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the Father." If these utterances are to be taken literally, we have in them Paul's boldest speculation and most generous aspiration, and the Christian mind and heart can but wish that they expressed a certainty. There are, however, difficulties. How without voluntary acceptance of the divine reconciliation, and vital oneness with the Christ as life-giving Spirit, can we conceive all to be saved? And what incontestable evidence is there that sin's resistance and refusal of grace shall finally in every case be overcome? So long as man's relation to God is conceived as one of faith in grace, as freely accepted as it is freely offered, not even an apostle's foresight can give us assurance that all men shall be saved because all men will believe. But it is very doubtful whether this question to which we seek an answer was in Paul's thoughts at all. He was concerned about God's glory in Christ in a universal reconciliation, a universal submission, a universal dominion, and inquired not too curiously, whether this necessarily involved that every man should be saved. We must return to this subject in the next Study, when dealing with Paul's interpretation of *The Purpose of God*.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

### BABYLON AT THE TIME OF THE EXILE.

WE may pass over Herodotus' information with scepticism, but it is to be deplored that no better information exists concerning the sacred chambers on the stage towers of Babylonia. The conjecture has often been made that the Babylonians used these rooms for astronomical observations. The only passage in the inscriptions referring to them is the following: "A sacred chamber, a construction of skill, with burnt brick and pure lapis lazuli upon their tops, I constructed with elegance."<sup>1</sup> These peculiar con-

<sup>1</sup> Neb. 14, I: 42 ff. The description refers to the stage towers of Babylon and Borsippa.

structions, which the Sumerians and Semites regarded as miniature reproductions of the universe, formed the absolutely indispensable part of every sacred temple area.

Of the city wall only a few sections have been uncovered at K [plan A] along the edge of the ruins called Ahamer. Yet enough has been exposed to enable us to gain a clear idea of its general construction. Naturally the original height cannot be determined. *Imgur-Bel* [has in this section a uniform thickness of 22 feet with projecting buttresses or towers every 54 feet. The towers project 9 feet on the outer line, but much less on the inner line of the wall. Their length is 28 feet. *Nimitti-Bel* ran parallel to and outside *Imgur-Bel*. The reports of the Expedition do not state the distance separating these walls, but it cannot be great. It seems to have been much less strong and without towers.

The part of Babylon which must have impressed the visitor more than any other was the section in and about the *Ištar* gate.<sup>1</sup> This huge double gate, dedicated to the goddess of war and called "*Ištar*, smiter of her adversaries," stood at the northeast corner of the old palace. The following descriptions of it are taken from the inscriptions of *Nebuchadnezzar*:

"The *Ištar* gate with [glazed] brick for *Marduk* my lord I made. Colossal bronze bulls and ferocious serpent dragons I placed in its threshold."

"The causeways of the gates of *Imgur-Bel* and *Nimitti-Bel* were too low because of the grading of the street of Babylon.<sup>2</sup> I tore down

<sup>1</sup> Designs and a picture of a section of the wall of the *Ištar* gate in *MDOG*, No. 19. The picture shows one of the fabulous bulls designed in glazed bricks.

<sup>2</sup> The king means that the streets had been raised, so that the causeways of the eight city gates were lower than the streets. In fact, the German excavators found bas-relief figures of bulls on the walls of the *Ištar* gate below the level of *Nebuchadnezzar's* street pavement. The causeway and street *Aiburšabum* must have been raised several feet in the two millenniums from *Sargon* of *Agade* to *Nebuchadnezzar*.

the gates and upon the water-level I laid their foundations with mortar and brick. With glazed burnt brick and lapis lazuli on which bulls and serpents were engraved I made them skilfully. Great cedars for their roof I framed. Valves of cedar with plating of brass, thresholds and posts with bronze work I fitted into her gates. Bronze bulls and terrible serpent-headed monsters I placed on the thresholds. Those great gates I filled with magnificent things for men to behold."

Not only did the visitor in passing up the street Aiburšabum from the gate *Babu-ellu* meet the dazzling walls and towering turrets of the Ištātar gate, but he saw the high walls of the palace on the right and the city wall on the left covered with symmetrical designs of inlaid coloured brick. The walls on each side of the street south of the Ištātar gate presented the same imposing display of art and luxury. The two first Neo-Babylonian kings paved the street Aiburšabum<sup>1</sup> from the temple [Z] to the gate Babu-ellu<sup>2</sup> with a course of large limestone slabs in the central roadway and dark red breccia slabs on each side. Most of these pavement slabs bore the following inscription cut upon the ends and sides:—

"Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, am I. Of the streets of Babylon for the procession of the great lord Marduk with slabs of lime stone,<sup>3</sup> I built the causeway. Oh, Marduk, my lord, grant eternal life."

The Berlin topographical tablet concerning Babylon enumerates eight city gates, and a tablet in the British Museum likewise gives a list of eight.<sup>4</sup> The Berlin text gives the name of each gate and the god to whom it was dedicated, but the London tablet gives the name of the

<sup>1</sup> The name means, "The conqueror shall not prevail."

<sup>2</sup> "The shining gate."

<sup>3</sup> The inscriptions on the red breccia slabs have, of course, *breccia*, not *limestone*.

<sup>4</sup> The Berlin tablet is published by Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, 142; the London tablet K 3,089 by Pinches in *PSBA* 1900, 360. Frank collated K 3,089 for Weisbach, whose discussion of the subject may be found in his *Wadi Brisa* 40-41. The texts are also discussed by Hommel, *Geographie*, 323 ff. and 399 f.

street which passed through each gate and the god to whom the gate was dedicated. I give here both texts as I have restored them with the aid of Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions :

THE BERLIN TEXT.

(Names of the Gates and the Gods to whom each was dedicated.)

1. The gate Inaḳibšunakar,<sup>1</sup> gate of Anu.
2. The gate Iziraršu,<sup>2</sup> gate of Ninib.<sup>3</sup>
3. The gate Še'ašuirimu, gate of *giššu*.<sup>4</sup>
4. The gate Ištaršakipattebiša, gate of Ištar.
5. The gate Enlilmuziṣu, gate of Enlil.
6. The gate Liburnadušu,<sup>5</sup> gate of Sin.
7. The gate Ramman-napištim-ummanāti-ušur,<sup>6</sup> gate of Ramman.
8. The gate Šamaš-išid-ummanāti-kīn,<sup>7</sup> gate of Šamaš.

THE LONDON TEXT.

(Names of the Streets and the Gate of each.)

1. "Nebo, Judge of his people," the street of the gate of Anu [see plan A, B'-I].
2. "Zamama, confounder of his foes," the street of the gate of Ninib.
3. "Marduk, shepherd of his land," the street of the gate *giššu*.
4. "Ištar, protecting genius of her army," the street of the Ištar gate.
5. "Enlil, establisher of his kingdom," the street of the gate of Enlil.
6. "Sin, establisher of his kingdom," the street of the gate of Sin.
7. "Ramman, protect the life of my army," the street of the gate of Ramman.
8. "Šamaš protect the solidity of my army," the street of the gate of Šamaš.

<sup>1</sup> Neb. 19 A. VII, 47 *ikḳibšu-nakar*. The name means, "The foe presses against it."

<sup>2</sup> The name means, "He wars against it."

<sup>3</sup> Ninib, written *Zamama*. *Zamama* was the Ninib of Kiš and his gate probably faced the city of Kiš, see plan A. Hommel, p. 324 n. 1, seems to have made the same necessary identification of Ninib and *Zamama*.

<sup>4</sup> *Giššu* restored by Weisbach after Neo-Babylonian contracts. The name and meaning of this gate are uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> The name means, "May its founder be strong"; probably called the gate of the moon-god because it faced the city of Ur, sacred to Sin, the moon-god.

<sup>6</sup> The name means, "Ramman protect the life of the armies."

<sup>7</sup> The name means, "Šamaš make secure the solidity of the armies."

North of the mound Amran, Z on plan A, are the ruins called *Şahan*, described by Weisbach as a huge excavation 300 feet square in the centre of which rises a square mass of brick work. Weisbach assumes this to be the site of the tower of Babylon, whose brick work the Arabs removed and used for their own buildings. It would be wholly unexpected to find the stage tower separated from the chapels, and Smith's description cited above evidently forbids our looking for the stage tower apart from the temple. I am at a loss to find a construction mentioned in the inscriptions which could be identified with these ruins. An inscription of Neriglissar describes a building constructed north of the temple for the sacred utensils in the following words:—

“As for the treasure house of Esagila, on the northern front, in which the priests place the holy vessels of Esagila, whose foundation a former king had laid, whose top he did not erect, which had caved in on the terrace, whose walls had weakened, whose fastenings were not secure, whose thresholds were not stable,—to perfect what had been constructed, to care for the sacred rituals, to render clean the freewill offerings unto the great lord Marduk, to perfect the regular offerings, to allow no disrespect or sin to be, I looked for the ancient foundation [record, and having seen it, upon the ancient record I fixed its foundation. I raised its height, I heightened it mountain-like. Its thresholds I fixed. Into its gates I fitted the doors. A great surrounding wall of asphalt and burnt brick I caused to be put about it.”<sup>1</sup>

It may not be rash to identify the ruins of *Şahan* with the building described in the above passage.

I have marked on plan A all the temples which have been definitely located by the Germans. Yet a very large number mentioned by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabuna'id cannot be found. The following list contains the names of these still unknown sites; Enigpakalamasumma temple of Nebo in Hariru, a section of Babylon; Egišširgal temple

<sup>1</sup> Neriglissar, No. 2.

of the moon-god ; Esakudkalama temple of the sun-god ; Enamhe temple of the thunder-god ; two temples Esabad and Eharsagella to Gula. Naturally all the important gods had shrines in the great chapels of Esagila. Beside the chief temple there were then nine smaller temples located within the walls of Babylon.

Nabuna'id, the last king of Babylon, according to his own records paid little attention to the defences and shrines of Babylon, but spent all his energies upon other ancient Sumerian and Semitic cults. When Cyrus the Great invaded Babylonia in 538 the huge bulwarks sixty miles north of the city called by Xenophon the Median Wall, constructed at the beginning of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar from Opis to Sippar between the rivers, seems to have offered him no resistance. Neither did the huge walls and deep canals of the city itself prevent the prince regent Belshazzar from falling an easy prey to the Arian conqueror. The founders of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, father and son, had spared no energy to fortify the city and the land against their own allies the Medes, whose chieftain Astyages they had called upon to aid in storming Nineveh. But the Babylonians had invited a dangerous rival, and the massive feats of engineering which we have been describing are silent witnesses of the preparations for the last struggle. One would have expected the Babylonians to have made at least some use of their defences upon which they had spent their best resources, but they seem to have been in vain. The physical energy of this branch of the Semitic race was spent. The last king was a scholar, an archaeologist and a recluse. When the city fell he himself was loitering in a neighbouring town and his son, according to the legends of the Jews, was banqueting in the palace of his ancestors.

Of the extensive liturgical literature for the ceremonies of the temples and festivals of Babylonia I shall give here

the fragments of what has survived concerning the *zagnuk* or New Year's Feast.<sup>1</sup> If any class of literature and any phase of Babylonian life left a lasting impression upon the Hebrews, Persians, Arameans, Greeks and other peoples who helped to form the cosmopolitan civilization of Babylonia in the last centuries before our era, the liturgies and festivals were the most likely to do so. And of the festivals that of the New Year beginning the day after the spring equinox and lasting until the eleventh of the first month<sup>2</sup> overshadowed every other religious ceremony. From the days of Babylonian supremacy it seems to have been customary to bring the idols of all the important gods of Babylonia to the "Chamber of Fates," *Dulazag* in Babylon. On plan C, I have indicated by the letter N the location of the shrines of Nebo in Esagila. Here was the famous hall of assembly where, under the presidency of Nebo, who arrived in his ark from Barsippa, the gods fixed the destiny of the king and of the empire for the ensuing year. Nebo as god of wisdom naturally formed the central figure in the ceremony so far as it concerned the sacred congregation in *Dulazag*.<sup>3</sup> According to one inscription of Nebuchadnezzar the divine assembly for decreeing fates fell upon the eighth, and we shall see in a ritual published farther on that Nebo arrived in his ark on the sixth.

But in the feast of the *zagnuk* Marduk the patron deity of Babylon was the mythological character which gave the ceremony its primary importance. With the growth

<sup>1</sup> Called also the *akitu* or *isinnu*, "the festival" simply.

<sup>2</sup> Nisan.

<sup>3</sup> The word means "holy chamber"; the original chamber of fates was a cosmological conception which placed the hall of assembly of the gods somewhere beyond the eastern horizon in the great house called *Ubbukkina* or "region of assembly." *Dulazag* designated only a chamber in this house. The Bodleian Library possesses an ancient Sumerian hymn concerning the *Dulazag*, which must date from a period before the *zagnuk* was instituted in Babylon.



of Babylon the priests ascribed to Babylon's god the rôle of the warrior son of Zeus-Enlil, Ninib of Lagash. Ninib the warrior son, the incarnation of the vernal sun, who at the spring equinox triumphs over the demons of winter, enjoyed in the ancient Sumerian pantheon the honour of having reduced the universe to order; he represented the creative and active principle of the world after the idea of the champion son of the father-god had been evolved. In later Semitic times the theologians attributed this character to Marduk, and the Epic of Creation as we now have it actually introduces not Ninib, but Marduk, as the creator of mankind and of the world, the god who finally overthrew the dragon of chaos.

The astronomically-minded Babylonians saw in the returning spring sun every year a repetition of the titanic conflict before the Creation. The feast of the New Year became a pantomime of the fearful battle of the gods of light and darkness. It is in this astronomical and legendary spirit that the Babylonian approached the mysteries of the *zagnuk* with profound respect. The Epic of Creation was here reacted, the drama again unrolled before his eyes.

Only parts of two tablets of this very long liturgy have been found. The tablets bear the numbers, the twenty-second and twenty-third of the series, and concern the second, third and fourth days. We are quite left to conjecture what may have been the contents of the preceding twenty-one tablets. The ceremony proper began apparently on the second of Nisan.<sup>1</sup> The long ritual which has been lost must have begun in the preceding month. In fact, certain texts recently published by Mr. King refer to the chariot of Bel which did not go out from the third of

<sup>1</sup> Compare a tablet published by Ungnad in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, vi. No. 11, where the king sacrifices on the 2nd, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th days of Nisan.

Adar until Nisan.<sup>1</sup> The celebration of the New Year and the pantomime of creation probably began early in the month of Adar, in other words, this season of joy was preceded by a season of preparation corresponding to the Christian Lent, and it may not be too rash to surmise a connexion between the great eastern and western ceremonies. It has already been made quite evident that the colours used in the liturgies and ceremonies of the Christian Church go back to Babylonia.<sup>2</sup>

On the eighth day Marduk must have been carried in his ark from *Ekua* to meet Nebo in the *Dulazaga*.<sup>3</sup> After this began the chief event of the festival, the procession of Marduk and the gods, each in his ark, from the chamber of assembly where the fates had been decreed, along the street *Aiburšabum*<sup>4</sup> northward through the Istar gate<sup>5</sup> to a point on the canal where each embarked and journeyed by water to the temple of sacrifices. The short journey by water had a symbolical meaning, which must be connected with the origin of the arks themselves. So far as I know no one has explained why a boat or an ark should be the carriage of the gods. The idea in Babylonia goes back to the most primitive Sumerian period, and may be connected with a legend concerning the life of the gods before chaos and the floods were made into an orderly universe.

We fortunately have a good description of the boats of Marduk and Nebo, one of which I translate here: "As for the bark *Rukub-ku-a* the boat, his carriage, its ends before and aft, its equipment, its masts, its sides, the lions and serpent-headed beasts, I arrayed in brilliant metal.

<sup>1</sup> See King, *Chronicles Concerning Babylonian Kings*, vol. i. 196 and 230.

<sup>2</sup> Schrank, *Babylonische Sühnriten*.

<sup>3</sup> See plan C letters M and N.

<sup>4</sup> Often called "street of the procession of Marduk."

<sup>5</sup> See plan A letter c.

With jewels I adorned it, and upon the floods of the clear Euphrates like the stars I made radiant its splendour,<sup>1</sup> and for all men to behold I filled it with riches. At the *zagnuk*, on New Year's Day, Marduk lord of the gods in it I caused to sit, and to the feast I caused him to go in procession. In the shining *Rukub-ku* bark Marduk I adorned. Along the quays, awe-inspiring he traverses the Arahtu Canal."<sup>2</sup>

A stone slab from the paving of the street closes with the following prayer: "Oh, Nebo and Marduk, when in these streets gladly ye go forth may my favour be upon your lips, life unto distant days, health of body and peace. As I walk in them before you may I grow old unto eternity."<sup>3</sup> It is known from an inscription of Nabuna'id that the gods attended the sacrifices on the tenth. The procession may have occurred on the ninth. The return procession and the entry of Marduk into Esagila took place on the last day. Probably all the visiting gods returned to their shrines in Esagila for the final songs, rituals and ceremonials of the eleventh. We know at any rate that this was the case with Nebo. We may conjecture that the various visiting gods returned to their temples in different parts of Babylonia soon after the festival.

Such in brief was the Babylon of the Exile. Much remains to be more thoroughly excavated, especially on the site of Esagila and the northern palace. The famous palace or temple library which must have contained the best collection of tablets in Cuneiform literature has not been found. It may have perished at the hands of vandal Persians, Greeks and Parthians, or it may still exist some-

<sup>1</sup> The description probably applies simply to the short transport on the canal mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> Nebuchadnezzar 19 A V 17-39.

<sup>3</sup> Neb. No. 28, from a stone slab found upon a Parthian grave.

where in the ruins of the city. I now add the translation of the two tablets which contain the ritual and liturgies for the second, third and fourth days of Nisan,<sup>1</sup> and finally the liturgy sung when Marduk re-entered Esagila on the last day of the festival.

“ In Nisan upon the second day,<sup>2</sup> in the first night watch, the high priest shall go up and wash himself with river water. Before Bel he shall enter and before Bel a linen robe he shall put on. Unto Bel he shall say this prayer ” :—

“ Oh, lord, whose cry of wrath none can withstand,

Lord, gracious king, lord of all lands,

Thou that restorest peace in heaven and earth,<sup>3</sup>

Lord of holy water, lord of heaven, lord of the great gods,

Divine king of humanity, divine king of men's possessions,

Lord, whose sacred abode is Babylon, whose crown is Barsippa,

In the heavens thou art master, in the midst of the heavens thou art gigantic.<sup>4</sup>

Oh, Bel, with thine eyes thou seest all things.

When thou grantest oracles thou considerest the oracles,

When thou bestowest thine attention thou givest counsel.

Thou didst not heed the mighty furies.

They that fought with thee thou didst bind with thy hands.

When thou didst behold them thou tookest compassion.<sup>5</sup>

Thou didst let them see the light, they meditated upon thy heroic strength.

Oh, divine lord of lands, light of the heaven spirits, thou that summonest the holy,

Who doth not meditate upon thine heroic strength ?

Proclaimeth not thy majesty, celebrateth not thy lordship ?

Oh, divine lord of lands, dweller in the house of ancient days, who taketh the hands of the downcast,

<sup>1</sup> Published Raw. iv. 40.

<sup>2</sup> That is the second day after the spring equinox. Edited by Hehn in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, v. 380.

<sup>3</sup> The passage refers to the conquest of the elements of chaos and disorder in the creation of the world.

<sup>4</sup> The preceding lines form the seven ancient Sumerian addresses, or “ heroic lines ” to Marduk.

<sup>5</sup> This description of the pardoning of the captured giants who attended Tiamat is wanting in the Epic of Creation. A text published by Pinches in PSBA, 1908, 80–82, refers apparently to the release and pardon of the captive gods. See also Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vol. i. 508.

For thy city Babylon have compassion.

Unto Esagila, thy temple, turn thy face.

As for the sons of Babylon, thy protégés, create them prosperity."

(Rubric): When these utterances in (?) Esagila [have been said], then shall the high priest of the Holy of Holies<sup>1</sup> cause the heroic Marduk to be seen.<sup>2</sup>

Here follows a section of about eighteen lines which gave further directions for the festival of the second day, after which came a long prayer. Both of these sections have been almost completely destroyed. Likewise the sections for the third day have suffered mutilation. Of the hymn only a few words remain. The following ritualistic section began with a reference to "entering through doors," then after a considerable break are found these lines :<sup>3</sup>

"In the middle of the third morning watch he shall summon a metal worker. Jewels and gold from the treasury of Marduk he shall give him to make two images for the sixth day. A carpenter he shall call, and cedar and tamarisk he shall give him. A jeweller he shall summon, and gold he shall give him. From the third day until the sixth day, from the offerings made to Bel, to the metal worker the tail, to the jeweller the breast, to the carpenter the shoulder, to the weaver the rib. This, from the offerings made to Bel, shall be the portion for the high priest of the Holy of Holies the . . . To the skilled servants he shall . . ."

(Rubric): "As for these images, each shall have seven horns. One shall be of cedar, and one of tamarisk, whose covering shall be of gold upon which *dusu*-stones are mounted. The image, which holds in its left hand a ring and sceptre of cedar, lifts its right hand to Nebo. The other image holds a rod, and lifts its right hand to Nebo. They are clothed in a dark red robe. With a twig of the palm are they girt at the loins. Until the sixth day the images shall be exposed in the chapel of the god of Judgment ;<sup>4</sup> he shall present them upon the table of the god of Judgment. Upon the sixth day when Nebo arrives in E-harsagtila<sup>5</sup> the bearer of the studded sword shall sever their heads. When they are brought before Nebo let them reverence him, and where they are brought let them lie."

<sup>1</sup> *Ekua*, the shrine and chapel of Marduk, see plan C, letter M.

<sup>2</sup> The text is not well preserved, but the lines seem to contain a direction for drawing back the curtain to expose the statue and sacred ark of Marduk.

<sup>3</sup> Col. iv. 1-27, edited by Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest*, 149 f.

<sup>4</sup> The sun-god.

<sup>5</sup> Sic ! One expects Esagila.

(Library note): Twenty-second tablet of the series, "songs of joy," not finished.<sup>1</sup> The tablet which follows begins, "Upon the fourth day of Nisan."

Before passing to the next tablet it seems worth while to call attention to the remarkable similarity between the directions for making the images for the ritual of the New Year's festival and a passage from the unnamed prophet of the Exile, Isaiah xl. 19-20.<sup>2</sup> Since this author undoubtedly wrote somewhere in Babylonia, there is strong probability that his description of the making of idols reflects the influence of the passage just translated from the books of ritual for the Zagnuk.

"The image—a craftsman casteth it, and a goldsmith overlayeth it with gold and forgeth for it chains of silver. Every one helpeth his neighbour and saith to his fellow, Be strong. And the caster strengtheneth the goldsmith; he that smootheth with the hammer him that striketh the anvil; he saith of the soldering, It is good; and he strengtheneth it with nails that it may not totter."

The symbolic meaning of the two images whose heads are severed upon the sixth day when Nebo arrives from Barsippa must be sought in the Epic of Creation. The two images probably represent the demons who aided the dragon in her fight with Marduk. They are the captive gods of darkness, demons of the cold and wintry season, which ends with the equinox. The god of the vernal sun triumphs over winter, binds the demons of darkness and delivers them unto judgment. The ritual and liturgy of the fourth day now follows:<sup>3</sup>

In Nisan on the fourth day at the end of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the second night watch the high priest shall approach and wash himself in river water. Before Bel and Belit he shall put on a linen robe. He shall say this prayer of private penance unto Bel. He shall say this petition:

"Oh, lord of lords, yea, lord of lords,  
Lord of victory, lord who cried not in distress,

<sup>1</sup> This library note of the scribes meant that the tablet in question was not the end of the series.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah xli. 6 f. belongs after xl. 19. Translated after Cheyne.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Hehn in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, v. 381.

Mighty one whose cry of wrath is not withstood,  
 Bearer of the crown of authority, creator of light

\* \* \* \* \*

. . . . smiter of the hostile land

\* \* \* \* \*

Before the ruler of the gods, Marduk, may the intercessors  
 Speak thy praise, may they magnify [thee].

May they meditate upon thy heroism, may they . . .

Unto the servant who proclaims thy grace . . .

In tribulation and woe . . .

In sickness and suffering . . .

May he go unto . . .

May he meditate upon thy [heroism] . . . .”

The ritual and remaining liturgy for the fourth day are broken from the tablet. The last column ends in an interesting manner.

“Twenty-third tablet of the series, Songs of Joy; not finished. The tablet which follows begins, ‘Upon the fifth day of Nisan the seer and the prophet.’ He that fears Marduk and Zarpanit shall not go out to work. Whosoever goes out to work, may the gods as many as there be in Babylon curse him.”

The last regulation seems to be a note added by a redactor. One does not know to which day the rule applied; perhaps to the fourth day. The writer took pains to designate “those who fear Marduk” as those to whom the law applied. In making this distinction he probably had in mind Hebrews and other foreigners in cosmopolitan Babylon who did not worship the national gods.

#### LITURGY FOR THE ELEVENTH OF NISAN.<sup>3</sup>

“Oh, Lord, when into thy temple thou enterest, may thy temple [appease thee].<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Sumerian line I cannot translate. The Semitic version has a different text, “. . . Marduk, dweller in the temple of ancient days.”

<sup>2</sup> Broken away.

<sup>3</sup> Weisbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, No. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Babylonian liturgies are often characterized by a refrain which changes after a certain number of lines to another refrain, which in turn may yield to still another *motif*. The refrain, “may thy temple appease thee,”

Mighty one, Marduk, when into thy temple thou enterest, may thy temple appease thee.

Oh, hero, great lord Enbilulu, when into thy temple thou enterest (refrain).

Hail,<sup>1</sup> lord ! Hail, lord !

Hail, lord of Babylon ! (refrain).

Hail, lord of Esagila ! (refrain).

Hail, lord of Ezida ! (refrain).

Hail, lord of Emahtila ! (refrain).<sup>2</sup>

Esagila the temple of thy lordly power ; (refrain).

Thy city may say to thee, " let thy heart repose " ; (refrain).

Babylon may say to thee, " let thy heart repose " ; (refrain).

May Anu, father of the gods, say to thee, " how long until thy heart repose ? "

May the great mountain, father Enlil, say to thee, etc.

May the princess of the sacred chamber, great mother Ninlil, say to thee, etc.

May Ninib, firstborn of Enlil, mighty strength of heaven, say to thee, etc.

May Sin, crescent lamp of heaven and earth, say to thee, etc.

May Šamaš, the bearded son of Ningal,<sup>3</sup> say to thee, etc.

May Ea, sovereign of the deep, say to thee, etc.

May Damkina, queen of the nether seas, say to thee, etc."

\* \* \* \* \*

" Oh, lord, possessor of power, who abides, in the mountain house <sup>4</sup> may thy heavenly soul repose.

Glorious among gods art thou, yea, the gods of earth and sky.

Thy city Nippur thou wilt not reject. " Oh, lord, let thy heart repose," they shall say to thee.

follows the first eleven lines, where another *motif*, " how long until thy heart repose ? may it say to thee," is used. One may see this principle of Babylonian liturgy in the 136th Psalm, all of whose lines end with, " for his mercy endureth for ever." Certainly the liturgical Psalms come from a period after or during the exile. The Babylonian liturgies were sung daily everywhere in Babylonia.

<sup>1</sup> My translation is made from the Sumerian, not the Semitic version, which other editors use.

<sup>2</sup> Ezida, the temple of Nebo in Barsippa and Emahtila, " mighty house of life," the chapel of Nebo in Ezida. These two lines are probably a gloss.

<sup>3</sup> Ningal, consort of the moon-god ; in late mythology the sun-god was regarded as the child of the moon-god.

<sup>4</sup> There followed here several lines with the same refrain containing appeals to other gods to intercede with Marduk.

<sup>5</sup> *Ekur*, a cosmological term for the earth. Also the name of the chief temple of Nippur.



Sippar thou wilt not reject. Oh, lord, etc.

Babylon, the city of thy joy, thou wilt not reject. Oh, lord, etc.

Behold thy city, behold thy city. Oh, lord, etc.

Babylon and Esagila behold. Oh, lord, etc.

May the bar of Babylon, the bolt of Esagila, the brick-work of Ezida  
Cause him to repent. May the gods of earth and sky say to thee,

“ Oh, lord, let thy heart repose.”<sup>1</sup>

(Rubric): Prayer to Marduk, containing 35 lines, for the 11th of Nisan, when Bel returns to Esagila from the house of sacrifices.<sup>2</sup> The chief psalmist<sup>3</sup> . . . (broken). Copied from the original tablet of Belahhimirib.

S. LANGDON.

## *THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT AND THE DECALOGUE.*

### II.

IN Deuteronomy it is told that the Decalogue was written upon two tablets of stone (Deut. v. 19 ; ix. 10). This view has been accepted by the traditional interpretation of the history of old Israel. In consequence of this these tablets take a prominent place in the present popular ideas about the oldest laws of Israel and we are all from our youth familiar with the fact that the ten commandments were written on two tablets of stone.

Yet this view is contradictory to what is told in *Exodus*. The narrative about the events at Mount Sinai, however, is very complicated and confused, and therefore scholars tried to find out the oldest form of the traditions gathered in the narrative. They found that the tradition of Deuteronomy probably agreed with the tradition of the Elohist

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrian copy adds a prayer of two lines to the god Ašur for the king.

<sup>2</sup> See plan A, letter b.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the important rôle of the psalmists in the temple liturgies see the writer's *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. vii. ff.