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men of the existence of redness makes my present loss of perception of not the least value as evidence. Disbelief crept over me at a very slow rate, but was at last complete. The rate was so slow that I felt no distress.

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## The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis.

BY PROFESSOR THE REV. A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LITT., OXFORD.

### Genesis i. 14-30.

**14. The Heavenly Bodies.**—The night had already been distinguished from the day on the first day (v.<sup>5</sup>), but in the Assyrian Epic the heavenly bodies were not set apart to mark the seasons until after the creation of the firmament and the earth with the existing seas, and accordingly the Biblical narrative introduces their creation here on the fourth day, in spite of the inconsistency it involved. The fifth tablet of the Epic begins as follows:—

(Merodach) fashioned the stations of the great gods, he fixed the stars that corresponded with them, called the *lumasi*.

He fixed the year, setting apart the Zodiacal signs; twelve months he defined, each with its three stars, from the day when the year begins to the end. He founded the station of Jupiter that they might know their laws.

That they might not sin or go astray any one of them, he established the station of Bel and Ea along with it. He opened doors on the two sides (of the house of the sky), making fast the bolts on the left side and the right. In its centre he placed the zenith, bidding the Moon-god shine and rule the night.

He made him also a creature of the night to make known the days;  
 month by month without fail he gave him a crown;  
 at the beginning of the month as it dawns upon the earth  
 the horns shine to make known the seasons:  
 on the seventh day the crown he . . .

The heavenly bodies were themselves deities in Babylonian belief, and therefore had existed as long as the creator, Merodach, himself. All the creator could do was to give them laws and make them regulators of time. Their divine character is implicitly denied in the Hebrew narrative which makes God create as well as appoint them to their duties. As, however, it retains the place assigned by the Epic to the appointment in the order of the creation, an inconsistency is occasioned with vv.<sup>3-5</sup>, which shows that the Hebrew writer had before him either the Epic or the materials out of which it was composed. Otherwise the appointment of the heavenly bodies to their duties would have been inserted in its natural place.

**Signs.**—Babylonia was the first home of astrology, and the earliest astronomical observations

made there were for the purpose of discovering of what events the movements of the heavenly bodies were 'signs.' The great astrological work in seventy-two books, which was ascribed to Bel, and was translated into Greek by Berossus, went back to the early days of Semitic supremacy in the country. Hence in enumerating the objects for which the heavenly bodies were appointed, the first object the Babylonian would have mentioned would have been that they were for 'signs.' The fact that in the Epic no direct reference is made to this, may indicate that it was not the Epic, but an earlier cosmological poem which lay before the Hebrew writer. The Hebrew **אָוֹר, אֹר**, is borrowed from the Babylonian technical term *ittu*, which is derived from *âtû*, 'to see.' **מוֹעֵד** is another early example of Babylonian influence, the verb **יָעַד**, from which it is formed, being the Assyrian *wâddû*, which is used in the technical sense of 'fixing' a season, as in the passage quoted above from the Epic, where 'he fixed the year' is *uaddi satta*. According to Zimmern, **מוֹעֵד** is equivalent to the Assyrian *adanni*. Like astrology, the calendar of Western Asia also owed its origin to the Babylonians.

**16.** A reminiscence of Babylonian polytheism has been allowed to remain in this verse, the sun and moon being said to 'rule over' the day and night. Similarly, in the Epic, Merodach is stated to have appointed the Moon-god to 'rule the night.' As Merodach was himself the Sun-god, he was not able to do the same in the case of the sun; but in the older Babylonian cosmologies, in which the creator was either Ea or Bel of Nippur, the sun, as well as the moon, was doubtless appointed to his work.

It is noticeable that the names of the 'sun' and 'moon' are avoided, since these were also names of deities. For the same reason none of the stars is specified, not even the evening-star, which, as Istar, occupied among the Babylonians an equal place in the heavens with the sun and moon. In the eyes of the Biblical writer they were all 'lights,' not deities, and were 'made' by God. The Babylonian order of succession, however, is followed, the sun preceding the moon, although among the Hebrews the year was lunar, and time was counted from evening to evening. See note on v.<sup>5</sup>.

**17.** 'To give light.' This verse is incompatible with the statement that light had been created on

the first day. But it closely follows the order of events as given in the Epic, where the stars are first appointed to mark the seasons, and the Moon-god is then bidden to 'shine and rule the night.'

**18.** 'Day and night' instead of 'night and day,' again, refers us to Babylonia and the solar year. The division between light and darkness had already been made on the first day, according to v.<sup>4</sup>.

**20.** **שָׂרֵץ**, *sherez*, corresponds with the Assyrian *nammastu* (which may be the Heb. **רָמֵשׂ**, *remes*), **נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה**, *nephesh hayyah*, with *siknat napisti*. The portion of the Assyrian Epic which described the creation of the animals has not yet been recovered. In the Sumerian poem there is no reference to the fish and birds.

**21.** The firmament and the heavenly bodies which were divinities and the results of evolution in the Babylonian system were, it will be observed, 'made'; the fish and birds were 'created.'

**22. The Blessing** is taken from that pronounced upon man in v.<sup>28</sup>. No blessing is pronounced upon the land animals, since they were included in the creation of man. In the sixth tablet of the Assyrian Epic (where Ea, it must be remembered, and not Merodach, was originally the creator) man was similarly blessed and instructed in the path that he should follow. He had been created, it is said, in order to worship the gods, to build temples in their honour and offer them the sacrifices they required.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the lower animals had been created for much the same purpose—that the altar of the gods might never be without its victim.

**23. The Seas** only are mentioned, and not the rivers also, as would have been the case in Babylonia, since in Palestine the rivers were mere summer torrents which were not fished. For another indication that the chapter was written in Palestine, see v.<sup>11</sup>.

**24.** That the earth should be said to have brought forth the lower animals, as it had brought forth the seed-bearing plants, is a reminiscence of

<sup>1</sup> The actual words of Merodach are (in Mr. King's translation):

'My blood will I take, and bone will I [fashion],

I will make man, that man may . . .

I will create man who shall inhabit [the earth],

That the service of the gods may be established, and [that] their shrines [may be built].'

Here the Assyrian *amelu* corresponds with the Heb. *adam*.

polytheism, and must be due to its having formed too integral a part of the Assyro-Babylonian prototype to be disregarded. But it is instantly corrected in the next verse, where the animals are stated to have been 'made'—not 'created'—by God, like the firmament and the heavenly bodies. The Earth-goddess was known to the Babylonians just as she was to the peoples of Asia Minor, and all living things were believed to have 'come forth' from her bosom. At Eridu she was called Damkina, 'the lady of the earth,' and was made the mother and wife of the demiurge Ea; elsewhere she was identified with Gula, or Istar, who had 'borne' mankind. She appears in the Sumerian cosmological poem under the name of Aruru, who is said to have 'made the seed of mankind' along with the demiurge, mankind being here regarded as sprung from the seed in the soil like the plants. In the Khammu-rabi age the name of the goddess Irtsitum, or the Earth, enters into the composition of a good many West Semitic names, indicating that she was extensively worshipped. The phrase תִּיְהוּ־אָרֶץ, which is shown by the retention of the case suffix to be an old one, must go back to this period, *Erez* being employed in it as a proper name without the article, like *Tehom* in v.<sup>2</sup>. The Babylonian equivalent would be *siknat Irtsitim*. With נֶפֶשׁ תְּיָהּ, *nephesh hayyâh*, compare the Babylonian 'seed of life,' *zer napsâti*, which Utu-napisti was commanded to take into the ark. That primitive man should have believed that the animal creation was begotten by the earth-mother was natural; schoolboys still believe that horse-hairs in the puddles of the streets become worms, and the modern Egyptian that rats are born from the Nile mud at the time of the inundation.

25. The reminiscences of the Earth-goddess derived from the older literature are at once suppressed, and the animal creation is declared to have been 'made' by the One God. In place of 'the living soul' that 'sprang from the earth,' we now have 'the beast (*or* living thing) of the earth'; and in place of 'creeping thing and beast of Earth,' we have 'everything that creepeth upon the ground.' The Earth-goddess makes way for the ground that has been created by God and is tilled by man.

26. **Man.**—In all the Babylonian cosmologies the creation of man is the final act and object of the creator. It was in Semitic Babylonia, more-

over, that the gods were first conceived in human form. From the outset, the deities of the Babylonian Semites, in opposition to their Sumerian predecessors, were human; they were represented as men and women, living under a supreme lord, Bel or Baal, whose court resembled that of his vicegerent, the human king, on earth. Like men and women, too, they were born and died, were married and had children, while angel messengers carried their commands from heaven to earth. This conception of the gods in human form involved the converse belief that men were divine; they were, accordingly, held to have been made in the likeness of the gods—with the same physical features, and the same mental and moral attributes—and the king himself was deified.

The words אָדָם, '*âdham*, 'man,' and צֶלֶם, '*zelem*, 'image,' are both of Babylonian derivation. The Babylonians were skilled sculptors from an early period; their temples and palaces were adorned with the images of the gods and men, and the kings caused images of themselves to be carved on the rocks of conquered countries. The images of the gods which were made in the likeness of men were familiar to their eyes. דְּמוּת, '*dēmûth*, 'likeness,' is the West Semitic translation of the Babylonian צֶלֶם, '*zelem*, 'image,' and must originate in a gloss similar to the glosses which we find in the Tel el-Amarna tablets where the Canaanite or Hebrew equivalent is added to a Babylonian word. The upright wedge in the cuneiform, which serves to denote the equivalence, is here replaced by אַחֲרַי ('after'). We here, therefore, have an indication of a translation from a cuneiform original, which explains the pronoun 'our.' This is incompatible with the strict monotheism of the Hebrew writer, and the retention of such a relic of Babylonian polytheism can only be due to his quoting, when he came to the creation of man, the exact words of the Babylonian prototype. His wish to retain these may have resulted from the use of the word *adam* for 'man,' the employment of which in the description of the creation was too firmly fixed in literature to be displaced. The first 'man' was the Babylonian *adamu* (used for both singular and plural), not the West Semitic '*ish*.

The fish and birds come first in the enumeration, as they had been created first. 'Over the cattle and over all the earth' must be corrected into 'cattle and beast of the earth,' corresponding with

the Babylonian *bul tsiri* [*umam*] *tsiri*, 'cattle of the field (and) beast of the field,' which we find in a cosmological fragment (*D. T.* 41. 4). The polytheistic expression *הַיְהוָה אֱרֵץ* was a good reason for changing the text.

27. Man is both 'made' and 'created.' The distinction between *בָּרָא*, *bârâ*, and *עָשָׂה*, *ʿasâh*, corresponds with the distinction between the Assyrian *bânû* and *ep̄tsu*, both of which are similarly used in the Semitic translation of the Sumerian poem of the Creation. The idea of 'begetting' like a father is associated with *bârâ* and *bânû*. Man is thus 'hewn out' into the image of God.

The latter part of the verse is a translation of the Assyrian: *ana tsalam ilâni ibnî-su; zikri u zinnisti*

*ibnî-sunu*, and presupposes a metrical Assyro-Babylonian original.

28. The polytheistic *הַיְהוָה אֱרֵץ* has been dropped out of the text, so that the enumeration is incomplete, 'the cattle of the field' not being included within the rule of man. The Septuagint has preserved the original text.

30. The words, 'every green herb for food,' have no construction. But they are a translation (or transliteration) of an Assyrian *kal urqit isbi ana akali*, of which we have the Hebrew paraphrase in v.<sup>29</sup>. They must have slipped into the Hebrew manuscript unintentionally. In the Sumerian poem of the Creation *urqit isbi* is replaced by *urqit tserim*, 'the green herb of the field.'

## The Discovery of the Gospel of Barnabas.

BY THE REV. JOHN W. YOUNGSON, D.D., OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION TO MUSLIMS.

THE appearance of the Italian copy of the so-called Gospel of Barnabas, after a seclusion of two hundred years' duration, requires a word of explanation, without which there would remain an omission in the known history of the MS., and a consciousness in the minds of those who are interested in it, that, at all events, the story of its recent discovery was wanting. Let me give my quota of information regarding this, in the hope that more with respect to the writing generally may be elicited. As a missionary to Mohammedans I write from the missionary's point of view, and with a missionary's concern. To one in the mission field the story has a romantic cast, and although it is not of immediate practical value, yet it completes history as far as we know it, and is, therefore, noteworthy.

In discussions with Mohammedans frequent mention is made of the Gospel of Barnabas, which they do not scruple to accuse us of wilfully keeping from them. In India, in Persia, as missionaries preach the gospel, the cry of the Mohammedans is, 'Where is the Gospel of Barnabas?' We have wished that we could answer the question, and nine years ago, believing that, if it were found, it would prove an important witness, willing or unwilling, to the truth, we set about searching for it in order to put, if possible, an end to all uncertainty regarding it.

The notices of its contents of which we were already in possession were certainly few, but they were important, for writers on Mohammedanism, in their quotations from it, selected those very portions in which the Divine nature and Messiahship of Jesus, the Christ, and the reality of His crucifixion, were denied. There was a fear that the Mohammedans, if put in possession of the whole book, would use it as a weapon against the Christian faith; on the other hand, so copious were the quotations from it, that we thought more harm could not be done by the publication of the complete work than had already been done by them, but rather that it might lead further to the discovery of the book's inconsistency with itself and with the Qoran. It could hardly fail to discover its true character, and be convicted of error and also of intentional fraud. With this expectation the search for it was made, and it would be nothing less than a calamity if the hope were disappointed.

What did we know of the book then? And let us remember that the Muslims knew just as much as we did, and no more.

*First.* Dr. White, in his Bampton Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in 1784, tells us that 'by the obliging communication of the Rev. Dr. Monkhouse, of Queen's College, who