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Now, freedom from sin is in union with Christ. The closer the union the greater the freedom. The more I am associated with Him the more I am like Him. I must be associated with Him in suffering—His sufferings as it were borne by me, as my sufferings are borne by Him. I must be associated with Him in death. I must die in the death he died: I feeling so keenly that my sin nailed Him to the tree that I am nailed to the tree with Him, nailed to the tree in Him, the nails which pierced His hands piercing mine, till I die in the death-cry with which he passed.

And then? Why, then I shall rise with Him. But that is so glorious that it is too much to boast of. It is too much to do more than faintly hope. For since the death I die in Christ is the death of sin, this resurrection from the dead is the emancipation from sin, it is the resurrection to the new and glorious life of sinless purity in Christ. 'If so be I may attain unto the resurrection from the dead.'

This is the point at which the expositors who have found so many perplexities already, find their greatest perplexity of all. For the apostle says suddenly: 'Not as though I had already obtained, or were now already perfect.' Obtained what? they ask, and they cannot find an answer. For he has been speaking, as it seems to them, of his future resurrection from the dead (about which, by the way, Paul never had any doubt, and would be ashamed to express a modest hope), and it is difficult to see why he should say he had not obtained that. Then looking down the page, they find him speak of a prize, and they think it must be that. So against all the connexion of thought, and all the rules of language, they project it into this verse. But the meaning is very simple. He has just expressed the modest hope that he may die unto sin and rise again into the glorious liberty of the sinless. Suddenly the thought occurs that the Philippians might think he is claiming the sinless state already. 'Not as though I had already reached it, or were now already perfect; but I press on.'

Oriental Archaeology at the Congress of Orientalists.

BY A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., PROFESSOR OF ASSYRIOLOGY, OXFORD.

MUCH that is new and interesting has been brought forward at the recent Congress of Orientalists in Paris. The Aryan section was unusually active and largely attended, and Dr. Schechter was present in the Semitic section, ready to give an account of the manuscript treasures he has brought from Cairo. Of these two sections, however, I can speak only at second-hand. Moreover, it was in the Assyrian and Egyptian sections that the newest and most startling announcements were made. During the past year or two excavation and research have been busy in the East, and light is being thrown at last on the early history of civilization in Western Asia.

Foremost in interest to students of the Old Testament is a discovery made by Dr. Scheil among the cuneiform tablets recently brought from

Sippara to the Museum at Constantinople. One of them contains the same text of the story of the Deluge as that which was found by George Smith. But whereas the copy of it which he discovered was made for the library of Nineveh in the seventh century B.C., the newly-found tablet of Sippara was written in the reign of Ammi-zadok, the fourth successor of Khammurabi or Amraphel in the age of Abraham. Even then the text was already old. The Babylonian copy contains the word *khibi* or 'lacuna,' indicating that some of the characters on the tablet from which it has been copied had been rendered illegible by age. For the origin of the text we are therefore referred to a period considerably earlier than the second millennium before the Christian era. As this text agrees with the supposed combination of the two documents, Elo-

histic and Yahvistic, which critics have discovered in the Book of Genesis, and not with either the 'Elohistic' or the 'Yahvistic' account of the Flood taken by itself, it is difficult to see, as Dr. Scheil remarked to me, how the documentary analysis of the Book of Genesis can be maintained. At anyrate, the discovery shows with what scrupulous care and exactitude the ancient texts were copied and preserved. From the days of Ammi-zadok to those of the library of Nineveh the text of the story of the Deluge, as it passed through edition after edition, underwent no change even in the form of a single word.

Dr. Scheil further informed us that he had found Khammurabi-il—'Khammurabi the god'—as the name of a private individual in a Babylonian contract of the Abrahamic time. This confirms Dr. Lindl's proposal to see in the biblical Amraphel a Babylonian Khammurabi-il or Ammirabi-il. The proposal is supported by the fact that Khammurabi or Ammirabi is entitled *ilu* or 'god' in contemporary documents. But there is also much to be said for an alternative hypothesis of Professor Hommel. The word *rabi* in proper names of the Khammurabi period is frequently written *ra-be*, the second character of which has, besides *be*, the phonetic value of *pil*; 'Amraphel' may therefore be due to a misreading of the cuneiform *Ammi-ra-be*, which was read by the biblical writer Ammirabil.

Another tablet examined by Dr. Scheil at Constantinople relates to a new Babylonian king, Tukulti-bil-nisi, and speaks of Akkad as a separate country. Dr. Scheil may be right in identifying Tukulti-bil-nisi with Kadasman-Buryas, the twenty-fifth king of the Kassite dynasty, since *kadasman* is the Kassite equivalent of *tukulti*, 'my trust,' and *buryas*, of *bil-nisi*, 'lord of mankind.'

Some of the results of the most recent discoveries of M. de Sarzec at Telloh formed the subject of a paper by M. Thureau Dangin. Numerous contracts have been found, dated in the reigns of Sargon of Akkad and his son Narâm-Sin, in several of which references are made to the campaigns of Sargon in Palestine. The ancient Babylonian monarch, whom 'criticism' so recently banished to the land of myth, has thus stepped forward into the full light of history, and the historical character of his annals has been fully vindicated. Already in B.C. 3800, Canaan, 'the land of the Amorites,' was a Babylonian province, enjoying

all the benefits of Babylonian culture and law. One of the documents deciphered by M. Dangin even tells us the name of the *khazannu* or 'governor' of this western province of the Babylonian empire. It is a sort of *cadastral* survey of the district of Lagas, the modern Telloh, stating the number of towns, temples, and *feddans* or acres contained in it, and mention is incidentally made of 'Uru-Malik, the governor of the Amorites.' The determinative of divinity is prefixed to the name of Malik, showing that Malik or Moloch was already worshipped in the west.

In the Egyptian section, attention was naturally drawn to the startling discoveries made during the past winter in Egypt by M.M. de Morgan and Amélineau. Here, too, the historical character of the early annals of the country, which criticism had called in doubt, has been fully vindicated. At Abydos, M. Amélineau has found the tombs of the first two dynasties of the united monarchy, while a royal tomb discovered by M. de Morgan at Negada, north of Thebes, may, as its discoverer believes, belong to one of the predecessors of Menes himself. M. Jéquier had already pointed out that one of the kings whose sepulchres have been disinterred at Abydos, is the first king of the second dynasty; in a paper read before the Oriental Congress, Dr. Sethe endeavoured to show that another of them is Usaphaes, the fifth king of the first dynasty. Unfortunately, most of the royal names inscribed on the funerary furniture are the 'banner' or '*ka*' names given to the sovereign after death; in only a few instances are the names added which were borne by him during life. These latter are enclosed within a picture of the battlemented wall of the palace, which we now know to have been the origin of the *cartouche*.

The names have been impressed upon clay by means of small seal-cylinders, which, except for the Egyptian hieroglyphs upon them, might have been made in Babylonia. The tombs, moreover, are constructed in the Babylonian fashion, and the curious Babylonian custom has been followed of partially burning their contents after interment. It is interesting to note that in the time of the first king of the second dynasty the idea of divinity was denoted, as in Babylonia, by a star, and not, as in the later days of Egyptian writing, by the picture of an axe.

The culture of the ruling class was already high. In the royal tomb at Negada, M. de Morgan has

discovered exquisitely carved ivories, one of them representing a dog. The same tomb yielded shells from the Red Sea, and vases of obsidian, which seem to imply intercourse with the Ægean. At all events, the island of Santorin is the nearest source to Egypt of obsidian that is at present known.

A paper, however, by Professor Naville, on the allusion to the Israelites on the Stela of Meneptah, discovered by Professor Petrie, will be of more interest to biblical scholars than even these early monuments of human civilization. Sufficient time has now elapsed since the discovery of the Stela to allow of the reading and translation of the passage in question being thoroughly examined, and Professor Naville has brought to bear upon it his cautious scholarship and long experience as a translator. The rendering he gives may therefore be accepted unconditionally. It is as follows:—

‘Khetia is at peace; Canaan is in bondage to every evil; (for) Ashkelon is led away captive by Gezer, (and) Jamnia no longer exists; the Israelites are annihilated, no posterity is left to them. Syria is like the widows of Egypt, all lands without exception are at peace; for whoever moved has been punished by king Meneptah.’

Professor Naville explains that Khar, which he translates ‘Syria,’ is really Southern Palestine, the ‘Hinterland’ of the Philistine coast. He thus agrees with Maspero, W. Max Müller, and other Egyptologists in seeing in it the land of the biblical Horites. Canaan he would make the Shephelah or coastland. Innuam he identifies with Jamnia, which he does not consider to be the same as Jabneh or Jabneel (Jos 15¹¹), but which he

finds in the Hebrew יָמָא, ‘seaward.’ This he holds to be a corrupt reading, basing his view on the fact that some MSS. of the Septuagint have *Γεμνά* or *Γεμνάτ*. With this part of his argument, however, I am unable to agree, since the Innuam or Inuama of the Egyptian texts must be the Yinuamma of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (*Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, 43, 8), which is placed in Cœle-Syria. If we are obliged to look for a strictly geographical order of names in the hymn to Meneptah, we shall have to suppose that there were two cities of the same name, one in Cœle-Syria, the other in the south of Palestine.

Professor Naville’s translation shows that no Egyptian invasion or conquest of Palestine is referred to in the hymn, but merely that the internal anarchy of Canaan was such as to give Egypt no cause for apprehension on that side. Its cities were fighting one against the other, just as they had done in the time of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence. So far as the foreign relations of the Pharaoh were concerned, all was tranquil, and Egypt was no longer in danger of attack. Its enemies abroad were engaged in civil war; its enemies within had been annihilated. It was, as Professor Naville remarks, the Egyptian version of the Exodus, and he adds that in the opinion of the author of the hymn, ‘the Israelites were already in the desert, on their way to the Promised Land. Even admitting that they were not forty years on the road, their course could not have been rapid. For the Egyptians they no longer existed, they had disappeared into the desert, and had left behind them no posterity.’

The Expository Times Guild of Bible Study.

THE subjects of study chosen for session 1897–98 are, in the Old Testament, the Book of Judges, and in the New, the Epistle to the Philippians. The Book of Judges presents difficult problems for the student of the history and literature of the Old Testament, but what a table it spreads for the preacher! And as for the Philippians, is it not Bishop Lightfoot who says that it stands to the Epistle to the Galatians as the building itself stands to the buttresses that support it?

The conditions of membership in THE EXPOSI-

TORY TIMES Guild of Bible Study are simple. Whoever undertakes to study (that is to say, not merely to read, but more or less carefully, and with the aid of some commentary or a concordance at least, to study), either the Book of Judges or the Epistle to the Philippians, or both, between the months of November 1897 and July 1898, and sends name (in full with degrees, and saying whether Rev., Mr., Mrs., or Miss) and address to the Editor of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES at Kinneff, Bervie, Scotland, is thereby enrolled in the mem-