## THE

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# I. LITERARY.

## THE EARLY DAYS OF UNION SEMINARY.

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[The following paper was prepared by Rev. Dr. Robert Burwell, of Raleigh, N. C., and was to have been read by him in person at the celebration of the seventieth anniversary exercises of Union Theological Seminary on the evening of January 4th, 1894. As he was prevented at the last moment by indisposition from being present this duty was performed by Prof. T. C. Johnson. It may lend an additional interest to this excellent paper to know that it was prepared by a gentleman ninety-two years of age, who at considerable disadvantage to himself has labored thus to set forth his recollections of the Seminary as it was seventy years ago.—Ed.]

I accept with pleasure your invitation to take part in these services by furnishing reminiscences of the early days of Union Seminary and of Dr. Rice, who, by his efforts and self-sacrifice, was the main agent in establishing this school of the prophets.

In performing the task you have assigned me, I have to rely on my memory, and seventy years is a long period, and many things are forgotten which should be remembered, and even those events that are remembered are seen in a dim light.

Sad thoughts naturally come over me, as I recall these scenes, but on these I will not dwell. This is a day of rejoicing—a festive occasion, when we assemble to give thanks for the past, and to indulge in hope as we look to the future. In the cheerful and inspiring words of the Psalmist I would say, "Come, let us sing a new song. Praise ye the Lord.

# WHAT THE TERRA COTTA BOOKS CONTAINED.

PROF. W. W. MOORE.

The earliest settlers of Chaldea known to history were those ancient Accadians who invented the cuneiform system of writing. They were pre-eminently a literary people. "Their conception of chaos was that of a period when as yet no books were written." In their cities they established great libraries. stocked with thousands of books treating of a great variety of subjects. These books were not made of paper, but of clay. They were really tablets and cylinders of various shapes and sizes. When a book was to be made, fine clay was selected and thoroughly kneaded. It is even supposed that in some cases the clay was ground in a mill, for the texture is as fine as that of the best modern pottery. The clay was moulded into the shape of the required tablet or cylinder, sometimes not more than an inch long, at other times over a foot in length; and then, while still moist and soft, it was inscribed by means of a metal stylus, with the statements of the author, or the pictures of the artist, or the figures of the accountant, as the case might be. We have an allusion to this kind of writing in Ezekiel 4: 1, where Jehovah says to the prophet: "Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile (i. e. a soft tablet of clay), and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem." As Ezekiel was then a captive in this very region, he was naturally directed to adopt the mode of writing which was in common use among the inhabitants. The wedge-shaped characters thus impressed upon the wet clay were sometimes very small, so minute indeed that in some cases they are illegible without a magnifying glass. One inscription, for instance, contains thirty lines within the narrow space of six inches, or five lines to an inch, which is nearly as close as the printing on this page—a very remarkable fact when we remember how elaborate cuneiform characters are and how many strokes it required to make them. is therefore supposed that they must have been written with the help of a glass, a supposition which has been confirmed by the discovery of a magnifying lens on the site of the library of Nineveh, at Kovunjik.

The tablets were usually inscribed on both sides. But how

could this be done? When one side was full, and the tablet was turned over to receive an inscription on the other, there was danger that, if laid on a table or other flat surface, the writing already done would be effaced, for the clay was still soft. This difficulty seems to have been met by using little pegs, like matches, to support the tablet. These were stuck into open spaces, left for the purpose, between the lines first written, and when the tablet was turned over, it rested upon these, as a table does upon its legs, while the scribe wrote upon the upper surface. On many of the tablets which have been brought to light in our day, the indeutations made by these little supports are still seen. When the plastic clay had thus been inscribed on both sides, the tablet was dried in the sun, and was then ready to be placed on the shelf as a completed volume, so to speak. Such was the art of book making in ancient Babylonia. After a while, however, a great improvement was made by baking the tablets with fire. When this method came into vogue, it was necessary for the scribe, before placing the tile in the kiln, to prick holes in it here and there, as a cook perforates a biscuit with a fork, in order that the steam generated in the process might escape. The baking gave the tablets the durability of stone. After that no change in the record was possible.

#### TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

It is this fact which gives the historical documents of the Babylonians and Assyrians their peculiar value. They were written by men who were contemporary with the events described, and secured against change in the manner just indicated, so that we now have, not copies of older texts, full of the inadvertent errors of fallible scribes and the fraudulent alterations of unprincipled partisans, but the autographs themselves. just as they came from the hands of the original writers. Histories that are written on parchment or papyrus can be tampered with, letters can be erased or inserted, words can be left out or put in, statements can be omitted or interpolated, whole paragraphs can be suppressed or added, at the pleasure of a dishonest copyist or editor. And even when there is no sinister purpose on the part of the scribe, he is certain to make some mistakes—errare humanum est—and if he is unintelligent or careless, he will make a great many of them. As an example of intentional corruption of text we may mention the celebrated passage of Josephus, in which the Jewish historian describes our Saviour. It is now generally conceded that the statement of Josephus has been enlarged and changed by some later hand in such a way as to deprive it of its historical value. It is well known that even the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts of the Bible have suffered in this way. In Judg. 18:30, for instance, it was stated that "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, he and his sons were priests" to the idol of the tribe of Dan. That statement, however, was distasteful to the They could not bear the thought that the grandson of Moses, their great lawgiver, who had done more than any other man in history to discredit and put down idolatry, should be the leader of this Danite apostasy. They hated to hear that honored name read in such a connection. By inserting a single letter, n, into the Hebrew form of the word "Moses", it could be changed into the word "Manasseh". This was the most execrated name in their annals, as being that of their most idolatrous king. By this slight change in the text, therefore, they could kill two birds with one stone-they could guard the honor of Moses and they could emphasize the infamy of Manasseh. Accordingly the change was made. Restrained, however, by some feeling of reverence for the text, those who first made the change wrote the inserted "n" somewhat smaller than the other letters and "suspended" it a little above the rest, thus suggesting rather than affirming that it should be read "Manasseh." But their successors substituted "Manasseh" for "Moses" outright, and thus it is given in the celebrated Greek version called the Septuagint which was made by Greek-speaking Jews in the third century B. C. The "Authorized" English version followed this bad example, and so we read that "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manassen, he and his sons were priests", though it was as well known to King James's translators as it is to us that Gershom was the son of Moses, not of Manasseh, and that the narrative expressly states that Jonathan was a Levite, not a Manassite. In the Revised version the error is corrected and the true reading restored.

Again, in 1 Sam. 6:19, where it was originally stated that Jehovah smote of the people of Beth-Shemesh "threescore and ten men" for irreverent treatment of the ark, through an error of copyists (which we cannot pause to describe in detail) the reading was so changed as to make the astounding statement



that "he smote of the people fifty thousand and threescore and ten men"—a reading which strangely enough still stands unchallenged in both of our English versions.

A familiar example of interpolation in the New Testament is the spurious passage in John 5:3-4, concerning the angel that came down at certain seasons into the pool and troubled the water (see the Revised version).

Such changes as these could not be made in books of baked clay. These brick documents therefore afford but little scope for the science of textual criticism. Barring the damage sustained by the tablets in the destruction of the buildings in which they were stored, we have the text as it was originally written.

## INSCRIBED CYLINDERS.

Besides the little pillow-shaped bricks and the larger flat tablets, there were clay books of other shapes. Some of the most important historical records among the cuneiform inscriptions are found on clay cylinders made sometimes in the form of a tiny barrel, sometimes in the form of a prism with six or eight faces, each of which is closely written with the small, sharp, angular characters. The cylinder was often made with an opening from end to end, so that a stick might be passed through, to serve as an axis round which the cylinder could be made to revolve, for the greater convenience of the reader. Sir A. H. Layard mentions a hexagonal hollow cylinder, containing not less than sixty lines of writing, which he secured from a Turcoman, in whose family it had been used for years as a candlestick! To such ignoble uses are the royal annals of Assyria now put by the natives.

It was the custom of these ancient kings, when they built a palace or a temple, to deposit such a cylinder as we have described in each of the four corners of the foundation, stating the purpose for which the house was erected, giving the name of the builder, and frequently also a succinct account of his reign. The little niche or chamber in which the prism was placed was made by simply leaving out a few bricks from the otherwise solid wall. Hidden away in these strong and well sheltered receptacles, the cylinders were safe from all ordinary harm. And so it comes about that we have so many of them in a state of perfect preservation. The finest of all those yet found is a prism of ten sides, containing 1300 lines. It was

deposited by Assurbanipal in the foundation of his palace at Nineveh about 650 B. C., and there it remained undisturbed for more than 2500 years. But in A. D., 1877, Mr. H. Rassam was making excavations in the mound of Koyunjik. One day when his men had been digging a long time and had found nothing, they stopped and asked, "Shall we go on?" "Yes," said Mr. Rassam, "clear that little pile away." When they began to do so they found that it consisted of brick work. On opening this, they brought to light the noble prism, with its ten full columns, which in honor of its discoverer is now known as the Rassam Cylinder. It is one of the chief treasures of the British Museum.

## THE ROYAL LIBRARY OF NINEVEH.

This Assurbanipal (670-630 B. C.), author of the cylinder just described, was the most munificent patron of letters that ever occupied the throne of Assyria. It was he who gathered at Nineveh the great library of more than 10.000 tablets, the broken fragments of which were discovered by Layard and Rassam some forty years ago in two chambers of the disentombed North Palace in the mound of Kovuniik. Nineveh fell, the palace was burnt, and the floor of the royal library, along the walls of which the tablets were piled in good order, probably fell in, precipitating them promiscuously into the apartment below. Most of them were shattered by the fall, but a few were found entire. More than 20,000 of these fragments were gathered up by the explorers, packed at random into cases, and shipped to the British Museum, there to await sorting and decipherment. But who was to undertake this appalling task of arranging and piecing out and translating this vast mass of rubbish? It was a form of drudgery which required patience, genius, and skill of the highest order. For years the fragments lay heaped in apparently hopeless confusion on the floor of England's great treasure-house of antiquities. At length the man for the work appeared in the person of a young archaeologist of London, named George Smith, who had become fascinated by the mystery of the broken tablets and who determined to solve it. He did solve "He succeeded in finding and uniting a large quantity of fragments belonging together, and thus restoring pages of writing, with here and there a damaged line, a word effaced, a broken corner, often a larger portion missing, but still enough

left to form continuous and readable texts. In some cases it was found that there was more than one copy of this or that work or document, and then sometimes the parts which were hopelessly injured in one copy, would be found whole or nearly so in another." Thus, by degrees, Smith and his colaborers and successors gave to the world a full knowledge of the contents of the royal library of Nineveh.

### CUNEIFORM LITERATURE.

Before undertaking a general survey of the various subjects treated of in the tablets, we must remind the reader of the fact that, although the Assyrian monarchs gathered great libraries, the Assyrians were not really a literary people. They were not a nation of students, like the more ancient Babylonians. They were a nation of warriors. Nineveh was the most warlike city in history. The Assyrians have been called the "Romans of Asia," but it was because of their genius for military organization and conquest, not because of any original contributions to art or letters. Nearly all the subject matter of their books, except their records of contemporary events, was borrowed from Babylonia. The Babylonians were originators, the Assyrians were imitators. In Babylonia books were written by authors, in Assyria they were written by copyists. Assurbanipal had a whole army of scribes employed in copying, editing and translating for his library the ancient Accadian works which he had brought to Nineveh from Babylon, Borsippa, Ur, and other cities of Babylonia. This accounts for the wide range of subjects embraced by his tablets. In short, the Assyrians did what their Semitic ancestors had done centuries before, when they conquered the Accadians—they adopted their literature.

#### BABYLONIAN ASTRONOMY.

Now these Accadians, as we have seen, had at a very early period attained to a high degree of civilization and culture. It is to them that we are indebted for the system of weights and measures still used throughout Christendom (except in France). From them we have derived our present divisions of time, the month of 30 days, the year of 12 months, and even the names of the days of the week taken from the seven chief planets—the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn (for four of which, however our Germanic ances-

tors substituted the names of their deities, thus changing the names to Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday). was they who invented the clepsydra or water-clock, the sundial.\* and the zodiac with its constellations (the earliest mention of which elsewhere is in Job 38:31-32). They called the ecliptic the "yoke of the sky," and the milky way "the long road." They had observed the strange course of the comets, calling them "stars with a tail behind and a corona in front." and had even noticed the spots on the sun. They could calculate eclipses, and they kept long lists of them for astrological purposes, since they were believed to portend future events. In all their cities they had lofty observatories, from which they watched the movements of the heavenly bodies. celestial phenomena were carefully written down together with a record of the events that occurred immediately afterwards. Thus, in their great astronomical work, called "The Observations of Bel," compiled for Sargon I, king of Accad (whose date, according to the cuneiform records, was 3800 B. C.), and consisting of seventy-two tablets, we find such records as this: "On the 16th day (of the month Ab) there was an eclipse; the king of Accad died; the god Nergal (i. e. war) devoured in the land." It was supposed that when the same phenomena were seen in the heavens, the same kind of events would occur on earth, an illustration, as Sayce remarks, of the well-known fallacy: Post hoc, ergo propter hoc. It is to this pseudo-science of astrology that Isaiah refers when he predicts the destruction of Babylon and defies her wise men to foresee her misfortunes or avert her doom. "Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up, and save thee from those things that shall come upon thee" (Is. 47:13). Astrology is false, but astronomy is true. Through their study of the former, the Babylonians learned the latter. And the first important branch of their literature is that which records their astronomical observations, though these are mixed with much superstition.

Closely related to their study of astronomy was their knowledge of mathematics. Indeed their mathematical unit, 60, was an astronomical one, being derived from their sexagesimal subdivision of a large circle of the earth. There are numerous proofs of their skill in applied mathe-

<sup>(\*</sup>Ahaz got his from the Assyrians, no doubt—See 2 K. XX:11, XVI:10)

matics, e. g. the orientation of their great temples, with the four corners pointing exactly to the four cardinal points—North, East, South, and West. "The plan of an estate outside the gate of Zamama at Babylon, and belonging to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, has been discovered, while the famous Hanging Gardens of that city were watered by means of a screw."

## ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY.

All readers of Scripture are familiar with the method of fixing dates in ancient times by referring to some important event that was well known. Thus in Amos 1:1, we read of the words which the herdsman prophet saw concerning Israel "two years before the earthquake". So Isaiah, dating his vision of God in the temple, says (Is. 6:1) "In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple." Something like this, though more systematic and continuous, was the Assyrian mode of reckoning, which became known to us by Sir Henry Rawlinson's discovery in 1862 of what is called the "Eponym Canon." a work whose various copies have settled the chronology of Assyria from B. C. 1330 to about B. C. 620. Instead of numbering years consecutively from a particular era (as we do from the birth of Christ, or as the Romans did from the founding of Rome), the Assyrians were accustomed to elect for each successive year an officer, called the limu or "Eponym," for whom that year was named; and from these eponyms, arranged in a series, they dated all their documents. From the combined fragments of seven copies of this canon which have come to light, the system has been so fully restored and the facts have been found to dovetail with so many chronological data known to us from other sources that, as already remarked, we are able to settle definitely the chronology of Assyria from B. C. 1330 to about B. C. 620. The following extract from the Eponym Canon (to which the dates according to our system have been prefixed) will explain the method better than any additional words of ours:

в. с	Name of Eponym.	His Title.	Principal Events of the year.
753	Assur-nirari	the king of Assyria	peace in the land.
752	Samsi-ilu	the tartan	peace in the land.
751	Marduk-salim-anni	chief of the palace	peace in the land.
750	Bel-dayan	rab-bitur	peace in the land.



748 747 746	Samas-mukin-durug Rammanu-bel-ukin Sin-salim-anni Nergal-nasir Nabu-bel usur	expedition to Zimri. expedition to Zimri. peace in the land. revolt in Calah. Tiglath-Pileser ascended the throne on the 13th day of Iyyar. He marched to neighborhood of the
		river in the month Tisri.*

#### CONTRACT TABLETS.

The Eponym Canon came to an end at the fall of the Assyrian empire (about 620 B. C.). After that, the dated contract tablets of Babylonia keep our reckoning correct down almost to the Christian era. These contract tablets constitute another large department of the cuneiform literature. They are very numerous. As many as 5000 of them were unpacked at the British Museum at one time. They are of various shapes, sizes, and colors, some baked, some unbaked, and they record all manner of business transactions, such as loans of money or produce, promissory notes, bank checks, marriage dowries, sales of lands, houses, and slaves. For example, a deed of sale, of the time of Evil-Merodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar, describes in detail a piece of land in the suburbs of Babylon. its various measurements, the price paid, the recording and sealing of the deed in the presence of the Royal Scribes, and the names of the witnesses, and then concludes as follows:

"Babylon, month of Tammuz, 15th day, 2nd year of Evil-Merodach, king of Babylon.

Nail-mark of Ramman-nasir, son of Apea, son of the Priest of Rimmon, in place of his seal."

The reference in these last lines is to a semicircular indentation in the edge of the tablet, made by pressing the thumb nail into the damp clay. It was very common for the seller or one of the witnesses, especially if a poor man, to make this nail-mark instead of using a seal, just as, in our day, a man who cannot write signs a legal deed by simply making a cross mark with the pen.

The contract tablets were often, for greater security. enclosed in clay envelopes which were inscribed in like manner, sometimes with the same inscription as that on the inner tablet, sometimes with a briefer statement of the contents of the enclosed document. In such cases, of course, the record

<sup>\*</sup>Budge's Babylonian Life and History, p. 35.

within cannot be read until the outer covering is broken. It is supposed by some that this custom of duplicating deeds is referred to in the stirring account of Jeremiah's purchase of the field in Anathoth, when, notwithstanding the fact that Nebuchadnezzar's army was then thundering at the gates of Jerusalem, the prophet, confident of Judah's final restoration, like the Roman Senator who bought the ground occupied by Hannibal's camp, purchased his ancestral estate, and the contracting parties executed a double deed:

"And I bought the field of Hanameel my uncle's son, that was in Anathoth, and weighed him the money, even seventeen shekels of silver.

And I subscribed the evidence, and sealed it, and took witnesses, and weighed him the money in balances.

So I took the evidence of the purchase, both that which was sealed according to the law and custom, and that which was open:

And I gave the evidence of the purchase unto Baruch the son of Neriah, the son of Masseiah. in the sight of Hanameel mine uncle's son, and in the presence of the witnesses that subscribed the book of the purchase, before all the Jews that sat in the court of the prison.

And I charged Baruch before them saying,

Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; Take these evidences, this evidence of the purchase, both which is sealed, and this evidence which is open; and put them in an earthen vessel, that they may continue many days.

For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; Houses and fields and vineyards shall be possessed again in this land."

This passage refers to still another custom of the Babylonians, viz: that of placing legal deeds and other commercial documents in "earthen vessels" for safe keeping. It was in such jars that the great collection of clay bank checks of the so-called banking house of Egibi was found. "In Babylon during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar there lived a man called Egibi, and he was the founder of a firm of bankers who made it their especial business to carry on the commerce of the city. We have an enormous number of the documents of this firm, beginning with Nebuchadnezzar the Great, and going on for some five generations or so to the time of Darius." So writes Mr. Budge, of the British Museum, but some of the points he mentions are yet in dispute.

#### OTHER SUBJECTS.

Besides the classes of tablets above described, there were many others which can be only mentioned. The libraries contained whole series of magic tablets, arranged on shelves,

each tablet being marked with its number in the series and the first words of the first line; and all filled with various incantations and formulas for the exorcism of the evil spirits that were supposed to cause sickness. Medicine also is represented by numerous prescriptions, mingled however with much superstition; geology by lists of stones; and geography by lists of countries. There are also royal decrees, treaties, lists of tribute, reports of governors, private petitions, and historical records—these last being of priceless value, since many of them run parallel with the Biblical narrative, dealing in some cases with the same persons and events. We shall have more to say of them after a while. We have already spoken of the great number of lexical and grammatical works contained in these libraries. It only remains to mention the proverbs, fables, riddles, songs, and religious and mythological poems and stories, including both lyric and epic poetry. Of special interest by reason of certain resemblances in form and feeling to portions of the Old Testament, are the Penitential Psalms, which have come down from the earliest period of Babylonian history. As already intimated, these thoughtful and scholarly Babylonians were more religious than their violent and ruthless conquerors, the Assyrians. "It is a significant fact that, whereas in Babylonia we find the remains of scarcely any great buildings except temples, the great buildings of Assyria were the royal palaces." It is only what we should expect, therefore, that these Penitential Psalms, with their aching sense of sin, their agony of darkness, and their heart-penetrating appeals for mercy, are of Babylonian, rather than Assyrian, origin. The following specimen, which is given in full, will serve to indicate both the nature of the resemblances between these psalms and those of the Hebrews, and also the immense difference between the troubled gropings here described and the clear and soul-satisfying guidance of God's spirit described in such Psalms as the 51st and the 32nd. Note especially the pathos of the lines printed in Italics.

"My Lord is wroth in his heart; may he be appeased again.

May God be appeased again, for I knew not that I sinned.

May Ishtar, my mother, be appeased again, for I knew not that I sinned.

God knoweth that I knew not; may he be appeased.

Ishtar, my mother, knoweth that I knew not; may she be appeased.

May the heart of my God be appeased.

May the heart of Ishtar, my mother, be appeased.

May God and Ishtar, my mother, be appeased.

May God cease from his anger.

May Ishtar. my mother, cease from her anger.

The transgression (I committed, my God) knew.

[The next few lines are obliterated.]

The transgression (I committed, Ishtar, my mother, knew).

(My tears) I drink like the waters of the sea.

That which was forbidden by my God, I ate without knowing.

That which was forbidden by Ishtar, my mother, I trampled on without knowing.

O my Lord my transgression is great, many are my sins.

O my God, my transgression is great. many are my sins.

O Ishtar, my mother, my transgression is great, many are my sins.

O my God, who knowest that I knew not, my transgression is great, many are my sins.

O Ishtar, my mother, who knowest that I knew not, my transgression is great, many are my sins.

The transgression that I committed I knew not.

The sin that I sinned I knew not.

The forbidden thing did I eat.

The forbidden thing did I trample on.

My Lord, in the anger of his heart, has punished me.

God in the strength of his heart has overwhelmed me.

Ishtar, my mother, has seized upon me and put me to grief.

God, who knoweth that I knew not, has afflicted me.

Ishtar, my mother, who knoweth that I knew not, has caused darkness.

I prayed and none takes my hand.

I wept and none held my palm.

I ory aloud; but there is none that will hear me.

I am in darkness and hiding, I dare not look up.

To God I refer my distress, I utter my prayer.

The feet of Ishtar, my mother, I embrace.

To God, who knoweth that I knew not, my prayer I utter.

To Ishtar, my mother. who knoweth that I knew not, my prayer I address.

[The next four lines are lost.]

How long, O God, (shall I suffer.)?

How long, O Ishtar, my mother, (shall I suffer)?

How long, O God, who knoweth that I knew not, (shall I feel thy) strength?

How long. O Ishtar, my mother, who knoweth that I knew not, shall thy heart (be angry)?

Thou writest the number (?) of mankind, and none knoweth it.

Thou callest man by his name, and what does he know?

Whether he shall be afflicted, or whether he shall be prosperous, there is no man that knows.

O my God, thou givest not rest to thy servant.



In the waters of the raging flood take his hand.
The sin that he has sinned turn into good.
Let the wind carry away the transgression I have committed.
Destroy my manifold wickedness tike a garment.

O my God, seven times seven are my transgressions, my transgressions are ever before me."

Having at last cleared the ground, and given some account of the sources from which our materials are drawn—a thing that every intelligent reader has a right to expect in regard to such a subject—we shall henceforth confine our attention to the actual parallels between the cuneiform records and the Biblical, showing to what extent they traverse the same ground, and bringing out the significance of the resemblances and differences between them.

