligen*, 1901, pp. 34, 35, Rem. He finds this island in the modern 'Bahrain, which was named "Sea-country" in antiquity, was the old Chaldæa, and one of its ancient names, that of Ki-Ingi, the Phœnicians newly localized in Palestine as Kana'an (originally Kinaghan).' This opinion is, however, doubtful. For the Babylonian word 'Ki' signifies 'land' (Delitzsch, *Assyrian Grammar*, p. 21), and this element and syllable of the name Ki-Ingi would have been omitted in the Phœnician-Hebrew appellation Kena'an, 'Low Country' (from *Kana*, 'to be depressed'). Moreover, 'the Isles of the Blessed (*seligen Inseln*), or Elysium of the Ancients, lay in the farthest West, at the "Mouth of the Streams,"' according to P. Jensen (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1902, p. 126).

²⁹ M. Jastrow, jun., in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. (1899), col. 639.

³⁰ Hommel (*Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, etc., 1897, pp. 107, ff.) found Minæan-Sabæan forms in the names of the Hammurabi dynasty (which is contrary to the view of A. Jeremias, *Im*

Kampfe, etc., 1903, p. 9). P. Jensen, moreover, in the *Litt. Centralblatt* of May 26, 1902, again pronounces erroneous the opinion that the Hammurabi dynasty was of non-Babylonian origin. See his arguments there and in the *Christliche Welt* of May 23, 1902, col. 491. As the result of my arguments against it, Delitzsch has changed his position on this subject. He now calls the people to which Hammurabi belonged 'North Semitic.' Further, it is an absurd way of evading the point when Dr. A. Jeremias, in *Das Alte Test. im Lichte des Alten Orient* (1904), p. 2, says that my protest against the expression 'Canaanite' 'rests on a misunderstanding.' See my article on this book entitled 'A Fateful Dogma,' in the *Expository Times* of April, 1905.

³¹ So my colleague, Alfred Wiedemann, transliterates the Egyptian word in his memoir, entitled *La Stèle d'Israel* (reprinted from the *Muséon*, 1898, pp. 6, 9, etc.).

³² These *Habiri* are mentioned in letters 179-185 which Abd-hiba, the Egyptian vassal in U-ru-sa-lim (which, according to clxxx. 45, etc., = Jerusalem) wrote to the Pharaoh. Robber expeditions are therein complained of which were undertaken from Shiri (Seir = Edom, south of the Dead Sea) and other Canaanite districts, against Urusalim, Ajaluna (Ajalon), Laqish, and other places of Southern Palestine. But in Shiri and the neighbouring regions did there not dwell at that time the Edomites, Ishmaelites, Midianites, and related tribes who were descendants of Abraham 'the Hebrew' (Gen. xiv. 13)?

³³ Hosea xii. 8 [in the Hebrew, verse 7 in the English version, in which see the marginal notes. The original reads literally: 'Canaan, in his hand are balances of deceit; he loveth to oppress.'—TRANS.]

³⁴ See Stade's proof in my little book, *Hebräisch und Semitisch* (1901), pp. 81, ff.

³⁵ It would have been better if Winckler had made good his unauthorized assumption of 1895 instead of assailing me (in the *Norddeutsch. Allgemein. Zeitung* of August 3, 1902) for not accepting it. For is it accepted by Hommel (*The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, 1897, pp. 95, ff., 229), or by Guthe (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1899, p. 4); or in Cheyne's *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1900, ff., col. 1152, f., 1894, f.)?

³⁶ As against A. Jeremias (*Im Kampfe*, etc., p. 9, etc.). For more against the position taken by Winckler and Jeremias, see my little book entitled *Babylonisierungsversuche betreffs der Patriarchen und Könige Israels*, 2 Aufl., 1903.

³⁷ F. X. Kugler in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1902), pp. 60-70.

³⁸ Berossi *Chaldæorum Historiæ quæ supersunt* (ed. Richter, p. 86), $\Sigma\omega\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ δὲ ἐξήκοντα. [Shushshu, or shushu, is the Babylonian and Assyrian word for sixty.—TRANS.]

³⁹ Senkereh lies east of the Euphrates, and north of El-Muqayyar (the 'Asphalted'), which is identified with Ur.

⁴⁰ An accurate description of this gazelle's head is given by Professor H. V. Hilprecht, the excellent leader of the American expedition, in the *Sunday School Times* (of Philadelphia), 1901, No. 4. In the *Norddeutsch. Allgem. Zeitung* of August 3, 1902, Dr. H. Winckler simply asserts that Babylonia yields no pre-Semitic monuments. But that is a strong dictum.

⁴¹ *Hebräisch und Semitisch* (1901), pp. 77, ff.

⁴² P. Jensen, *Die Christliche Welt* (1902), col. 491, says: 'The form of speech "to lift up the countenance upon some one" is not attested in Assyrian. Assyrian, therefore, contributes nothing to the explanation of the Blessing of Numbers vi. 24-26' (as claimed in *Babel und Bibel*, p. 24). Indeed, Assyrian help is not here needed, for the Hebrew mode of expression finds its explanation in the Old Testament itself. (See hereon W. Knieschke, *Bibel und Babel, El und Baal*, 1902, p. 36.)

⁴³ H. Winckler says (*Norddeutsch. Allg. Zeitung*, August 3, 1902) that *raḳia* [the word translated 'firmament'] is the 'zodiak.' But that, according to Gen. i. 6, etc., is, we see, incorrect, according also to the expression 'the windows of heaven' (in Gen. vii. 11, etc.) and Ps. cxlviii. 4.

⁴⁴ Heinrich Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, p. 62.

⁴⁵ See details in my *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik, komparativisch dargestellt* (1900), pp. 310, f., 336, f.

⁴⁶ Especially by P. Haupt, in *The Origin of the Mosaic Ceremonial* (Johns Hopkins University Circulars, vol. xix. No. 145, p. 37).

⁴⁷ Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 141, ff.; Hommel, *Die israelitischen Überlieferung*, etc., pp. xi., etc. But

see the examination of these analogies which is made in my little book, *Hebräisch und Semitisch* (1901), pp. 91, 92.

⁴⁸ This is admirably worked out by J. Barth (*Babel und israelitisches Religionswesen*, 1902, pp. 33, f.). Kittel also rightly remarks (*Allgem. Evan.-Luth. Kirchenzeitung*, 1902, col. 389): 'When Delitzsch (p. 31) says of the story of the Deluge, "This whole narrative, exactly as it is here written down, travelled to Canaan," he says more than he can know. Instead of establishing the fact of the striking similarity, he gives an explanation of the phenomenon which is by no means the only possible one.'

⁴⁹ Cornill (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1902, col. 1682) asks, with reference to the statement of Delitzsch (in *Babel und Bibel*, p. 41), that the conception of angels is 'pure Babylonian,' whether it is so in the same scriptural sense as is so excellently expressed in Ps. xci. 11, f., and in the declaration of Jesus (Matt. xviii. 10)? In the pictorial representations, the Babylonian angels, in company with eunuchs [!] flank the throne of the great king. . . . Moreover, the Bible can conceive of Satan and his angels only as creatures of God, though fallen, it is true, through their own fault, and consequently in the sharpest imaginable contrast to all dualism. (This is said with reference to the view of Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, p. 43 [who there suggests that the belief in the Evil Spirit and in evil angels is a remnant of the old Persian dualism. See also below, p. 55.—TRANS.])

⁵⁰ Jensen, *Christliche Welt* (1902), col. 493.

⁵¹ *Über die Herkunft der urgeschichtlichen Sagen der Hebräer*, pp. 431, f., in the *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie* (1882), pp. 427, ff.

⁵² In the texts of the Creation epic hitherto discovered, and which P. Jensen has translated in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI. i. (1900), it is true there is found in connection with the words 'Marduk made mankind' (pp. 34, f.), and 'Marduk made men' (pp. 40, f.), and after 'multitude of the city' (pp. 42, f., lines [4 and] 6, where 'multitude' must certainly mean men), the statement that the 'god Nin-igi-azag [made] two little, made [in the flock] of the busy crowd their building glorious' (lines 9, 10). Must this be unquestionably a reference, as

Delitzsch states (p. 33), to 'the first human pair'? The questions of interest in the history of human culture. But it is rightly negatived by Jensen in his remarks on the text, pp. 42, *f.* He points out that in line 8 the subject is 'the flock of my family.'

⁵³ [*The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith (London, 1876). This was afterwards translated into German; which version Professor Budde naturally here quotes. He refers to the lower of the two illustrations on p. 159 (it is the third illustration on p. 121 of the German edition), and to the figure on p. 283 (p. 222 in the German). With these, we might be permitted to suggest the figure on p. 257 of the original may be compared.—TRANS.]

⁵⁴ Compare also the definition in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III. i. pp. 140, 141: 'Horn caps, caps of lordly power, as they are proper to divine dignity.'

⁵⁵ See also Oettli, *Der Kampf um Bibel und Babel*, p. 31 (4th edition, 1903).

⁵⁶ See, too, W. Knieschke, *Bibel und Babel, El und Bel*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, September 12, 1902.

⁵⁸ *Babel und Bibel*, p. 43. [Cf. note 49 above.—TRANS.]

⁵⁹ P. Jensen (*Christliche Welt*, 1902, col. 489) says, 'Berossus calls this being a woman, she is the mother of the gods, has a husband and a lover, and nowhere in the whole range of Assyrian and Babylonian literature is there found the slightest indication that this being [who is there named Tiâmat.—TRANS.] is considered as anything other than just a woman, without that qualification. The figure given by Delitzsch on p. 36 'cannot possibly be referred to the Tiamat struggle.' Where 'the Old Testament speaks of a conflict of Jahveh with serpent- and crocodile-like beings, no occasion is given us to assume, as Delitzsch assumes (on pp. 33, *f.*), a connection with the Babylonian myth of the Tiamat conflict.'

⁶⁰ [In rendering the Hebrew word 'ôlâm (translated 'ancient times' in our Revised Version) by 'veiled,' Professor König gives the word its etymological force, which also appears in the English rendering of Ps. xc. 8, 'our secret sins.'—TRANS.]

⁶¹ In his little book entitled *Der Kampf um Bibel und Babel* (p. 12 in the 4th edition, 1903).

⁶² [Tehôm is the word translated 'deep' in Gen. i. 2; vii. 11;

viii. 2 ; xlix. 25, and many other places, including Isa. li. 10 and lxiii. 13 ; it is also translated 'depths' in Exod. xv. 5, 8, and elsewhere. The word is supposed to be etymologically related to the Babylonian *Tiâmat*, the name of the goddess in the Assyrian Creation myth. Cf. note 59 above.—TRANS.]

⁶³ *Babel und israelitisches Religionswesen*, p. 28.

⁶⁴ [Or *tannîm*]. Cf. Ezek. xxxii. 2. Isa. xxvii. 1 and similar passages are discussed in detail, with reference to modern attempts at mythological explanation, in my *Stilistik*, etc., pp. 85, f.

⁶⁵ This is the opinion of Hupfeld and Nowack also, in their commentary on this passage.

⁶⁶ [See the Appendix A of the Translator at the end of this treatise.—TRANS.]

⁶⁷ Job ix. 13 and xxvi. 12. [See the English Revised Version of these passages.—TRANS.]

⁶⁸ Thus rightly remarks J. Barth (*Babel und israelitisches Religionswesen*, p. 27).

⁶⁹ See further hereon below, pp. 63, 64.

⁷⁰ Tablet xi. line 162.

⁷¹ [That is, on the assumption of modern criticism that the account of the Flood in Gen. vi. 5 to ix. 17 contains two different narratives dovetailed into one.—TRANS.]

⁷² *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI. i. (1900), pp. 341, 342, lines 81-86. That higher consideration is certainly not to be found (as Delitzsch, in his *Anmerkungen* (1903), p. 63, implies it is) in VI. i. 230, 234, 254, 491.

⁷³ See additional note on the Sabbath below (pp. 61, 62, and note 74 below).

⁷⁴ Jensen, *Christliche Welt* (1902), col. 492. Delitzsch (in his 'Anmerkungen' to *Babel und Bibel*, 1903, 61) questions this, but in any case the 7th, 14th, etc., day of every month was regarded as a *bad* day by the Babylonians. [On this subject, a paper entitled 'Sapattu, the Babylonian Sabbath,' by Dr. T. G. Pinches, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1904, February, pp. 51-56, and May, pp. 162-3, may be consulted.—TRANS.] To this Professor König adds : The text [given by Dr. Pinches] names only the 15th day of the month *shapattu*, and H. Zimmern, the well-known Assyriologist

of Leipzig, rightly questions whether the other days of the month were called *shapattu* by the Babylonians (*Zeitschr. der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, 1904, pp. 199, ff., 458-60). The difference between the Hebrew and the Babylonian Sabbath is thereby so much the greater.

⁷⁵ Compare Exod. xvi. 22-30 and the 'remember' of xx. 8.

⁷⁶ Delivered before the International Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg, September 8, 1902.

⁷⁷ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI. i. pp. 2, f.

⁷⁸ 'An impassable gulf exists,' Professor Sayce tells us, 'between the Babylonian and the Biblical representations of Creation' (in his Hibbert Lectures on the *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, 1902, p. 396).

⁷⁹ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI. i. pp. 12, f.; 16, f.; 18, f.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, f. [The square brackets, here as elsewhere in translations from the cuneiform, indicate defects in the text.—TRANS.]

⁸¹ In the *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1889, pp. 159, 162, 170. See below, pp. 93-95.

[Delitzsch does not explain why he asserts (pp. 45, 46) that the common word for 'God' in the Semitic languages (which is *ēl* in Hebrew, *ilu* in Assyrian and Babylonian) signifies 'object,' 'that which is aimed at.' But as Professor König points out, it could only have such a meaning if it sprang from the same root as an old Semitic preposition meaning 'to' or 'towards,' which is found in Hebrew as *ēl*. The great improbability of the word *ēl* ('god') and *ēl* ('to') coming from the same root is shown in the text. It would be just as easy, philologically, to derive the 'old Semitic word *el*' ('god') from the same root as the Hebrew and Aramaic *al*, 'not;' or the French *ou*, 'or,' and *où*, 'where,' from the same radical.—TRANS.]

⁸² The opinion that *ilu* may originally have signified 'to' is rejected also by Kittel (*Allgemein. Evangel.-Luther. Kirchenzeitung*, 1902, col. 387); Jensen (*Christliche Welt*, 1902, cols. 493, f.); and Oettli (pp. 26, f., of the fourth edition of his *Kampf um Bibel und Babel*). While S. Daiches, the young Assyriologist, writes (in a letter to the author written from Leipzig, July 13, 1902), 'If the idea of *ilu* ("god") had arisen

from the preposition *el* ("to"), then it is very striking that in the Assyrian and Babylonian no preposition *el* ("to") exists at all. "To" in Assyrian and Babylonian, as is well known, is *ana* (see Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch*, 94c.) W. Knieschke also observes (in his *Bibel und Babel*, etc., pp. 50, f.) that in the cuneiform a number of the gods are characterized as wicked (*ilu limnu*). In such cases *ilu* would signify a sad aim!

⁸³ *Babel und Bibel*, p. 47. I prefer this way of writing the name—that is, with *ll*—rather than Delitzsch's—with one *l*.

⁸⁴ This translation Delitzsch repeats in his Second Lecture, 1903, p. 29, but without refuting the evidence against it. See below, pp. 93–95.

⁸⁵ Cf. Holtzmann, in the *Handkommentar* to the Acts of the Apostles, on xvii. 23.

⁸⁶ [See Heinrich Zimmern's *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt. Leipzig, 1885), p. 61.—TRANS.]

⁸⁷ This is said with reference to the remarks of Zimmern on p. 67 of his *Busspsalmen*, and also of P. Keil (in the *Pastor Bonus*, 1902, p. 59; *Anmerk.* 1), who opposes me without good reason.

⁸⁸ No notice of this agreement of the Bible with the Babylonian records is to be found in *Babel und Bibel*.

⁸⁹ See Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, pp. 117; 107 ff.

⁹⁰ This is the conclusion of Giesebrecht also in *Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens und ihre religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung*, 1901, p. 104, where he says, 'That the word *il*, so often occurring here, indicates monotheism is quite impossible, in view of the designations of deity running parallel with it.'

In the latest edition of his *Babel und Bibel*, i. p. 75, Delitzsch asserts that my attempt to explain the proper names mentioned is erroneous—that it comes to grief with regard to names such as *Ilu-amranni*, 'O God, look upon me.' My calm and simple answer is this: A name like *Ilu-amranni* expresses an appeal to the god who for the particular man, and indeed at the particular moment, stood in the foreground of interest. Or is it that such a point of view and form of expression are unknown among the worshippers of many gods? This is

by no means the case. On the contrary, the late Professor Fried. Max Müller has found this phase of polytheistic belief especially in the history of the Hindu religion, and has given to it the appellation 'Henotheism' (*Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, pp. 312, etc.). My conclusion has been allowed by H. Zimmern, in *Die Keilinschriften und das A.T.* (1903), p. 354, and by others.

⁹¹ *Antiquities*, XV. vii. 9. The discoveries of Prof. Geo. L. Robinson, of Chicago, in Edom in the spring of 1900 (reported by him in the *Biblical World* for January of the following year, and referred to in the *Expository Times* of April, 1901, p. 293), also testify to the polytheism of ancient Edom.

⁹² *Die Christliche Welt* (1902), col. 493.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1903, No. 1. See below, p. 94.

⁹⁴ In his book entitled, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, etc., pp. 144, *f.*

⁹⁵ *Allgemein. Evangel.-Luther. Kirchenzeitung*, 1902, col. 388.

⁹⁶ [That is, 'The Sun(god) is Aī.'—TRANS.]

⁹⁷ See the derisive words of Isa. xlv. 12; also xlvi. 1. With my conclusion as to the monotheism of Babylon, etc., agree also Jacob Barth (*op. cit.*, pp. 15, *f.*) and Oettli (*op. cit.*, p. 24).

⁹⁸ At the conclusion of an article on *Babel und Bibel* in the *Nederlandsche Kerkbode* of June 28, 1902.

⁹⁹ The earlier attempts to discover the origin of the name Jahveh outside the limits of Israel are discussed in my little book entitled *Die Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 29-33.

¹⁰⁰ In the *Expository Times* for August, 1898, p. 522.

¹⁰¹ The text spoken of is marked Bu 88-5-12, 329, and is numbered 27 in Part IV. of the *Cuneiform Texts*, etc., mentioned below, note 103.

¹⁰² In the *Expository Times*, 1898-9, pp. 42 and 48.

¹⁰³ *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, etc., in the British Museum (1896, *ff.*).

¹⁰⁴ This will be found among the New Babylonian signs on p. 40 in Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ In my paper, 'Zwei Grundtatsachen in der Geschichte des Jahveglaubens' (*Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1899, p. 707).

¹⁰⁷ *Hebrew-Babylonian Affinities*, by G. Margoliouth, 1899, p. 5. Essentially the same conjecture has been further developed by the American scholar, William J. Warren, in his paper on the 'Beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism: The Ineffable Name,' in the *Methodist Review* (New York, 1902), pp. 24, ff.

¹⁰⁸ Which appear as plate 27 in Part IV. and plates 20 and 34 in Part VIII. of the *Cuneiform Texts*, etc.

¹⁰⁹ [In the edition of *Babel und Bibel* used by the translator (8-12 Tausend, 1902), Delitzsch has inserted a printed slip giving the correct reading of the cuneiform character, which is that pointed out above by Prof. König. But we have translated the passage as it stands for the sake of readers who may have seen only Delitzsch's unamended reading.—TRANS.]

¹¹⁰ In a letter dated April 9 (1902).

¹¹¹ The variations of form of this cuneiform group are to be seen in Amiaud et Méchinaud's *Tableau comparé des écritures Babylonienne et Assyrienne*, No. 191.

¹¹² Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 386, f.

¹¹³ [For comparison of the date mentioned, we may here add that Thothmes III. was the sixth Pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, while the Pharaoh of the Exodus of Israel was Merenpthah, the third ruler of the Nineteenth Dynasty.—TRANS.]

¹¹⁴ [All these different forms of the ending are supposed to represent the Babylonian *Ja-u*.—TRANS.]

¹¹⁵ But Ja(u) and Jahveh are not identical, and the possibility must be reckoned with that Ja(u) at the time of Moses was amplified to Jahveh, 'the Existing, the Absolute, the Faithful,' and so was exalted to be the symbol of the whole idea of the God of revelation.

¹¹⁶ Evidences of the worship of this god in ancient Africa were found by Dr. Carl Peters; see his book, *Im Goldland des Altertums* (1902), pp. 75, f.

¹¹⁷ In Arabic *ḥama* means 'protexit, defendit,' according to Nöldeke-Müller's *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum*, p. 142. The initial sound *i-a* occurs in the cuneiform

reproduction of foreign words (see Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*, § 41, *b*).

¹¹⁸ Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*, § 30, p. 78, l. 3 (English translation).

¹¹⁹ Hommel, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 81.

¹²⁰ *Die Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of August 3, 1902.

¹²¹ *Christliche Welt*, 1902, cols. 491, *f*.

¹²² In the *Theologisch. Literaturblatt*, 1902, Nos. 17 and 18.

¹²³ On September 8, 1902. His paper is to appear in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*. [See also his pamphlet, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Keilinschriften und ihre Bedeutung für das Alte Testament*, 1904, p. 31. In an article entitled 'Jahveh?' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, November, 1903, Dr. J. Oppert, the veteran Assyriologist, repudiates the notion that the name Jahveh is to be found in the Babylonian tablets discussed above, and declares the suggested monotheism of the Chaldæans to be 'imaginary.'—TRANS.]

¹²⁴ In his book on *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, p. 145.

¹²⁵ *Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude des Hebräischen* (in three volumes, 1881-1897), ii. pp. 102, *f*.

¹²⁶ H. Zimmern, in *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 1902, ii. 354.

¹²⁷ *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, iv. 176, *ff*.

^{127^b} The lines of this New Babylonian text [which are found on a tablet in the British Museum, numbered 81-11-3, 111.—TRANS.] run, *e.g.*, thus: *il Nergal Marduk sha kablu*, *i.e.* 'the god Nergal is Merodach of battle,' when the latter is conceived as the god of battle. This sentence does not deny the existence of Nergal, but means that the qualities and functions of Nergal were also represented by Merodach. In that way Merodach, the city-god of Babylon, was glorified. This exposition is approved by the following scholars: Budde, in *Was soll die Gemeinde aus dem Streit um Babel und Bibel lernen?* (1903), pp. 36, *f*.; H. Zimmern, in *Keilinschriften und Bibel* (1903), p. 34; C. H. W. Johns, in the *Expository Times* (1903-4), pp. 44, *f*.; C. Bezold, in *Die Keilinschriften*, etc. (1904), pp. 33, *f*.; Fr. Kückler, in *Die Christliche Welt* (March, 1904), p. 24. It is by no means to be accepted that the author of that New Babylonian text no longer distinguished between god and

goddess, while it is a fact worthy of consideration that the language of the Old Testament possesses no word for 'goddess.'

^{127c} In his *third* paper on *Babel und Bibel* (1904), p. 22, Delitzsch himself does not venture to say more than that this expression *Jahveh*, as a constituent part of men's names, *appears* to present itself in the cuneiform literature,—even this is disputed not only by me, but also by the following authors : C. F. Lehmann, in *Babyloniens Kulturmission einst und jetzt* (1903), p. 34 ; C. Bezold, *Die baby.-assy. Keilinschriften*, etc., pp. 32, *f.* ; Algyigyöi Hirsch, in *Zeitschr. f. d. alttest. Wissenschaft* (1903), pp. 355, *ff.* ; Küchler, in *Die Christliche Welt* (1904), col. 294.

¹²⁸ 'When Israel was young I loved him (that is, I gave him a surpassing proof of my love), and called him, my son, out of Egypt' (Hosea xi. 1 ; xii. 14 (13) ; Jer. ii. 2 ; iii. 4). See also Fr. Giesebrecht, *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes*, 1900.

¹²⁹ Of which it is said, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' etc. (John xviii. 36 ; Luke xvii. 20, *f.* ; Matt. xiii. 31-33). Only an eye narrowed in by ignorance or Anti-Semitism can mistake the inner connection of the prophetic religion of Israel and the idea of God's kingdom in Jesus Christ.

¹³⁰ Gen. xix. 5 ; Lev. xviii. [22, 24] 28, etc. This is not taken into consideration by Delitzsch when he says (*Second Lecture*, p. 32), 'That the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrew tribes was accompanied by a stream of innocent blood which was shed.'

¹³¹ See G. Hoffmann, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 2, p. 66. [See also the margin of the English Revised Version.—TRANS.]

^{131b} In his *Babel und Bibel*, iii. (1904), p. 56, Delitzsch emphasizes the fact that the Prophet Elisha, in the name of Jahveh, commanded the destruction of the fruit trees of the Moabites [2 Kings iii. 19]. But this command stands on a level with those cases where the execution of the ban was required from a religious point of view. Thus, in spite of Delitzsch's repeated impeachment, as long as such a law as Deut. xx. 19, *f.*, and such a commendation of Israelitish loyalty as that found in 1 Kings xx. 31, have not been pointed out in Babylonian literature, Israel maintains the moral pre-eminence with respect to the way in which it carried on war.

¹³² Assur-našir-pal, B.C., 885-860.

¹³³ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, i. 109, 113; ii. 15.

^{133b} In his *Babel und Bibel*, iii. (1904), p. 56, with reference to the quotations I have given, Delitzsch says that they are 'sundry meaningless passages raked together.' How incorrect is this statement! For I have collected those *data* by studying the *Keilinschriftlichen Bibliothek*, and I hold it to be the duty of the scientific investigator to supply the deficiencies which Delitzsch has left in his characterization of the Assyrians.

¹³⁴ The passages occur in the Obverse, line 35, and especially line 78, and in the Reverse, line 8. My judgment is not contradicted by Delitzsch's remark (*Zweiter Vortrag*, p. 35), which is intended to be witty, that he 'could not help with similar local knowledge.' In the Gilgames epic also we read passages (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Band VI. i. pp. 123, 125, 127, 129, etc., above all, p. 133, l. 27, etc.) in the highest degree unbecoming and immoral.

¹³⁵ 2 Sam. xiii. 12; similarly, Judges xx. 6; cf. Gen. xx. 11; Lev. xviii. 25, etc.; Gen. xxxix. 9; Numb. xxiii. 9, etc.

¹³⁶ A friendly scholar writes to me to say that Gen. xxxviii. has been overlooked. But the conduct of neither that Tamar nor Judah is uncensured nor considered as normal. Tamar escapes punishment only because Judah had made himself yet more guilty (ver. 26). The degree of culture of the Old Testament has nothing to do with the fact that we demand 'for school children' *extracts* from it (this is said with reference to Delitzsch's remark in his *Second Vortrag*, p. 36). Furthermore, in the newly published *Laws of Hammurabi* (sections 178-182), girls who are designated 'harlots' are discussed quite without censure. [See Scheil's text and version (*Textes Elamites-Semitiques*, Tome iv., 1902), and Winckler's German translation and his notes on the laws. The designation quoted appears as 'vowed women' in Mr. C. H. W. John's English rendering of the Code.—TRANS.] One thinks also of that 'most shameful of the laws of the Babylonians' (Herodotus, i. 199; Baruch vi. 43). How abhorrent such moral aberration was to the Hebrews is seen from Lev. xix. 29; Deut. xxiii. 18; 1 Kings xiv. 24, etc.

¹³⁷ See the Creation epic in the *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*,

VI. i. (1900), pp. 9, 25, 27, etc., and especially in the Gilgames epic, pp. 167, ff., etc.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21 (see above, p. 66).

¹³⁹ Edited and translated into German by Heinrich Zimmern, 1885. Cf. Hans Bahr, *Die babylonischen Busspsalmen und das A.T.* (1903).

¹⁴⁰ [Gudea was the patesi or priest-king of Tello in South Chaldea, *circ.* B.C. 2500, some three centuries before the time of Hammurabi.—TRANS.]

¹⁴¹ *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III. i. pp. 57, 109, 137, 187; III. ii. pp. 47, 53, 55, 57, 61, 63, 75, 77, 115. Compare Neh. v. 19, etc.

^{141b} Several writers have given it as their opinion lately that the Babylonian view of *sin* is, on the whole, a lower one than that of the Old Testament. *E.g.* H. Zimmern, in *Keilinschriften u. A.T.* (1903), p. 612; A. Jeremias also admits that 'to the primitive consciousness sin is often only the transgression and omission of religious worship' (*Das A.T. im Lichte des Alten Orient*, 1904, p. 109).

¹⁴² Paul Volz says rightly (in the *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, September 12, 1902), 'that the religion of Israel has grown on the soil of Babylonian culture this lecture on Babylon and the Bible is intended to tell us anew; but for all that it remains, as much as Greek art, an independent, in many respects an inex-
plicable growth.'

¹⁴³ We are told in *Babel und Bibel* (p. 44), that we have found in Babylon that 'which constitutes the significance of the Bible in the world's history—namely, monotheism.'

¹⁴⁴ The results of which are presented in my *Historisch-komparativen Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*.

¹⁴⁵ How easily peculiar considerations of importance in the old Hebrew culture may remain unnoticed is shown again in Delitzsch's Second Lecture, where (on p. 26) the circumcision of the Old Testament is placed on simple equality with that of the Egyptians and the Beduin, while the distinctive ordinance of the Old Testament (namely, that it was to be performed on those eight days old, Gen. xvii. 12) is ignored. Thus also on p. 27, where the subject is the manifold agreements in the culture of the Babylonians and the Hebrews, it is not mentioned,

for instance, that the use of honey as one of the materials of sacrifice is interdicted in the Old Testament (Lev. ii. 11), while it was employed by the Babylonians (see P. Haupt, in Toy's *Commentary on Ezekiel*, xvi. 19).

¹⁴⁶ See appended note on p. 110.

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