

Eberhard Schrader.

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THE death of the well-known Assyriologist Professor Eberhard Schrader two years ago has been passed over in this country with comparative silence. For more than twelve years he had been disabled by disease and growing infirmity from any active participation in the advancement of the science to which so much of his life had been devoted. His passing, therefore, awakened less attention than it would have done if he had been cut off in the midst of strenuous toil. It is a source of deep mortification to the present writer that the severe pressure of work, followed by a recent illness, has delayed the appearance of this tribute to the epoch-making labours and noble character of a great investigator and teacher, to whose indefatigable toil in the years 1868-1890 Assyriology owes a lasting debt.

Eberhard Schrader, the youngest of four brothers, was born in Braunschweig in a merchant's family on January 5, 1836. After completing a brilliant course in the gymnasium of that town, he studied for a short time in the neighbouring *Collegium Carolinum*, where a learned scholar Petri gave him his first introduction to Semitic languages, namely, Hebrew and Arabic. From the teaching of Petri he passed to that of the celebrated Heinrich Ewald, at the University of Göttingen, the Mecca of Semitic aspirants in the middle of the nineteenth century. The greatest Semitic scholars of that period were trained by Ewald, from the Ethiopic savant and Biblical exegete, Dillmann, to the Old Testament critic and Arabic scholar, Wellhausen. Among Ewald's English disciples we may include T. K. Cheyne, whose early work, *Isaiah Chronologically Arranged* (1870), bears evident traces of Ewald's influence. In the years 1856-1859 Schrader studied under Ewald, side by side with the celebrated Theodor Nöldeke. In 1858 Ewald propounded to his students the subject for a prize essay: 'The Character of Ethiopic.' Schrader's essay on this theme was completed in his fifth Semester, and obtained the reward as well as the high praise of 'displaying great industry and a good knowledge of Ethiopic and the cognate languages, and also planned with keen intelligence and skill.' The

essay was composed in Latin, and published in 1860 (dedicated to the author's brother, Hermann). Professor Schrader gave me a copy of it in 1887. It is a wonderful exhibition of research and learning for a young student of twenty-two (at the time when it was first written). Strange to say, he did not devote himself in later years to Ethiopic, except as a subsidiary department of the class-room. It is interesting to note that the brilliant work of Schrader's fellow-student, Nöldeke, on the *History of the Koran*, which won high distinction from the Paris Académie des Inscriptions, was published in the same year. We next hear of Schrader's acting as secretary of the Oriental Section at a conference of philologists. Soon after he became Bunsen's amanuensis in the composition of the well-known *Bibelwerk*. Shortly after he received a call to be Privat-Dozent at the University of Zürich, with salary attached, and the assured prospect of becoming a Professor. In 1863, at the age of twenty-seven, he attained the dignity of Professor Ordinarius in Theology, in succession to Hitzig (who was one of Ewald's earlier pupils). While Schrader chiefly lectured on the Old Testament, he also gave instruction in Arabic, Ethiopic, and also Coptic. His earliest publications at this period were the *Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der biblischen Urgeschichte* (in 1863), and articles on 'The Duration of the Building of the Second Temple' and 'The Textual Criticism of the Psalms,' in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1867). In 1869 he brought out a new edition (the 8th) of De Wette's *Introduction to the Old Testament*. The critical views held by Schrader at this time are set forth in the introduction prefixed by the translator to the English edition of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament* (vol. i. pp. xiii-xviii). Also Nöldeke, in 1869, published his masterly treatise *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A.T.* The writer, whom Schrader calls the 'Annalistic Narrator,' is the author of the 'Grundschrift' or Fundamental Document (Nöldeke) identical with the Priestercodex (Wellhausen). Schrader and Nöldeke, like the older scholars Ewald, Franz Delitzsch, and

Dillmann, were opposed to the theory of Graf and Kuenen (and subsequently Wellhausen) which placed the Priestercodex latest among the documents of the Pentateuch. It is only within the last few years that Nöldeke has abandoned his earlier position.¹

In 1869 Schrader had already begun to turn his attention to quite another field of Semitic investigation, the cuneiform inscriptions, which the genius of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and Oppert had already succeeded in deciphering. Till Schrader in the later sixties had begun to devote himself to this fascinating study, very few German scholars had followed Grotefend and Lassen in seeking to unravel the complex web of cuneiform. The stimulating cause in Schrader's case, from whose fascinations even the warnings of Hitzig could not deter him, was a small collection of antiquities covered with cuneiform in the Zürich Museum. In the light of subsequent history it is startling to think what potent influences lay within that small collection—how it gave an entirely new direction to a great savant's career, and through him created great schools of research and new disciplines, an army of enthusiastic students and revolutionizing discoveries in history and Semitic philology. When we turn to the eighth edition of De Wette's Introduction, we can see how fully Schrader had entered in 1869 into this new and fruitful field of study. See his preface (p. xii foll. and § 43, pp. 82–85), where we observe that he had studied the works of the Englishmen Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, Fox Talbot, and Edward Norris; and of their French contemporaries Botta, De Saulcy, Ménant, and Oppert. Soon after this appeared the first-fruits of Schrader's cuneiform studies in his treatise 'The Basis of the Assyro-Babylonian Cuneiform Inscriptions tested' in the twenty-third volume of the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, where the reader is introduced to some of the most important syllabaries. This was followed in 1872 by a still more extensive work in the same journal, occupying nearly four hundred pages, entitled 'The Assyro-Babylonian Cuneiform Inscriptions: A Critical Investigation of the Foundations of their Decipherment.' This exhaustive and highly technical treatise could only be printed with the help of a grant in aid by the State, furnished by

¹ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xxi. (1908) p. 203.

the Prussian Ministry of Education. This clearly shows that Schrader's work in Assyriology had now won recognition, and from this time onwards a new era for this department of Semitic studies in Germany had begun. In the same year (1872) appeared the first edition of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.*, which clearly exhibited the importance of Assyriology in its bearing upon Old Testament studies. This is his best known work. It deals with the separate passages of the O.T., in order from Genesis onwards, and places in juxtaposition the passages of transcribed and translated cuneiform that illustrate the Biblical passage. There is also a brief explanatory and philological commentary which renders the work useful to the Semitic student. This book has had an enduring influence on successive generations of Biblical scholars. The second edition (1882) was enlarged to over twice the size of the first owing to the numerous fresh contributions to knowledge by the growing band of the Assyriologists, some of them Schrader's own pupils (notably Professor Friedrich Delitzsch). This edition was in the years 1883–1888 translated into English, with further additions and improvements contributed by Dr. Schrader, as well as with an introductory preface and notes by the translator. A *third* edition of Schrader's work appeared in 1903–4 by Winckler and Zimmern: Winckler dealing with the history, and Zimmern with the religion and mythology. This new work is of great scientific value. Though it bears the name of Schrader, it cannot in any true sense be called a new edition of Schrader's book. It is an entirely *new* work in which the plan and design of the earlier editions completely vanish. Instead of a work dealing systematically and *seriatim* with Biblical passages, and citing in conjunction with each the illustrative Assyrian text, we have treatises on the politics, history, and mythology of Assyria and Babylonia in which Biblical history and religious ideas are duly included and discussed. Both methods of exposition, that of Schrader in the first two editions, and that of Winckler and Zimmern in the third, have their respective merits. The latter is justified by the fact that nearly all the most important cuneiform texts, in transcription and translation, are accessible in the great work which Schrader edited, 'The Cuneiform Library' (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek), to which reference will subsequently be made. Neverthe-

less it is much to be desired that a band of Assyrian scholars should co-operate in carrying out Schrader's original design in a new work brought up to date. The task would be a very heavy one and would probably occupy several volumes, but it would be an immense service to Biblical scholars who have not Assyrian texts at hand, and an enduring monument to the worth and method of Schrader's own labours.

We resume the thread of his career. In 1870 he passed from Zürich to the University of Giessen, in succession to Dillmann. But his stay in Giessen was brief, for three years later he became Professor of Theology in Jena. About this time he married Fräulein Ida Giltner, the daughter of a pastor in Braunschweig. In 1874 he published the important Babylonian mythological poem 'The Descent of Ishtar to Hades' (Die Höllenfahrt der Istar), which throws an important light upon ancient Semitic conceptions respecting the underworld and life after death (Job 10²¹ 16²² 17¹⁶, Is 14⁹⁻¹⁷ etc.).

But Schrader was not destined to remain long in Jena. Honours awaited him in Berlin, where he was appointed in the spring of 1875 Professor of Oriental Languages, and also a member of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences. During all these years his literary activity was prodigious, and was by no means confined to Assyriology, as the long list of articles contributed by him to Schenkel's *Bibel-lexicon* and to Riehm's *Handwörterbuch* clearly prove. He also wrote a large number of reviews of books on Biblical subjects, and Semitic philology in its varied branches. A catalogue of these is given by Professor Bezold in a valuable appreciation of Schrader's life and work,¹ to which I am indebted for some of the precise details contained in this sketch.

Assyriology in the seventies was a science in youthful growth, and had to fight its way to full recognition. The results already achieved by the older scholars, extending from Rawlinson to Hincks and Oppert, needed to be carefully sifted, and to be placed on a surer philological basis. Much still remained conjectural; for the cuneiform script is exceedingly complex. In the first place, it has passed through different stages of evolution from the earliest times to the Persian. Moreover, the Assyrian forms differ from the Babylonian.

¹ *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, vol. xxii. (1908-9) pp. 368-370.

Lastly, in the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions we have *ideograms* mixed with *phonograms*. The same sign may often be read as a phonogram, *i.e.* having a syllabic equivalent, or as an ideogram, expressing a word or conception. Thus the sign or phonogram for the syllable *an* may also be read as an ideogram to express the Semitic Assyrian word for God, *ilu*. Moreover, many phonograms possess respectively several different syllabic values. Thus the same sign stands for *shad* and for *mat*; for *har* and for *mur*; for *bi* and for *gash*, etc. It is only extended acquaintance with inscriptions (or the discovery of fresh syllabaries) that can eventually determine the correct reading. I can well remember that in early text-books the cuneiform signs which expressed the name of the Assyrian king Rammân-nirâri were read Iva-lush, Vul-lush, or Vul-nirari. Recently it has been proposed to read it Adad-nirâri (Winckler). We had to wait long before the Epic hero Izdubar or Gisdubar (some called him *Namrudu* or Nimrod) was finally, after Pinches' discovery, called Gilgamesh. These illustrations will show how the reading of cuneiform in the earlier stages would be liable to many misunderstandings. It is not surprising, therefore, that the new developing science of Assyriology, beset with many uncertainties, awakened in Germany considerable suspicion and even hostility. Even Dillmann, who was by no means inaccessible to any new light from archæology,² spoke sarcastically of the 'magic wand of Assyrian research.' This critical hostility found expression in a work published in 1876 by Alfred von Gutschmid, entitled: *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients: Die Assyriologie in Deutschland*. The work was ostensibly occasioned by the appearance of the fourth edition of Duncker's *History of Antiquity*, but it was in reality a polemic against the results set forth by Schrader, in which skilful use was made of some of the weak points to which reference has been made, and also of historical arguments which are manifestly baseless. In some aspects it might be characterized as classical antiquity *versus* the data of Assyriology. To this attack, as well as previous criticisms, Schrader made a powerful and elaborate reply in 1878 in his *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, in which he demonstrated by copious citations of cuneiform texts (transcribed) the immense value of

² Each successive edition of his commentary on Genesis clearly shows this.

Assyriology and the clear light which it throws on not only the history but also the geography of Western Asia. Though his treatise was well-timed and fully maintained the scientific value of cuneiform studies, it is generally acknowledged by Assyriologists themselves¹ that considerable advantages have accrued to Assyriology as well as to historical research from this controversy. From this time onwards more caution and better philological method were employed in the advancement of Assyrian research.²

It is impossible within the limits of this memorial sketch to touch upon all the contributions made by Schrader to Assyriology and Biblical scholarship. One of the most interesting was his proposed identification of Hammurabi with the Biblical Amraphel in an important essay contributed in 1887 to the *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, of which the main portions are translated in the addenda to vol. ii. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. The value of this essay was immediately recognized by Professor Friedrich Delitzsch in his excursus appended to his father's *New Commentary on Genesis* (1887). Most Assyriologists have accepted Schrader's identification of Hammurabi with Amraphel. Fresh light has subsequently been thrown on the other names in Gn 14¹, notably on Arioch and Chedorlaomer. See Driver's *Commentary on Genesis*, introduction to chap. xiv., and p. 31 foll. in the addenda to the seventh edition.

The last important work in which Schrader took part was 'The Cuneiform Library' (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek) in six volumes, which he edited. A band of the ablest German Assyriologists, including not only Schrader himself, but also Winckler, Jensen, Bezold, Peiser, and Abel, contributed to this great undertaking. It contains the annals of the Assyrian kings from the earliest times to the close of the Empire, the Tell el-Amarna documents, the early Babylonian and new Babylonian inscriptions, the Babylonian Chronicle and the Cyrus clay

cylinder. All Old Testament scholars find this work an indispensable aid and storehouse for reference.

It is well known that a large number of English, Scotch, and American students frequented his class-room in Berlin—Americans and Scotchmen predominating. Professor A. R. S. Kennedy and Professor Gilroy were among them. Even the veteran Dr. Cairns, who in his crowded life found time to read through the *Qur'an* in Arabic, and studied Assyrian in his spare moments (*Life and Letters*, pp. 639, 680, 687, 709, etc.), listened to Schrader's lectures with delight, when he visited Berlin in 1890.

What has constantly impressed me was Schrader's reserve and caution, which sometimes appeared to me excessive. I urged him to write a brief sketch of Assyrian grammar as an addendum to vol. ii. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, but he steadfastly declined, assuring me that 'Das Paradigmawesen ist recht trügerisch.' His works reveal the same tendency. His conclusions were slowly formed and founded upon strictly inductive principles. It cannot be said that he was prone to theorize.

It is time to speak of Schrader as a personality, as well as teacher and writer. As I was engaged during 1883–1888 in translating his *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, I had constant intercourse by letter with him. Our correspondence was chiefly occupied with technical details connected directly or indirectly with the book, which I was anxious to bring up to the level of the most recent ascertained facts. But after 1886 matters of personal and domestic interest began to enter more fully into the letters that passed between us. In the autumn of that year Schrader visited England and spent a day with me in Cheshunt. It was then that I came to know him as a man of great personal charm. One trait which I specially noted was the kind and generous manner in which he spoke of all his 'Fachgenossen' or colleagues in Assyrian research. Of a drastic review written by a distinguished pupil of his own respecting the work of an English British Museum official, he observed that it was far too severe. I recollect also his beautiful reference to his wife. At the time when he was engaged in his controversy with Gutschmid (already described), he was in the habit of referring many of the more controversial passages in his *Keilinschriften und*

¹ Fritz Hommel, *Gesch. Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 145; Bezold in *Zeitsch. für Assyriologie*, vol. xxii. (1908–9), p. 360.

² Not only by Schrader himself in this latter respect, but also by his distinguished pupil and successor, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch. The French scholars Guyard and Pognon should also be mentioned.

Geschichtsforschung to the judgment of his wife, who caused him to delete or modify expressions which might occasion offence. In the years that followed his visit to Cheshunt, the Christmas season never passed without exchange of letters in which academic subjects of interest fell into the background and the personal and domestic took the foremost place. The death of his younger daughter, and the marriage of his eldest to Dr. Friedrich Cunze of Wolfenbüttel; his experiences at the Oriental Congress in Sweden, some of them enjoyable, some of them the reverse (yet without a trace of bitterness in the writer's allusions); his kindly sympathy with our English domestic events, notably with the sudden death of a student in Cheshunt College,—these are among the lights and shadows that are reflected in the many letters and post cards of my revered friend. They revealed the man as well as the scholar—simple, great, magnanimous, a lover of his home, a lover of his native Braunschweig, and faithful in his attachment to old friends.

The year 1895 marks the close of his active life. In that year, at the age of fifty-nine, he was visited by an apoplectic seizure. One side of his body was at first affected. He partially rallied and attempted to continue his work as a teacher, but this ceased at the earnest solicitation of his physician. Then the shadows gradually thickened around him during the remaining thirteen years of his life while his devoted wife watched over

him. His letters to me were now dictated, and the old familiar rapid handwriting, sometimes difficult to decipher, disappeared, save in the signature. He still maintained interest in the progress of scientific investigations in the Semitic world. At length, at the end of 1907, a pathetic note came to me from Frau Schrader, telling me that her husband's health was ever on the downward course ('immer weiter bergab'), and that the hours in which he was conscious were unspeakably sad. Her own health was giving way; her one desire was that her strength might still avail to be her husband's stay and support. Her beautiful life closed in May 1908. He followed her after a brief interval on July 3.

I can hardly close this review of Professor Schrader's life and work more fittingly than by adopting Professor Bezold's characterization as my own: 'He rendered distinguished services to the cause of science, and yet was conscious of the limits of his knowledge and power. Able, active, and modest; frank, steadfast, and absolutely honourable; full of deep enthusiasm for his scientific work and that of his pupils; contented and above all sunny and genial, there stands before our eyes Eberhard Schrader. We are grateful for his work. All honour to his memory!'¹

¹ I would here express my indebtedness to Pastor Eberhard Schrader for his interesting article on his father in the *Protestantenblatt*, No. 43, and the article by Dr. Friedrich Cunze in the *Braunschweiges Magazin*, October 1908.

In the Study.

Watching.

I.

The shepherds watching their flocks when Jesus was born (Lk 2⁸).

1. Out in the fields, perhaps not far distant from the little town of Bethlehem, shepherds were watching their flocks on the holy night of the Nativity. In those days, in the East, constant care was necessary to keep the charges from being carried off by thieves or wild beasts, as the sheep were kept either in the open pastures or in low enclosures called sheepfolds. Perhaps in this instance there was more than usual care, as the

sheep may have been those selected for the Temple sacrifices, and were thus in a measure looked upon as sacred.

As they sat watching the sheep, the shepherds may have whiled away the hours thinking of the Scriptures (perhaps the only writings they ever heard), an occupation natural to those reared among a religious people and brought into frequent touch with the sacrificing priests of the Jewish faith. Perhaps they were thinking of the ancient prophecies, and hoping that the fulness of time was drawing near when the long-expected Messiah was to come. Nor is it unlikely that they opened their hearts to one another, confiding their fears