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In reading this discourse one seems to come repeatedly upon the shadow of Iscariot. Christ displays a certain sensitiveness and insistence in regard to His Sonship, as though He were still chafed by that question, 'If thou be the Son of God.' He reiterates His own name for Himself 'the Son of Man,' and adds 'him the Father, even God, hath sealed' (v.[27]). The voice at the Jordan, silenced or at least contradicted by the Tempter, was surely in Christ's mind when He spoke of this 'sealing' process. And in v.[42] the doubt embodied in the hypothetical 'if' becomes concrete and stringent—'Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" Again, the reference to the manna in v.[31] is evidently an echo of Dt 8[3], a passage to which Christ had already betaken Himself in His controversy with Judas the Tempter—'man doth not live by bread only.' The traitor himself appears and reappears in this sixth chapter of John's Gospel, a transient but ominous silhouette: for instance, does not v.[39] contain an anticipation of 17[12]? 'This is the will of him that sent me, that of all that which he hath given me I should lose nothing' —'Holy Father, . . . I kept them . . . which thou hast given me . . . and not one of them perished but the son of Perdition' *ἀπωλεία* (loss). Finally, observe how the Evangelist, in his compilation of this chapter, is obsessed by the thought of Iscariot's treachery—v.[64], 'Jesus knew *from the beginning* . . . who it was that should betray him'; and v.[71], 'now he spake of Judas the son of Simon Iscariot, for he it was that should betray him, being one of the twelve.'

An examination of chap. 5 shows how prominent the idea of Christ's Divine Sonship has become in the mind of the narrator at this stage. Christ's claim to be the Son of God is now the chief count in the indictment laid against Him by the Jews (5[18]). The expression 'my Father,' or 'the Father,' occurs no less than fourteen times in Christ's reported speech within the compass of this one chapter, and nine times does He designate Himself 'the Son.' Even more significant is His appeal (v.[33]) to John Baptist's testimony, and His allusions to the incidents which had transpired at the Jordan. 'Ye have neither heard his (the Father's) voice at any time, nor seen his form' (v.[37]); cf. Lk 3[22], *σωματικῷ εἴδει . . . καὶ φωνὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*. This denial of His Divine Sonship was in Christ's memory when He sat down with Judas and the other disciples, to talk about the murdered Baptist. It was then that He exposed the character of Judas in veiled language which none but Judas himself, at the time, could comprehend. For Judas, prior to his enrolment among the disciples, had followed Christ from Jordan and plied Him with worldly promptings. The scepticism, the malignant selfishness of Judas were gathering force, instead of dying away, in Christ's society. They were a Satanic burden to Christ. Would the man take warning? Would he not relent when he saw what had befallen the Baptist and what a storm of opposition was rising against Christ? Christ appealed to him as they sat there on the hilltop; but Judas, after some little hesitation, made his choice, and now his fellow-disciple who was in the secret of Christ's love writes out the traitor's name—its first appearance on the page of John's Gospel—Judas Diabolos.[1]

[1] Cf. Christ's rebuke to Peter, *ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, Σατανᾶ*, Mt 16[23], Mk 8[33], with Mt 4[10].

Recent Biblical Archaeology.

A BABYLONIAN TOURIST OF THE ABRAHAMIC AGE AND HIS MAP OF THE WORLD.

By A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.

The twenty-second volume of *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, recently published by the Trustees of the Museum, contains in Plate 48 a document of the most curious and interesting character, which had already been published in a less correct form by Dr. Peiser in the *Z.A.* iv. pp. 361–70. This is an early Babylonian tourist's description of the world, with an accompanying map, as it was known (or supposed to be known) to him. In the Descriptive Index of the Plates the work is said to belong to 'the late Babylonian period'; this, however, is a mistake, as

the colophon states that it was copied in the Neo-Babylonian age from an 'ancient' document. It is at least as old as the Khammurabi period; possibly a good deal older, since no mention is made in it of Amurrû, the land of the Amorites in Syria and Palestine, which was known to the Babylonians as far back as the time of Sargon of Akkad (3800 B.C.). Nor is Susa named, though this city also formed part of the empire of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin. On the other hand, Babylon—under its primitive name of Din-Tir, or rather Tir-Din—occupies a position near the centre or omphalos of the world, and is already the capital of Babylonia, while its patron-god Merodach is the creator of the monsters of the sea. Sargon, too, has become a hero of the past.

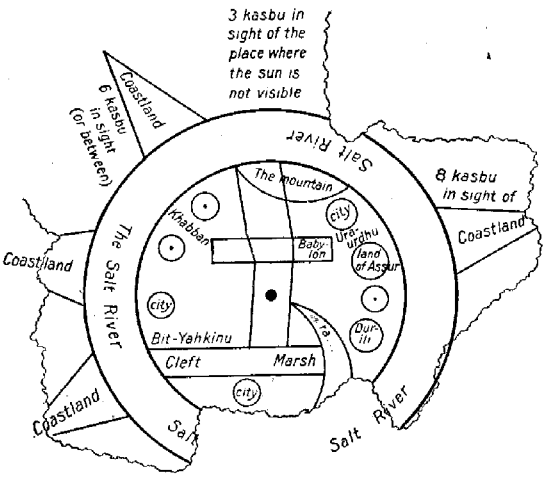
Perhaps an apology is needed for introducing what may seem to be a purely archæological subject into the pages of a theological periodical, but it will be seen from the translation that the document has a bearing upon the geography of the Garden of Eden, and is therefore of interest to students of the Old Testament. Unfortunately, the tablet is much broken, which adds considerably to the difficulty of translating it. Some of the lost words and sentences, however, can be restored.

Only the concluding paragraph of the Obverse is preserved, along with the map of the world. What is left of the paragraph reads as follows:—

. . . . . cities *aptu*[*tu*] . . . . .
[the creatures ?] which they catch (?)[1] [which] Merodach in the se[a created]
. . . . . and the gods *aptutu* who [dwell] in the midst of the sea;
[on] its [shore ?] they are set, and in the water the great serpent in the midst of the deep makes [war];
[wild] beasts, (namely) the gazelle, the *ab-šašû*, the leopard, the *ki-ša*[*šû*],
the lion, the hyæna, the ram and cattle (?),
. . ., the hippopotamus (?), the *tasmu*, the *suranu*, the breed of Babylon, . . .
. . . . the creatures which Merodach created upon the tossing sea,
[where dwell] the deified Utu-napistim, Sargon and Nur-Dagan the kings, at the mouth [of the rivers]
[which like] the beak of a bird are situated, and no one has penetrated within them.

[1] *Ibarrâ*, which could come either from *bâ'ru*, 'to catch fish,' *bârû*, 'to be numerous,' or *bârû*, 'to see.' The last root, however, would not seem to give any sense here. Perhaps 'which are numerous' is best.

MAP OF THE WORLD.



The commencement of the Reverse is lost. Then we read:

[To the second Coastland] is a journey of 7 *kas*[*bu*] . . .
. . . . . it ends (?) below . . .

[To the thi]rd Coastland is a journey of 7 *kas*[*bu*] . . .
Winged [bi]rds cannot fly over [it].

[To the] fourth Coastland is a journey of 7 *kas*[*bu*] . . .
[The men there are] strong and mighty, and there is no old age, and the skin is . .[2]

[To the] fifth Coastland is a journey of 7 *kasbu* . . .
[Here] the flood of the river rises to 60 fingers . . .
the length of its channel amounts to . . *asli* . . .
[the place where] its water stop[s] is not seen . . .
[This river] we ascended in it.
[Afterwards there is] a journey of 7 [*kasbu*] . . .
[to a place from which there is n]o exit and no [return] . . .
[there the boatmen] crossed its [waters until they came]

[2] The word is perhaps *ru*[*tessu*], 'silky.'

[to a Coa]stland [distant] a journey of . . [*kasbu*],
[where away ?] from me they [departed ?].

[To the sixth] Coastland is a journey of [7 *kasbu*] . . .
[where] the horned bulls are placed; [here] they gallop and cross the mountains.

To the seventh Coastland is a journey of 7 *kasbu*; [here]
. . . . . at the appearance of dawn (?) in its *khanduri* they . . .

[This is a description] of the four quarters of the world which . . .
[and what is beyond the ocean-stream ?], but within them no one has penetrated.

[The work entitled . . .], like its ancient original, written and published
[by] . . . the son of Itstsuru in honour of Bel the lord of the god[s].

The copy has been carelessly made, however: *nat* has been omitted after *sak* in Obv. 11, and *ru* after *i-bi* in Rev. 22, while in Rev. 6 *na-du-u* is written instead of *na-gu-u*.

In Obv. 2 and 4, the meaning of *aptutu* is unknown to me. It is a plural adj. from *aptu*, which obviously has no connexion with *abâtu*, 'to destroy.'

5. *Muskhus-gal*, 'the great serpent,' was the ancestor of the modern sea-serpent; cp. Is xxvii. 1. The line seems to end with *yu-gir-*[*ri*], 'he is hostile.'

6. *Ab-šašû* and *ki-šašû* are compounds of the Sumerian *ab* and *ki*, 'sea' and 'land.'

7. *Lulim*[*mu*] is usually identified with the 'ram,' whether correctly, I am not sure. The last word in the line is probably *bu-u-*[*kha-lu*].

8. Since a *pagutu*, or *pagitu*, was sent to Assyria by the Egyptian king along with a crocodile, the word may mean a hippopotamus.

10. The ancient king, Nur-Dagan, is otherwise unknown. As his name follows that of Sargon of Akkad, we may assume that he lived at a later date than the latter. The fact that Sargon has already become a hero translated to the Island of the Blest shows that the narrative could not have been composed in his reign, nor, indeed, in his age. Only Utu-napistim, the hero of the Deluge, is called 'deified.' In the Epic of Gilgames, Utu-napistim and his wife are similarly said to have been carried away by Bel to 'dwell afar off at the mouth of the rivers.'

11. The *appi itstsuri*, or 'beak of a bird,' is explained by the map, where a branch of the 'Salt River' or ocean-deep beyond the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates has the shape of a bird's beak. The last word in the line (and in Rev. 26) is *it-*[*ba*].

Rev. 4. The word *nagû*, which is borrowed from the Sumerian *nanga*, signifies 'a coastland,' and corresponds with the Heb. אי. The map shows that the 7 *nagê* were supposed to rise up like cones on the further side of encircling ocean. This explains the passage in the Story of the Deluge, which has been hitherto misunderstood: 'At a distance of 12 (*kasbu*) rose a Coastland (*ana* xii. TA *ân itelâ nagû*); at the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship.' This mountain of Nizir is called 'the mountain' in the map, and was the hither side of the ocean-stream; on the further side of the ocean, at a distance of 12 *kasbu*, according to the Deluge story, rose the northern *nagû* or Coastland, behind which the sun became invisible.

The literal translation of the lines introducing each of the 7 *nagê* is 'to the (2nd) Coastland (is) where there is a journey of (7) *kasbu*.'

7. The first word of the line is [*its-tsu-*]*ru*; the last is *yu-sal-la-*[*lu*], from *salâlu*, 'to float.'

9. The first word is probably [*iq-*]*du*. *Parsigtum*, 'old age'—a word of Sumerian origin—is more usually written *parsumtum*.

12. The word preceding *zinu*, 'channel' or 'drain,' is *tul*, probably for *ṭul*. According to Oppert, the *aslu* (Aramaic אשלא) contained 60 cubits.

13. The first word is [*e-*]*mi-du*.

16. Read [*la-*]*a a-tsi-ma la-*[*a ta-a-ri*].

19. Here we should probably read [*istu*] *eli*, 'away from.'

22. The first word is *i-la-aš-šu-mu*, 'they gallop.'

24. The signification of *khanduri* is unknown. *Sehru* may be a variant spelling of *se'ru*, 'dawn.'

That the description of the world purports to be derived from the personal explorations of the writer is clear from the account of the fifth Coastland, the only one which is described in detail.

The lost portion of the Obverse would have contained his account of the *terra cognita*, that part of the world which was surrounded by the ocean-river. Where the tablet becomes legible we are on the shores of the great deep, that is to say, of the Persian Gulf, near the 'mouths of the rivers' Tigris and Euphrates, beyond which lay the Island of the Blest. Here the rivers run into the land in the shape of a bird's beak, and no living man has penetrated beyond them and returned to tell the tale. Even Gilgames, though of divine origin, only saw Utu-napistim 'afar off.'

With his arrival on the shores of the ocean, or 'deep,' the first part of the writer's narrative is finished, and a map of the world is accordingly introduced in order to illustrate the course of the ocean-stream and the position of the seven mythical *nagê* on its further shores. This circumambient ocean, which encircles the earth 'like a snake,' and was the origin of the Greek conception of the circumambient Oceanos, and of the mediæval maps which were based upon it, is called the Nâru Marratum, 'the Bitter' or 'Salt River,' a name properly applied to the Persian Gulf. Owing to its refluent action, the Persian Gulf was regarded as a river which flowed from south to north in two different directions,—hence the Merathaim or 'Twin Marratu' of Jer 50^{21},—and as being the ocean-deep, was the source from which all the rivers of the earth were derived.

The origin of the belief in the circumambient ocean is not difficult to understand. At an early date the Babylonians had become acquainted with the Mediterranean, or 'Sea of the Setting Sun,' in the west, as well as with the 'Upper Sea,' or Lake Van, beyond the mountains of Ararat, in the north, and it is possible that stories of the existence of the Black Sea had made their way to the Assyro-Babylonian colonies near Kaisariyeh in Cappadocia. Lake Urumiya was also known, east of Armenia. As has been shown by M. de Morgan, the Persian Gulf at the time curved inland, far to the north on the eastern side of the Babylonian plain. Hence the Babylonian map-maker would have found what seemed portions of the same 'salt' sea surrounding the known world on all its four sides, and in the absence of geographical explorations which would have made it clear that the various 'salt' seas were really cut off from one another by intervening land, it was natural to conclude that they all formed parts of one continuous 'salt river' which surrounded the whole earth.[1] The *nagê*, or 'Coastlands,' admit of an equally easy explanation. Beyond the Mediterranean the Babylonian traveller had seen Cyprus rising up on the horizon like a cone; and Sargon of Akkad, according to his annals, had even 'caused the spoil of Syria to cross [the sea] in the lands of the (western) sea.'[2] Beyond the Amanus mountains, from which the priest-kings of Lagas brought beams of cedar for their temples and palaces, rose the Cilician coast, on the other side of the gulf of Antioch; beyond the lakes of Van and Urumiya other shores were visible; and such was also the case beyond the Gulf of Suez, and the north-eastern extension of the Persian Gulf. The words 'in sight of,' in the map, signify the distance 'between' one *nagû* and another.

Only one of these 'Coastlands' had been visited by the traveller himself, or indeed by mortal man. This was the fifth. Since the enumeration of the *nagê* starts from the Island of the Blest 'at the mouth of the rivers,' and since this part of the ocean is represented on the map by a figure like a bird's beak, the list of Coastlands must begin at the south of the map. Hence the fourth *nagû* will be that to the N.-E., opposite 'the mountain' of Nizir; and the fifth will be the Cilician coast, opposite Khabban, an unknown geographical name, which may be an old mode of spelling Khaman or Amanus. Assur-bani-pal speaks of conquering Amanus 'and its Coastland' (*adi nagi-su*). 'The place from which there is no exit' would be the head of the Gulf of Antioch. According to the usual computation, 7 *kasbu* would be about 28 miles, which agrees with the average breadth of the gulf.[3] As this was the only part of 'the Salt River' the breadth of which was tested by the writer through personal exploration, he assumes that the ocean-stream had the same width everywhere else, and the distance from the hither bank to each *nagû* is accordingly always the same. The third *nagû*, so lofty that no birds can fly over it,

[1] The map-makers of the last century discovered a continuous line of continent in the Antarctic regions in a similar way.

[2] [*Tamta*] *qat-šu šallat-šunu ina mâti tamti yusebira.*

[3] The rise of 'the flood' in the lowlands at the mouth of the Pyramus, it would seem, was 5 metres (60 *tsubbân*, or 'fingers'). If Jensen is right in identifying the Urśu of Gudea with Arsus on the Gulf of Antioch, one of the two unnamed cities on either side of Khabban might be Urśu.

will be the mountains of Sahend, on the east side of Lake Urumiya, since it is in the latitude of Ararat and Assyria. The third *nagû*, in the latitude of Dur-ili, would be the mountain range behind Susa. Cyprus corresponds with the sixth *nagû*, with its great bulls, whose horned heads are such a favourite device on early Cypriote seal-cylinders; the seventh *nagû* will be the Egyptian coast, or, less probably, the Sinaitic Peninsula. It is interesting to find the land where there is no old age already located in the fourth *nagû* in the far north; we have here the starting-point of the story of the 'ageless' Hyperboreans.[1]

To turn now to the map. The geography of Southern Babylonia agrees with that of the map of early Babylonia compiled by M. de Morgan from soundings at the head of the Persian Gulf and a critical examination of the growth of the silt. The Tigris and Euphrates fall into a channel which is called the Marsh (*apparu*) at its eastern end, and 'the Cleft' (*bitqu*) at its western end. It was on the edge of this Cleft that Eridu stood, as well as the Aramæan settlement of Bit-Yaḫkin, *i.e.* בית־יעכן, corrupted into Bit-Yakin in later days. South of this came a long, low tract of land, intersected by channels communicating between the inner channel and the gulf, and called (like the adjoining Arabian coast) Nituk and Dilmun by the Babylonians. The 'city' marked upon it was doubtless Dilmun. The 'bird's beak' was an inlet of the sea, along which the southern course of the Tigris now runs, and opening out into the Island of the Blest, to which Utu-napistim had been translated. East of it was the frontier fortress of Dur-ili; north of this is an unnamed city, which may be Opis, but is perhaps intended for Susa, though, if so, Susa has been moved a long way out of its proper position. Northward again is Assur, that is to say, the city of Assur, where, however, the copyist has erroneously inserted the ideograph of 'country' inside the circle which denotes a city. Above this is Ura-Urdhu, *i.e.* Urardhu, or Ararat. The name is so written as to give the author's idea of the etymology of Urardhu. The ideographs BUR-BUR[-KI] signified 'the Upper Country'; and we are told, therefore, that when they denoted northern Babylonia, or Akkad, they were pronounced Uri or Ura; when they denoted Armenia they were pronounced Urdhu (rendered Tilla in Semitic Babylonia); and when the land of the Amorites (Palestine) was meant, the pronunciation was Ar, that is, the Heb. הר. The Sumerian *ura*, *uri* (also *wur*, written *bur*), was a dialectal form of *ar*, *arra*, *arri*, 'highlands,' of which the Semitic equivalent is given as *nâdu*, the Nod of Gn 4^{16}; and from *ar* the Amorite-Hebrew הר was borrowed, with initial ה, as in היכל, from Sum. *ê-gal*, *êkal*. Urdhu is found in the Vannic inscriptions as a native name of the Armenian plateau, and the author of the map has accordingly resolved the twofold BUR-BUR into Ura-urdhu, and so obtained his etymology of Ararat. The unnamed city north of Ura-urdhu will be the chief proto-Armenian city of his age, which was built near the foot of Mount Nizir. Two more unnamed cities are marked north and south of Khabban in the Amanus region; and, finally, another 'city' is recorded in the land of the Amorites, the name of which is unfortunately not stated. Its position would agree with that of Uru-Śalim, or Jerusalem, 'the city of Śalim.'

Babylon lies north of the omphalos or centre of the earth, indicating that the Babylonian system of geography originated before it became the leading city of the country; but it is placed on the west bank of the Tigris instead of the Euphrates. This error may be due to the copyist, who has shown himself otherwise careless. The Tigris and Euphrates are intersected by two canals, the southern of which may be represented by the Shatt el-Ḥai, and the northern by the Nahr em-Melik. It will be observed that both the Tigris and Euphrates are not only made to flow from the foot of the mountain of Nizir, but are also derived from the ocean-stream, that is to say, from the lake of Van. Hence the two rivers were regarded as like the *amphisbæna*, 'with two heads,' and the 'Salt River' could be described as 'parted into heads.' The 'Cleft' corresponds with the Pison of Genesis; there is nothing, however, to answer to the Gihon, unless it be the 'Bird's Beak.' The geography of Gn 2^{10-14}, in fact, belongs to a later and more accurate system than that of the map, though the general ideas on which they are based are in each case the same.

The most interesting point about the old Babylonian work I have been describing is that it is an

[1] First heard of in Hesiod. The mountain of Nizir, on which the ark rested, will thus be Jebel Judi, in accordance with native tradition (see *J.R.A.S.* xiv. p. 393), and the modern Mount Ararat will be the 'Coastland' in which the Hyperboreans lived.

attempt to give the personal exploring experiences of the writer, who may therefore be called the first of tourists. In a sense he is also the forerunner of Sinbad the Sailor; but whereas Sinbad would have visited and described all the semi-mythical 'Coast-lands,' the Babylonian tourist was contented to describe only that one which he had actually seen himself, simply repeating about the others the stories that were already current concerning them.

At the Literary Table.

THE CONTROVERSY WITH ROME.

HANDBOOK TO THE CONTROVERSY WITH ROME. By Karl von Hase. Edited with Notes by A. W. Streane, D.D. (*Religious Tract Society.* 2 vols. 21s.)

IN the year 1862 Karl August von Hase published his *Handbuch der Protestantischen Polemik gegen die Römisch-Katholische Kirche.* He was then in his sixty-second year, having been born at Steinbach, in Saxony, in 1800. He had already published a System of Doctrine in 1825, a Compendium of Evangelical Dogmatics in 1826, a Life of Jesus in 1829, a Church History in 1834, and a Life of St. Francis in 1856. He died in 1890. The centenary of his birth was celebrated at Jena in 1900.

His Handbook of Controversial Theology has gone through seven editions, the fifth appearing the year of his death. At last it is translated into English. If it had been translated sooner it would have played a part in the controversy about Ritual. That controversy is not over, but it has gone beyond the influence of von Hase and of handbooks.

The controversy with Rome, however, is with us always. It is with the High Churchman as it is with the Low. For although the former has long repudiated the name of Protestant, his controversy with Rome remains. The High Churchman will strongly resent von Hase's use of the word 'Catholic,' as though it were equivalent to 'Roman Catholic,' and will scorn the arguments by which he seeks to justify that application. He will also find himself out of touch with the great Protestant theologian on many points of doctrine and of ritual. But his controversy with Rome remains. As the issues narrow it becomes all the more incisive. And he too will accept this book as a great ally in the conflict.

The evangelical Low Churchman, the man who is not yet ashamed of the name of Protestant, will find von Hase altogether after his own heart. Von Hase was a great man, and he lifts controversy, even ecclesiastical controversy, to a very high level. As we read and rise with him, we feel as though we were leaving behind us all controversy with man, and had simply become spokesmen for God.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN. The Greek text, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D. (*Macmillan.* 15s.)

A Commentary on the Apocalypse is nothing. We receive Commentaries on the Apocalypse every publishers' season, and we have no room where to bestow such goods. But a Commentary on the Apocalypse by Professor Swete is an event of a lifetime. We have waited for this Commentary with expectation since the day upon which we first heard that Professor Swete had undertaken it. And now that it has come our utmost expectation has been realized. The scholarship, the breadth of outlook and command of principle, the courage and sanity pervading the whole book, make up such a commentary as we had scarcely hoped to see even from Professor Swete.

In the Introduction the three matters of most importance are the Unity, the Authorship, and the Method of Interpretation. These are three out of eighteen essays which the Introduction contains, but they are enough for our present purpose.

First, then, about the Unity. The Apocalypse creates a *primâ facie* impression that it proceeds from one author or editor. Lists of phrases and ideas are given, first as between the earliest chapters and the latest, and next as between these