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net). It is an encouragement to 'thoughtful men and women' to recognize the soul as well as the body, to give it some place in their thought and life, to be religious as well as to be, not merely to live but to live a full life. The book is divided into forty-six short chapters, each introduced by a text of Scripture and appropriate quotations from devotional writers.

The small volume on *The Meaning of the Doctrine of the Communion of Saints*, by the Rev. John C. Vawdrey, M.A., has reached a second edition (S.P.C.K.; 2s. net). The author has taken the opportunity thus offered to make his book more popular, and has translated the Greek and Latin quotations. He includes the doctrine of Prayer for the Dead, but, as the Ven. T. T. Perowne says in the Introduction, simply as the expression of his own private opinion, not as if it were one of the essential requirements and public ordinances of the Church.

A statement of *What Baptists Believe* has been made by the Rev. O. C. S. Wallace, D.D., LL.D., Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Baltimore, U.S.A. (Nashville: Sunday School Board). It

takes the form of an exposition of the New Hampshire Confession.

A book on *Social Problems in Wales* is an unlikely quarry for stimulus to the theologian. But its publication at the Office of the Student Christian Movement makes us look into it. And, behold, here are three original stimulating papers right in the heart of it on 'The Christian Philosophy of Life in its relation to the Social Problem.' One is by Principal Owen Prys of Aberystwyth, the other two are by Professor D. Miall Edwards of the Memorial College, Brecon. There is much else in the book, but each of these essays is worth what it costs (1s. net).

The Rev. James Stark, D.D. has published a pamphlet in which he offers a review of the phenomena of *Spiritualism* (Aberdeen: William Smith & Sons). Without prejudice and with much ability, Dr. Stark gives a distinctly adverse judgment. And he supports his own judgment by that of other able and unprejudiced men. The pamphlet makes excellent reading; but, more than that, it compels us to face the moral question involved.

Methods of Theological Redactors in Babylonia.

BY STEPHEN LANGDON, M.A., PH.D., READER OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD.

THE writer returns in this brief essay to a subject which seems to him of far-reaching importance in the controversy concerning the literary composition of the Hebrew Scriptures. He has discussed at length in the introduction to *The Building Inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian Empire* and in the German edition of the same, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, the methods adopted by the scribes in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The great literary documents composed in Babylonian at that time are evidently compiled by using earlier sources; the joins of the various documents are obvious, and in many cases we possess these earlier documents also. Scribes like Ezekiel and Ezra, who lived in Babylonia, must have come into contact with the literary men of the renowned literary centres such as Sippar, Babylon, Nippur, Erech, Ur, and Larsa.

And in all these schools where grammar, history, liturgy, astronomy, and other sciences were studied, the canons of literary composition were practically identical with those followed in the composition of the Pentateuch, Kings, and notably the 'Book of the Prophet Isaiah,' as they are analyzed by the Old Testament critics. Assyriology lends the clearest support to the canons of criticism laid down by scholars of the school of Wellhausen and Driver, and it must be due to wilful misrepresentation or ignorance when Assyriology is adduced to support the contentions of a passing tradition in these matters. Undoubtedly the Old Testament critics frequently discredit the accuracy of Hebrew documents where the evidence of Assyriology is decidedly against them. But I am speaking now only of literary canons of composition.

In vol. xix. (March 1908) of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, the writer referred to an early Sumerian hymn to Enlil, the Earth God, whose chief temple was at Nippur, and I was able to produce a redaction made nearly 2000 years later in which the theological tendency of the scribes was evident. A very large number of such redactions have now been published and edited in my *Babylonian Liturgies*, and Radau has edited a few others. In these the scribes insert whole sections from any liturgy which happens to contain passages suited to the liturgy which they are writing. To deny this would be to deny plain evidence, for in many cases we have the composition which the liturgist composed, and one or more copies of the compositions from which he borrowed; and his own philological and theological views are not infrequently represented in variant readings. I am aware that I am writing nothing new for the Assyriologists here. In our science truth has long since prevailed. But I dare say that in the new example of Babylonian redaction which I am able to give in the following lines the material will be found to be entirely new.

The British Museum possesses a tablet in perfect state of preservation, containing a hymn to the Earth God, Enlil, which was, if my interpretation be correct, sung by a choir when offerings of fruit were made on the altar of this god. This composition in classical Sumerian is largely based upon the ideas about Enlil current in the schools from 2500-2000 B.C. and has a distinct monotheistic tendency. It has been twice edited by the writer.¹ Last year Professor Zimmern published a large collection of Sumerian hymns and liturgies of the Berlin Museum, which probably come from the temple schools of Sippar and Babylon.² Among them there is fortunately a redaction of the older Enlil hymn of Nippur. The date of the Sippar redaction must be two or three centuries later than the original. The copy is almost literal for twenty-one lines, where the later liturgists omit all references to the offerings for which the hymn was really composed, and go on to the end with nine lines celebrating the attributes of Enlil; these contain the most advanced ideas

on monotheism which have been found in Cuneiform literature. Here Enlil is not only proclaimed as the only real ruler of the world, an idea which occurs in the Nippurian original, but the redactors assert that the inferior gods of his court have no real existence.

We may be in proximity to the truth in assigning the original to about 2350 B.C. and the redaction to about 1900 B.C. The lofty conceptions attained by the later schoolmen perished in the cataclysm of the Babylonian Dark Ages which now set in; the Assyrians and Babylonians in the great revival of power and culture do not appear to have regained the high standard of the classical age. But the fact which is most pertinent to our purpose is, that scribes in copying religious texts, especially those which were sung in the presence of the people, did not hesitate to change them so as to incorporate their own speculations. This of course has a particular bearing upon the transmission of Wisdom literature, but it has also a general bearing upon the whole question of the composition of the Old Testament. I offer first a translation of the Nippur hymn, and then the variant of the redaction.

1. Oh lord, who knows the fate of the land, who of himself is glorious.
2. Enlil, lord, who knows the fate of the land, who of himself is glorious.
3. Father Enlil, lord of lands.
4. Father Enlil, lord of faithful word.
5. Father Enlil, shepherd of the dark-headed people.
6. Father Enlil, of self-created vision.
7. Father Enlil, hero who directs his hosts.
8. Father Enlil, who quells the strength of rebellion.
9. Crouching wild ox, bull that rests not.
10. Enlil, herdsman of the wide earth.
11. Lord, who clothes his hosts, recorder of the earth.
12. Lord, who causes to abound oil for his people, milk for the newly born.
13. Lord, whose abode is the vast city of weeping.³
14. In whose chamber oracles are interpreted.
15. From the mountains of sunrise to the mountains of sunset.
16. In the world a ruler dwells not; thou (alone) rulest.
17. Oh Enlil, in the lands a queen dwells not: thy consort (alone) as queen rules.
18. Exalted one, the rainstorms of heaven and the waters of earth are caused by thee.
19. Enlil, the staff of the gods is granted by thee.

¹ The text will be found in *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, vol. xv. pl. 10, and my last edition of *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 276-779.

² Heinrich Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*.

³ The dead were supposed to descend to the interior of the earth, there to pass a sorrowful existence for ever. This abode in the earth was naturally in the sphere of the Earth God.

20. Father Enlil, master who causes the plants to grow, thou art; master who causes the grain to grow, thou art.
21. Enlil, thy splendour warms the fish of the sea.
22. It fills the hearts of the birds of heaven and the fish of the sea.
23. Father Enlil, with song grandly I come to thee; gifts in a basket I pour out to thee.
24. Oh lord of the land, ruler of the habitations, I come to thee; to offer a basket (of offerings).
25. Father Enlil, the pre-eminent, the rebellious head thou hast crushed.

The redaction copies lines 1-8 literally. For 9-14 it has two lines of different content, and not complete on the Berlin copy. Lines 15-21 are copied with slight and unimportant variants. Lines 22-25 are replaced by the following lines:—

The lord of the earth owns no guide.

Enlil of the earth owns no guide.

Oh lord, thy infancy was not.

Oh Enlil, thy infancy was not.

The lord, great priest-king, lord of the regions,¹ verily exists not.

Thy great . . . mighty scribe of high heaven,¹ verily exists not.

Thy great minister, Enlilzida,¹ verily exists not.

We have, here, an example of a redaction made not by joining two or more older sources together, but by altering an older source so as to conform to the ideas of a new school of theology. Both methods were permitted in all periods, and, in fact, compilations largely replaced original composition in the later periods.

¹ A title of one of the inferior gods.

In the Study.

MR. DAN CRAWFORD, F.R.G.S., the author of *Thinking Black*, is pretty sure of a reading whatever he now writes. He writes a volume of sermons. He writes it in three parts—Book i. Lord's Supper Reveries; Book ii. Apostolic Christianity; Book iii. Mission Studies. It is called *Thirsting after God, and other Bible Readings* (Morgan & Scott; 3s. 6d. net). There is no better way of opening up its treasures than by quoting one of the Readings:—

PRIVATELY.

A ONE-WORD BIBLE STUDY.

Mark vi. 32; Matt. xxiv. 3.

Glancing at the New Testament, we see this adverb in close and almost sole association with two significant nouns—'mountain' and 'desert.' There, on 'the high mountain apart,' or in 'the desert place,' He appoints the trysting-place with the saints. Surely here is a holy hint that God embraces the extremes of life. This double trysting-place of mountain and desert is His own royal rebuke to the old lie that 'The Lord is God of the hills, but He is not God of the valleys.'

I.

Watch Mark's first use of the word. The sentences have come back to the Sender. Where the word of the King had gone there had been power,

and they who had seen much of man must now see much of the Master. So to the desert they must go—to Christ's retreat from the strife of tongues. That place of His Temptation is to be the place of their rest; where the Christ was with the wild beasts, even there He gathers the lambs of His flock for rest (Heb. iv. 9).

'God hath His deserts broad and brown—
A solitude—a sea of sand,
Where He doth let heaven's curtain down,
Unknit by His Almighty hand.'

To the desert, then, by ship they go; but as though to mock the idea of hermitic solitude, the crowd take the short cut by land, and lo, the desert is no longer desert!

What then? What, indeed, if not a feast, a table in the wilderness? He who was forty days and nights in the wilderness without bread, will not let them go hungry an hour. For this invitation to come apart shows that Christ had resolved to feast them bountifully in the desert. They, who had no 'leisure so much as to eat,' must come apart to rest, and the resting consists in the feasting and the giving others to feast. Here, then, the Master teaches them the double lesson, that while to be apart privately is the soul's deepest need, it is no easy thing in this desert of life to get apart with Him.