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by priests and scholars; Jahweh was known to every individual of the nation, and the claim of Dt 4<sup>7</sup> is justified. So Sellin sums up—'There are almost the same religious ideas, customs, usages, correspondingly impressed by each people with its own idiosyncrasy, yet only in one has God Himself spoken, disclosed Himself, and this word of His has gradually transformed everything and made it new.'

The remarks on the relation of the Code of

Hammurabi to Moses, on the O.T. and Egyptian ideas of immortality, and many other topics, are full of interest, but cannot be dealt with in this brief notice. The book as a whole, proceeding from one who is an expert in both fields of study, deserves the most serious attention, and undoubtedly shows the direction in which a large section of O.T. scholars is moving.

WILFRID J. MOULTON.

Headingley.

## Babylonian Literary Redaction.

BY STEPHEN LANGDON, M.A., PH.D., OXFORD.

AN illustration of Babylonian literary composition taken from the religious literature may be of interest both to Old Testament critics and to general readers. In applying the methods of literary criticism to a Babylonian psalm the Assyriologist has often the advantage of being able to present the late composition which he desires to analyse, as well as the actual tablets from which the redaction was made. In the example which I am about to give, the theological and philosophical reasons, which led the redactor to borrow as he did, will be evident, so that this study has an interest not only for literary criticism, but for the history of religion.

Briefly the situation was this. In the early period of Babylonian literature, about 2500 B.C., a poet belonging to the cult of *Enlil* of Nippur, the central cult of the Sumerian Zeus, wrote a lamentation concerning a famine in Babylonia. This he composed in the classic language of that time, a language which was borrowed from the early and highly cultured Sumerians, whose pantheon and religion also went over to the Babylonians and was theologically developed by them. In fact, the Babylonians nearly always composed their psalms and ritual in this language, adding a Semitic and often bad translation, just as in the Roman Church of our time a translation of the Latin service is made into various vernaculars for the use of laymen.

Now the lament of the Nippur poet was composed during the very early period before Hammurabi, when Sumerian was probably understood by every one, and hence his psalm is in pure

Sumerian. Furthermore, his conception of the pantheon was the early one which based everything upon the principle of the trinity of sky, earth, and sea. In this trinity *Anu* was known as the god of the upper sea, above the canopy of heaven, and we have a seal in the British Museum representing this god in his realm of the upper sea, with streams of water pouring from his shoulders to give rain to the earth.<sup>1</sup> The second and most important member of the Sumerian trinity was *Enlil* of Nippur, the earth and sky god, who, like the Greek Zeus, was especially interested in the harvests and herds. In the cosmological speculations of this early people, *Enlil* was the one who reduced the demons of disorder and created heaven and earth. He was, moreover, a national conception. At his cult in Nippur sectional jealousies ceased, and both Semite and Sumerian, rising above prejudice of race and city, adored the personification of the powers of earth and air at this ancient shrine. The notion that his 'word' was a creative principle, a messenger to do his bidding, was also prevalent in this ancient mysticism—an idea which the Semites seem to have failed to understand, for the doctrine of the creative 'word' does not appear to have been revived with emphasis until the centuries just before Christianity. But of this important side of Babylonian mysticism I shall have opportunity to say more elsewhere.

The third member of the trinity was *Ea-Oanes*, god of the sea.

<sup>1</sup> *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum*, plate xxiii. No. 3.

This short sketch will enable us to understand the original psalm from which later redactions were made. The text, which has not yet been translated, was published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of the British Museum*, vol. xv. plates xi. and xii. The following translation, which can be justified only by extensive notes, is, I think, at least approximately correct:—

1. Oh Enlil councillor,	doth any one comprehend thy form?
2. Thou art begifted with strength,	lord of the harvest lands.
3. Thou didst create the mountains,	oh lord of the grain fields.
4. Warrior of great strength,	father Enlil!
5. Thou art the powerful divine prince;	for creating posterity thou sustainest life.
6. As the air thou art all-pervading,	as the grain . . . (?)
7. The haughty,	the rebellious land thou didst humiliate. <sup>1</sup>
8. The proud (?),	the wicked highlands thou didst humiliate.
9. The land of the foe with violence	as a peg thou didst smite on the head.
10. The barbarous lands	thou didst subject.
11. 'I am the fortress of the lands,	their bolt am I.' <sup>2</sup>
12. The conceited	thou didst bring to naught. <sup>3</sup>
13. The gates of heaven	thou didst establish. <sup>4</sup>
14. The bar of heaven	thou didst pull back.
15. The fastenings of heaven	thou didst rend asunder.
16. The bolt of heaven	thou didst remove. <sup>5</sup>
17. The disobedient land	with desolation thou didst scatter.
18. The disobedient foe	thou didst not dread.
19. Oh lord, who hast sent hunger everywhere,	how long until thou be pacified?
20. The wrath of thy heart	can any one appease?
21. The utterance of thy mouth	brings destruction.
22. With thee is there one	who ventureth to make war?
23. 'I rule, and I subdue the heavens;	I am the prince of all peoples.

<sup>1</sup> Referring to Enlil's battle with the giants.

<sup>2</sup> Abrupt changes to the first person are frequent in these hymns.

<sup>3</sup> The references in lines 7-12 are to Enlil's conquest of the world in his mythological conflict with the demons of disorder.

<sup>4</sup> That is the eastern and western gates for the sun god to enter and depart.

<sup>5</sup> Lines 13-16 refer to the first sunrise. The same scene is described in the Legend of Creation.

24. The fish of the sea I entrap,	the birds of heaven I ensnare.
25. Husbandman who tends,	divine Enlil am I.'
26. Oh great lord,	hero . . . (?)
27. From thy right hand	no foe escapes.
28. From thy left hand	no evil-doer escapes.
29. . . . .	. . . . . (broken away)
30. When thou openest thy lips	the earth resisteth not (?)
31. When thou hast cursed the land of the foe,	none . . . (?)
32. Be thou pacified	oh Enlil.
33. Oh lord of the harvest lands,	of unsearchable heart art thou.
34. . . . .	of the gods art thou.
35. . . . .	of the Anunakki <sup>6</sup> art thou.
36. . . . .	Enlil art thou.
37. . . . .	of the Anunakki art thou.
38. Lord of song (?) . . .	Enlil art thou.

The theological and cosmological speculations of the third millennium B.C., from which period this psalm comes, had already given rise to the theory of a son of the great creative god who acts for him, especially in his direct contact with the world. This has already been pointed out by Professor Zimmern in his brochure, *Father, Son, and Intercessor*. But although speculative religion evolved out of Enlil the idea of a warrior son who takes his father's place in the conflict against the demons of darkness, so far as I know, this idea does not appear in the psalms of the priests of Nippur. But the idea is very early, for Ninib, Enlil's son, who seems to have been impersonated with the agencies of Enlil as subduer of nature, and hence a warrior god, appears on a monument of 3500 B.C. (*circa*) holding the mythological net with which Enlil overwhelmed the giants.

Be this as it may, the idea of the son coming in beside his father as creative and active principle became prominent in later Babylonian theology. In fact, the priests of Lagash, where Ninib the son was worshipped, seem to have composed psalms based upon this idea. Later, the priests of Kutha, a town whose cult was devoted to the god Nergal, lord of the dead, claimed for Nergal the rôle of son and creative god; and finally the priests of Babylon redacted all the earlier legends under influence of the sonship idea of Marduk.

We have, in fact, from some poet who belonged to the school dominated by the idea that Enlil's son Ninib actually defeated the powers of darkness

<sup>6</sup> Earth spirits.

and brought order out of chaos, a psalm based upon the old psalm to Enlil just translated. This psalm is, at least in its present form, a redaction of the sixth or fifth century B.C. In other words, a period of 2000 years lies between the original and the later imitation. This Neo-Babylonian lamentation which I am about to give is accompanied by a Semitic translation, and may have formed part of a popular hymn-book. The text has been published in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. v. pp. 632-635. The compiler, evidently without much originality, desired to write a lamentation concerning a famine; as he was under the influence of the theological notion of the sonship of Ninib, he redacted the old hymn into the following:—

[1-13. broken away]

14. The gates of heaven	thou didst burst through. <sup>1</sup>
16. The bar of heaven	thou didst pull back.
18. The fastenings of heaven	thou didst rend asunder.
20. The bolt of heaven	thou didst remove.
22. The disobedient land	with desolation thou didst scatter
24. The disobedient foe	thou didst overturn. <sup>2</sup>
26. Oh lord who hast sent hunger everywhere,	how long until thou be pacified?
28. The wrath of thy heart	can any one appease? <sup>3</sup>
30. Oh great lord	hero who [defended?] his father. <sup>4</sup>
32. From thy right hand	no foe escapes.
34. From thy left hand	no evil-doer escapes.
36. When thou openest thy lips	the earth resisteth not.
38. When thou hast cursed the land of the foe,	none . . .
40. The man who worships thee	. . . . .

*Reverse.*

42. The decrees of Enlil into his power	. . . [they confided].
44. He made glad their hearts,	he made happy their minds.

<sup>1</sup> Alternate lines contain the Semitic translation for the people. The translation is often incorrect, and shows traces of varying ideas.

<sup>2</sup> A gloss adds 'didst humiliate.' Notice the redactor does not repeat line 18 of the original exactly, since he wished to avoid any mention of the god turning back.

<sup>3</sup> Here the redactor leaves out lines 21-25 of the original.

<sup>4</sup> This is an evident change in the text: the original has no mention of *his father*.

46. The tablets of fate of the gods	into his hands [they confided]
48. Unto Ekur <sup>5</sup>	the beloved temple . . . (?)
50. Unto Ekiur <sup>6</sup>	the sacred house he drew nigh.
52. Unto Ešmedu	the temple of the lifting up of eyes . . .
54. <sup>7</sup> Unto Edub,	place of repose . . .
56. <sup>7</sup> Unto Emetenursag,	the resting-place . . .
58. <sup>7</sup> Unto E-ide-Anu,	temple of the prince . . .
60. For the lord Ninib	they [created an everlasting?] name.
62. The gods on their mountain,	as many as . . .
64. Because of fear of him as a reed	they <sup>8</sup> . . .
68. The treasures of the mountain	they . . .
70. The land disobedient unto Enlil	may he . . .

Unfortunately the opening lines of the lamentation, in which the titles of Ninib were probably given, are broken from the tablet. Nevertheless the nature of an ancient lamentation can be clearly seen from these two comparatively well-preserved tablets. Little is said about the calamity itself. The poet and his people are desolate. The mention of that fact suffices. The god who can stay the famine must be celebrated according to the legends of the past. When the heroic deeds of the god have been sung, and his character as personification of one of the principles of nature accurately described, the ancient psalm ends with a few lines of real prayer. But the rituals of the later cults worked out the theological notions of the different deities, so that frequently each lamentation to different gods took up several tablets. Thus the old lament to Enlil given above was worked over under influence of the father and son idea and attributed to Ninib. The familiar scene of the conclave of the gods on the mountain is brought in, and the tablets of fate are given to the son of the great father if he will go forth to war against the demons of chaos. After his victory the gods adore the son. The prayer at the end of the redacted psalm is in a fragmentary condition. From it we learn that the psalmist appeals to heaven and earth, to gods and temples, to intercede with Ninib and appease his wrath.

<sup>5</sup> The temple of Enlil in Nippur.

<sup>6</sup> Chapel of Enlil's consort in Ekur.

<sup>7</sup> These three lines are inserted in honour of temples in the cities of Kiš and Erech. The foregoing temples and shrines were all in Nippur, the sanctuary of Ninib's father.

<sup>8</sup> The conclave of gods on the mythological mountain adore the son after his victory.

In copying from the older tablet the redactor skilfully leaves out lines which were characteristic of the father Enlil. Thus lines 21-25 referring to the 'word' of Enlil, his universal lordship and care for the earth are omitted, since the theologians, however much attached to the father-son idea, never ventured to think of Enlil apart from his fatherhood of the gods and his special care of the earth.

The linguistic peculiarities of the redaction need not arrest our attention here. To make the method of literary composition entirely clear, a philological commentary would be necessary. We believe, however, that the above popular treatment will serve to throw some light upon the literary methods of Babylonian temple schools, and upon some of those gnostic and mystic ideas which formed their philosophy.

## The Great Text Commentary.

### THE GREAT TEXTS OF ST. LUKE.

LUKE XIX. 41, 42.

**'And when he drew nigh, he saw the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.'**—R.V.

#### EXPOSITION.

**'And when he drew nigh, he saw the city.'**—Tradition, assuming that our Lord took the direct road over the summit of the Mount of Olives, points out the spot as half-way down the western slope. But there is no doubt that the road by which Jesus went is that which goes over the southern shoulder, between the peak where the Tombs of the Prophets are and that called the Mount of Offence. 'After the first view of the south-eastern corner of the city . . . the road descends a slight declivity, and the glimpse of the city is again withdrawn behind the intervening ridge of Olivet. A few moments, and the path mounts again; it climbs a rugged ascent, it reaches a ledge of smooth rock, and in an instant the whole city bursts into view. . . . Immediately below was the Valley of the Kedron, here seen in its greatest depth as it joins the Valley of Hinnom, and thus giving full effect to the great peculiarity of Jerusalem seen only on its eastern side—its situation as of a city rising out of a deep abyss. It is hardly possible to doubt that this rise and turn of the road, this rocky ledge, was the exact point where the multitude paused again, and "He, when he beheld the city, wept over it."'—STANLEY.

**'And wept over it.'**—Not merely 'shed silent tears' (*ἐδάκρυσεν*), as at the grave of Lazarus (Jn 11<sup>35</sup>), but 'wept aloud' (*ἐκλάουσεν*), and that although not all the agonies and insults of four days later could wring from Him one tear or sigh.—FARRAR.

**'Saying, if thou hadst known in this day, even thou, the things which belong unto peace!'**—This is probably correct, but the text is somewhat uncertain. The aposiopesis is impressive. In the expression of strong emotion sentences are often broken. The words imply that there have been various opportunities, of which this is the last.

Thus once more ('how often,' Lk 13<sup>34</sup>) the Synoptic narrative is found to imply the Judaean ministry recorded by John. The *καὶ σὺ* perhaps implies no comparison: 'even thou' (A.V. and R.V.). But if 'thou also' (Rhem.) be preferred, it probably means, 'as well as my disciples.' The protasis 'If thou hadst known' does not imply any such definite apodosis as 'Thou wouldst weep,' etc. The expression is virtually a wish, 'Oh, that thou hadst known.'—PLUMMER.

**'Which belong unto peace!'**—Perhaps with a *paronomasia* on the name of *Salem* or 'Peace,' and on the *sound* though not the derivation of Jerusalem (Yeroo Shalom, 'they shall see peace'; cf. Ps 122<sup>6-7</sup>). Such plays on words often spring from deep emotion.—FARRAR.

#### THE SERMON.

##### Christ weeping over Jerusalem.

*By the very Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S.*

1. Jesus was driven from Jerusalem by the enmity of the priests, and compelled to take refuge in Ephraim. There He remained until He saw the crowds of pilgrims from Galilee making their way to keep the Passover at Jerusalem, and these He joined, knowing that with them He might make, what He well knew would be His last journey, in safety. He wended His way up the Mount of Olives surrounded by the shouting, triumphant crowd, and suddenly the view of the city burst upon them, and the crowd stood still, expectant probably of a promise of glorious emancipation. But instead of that a rush of anguish filled Christ's soul, and He 'wailed aloud.'

2. Why did He 'wail'—the only time this strongest word is used about Christ? Was not