

lated, is but laid up 'in last days' (5³). It cannot be enjoyed. The cry of the unpaid labourers has already been heard. They have nourished themselves and pampered themselves . . . only to be fattened for slaughter (5⁵). Where in the New Testament have we a social condition like this? In the days of Felix and Festus, which immediately preceded James' death. The curious order

of the words, 'Ye kill and covet,' exactly describes the strife of the robber hordes of those lawless last days over their ill-gotten gain (4²). In the light of such facts we can see the substantial truth of the words of Eusebius, which are confirmed by Josephus and Origen, that in the martyrdom of James the Just the cup of iniquity was filled, 'and then the Romans, under Vespasian, besieged the city.'

Hilprecht's Discoveries at Nippur.

BY THE REV. A. T. CLAY, PH.D., ASSISTANT CURATOR OF BABYLONIAN ANTIQUITIES,
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE first complete account of the excavations at Nippur is offered to biblical and historical students in a volume that has just been published, entitled *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Professor Hilprecht, of the University of Pennsylvania (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark). In the preparation of his large volume, Dr. Hilprecht has had the co-operation of four well-known German scholars. Professor Hommel, of the University of Munich, has written the section on 'Arabia'; Dr. Benzinger, of Berlin, on 'Palestine'; Professor Steindorff, of Leipzig, on 'Egypt'; and Professor Jensen, of Marburg, on 'The Hittites.'

The volume contains four specially prepared maps, nearly 200 illustrations, and about 900 pages, nearly 300 of which are devoted to the history and epoch-making discoveries of the recent excavations at Nippur.

Among the most important results achieved on the last campaign, as referred to by Professor Hilprecht, besides the many valuable discoveries of antiquities, may be said to be the determination of the character of the Babylonian temple and its storeyed-tower, or ziggurat. His understanding of the tower of the Temple of Bel, is especially interesting to biblical students, as it offers the first reasonable interpretation of the passage in Genesis concerning the erection of the Tower of Babel. The expression, 'whose top may be in the heavens,' is found to have been commonly used on building inscriptions concerning these towers. Dr. Hilprecht has shown that most of the names of the Babylonian temples

express a cosmic idea. Anu was god of the upper or heavenly ocean, or 'the waters which were above the firmament.' Ea's region was the underworld, the terrestrial ocean, or 'the waters which were below the firmament.' Bel's sphere of influence embraced the world, and was not only between that of Anu and Ea, but extended into them. Professor Hilprecht now shows that the ziggurat of Bel, *Dur-anki*, 'the link of heaven and earth,' as it is called, is the local representation of the great mythological mountain of the world, the summit of which reaches into the heavens, and the foundation of which is laid in the subterranean ocean.

Contrary to the view that these storeyed-towers had been introduced by Ur-Gur, 2700 B.C., Professor Hilprecht has shown that they had their origin prior to the fourth millennium B.C., in the early Sumerian period. Four feet behind Ur-Gur's facing wall of the Nippur tower were found the facing bricks of another. These were characteristic of the period of Naram-Sin, 3750 B.C. Ten feet within the latter was found the smooth and plastered surface of a ziggurat of the early Sumerian days, recognized by the peculiar crude bricks of that period.

The walls of the temple area were partly excavated. While the ziggurat was the most prominent feature of the temple complex, it has been determined that it was not the temple proper. This stood alongside of the tower, and was the 'place where sacrifices were offered, and the most valuable votive offerings of the greatest Babylonian monarchs deposited.' The complete excavation

of this important part of the temple had to be postponed because of the immense dump heaps raised upon its mound.

Adjoining the inner court Professor Hilprecht determined that a somewhat smaller, or outer court existed, in which had been found by Dr. Peters, in a former year of the excavations, the shrine of Bur-Sin, 2400 B.C. From a recently discovered tablet he learned that besides Bel, at least twenty-four different other deities had their own 'houses' in the sacred precincts of Nippur. These, the author thinks, should be sought for in the outer court of the sanctuary.

The character of the temple and its tower was quite different prior to the Semitic occupation of the country, in other words, before about 4000 B.C. In the lower strata around the early ziggurat were seen masses of fragments of pottery intermingled with ashes, the remains of bones and wood consumed by fire. Professor's Hilprecht's investigations led him to the conclusion that the early inhabitants of Nippur cremated their dead and buried the remains after the incineration, which in many cases was not entirely complete, in jars or funeral vases about the ziggurat. Dr. Haynes, during the third campaign, unearthed what was then called an altar. This, Professor Hilprecht now suggests, was 'one of the crematoriums on which the bodies of the dead were reduced to ashes.' These ash-graves being within the sacred enclosure and around the base of the ziggurat, the same having been found by Koldewey at El-Hibba, led Professor Hilprecht to connect them with the ziggurat itself; and he shows that, like the step pyramids of Medum and Saqqara in Egypt, these towers must have been regarded originally as tombs; that the temple of Bel was a 'place of residence for the gods, as a place of worship for man, and as a place of rest for the dead,' a conception expressed by churches of today which contain tombs within their confines, or are surrounded by graveyards.

The locating and partial excavating of the famous temple, library, and priest school of Nippur, which has been pronounced 'one of the most far-reaching Assyriological discoveries of the whole last century,' is fully treated in Professor Hilprecht's volume. He tells us that the mound covering the library rises on an average of twenty-five feet above the plain, and covers an area of about thirteen acres. Only about the twelfth part

of the library has thus far been excavated, out of which were taken over twenty thousand cuneiform tablets and fragments, mostly belonging to the third millennium B.C., prior to the birth of Abraham.

The contents of the library, as far as examined, proved to be quite varied. There are mathematical, astronomical, medical, historical, linguistic, and religious inscriptions. The tablets recovered clearly indicate that at least two periods are to be distinguished in the history of the temple library. On the one hand, the great mass of unbaked literary tablets belong to the third millennium before Christ. Besides these were found in a later stratum a goodly number belonging to the Cassite and the Neo-Babylonian periods. At first it was thought that the library, after it had been destroyed, had never been restored, but in view of the fact that in Ashurbanapal's library, which belongs to the seventh century B.C., were found inscriptions which are copies of originals coming from the library of Nippur, and also because of the literary records discovered which belong to the sixth century B.C., it must be assumed that at least part of the ruins of the earlier library had been cleared, and its contents recopied for the later, or else part of it had been occupied continuously, or from time to time restored. The fact that the greater portion of the library had been allowed to lie in ruins for a considerable length of time, points to a great national calamity from which the entire country suffered for years.

The great library of the temple of Bel was not only a repository for all kinds of learning, but it included the school or college of Nippur, as well as being a storehouse for valuable literary records. In a number of rooms of the educational quarter were found hundreds of 'school-books' and students' exercises. Rudely fashioned tablets, inscribed in a 'naïve and clumsy manner with old Babylonian characters,' indicated that they were the first attempts at writing by unskilled hands. 'There are also grammatical exercises, exhibiting how the student was instructed in analyzing Sumerian verbal forms, in joining the personal pronouns to different substantives, etc. etc.' Special attention in the College of Nippur was paid to counting and calculating, as determined from the multiplication tables discovered; also to drawing and sculpturing.

The excavations at Nippur revealed not only the

oldest sanctuary, library, and school that are known up to the present time, but also the most ancient archæological museum. In an upper stratum of the library mound, the first museum known in history was unearthed. The collection was preserved in an earthen jar, and consisted of nineteen very choice specimens of antiquities. An archæologist of the present day, after handling many thousands of objects from the ruin hills of Babylonia, is naturally able to judge concerning the real merits of antiquities discovered. This little museum illustrates the fact that the collector, who lived about the time of Belshazzar, in the sixth century B.C., had the same high regard for that which would be considered especially valuable by a modern archæologist. Whether the specimens were excavated or purchased we know not, but the collector has handed down to his illustrious colleague in the same science the following very choice antiquities.

The earliest inscription in the collection, though somewhat fragmentary, contains the titles of Sargon I., 3800 B.C., most of which were hitherto unknown. A black stone votive tablet, belonging to Ur-Gur, 2700 B.C., is the next in chronological order, which informs us that the king built the wall of Nippur. The section of the wall excavated revealed bricks with this king's name and titles. Then follows a terra-cotta brick stamp of Bur-Sin, the first found of this Babylonian ruler; an excellently preserved tablet stating that the great hall of the temple was called Emakh, and also, to Professor Hilprecht's

surprise, that there were twenty-four shrines of other gods within the precincts of the temple besides Bel and his consort Beltis. Tablets dated in the reigns of Marduk-nadin-akhi, a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser I., and Adad-apaliddina, 1060 B.C., the first thus far known; two tablets of great chronological importance, inscribed by Ashur-etil-ilani, 625 B.C., and Sin-shar-ishkun; an astronomical tablet giving observations concerning Virgo and Scorpion, and a large fragmentary plan of the city of Nippur, which will prove of great value in the reconstruction of the ancient cities.

Professor Hilprecht, in his volume, gives a complete account of the important discoveries made during the four campaigns of the excavations. Concerning the close of the last, he says:—

'On May 11, 1900, the most successful campaign thus far conducted at Nuffar terminated. Excavations having been suspended, the meftul was sealed, Arab guards were appointed, shaijhs and workmen rewarded, and the antiquities transported to six large boats moored in the swamps. Accompanied by the workmen from Hilla, their wives and children, and blessed by thronging crowds of 'Afej, who had assembled to bid us farewell, eagerly inquiring as to the time of our next return, we departed with a strange feeling of sadness and pleasure from the crumbling walls of *Dur-anki*, "the link of heaven and earth," which Ninib's doleful birds, croaking and dashing about, still seem to guard against every profane intruder.'

Recent Foreign Theology.

Primitive Christianity.¹

PROFESSOR HEINRICI of Leipzig is known as a scholar of great thoroughness and independence. These qualities show themselves in work marked by an unusually judicial spirit, as free from obvious bias towards foregone results as may well be. He has not published much; but he has worked very close to the original sources; and his edition of *Corinthians* in Meyer's 'Kommentar'

¹*Das Urchristentum*. By F. G. Heinrici. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Glasgow: F. Bauermeister, 1902. Pp. viii. 143. Price 2s. 9d.

(eighth edition) has the reputation of real scientific method. Accordingly, the present sketch of 'the contents and development of primitive Christianity' deserves the attention of those who prize fresh work on this vital subject, even where special points cannot be argued out within the given limits. The author defines his own attitude as follows:—'In my life-work the perception has forced itself upon me with growing certitude, that Christianity, as regards its formative forces, evidences itself in the organism (*im Zusammenhange*) of history as an original fact. Only by misuse of the method of analogy—how widespread this