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THE

BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

JANUARY, 1893

DOES any one doubt the existence of problems on every side? Is any one so blind as not to see that in the various realms of action and of thought that which is problematic prevails most widely? In a close analysis one may fairly question whether there is anything which is not more or less problematic. Is it not true that to live and be living is only less a problem than to be dying or dead? In life, therefore, and in death the unsolved presents itself. That which is dark grows at times more light to some, but, after all, it is rather a question of the degree of darkness that has been removed, than of the degree of light which has been attained.

To one who may entertain views savoring of a pessimistic character, the existence of these problems of every kind, affecting every line of thought and every principle of action, becomes a terrible reality which staggers faith and makes life itself a period of misery. To him who is more hopefully inclined, and who is able to see the light that exists, even from the midst of darkness, or to him whose inner eye has gained a glimpse of light beyond and above the darkness, there is, to be sure, none of this black despair; and yet, in so far as such a one thinks, his thought is a struggle. Indeed, all thought is struggle, for in thinking man wrestles with the influences, good and bad, by

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which he is surrounded, and, alas, in too many cases the thinker, or he who honestly tries to think, is throttled by the grasp of superstition or stifled in the atmosphere of ignorance.

WHENCE come these problems that so beset us? Are they the vain imagination of men's minds, or do they find their existence in the very nature of things? Too frequently they are regarded as the invention of those who state and try to solve them; upon the mind which is sensitive enough to appreciate and formulate them we lay the responsibility of their existence. But while it is true that each man is responsible for what he thinks, it is God alone who has suggested the problems which excite thought. The world of revelation, broad and bright and great as it is, is filled with uncertainties. Many things which from the human point of view might have been settled have been left open. Indefiniteness characterizes many a subject concerning which we might have expected definiteness. In the world of nature this condition of things is even more clearly seen and more widely acknowledged. The same thing holds true in all lines of human activity—for example, in letters and politics. Here, as elsewhere, our lives, if we live, our thoughts, if we think, must be devoted to the consideration of problems.

To many minds these problems are the more serious in proportion as they are more closely connected with one's conception of God, and their serious character is still more clearly appreciated as we contemplate them, and discover that in God himself and in his plans they have their origin. It is he who, in one form or another, presents them; and the man who does not give them his attention, so far as his ability permits, who does not look into them with the opportunities at his command, and try to solve them, is guilty of the greatest sin which he can commit, either against himself or against God.

IS NOT the purpose of this condition of things clear? These problems have been given us in order that by the contemplation of them we may rise from the level of the brute to the great height occupied by the heavenly intelligences and by God him-

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self. Dealing with them is a means of advancement. It is this work, which, beyond all other work, uplifts humanity. This was the crowning work of the great Teacher, who furnished in his life and in his words, the basal principles for the solution of all questions. The problems of his time were the problems of all times, and in him we find at once the explanation and the purpose, the key for the solution of these difficulties and the inspiration to undertake the work of solution.

It is true that these problems, and here we may limit ourselves to the problems of religious life and theological thought, bring real distress of mind,—perhaps even skepticism, to the minds of some. From one point of view they accomplish no end of mischief. Hearts seem to be broken, faiths shattered, by the questionings which these problems produce. Whatever we may say in explanation of all this, the fact remains that in many cases simply because of having undertaken some consideration of these things, men lose or fancy themselves to lose a something which was theirs before, and which up to this time had served, at any rate, as a substitute for the real religious spirit. But such cases are after all comparatively few and their existence only proves the truth of all that has been said.

To think is not to doubt continuously and forever, but only long enough to allow that which had been doubted to be shown to be the veriest truth and therefore to be forever accepted, or to be error and therefore to be rejected. Misuse of that which is given us to use is next to non-use of the same, the greatest sin, and one wonders which of these sins is the predominant one. When men learn properly to use that which is set before them, this misuse which prevails so widely will cease, and then with clear insight and with greater probability of success, these problems will be handled.

What now shall be our attitude? Does any one suppose that so long as men live the solution of these problems will not be attempted? Just as their existence is a part of the very nature of things, the attempt to solve them is also an inseparable part

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of the constitution of man's nature. The greatest work given to humanity to do and the work which will most quickly lift it is the outreaching towards that which is above; in other words, a grappling with these mysterious things in every part of man's environment. That man who searches most intently, whose mind is most difficult to satisfy, is the man in whom there is the most of the divine. He is more or less a brute who is not ready to grapple with them.

IT WAS the policy of that other journal, the predecessor of THE BIBLICAL WORLD, during the ten years of its existence, to present, and, so far as possible, to discuss the questions which stood closely related to that Book, which furnishes the foundation of our faith. Difficulties were not sought for; nor, when forced upon the attention, were they magnified. On the other hand, they were neither ignored nor underrated. An effort was made to state them, when necessary, with frankness and fairness; to meet them, when possible, with firmness and the truth. Such will be the policy of THE BIBLICAL WORLD. Its work is to build up, by any and every legitimate method, a true conception of the "Word." In order to build that which will stand, close attention must be paid to the foundations on which the building shall rest. Rubbish of any kind will, sooner or later, inevitably bring trouble.

The new journal takes up the work where the old journal laid it down. If the old friends will continue with us and give the sympathy and support so freely accorded in the past, we may confidently promise, with the new facilities at command, to render efficient aid in the work of making known in all their multiforms the great truths which have brought and are bringing light to the world.

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WHAT IS BIBLICAL THEOLOGY, AND WHAT IS ITS METHOD?

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During recent years there have been established in several American Theological Seminaries chairs of Biblical Theology as a department of study distinct from Exegesis and distinct from Systematic or Doctrinal Theology. In making this division we are following the example of Continental theologians who have long cultivated Biblical Theology as a separate branch of study Biblical Theology is the scientific presentation, on the basis of Exegesis, of the contents of each type of Biblical teaching. It is a strictly historic science. The types of teaching with which the science deals will, in some cases, be represented by a single book; more frequently by the various writings of a single author, or the books of various authors which belong together by reason of likeness of contents or some other similarity. Different writers on Biblical Theology sometimes divide the material to be treated in different ways. Take, for example, the gospels. Ordinarily the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic gospels and the teaching as presented in the Fourth gospel are presented separately because the first three gospels so much resemble one another in form and in matter which they present, and because the Fourth differs so characteristically from them. But some would treat the teaching of Jesus as a whole, nothwithstanding this distinction, while, for the purpose of exhibiting the peculiarities of each gospel, they would naturally be treated separately. Some writers treat the Pauline type of teaching in four divisions, corresponding to the natural grouping of Paul's letters. Others treat his system as a whole, making, of course, the principal doctrinal letters (Rom. Cor. and Gal.) the basis, but drawing freely from all the others also. Most writers in treating the Johannine theology would deal separately with the Apocalypse, because—even

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if written by the author of the Fourth gospel — it represents a special type of literature whose peculiarities require to be separately described.

It will be seen that the method of Biblical Theology is especially adapted to exhibit the individuality of the Biblical writers. Its immediate aim is to reproduce in the clearest manner and in systematic form the ideas of the writer who is the subject of study at the time. All other interests — such as the adjustment of the given writer's views to those of others, or the general result of Biblical teaching as a whole — are held in check for the immediate purpose of the study. Only after each type has been exhaustively studied by itself can the work of comparison be thoroughly done; only then can the general result be fully and fairly presented.

Biblical Theology is inseparable from Exegesis. It is simply the systematized result of Exegesis. In Exegesis we take the books one by one and study them critically from beginning to end, tracing the writer's thoughts in the order of their development in that particular book. Biblical Theology avails itself of the results of Exegesis, and asks, What does the Biblical writer in question teach concerning God, concerning sin, and the like? The exhibition of the given writer s teaching as a whole upon such themes as these constitutes the Biblical Theology of that author. Exegesis stops short of its goal if it does not end in Biblical Theology. Exegetical study which is not carried to its true culmination in Biblical Theology is likely to leave the mind of the student embarrassed by the details which are inseparable from its method, without conducting him to any clear and definite doctrinal results. A topical presentation of the results of Exegesis is of the greatest importance in enabling the student to appreciate the practical value of close, critical study. Thus the reason becomes evident why in the German universities the Professors who lecture on Biblical Theology lecture also on Exegesis. The two departments, although regarded as distinct, are kept in the closest relation.

It is sometimes asked: Is not Doctrinal Theology Biblical? Does it not, at least, aim to be? And if it is, what need is there for a

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distinct department of Biblical Theology? If we grant that Systematic Theology *is* Biblical (a point which I have no occasion here to discuss), there is still a useful place for Biblical Theology in theological education, on account of its peculiar aim and method. The doctrinal theologian must treat the various themes of theology in a philosophical method and spirit. His aim is to justify them to reason, to defend them against objections, and to incorporate them into a system—a rational construction of doctrines. He seeks to present under modern scientific forms of thought and for practical teaching purposes, the content of Biblical doctrine. There is necessarily a large apologetic element in Systematic Theology, and, as it has commonly been pursued—and, I believe, properly—a large metaphysical and speculative element. Biblical Theology, on the other hand, distinctly disclaims any philosophical or speculative method. The Biblical theologian places himself, for the time, in the age and circumstances of the writer with whom he is dealing. He asks simply what this writer says and means, not how that can be justified to reason, defended against objection, harmonized with the teachings of other writers or translated into the equivalents of modern thought and made part of a general scheme of doctrine. He abjures all such questions. He tries to see with the writer's eyes and to think his thoughts after him. He seeks to apprehend the form and matter of the writer's thought according to the manner of its time; to place himself at the writer's standpoint and to read him in the light of his age and circumstances.

It will be a great gain for American theology to apprehend and apply the distinction of method which has just been noticed. We have had in the brief history of our country a vigorous and creditable development of Systematic Theology. Exegesis and Biblical Theology have been less diligently and thoroughly cultivated, or have been cultivated too much under the stress of strong dogmatic bias. Our theological systems have been fortified by the citation of "proof-texts," which have been too often employed without a careful and just estimate of their significance in their original connection, and without appreciation of the Biblical writer's standpoint, purpose or mode of thought. Bib-

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lical Theology, if successfully cultivated, will operate as a check upon the extravagance of the proof-text method. It will do much to save Systematic Theology from erroneous emphasis and an unhistoric application of texts. But it would furnish its sister science with great positive aids. It would present to the doctrinal theologian the Biblical material, organized and systematized. This material it would then be his task to work over into a rational system, and to present it, in the method and spirit of modern science, in a form as symmetrical and complete as the nature of the case permits.

There exists just now a certain distrust of theological systems. The temper of the age offers a great opportunity to Biblical Theology. The critical spirit holds sway. Men are eager for the results of criticism, thoroughly wrought out. The demand of the time—so far as theology is concerned—is for a thorough and impartial investigation of Biblical teaching in its genetic development and its various forms. And this work is what Systematic Theology needs in the interest of her own best work and progress. Biblical Theology, if developed in a critical and scientific spirit, and at the same time with a reverent appreciation of Biblical truth, will be one of the greatest aids to Doctrinal Theology and will inevitably have the effect to arouse interest in it. I cannot believe that interest in Doctrinal Theology will long remain second to that which is felt in any other branch of sacred learning, It is grounded in the impulse to think —to construe religious truth in systematic form and to justify it to reason. No scientific age will long abandon the pursuit of Systematic Theology. If Biblical Theology will do its work thoroughly and do it now—just when it is wanted, just when it is needed—it will give a new impetus to the study of Christian doctrine and thus, both directly and indirectly, perform a lasting service in the promotion of Christian truth.

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SAUL'S EXPERIENCE ON THE WAY TO DAMASCUS.

THE NATURE OF THE CHANGE IT PRODUCED IN HIM AND ITS EFFECT ON HIS DOCTRINE.

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The purpose of this paper is not to discuss the external features of Saul's experience in his approach to Damascus. It does not concern itself with the question whether there was a veritable appearance to him of the risen Jesus. Accepting what is scarcely to be denied by any one, that Saul at this time passed through a notable crisis in his life, and ever afterward believed that he at that time received indubitable evidence that Christ had risen from the dead, it is proposed to inquire respecting the nature of the change wrought in Saul by this experience.

Rightly to understand this change, we must understand what sort of a man he was previous to this experience. Consider, then, his previous character and history.

1. He was a man of profound moral earnestness. Whatever faults of character or vices of life he had, frivolousness was not one of them. Earnestness did not begin with his conversion. Paul was always intense. This appears in all his references to his life before his conversion. Acts xxiii. 1: "I have lived before God in all good conscience until this day"; xxvi. 4: "My manner of life from my youth up, which was from the beginning among mine own nation, and at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; having knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to testify, how that after the straitest sect of our religion, I lived a Pharisee." See also xxii. 3 ff.

2. He was an earnest seeker after righteousness. It would seem as if our Lord's blessing on those who hunger and thirst after righteousness could have been pronounced on Saul before his conversion. In Phil. iii. 6, he declares that in his Pharisaic

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days he was, "touching the righteousness which is in the law blameless." Such blamelessness could only have been the result of earnest and persistent effort. To this agree also all his references to this period of his life. Compare Gal. i. 13; Acts xxiii. 1.

3. The method by which he sought to attain righteousness was a strict obedience to the law as interpreted by the Pharisees. This also is implied in Phil. iii. 6: "As touching the law a Pharisee . . . as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless." Compare also Acts xxii. 3; xxvi. 5; Gal. i. 14.

Now, a careful study of Paul's use of the term law in connection with righteousness, will show that what he means by righteousness by law, or the righteousness that is in the law, is not merely a righteousness which realizes the law's ideal, but something both more and less than that, viz., a righteousness which is attained, so far as attained at all, by a self-reliant effort to obey the law. As a factor in man's moral life, law is constantly the antithesis of faith. As a conceivable method of divine conduct toward men, it is the antithesis of grace. Law stands in Paul's vocabulary for that method of life according to which a man sets before himself what he conceives to be the demands of God, and gives himself to the endeavor to attain right character, and so to earn divine approval as a thing deserved at God's hand. Righteousness thus acquired, and in so far as it is thus acquired, is by its very nature self-righteousness. And this holds true whether we conceive of righteousness simply as right character and conduct in themselves, or according to Paul's more common method of thinking, as a character or an attitude toward God which makes us acceptable to God. For law awards a man simply what he deserves. In so far as it awards him anything else, it is itself something else than law. It is indeed possible to conceive of an order of things which should combine law with faith. That is, ideally, one might from the first moment of moral responsibility cast himself on God for help, and, by divine help always meeting the requirements of righteousness, present before the law a perfect character acquired in dependence on God. But, in fact, this is a theoretical possi-

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bility only, which had no place in the Pauline or in the New Testament terminology. To any one who has given serious study to human nature as it now is and has been in past days, the reason for the omission of this theoretical possibility is not far to seek. The only practical possibilities, certainly the only possibilities of which Paul ever speaks, are, on the one hand, a self-dependent obedience (or disobedience) to the divine law, coupled with an expectation of standing before that law on one's own self-acquired merits, and, on the other hand, a reliance on the divine aid and an acceptance of the divine grace, which is called faith. And as between these alternatives, Paul distinctly declares that the former was his attitude before his acceptance of Christ.

Now, it is evident that the cherishing of this conception of righteousness as something to be attained only on a basis of law and of merit would inevitably be a serious obstacle to a hearty acceptance of Jesus, or would become so the moment the real spirit and teaching of Jesus were understood. Not only had Jesus unsparingly denounced the Pharisees, not only had he taught that the only way of access to God was not by one's power or goodness, but through faith in himself, Jesus; but the very spirit of humility and lowliness of mind which he exemplified and inculcated were calculated to repel one who had not only accepted as a dogma the Pharisaic idea of self-acquired righteousness, but had become imbued with the self-sufficient spirit likely to be cultivated by the holding of this dogma.

4. Saul had, before he became a Christian, attained as nearly perfect success in his effort to become righteous as under this method was possible. On this point we have his own testimony, given when he had become a Christian and had come to look back on his former life as a mistake and a failure. Gal. i. 4: "I advanced in the Jew's religion beyond many of mine own age, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers'; Phil. iii. 6: "Touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless."

5. His persecution of the Christians was in some sense conscientious. "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth"

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(Acts xxvi. 9, ff.). Of the same purport is his word to Timothy: "I did it ignorantly in unbelief." These statements are of great importance as indicating the state of Paul's mind and heart during his career as a persecutor. They show us a man of profound moral earnestness pursuing a course of bitter persecution of the Christians under the stress of a sincere conviction of duty.

But on the other hand, they must not be pressed beyond their true significance. They stand in immediate connection with expressions on the apostle's part of strong condemnation of the course which he then pursued, expressions which prove that, whatever his sincerity at that time, he afterwards came to see that his conduct was wrong, not simply according to some objective standard, but as involving sin on his part. He does not, indeed, undertake to locate the exact point of his responsibility; he does not enter into a minute psychological analysis of his mental and moral state; and we, at least, cannot determine whether his sin consisted wholly in previous action, mental or other, by which he had made for himself an abnormal conscience, which conscience he now could not do otherwise than obey; or whether there was still in him, in the midst of his career as a persecutor, something of that moral obliquity which, vitiating all the mental processes as they applied to moral questions, could create and maintain a conviction the falsity and injustice of which was obscured from consciousness by the same perversion that created it. He contents himself with the paradoxical, but by no means inconsistent, statement, that he acted conscientiously, but acted wrongly and sinfully.

6. Despite his success in attaining the righteousness that is in the law, despite his conscientiousness in persecuting the Christians, Saul was not wholly at ease. The words of Jesus to him on the road to Damascus: "It is hard for thee to kick against the goads," imply three things: That Saul was at this time subject to certain influences tending to turn him from the course which he had chosen; that he was resisting those influences; that such resistance involved some struggle on his part. The precise nature of these influences it is difficult to state. That

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they came from without is, indeed, suggested by the figure of the goad, but that they penetrated to the sphere of thought and feeling is not less implied in the statement that he was with difficulty resisting them. What Paul wrote afterward gives us at least, the hint that his discontent with himself lay in two directions and sprang from two sources. The paradoxical nature of his statement about his career as a persecutor, already referred to, strongly suggests that, at times at least, he could not exclude the doubt whether he was altogether right in his persecutions. The godly lives of those whom he was persecuting, their heroic endurance of persecution, the triumphant death of such an one as Stephen, these perhaps formed some part of the goad against which he was kicking. That he had as yet any inclination himself to accept Christ, cannot indeed be shown; rather all the evidence is to the contrary. He was an ox pressed by the goad, urging him he knew not whither; the very intensity of his conscientious conviction that he was right would lead him to suppress the suggestion he was wrong long before it had reached the point of an insinuation that he himself must become a Christian; the conscientiousness that lay back of that conviction would forbid him peace of mind while he suppressed this half latent suggestion.

But whatever doubt there may be concerning Paul's precise state of mind with reference to his conduct as a persecutor, there can be no doubt that in his life as a Pharisee he was, at times at least, and probably with increasing frequency and intensity, greatly dissatisfied with his general moral condition. The passages in his epistles in which he speaks with such emphasis and feeling of the unhappy condition of men under the law must certainly reflect his personal experience, even if they were not based wholly upon that experience. If he had fancied that he had attained full acceptance with God; if his state under the law had been one of easy self-satisfaction, if he had found the law incapable of producing discontent with oneself (as Matheson maintains), Paul could never honestly have written those burning passages respecting the effect of the law, which are familiar to every reader of his letters to the Galatians and the

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Romans (Rom. iii. 20; vii. 5–25; Gal. ii. 9; iii. 22, 23). His own experience would have given the lie to every word.

It was then a conscientious and upright man, ill at ease with himself, who rode from Jerusalem to Damascus to persecute the Christians; haunted perhaps by vague doubts which he could not wholly suppress respecting the rightfulness of this very mission, certainly dissatisfied at times with all his success as a Pharisee, painfully aware that his highest success was after all a failure.

7. Up to the time that he met Jesus in the road leading to Damascus, Saul had not believed in a Messiah who was to suffer and rise again. It has indeed been disputed whether the Jews did or did not believe in a suffering Messiah. That the Jews of a later time spoke of the "woes of the Messiah," is beyond question; but the evidence outside of the New Testament seems to fall short of proving that a suffering Messiah was looked for by the Jews of Jesus' day. And if we turn to the New Testament itself, this seems to establish beyond question that the doctrine of a suffering Messiah was not the commonly accepted doctrine. Certainly the idea of a Messiah rejected by the nation was foreign to their thought. Peter (Matt. xvi. 16, 22), having just declared that Jesus is the Christ, cannot understand that he is to be rejected and put to death by his nation. The people say to Jesus (Jno. xii. 34): "We have heard out of the law that the Christ abideth forever, and how sayest thou the Son of Man must be lifted up?" "The Christ" and "being lifted up" are inconsistent predicates to them. The faith of the disciples that Jesus is the Christ was completely discomfited by his death. Till Jesus opens their hearts to understand the things prophesied concerning him, it apparently never occurs to them that his suffering and death are only another evidence of his Messiahship. Paul's speech at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 27) seems to be almost a direct assertion that the Jews of Jesus' day did not look for a suffering Messiah; in his speech at Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 3) he sets forth the doctrine of a Messiah suffering and raised from the dead not as a familiar but an unfamiliar doctrine; and to the Corinthians (1 Cor. i. 23) he speaks of Christ crucified as to the Jews a stumblingblock. These passages seem deci-

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sive as to the general state of opinion; and this in turn makes it evident that the very fact of the death of Jesus (especially his death at the hands of the Jewish leaders, who thus emphatically rejected him) would be to Saul, the Pharisee, a great obstacle to the acceptance of him as the Messiah. Moreover, this obstacle was in his case unrelieved by any personal acquaintance with Jesus, such as in the case of Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathea, acted to overcome their dogmatic objections to him. From the point of view of the Pharisaic dogmatics it was impossible to accept Jesus as the Messiah. The argument against him was short and easy. The Messiah does not die, still less does he die rejected by his own nation; Jesus did die thus rejected; therefore Jesus is not the Messiah.

With this was necessarily connected the denial of the resurrection of Jesus. Such denial was based not on any hostility to the doctrine of the resurrection in itself considered, nor on any unwillingness to admit the resurrection of the Messiah, except as this would have involved the admission of his death; but on the unwillingness to admit that the impostor Jesus could have received such divine attestation of his pretended Messiahship. It was a postulate alike of Jewish and of Christian thinking that the resurrection of Jesus was evidence of the validity of his claims, divine attestation that he was what he claimed to be. This appears on the Jewish side in the endeavor of the Jews to suppress the evidence of his resurrection by bribing the guards to say that his disciples stole him away; it appears in the fact that those who were convinced that Jesus was raised from the dead accepted him as Messiah and Savior, and in the opposition which the unbelieving Jews constantly manifested to the proclamation of the resurrection. It appears on the Christian side in the constant urging of the resurrection of Jesus as a reason for accepting Jesus (Acts ii. 24 ff.; iv. 33). This is, indeed, usually accompanied by the insistence that the Old Testament had predicted the resurrection of the Messiah, because the argument thus became doubly forcible; but it is also employed without such reference to the Old Testament Scriptures (Acts iii. 15). Paul especially lays constant emphasis on the resurrection,

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using it with Jews in connection with prophecy (Acts xiii. 33 ff), and with Gentiles without such connection (Acts xviii. 31), and in his letter to the Roman Christians referring to the divine sonship of Jesus as established by the fact of the resurrection (Rom. i. 4). The matter then stood thus: Denying the doctrine of a suffering Messiah led, since Jesus had died, to the denial of his Messiahship. Denial of his Messiahship necessarily involved the denial of his resurrection, since his resurrection would have been a divine attestation of this Messianic claim.

8. There is no direct evidence that Paul felt any hostility to the personal character of Jesus. His profound moral earnestness, his eager quest after righteousness, and the readiness with which he accepted Christ when once the dogmatic obstacles to faith were broken down, lead us to believe that he would have been strongly attracted by the character of Jesus. He had not burned out his soul with sensualism, nor had he frozen it it up with formalism. Righteousness, in the sense of character acceptable to God, was still for him the great thought of life. He had, indeed, sought it in a wrong way; his zeal had not been according to knowledge; but his very consciousness of failure despite the degree of success which he had attained is evidence that righteousness had not become a mere empty form, had not been degraded into a mean and unworthy travesty of the real thing. That there was an antagonism between the character of Jesus and the ideals of Saul created by the lowliness of Jesus and the spirit of self-sufficiency which had doubtless been cultivated in Saul by the Pharisaic dogmas, has already been suggested and must not be overlooked. But even in this respect the consciousness of failure already referred to is evidence that this antagonism was not in his case at its highest. It is just here that we are led to believe there existed the greatest difference between Saul and his fellow Pharisees. Many of these seem to have been repelled—at least not to have been at all attracted—by the character of Jesus. There is much reason to think that if Saul had known Jesus he would have become a follower of him while he was still among men.

We may see, then, that there were four obstacles to Paul's

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acceptance of Jesus, not simply as the Messiah, but as his Lord and Savior; two dogmatic or intellectual, two moral.

(a) He did not believe in a rejected and suffering Messiah, and Jesus had unquestionably been rejected and had suffered.

(b) He believed in righteousness by law, and Jesus had continually taught that the only way of approach to God and acceptance with God was through faith in himself, Jesus.

(c) In accordance with this last named belief, he was seeking for righteousness in his own strength, was depending on himself rather than on God, was destitute of that poverty of spirit which is the first and indispensable qualification for Christian disciple-ship.

(d) He was resisting the evidence and the influences tending to show that his present course was wrong.

On the other hand, it must be said that he had certain moral advantages which were calculated to prepare him to accept Jesus.

(a) His moral earnestness.

(b) His eager desire to be righteous before God, and his freedom from vice and empty formalism.

(c) His dissatisfaction with his old life; the fact that, despite his blamelessness before the law he was yet not at peace with himself.

Now to such a man what would be the effect of such an experience as that which he had on the way to Damascus? His references to the matter afterward make it evident that he believed that he then saw Jesus Christ, that it was in his own view of it no mere subjective experience but an actual epiphany of the Lord Jesus himself.

First of all, it at once and instantly overthrew his first intellectual obstacle to the acceptance of Jesus. It has been pointed out above that his denial of the doctrine of a suffering Messiah led through the step of the rejection of the Messiahship of Jesus to the denial of the resurrection of Jesus. So, in reverse order, to see the risen and glorified Jesus is to be compelled to accept the fact of his resurrection. To accept the fact of his resurrection is to acknowledge his Messiahship. No dogmatic objection to the Messiahship of Jesus on the ground that he, contrary to the true idea of the Messiah, had died, could stand before the

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convincing evidence flashed into his soul, that the Jesus who claimed to be the Messiah, who had unquestionably died, whom he had rejected as an imposter, was now occupying the place of divine power. It does not, indeed, at once interpret to him the Old Testament prophecies, does not enable him to see how the doctrine of a suffering Messiah is to be got from those Scriptures in which he had hitherto been unable to find it, but it does at once compel recognition of Jesus' claim to Messiahship. Interpretation of Scripture can come later. Now his objections are simply battered down *vi et armis*, by the superior might of the argument of the visible appearance of Jesus of Nazareth.

Secondly, and not less important, it at once demolished his confidence in the righteousness that is attainable in law. We have seen that there is reason to believe that he was already ill at ease in this matter. But now in one blow the whole structure of self-acquired righteousness is overthrown. He is, himself, the consummate flower of Pharisaism, the highest product of righteousness attainable under the system of law, and yet it is revealed in this revelation of Jesus Christ that he has been fighting against God himself. In the very moment when he was most zealously seeking after righteousness, in the very moment of this highest success along the line of legalism he is nevertheless in rebellion against God,—a rebellion which, though in a sense unconscious, is not merely formal, but open and actual.

It should not be overlooked that the very perfection of Saul's obedience to the law before his conversion was an important element in this new conviction. If his life had been gross and coarse, or empty and hollow, the demonstration of the futility of righteousness under the law would have been far less complete, or might have even failed altogether.

That Paul at once perceived how much was involved in this overthrow of his former view is by no means probable. In intellectual matters we may perceive that the foundation of our thinking has been shattered without at once perceiving how much of the superstructure must go down with the ruin of the foundation. Still less is the rearing of a new superstructure involved in the overthrow of the foundations of an old one. But the real

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significance of the change which was involved in this fatal blow at the very foundations of all legalistic schemes for attaining righteousness, the importance of the far-reaching consequences which were to issue from it and which only needed a suitable occasion to develop them, it is scarcely possible to overestimate. In fact, almost all Paul's subsequent theology is but the unfolding of the logical consequences of the discovery which, as in a flash of lightning, he made when he was smitten down as he approached Damascus. The prominence of the doctrine of the resurrection in his teachings is of course at once explained by reference to this experience. It would also of course soon drive him to inquire afresh whether the Old Testament did indeed teach a suffering and rising Messiah, and the results of this study appear in his arguments both in his speeches in Acts and in his letters. But it is especially in his doctrine of justification by faith, and of the inability of the law even to sanctify him who is already justified, that we see the clearest results of this experience. The stages by which he reached his full doctrine, his firm conviction that the law cannot justify, his determined opposition to the circumcision of the Gentiles, his rejection of law even as agency in the building of character,—when and how each of these became clear to him, it is impossible for us certainly to determine. But they were all really implied in this Damascus experience. This particular phase of the subject deserves possibly a fuller treatment than it has ever received, certainly a larger exposition than the present brief reference to it.

It remains to ask what effect the epiphany of Jesus had upon the moral obstacles which stood in the way of Saul's acceptance of him as the Messiah and his Savior.

It is evident that the first of these, the seeking of righteousness by his own strength, dependence on law as against faith, could remain after the demonstration of the futility of the method only by obstinate resistance to evident duty. The same is true of the second obstacle, viz.: resistance to the influences tending to show that his present course was wrong. He had been resisting evidence; here is overwhelming evidence. He had been deceived by the darkness of his own soul, but here is light.

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His words "What shall I do, Lord?" seem to show that in fact both obstacles were swept away at once and instantly. "The heavenly vision" is immediately effective and a marvellous change is wrought in the soul of Saul. This change is manifestly one of profound moral significance. The spirit of self-dependence bars God out of the soul, and throws the soul back upon its own inadequate resources. Self-dependence means disappointment, failure, despair to every earnest soul, and no one has more vividly and faithfully portrayed to us the pain and anguish of an earnest soul depending on itself than the apostle Paul himself. Faith opens the door to God and brings light and hope where before were failure and anguish, and the apostle more than any other New Testament writer has set forth the victory of faith. These two pictures could only have been drawn by one who had himself passed from the one experience to the other.

But was the change which took place in Saul at this time such a change as we now call conversion? Is it correct in modern terminology to designate the Damascus event as Saul's conversion? This of course depends upon one's definition of conversion. Probably, however, we may assume that the term signifies that profound moral change by which a soul holding an essentially wrong attitude toward God and righteousness comes to take an attitude which is, fundamentally at least, right. Coming to a closer definition, probably most persons who use the term conversion at all would maintain that he should be said to be converted who takes righteousness, (employing this term in a broad and inclusive sense,) as his supreme aim, and faith in Christ as the means of attaining such righteousness. Doubtless there might be much difference of opinion if we should still further define the terms righteousness and faith in Christ. We may rest however, for our present purpose in the definition as now given, and inquire whether Saul's "conversion" included these two elements. That it involved the second there can be no doubt. His own description of his conversion given in Phil. iii. 4–9 clearly describes it as an abandonment of the principle of righteousness and the acceptance of faith instead thereof; and

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with this accords all that he has written in his various letters both concerning the nature of the change through which he himself passed, and concerning the nature of the gospel way of salvation in general.

But was not the first element,—the choice of righteousness as his supreme object of endeavor already present; and if so is the absence of the second a fatal defect? Can one of them exist without the other, and if so which is really essential to a fundamentally right attitude of soul? Does the coupling of the spirit of self-dependence, the endeavor to attain righteousness through the law, to the eager desire to be righteous, merely hinder the realization of that desire, or does it fatally vitiate it, or even demonstrate that it is already false and merely specious? Or on the other hand does the existence of the sincere desire to be righteous show that faith is already germinally present, latent in the desire to be righteous, and waiting only further enlightenment to bring it forth into full exercise?

Let it be granted at the outset that, as the New Testament teaches, faith is the only right, in the end the only successful, method of attaining righteousness. Granting this, it seems necessary to make double answer to our questions. On the one hand if righteousness is really the supreme desire of the soul, in this desire there is latent the true method of attaining it, viz., faith. In this desire, if only it be the supreme choice of the soul, there is contained the promise and potency of faith, since in this supreme devotion to righteousness is involved the willingness, even the desire, to adopt that means which will lead to its attainment. But on the other hand the absence of faith, certainly the repudiation of faith, may be,—must we not say usually is?—the index of the fact that the desire for righteousness is not supreme, that the soul desires righteousness indeed, but desires it subject to the condition that it shall be wrought out in self-dependence. This is to make not righteousness, but self, supreme. Which of these supposed cases correctly represents the attitude of Saul in the days of his Pharisaism? If the former, if before this time righteousness had become in very truth the supreme object of his choice, if he had striven for

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righteousness in law only because under the stress of a false and misleading education he believed that this was the divinely appointed way, then his was at bottom only an intellectual error, and that which wrought the change in him, important for himself and the world as it was, was only an access of light, not a moral transformation of soul. If on the other hand the experience of Saul corresponded to the second supposed case, if eager as was his desire to be righteous, he had nevertheless up to this time desired it subject to the condition that it be attained in dependence on himself, then his rejection of faith had been also a rejection of righteousness and a choice of self. In that case also his acceptance of Jesus by faith was at the same time the supreme choice of righteousness. In the one act he elected the only right object of endeavor and the only successful way of its attainment. Perhaps it is impossible to decide positively in which of these two ways we rightly conceive of Saul's experience. Yet the balance of evidence seems to be in favor of the second view. All that the apostle says about the sinfulness of his Pharisaic life, describing himself as a blasphemer, and a persecutor, insolently proud, chief of sinners, implies that he did not look upon that period of his life as one of innocent ignorance and latent faith. The very expression which most mitigates the severity of his self-condemnation—I did it ignorantly in unbelief—seems introduced only to explain how one so hostile to God could at all have been rescued (1 Tim. i 13–16), and merely shows that he was not one who with full perception of the nature of his acts resisted God. No reference which the apostle makes to the change itself seems appropriately to apply to a transformation which, however important, was at bottom only intellectual. The evidence from his general conception of the fundamental importance of faith is indirect but very important. Certainly he always speaks as if the difference between righteousness by law and righteousness by faith was for those to whom he wrote absolutely fundamental. There are not lacking passages in which he recognizes that on the broad plane of a universal divine government, taking in heathen as well as those to whom God's special revelation had come, the great crucial

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question could not be expressed in terms of faith, i. e., as the word would necessarily be understood, conscious and explicit faith. Yet with respect to those to whom he writes, those to whom God has been revealed in the law and in the Gospel, the possibility of righteousness or of right attitude to God without faith in Christ is never so much as thought of. This could scarcely have been if he had looked back to a time in his own life, when though in essentially right attitude toward God and righteousness he had been openly rejecting and opposing Christ. We are almost driven to say that if Saul had before his Damascus experience made such choice of righteousness as that his attitude toward God was already fundamentally right, and his conversion a change of opinion rather than of heart, he himself never discovered that fact. While therefore the evidence falls short of entire decisiveness, it seems to tend strongly to the conclusion that Saul's conversion was such in the deepest sense of that term—a choice of righteousness and a surrender to God through faith in Christ; an act fundamentally changing his attitude toward God and fundamentally affecting his character.

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RECENT MOVEMENTS IN THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS IN AMERICA.

By Professor MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., PH. D.
The University of Pennsylvania.

Religion as a subject for speculation is as old as human thought Religion as an object of investigation is one of the most recent of sciences. In an interesting article on "The Rôle of the History of Religions in Modern Religious Education,"[1] Jean Reville declares that "the history of religions was born with this century." Certainly we may not step beyond this limit. Apart from other considerations, the unfavorable attitude of people previous to this century toward other religions than the one in which they happened to be born, or their hostile attitude toward religion in general, precluded that impartial and broad investigation of facts which alone makes a study historical. People seem to have had either too much or too little of religion to be able to comprehend its varied manifestations. But even after the historical frame of mind had been acquired, the study of religions continued for a time to be so closely bound up with philosophical systems—as exemplified in Hegel—that its purely historical aspects were kept in the background; and it is questionable, therefore, whether we may pass much beyond the middle of this century for the beginnings of what may properly be called the historical study of religions. Since then, however, the study has been pursued with considerable activity, thanks chiefly to the impulse received from two quarters, from the researches into the history and literatures of the ancient Orient that have so profoundly affected our view of ancient thought and from the investigation of widely distributed institutions and customs that stand in close connection with the phenomena of religion.

The advance in the historical study of religions appears not alone in the actual contributions to the subject that have been

[1] See *The New World*, Vol. I, pp. 503-519.

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made, of which the remarkable series, *The Sacred Books of the East*, may be taken as an index, but also in the provisions that have been and are continuing to be made for the subject itself. Holland took the lead in 1876 when, upon the introduction of a new educational law, a chair for the Comparative History of Religion was established in each of the four Dutch universities. France followed in 1880 with the creation of a chair for the History of Religions at the Collége de France, and in 1886 the government accorded the study a more adequate recognition by the formation of a "Section des Sciences Religieuses" at the École des Hautes Études, equipped with a faculty of no less than twelve members. Besides this, Paris has its special journal for the History of Religions and its museum of religious history — the famous Musée Guimet. In England such lecture foundations as the Hibbert, the Gifford and the Burnett testify to the growing interest in the subject. At the University of Brussels the subject likewise is represented by a special chair, and in some form the discipline has been introduced at the University of Rome, of Zürich, of Louvain, Copenhagen, and in some of the German universities.[1] Dependent as we in a measure still are for our intellectual impulses upon the example of Europe, it is due to the displayed activity on the other side of the ocean, that the historical study of religions is beginning to receive more serious attention in this country. Of our learned institutions, Harvard University was the first, so far as the writer is aware, to introduce the subject as part of its curriculum. For quite a number of years lectures on the Comparative History of Religions have been regularly delivered by Prof. Charles Everett, and more recently the general aspects of the subject have been supplemented by courses of a special character dealing with a single religion or a subdivision of it. For the present year, six such courses are announced, as follows: Prof. C. H. Toy, who lectures on the Hebrew religion with comparison of other Semitic religions;

[1] For a full account of recent movements in the historical study of Religions in Europe, see Maurice Vernes' *L'Histoire des Religions*, (Paris, 1887,) pp. 161–277. M. Vernes' book also contains some excellent chapters on the method of the study and the spirit in which it should be conducted.

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also on Islam and the Koran; Prof. C. R. Lanman, on the Sacred Books of Buddhism; Prof. F. D. Allen, on Greek Religion and Worship; Prof. Kittredge, on Icelandic Sagas and the Edda and on Germanic Mythology; and to these we may add as a seventh, Prof. Emerton's course on the first eight Christian centuries, being an exposition of the conflict of Christianity with Paganism. Prof. Lyon, too, deals largely with the Babylonian and Assyrian religions in some of his courses.

At the University of Pennsylvania considerable activity has been displayed during the past few years in the same field, though up to the current year this activity was confined to the University Lecture Association. Since 1888, when a course of six lectures on Mohammedanism was given by the writer, the subject has been regularly included in the range covered by this association. In 1890 a very successful course of eleven lectures on "Ancient Religions" was arranged, the subjects being apportioned to competent specialists from various institutions. The course comprised expositions of the Religion of the Greeks, Romans, Babylonians, of Mexico, Persia, India, the Semites and Islam; and those participating were Prof. Shorey, of Bryn Mawr, Prof. Hyvernat of the Catholic University, D. C., Dr. D. G. Brinton, Prof. Jackson of Columbia College, Prof. Lanman, Prof. Jastrow and Mr. Talcott Williams, of Philadelphia. In 1891 three separate courses of lectures bearing on the study of religions were given, one on the Religion of Israel, by Rev. Prof. John P. Peters, another by Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson, on the Religion of Egypt, and a third by Prof. Jastrow, on Aspects of Ancient Worship, (*a*) sacrifice, (*b*) fire, (*c*) dances and processions.

In the present year the subject has been introduced into the university proper, five courses being announced in connection with the courses in Philosophy, Psychology and Ethics, as follows: The History of the Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, by Prof. Hilprecht; the Religion of Israel and the Religion of Islam, by Prof. Jastrow; the Religions of India and Persia, by Prof. Easton; and the Elements and Evolution of Primitive Religions, by Prof. D. G. Brinton.

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In 1890, an important step was taken by another of our leading universities. As cognate to a training in Philosophy and Psychology, the study of religions was included in the Susan Linn Sage School of Philosophy, established in that year. The Rev. Charles Melen Tyler was called to the chair, which was made to cover Christian Ethics in addition to the History and Philosophy of Religion. This action of Cornell in thus according to the subject a full recognition in the curriculum is to be taken as an indication that what prejudices may once have existed against the historical study of religions are fast disappearing; and it is gratifying to note that the new University of Chicago, in whose success all friends of higher education are so deeply interested, has followed the example of Cornell and given the historical study of religions its due place among university studies.

A strong impulse to the study was furnished by the School of Applied Ethics, organized in 1891, with the specific object of "promoting the historical and scientific study of those branches of knowledge which relate to human conduct, such as Economics, Jurisprudence, Politics, Pedagogics, Religion, Social Science and Ethics proper." In accordance with this broad scope, the school was divided into three departments, Economics, History of Religion, and Ethics. While at Cornell University it was the recognition of the close bearings upon human thought that led to the creation of a special chair for the history of religions, in the case of the School for Applied Ethics it was the relation of religion to human life that formed the ground for the introduction of the subject. But whatever the underlying idea prompting the study may be—and in addition to these two, there are others equally potent—the method to be pursued remains the same. During the two summer sessions of the school in question held at Plymouth, Mass., in July 1891 and 1892, the historical point of view has been the guiding one, both in the selection of the subjects for the lectures and in the treatment of the subjects chosen. The school which owes its inception to Prof. Felix Adler, and,—it may be noted in passing—is entirely independent of any other organization, was fortunate

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enough to secure as the head of the Department of Religions Prof. C. H. Toy. During the first year the chief course was given by him, the history, aims and method of the science of History of Religions being the subject appropriately chosen as an introduction to the study. This general course of eighteen lectures was supplemented by a number of shorter ones, dealing with specific religions, such as Buddhism, which was assigned to Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, of the Johns Hopkins University; the Babylonian-Assyrian religion, which was discussed by Prof. Jastrow; the old Norse religion, by Prof. G. L. Kittredge, of Harvard University; Islam, by Prof. G. F. Moore, of Andover Theological Seminary; and the Religion of the Laity in the Middle Ages, by W. W. Newell. In the second year, the entire time was devoted to the Hebrew religion, the subject being divided into six courses of five lectures each, as follows: The Prophets, by Prof. Moore; the Religion of Ancient Persia and its relation to Judaism, by Prof. Jackson, of Columbia College; the Ritual Law, by Prof. Jastrow; the Psalter, by Prof. Peters; the Wisdom Books, by Prof. Toy; and the Talmud, by Rev. Prof. E. G. Hirsch, of the University of Chicago. It is both pleasant and encouraging to record the perfect success of this Department for the History of Religions, and also of the school as a whole. As a unique experiment in education, this success may fairly be expected to be far-reaching in its consequences, and, indeed, the school has already, thanks to its own merits and the excellent policy pursued by its management, secured a firm hold on the class of students to which it more particularly appeals—teachers, clergymen, economists and public workers.

An important and indeed indispensable adjunct to the study of religions is the museum, which in its ideal form should present a tableau of the course taken by religious rites in their development. Credit is due to the U. S. National Museum for having taken the initiatory steps in this direction. In his report for 1889, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution called attention to the importance of collections of objects of worship and since that time, an excellent beginning has been made

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within the departments of American and Oriental antiquities. Messrs. Tewkes, Adler and Rockhill have been instrumental in advancing the section of comparative religion in the National Museum, and with the admirable facilities possessed by a government institution for obtaining objects from all parts of the world, the scope of this section ought at an early day to be made coequal with the universe. At the University of Pennsylvania also, the place of the museum as the laboratory for the study of religions, was emphasized by a special loan exhibition of objects used in religious worship, which was opened last spring. The catalogue, which is of the entire exhibition, is due to the energetic and well directed efforts of Mr. Stewart Culin, the director of the University Museums, is an admirable piece of work, distinguished for its method, clearness, and accuracy. The exhibition embracing Egypt, India, China, Japan, America, and Mohammedanism is noteworthy as the first of the kind in this country.

As a further indication of the growing prominence which is being accorded to the study of religions in this country, two other movements, both inaugurated last year, remain to be mentioned. During the winter of 1891–2, a History of Religions Club was formed at Cambridge, the members consisting largely of Harvard professors and members of learned institutions in Boston. Meetings are held monthly at which papers are read, followed by a general discussion. It is perhaps too early in the day to do more than refer to the existence of this club, but its success so far warrants the hope that it will form the nucleus for larger organization devoted to the promotion of the important science, the interest in which has been strong enough to band together a notable company of scholars.

With a view of bringing the results of investigations in the various branches of the History of Religions to the notice of the general public, a plan was perfected last winter by a number of persons interested in the subject, looking to the establishment of an annual lectureship in the History of Religions, somewhat on the model of the Hibbert lectures of England. A meeting

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called in Philadelphia for December 30th, was attended by representatives of various cities and institutions, and, after a full discussion of the subject, a committee was appointed to arrange for the permanent organization of a committee charged with procuring a competent lecturer annually to deliver a course of lectures on some subject germane to the History of Religions, the course to be given in at least six cities. The committee consisted of Dr. E. T. Bartlett of the Divinity School, Philadelphia, President W. R. Harper, Prof. J. G. Schurman of Cornell University, Prof. Toy, Profs. Gottheil and Hooper, representing the Brooklyn Institute, Prof. Paul Haupt of the Johns Hopkins University, Profs. Peters and Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania. Besides these, there may be mentioned among those who gave their adherence to the project: Rev. Dr. G. D. Boardman, Provost William Pepper, Dr. D. G. Brinton, Rev. Dr. E. G. Hirsch, Prof. C. A. Briggs, Dr. W. Hayes Ward, Prof. Lanman, Prof. Francis Brown, Prof. D. G. Lyon, Rev. Dr. Gustav Gottheil of New York, etc. At a second meeting held in New York early in February, the permanent committee was formed under the title of "The American Committee for Lectures in the History and the Comparative Study of Religions." Prof. Toy was elected chairman of the committee and Prof. Jastrow, secretary. The plan adopted looks to the coöperation of existing institutions in various cities, under whose auspices the lectures may be delivered. Among such institutions which have indicated a willingness thus to coöperate are, the University of Pennsylvania Lecture Association, the Brooklyn Institute, Cornell University, the Peabody Institute of Baltimore and the Lowell Institute of Boston. The committee hopes to arrange for the opening course in the fall and winter of 1893–4. The project, it may be added, includes also the publication of the lectures delivered. The hearty reception which the movement received from all sides is an indication of its timely character and if the committee succeed in securing the eminent authorities with whom they are now negotiating, there is every reason to look forward to the successful carrying out of this important project.

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Such is in brief an account of what has been done for promoting the historical study of religions in our country during the past few years.[1] Taking the past as an augur of the future, we may confidently look forward to seeing at an early day fully equipped departments for the historical study of religions established at our leading universities; for it is after all only in a department formed as in the case of the French school, through the coöperation of as large a number of specialists as possible, that the subject can be adequately taught. The general and comparative aspects must of course not be neglected, but it is only in connection with the careful and prolonged study of some particular religion that the general aspects acquire their value for the student, and the guidance through this special study, implying as it does a knowledge of the sources, can only be expected to be within the province of the specialist. Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania seem to be moving in this direction, and there is certainly no reason why at those institutions which have already established chairs for the general History of Religions, such a full department as is here indicated should not exist. Of the importance which a department of this kind would have for the historical and theological student in particular, apart from the position of the study as a cognate to Philosophy and Ethics, it is surely unnecessary to speak, and if the progress that the science of Religion has made during the past two or three decades brings out one fact clearer than any other, it is that any fears as to the possible detrimental influences of the study of religions upon religion as it exists to-day, are idle and without any reasonable foundation. The cause of religion has nothing to fear from any investigations when carried on in an earnest and sincere spirit, and least of all from investigations which reveal the steadily upward tendency of religious thought, com-

[1] It may perhaps not be out of place to add as another sign of the growing interest in the subject that Messrs. Ginn & Co. of Boston, are now making arrangements for the publication of a series of Handbooks on the History of Religions, which are intended to serve as text-books in the study. The series will be edited by Prof. Jastrow, with the coöperation of scholars in this country and Europe.

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mensurate always with the general advance of mankind. The historical study of religions serves as a powerful illustration, nay, may truly be said to furnish *the* most powerful illustration for the permanency of religion as a factor in human life, both of the individual and of the species.

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AN IMPORTANT DISCOVERY OF MSS.

By LESTER BRADNER, Jr., PH. D.
University of Berlin.

So long as Archæology keeps digging at the heaps of ancient ruins in Palestine or Assyria, or searching the tombs of Egypt, and so long as there are libraries of musty manuscripts yet unexplored and uncatalogued, the students of Biblical history and criticism may yet hope for new light from the past itself upon many perplexing problems. Was not Tischendorf rewarded in his search at Mt. Sinai by the valuable discovery of a new text of the New Testament? And in 1873 the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" with its important testimony to the constitution and teachings of the early church, was brought to light. And now another rich find is to give its witness in aid of historical and critical study.

The known extent of the early Christian writings has always far exceeded the amount that has been actually transmitted to us. What we know of them must be gathered chiefly from the few fragments quoted in patristic works, and by careful inferences from their contents and settings. With such scant sources at hand, all investigators of New Testament books and of the development of Christianity in the first centuries greet with eager interest the addition which has just been made to our early Christian literature. This is, in fact, none other than the discovery of extensive portions of the so-called 'Revelation of Peter,' and the 'Gospel of Peter.' These writings, together with large fragments of the apocalyptic book of Enoch, are contained in a Greek manuscript, belonging probably to the twelfth century, recently found by French scholars in a tomb in Upper Egypt. They have just been published by the French Archæological Commission in Egypt, and will also shortly appear,

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with comments by Prof. Harnack, of the University of Berlin, in the records of the Berlin Academy of Sciences.

The two works ascribed to Peter belong to a class of apocryphal literature which gained extensive dimensions during the second century. Acts of Peter and Paul and other apostles, their preaching, their revelations, and, above all, a mass of gospels were written, partly to satisfy the eager and legend-loving curiosity of the expanding church, partly to embody some particular shade of dogmatic teaching. The latter was especially the case among the Gnostics. Of these Apocryphal gospels, bearing often apostolic names, such as James, Matthew, Thomas, etc., more or less considerable portions of seven have been handed down to us, (*cf.* Tischendorf's edition), and beyond this some thirty or more are known by quoted fragments or by name alone. Of real Christian apocalyptic literature on the other hand, we have comparatively little, notwithstanding its fruitfulness on Jewish soil. Eusebius in his Church History mentions four works ascribed to Peter: his Acts, Gospel, Preaching and Revelation, while Jerome adds still another: the Judgment of Peter. And considering the apostle's importance in the early church, it is not surprising that the tendency to attribute apostolic authorship to later writings should have brought so many under his name.

Our first knowledge of the Gospel according to Peter, comes from Serapion, who was Bishop of Antioch, about the close of the second century. He found it in use, as Eusebius tells us, by the church in Cilicia, and at first, not having examined it closely, he made no objection against it, but later, discovering that it contained traces of the Docetic heresy, he wrote a refutation of it and probably forbade its use. Origen also mentions it. Both Eusebius and Jerome speak of it as a heretical work. In fact, the discovered gospel, the greater part of which is the description of Our Lord's Passion (as is the case in many Gnostic gospels) justifies these accusations by its traces of Docetism. The interesting feature of the Revelation of Peter is its close race with the Revelation of John for a place in the Canon of the New Testament. The Canon of the Muratorian Fragment (200

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A. D.) accepts it along with John, noting, however, some dissenting opinions ("*Apocalypses etiam Johannis et Petri tantum recipimus, quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt*"). Clement of Alexandria reckons it among the so-called Antilegomena, or disputed Scriptures, whereas other catalogues consider it genuine, inspired, and canonical. Eusebius recognizes that its use was not universal, and hence throws it into a subordinate class, while Sozomen calls it spurious, but says it was publicly read once a year in the Palestinian churches. From this doubtful position it was finally excluded by the admission of John alone to the universal canon. Its length is said to have been 270 *stichoi*, or lines, but its contents up to the present time have scarcely been known. Its investigation may now help to decide the question how far the apocalypse, as a literary product, belongs to the Christian Church. Undoubtedly the apocalyptic spirit ruled completely the life of the early Christian communities, but whether the apocalypse itself was ever an independent product of Christianity is still a question of criticism.

Both the Gospel and the Revelation of Peter are, therefore, most probably the work of the second century, and it seems likely that their close examination will bring to light many interesting points for the history both of the Canon and the Church. Even the name given them is a striking illustration of the characteristic inclination of that age toward the emphasis on apostolicity. For the third part of the manuscript, the Book of Enoch, the interest lies chiefly on the textual side, as the contents of the book are already known through an Ethiopic version.

BERLIN, November, 1892.

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

The Work of the Past Year. Although the present organization dates from October, 1889, the work of the Institute has been carried on under different forms of organization, but with the same Principal, and with the same, though ever broadening, purposes and field of work, since December, 1880, when the first course of study in Hebrew by correspondence was announced. The last Institute year closed September 30, and from the Principal's Annual Report the most of the following facts are gleaned.

The Correspondence Department. While the Institute has enlarged its sphere of usefulness in several directions, individual correspondence instruction still remains one of the leading features of its work. The single course in Hebrew, however, has grown until, for the past year, *twelve courses* have been in actual operation, four being in Hebrew with a membership, at the end of the year, of 448, one in Arabic with three students, two in New Testament Greek with 158 members, and five in the English Bible with a membership of 450. Total number of individual correspondence students, 1,059. In addition to these there have have been 92 Correspondence Clubs in the English Bible, with a membership of 1,167, and 57 Non-Correspondence Clubs with 665 members, making the whole number of students connected with the Institute in this department, 2,891. The number of new students enrolled during the year is 375 for individual instruction and 557 in clubs. Courses have been completed and certificates awarded to 42 students in Hebrew, 13 in New Testament Greek, and 19 in English Bible. Nearly 5,000 examination-papers have been corrected and returned, and about 3,000 letters have been written or dictated by instructors to the members of the School. These, together with the 8,000 or more

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letters written by the Secretary and others in the general work of the Institute, give some idea of the large amount of details involved in a work of such proportions. A feature of special interest this year has been the effort made to extend the knowledge of the advantages offered by the Institute in the way of correspondence study among missionaries in foreign countries. From the secretaries of nearly all the foreign missionary societies of the United States, Canada, and Great Britain, the names and addresses of the missionaries laboring under their auspices were obtained, and circulars of information were sent out to about 2,400 in all parts of the world. Although much of this work was done too late in the year for the results to appear in this report, yet many inquiries for further information were received and twenty new members were enrolled from foreign countries in the last two or three months of the year. As more than fifty students outside of the United States and Canada were already on the roll before these additions were made, the representation in foreign lands is becoming quite large. The following countries are now represented in the membership: England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, Norway, Italy, Turkey, Syria, India, Assam, Burma, China, Corea, Japan, Australia, West and South Africa, Brazil, Bermuda, West Indies, Mexico, and Newfoundland. It may be added that missionary students, notwithstanding the disadvantages resulting from their great distance from the headquarters of the School, are, as a rule, very successful, their general average, both in the amount and quality of the work done by them, being considerably above that of students in the home land.

The Examination Department. January 10, 1892, as in the previous year, an examination was held in many different places in the United States and Canada, and in China and Japan, to test the biblical knowledge of those who entered for the examination. The subjects this year were the Life of Christ, based on the four gospels, and the Gospel of John. In the majority of cases, the examination papers were forwarded to the headquarters of the Institute, where they were read and approved or rejected. Certificates were awarded to between four and five hundred persons

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whose work was approved. The applications already received for the examination to be held next January, on the Founding of the Christian Church, show that the record of last year will be largely exceeded. Fifty thousand circulars of this branch of the Institute's work have been distributed through individual correspondence and at denominational gatherings, at various conventions and summer schools, and through the officers of the Christian Endeavor Society and the King's Daughters. The examination plan of work is specially adapted to popular use, and has been not only cordially approved by the officers of the two organizations just named, but their constituency have been repeatedly recommended, through their official organs, *The Golden Rule* and *The Silver Cross*, to avail themselves of the help of the Institute in their Bible study. Steps have been taken toward active affiliation with other organizations which include the study of the Scriptures among their objects.

Other Lines of Work. Schools for the study of the Bible and the Biblical languages were held in connection with the summer schools at Chautauqua, N. Y., and Bay View, Mich. Circulars on Bible study were distributed at fifty Chautauqua assemblies throughout the country, and at many of them special conferences upon the work of the Institute were held. New Local Boards were organized in Washington, Baltimore, and Springfield, and the preliminary work has been done towards organization in other cities. Addresses on Biblical subjects were delivered by the Principal and Vice-Principal before Sunday-school associations, Christian Endeavor and Young Men's Christian Association conventions and at several universities. Very successful Bible Institutes were held in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

Work for the Coming Year. The various lines of effort in which the Institute has proved itself useful in the past will, of course, be continued. In the Correspondence Department at least two additional courses will be offered: one in New Testament Greek, and a second English Bible course on "The Founding of the Christian Church," based on the Acts, Epistles, and the Revelation. Proposed advances in the Examination Department have already

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been mentioned. More and better work in the way of Bible Institutes and of Biblical lectures on the University Extension plan has been arranged for. A special circular on this subject announces thirteen lecturers and thirty-four courses of six lectures each. While the themes discussed are all in Biblical lines, a great variety of topics is offered from which to choose. Nearly all the lecturers have been connected with the work of the Institute in some way in the past, or have had experience in similar work through other organizations, so that this advance step is taken with much confidence in its success. C. E. C.

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HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE SCRIPTURE MATERIAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL LESSONS.

By Associate Prof. George S. Goodspeed, Ph.D.
The University of Chicago.

I. The Return of the Exiles. Ezra i, 1–iv, 24.

The fifty years and more of Babylonian exile had wrought many changes in the thought and feeling of the people of Israel. They were years of subjugation under heathen conquerors, who, while belonging to the old Semitic stock, were yet of the warlike line of the Kaldi rather than the more peaceful and older Babylonian race, among whom Abraham had dwelt. A new generation had sprung up, born in captivity, trained in the traditions of the fathers, yet never having known by personal experience the glories of the native home. The ancestral worship of Jehovah could no longer be carried on under the old forms, for there was no temple on Mount Zion, to which the pious might resort, and whither, at all times, he might lift his eyes. It would not have been strange if they had lost much of their national and religious spirit. The process of "deportation" was designed to accomplish this very thing. It affected Israel, doubtless, quite in the way that it affected other nationalities, only not in the same degree. While other peoples gradually became merged into the complex of civilizations and lost their individuality, Israel was enabled, through the vitality of her religious life, to hold together and maintain with substantial integrity, though with important modifications, the essence of her national character. She went out into the darkness of captivity, holding to the thread of divine promise, and, trusting herself to it, came forth at last into the light of realization, weakened, worn, transformed, but with the germ of the old faith and the old ideals living and powerful.

In the preservation of the religious and national life through this threatening period, prophets had a large share. Beside them were the priests and the "sages." Each of these had a special work to do. The "sage" struggled with the problem of the present, and his theodicy remains for us in the Book of Job. The priest sought more practical ends in providing for the religious life of the time its suitable forms, means of expression and ideals of living. The prophet explained the meaning of the present from a study of the past, emphasized the ethical demand which resulted from such a study, and developed the hope of a future in which sorrow would be turned into joy and punishment into blessing. Often these lines of thinking run together. The "sage" turns prophet. The prophet uses priestly forms, in which to express his hopes. The purest form of prophetic teaching appears in Isaiah 40–66, whose wide sweep seems

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to pass at times quite beyond the old national and racial lines into a theoretic universalism, in which all nations are to be worshippers of Jehovah. Prophet and priest alike found the highest religious ideal and hope of the nation in an expected return to its native seat, to Jerusalem, where alone, as it seems, Jehovah could be worshipped in the truest way. Each conceived this ideal and hope in a somewhat different fashion, but both united in the prayer that it might be speedily realized.

This hope of restoration seemed to be one of the wildest dreams ever cherished by a people in captivity, and especially under the sway of an empire apparently so strong as that of the Chaldæans. But as time passed, the prophecy was seen to justify itself from two directions. The Chaldæan monarchy contained in its very essence a fatal weakness in that it was the organization under the dominance of Chaldæan rulers of two different peoples, the Babylonians and the Chaldæans. The genius of Nebuchadnezzar set itself to unify the two peoples through religion and politics, but the task was only half done at his death, while under his less able successors the original duality emphasized itself, until, in the person of Nabonidus, a "Babylonian" became king. Naturally his work was dictated by a spirit more or less in opposition to Nebuchadnezzar, and was seen especially in his endeavor to rehabilitate the old Babylonian seats of religious worship, and to depress the importance of Nabu and Marduk, chief gods of Babylon; the result was to alienate the priesthood of Babylon, and introduce another element of discord into the realm. The opportunity was ripe for the fall of the New-Babylonian empire, and it needed only a vigorous attack from without to show its weakness and accomplish its overthrow.

This attack was made by Cyrus, the Medo-Persian king. The facts relating to the origin of the kingdom of Persia — more properly, Anshan — and its relations to Media are not clear. Most probably Media was the first of the Aryan kingdoms on the east and north of the Mesopotamian plain to rise into prominence under Cyaxares, and Cyrus, king of Anshan, was one among other rulers of its vassal kingdoms. On the death of Cyaxares (B. C. 584) a Scythian invasion swept over the kingdom, and Astyages, its leader, became the successor of Cyaxares and lord of the vassal kingdom of Anshan. Against him as a usurper Cyrus rose in revolt for the deliverance of his country from the foreigner, succeeded in defeating him, owing to the passing over of the Median army to his side, in a critical engagement, and became ruler of the entire Medo-Persian kingdom in 550 B. C. With an army flushed with victory and filled with a national spirit, he extended his conquests westward and southward, came into contact with the kingdom of Lydia in the west and overthrew it (B. C. 546), and turned toward Babylonia for a decisive struggle, whose prize was the sovereignty of Western Asia.

Unfortunately no contemporary records are preserved which make clear the causes leading to the conflict between Cyrus and Nabonidus, or the details of the campaigns which preceded the final struggle. But what has been

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found in the inscriptions is sufficient to substantiate all that has been said respecting the inner discord and weakness of the Chaldæan empire. The last years of Nabonidus were troubled with revolts in Kaldi-land, the region about the Persian Gulf, and in the North of Babylonia. The advance of Cyrus did not meet with serious resistance. Nabonidus was defeated and fled. Babylon opened her gates to the soldiers of Cyrus, and the New-Babylonian empire came to an end in 538 B. C. Speculation has been rife with respect to the relation of the people of Israel to these events culminating in the fall of the empire. Isaiah 40—66 mentions Cyrus by name as the chosen servant of Jehovah, to punish Israel's enemies and restore her possessions. Were the Jewish people in the empire actively in sympathy with the movements of Cyrus, and did their support contribute to the victorious advance of the Persian army? There is no definite answer to these questions to be given, but it seems probable that with such feelings and expectations as are expressed in the prophetic writings just mentioned, they must have done what they could to help on the result. Their presence in Babylon and the other cities of Chaldæa could not but have been another weakening element in the social and political organization.

But how is their situation to be improved under the new conqueror? Is it not passing from one tyrant to another? Were they not likely to suffer more from a people of alien blood like the Persians than from their own Semitic brethren? They thought otherwise, and while they did not know definitely how the improvement was to come, the result shows that their expectations were well founded. The change in the situation of Israel came from the new political and religious attitude and policy of the new rulers. It was part of a larger movement which affected the whole empire. According to the religious ideas of antiquity, every region had its god whom the dwellers worshipped and whose presence and protection they lost when they left that region. Coming into a new locality, they came under the protection of a new god and owed him homage. Hence, every "deported" people lost, with its country, its gods also, and must acquire new objects of worship in the land whither it had come. Conquering nations left the gods of the conquered to them so long as they remained in their native seats. With Cyrus and the Persians such a policy was not possible in its entirety. They had stepped into possessions not their own, for Anshan was a petty, vassal kingdom which was swallowed up in the vast domains over which Cyrus ruled. Hence Cyrus, though a conqueror, must exchange his gods for others — a thing which was not to be thought of — or he must carry through a policy of religious toleration which permitted him to hold the religion of his ancestors while he ruled from a land whose gods were different and yet claimed homage from the dwellers in their territory. This required of him a formal acknowledgment of the authority of the local deities while it did not prevent him from retaining the faith of his fathers. It also constrained him to carry through the same measures in every conquered land, and to grant to dwellers in that land the

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religious freedom which he reserved for himself. Precisely this policy is seen in his dealings with Babylonia. There he appears as a faithful servant of Marduk of Babylon, while he also returns to their native seats the images of the gods which Nabonidus had brought to Babylon. This attitude has been thought to show that Cyrus was a Polytheist and not a Zoroastrian, but the conclusion does not at all follow and is opposed by other facts. The position of Israel was at once altered for the better, and they enjoyed from this time forward, under the Persian Empire, a measure of religious toleration which the Chaldæan kings had not dreamed of granting them. A new religious idea was brought into the world by the Persians, forced upon them in the very beginnings of their national life and accepted by Cyrus as the ruling principle of his religious policy.

The other measure which concerned the people of Israel was that which renounced the method of "deportation" characteristic of the Assyrian and Chaldæan empires. A passage in the Cyrus Cylinder states that certain peoples of quite a broad region, apparently belonging to the original Medo-Persian settlements, were by his order returned with their gods to their native seats and the temples rebuilt. The like measure in the case of the people of Israel and the wisdom of this policy adds to the probability that it was carried out more extensively, indeed, that it was part of the general political policy of the new ruler. It removed discordant elements of population from regions where union with the natives was almost impossible. It bound to the empire the restored people (whose nationality had been already broken and the habit of subjection formed) through the gratitude which such an act would arouse. It made in each district whither they returned a faithful bulwark of the Persian power. Such, indeed, were its results in the case of the Jews. From a state of intense independence and a fanatical spirit of nationalism in their original kingdom, and a condition of constant disaffection and uneasiness under the Chaldæan yoke, they passed into quiet, peaceable, loyal supporters of the Persian empire.

There was something closer in the relation of Cyrus to the Jews than merely the results of a uniform civil and religious policy would indicate. Three facts must be taken into account in estimating this relation: (1) The cordial feeling toward Cyrus entertained in Isaiah, 40-66; (2) the personal religious faith of the conqueror; (3) the terms in which the proclamation (Ezra i. 1-4) and decree (Ezra vi. 3-5) of restoration are expressed. The two first support each other, for, whatever may be said to the contrary, it is hardly to be expected that the prophet would hail in such terms of high religious import a man who in religion was different in no essential respects from the Chaldæo-Babylonian rulers. That the prophet knew the Zoroastrian — or pre-Zoroastrian — faith of Cyrus, and had already observed his religious policy seems reasonable. It meant everything to the Jews politically and religiously. All the probabilities are in favor of the view that Cyrus was a Persian in faith as he was in blood. The contents of the cylinder inscription

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instead of opposing, argue in favor of it, for the exaltation of Marduk, god of Babylon, therein contained the declaration that "Marduk, the great lord, the restorer (?) of his people beheld with joy his (*i. e.* Cyrus') beneficent deeds, his righteous hand, his noble heart; he commanded him to march to his own city, Babylon; . . . like a friend and helper he moved at his side," convey the impression that one God is honored, though in Babylon his name may be Marduk. The above quotation may profitably be compared with Isa. xlv. 1-3, where similar language is used of Jehovah. This inscription shows also a remarkable likeness to that proclamation by which the people of Jehovah are permitted to return home. While it may readily be admitted that the words of the permit have been altered in sympathy with Jewish religious views, yet, on any reasonable hypothesis of its original form, it substantiates the conclusion that there were some particular grounds, among which was especially that of religious sympathy, that drew Cyrus and Israel together. From the political point of view the suggestion has some weight also that Cyrus was desirous of having a loyal body of people in the vicinity of Egypt, Phœnicia, and the Mediterranean, on whom he could rely in case he advanced against Egypt, and decided to establish Israel at Jerusalem with this purpose. Thus came to pass the statement of Ezra i. 1, that "in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, the LORD stirred up the spirit of Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all the kingdom" whereby the "house of the LORD in Jerusalem" was to be rebuilt and the people of Israel called to go up to their city.

The Jews had preserved their old tribal and family organization throughout the exile. The permission to return came to them, accordingly, not as individuals, but as a people, and was acted upon by their elders. The plans and their carrying out have the character of a *national* movement. It was the nation which had gone into exile. It was the nation that prepared to return to Jerusalem and build the house of the LORD. Twelve leaders are mentioned in Neh. vii. 7 in the document which is the same as that in Ezra ii, and seems to stand there in a better preserved form. Zerubbabel, the descendant of the royal house, and Jeshua, the heir of the high-priestly family, are at the head of the twelve. But who shall go with them? The entire body of Israel? That was manifestly impossible if the journey must be made immediately. Many were engaged in occupations which they could not leave at once; many had property in the land which could not be readily disposed of and which they could not carry with them. For various reasons, self-evident to one who gives a moment's thought to the situation, a very large proportion of the nation could not accept the king's kindness, even though they earnestly desired to do so. What was to be done? Two courses were open. Either the enterprise could be postponed until the majority of the nation was able to join in the homeward march, or a detachment of those who were able to arrange their affairs at once could be sent forward under official leadership, with the expectation that others would follow as rapidly as possi-

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ble. Manifestly it would not be wise to delay, for it would seem like despising the king's favor, on the one hand, and, on the other, would run the risk of cooling the national enthusiasm for the return and throwing despite upon the promise of God. The latter was the plan determined upon, and under the twelve official leaders, the company began to assemble.

Of all the people the priests and religious attendants were naturally most desirous and most able to go at a moment's notice, and we find them a large proportion of the entire company. Of the rest it was evident that those who had little property were most available. As in so many other cases, so also here, it was the poor who could take advantage of God's favor, while the rich must needs remain behind. The latter, however, could help on the movement by supplying their poorer brethren with money and means for the long journey. That they themselves did not wish to go, is nowhere even hinted at. Their enthusiasm was equal to that of their brethren. Nothing in the narrative is opposed, and much favors the inference that they themselves expected in due time to follow. As in the first crusade the many who were able to go on a sudden went, while those who remained prepared to come after them. It will be later seen why they failed to come. It is enough now to emphasize the fact that, however much they might now desire, they were quite unable to get away. Thus the entire number who joined in the first return, who might be called the first detachment the advance column, amounted to about 50,000.

Cyrus, in recognition of the national character of the movement, handed over the sacred vessels, just as he returned the images of the gods to their Akkadian worshippers, to be carried back to their place in the Temple, to be built again on Mt. Zion. The people who remained made their offerings for the sacred building which they themselves hoped before long to see. There is good reason to wonder that, not so few, but so many could be found thus suddenly to undertake the journey. We may reasonably admire the enthusiasm and devotion which inspired them to give up all occupations, cut loose from friends, in some cases with no little self-sacrifice, and march out, truly heroic leaders of their people, the Crusaders before the Crusades, bound for the Holy City. They did not know the difficulties that lay before them, neglect and isolation from their brethren, envy and hostility from surrounding peoples. Nor did they realize, at the same time, that they were to be the representatives of a people, "which in spite of its seeming insignificance at the time, nevertheless bore with it a more momentous future than that of any of the nations subjugated and crushed by the Chaldæans."[1] Like many another movement of faith and religious enthusiasm, this one through much hardship accomplished results of eternal significance.

Of the route and details of the journey to Jerusalem no information is

[1] Ewald, *History of Israel*, vol. v, p. 50. The sentence refers to Cyrus as the instrument of Israel's restoration.

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given. Nor is the condition of things which was found in the land or the position and order of the settlement very clear. It appears that the ancient enemies of Israel had spread over the country to the east and south in some degree, while in the north descendants of the mixed races which had been brought from the far east or had remained in the land, were settled. No doubt the proclamation and decree of Cyrus involved details concerning the removal of the population which had taken possession of the places where the home-comers were to live. It required but a short time after they had arrived on the ground for them to separate to their towns and begin the new life in the old homes. Their civil organization was marked out for them beforehand in the presence of their twelve elders and in the return to the old popular assembly which had formed the oldest basis of Israel's social and political life. Zerubbabel seems to have held some kind of an appointment from the Persian court, though there is also ground for believing that the returning company was attended by a Persian escort and under the charge of a Persian officer who remained in control of the new "province." In any case the descendant of David would occupy a unique position and exercise an important civil and ecclesiastical, if not political, authority. Beside him was Jeshua the priest who, in connection with Zerubbabel and the elders, undertook the religious organization of the community. Immediately on arriving, the gifts of the wealthy, who had remained behind as well as other contributions for the building of the temple, had been delivered over and there seemed to be no reason why the work favored by King Cyrus should not go forward with despatch. In the seventh month of that year, 537 B. C., by the action of a popular assembly, an altar was erected, offerings were made and feasts kept, their order appointed, and contracts were made for work and materials needed in the construction of the Temple. By the next year (536 B. C.), the Levites were organized for directing the building, and the corner-stone was laid amidst a tumult of joy and grief, easily explicable in the case of men who looked back on the past achievements beside which the present seemed so small and who looked forward to a fulfillment of hopes and ideals before which both past and present sank into insignificance. It was a notable day, containing in its exaltation of religious sentiment and in its glorification of the Temple tendencies profoundly significant of the future of the community. It was the first stage of their history, an auspicious beginning of what seemed destined to be of easy accomplishment.

In laying the corner-stone of their Temple, however, they laid the foundation of their troubles also. The people who dwelt round about them, especially in northern Israel, where the places of those who had been "deported" had been filled up by strangers, were worshippers of Jehovah as well as they. Their worship was, no doubt, corrupted with idolatrous forms, and possibly with heathenish notions, but, when they heard of the new-comers and their religious character and purposes, they came, apparently with sincere motives, to the new community, suggesting a union of religious forces about

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the altar of Jehovah at Jerusalem. It was a critical moment in their history. It meant, on the one hand, large increase in strength, with the possible danger of religious degeneracy, or the likelihood of arousing religious hatreds which might threaten the future of the enterprise. But with their views and expectations, Zerubbabel and his advisers could take but one course. They felt secure of the favor of the court, and looked for constant reinforcements from their brethren in Babylonia. With the religious training of the exile, during which they had been forced into daily contact with the heathen, and were ever conscious of being unclean, they did not care now to renew the acquaintance with those who could not be numbered among legitimate Israelites. They answered, therefore, with short and scant courtesy, that there was no religious comity possible between them, that they themselves would carry on by themselves the work which the King had commanded them to do. The would-be religious allies withdrew in anger, and the new community must reckon with their active hostility. It manifested itself in attacks upon their settlements in Judah, as well as in intrigues at the Persian court. It is not probable that they succeeded in accomplishing anything very important against Jerusalem. Doubtless their efforts added to the difficulties under which the colonists struggled. The work on the Temple certainly ceased, and nothing was accomplished for fourteen years and more (536–521 B. C.).

The chief hindrances, however, were internal. In the first place, after the early enthusiasm for the religious services wore away, the struggle for existence began to press hard upon the new comers. The harassing attacks of the surrounding peoples became burdensome. The people had not brought much with them; they were the poor among their brethren; they must labor in the land which had suffered so much from war and devastation that agriculture must begin from the foundation. More than all that, the expected addition to their numbers from Babylonia did not appear. The rich and those who had been prevented by other things from joining in the advance movement failed to come after them. What was the reason for this delay? Not that they had become selfish or idolatrous. The Israel that remained was more pious than that which returned. But let us remember the religious policy of the Persian Empire, which just began to make its impression on the exiles. The tolerance which prevailed made it possible for them to love and worship Jehovah as well in Babylon as in Jerusalem. Their ideas were broadening under the genial influence of Cyrus' religious policy. They were loath to go. It was half a century before any considerable number could be induced to come up to the help of those whom they had followed with longing eyes as they set out on their glorious task of re-occupying the Holy City and building the Temple.

The result of these inner difficulties and outward disappointments was to reduce the returned exiles in Judah to a condition of apathy and worldliness. They were not encouraged by the outward course of affairs. Cyrus was slain in battle in 529 B. C. His son Cambyses was a man possessing neither the

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religious nor the political insight of his father. His Egyptian war, begun in B. C. 525, would lead him into the vicinity of Jerusalem, but his energies were absorbed in other activities. The condition of Jerusalem during this period is a blank. The passage in Ezra iv. 6–23 has gotten into the wrong place, and should follow Chapter 6. Ezra iv. 24 connects directly with v. 5. It was only with the accession of Darius that new hope stirred in the hearts of patriots and prophets at Jerusalem, who began to speak for Jehovah in the ears of the listless and discouraged people.

The following paper will treat of the work of Haggai and Zechariah, and the historical events connected with the times of Ezra and Nehemiah.

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Exploration and Discovery.

THE LONDON ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

By Charles F. Kent, Ph.D.
The University of Chicago.

The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, which met at London in September, proved to be a most profitable session. A large number of delegates were present from nearly every country in Europe and also from America, India, Persia and Egypt. The Duke of York acted as Honorary President and patron of the Congress, and Prof. Max Müller presided. For special work the Congress was divided into ten sections, each with an individual organization and meetings.

Among the many interesting papers, connected with the Biblical field, was one by Prof. Hommel of Munich on "The Babylonian Origin of Egyptian Culture." In the earliest Babylonian texts, he claims to find names identical and even represented by the same signs as in many of the Egyptian pyramid texts, which indicate a distinct connection between the two ancient civilizations. He maintains that the Babylonian is the older, and instead of accepting the theory that the Egyptian was originally a Semitic language, he considers the older texts sufficient proof that it has rather an affinity with the Sumerian dialect of Babylonia.

Mr. S. A. Strong called attention to the remarkable resemblance in many cases between the Assyrian religious texts and the Hebrew literature.

Mr. T. G. Pinches of the British Museum presented a valuable paper on "The New Version of the Creation Story," which differs from all that have thus far been discovered, and is evidently a very old document. The works of creation are arranged in an order, which does not correspond with that of Genesis, but has a curious resemblance to the eighth chapter of Proverbs.

No indications of the healing of the breach between the European Orientalists appear, but rather a confirmation of the former division. Geneva in 1894 is the place and date of the next Congress, after which it will be held only once in every three years.

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THE TEL-EL-AMARNA TABLETS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.[1]

By Associate Prof. Robert F. Harper, Ph.D.
The University of Chicago.

In the winter of 1887, some Fellahin made a very important discovery at Tel-el-Amarna in Upper Egypt, on the eastern bank of the Nile, about midway between Minieh and Siout. These ruins represent the site of the temple of Amenôphis IV., *i. e.* Khu-en-Aten, the so-called "Heretic King" of the XVIIIth Egyptian dynasty — about 1500 B. C. — the son of Amenôphis III. In the early part of this century when the scientific staff attached to the army of Napoleon, on the expedition to Egypt, were surveying and searching for materials for a complete map of Egypt — afterwards edited by Jacotin — a number of Egyptian antiquities were found at Tel-el-Amarna, which, later on, found their way into the different European museums. However valuable and important these early finds were, there cannot be any comparison between them and the finds of 1887. No one knows exactly where or when these tablets were found by the Antica, for the Arabs, as is customary, took care to obliterate all traces of their digging after her great find. During the winter of 1887 and 1888 about 200 of these tablets were offered for sale by native dealers. Later on others were found. Various views have been given as to the total number of these tablets found, but the outside limit is, perhaps, 330. The British Museum secured 82 through Dr. Budge; the Gîzeh Museum in Egypt about 60, and the Berlin about 160, of which a very large number are so fragmentary as to give little or no connected sense. The authorities of the Berlin Museum have published their collection, together with those at Gîzeh, under the editorship of Drs. Winckler and Abel. They have been reproduced by the autograph process, and the texts are very faulty in some places and very poorly reproduced in others. Abel autographed and Winckler, according to Winckler, deciphered or copied. In the last number of Bezold's *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Abel claims to have done his share of the copying, and his claims are supported openly by Erman and tacitly by Schrader.

The Tel-el-Amarna tablets in the British Museum are marked Bu. 88-10-13+ or, Budge the 13th of October, 1888. Students have inquired for these tablets ever since their arrival in the British Museum, but the answer given was, "they are reserved for official use." Later on it became known that Drs. Bezold and Budge were preparing an edition of this collection.

In addition to those tablets which were secured by the different museums,

[1] The Tel-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum with autotype *fac-similes*. By Drs. Bezold and Budge. Printed by the order of the Trustees, London, 1892. Pp. xcii and 157 + 24 plates.

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a great many passed into the hands of private individuals, Turkish, Russian, and French officials and missionaries. M. Golenischeff secured more than any other private individual.

As may be imagined, these tablets created a great sensation among Assyriologists. They have been found to consist chiefly of letters and dispatches to two Egyptian kings, whose names in these inscriptions are Nimmuriya and Naphuriya. The Nimmuriya or Mimmuriya — and even Immuriya occurs — is to be identified with Amenôphis III. We have the following from a letter of Tushratta to Amenôphis IV: "And now I say that just as I was in friendship with Mimmuriya, thy father, so also will I be more than ten times more so with Naphuriya." Naphuriya is certainly to be identified with Amenôphis IV, and is to be regarded as the Babylonian form of Nefer-Cheperu-Ra and Mimmuriya as the father of Amenôphis IV, and not the grandfather. Prof. Erman, of Berlin, in the *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie zu Berlin* (Nov. 23, 1888,) was the first authority to identify these two names with the IIId and IVth Amenôphis's of the XVIIIth dynasty, viz.: Neb-ma-ra and Nefer-Cheperu-Ra. Several of these letters refer to the wife of Amenôphis III, *i. e.* the mother of Amenôphis IV, viz. Queen Thi, written D. T. Te-i-e. Again, several are simply addressed to the "King of Egypt," without any further designation. These would fall, however, within the time of the two Amenôphis's. Bezold and Budge take up the identification of these names at some length and their results are thoroughly trustworthy.

These tablets are peculiar in size, shape, and style of writing. The clay of which they are made is different from that found in other Babylonian tablets, being coarse and gritty as a rule. The kind of clay of which a tablet is made often plays an important part in indicating the country from which it came. Bezold and Budge say that "in color the tablets vary from a light to a dark dust tint, and from a flesh color to dark brick red. Only a few of them have been baked. The others are all sun-dried." In form the majority are rectangular, but some are oval. Some are flat on both sides and others convex on both sides. In a great many cases the writing is careless, and only one side of the tablet is inscribed. Many different styles of writing are used, including every class and variety of form of cuneiform characters known, with the exception of the complicated characters found in some of the old Babylonian texts. Budge and Bezold describe it as follows: "The writing on the Tel-el-Amarna tablets resembles, to a certain extent, the Neo-Babylonian, *i. e.*, the simplification of the writing of the first Babylonian Empire, used commonly in Babylonia and Assyria for about seven centuries B. C. It possesses, however, characteristics different from those of any other style of cuneiform of any period now known to exist; and nearly every tablet contains forms of characters which have hitherto been thought peculiar to the Ninevite or Assyrian style of writing." Very often the characters resemble those on the so-called Cappadocian tablets which have been described by

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Sayce. There are a few of these Cappadocian tablets in the University of Pennsylvania collection, purchased by Mr. Peters in Constantinople.

Again, the language of these inscriptions is peculiar. It is not good Babylonian. It is forced and often contains non-Semitic words and constructions. Bezold and Budge say: "It supplies a number of new words and forms, and exhibits peculiar grammatical constructions, the existence of which has been hitherto unsuspected, and which have a close affinity to the language of the Old Testament." In other words, Babylonian was the *lingua franca*, the diplomatic language of Western Asia and also of Egypt. Some of them are written in very poor Babylonian, however. French is the diplomatic language of to-day, and some French letters written by foreigners are in very poor and forced French. It was not until 800 B. C. that Aramaic came to the front, and drove out the Babylonian. In fact, according to the latest results — obtained by Strassmaier and unpublished — Babylonian remained a commercial language, even down to the time of Christ, and later.

But this is not all. Some of the tablets from Mitanni, which must be located in Mesopotamia, just east of Carchemish, the capital of the Hittite empire, were written in Babylonian, and others in an altogether different language. The first to notice this different language was the indefatigable Sayce, who has been from the first a pioneer in the decipherment of cuneiform and Hittite inscriptions. In the January *Academy*, 1890, p. 64, he calls attention to the "language of Mitannu." Some of these tablets are written in a non-Semitic language, but with the cuneiform characters, just as a great many people write German letters or dispatches in the Latin script. I think that this is one of the most interesting points connected with these Tel-el-Amarna tablets. In the first volume, second and third numbers (August, 1890) of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, this so-called Mitanni language has been discussed by Jensen, Brünnow and Sayce.

In these texts we find the peculiarity of dividing words at the end of a line. These divisions are of the rarest occurrence in other Babylonian tablets. The whole subject of language will be taken up most thoroughly by Dr. Bezold in his book on "Oriental Diplomacy," which is overdue from the press of Luzac & Co., London.

He will give a list of peculiar forms—grammatical and lexicographical—peculiar expressions, idioms, etc. There will be a complete transliteration of all the texts in the British Museum, together with a glossary.

The present volume contains the text of all the tablets in the Museum, with a résumé of the contents. At present it is unwise to attempt any complete translation. Sayce, as usual, has made translations, and Sayce's translations, as usual, cannot be regarded as reliable.[1]

[1] A more technical review will appear in the January number of HEBRAICA, including Dr. Bezold's *Oriental Diplomacy*.

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THE LATEST FROM EGYPT.

By JAMES H. BREASTED, M.A.
University of Berlin.

Since Lepsius disclosed for us in the forties, what is known among German Egyptologists as "*das mittlere Reich*," the middle Empire, no excavations in Egypt have excited such interest as those of Mr. Petrie at Tel-el-Amarna. All the world knows of the famous cuneiform tablets embodying the correspondence between the kings of the Nile and the Mesopotamian valleys in the sixteenth century B. C., and as a consequence the flood of light which has been thrown upon the political condition of Palestine during the centuries just preceding the Israelitish occupation. But in view of some further discoveries of Mr. Petrie, it may not be out of place briefly to notice the unique origin of the city where he has been excavating.

It owed its existence to purely religious causes. Amenhotep IV has long been a puzzle to Egyptologists, but his story is now understood with tolerable accuracy, and shows that Egypt did not lack her religious controversies, as we shall see. The majority of the greater deities of the Egyptian pantheon were sun-gods; Amon Ra, Horus, Osiris all found visible embodiment in the sun, but still retained their individuality. Among the more highly cultivated of the Egyptians, the feeling very early developed, that all these divinities were but *forms* for the same great deity. Especially did the priests of the new empire understand this, and knew that the god whom the Egyptian peasant of one *nomos* honored as *Ra*, was the same divinity known as *Horus* in another *nomos*. They were but different manifestations of the same god,—an ancient Sabellianism. Indeed the priests carried this development so far, that they brought deities into the sun-cultus, who had really no connection with it; like *Amon*, god of harvest, or the water-god *Sobek*. Thus the distinctions between the different persons of the pantheon were being gradually effaced, but no hierarchy had the courage to abandon the old forms; the traditional beliefs were too firmly fixed in the hearts of the people, and not the slightest change was made in the ancient ritual and cultus.

The decisive step of worshipping this *one* deity under *one* name, was made by the king above mentioned, Amenhotep IV of the XVIII. dynasty. He chose as the striking symbol of his *one* deity, the *'eten* or sun-disk. It preserved the ancient sun cultus, and was at the same time the symbol of the Pharaohs' universal sway; for we find on an obelisk of Queen Hatskepsut at Karnak a reference to herself as, "she whom the great circle of the gods has trained as mistress of the (*shntu-n-'eten*) circuit of the sun-disk." Not content with adopting this worship himself, the king immediately proceeded to enforce its adoption thoroughout his realm by the most severe measures. The names of all other gods were everywhere erased and the new cultus universally introduced. As his own name contained the name of Amon, the

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king changed it to Huen'eten ("radiance of the sun-disk"), and leaving Thebes, with its too frequent reminders of the same god, he went further down the river and founded a new capital which he named "*hut-en-'eten* ("horizon of the sun-disk"), the modern Tel-el-Amarna. He enriched the place with a noble palace and magnificent temples of his new cultus, till it became a city truly worthy of a king's residence, which it continued to be till Huen'eten's death, a period of uncertain length. He was succeeded by two relatives, and a priest of the new cultus, all weaklings and unable to continue the reform. The last one was succeeded by the great King Haremheb, the last ruler of the XVIII. dynasty, who razed the capital of the reformer to the ground and utilized the stone for his own purposes. The traditional worship was restored and everywhere resumed its sway, and the idea which Huen'eten had so vigorously introduced was never again favored by any king.

An effort for the establishment of such absolute monotheism, or at least the strictest monolatry, is especially interesting, as it took place during the Israelitish sojourn in Egypt. It was a strange fortune which brought this people, even for so short a time, under the only nation of that period, which ever dreamed of monotheism, though it would be nonsense to assume that the movement had the slightest influence upon them.

This unsuccessful reform also affects the contemporaneous history of Palestine, for the internal confusion occasioned by it, so distracted Egypt's foreign policy that the Palestinian tributaries gained by the splendid victories of Thothmes III are enabled to free themselves. The power of the northern Hittites grows undisturbed till it is enabled to face the armies of Rameses II without flinching. It may therefore with probability be said that Israel on entering Palestine would still have been within the jurisdiction of Egypt, had it not been for the reformation of Huen'eten.

On the site of this old time capital, Mr. Petrie has been continuing his excavations since finding the famous letters. Tracing the razed walls of the palace, he has come upon one room nearly entire, with "a painted fresco pavement," presenting subjects treated in a style utterly foreign to previous and subsequent methods. It is unnecessary to recall to the reader the rigid conventionalism which everywhere dominates Egyptian art, and from which these new specimens are entirely free. Subjects from nature are treated with a grace and freedom which classic frescoes can hardly parallel. Especially noticeable is a bull standing among sedges with head on high and a frightened bird flying away above him. Petrie claims that nothing like this can be found "until modern times," and yet that they were done by Egyptian artists as the conventional treatment of some familiar motives shows. Whether these striking innovations like the new religion were introduced by the heretic king himself, is a question. Where the ideas came from is tolerably certain. A people living in the north and called by the Egyptians Kefti voluntarily sent presents to *Thothmes* III after his victories in Palestine;

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these gifts are in a style previously unknown, and are possibly Mycenæan. More than that they lived in the north cannot be affirmed of the Kefti, but it is certain that their work came into Egypt at this time, and the new art of Huen'eten is doubtless to be assigned to this source. Mr. Petrie's assignment of it to the Greeks, of whom in this period we know *absolutely nothing*, is entirely without ground. Not the least interesting relic found, is a death mask of the king made for the use of the artists and sculptors who had his funeral equipage and sarcophagus to prepare. Such an exact reproduction as this is unique and offers an intensely fascinating study to connect these features with the known history of the man.

These developments in the art of the XVIIIth dynasty, recall the recent finds of Brugsch, at Hawara, in Fayum, which have just arrived at the Royal Museum here. In pursuance of the old custom of carving the face of the deceased in the lid of the sarcophagus, it came to be common in the later times to substitute for this, a *painted* portrait of the deceased, done upon a tablet of cypress wood or a square of heavy linen, laid over the face of the deceased. The end of the coffin lid was then hinged and could be turned down, exposing the portrait to view. Often, however, the mummy had no further cover than its wrappages. This wrapping was most elaborately done with bands of colored linen, crossed in a complex diamond pattern, bearing in the centre of each diamond a gilded button. The method seems to have been peculiar to Fayum, and during a period from the first century B. C. to about 200 A. D.

The remarkable thing about these mummies is the portraits mentioned. These are so natural in color, blending and life-like expression, that, as Brugsch remarks, had you met one of them in a modern frame, no thought of an ancient origin would have been suggested. The work was done in wax colors, mostly laid on with palette-knife, often receiving final touches with the brush. The knowledge that such work existed was shown by Petrie in '88 on the same field where Brugsch has been digging. It is undoubtedly Greek, but that the Greek portrait painters of the first century B. C. were practically the equals of modern masters, no one had dreamed. That such is the case, however, is evidenced by the words of Menzel, who, on viewing their work for the first time, exclaimed: "*Wir haben nichts hinzugelernt.*" Thus does Egypt preserve to us the relics of ancient culture and art from other shores.

Nor in the province of literary art are interesting developments wanting. It is probably not generally known among Biblical scholars, that the parallelism distinctive of Hebrew poetry is the *usual* form of the Egyptian poem. An example or two will best illustrate.

In the tomb of a court-officer, Seheteb-'eb-Ra at Abydos, the deceased is represented as having delivered to his children in praise of the king, a song, of which the following is a part. I translate literally, retaining as far as possible the order of the original:

"Worship the king in the midst of your reins,

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"Honor his majesty in your hearts,
"He is *Sa*'[1] in the hearts,
"His eyes search each body,
"He is the sun who sees with his rays.
"He illuminates the two[2] lands more than the sun-disk,
"He makes verdant more than a great Nile.
"He fills the two lands with strength,
"He is the life which cools the nostrils.
"He gives food to those who are in his train,
"He nourishes those who follow his way.

"He it is who causes what is,
"He is the *chnum*[3] of each body.

It will be observed that the second group is a triple parallelism (cf. Ps. cxlvi., 6–10), while the rest are on the usual plan of two members. An excellent example is also found in the temple of Osiris at Abydos, where the priests say of the king:

"How gentle is this in the hearts of the people!
"How beautiful is this before the gods!
"Thou makest the monuments of Osiris,
"Thou adornest him who is before the dwellers of the west (*i. e.*, Osiris).

"Excellent for his deeds,
"Mighty in the naming of his name.

And the king says of himself:

"I gave the priests to know what concerned them,
"I put right the ignorant in his ignorance.

"I strengthen who were in terror,
"I thrust back the evil from them.

There also occurs a rarer form of complex verse, having two lines parallel with two. The predominating variety is the so-called synonymous parallelism, more rarely the synthetic and antithetic. Did the Semites obtain this style of verse from the Egyptians or the reverse? It is an interesting question, and a thorough examination of the history of forms in Assyrian poetry would throw much light upon it.

At some future time the date and finally certain translation of the Egyptian names in Genesis xli. 45 may not be uninteresting to the readers of this journal.

[1] God of perceiving.

[2] Upper and lower Egypt.

[3] God of creation.

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THE EXPEDITION OF THE BABYLONIAN EXPLORATION FUND.

EXCAVATIONS AT NIFFER DURING THE SEASON OF 1889.

By ASSOCIATE PROF. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, PH.D.
The University of Chicago.

In the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* at Washington, D. C. (April 21–23, 1892), the Rev. John P. Peters, Director of the Expedition of the Babylonian Exploration Fund (under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania) gives a brief account of some of the doings of the party while *en route* and in camp at Niffer. In the *Old and New Testament Student* for 1892, I have traced in outline the proceedings of the expedition from New York to Aleppo, Aleppo to Baghdad, and from Baghdad to Niffer, the site chosen for excavation.

The staff for 1888–'89 consisted of the following members: Director, John P. Peters; Assyriologists, Robert Francis Harper and H. V. Hilprecht; Architect and Engineer, Perez Hastings Field; Photographer and Business Manager, J. H. Haynes; Interpreter, D. Z. Noorian.

It is my purpose, in this concluding article, briefly to note a few of the most important transactions at Niffer.

The sites for excavation, chosen by Mr. Peters, rather than by the members of the expedition, were Anbar, identified by the Wolfe expedition with Sippara; Birs Nimrud (Borsippa) and Niffer or Nufar—Nippuru. According to Mr. Peters, Anbar was refused by the Baghdad authorities, and Birs Nimrud and Niffer were granted. The conditions of excavation were those prescribed by the Turkish law. No concessions, or special permissions, were granted, except, perhaps, in the matter of the topographical map of the site to be excavated, which is generally required beforehand. Mr. Field was permitted to prepare this map after his arrival at Niffer.

Our party arrived at Niffer at six on the evening of Jan. 31st, 1889, under the escort of Makota, acting head Sheikh of the Affek Arabs, and some Turkish soldiers. Here we found the rest of the expedition, who had come from Hilleh, with the baggage, by a shorter route and had arrived on the 30th. Our tents were pitched and after a frugal dinner—if one can make use of the term—we retired for the night. After an early breakfast (Feb. 1st), Hilprecht and I began to get our tent in order. We had a U. S. Army tent, 9x14 feet, provided with a fly. I unpacked boxes and bags and brought out the rugs purchased in Baghdad. On the ground were placed two large reed mats obtained from the Arabs; on these the rugs were spread out. After we had finished, the tent looked very oriental and pleasant. About 9:30 the Sheikh, with a numerous following, came for his *Baksheesh*. He wished us to take a guard of fifteen men from his tribe. Field worked upon the map during the whole day. After dinner the party spent the evening in the "smoking room," as our tent had been designated.

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(Feb. 2d, Sat.) Field finished his map of Niffer, and after Bedri Bey, the Turkish Commissioner, had satisfied himself that it was exact, it was handed to Mustapha, our chief servant, to be taken to Diwaniyeh. Along with it went a telegram from Bedri Bey to the Wali Pasha of Baghdad, saying that the regulations in regard to the map had been fulfilled, and a request to telegraph permission to commence excavations. The party made a survey of the mounds. We went over to the Bint-el-Amîr and decided on the so-called temple mound as one of the good places for excavations. We found several walls *in situ* at different places. Phalli are very numerous. Later on the Arabs called and our tent was used as the "reception tent."

(Feb. 3d, Sunday.) It rained during the night and, in the morning, the mud was about four inches deep all around us. The rain continued during the whole day. Our tent was selected as the "church" and Mr. Peters read the Church of England service. I feared for the safety of our tent several times. The rain poured, the wind blew and the tent shook. Here we were, sitting on a dry spot of ground, 9x14 feet, under canvas walls, surrounded on all sides by swamps and Bedawin, expecting every minute to have our tent picked up by the wind and set down again afar off in the Affek swamps. In the afternoon, I visited Bedri Bey and he showed me three fragments of a stone found under his tent. These were the first finds.

(Feb. 4th, Monday.) Our encampment is becoming a little village. It is larger and more prosperous than many of the Arab encampments which I have seen. Bedri Bey's tent was finished to-day. He had trouble with the Arabs on account of the small pay, and as a result, we had our first war dance in camp. Mustapha returned from Diwaniyeh at 8 p. m., bringing letters and dispatches.

(Feb. 5th, Tuesday.) Excavations were begun on a small scale this a. m. Mr. Peters selected a spot very close to our encampment. During the day some coffins, vases, etc., were found, but nothing of any importance. In the afternoon, Berdi's tribe came into collision with a neighboring, unfriendly tribe. Berdi and his men were with us, and the others were 200–300 feet away. The war dance began, and both parties became very excited. They were in earnest. Noorian went over to the other tribe and persuaded them to leave the mound, as we would join Berdi with our six Turkish soldiers. The mounds were more closely examined and they were found to be of great extent. Their circumference is more than a mile. All the mounds are high, and especially the Bint-el-Amîr. We are now well settled in our tents and are excavating with a small force.

From this time on until April 1st life in camp did not vary much from day to day. The force of Arabs engaged in the trenches was gradually increased to more than three hundred. Many new places for excavations were selected, and finds were made every day. In the morning after an early breakfast, I generally spent from one to two hours on my horse—whose name, by the way, was Burnaburiash—visiting the different trenches and sites of excavations.

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From 9 to 12 and from 1:30 to 4 or 4:30 was spent in cleaning the finds of the previous day and in catalogue-work. Again at 4, I would mount my horse and ride around the mounds, visit some neighboring Arab encampments, run races with Arabs or with some other member of our party, etc., etc., until the call for dinner. The amusements after dinner were numerous and varied. One could either play draughts, cards or chess; hunt jackals—our success was poor, as I do not think that a single jackal was killed; visit the Arabs and watch their games—which, by the way, are always very vulgar; visit the Turkish soldiers (we had at different times six, sixteen and twenty-five in camp); join in friendly war dances with the Arabs in camp and sometimes be amused by a genuine, hostile war dance, which Mr. Noorian would speedily disperse, owing to his great influence over the Arabs. There were letters to be written, books to be read and plans to be discussed. We received our letters once a week by special soldiers sent from Diwaniyeh. These same soldiers carried back letters and dispatches for Baghdad, the general headquarters. Two or three of us adopted the Arab dress from the beginning, and used no other while in camp, except when riding.

About April 1st, Mr. Peters and Bedri Bey, accompanied by a guide, undertook a visit to Tello to see M. de Sarzec, who was carrying on excavations there at that time. M. de Sarzec had made a great many valuable finds during the season, but, for some unknown reason, he refused to show his finds to Mr. Peters. Bedri Bey was more fortunate. According to his statement, all the de Sarzec finds were placed before him for inspection. During the absence of the Director and the Turkish Commissioner, we had an uprising in our camp at Niffer. One of the Arabs in a certain trench struck another with a pick. He was ordered out of the trench by Mr. Noorian and told not to return to work. On the next day he was found at his old place in the trench and refused to leave it. He even went so far as to throw a basket of dirt at Mr. Noorian. The latter immediately rode him down and horse-whipped him. The Arab then called his friends to his aid, and came against the encampment. There was a panic, all the Arabs stopped work and joined the mob. Hilprecht and I were at work on the finds, when some of the servants came and informed us that the Arabs were coming against us.

Going out to one of the entrances, or gateways, we saw a peculiar and impressive sight. From all the trenches and all sides of the mounds, the Arabs were rushing upon us. Here and there soldiers were to be seen, who were hurrying in from their stations to our aid. Finally Mr. Noorian came up and began to harangue the mob. In a very short time, he had them under complete control, and some of the Arabs wanted to kill the man, who had been the cause of the trouble by his attack on Mr. Noorian. Half an hour later, they were all at work again. Makota, the Affek Sheikh was sent for, and he came into camp about the middle of the afternoon. The Sheikh wished to make an example of the culprit, but Mr. Noorian interposed in his behalf. He was, however, ordered out of the encampment. On Sunday

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(April 1st), Berdi, the friendly sub-Sheikh, gave those of us who were in camp at that time a feast, consisting of chickens,—served whole, and to be eaten with the fingers,—*lebn*, or sour milk, or rather curds, rice, etc. He sat at the same table and ate with us, a very uncommon thing for a Sheikh to do.

On March 15th, the thermometer marked 106 degrees in my tent, and, from that time on, we suffered greatly from the heat during the day and the coolness at night. The change in temperature, the plots of the Arabs, the vermin, the stretchers used as beds, etc., were anything but agreeable. Everything, however, went on rather pleasantly until April 1st. Then the heat was greater, the swamp-water poorer, the vermin more numerous and more determined, and the Arabs more untrustworthy. We now began to plan our evacuation of the stronghold which had been our headquarters for two months, and decided to leave between the 20th and 25th of April. Our plans were suddenly changed, however, by circumstances over which we had no control.

On Saturday night (April 14th) our bread ovens were broken by some Arabs and four sheep stolen from the camp. On Sunday (15th) the boats, ordered from Hilleh to take back our finds and camp-baggage, came from the Euphrates through the swamps to the base of the mound. They were a week ahead of time and Mr. Peters ordered them back. Through the influence of some other members of the party, they agreed to remain in the swamps,—a very lucky thing for us as we soon learned. During the evening, Hilprecht, Bedri Bey and myself sat outside my tent and discussed the advisability of applying to the government for a large force of soldiers to act as an escort out of the Affek country. We retired after twelve, and, before I could sleep, shots were heard, and great excitement in the encampment. Without dressing I seized my Winchester and ran to the scene of action. The whole camp was aroused by this time and we learned that the Arabs had been attempting to steal the mules belonging to the soldiers. After five minutes, one of the soldiers returned and informed us that he had killed an Arab. We were in great straits. Our encampment, while in the territory of the Affek Arabs, was also very close to three Said camps. Was it a Said or an Affek that had been killed? From which side was the attack to come? After a short parley, it was decided to send a messenger to the governor (Kaimakam) of Diwaniyeh, the nearest government station, eight hours away through the swamps, and also to Berdi, a sub-Sheikh of the Affek, who, except on one occasion, had proved very friendly and trustworthy. We soon learned that the Arab killed belonged to the Said tribe. His body was carried into the small Said encampment at the base of our mound, the fires were built, the women were wailing and the dogs barking. Would Berdi come, or would he leave us to get out of our trouble as best we could? After more than an hour of anxious waiting, a small band of Arabs was seen to be approaching. They were halted by the soldiers on guard, and the cry

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came back: "It is I, Berdi." A few minutes later, Berdi was in camp, looking every inch a king and fully realizing his responsibility. He informed us that he had come to help us, that he had sent word to the other Sheikhs of his tribe and that they would soon be in camp, and finally that he had sent a messenger to the Said Arabs with the information that he was in camp to protect the *Inglisi*, as we were called, and that, if they came against us, they would come against his whole tribe. This was very reassuring. Berdi threw a guard of his men around our camp and some of us retired for a little rest and sleep.

In the morning, chiefs representing the whole Affek tribe, with numerous followers, were in camp. From this time on we were practically in a state of siege. We did not leave camp, except under escort, and then only to take some photographs. The Saids refused to treat with us. They wanted the blood-revenge and would not accept blood-money. In the evening ten soldiers, with a great deal of ammunition, came from Diwaniyeh. On Tuesday twenty more came from Hilleh. In the evening there was an altercation between the Turkish soldiers and the Arab guard. After a council, we decided, if possible, to leave the mound on the following day. On Wednesday the tents were struck and all baggage brought to the two boats in the swamps. We could not get away, however, until the morning. After a sleepless night and a poor breakfast, we were in readiness to start. The horses were saddled, hundreds of Arabs were on the mound to see us off. Berdi, who had gone, on the evening before, to bid farewell to his wives, had come back. He was to accompany us to Baghdad, and there receive recognition due his services to us. In a quarter of an hour we would have been on our horses. I was sitting on my camp-bed talking to Berdi, when we heard the cry of fire. Looking up, we saw the whole encampment on fire. I might say here that we had at least a dozen large reed tents, joined to form a sort of barricade. These tents were used for the kitchen, dining room, storehouses, stables, etc. In ten minutes the whole encampment had been reduced to ashes and three of our horses were burned to death. During the fire the Arabs robbed us of everything they could find, including the expedition's money. The so-called friendly Arabs had at the last minute set fire to our encampment and robbed us. The Said wanted our blood and the Affek had taken our belongings.

After another short council, it was decided that Mr. Peters, Bedri Bey and myself should start for Diwaniyeh at once on horse,—using the small boats when necessary to get through the swamps,—and that the others should start for Hilleh on the boats sent for the baggage. We divided the chiefs and soldiers and separated. After a tedious ride, we came to Diwaniyeh at 11 p. m., Thursday, and were received with open arms by the governor and his officers. Friday night at 8 we left for Hilleh and arrived at 12:30 p. m. on Saturday, stopping only thirty minutes for breakfast. On Saturday p. m. the boats arrived with the other members of the party. On Sunday, the Wali

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Pasha of Baghdad, with a large following of soldiers, came to Hilleh to see what he could do for us. Some of us called, and he, accompanied by several officers, returned our call at the Khan. On Tuesday we left Hilleh for Baghdad. On Wednesday evening, I resigned my position on the staff for reasons perfectly satisfactory to Mr. Peters and myself. On Thursday we arrived in Baghdad and Mr. Field presented his resignation, which was accepted. After a stay of a week in Baghdad, Mr. Peters, Hilprecht and myself left for Aleppo and the coast by way of the Euphrates. Our caravan consisted of four wagons, two of which we occupied. The other two belonged to a Turkish pasha and his harem, including his chief wife and either four or five other wives. The head wife was old, stout, and wore men's clothing. All of the others were young. On one occasion the wagon containing the harem was overturned, and the harem was spilled out on the road. Our pasha was the only Moslem, whom I met, who would talk about the female members of his family. We stopped one day at Anah, one at Dêr, and one in Aleppo. We made the journey in thirty days and were on board a French boat at Scanderun, bound for Alexandria and Marseilles, on June 1st. I am not in a position to say anything about the excavations carried on during the following year by Messrs. Peters, Haynes and Noorian. So far as I have learned they were successful.

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Synopses of Important Articles.

DOES THE BIBLE CONTAIN SCIENTIFIC ERRORS? By Prof. Chas. W. Shields, in *The Century*, Nov., 1892.

Can the Bible yield us any real knowledge within the domain of the various sciences? Three elements, commonly spoken of now in connection with the Scriptures, do not impair their scientific integrity or philosophical value, and so are not to be regarded as scientific errors, namely, literary imperfections, historiographical defects, and traditional glosses, all of which may be admitted as present. But, aside from these, the Scriptures, as judged by their own claims, if accounted inerrant at all, must be so accounted as to their whole revealed content, whatever it be and wherever found, whether in the region of the natural sciences or in that of ethics and theology. It is seldom remarked that both the physical and the spiritual teaching of the Bible are alike given in a non-scientific form. Often it is said — and said truly enough — that the Bible does not teach astronomy or physics as a science. But neither does it teach theology or ethics as a science. If it be urged that we have left far behind us the contemporary astronomy of the Old Testament, how shall we defend its contemporary theology, with its manlike deity so often depicted as a monster of anger, jealousy and cruelty, its polygamous patriarchs and pro-slavery apostles. If we are warned against a few devout scientists who are endeavoring to harmonize their geology with the Mosaic cosmogony, is there to be no warning for this scandal of great churches and denominations at the present moment adjusting their metaphysics to the Pauline divinity? The physical and the spiritual teaching alike have a permanent and universal import, as well as local and temporary reference. It is true that the physical sciences are, in the main, bodies of empirical knowledge; but it is not true that they can find no metaphysical ground and material in the biblical revelations concerning physical facts. The physical portion of revelation, small though it seems to be, is of the greatest benefit to science, philosophy and general culture. The Bible gives, not the empirical part of any physical science, but its metaphysical complement, the divine ideas expressed in those phenomena, and the divine causes of those laws. The inspired Bible is a radiant source of divine knowledge, chiefly within the psychical, but also within the physical, sciences.

It does not appear from this discussion what contribution is made by Scripture revelation to the physical sciences, for the knowledge given of them is noumenal, not phenomenal, hence metaphysical, not physical. This then comes back to the com-

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mon conception that the revelation of the Bible concerns spiritual things, those of which a knowledge is necessary for man's highest welfare. C. W. V.

THE QUESTION OF SYCHAR.* The identification of Sychar is important, because the difficulties connected with it have been made the ground for denying that the author of the Fourth Gospel was familiar with the geography of Palestine. These difficulties are three: 1. Sychar is not known to us as a city of Samaria. But the author of the Fourth Gospel is familiar with the Old Testament passages relating to the connection of Jacob with Shechem. It is highly improbable, then, that he would use another than the Old Testament name for such a place without accurate information. He may have known Sychar either as another name for Shechem, or as the name of another place near Shechem. Of the first, there is absolutely no proof. For the second, there is the evidence of the continued name of the place. This evidence is first found in the beginning of the fourth century, when Sychar is mentioned twice. The next evidence is from mediæval travelers, in 1106, 1130, 1160-70. A traveler in 1283 is quoted as authority for a town Istar, north of Jacob's well. At the present time a few ruins, a little over half a mile north of the well, are called 'Askar. Can this 'Askar be derived from Sychar through 'Ischar? Robinson says it cannot, but analogy with other place-names of Palestine would seem to indicate that it could be. Can the name be one that has been forced on it by pilgrims? Hardly, for from the fourth century on it was agreed that Shechem and Sychar were the same, yet meanwhile this name has existed as a native name. 2. Would a woman come for water from 'Askar to Jacob's well? There is a copious fountain in 'Askar and a stream, which she must have crossed, large enough to turn a mill, flowing only a few rods from the well. But from wherever the woman came, she must have passed by these or other sources of water. The real difficulty is why the well was ever dug there at all. 3. It is said that expositions which assume the accuracy of the narrative involve the error of assuming that the road to Galilee goes north from the forks at the well, instead of east, past Shechem. Now, it is true that the present road to Galilee does take this eastern route, but there is a track of easy grade sometimes taken yet, by which one may pass directly north, leaving Shechem on the west. This third point, however, is a small matter, and does not affect the narrative in John.

A very clear article. Its position, while differing from that of Robinson, agrees with the conclusions of the Palestine Exploration Society's survey. It may certainly be regarded as a very probable identification. I. F. W.

THE RÔLE OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS IN MODERN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.† — The history of Religions as a science dates from the present

*By Prof. George Adam Smith, in *The Expositor*, December 1892, p. 464-472.

†By Jean Réville, in *The New World*, Sept. 1892, pp. 503-519.

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century. Its existence was made possible (1) by the collection of facts on the various religions made accessible by philology and archæology, contributed by missionaries and travelers and students of folk-lore; (2) by a disposition to study these facts seriously, a disposition increasingly encouraged by the facts themselves, in the face of theological bigotry and anti-religious free-thinking; (3) by the application to these facts of a critical scientific method, which stands apart from the partisan, the apologetic or the doctrinaire method. Thus beginning, the science has been making its way slowly in universities and cultivated circles, through periodicals and printed books, by libraries and museums. The question arises, Where and how introduce the science of religions into the curriculum of public instruction? or, How may the facts of this science influence education? It should not be taught in primary or secondary schools, both because the curriculum there is already too full, the subject too complicated and the risk of arousing religious prejudices too great. The university is the place for direct instruction on this subject, where the teacher of the lower schools may be trained by this study in a spiritual and moral temper which he may transmit to his pupils. The clergy must study it, first as theologians, second as leaders of men. Theology can only remain scientific by embracing in its sphere of accepted truth the facts of religion outside of Christianity and Judaism. Christianity and Judaism themselves cannot be understood without a knowledge of other related religions. Theology must collect all the religious facts possible, exclude none by *a priori* judgments, test all, classify, compare them. Otherwise the laws of man's religious life cannot be ascertained, and theology ceases to be scientific. But the science of religion itself needs religious men to study and teach it, in order to be fairly appreciated. Again, the minister, as a leader of men in religious life, needs to know this science, since it acquaints him with the religious life and character of humanity in its elements and its largest extent: *e. g.*, (a) it teaches him the universality of religion and its profoundly human character, the permanent needs and religious aspirations of the human soul; (b) it teaches him to disengage the essential characteristics, the general elements of all religion which are most important to cultivate in believers, as the consciousness of dependence upon a superior power, the need of pardon, the intuition of life after death; (c) it teaches him toleration, without cultivating indifference as to Christian belief and life. To recognize Christian elements in other religions is not denying Christianity or betraying the Gospel; it is affirming the universality of Christian truth, or, to speak more exactly, the fundamental identity of "this religion of humanity of which the Gospel of Christ is for us the highest expression"; (d) it emphasizes Christian universalism, in which thought is a great power on the side of the religious sentiment of modern times—at all times God has called and everywhere man has responded according to his degree of civilization and his differing aptitudes. Thus is educed the fundamental truth of religion in which all unite, the eternal and permanent religion of humanity.

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The spirit of this article is earnest and religious. Its emphasis upon the need for the study of the science of religion by theologians and ministers is thoroughly sound and commendable. Its insistence upon a scientific critical method, without apologetic or philosophical presumptions, is just. The claims made for this science as a distinctively educative force in current religious life seem to us, however, somewhat overstated. One agrees willingly that such a study should not lead to indifferentism, as many fear, for breadth does not necessarily imply shallowness. But a composite religion as is here sketched out does not excite our highest interest. It is an excellent intellectual exercise to work out such a religion from the faiths of the world; it teaches toleration and possibly helps to subdue pride, but it remains an intellectual achievement after all, and the result does not fire the soul with an emotion of reverence and faith. Christianity, if it ever does pass away, will only yield — we say it reverently — to a greater than Jesus Christ, not to "the eternal and permanent religion of humanity," which is the substratum of the world's religions. Just here is the defect of this excellent article. It says the right word for the intellectual effects of a study of religions, says it earnestly and impressively, but forgets that the power of the religious life is not mind or heart but *personality*. G. S. G.

THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. By Otto Pfleiderer in *The New World*. September, 1892. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The religious personality of Jesus is the most important source for perceiving the essence of Christianity, and the most characteristic feature of his personality was his consciousness of divine Sonship. Not in the exclusive, peculiar, unique sense set forth in the doctrine of the Trinity and the Christ, which cannot be realized by us. This may be taken as the historical presupposition of Christianity, but not as its universal essence. The latter consists rather in a kind of consciousness of God common to all men, that which led Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels to refer to God as *his* Father, in no other sense than he taught us to pray, "*Our* Father in heaven," and in the sense in which Paul speaks of divine Sonship (Gal. iii. 26, Rom. viii. 29). This new relation to God is not one of fear like the Jewish-Gentile piety, but of childlike love, which surrenders the whole man, the undivided pure heart, to the holy will of the Father. Herein lies the essential difference of the Christian conception of God from the Gentile and the Jewish. The God of Christianity is neither on the one hand a personified power of nature or a refined human nature, nor on the other hand, merely an opposite will over against man as lord and judge. He is self-communicating holy love, which does not indeed set aside the ethical constitution of the world, but which leaves men to perceive and prove the better way (Rom. xii. 2); and not only so, but leads them by chastening, if necessary, to become partakers of his holiness (Heb. xii. 10). Herein arises a most important difference between the Law, which was foreign to man and which could merely judge and slay without giving life, and this holy love, which becomes in the heart of man himself the power of the Holy Ghost (2 Cor. iii. 6), the new and free principle of life (Rom. viii. 2), that betrays its divine origin in the begetting of Godly sentiments (Rom. xii. 2). The power of sin is overcome. In this overcoming of sin is included its forgive-

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ness. This forgiving is certainly a gracious gift of divine love; yet it is holy love, which does not simply overlook sin and exempt the sinner from the punishment of his guilt — as it might seem — but it effaces guilt itself by breaking and overcoming the natural impulse to sin through the higher power of the holy impulse of the Spirit (Rom. viii. 2). This is the redeeming and reconciling revelation of the essence of God as love, which is one with holy justice.

From this idea of divine Sonship springs the Christian conception of the real dignity of all men. While the Bible fully recognizes this, it does not speak of it so much as of man's universal sinfulness, because it knows that sin is a power that has root in the inmost recesses of human nature and rules over the whole human race. In his battle against this power, the individual is never able to gain the victory unless aided by the redeeming and educating power of the divine Spirit, in the community of the kingdom of God. On the other hand, the Bible recognizes the universal ability of all men to be redeemed, which is based on the indestructible essence of the divine image in every man. This redemption, however, in the sense of the Gospels, is not a miraculous event occurring once, and brought about outside of humanity by a superhuman mediator between the Godhead and humanity; it is an inner process within the heart of man which always and forever repeats itself when the fettered and diseased powers of the soul are freed and healed, when the image of God and the child of God, that slumbers in everyone, are awakened to life, reality and power. Such a force proceeds in every community from those who are relatively sound and strong, and through them affects others. The ideal, the ethical-religious *truth*, is the freeing and elevating power (John viii. 32); the individual is such only in so far as he is a type and voice of the idea.

The special merit of Jesus Christ, compared with other ethical and religious geniuses, consists in this, that at a time when the ancient world was facing spiritual bankruptcy, he perceived this new and exalted ideal of man — divine Sonship. He represented it in his life and teaching, and finally surrendered his life for its realization in a new kingdom of God — a universal community founded on the divine ideal of man as the child of God.

To this ideal of man as potentially the child of God, corresponds also the Christian conception of the world, which finds its purpose in the spiritual-ethical kingdom of God. It becomes an orderly arrangement of means for the purposes of the spirit, and not the plaything of a divine, despotic will, or the arena of fantastic actions of omnipotence, the supernatural miracles of which would supplant real nature by an imaginary super-nature that is unnatural.

The above synopsis represents only a part of Professor Pfleiderer's profound and noteworthy discussion of fundamental principles. The article is significant as an indication of the tendency of scientific thought in its interpretation of the teachings of Scripture. Professor Pfleiderer's position is open to many criticisms. From a purely exegetical point of view, we are constrained to differ with him at the outset, since the

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New Testament nowhere explicitly, and only rarely by inference, permits us to speak of a universal sonship of humanity. In his consciousness of God, Jesus never includes himself in the same category with the disciples. He does not say, "I ascend unto our Father, and our God," but, "unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God." The model prayer was dictated for the use of the disciples only. It was not a prayer in which he could unite. The article, moreover, seems to eliminate every supernatural element from God's relation to humanity and to the world. P. A. N.

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Notes and Opinions.

The Memorabilia of Jesus.—This book by Peyton on the Gospel of St. John is reviewed briefly and interestingly by Marcus Dods in the November number of the *Expositor*. Dr. Dods censures certain blemishes of style and errors of taste, and has no sympathy with the author's opinion that all questions of genuineness and authenticity in New Testament study are superfluous. He gives, however, the highest praise to the book. "But after all deductions Mr. Peyton's volume is one which for originality of thought and felicity of expression, for the delight it will bring to its readers, and the stimulus it will give to faith, may be put on a level with the best work of this generation . . . . To Mr. Peyton is due the credit of setting Christianity in new relations to nature and of thereby eliciting from each a significance previously hidden . . . . But the charm of the book arises not more from its main teaching than from the skill and beauty with which the teaching is given. For Mr. Peyton is not only thoroughly equipped in science, he is a poet as well, and conveys his meaning, not in verse, but in that most flexible and least monotonous of instruments, a prose which has all the swing and terseness and flash of poetry. This blend of science and poetry give its peculiar flavor to the book. There are descriptions of nature equal to anything in Kingsley or in Tyndall, while there are expositions of the spiritual life as searching and appeals as tender and inevitable as the finest passages in Maurice. The volume throughout has that peculiar charm and glamor which only genius imparts. From first to last, one scarcely meets a commonplace thought or a thought expressed in a commonplace way, and on almost every page are sentences which will often be quoted as the first and final expression of important truth. Above all, the entire volume is pervaded by faith, courage, hopefulness, charity, the spirit of power and love and a sound mind."

Some Cases of Possession.—Demoniacal possession is the subject of a study by Dean Chadwick, in the October number of the *Expositor*. He considers three cases: 1. The Demoniac in the Synagogue. 2. The woman with a spirit of infirmity. 3. The man with a deaf and dumb spirit.

In considering the first case the writer lays stress on the fact of the intense hostility of the evil spirit to Christ, on his knowledge of him as the Holy one of God, and on Christ's severity with the Spirit and absolute authority over him. The whole relation of the two would hardly be explicable were Christ merely healing some disease. The writer argues for a Kingdom of Evil Spirits, a har-

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monious league with Satan at its head. This miracle illustrates the cruel usurpation from which Christ has rescued humanity. The attitude of each is that of undisguised hostility.

In the second case the spiritual thraldom was not that of convulsion, but of impotence, of "palsy and a downward gaze." "It is a beautiful and characteristic incident. But it does not add to our knowledge of the phenomena much more than this, that Satanic influence lay behind other diseases than violent and outrageous ones, and experience coincided with theory, in affirming that there was gradation in the wickedness even of fiends, so that one could find seven others more wicked than himself."

In the third case the evil spirit is cast out and there followed not only tranquillity, but the power to speak. As in the first instance presented, the multitude had been struck by the authority that could cast out evil spirits, so here they exclaim: "It was never so seen in Israel." "In two cases, therefore, out of three, we find a distinct recognition by the public of something which differentiated Christ's treatment of possession from anything known before. Miracles were everywhere. It was impossible that he should escape the imputation of what was ascribed to every popular preacher. But in truth his miracles could not amaze the most critical and scientific age more perfectly than they amazed his own." Commenting on the fact that those possessed of evil spirits are usually afflicted with disease for the most part of a nervous type, he says: "Either the fiend causes the disease, or he takes advantage of it. The latter is in some respects the more attractive theory." The writer concludes by affirming that both experience and reason confirm the testimony of the Scriptures as to the existence of evil spirits.

Christ's Sonship to God.—One of the most interesting questions in Biblical Theology is the New Testament conception, expressed or implied, of Christ's sonship to God. We say "implied" because the conception can not be found merely in any one or more explicit statements, but can only be ascertained, as all sayings of Christ, all sayings about Christ, all events of his life, are carefully studied and compared and made to surrender each its own contributing element.

The central importance of this question not only in Biblical Theology, but also for Systematic Theology is indicated by three articles that have recently appeared: one by Pfleiderer, on "The Essence of Christianity" in the *New World* for September; one, an editorial on "The Divinity of Christ" in the *Andover Review* for October; and the last by the late Dr. Samuel H. Giesy, on "Christ's Essential Sonship" in the *Reformed Quarterly Review* for October.

Pfleiderer seeks the essence of Christianity not in the historical development of the Church, though it may be found there, but in the personality of Christ, as disclosed in the New Testament writings, and he finds this essence in the rela-

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tion of sonship to God. All admit, says Pfleiderer, that this consciousness of sonship is the characteristic feature of the personality of Jesus, but men would differ in their understanding of this consciousness. Pfleiderer takes the first three Gospels as evidence and asserts that, as witnessed to in them, the consciousness is one that may be common to all men. Jesus called God *His* Father in no other sense than the one in which he taught us to pray "Our Father in Heaven." He admits that Jesus occupies a unique position in that he was the first perfectly to realize this ideal of sonship, but the conception of Jesus as the Christ, as it is presented in the New Testament and found in the early Church, is the result of the influence of Jewish apocalyptic and Hellenistic modes of thought. But may it not be that this Sonship of Christ being a wholly unique relation to God, one realized by no one before or since, needs for its expression words no less pregnant than those of the New Testament and the Nicene creed,and for its interpretation no less a doctrine, modified, it may be, but still essentially the same, than that formulated in the fourth century—the doctrine of the Trinity. Such is the position of the last two articles in which Christ's essential sonship as an eternal relation between himself and the Father is maintained.

The question of fact concerning Jesus' sonship is one thing; of interpretation, another. For the fact we turn to the historical and critical student of the New Testament writings; for its interpretation, in its threefold relation to God, to man and to the world, we turn to the philosopher of the Christian religion. As a fact disclosed through the New Testament writings, what was the nature of Christ's sonship?

The Revised Version.—Under this heading Bishop William Walsham How, in the October *Expositor*, suggests a plan by which the Revised Version may be made more acceptable to English readers. The Revised Version, he asserts, has by no means taken the place it should have taken and that it was expected to take. He attributes this fact to the many unnecessary changes in revision. The revision committee far exceeded the power given them, in this respect, standing in marked contrast to the Old Testament revisers. They were to revise only where "plain and clear errors were found to exist." The Convocation from which the committee derived its authority did "not contemplate any new translation of the Bible or any *alterations of the language* except where, in the judgment of the most competent scholars, *such change is necessary*." When the new version finally appeared it was found to contain "a multitude of minute and unimportant alterations, and by degrees the value of the really important corrections became more and more obscured by the multiplicity of what I fear I must call trivial and unnecessary changes." The book "which was received with so much interest has forfeited its first popularity, and is now comparatively neglected." In the Sermon on the Mount, there are 127 changes, some of which Bishop How characterizes as irritating trivialities, such as: "lift herself up," instead of "lift up herself;" "disbe-

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lieved," for "believed not;" "Disciples of Moses," for "Moses' Disciples;" "if there is," for "if there be;" "scoffed at," for "derided;" etc.

Other changes that hardly seem "necessary" are such as the following: "reproach," for "revile;" "a city set on a hill," for "a city that is set on a hill;" "it shineth," for "it giveth light;" "in no wise," for "in no case;" "last," for "uttermost;" "by the heaven," for "by heaven," etc. Notwithstanding his strictures, Bishop How speaks in the highest terms of the work of the revisers so far as it concerns the necessary alterations.

Bishop Ellicott, before the revision, made seventy-five changes in the Sermon on the Mount, the revisers made 127. Bishop How would make only twenty-four.

He commends a suggestion made by the late Dr. Liddon some years ago, that the alterations be reduced so as to be brought within the limits of the original instructions, and that these then be printed in the margin of the text in an edition prepared for reading in Church. He closes his interesting article with these words: "I think at least my readers will agree with me in holding that it would be an inestimable boon if the uncritical and unlearned hearer could listen to the words he has learned to love and revere with more intelligent understanding through the removal of 'plain and clear errors,' whether of reading or of translation, as well as of serious obscurities, without losing his sense of familiarity with the wording and idioms of our old translation, so pure in its diction, so grand in its flowing periods, so priceless in its influence upon all our literature, so faithful in its simplicity, and so dear to thousands and tens of thousands of Christian souls." T. H. R.

It is commonly supposed in this country that English and American theologians are much more conservative than German scholars, less ready to welcome a new opinion and forsake an old. In general no doubt this is true. But a recent remark of Prof. Schürer brings freshly to light, what was indeed by no means unknown before, that in certain lines of thought the Germans exceed English speaking scholars in conservatism. In a review (in the Theologische Literaturzeitung, Oct. 29) of T. K. Abbott's recent volume of *Essays, chiefly on the original texts of the Old and New Testaments*, he says that the two essays on the Hebrew text of the Old Testament "give welcome proof that certain critical views which in Germany still have to struggle for existence, are in conservative England already more and more prevalent." The reason for this apparent anomaly is not far to seek. Relatively speaking English scholars have devoted larger attention to textual criticism, German scholars to historical criticism. Despite the preëminence of the work and name of Tischendorf, Germany has not led in textual criticism. It is an interesting fact that one of the most eminent — perhaps one may say the most eminent — textual critic in Germany to-day is an American, born and educated in this country. The result of the relatively larger attention to matters of textual criticism by English-speaking scholars is that in England and America,

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questions of the text of the Bible are viewed with complacency and new views are considered, with critical interest indeed, but without alarm. Indeed though there was a time when the investigations of textual critics were viewed with apprehension it is now clearly recognized that their work has issued not only in producing a purer text, but — scarcely less important — in establishing upon a much firmer basis of evidence that great portion of the text which is left unchanged by the work of textual criticism. It is in part the recognition of this fact that has secured for textual criticism an undisputed place among the Biblical Sciences. There are some signs that what has happened in reference to Textual Criticism is about to happen also in reference to Historical Criticism. Possibly if to German indefatigable toil in investigation, and inexhaustible fertility of imagination there could be added in the work of historical criticism somewhat more of the English and American coolness and sobriety of judgment, this science might the sooner assume the position of real and recognised helpfulness already secured by its allied science of textual criticism.

E. D. B.

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Work and Workers.

THE second part of the new *Hebrew Lexicon*, edited by Professor Brown, is announced for publication soon.

CASSELL & CO. have published a new work by B. T. A. Evetts, entitled, *New Lights on the Bible and the Holy Land.*

AT the Baptist State Conference of New York, Professor Wheeler, of Cornell, gave an address on The Study of the Bible.

AUGUST MÜLLER, professor in the University of Kŏnigsberg, is another man recently deceased connected with Biblical scholarship through its Semitic side.

AMONG the interests represented on the grounds of the World's Fair next summer, will be that of the Sunday Schools. It is proposed to erect a building, which shall be devoted to the use of Sunday School interests. Subscriptions are now being received for this purpose, and the erection of the building is considered secured.

M. RÉNAN'S *History of the People of Israel*, which was not completed at the time of his death, will be continued under the superintendence of his widow. A large number of notes have also been left to her care. The supposition may be that we shall have one or more posthumous volumes edited from these notes.

FOLLOWING in the wake of the issue during the last year of Genesis as divided by the critics who accept the documentary hypothesis, comes the announcement of a new book along this line. It is the first volume of the *Hexateuchal Documents*, containing the Jahvist and Elohist portions, arranged by W. E. Addis. The second volume, which is promised within a year, will contain the Priestly and Deuteronomic portions. The publisher is David Nutt, of London.

Dr. FREDERIC GODET, of Neufchatel, whose work as a commentator is known wherever the Bible is studied, has just passed his eightieth birthday. This was made the occasion of a memorial, which took the form of an address from students and friends, accompanied by a service of silver. Not only is he known as a scholar, but, by his pupils and the friends of his church, as a man whose fatherly interests have endeared him to those who have been in any way connected with him.

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THAT the same question is meeting a very different answer at the hands of other Jewish leaders is seen in two books recently published, *The Pronoas to Holy Writ*, by Rabbi Wise, the President of the Hebrew College in Cincinnati, and *The Jewish Religion*, by Dr. Friedlander, of the Jewish College in London. They assert that a belief in the integrity of the Hebrew Scriptures is an essential part of the Jewish creed, and do not hesitate to characterize the position of those who, like Mr. Montefiore, hold to the opposite view, as savoring of antagonism to Judaism.

THE death of Joseph Ernest Rénan has taken away one who has stood for a long time prominent in two ways. Perhaps no one has been, to the minds of the mass of intelligent Christians in this and other countries, the representative, the negative spirit in the scholarship of Biblical subjects so much as he. But there was a positive side to his work, which gives him a place among Biblical scholars. His two most widely known works are his *Life of Jesus* and his *History of the People of Israel*, but his relation to scholarship was determined by his *General History of the Semitic Languages*.

A BOOK on Buddhism, by the Bishop of Colombo, is on the list of announcements by Longmans. Bishop Coppleston was raised to his office while very young, and was known in Ceylon as "the Boy Bishop" in the early years of his episcopate. He is a man of extensive scholarship, and has devoted much attention to the religions with which Christianity comes in contact in his bishopric. In that classic land of Buddhism he has had advantages that are unparalleled for a study of this system in its living aspects. A book from such a source should be one of great value.

Dr. C. F. KENT, of the University of Chicago, has been delivering a series of addresses before the various ministers' clubs of the city on "University Extension," especially emphasising the subject of thorough, scientific Bible study. Great interest has been manifested, and University Extension promises soon to become a most valuable medium for bringing to the general public a truer appreciation and clearer knowledge of the content and thought of the Old and New Testament books. To meet this need, the University of Chicago, in its last Extension Calender, offers thirty-four courses on this and kindred subjects.

OTHER new books soon to appear, are a continuation of the translation of Hausrath's *New Testament Times*, from the press of Williams & Norgate; a new edition of Robertson's *Early History of Israel*, with a new preface, from Blackwood's; *Old Testament Criticism: Sermons* by Canon Driver, a volume which is supplementary to his Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testa- translation; Erman's *Life in Ancient Egypt*, published by Macmillan. The same house also publishes Kirkpatrick's *Warburtonian Lectures on the Minor Prophets*. Two more volumes of Canon Liddon's writings are to be soon

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published by Longmans: *Lectures and Essays*, and *The Epistle to the Romans*.

ONE of the most hopeful omens of the many movements in these days whose purpose is to draw Christians, and especially young Christians, into active work, is the attention which is being given to systematic Bible study as a means of Christian growth. The *Golden Rule* is publishing a series of Bible studies. The *Silver Cross*, the organ of the King's Daughters, is publishing a series of condensed studies on the early Christian Church, and the *Baptist Young People*, the organ of the Baptist Young People's Union, has begun a series of studies in the life of Christ, by Rev. O. C. S. Wallace, of Toronto. The *Young Men's Era* has for some time published studies in the Bible as one of its regular departments. All this is aside from regular and systematic Sunday School publications.

THERE is no Christian body in Jerusalem which is so strong as the Greek Church. Of late years Russian influence has been pushing its way here with vigor, and producing marked results. To the traveler, the most obvious proof of this is in the new and fine Russian buildings which form prominent landmarks in the Holy City. It is gratifying to know that the Russians are using their influence for scholarly purposes as well. The Russian Palestine Society has recently published a series, to be composed of three volumes, entitled *Analecta Hierosolymitama*. This consists of unpublished texts from the libraries of Jerusalem. Most are of a patristic nature, but many are of mediæval origin and interest. All are Greek. The same society has also published, in four volumes, a detailed catalogue of the manuscripts in the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem.

AMONG the new books announced are the *Hibbard Lectures for 1892*, by Claude G. Montefiore, M. A. These lectures will be of especial interest to all students of the Bible as interpreted in the light of the movements of the day. Mr. Montefiore is a Jew, and has treated in these lectures the development of the Jewish religion. What makes this treatment of especial interest is the fact that he accepts without reserve the results of critical research on the Old Testament. What result is this to have on the religious position of a Jew? To a Christian, the division of the Hexateuch is by many held to be a matter of secondary importance. But to a Jew, must it not be in every way a vital matter? What becomes of the details of the Jewish ritual? What becomes of the Jewish creeds? In a word, what becomes of Judaism itself? It is these questions which make this forthcoming book of interest to all whose sympathy is capable of extending beyond the boundaries of the problems of their own creed.

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Book Reviews.

THE REVISERS' GREEK TEXT: A Critical Examination of Certain Readings, Textual and Marginal, in the Original Greek of the New Testament, adopted by the late Anglo-American Revisers. By Rev. S. W. Whitney, A. M. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. 2 vols. Vol. I, pp. 361, Vol. II, pp. 350.

The problem which this book discusses is one well worthy of careful investigation. It is by no means to be accepted without argument that the Greek text, adopted by the New Testament Revisers of 1881, is at every point correct. To re-examine the evidence on which they based their conclusions, including also new evidence which has come to light in the little more than a decade since they did their work, and intelligently to criticise their conclusions is to render a valuable service to students of the New Testament. This is the task to which Mr. Whitney has set himself. His book gives proof of large knowledge of the sources of evidence and of a good degree of insight. After an introduction in which he clearly indicates what the general character and tendency of the body of the work is to be, he proceeds to discuss in detail the Revisers' text or their marginal reading in nearly six hundred passages of the New Testament, usually comparing with it the text of the Common Version. The tendency of the author's arguments is pretty constantly toward the conclusion that the revisers have in a multitude of cases erred, chiefly through giving an undue weight of authority to a certain few very ancient manuscripts, and that they have as a consequence adopted an erroneous reading of the Greek text. This conclusion repeatedly reached in particular cases, is made to support the doctrine that textual questions ought to be settled, not by appeal to the supposedly superior authority of any manuscript or manuscripts, but rather in the main by the application of the principles of internal evidence to each individual case. As between internal evidence based on the probability that the Scripture author would write this or that, and that based on probability respecting the conduct of a scribe in transcribing, Mr. Whitney lays special stress upon the former. There runs through his discussion a thread of depreciation of such manuscripts as the Sinaitic, the Vatican, the Alexandrian, the Codex Ephræmi Syri Rescriptus and the Regius Parisiensis. The student of the textual criticism of the New Testament will easily see that he sympathizes with the opinions of Dr. Scrivener and Dean Burgon rather than with those of Dr. Hort. The author does scant justice to the method of internal evidence

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of groups. As respects the genealogical method more strictly so-called, it is only by an occasional passing phrase that the reader learns that the author has even so much as heard of it. His reticence may be due to the desire to avoid technical terms, but the book seems to show also that the author has never really appreciated the force of the argument on behalf of the method which he ignores. Mr. Whitney has given us a valuable and even acute discussion of the "internal evidence of readings" in a large number of New Testament passages; and for this the book is to be cordially welcomed. A discriminating reader will be constrained in a number of instances to agree with Mr. Whitney as against the revisers; and even assent though, perhaps, not with the heartiness that the author would desire, to his contention that the agreement of two or three of the most ancient manuscripts is not entitled to the weight commonly given to it by Westcott and Hort. But we cannot ourselves either expect or desire that the book should persuade any scholar to abandon the genealogical method and rely wholly or mainly on internal evidence of readings. Neither could we advise the student of the Revised Version, who has not investigated the subject of textual criticism to accept Mr. Whitney's conclusions unquestioningly. Probably he would do better to rely on the Revised Version alone, than to commit himself wholly to Mr. Whitney, who would certainly in many instances lead him quite astray.

By the insertion of both the Greek text and the English translation, the book is adapted to be used both by the Greek scholar and the English student. The style is clear, and despite the somewhat technical character of the discussion, the reader is carried along by interests in the subject. The publishers have done their work admirably. E. D. B.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By John H. Kerr, A. M., Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of Rock Island, Ill. With an Introductory Note by Professor Benjamin B. Warfield, D. D. Fleming H. Revell Co., Chicago and New York. pp. 333. $1.50.

The appearance of such a book as this, coming from the source it does, is a gratifying fact. It shows that average Christian congregations can be interested in discussions that are commonly supposed to belong exclusively to theological seminaries, or to ministerial circles. It shows furthermore that pastors are found who do not begrudge the time and labor for preparation which such discussions imperatively demand. The author is a busy pastor, and the volume has grown out of a series of sermons originally addressed to his own people. Accordingly, the treatment is popular rather than technical. While he has consulted the leading recent works in this department, he has not permitted himself to be seduced from conservative, not to say traditional, views by the undue influence of great names. The main facts are clearly stated, and with ample fullness to meet the requirements of those for whom the book was written. The reader will find the analyses of the various New Testament books helpful, though one could wish that they had been prepared

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with more regard to proportion. The analyses of the synoptic Gospels, for instance, including respectively 28, 16 and 24 chapters, are dismissed in about a third of a page for each, while those of the epistles to the Colossians, Philippians, and I Timothy, including respectively only 4, 4, and 6 chapters, cover from one and a half to two pages each. In the latter cases they are reasonably full and satisfactory; in the former, they fail to exhibit more than a few salient points in the narratives.

Throughout his work the author falls into the common error of confounding "canonicity" with "genuineness." The former refers exclusively to the relation which any particular book or epistle sustains to the sacred canon. The fact that a book is admitted into the canon establishes at once its canonicity, but leaves the question of its genuineness to be determined by independent investigation. The Epistle of Barnabas may be genuine, though not canonical; the Second Epistle of Peter is canonical, though it may not be genuine.

As a whole, the book is thoroughly well adapted to promote that more intelligent study of the Bible, which is one of the encouraging signs of our times. P. A. N.

GOSPEL FROM TWO TESTAMENTS. Sermons on the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1893. Edited by Rev. E. Benjamin Andrews, D.D., LL. D., President of Brown University. Providence: Press of E. A. Johnson & Co., 1892. Pp. x and 448. Price $1.25.

This is a book that every Sunday School teacher should read. It follows a different plan from that of most "Helps." Its aim is to give in a clear, connected way the setting of each passage and the various teachings, religious or other, that may legitimately be drawn from the text. The attempt is not made to deduce all Christian doctrine from any single passage, but each lesson is treated in a common-sense way, which is very commendable. The teacher that has studied the ordinary helps will often find himself lost in the details of exegesis and illustration. But in this book he will find the lesson well summed up, its teachings and their general bearings and applications plainly indicated, so that he will be able to meet his class with the consciousness of power that comes from the mastery of a subject in its greater relations as well as in its details. About fifty men, pastors or professors, have had a part in the preparation of this volume. The work is therefore varied, but it is all good. A reverent, healthy, scholarly tone pervades the book. There are many sermons here that are models of expository preaching. One is surprised that a style of sermonizing which, it was thought, was out of fashion, should be so well represented as is in this volume. O. J. T.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

FEBRUARY, 1893

MEN, everywhere, preach the need of a broader, deeper study of the Bible. Such preaching implies that the study of the present time is not so broad and deep as it might be, and that a better study, on the part of those who study, will accomplish something which the ordinary study of the present time does not accomplish.

IS IT, then, possible, to do a better kind of work than that which is now being done? To secure the data, upon the basis of which to answer this question, we may examine the pupils who, for years, have frequented the Sunday Schools, in which the Bible forms the chief subject of consideration, from which, in most cases, they come forth with an ignorance of the most common facts and the simplest truths that is astounding. Or we may reach higher and investigate the work of the multitude of colleges scattered throughout the land, called and represented to be Christian colleges, in which so little of the truth of Christianity is taught—and that little so poorly taught—as to make the word "Christian," as thus applied, in very truth a misnomer. Or, going still higher, we may question the ministers, on every side of us, who have spent years of special study in the theological seminary, and yet have failed to catch either the spirit or the method of a real Bible study. Wherever we turn, we meet

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the confession, not infrequently uttered in bitterness and with reproach, that time has been spent and is being spent in a kind of work, which, when done, is of so little real value as not to seem worth having done. The teachers in no other department of study have failed so conspicuously in doing their duty. The leaders have, beyond peradventure, been *mis*-leaders, and upon them must rest the responsibility for the present situation. It only remains for them to recognize the condition of things, and, by a new and better directed effort, to assist in doing what ought to have been done long since.

But what, after all, will be gained, if this broader and deeper study should come to prevail? Many answers, at once, are suggested. Let us select two, or at most, three.

This Bible of ours is a great storehouse of fundamental truth; and truth, as it is here presented, is multiform and many-sided. It is difficult, even at the best, not to mistake a part of truth for the whole,—one side of it, for the complete representation. A partial, one-sided conception must exist, where study is not deep and broad; and this imperfect conception will disappear only in so far as we do broad and deep work. Upon a true conception of God, of His plans for the uplifting and saving of man, of the principles which should regulate man's life, everything depends. Will the world ever come to God, when those who claim to know him best, know him wrongly? Will the life of man ever become that ideal life of which men of old spoke, so long as even its leading characteristics are in doubt?

There are two kinds of ignorance; one, an ignorance which thinks that it knows, the other, an ignorance which has discovered its lack of knowledge. For the first, men to whom opportunities are given, deserve rebuke; the second is an ideal toward which all should aspire. The study of the surface leads to the first; the deeper study, in the very nature of the case, produces the second. The dogmatism so current is the dogmatism of an ignorance, at once blind and conceited. Deeper study lets in the light and thus enables us to see. This seeing reveals so much which before lay hidden, that the knowledge we possess

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seems infinitesimal compared with that which is beyond. Humility increases with every increment of knowledge; and the greater the humility, the nearer we approach the source of all knowledge.

If the Bible is the Word of God, and if that Word is worthy of its Author, there must be in it an inexhaustible depth of meaning to which no superficial work will ever attain. What an estimate those place upon it, who, whether by word or action, proclaim to the world that these are truths which may be comprehended at a glance. Such representations are little short of blasphemy; the harm they do is almost irreparable. It is only deeper study which can counteract such baneful influence. Why should men not say, concerning a thing so easily obtained, Of what value is it?

Let us have a higher sort of study of the Bible, that we may better know God and what he desires of us; that we may place what we know in proper relation to what we do not know; that we may show our appreciation of the heights and depths of the revelation which God has made to us.

GRANTING now the lack, granting also the need, what may we do to bring about a better state of things? It is here that the real difficultv meets us. Shall we dare to make suggestions? Why not?

For the work of the Sunday School—(1) There should be a plan, comprehensive to be sure, but, at the same time, logical and systematic. This plan should be of such nature as to permit the doing of general work, but it should not make the doing of special work impossible. (2) The purpose of the work should not be to apply what the teacher fondly imagines to be the teaching of a certain fragment of Scripture, but rather to place forever in the mind of the pupil a section of the sacred truth itself. (3) The spirit characterizing the work should be that of earnest seeking after truth, and a readiness to accept it when found, as distinguished from the spirit which more commonly prevails, viz., that which decides beforehand what is the truth and then proceeds to foist the same upon the first unlucky portion

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of Scripture which chances to present itself. (4) The method should be flexible, adjusting itself to the special circumstances of each case, a method based upon sound pedagogical principles, and calculated to arouse interest and incite thought. (5) The teaching should be done by those who know at least the first rudiments of the subject-matter they are supposed to teach. This surely is not too much to ask. Better, a thousand times, no teacher, than one whose work does only injury. The time is coming, unless soon a change is brought about, when, in the interests of a true mental discipline, an outcry must be raised against the work of the Sunday School. It is possible in one hour of bad teaching to do the child's mind an injury which five hours of good teaching will not remedy.

For the College—(1) An opportunity should be given for the study of the Bible; electives should be offered adapted to the different stages of advancement. (2) This work should not be placed in the hands of the professor of mathematics, nor in those of the professor of English literature. What do *they* know about the Bible? They have given it no special study. It would be just as appropriate to ask the professor of French to teach astronomy. The work can not be distributed around, as is the custom in certain institutions. The subject is worthy to occupy the time and thought of one who has only this work to do; and to do it, the instructor should have special preparation. The teaching of the Bible in college is a "new calling." Let men prepare themselves to take it up. (3) Men who are to preach may perhaps postpone this work until they enter upon their professional training; but men whose purpose it is to take up business, or the practice of law or of medicine, should be shown that their best, indeed, their only chance to do a work manifestly most desirable, is that which is thus offered them. These men, fitted by college training and thus equipped, will help make Sunday School work something different. (4) In brief, let the Bible receive the place in the college course demanded by its great importance. Let it, at least, be given equal dignity with each of the score or more of subjects which taken together make up the modern curriculum.

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In the Theological Seminary only one thing need be asked for; that granted, everything else needful will follow. Opportunity should be given the man who is preparing himself to preach the Word, to gain a knowledge of it. The present system, practically a universal system, requires of the student an equal amount of work in each of five or more departments. The knowledge thus gained, is of necessity superficial in all the subjects studied. It is absolutely impossible, as the facts clearly show, for any but the most extraordinary man to do really good work in so many departments, in all of which the same demands are made. In the graduate courses of our universities, students are encouraged to concentrate their attention upon one or two subjects. With such concentration, results worthy of recognition are obtained. If there is to be deeper study in the seminary on the part of those who are to be our preachers, a study which shall be continued in the pastorate, time must be allowed for the inauguration of such study. It is not necessary that all our preachers, while in the seminary, should do special work in the Biblical departments; but it is necessary that a proportion of them have an opportunity to do this kind of work, if they so desire. It is better for them to do only general work in four departments and special work in one than to do general work in all.

There are many other things to be said. We may not forget, that, after all, the greater world of humanity never sees the inside of either Sunday School, College or Seminary. These are the most sadly neglected of all, and these, of all, need most our help. What can we do to guide them to a deeper knowledge of the great mysteries of the Sacred Scripture? This is, indeed, a question which will stagger us. But it must be answered. It will furnish the subject for our thought at another time.

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THE NEWLY DISCOVERED APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF PETER.*

By ISAAC H. HALL, PH.D.
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Last month appeared for the first time in print, in Vol. i., fascicle ix. of the Memoirs of the French Archæological Mission at Cairo, the newly-discovered fragment of the lost Gospel of Peter, as transcribed by M. U. Bouriant. The publication would seem to be somewhat tardy, as the parchment manuscript from which it is extracted was found in a Christian tomb at Akhmim, the ancient Panopolis, in Upper Egypt, during the winter of 1886-87. In the opinion of the transcriber the writing is not earlier than the eighth nor later than the twelfth century of our era. The same volume has yielded a large portion of the Book of Enoch in Greek, and a fragment of an Apocalypse which M. Bouriant provisionally identified with the lost Apocalypse of Peter. The manuscriot is now in the Ghizeh Museum at Cairo.

As soon as the fascicle of the Memoirs containing these fragments of the Gospel and the Apocalypse arrived at Cambridge in England,—on the very day,—the text of the Gospel fragment was reprinted at the University Press under the editorship of the Rev. H. B. Swete, whom we all know as the editor of the manual Cambridge Septuagint now appearing; and in three days thereafter, on the 20th of November, a lecture upon the Gospel was delivered in the Hall of Christ's College, by Mr. J. Armitage Robinson. At about the same time Mr. Montague Rhodes James, fellow of King's College, who had made special study of this Apocalypse, and foretold in large measure what

* Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis at New York, Dec. 29, 1892.

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its contents would prove to be when found, lectured on the Apocalypse.

This paper was begun when I received and had only the text as edited by Mr. Swete; and much that I would say has since been anticipated by Mr. Robinson, who has also said some things that had not occurred to me. One point I consider so thoroughly made by Messrs. Robinson and James, that I shall spend no time upon it; that is, these fragments are undoubtedly portions of the lost Gospel and Apocalypse, severally, of which we had already heard; and not at all a later fabrication. Mr. James had already found some extracts from the Apocalypse; but it is generally stated by writers hitherto, that no extracts have been preserved from the Gospel; and I am not prepared to disagree with them.

The chief account of Peter's Gospel which we have from antiquity is a letter of Serapion preserved by Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. vi. 12). Serapion was Bishop of Antioch from about A. D. 190 to 203; and his letter was addressed to the Church of Rhossus in Cilicia. I give it here in Westcott's translation (Hist. Canon N. T., 390, 391): "We receive both Peter and the other Apostles of Christ; but, as experienced men, we reject the writing falsely inscribed with their names, since we know that we did not receive such from our fathers. Still, I allowed the book to be used, for when I visited you I supposed that all were attached to the right faith; and as I had not thoroughly examined the Gospel which they brought forward under the name of Peter, I said: If this is the only thing which seems to create petty jealousies among you, let it be read. But now since I have learnt from what has been told me that their mind was covertly attached to some heresy, I shall be anxious to come to you again; so brethren expect me quickly. But we, brethren, having comprehended the nature of the heresy which Marcianus held—how he contradicted himself from failing to understand what he said, you will learn from what has been written to you—were able to examine [the book] thoroughly having borrowed it from others who commonly use this very Gospel, that is from the successors of those who first sanctioned it, whom we call

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Docetæ (for most of [Marcianus'] opinions belong to their teaching); and to find that the greater part of its contents agrees with the right doctrine of the Saviour, though some new injunctions are added in it which we have subjoined for your benefit."

To this Swete adds the text of the other passages where the book is mentioned, viz.: Origen's *Comm. in Matt.* t. x. 17; Eusebius' mention (H. E. iii. 3) of the fact that it is not received by the Catholics; Jerome's statement (*De Vir. Illustr.* i.) that it is repudiated among the apocryphal writings; and Theodoret's saying (*Hæret. Fab.* ii. 1) that the "Nazaræan Jews are those who honor the Christ as a just man, and have made use of the so-called Gospel according to Peter."

I will now give a *translation of the Gospel; following mainly Swete's text, but noting occasional differences (punctuation or reading) adopted by Robinson. I have not seen the text of Bouriant; but it is very well spoken of by both Swete and Robinson, who give his variants from their own in foot-notes. Very few of these—perhaps none—bear internal evidence of being more probably correct than the text I use.

GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

. . . but of the Jews no one washed his hands, nor did Herod, nor one of his judges, even of those who were minded to wash. Pilate rose up,[1] and then Herod, the King, commands the Lord to be taken, saying to them, What I commanded you to do, do ye to him.

And there had come thither Joseph, the friend of Pilate and of the Lord, and, knowing that they are about to crucify him, he came to Pilate and begged the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate sent to Herod and begged his body; and Herod said, Brother Pilate, even though no one had begged him, we would bury him, since a Sabbath is drawing nigh; for it is written in the law that the sun shall not go down upon one that has been slain before the first day of unleavened bread—their feast.

And they took the Lord and pushed him as they ran, and said, Let us drag away[2] the Son of God, since we have obtained authority over him. And they clothed him in purple and set him upon the judgment-seat, saying, Judge righteously, King of Israel. And one of them having brought a crown of thorns put it upon the head of the Lord, and others standing by spit in his

*A revision of that previously published by Dr. Hall in the Independent. [*Ed.*]

[1] *Robinson:* And when they were minded to wash, Pilate rose up.

[2] This is an emendation by J. Rendel Harris. Swete has, We have found

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face (or, eyes), and others buffeted his cheeks, others pricked him with a reed, and some scourged him, saying, With such honor as this let us honor the Son of God.

And they brought two malefactors, and crucified the Lord between them; but he himself was silent, as having no pain.' And when they set up the cross, they wrote upon it, This is the King of Israel. And having laid his garments before him they divided them, and cast lot for them. But a certain one of those malefactors reviled them, saying, We have suffered thus because of the evil deeds which we did; but this one because he came as Saviour of men. Wherein has he wronged you?[1] And enraged at him they commanded that his legs should not be broken, in order that he might die in torture.

And it was noon, and darkness prevailed over all Judea; and they were troubled, and were in distress lest the sun should go down while he was still alive; for it is written that to them the sun shall not go down upon one who has been slain. And one of them said, Give him to drink gall with vinegar; and they mingled and gave it him to drink. And they fulfilled all, and completed their sins upon their own head. And many went about with lights, thinking that it was night; and some[2] stumbled. And the Lord cried out, saying, My Power, My Power, thou hast forsaken me! and thus saying, he himself also[3] was taken up.

And at the ninth[4] hour the vail of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain. And then they withdrew the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him upon the earth; and the whole earth quaked, and there became great fear. Then the sun shone, and it was found to be the ninth hour. But the Jews were glad, and they gave his body to Joseph, that he might bury it, since it had been seen[5] how many good deeds he had done. And he took the Lord and washed him and wrapped him in fine linen, and brought him into his own sepulchre called the Garden of Joseph.

Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, seeing what mischief they had done to themselves, began to bewail and to say, Woe for our sins! the judgment is at hand, and the end of Jerusalem! But I, with my companions, was grieved, and wounded in our understanding we hid ourselves; for we were sought by them as malefactors and as wishing to burn the temple. And besides all this we were fasting, and we sat mourning and weeping night and day until the Sabbath. But the scribes and Pharisees and elders gathered together with one another, and — having heard that the whole people are murmuring and beating their breasts, saying, If at his death such most great wonders have come to pass, see how righteous he is — the elders were afraid, and came to Pilate entreating him and saying, Give us soldiers

[1] Robinson: But wherein has this one wronged you by coming as the Saviour of men? [2] Robinson *omits* some. [3] Robinson *omits* himself also.

[4] Robinson: And at the same. [5] Robinson takes this actively: Since he had seen.

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that we may guard his tomb for three days, lest his disciples come and steal him away, and the people suppose that he has risen from the dead, and do us mischief. And Pilate gave them the centurion Petronius with soldiers to guard the sepulchre. And with them came elders and scribes to the tomb, and rolling a great stone, with the centurion and the soldiers, together all those who were there laid it upon the door of the tomb, and smeared upon it seven seals, and pitched a tent there and kept guard. But early in the morning, when the Sabbath was dawning, there came a multitude from Jerusalem and the region about, that they might see the tomb that had been sealed.

But in the night in which the Lord's day dawned, while the soldiers were keeping guard two by two according to their watch, there came a great voice in heaven, and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descending thence, with great splendor, and standing at the sepulchre. And that stone which had been placed upon the door rolled away of itself and withdrew to one side, and the sepulchre was opened, and both the young men went in. Those soldiers, then, seeing, awoke the centurion and the elders, for they also were present keeping guard; and when they had related what they saw, again they see go out from the sepulchre three men, and the two holding upright the one, and a cross following them; and of the two the head reaching to heaven, but of him that was held upright by them,[1] the hand extending above the heavens. And they heard a voice out of the heavens, saying, Thou didst preach to them that are asleep. And answer was heard from the cross, Yea. They consulted therefore one with another to go away and show these things to Pilate. And while they were yet considering, there appear again the heavens opened, and a certain man descending and going into the tomb. Seeing this, the centurion and his band hastened by night to Pilate, leaving the tomb which they were guarding, and related everything which they had seen, in great distress and saying, Truly he was a son of God. Pilate answered and said, I am clear from the blood of the Son of God, but that was what seemed best to you. Then all came forward and entreated him and besought to command the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing of what they had seen; for it is better, they say, for us to be guilty of the greatest sin before God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and be stoned. Pilate therefore commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

And at dawn of the Lord's day Mary Magdalene, a disciple of the Lord ([who] afraid because of the Jews, did not at the tomb of the Lord that which women are accustomed to do for the dead and those beloved by them), taking her friends with herself came to the tomb where he was laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and they said, Though indeed in that day in which he was crucified we were not able (*i. e.*, allowed) to weep and bewail, yet now over his tomb that we may do. But who will roll away

[1] Robinson: but of him that was led by their hand.

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for us also the stone that is laid upon the door of his tomb, so that we may enter in and sit down beside him, and do that which is fitting? For the stone was great, and we fear lest some one see us. And if we be not able, although we may throw upon the door that which we bring in remembrance of him, we shall weep and bewail until we come to our house. And going away they found the sepulchre opened; and going on they stooped down there, and they see there a young man sitting in the midst of the sepulchre, fair, and clothed with a most brilliant robe, who said to them, Why have ye come? Whom seek ye? Is it that crucified one? He is risen and gone away; but if ye do not believe, stoop down and see the place where he lay, that he is not [there]; for he has risen and gone away thither whence he was sent. Then the women were afraid and fled. And it was the last day of unleavened bread, and many went out [from Jerusalem], returning to their homes as the feast came to an end.

But we the twelve disciples of the Lord wept and grieved, and each one, grieving at what had happened, departed to his own house. But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went away to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alpheus, whom the Lord . . .

A word or two with regard to the vocabulary and phraseology of the fragment is now in order.

A few words seem to be new; at least not found in the lexicons. One is σταυρίσκειν, near the beginning (the usual one is σταυρόω); another is ἀπανιῶντες (from ἀπανιάω), a compound with an intensive meaning; another is σκελοκοπηθῇ, a verb of which we have the noun at least, if not the adjective. Here is to be mentioned the very rare λαχμόν, which is used by Justin Martyr in a like connection. There are uncommon meanings of familiar words, but it is scarcely worth while to enumerate them now.

Otherwise the composition is full of words and phrases borrowed from the four canonical Gospels; and with respect to the distortions and additions in the narrative, we cannot prove that they are taken from any known source, or have any other character than mere amplifications or changes of the New Testament narratives. There occur—and these may be seen noted in the margin of Robinson's text—expressions taken from or certainly suggested by each one of the four canonical Gospels, where the particular Gospel that is the source has no parallel in either of the other three. Besides this are abundant passages

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suggested by language or portions of narrative common to more than one, or to all; and there are also expressions very near to some in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and to the passage 1 Peter iii. 19. Robinson finds also reasonable support for the supposition of a harmonistic source of this Gospel of Peter, and is inclined to lay some light stress on its agreements with the supposed Diatessaron of Tatian. But I do not feel sufficiently sure that we have Tatian complete enough or pure enough to base an argument on such an agreement; and I should rather fall back upon the simplicity and artless shape of the composition, and its coincidence with what we know of the character of the hitherto lost Gospel, as well as its just-mentioned apparent source, for proof of its antiquity and identity. But if the Tatian consideration be admitted, it furnishes a date to our book earlier than A.D. 170. Other matters, not yet fully investigated, may push its lowest possible limit at least ten years earlier. But its use of the four Gospels—or of a harmony or diatessaron—shows no difference in estimate among the four; no difference in period or in acceptance between the fourth Gospel and the Synoptists; nor does it at all countenance the supposition of any *Ur-evangelium* still in use in its day, such as we so often feel must underlie the Synoptists; nor does it at all countenance the hypothesis that Mark's Gospel was based on the (lost) Gospel of Peter.

That this fragment is Docetic, seems plain from several considerations. First, the passage, "But he was silent, since he had no pain," can not be interpreted otherwise than as the utterance of one of that sect. So again, although the gall and vinegar are mentioned, the word "I thirst" is omitted; most naturally; for if true, it subverts all Docetism. Yet the composer of this gospel had to exscind it from the middle of a passage otherwise almost exactly taken from the words of John. But the most startling passage—based evidently on the view that the Divine Christ came down to the human in form of a dove at the baptism, and departed from him on the cross—is the rendering "My Power, My Power, thou hast forsaken me." Saying nothing about the propriety of this rendering of the Hebrew Psalm—which indeed

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is that which Eusebius gives (*Dem. Ev.*, x. 8), in correcting Aquila's "My Strong One"—the writer of this book had to do it in the face of the interpretation of the Evangelists; and that too, although we concede that he must have had a text reading ἡλί instead of ἐλωί. Here again we see a trace of the early period of the composition; for while the earlier Docetae believed in a Divine Christ in a human body, the later ones denied the reality of the body.

This paragraph about the "Power," it should be said, is the only one ever in print before; having been published in an article by Harnack in the *Texte und Untersuchungen* something like a year ago; but it attracted little notice, nor was it of itself enough to show the world that anything of value had been found. The passage is a fearful perversion both of the meaning of the Psalm, where the "Power" can only be the Divine Being; and of the whole scope of the four Gospels (especially Luke's), and of the Acts; as if, forsooth, the "power," with which Christ was endued, then left him and ascended to heaven, whereupon "he also himself was taken up" thither.

The question of the New Testament text witnessed by the readings found in this composition it would be premature to touch at present. I myself am not persuaded that all the allusions are precisely those which others take for granted; and therefore cannot as yet assent to all. But they all show an ancient text. Nor are all its seeming misinterpretations to be condemned as inventions. For instance, where it is said "and they set him on the judgment-seat, saying, Judge justly, King of Israel," there is evidently allusion to John xix. 13, where Pilate, as we have it in our English version, "brought Jesus out and sat down on the judgment-seat." But here certain eminent divines have rendered, "and set him on the judgment seat;" and, of itself, that rendering is perfectly legitimate, besides being a consonant preliminary to Pilate's saying to the Jews, "Behold your King."

As to other matters showing the standpoint of the composer of this Gospel, and along with it, that of the sect for whom he wrote it, it is to be noted that the author was no Jew nor lover

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of the Jews, and rather inclined to excuse Pilate. The "unleavened bread" is "*their* feast;" not *the* feast; and this note struck at the opening of the fragment rather increases in volume to the end. Pilate is represented as practically subordinate to Herod, as ready to bury Jesus' body, and as a friend of Joseph. But more than one of later apocryphal writings seem inclined to whitewash Pilate. Petronius, by the way, the name of the centurion here, is the name of a disciple of Peter in the Acts of Hermione; but in the other apocryphal writings the centurion is Longinus.

I have not thought it worth while to note the perversions and amplifications here made of the narratives of our four Gospels, nor to try to deduce parallels from the later apocryphal writings. But here and there an amplification occurs which is known of old in our Gospel manuscripts or versions. The "Woe" cried out by the Jews finds its parallel in the current Tatian and in Ephraim's Commentary thereon; the Curetonian Syriac has it, added to Luke xxiii. 48, in this form: "Woe to us! What is this! Woe to us from our sins!" One Latin codex (S. Germ. g.) has: "*Væ nobis, quae facta sunt hodie propter peccata nostra; propinquavit enim desolatio Hierusalem*" (that is, "Woe to us, the things which have come to pass to-day because of our sins; for the desolation of Jerusalem is come nigh).

The descent into Hades, so prominent in ancient and much modern Christian belief, seems to have been fully accepted here. The remarkable coincidence in thought of the passage, "Thou didst preach to them that are asleep," with one interpretation of 1 Peter iii. 19, strikes the reader at once. Yet there is no filled-out picture of Hades, or of the descent thereto, such as is to be read in sundry compositions. But one thing I note which I have not seen noted elsewhere. The cross following the three coming out of the tomb reminds us of the use of the cross in the descent to Hades as recited in the "Strophes of the Passion" in the Syriac Antiochene liturgy of the feast of the cross. "Thou didst ride the cross when thus wentest forth to bruise the armies of the powers." In this Gospel he would seem to be coming back with that steed following. The Syrian idea of the descent

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into Hades is like that of Luther and others, ancient and modern: to meet and overcome the powers of the Devil in his stronghold, as well as liberate the prisoners. In the third part of the Gospel of Nicodemus the narrative of the preaching, and of the liberation of the prisoners, is given at length; the latter being divided off, or punctuated, so to speak, by the closing verses of Psalm xxiv. from "Lift up your heads, O ye gates" to the end; the gates and everlasting doors being the ancient and mighty ones of Hades' and Satan's stronghold, and Jesus the King of Glory. In the course of the narrative, Adam in a gloriose manner upbraids Satan with questions about what he has gained by bringing about the crucifixion; the sign of the cross is the means of release from Hades and the entrance into Paradise; and the cross itself is left set up in Hades as an everlasting sign of victory. But the only actual cross that appears in or after the ascent, is one borne on the shoulders of a lowly man, who meets the liberated array in Paradise, and proves to be the penitent robber crucified with Jesus.

I may say here that Robinson translates the sentence uttered by the voice from heaven as a question: "Hast thou preached to them that sleep?" But to me it seems much finer and fitter to take it as a declaration: "Thou has preached to them that sleep." And response was heard from the cross, "Yea!" Indeed it is hard otherwise to explain the use of ὑπακοή which properly means "obedience," "compliance," "submission," but is best translated here by "answer" or "response;" though it is the answer of obedience, beyond a doubt; a response of homage.

We may add just one observation on the textual testimony. The passage which brings the women to the sepulchre is full of clear traces of both John and Mark; but the latter cease with the abrupt ending of Mark's Gospel, with not a hint or trace of the last twelve verses.

There still remains much investigation and work to be done with this fragment; or rather, we should say, the work and investigation have hardly begun. Nor have I touched here upon a multitude of interesting points that present themselves at the very first reading. But it is plain that this is a fragment of the

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old Docetist Gospel attributed to Peter; that it links in with matters in every direction that show it to be very ancient: that it gives clear testimony throughout to the existence and undoubted acceptance of the four Gospels, and possibly of other portions of the New Testament; and that it bears the usual historical testimony to the truth that is found in the mouths of ancient heretical forgers.

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THE EXPANSION OF JUDAISM.

By OLIVER J. THATCHER,
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Of all ancient religions, Judaism as represented by the Prophets was incomparably the best. No other religion had such a conception of God, His lofty and upright character, His majesty, His compassion, His fatherly love for men, His mercy, and at the same time, of the high demands for holy living which He made on all who would be His people and enjoy His protection. But this high conception of God was confined to one little people, inhabiting a small province and having little communication with the rest of the world. More than that, their foreign intercourse was so restricted by the many Levitical rules and regulations, that their religious influence on other nations was practically nothing. Everywhere else, there was polytheism, varying in grade from its finest and noblest forms to the crassest, most degraded and degrading. What advantage was it to the world that the Jews had a better religion, since the Levitical law was a barrier that prevented all communication? It looked as if the heathen were to be excluded from having any share in the religious truth in which Israel was so rich. The heirs of the prophets were by no means inclined to share their holy inheritance with the unclean heathen about them.

But there can be no lasting monopoly in truth. Deep and wide as was the gulf that separated the heathen from the Jews, it could be bridged. In spite of the separation, many means of contact and channels of communication were furnished by "the Jews in the Diaspora."

Abraham, their great forefather, was himself a wanderer and in this respect he had many imitators among his children. For centuries the Jews had been spreading beyond Palestine. A constant stream of emigrants was overflowing its boundaries in all directions. At this time there was scarcely a city in all

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the world that did not have Jews among its inhabitants. There were great numbers of them in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates; Asia Minor was overrun by them. Alexandria in Egypt was divided into five districts or wards, two of which were occupied by Jews. In the Nile Delta, it was estimated that there were more than a million Jews. Along the coast of North Africa they were everywhere at home. The towns and cities of Macedonia and Greece contained Jewish colonies. In Rome there were probably thirty thousand of them. The Jew was ubiquitous.

But in their wanderings and long residence in foreign lands, they had undergone a most important change. If a paradox be allowed, they were not only Jews, they had also become Greeks, and consequently were neither Jews nor Greeks. They produced a new culture, a new civilization, composed of the best elements of Judaism and of Hellenism. The civilization of the Jews was in many respects very narrow and limited, but in others lofty and imposing. Its ideal was the knowledge and perfect obedience of the law of God as contained in the Old Testament. It was monotheistic and intensely religious. The Greek civilization was far wider and more varied. It was great in science, literature, and art. But its type was not religious and moral, but intellectual and æsthetic. This new Hellenistic civilization was a union of the two. It got its religion from Judaism, its philosophy and its learning from the Greeks.

These Jews had no thought of becoming anything else than Jews. They were not sensible of any change. They did not feel that there was any difference between them and their brethren in Palestine. They kept up their connection with the Holy Land. Every year thousands of them made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which still remained for them the Holy City, the only place where they could acceptably offer sacrifice. They regularly sent their yearly contributions to the temple, and, whenever it was possible, they went in person to attend one of the yearly feasts. Besides this, they took their law with them, and wherever they went, they met every Sabbath to study it. Wherever there were Jews there was a synagogue. So by all

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these means they kept in touch with their brethren and the traditions of their fathers.

On the other hand, they lived among heathen and were compelled to associate more or less intimately with them. They were brought into close, daily contact with those who were their superiors in refinement and culture. The Jewish mind has always shown a good deal of alertness and receptivity. It was impossible that they should remain insensible to all the beauties of the culture about them. Especially the fine speculations and teachings of the philosophers attracted them, for they seemed to be in harmony with their Scriptures, and even indeed, to express the same truths seen from a different point of view.

They held to the truth of their religion; they tried to keep the law, but it was impossible for them to remain Pharisees. They honored their father Abraham, and Moses. But they came into contact with people who had not Abraham for their father, and were ignorant of the law of Moses, and yet possessed much truth, were virtuous and upright, pursued noble ends, and lived blameless lives. A problem was thrust on them which they had to solve. Will these good people be excluded from the kingdom of God simply because they are not Jews? Their good sense in the end gave them the answer. It led them to distinguish between the truth, and the form in which the truth was expressed. Not the letter of the law was the important thing, but the religious and moral truth which it taught. To be a son of Abraham was a good thing, but truly to fear and honor God was far better. To observe the Mosaic distinctions of clean and unclean was important, but the necessary thing was to preserve a clean heart and live a pure life. In other words, here was a *liberal movement* among the Jews in the Diaspora which was entirely different from the Phariseeism of Palestine; and it need hardly be added, much superior to it; for it was a movement from the letter to the spirit, from the form to the contents, from a religion of rites and ceremonies to a religion of the heart.

One of the most imposing things in Jewish literature is the

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unshaken confidence that they have the one true God, who will not tolerate the worship of anything else. They learned this with great difficulty, but they learned it well, and it has been to them a source of unlimited strength which centuries of persecution and oppression have not exhausted. While appreciating the good that existed among the heathen, they never ceased to abominate their idolatry. Their zeal for God led them to become missionaries to the heathen about them. We do not think of the Jews as a missionary people, but they have had a most interesting missionary period. For some centuries Judaism made earnest efforts to become a universal religion, to convert the world. But she was finally driven from the mission field by Christianity, which proved to be a too powerful rival; and at the same time, Judaism drew back from the freer movement and settled down into a rigid, legal orthodoxy. In other words, Phariseeism prevailed over Hellenism.

The Judaism of Palestine was never attractive to the heathen and hence was not a good missionary religion. Their refusal to eat swine's flesh led Juvenal to speak of Palestine as the land "where the long practiced clemency allowed the hogs to reach a ripe old age." They observed the Sabbath, it was said, because they were lazy and wished to shirk work. Since they had no statues in their temples and synagogues, they were charged with the foolishness of worshiping the clouds. Above all, the heathen were offended that the Jews assumed a superiority and refused to associate with them because they were Levitically unclean. So for many reasons the Jews were despised and even hated.

It would seem then that the Jew could hope for little success in his missionary efforts. But it must be remembered in the first place, that the Jews in the Diaspora were the real missionaries, and that they were already undergoing a radical change in their attitude to the ceremonial law. Consequently their desire to make converts led them to present only the most attractive features of Judaism to the consideration of their hearers. They took from the Old Testament a few great ideas, *the essentials of their religion*, and laid all emphasis on these.

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In the first place, they held strongly to the truth that there is but one God. They thereby introduced into the natural world, into history, and into religion, the principle of unity. The heathen thought of the world as the play-ground of malicious gods and spirits, which were lying in wait for an opportunity to play some mad prank in the realm of nature, cross the plans and purposes of some other god, or inflict an injury on some unsuspecting and helpless mortal. To the thoughtful heathen it was a great relief to learn that there is one all-wise and powerful God, who made and controls the universe.

And then the lofty conception of God which was presented, was attractive. He was so great and majestic, so high and spiritual, that it was an offense even to try to represent Him by anything material. No picture or statue was allowed; such things could only hinder and not help the mind in its attempt to conceive of Him and His glory.

They made much of the doctrine of rewards and punishments in a future state. This God, so just and holy, is interested in His creatures and will reward or punish each one according to his life. The upright, the pure and noble will receive at His hand the rewards for their conduct, while to the wicked will be meted out the just punishments for their disregard of His holy will.

One of the commonest and deepest feelings of the human heart is the sense of ill desert before God. The conscience is oppressed and burdened, and longs for some sure way of conciliating an offended God. The soul longs for certainty in religious matters. The current philosophy of the day was doing much to awaken and deepen this sense of sin. People felt their religious needs as never before. Of all ancient religions, Judaism offered the most satisfying symbolical rites and ceremonies of purification, and the most comforting assurances of the merciful and forgiving character of God. In one sense, these Jews in the Diaspora, were the true successors of the Prophets, for like them they disregarded the letter of the law, and taught that a humble and penitent heart and a blameless, helpful life are what God requires.

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Of the personal, individual labors of these missionaries, their conversations, arguments, exhortations, and pleadings, we know almost nothing for they found no biographer. But of their burning zeal and far-reaching activity we can form a good estimate if we look at their literary productions. They made use of every known form of literature to recommend Judaism and make its teachings known. For three centuries they produced a rich and varied missionary literature. It is impossible to describe this in detail, but we should, at least, take a brief review of its most important features. It will serve the double purpose of showing their missionary zeal and the change which Greek influences had produced among them.

They translated the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek. That was by no means simply for the benefit of the Jews themselves, they had the heathen also in view. Just as the Scriptures are now translated into various languages and used as means of advancing the missionary work, so the Old Testament was rendered into Greek that the heathen might more easily learn the religion of Israel. Some expressions that would be offensive to Greek taste and conceptions, were omitted or altered, and various changes were made, all of which sprang out of one motive, the desire to make their religion more attractive to the heathen.

To further the same purpose, they wrote commentaries on the Scriptures, in which they were explained in accordance with the best teachings of the philosophers, and to please the Greek taste. They did not ask what the literal meaning of a passage is, but by the allegorical method of interpretation, derived from it whatever teaching they desired. For instance, the story of the creation was given in philosophical form. The command to abstain from swine's flesh, it was said, is not to be understood literally. God had not intended that it should be, but He had meant thereby to teach that they should not associate with those who are like swine, brutish and impure in character. In this way they got rid of all the troublesome commands in the ceremonial law, and at the same time, made it appear to be a most wise and ingenious piece of legislation, an inexhaustible source of practical wisdom.

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Closely akin to these commentaries were their philosophical works, inasmuch as these were often based on some section of scripture, or at least, treated the Old Testament as the source of all philosophy. The same allegorical method was used, and Moses and the prophets were made to appear as the true philosophers, with whom Plato, Aristotle and the others agreed in so far as they had uttered the truth. In this way the first place and the highest honors were vindicated to Judaism. These philosophical works all have this characteristic which distinguishes them from the works of the Greek philosophers, namely: they all have a practical, moral, and religious object in view. The Greeks pursued knowledge for its own sake; the Jews, for the influence it would have on the character and life. They made philosophy the handmaid of religion, for it was its function to make men better, to help them to a truly religious life.

The Jews were proud of their history. They believed that God's hand was visible in it all. Hence, it was inevitable that they would use it, too, for missionary purposes. And so, in fact, we find that a great many histories of the Jews were written, in all of which there is a more or less pronounced Chauvinism. They all pursued the same end, the glorification of Israel. They all seek to show that the Jews have worshiped the true God who has cared for them in the most remarkable way, and therefore they have played a great rôle in the history of the world. As a nation, they have a long and glorious past, because they stand in an intimate relation to the God of all the earth.

Epic poetry and the drama were also used to acquaint the heathen with Judaism, and to fill them with enthusiasm for Judea's history and religion. As Homer had sung of Troy and her fate, so Philo, the epic poet, wrote the history of Jerusalem and her kings in the form of a great epic poem. Still more remarkable is the fact that the history of Israel was dramatized. Just as the Greek dramatists had chosen some great and decisive event in the history of their country for the subject of their greatest dramas, and thereby held up their history for the admiration of the world, so the Jews competed for praise and honor for their land by presenting its history in the same fas-

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cinating way. We have fragments of one of these plays which was called "The Exodus," and, as its name indicates, was a dramatization of the Biblical story of the exodus from Egypt. Thus even the theater was compelled to assist in the missionary work of the Jews.

But they found opponents who attacked them and made many severe charges against them. That shows that these missionary efforts were so strong and persistent that the heathen found it necessary to defend themselves and their religion, which they did by attacking the Jews. These must be refuted, and so we find Jewish apologists writing in defense of their religion and people, and refuting at great length all the charges made against them. Two of these are especially worthy of notice. The Jews were charged with being a modern people, without a history, and consequently they had contributed nothing to the civilization of the world. To disprove that they put forth the most strenuous efforts. They sought for proofs from every quarter to show that they were as old as any of the peoples then existing. And they do not hesitate to declare that the Jews had been the source of *all* culture and civilization. For Abraham had taught the Egyptians astrology, Joseph had introduced a new system of irrigation and agriculture, Moses was the real father of all learning, for he was the first great philosopher, and had invented the alphabet, and written the Pentateuch which was the greatest of all philosophical works. He had lived long before any of the great men of the Greeks, who had derived all their knowledge from him, without giving him the proper credit.

Not content with all these efforts, they even made use of forgeries to increase the reputation and authority of their religion. The Sibyls were mysterious prophetesses that were held in great reverence by the heathen. It was very shrewd on the part of these missionaries to make use of the name of the Sibyl to propagate the Jewish faith, for anything that she might utter would at once receive the most ready credence. So in the second century B. C., we find that some pious Jew wrote a work which purported to be by a Sibyl. In the prologue she was made to say that she was a daughter of Noah(!), that she had been with him in the

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ark at the time of the flood, that she had then come from Babylon, and that the Greeks had given her a false name. She then foretells the glories of Solomon's kingdom, and really gives in the form of a prophecy the history of the Jews, of the Greeks, and of the Romans down to about the year 140 B. C. In all this the Jews are represented as the people of God, to whom is promised the Messiah, and all the other nations are threatened with destruction unless they repent and join the Jews in the worship of God. These prophecies of the Sibyls were widely read and undoubtedly had great influence. Vergil and Tacitus had read them and made use of them in their writings. Under the names of the greatest Greek poets and philosophers, they also forged poems and histories in which these are made to teach the purest Jewish doctrines and sound forth the praises of the true people of God.

This is certainly enough to show that the Jews were tremendously in earnest in their efforts to convert the world. Such a varied and eager missionary activity will compare favorably with that of any other religion. They bade high for popular favor, and left no stone unturned to reach the heathen masses. Their efforts were not without success. The influence of the Jews on the heathen world was far greater than has generally been supposed. Many heathen became proselytes. They were circumcised, observed the whole law and lived entirely as Jews. These were called "proselytes of righteousness." But a far larger number were influenced by their religious teachings, but yet hesitated to take this important step. They were willing to observe some of the law, but in its entirety it was too exacting and burdensome. Many of these observed the Sabbath and some of the requirements in regard to meats, and with this the Jews seem to have been satisfied. These were called "God fearing" or "devout."[1]

But there were many that were influenced by the teachings of the Jews, who refused to accept any of these burdensome and

[1] These and similar phrases were used to designate this class. Thus Cornelius, Acts x.2, is called "a devout man and one that feared God." Cf. Acts xiii.50, "the devout women," xvi.14, "one that feared God." These were not called "proselytes of the gate;" this phrase was applied simply to heathen who lived in Palestine.

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inconvenient restrictions. They learned much from the Jews. We might even say they got the true religion from them. They were careful to receive the truth and to frame their lives in accordance with it. But the ceremonial part of Judaism was repellent to them, and furthermore, they saw that it was not necessary.

From what has been said, it will be seen that the influence of the Jews on the heathen was great and good, converting many of them wholly to a high type of Judaism and giving many others a better knowledge of God and of His character. Every synagogue was as a light set in a dark place, and about each of these were gathered many heathen seeking the truth and worshiping with more or less purity the God of Israel. The scattering of the Jews throughout all lands was in this way a blessing, for they were instrumental in spreading abroad a higher conception of God and purer moral standards, thus helping on the religious education and development of the world, and preparing it for the reception of Christianity.

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THEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION IN SWITZERLAND.

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Middletown, Conn.

I.

The intention of these papers is twofold: first, to give from personal investigation some information upon a subject of much intrinsic interest, but with which most Americans are comparatively unfamiliar; second, to be of practical service to such of our own clergy or students of theology as might be glad to utilize a few months of vacation by turning their steps directly toward Switzerland, if they knew how easily the pursuit of chosen studies and the stimulus of university life might be combined with a sojourn among the very foot-hills of the Alps. We are so accustomed to think of Switzerland simply as a country of mountains and lakes, of hotels and summer tourists, that we forget the possibility of enjoying the fruits of German thought and French clearness and incisiveness on the shores of the Swiss lakes and within sight and easy reach of the glories of the higher Alps. Yet this possibility exists, and it may be of interest to take a necessarily hasty survey of the theological institutions, and become to some degree acquainted with the theological instructors of a land as marked by its schools and intellectual life as it is by its lakes and mountains.

Americans are so familiar with university life in Germany that I shall spend no time in describing features common to both lands, simply premising that in general the systems of the two countries are the same, although there are some marked variations in French Switzerland to which I shall refer later.

The first fact which impresses a stranger in connection with Swiss theological instruction, and it is a fact which is mournfully emphasized by the professors themselves, is the *number* of the theological schools. Leaving entirely out of the account the Catholic university of Fribourg and the training school at

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Luçerne, little Switzerland has six college towns with nine Protestant theological faculties. Basel, Zürich, Bern, Geneva and Lausanne boast the possession of complete universities (*i. e.*, colleges with five faculties), while Neuchâtel lacks only the faculty of medicine to raise its "academy" to the same rank. In addition to this, and for reasons shortly to be mentioned, the three last-named cities have independent theological schools of about equal importance with those connected with the universities.

The most marked division is, of course, that of language. French Switzerland, or "la Suisse *Romande*," as the patriotism of the inhabitants prefers to call it, is almost as distinctively "romance" as is France itself. The people are thoroughly and enthusiastically Swiss, but there is scarcely anything to indicate that one is still in a country where the German element is strongly preponderant. This fact draws a very sharp line between the schools of Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchâtel and those of Basel, Zürich and Bern. It affects both the form and the character of the instruction given and appears even in the university calendar. Americans coming to study in Switzerland should remember that in German Switzerland the university year has been practically conformed to that of Germany, so that lectures are given in Basel up to the middle of July and in Zürich and Bern until the first of August, while in the French schools all lectures stop at the end of June or early in July, the independent schools closing rather earlier than the others. As compensation the semester begins somewhat earlier in French than in German Switzerland.

But the difference does not consist simply in the fact that the intimate relationship existing between the universities of Germany and those of German Switzerland has compelled the latter to abandon their old midsummer vacation and conform their sessions to those of their larger neighbors, while the French schools have been subjected to no such pressure. Neither is it summed up by the additional fact that instruction is given through two such contrasted mediums as the French and German languages. Apart from these things, one can not pass from German to French Switzerland without feeling that the difference of race and lan-

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guage makes itself very manifest in thought and mental attitude. The theologians of la Suisse Romande are entirely ready to acknowledge their obligations to German scholarship, and yet they feel that they have the advantages, as well as the disadvantages, of outsiders, being able to appreciate and appropriate the results of German investigation without being prejudiced by the rivalries and antagonisms of the different theological parties. Said one of them to me, "what I know I owe to Germany," and yet he felt that he had little sympathy with the specific issues which divide German theologians into such sharply-marked factions and that he had no interest in the prevalence of any particular "tendency" as such.

Allied to this distinction of race and language and partly springing from it we should expect to find somewhat marked differences in theological attitude, and such differences do, in fact, exist.

In general, the French theological schools are decidedly more orthodox than the German. This does not exclude decided differences among themselves, as, for instance, that the theological faculty of the University of Geneva is much more liberal than any other in French Switzerland, while that of Basel has long been more conservative than those of Zürich and Bern. Still it is true that the prevailing theology of the French schools is decidedly more conservative than is that of those in German Switzerland. The French professors themselves ascribe this to two causes: first, to the Huguenot influence which carried into Switzerland a zeal for the doctrines of the Reformation kindled by the fires of persecution and not easily to be extinguished; and, second, to the fact that ecclesiastical questions have been so forced into the foreground in the French Protestant cantons that men have had less inclination to spend their strength upon abstract matters of dogmatics or criticism. In this, as in many other respects, the condition of things in French Switzerland resembles that in the United States much more closely than does that in the German cantons. Indeed, so diverse have been the developments, ecclesiastical and theological, in the two sections of this miniature republic that it is not easy for a man living and

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thinking in the one to enter into sympathetic appreciation of the thought and life of the other. I should scarcely have dared to make so strong a statement as this last had I not heard it as the verdict of one of the most liberal and intelligent professors in French Switzerland.

Another division, or rather subdivision, must be noticed. I have already mentioned the fact that the university towns in French Switzerland have each two theological faculties, one connected with the state school, and the other independent. The history of these independent theological seminaries is somewhat complicated, but some reference to it is necessary to any proper understanding of the present state of theological instruction in this section of the country.

The oldest of the independent schools is that of Geneva. It had its origin, in 1831, in a reaction against the rationalism, or, more strictly, Socinianism, which prevailed in Geneva at the beginning of this century. The school does not stand in organic connection with any church, but was established by the *Société Évangélique*, through which it is closely related to the Protestantism of France, as well as to that of Switzerland.

The two other independent schools are directly connected with the *Église Libre* of their respective cantons.

In the canton of Vaud, an arbitrary radical cantonal government led, in 1845, to the secession of numbers of pastors and churches from the *Église Nationale* and to the establishment of the Free Church of Vaud, and of the independent theological school of Lausanne. The immediate occasion of the secession was the refusal of many pastors to read from their pulpits government proclamations which they regarded as unworthy of the place, and the attempt of the government to discipline them for their insubordination.

In the canton of Neuchâtel the division did not take place until 1873. Here the churches had been comparatively independent of the cantonal government, and it was the attempt of the latter to nationalize and liberalize them which led to the disruption. The first step was the secularization of church property and the introduction of complete state support, but

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the principal grievance was the passage of a law exempting pastors from subscription to any creed whatsoever. This was regarded by the evangelical party as exposing the church to unlimited corruption and, under the leadership of the now venerable Dr. Frederick Godet, led to the formation of the Free Church of Neuchâtel and of the "*Faculté Indépendente de Théologie.*"

This outline of the origin of the free theological schools is sufficient to show that we may expect a somewhat sharp dogmatic line to divide them from those which remained under the control of the state. This is notably the case at Geneva, but also, though to a less marked degree, in Lausanne and Neuchâtel. Indeed, the free churches and the free theological schools are looked upon in Switzerland as the great champions of orthodoxy, though it should be said that the state church has rallied wonderfully during the last decade or two, and that the relations between the different faculties are now quite cordial; while, curiously enough, the latest charge of heresy was made against one of the older professors of the free school at Lausanne.

Of dogmatic differences in German Switzerland nothing need be said that will not find more appropriate place in connection with the individual universities. In general the relationship existing between the universities of German Switzerland and those of Germany itself, is very close. Professors are called from one country to the other, and it is quite the custom for Swiss students to spend one or more semesters in one of the large German universities. In fact there is scarcely a theological professor in German Switzerland who did not receive part of his education in Germany.

Turning now to the different university towns, let us try to gain some idea of the work that is being done, and of the kind of men that are doing it; as well as of the advantages which the towns themselves offer to the American pastor or student having a few months or a year at his disposal.

BASEL.

First comes the venerable university of Basel, whose founding antedates by thirty-two years the discovery of America.

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There are many reasons besides that of antiquity for giving Basel the first place. The city itself, lying just across the German boundary, is the first Swiss town to be visited by the tourist from the north and west, and although it has belonged to the Swiss confederation for almost four hundred years, still both the university and the fine old Münster with its quaint but beautiful cloisters go back to the time when Basel was a free city of the empire. Again, its low location renders its climate in winter and early spring more genial than that of the higher Swiss towns. It is claimed that the spring is from two to three weeks earlier in Basel than in Zürich.

So far as beauty of surroundings is concerned, Basel, lying to the north of the Jura mountains and separated by them from the higher Alps, has less to offer than any of the other university towns; but it certainly has special attractions for the student of theology who wishes to devote his time closely to his work. Basel is the religious and theological centre of German Switzerland. Its church life stands unique amid the indifference of so many Swiss cities. Its Mission House and various charitable institutions are widely known. The same characteristics distinguish the university. It is the one university whose reputation is especially connected with its theological faculty. Although the entire number of students is smaller than that of either Zürich or Bern, yet it always has more students of theology than both the others combined.

In respect of doctrine, Basel has long been regarded as the stronghold of conservatism for German Switzerland. In the matter of the university building, it is still abundantly conservative; for, while the students of medicine and the natural sciences have gone to more modern quarters, the lectures on philosophy and theology are still given in the old building, whose windows have looked down upon the restless Rhine for three long centuries. Even the instruction imparted in the ancient lecture rooms is still on the whole more orthodox than that of Zürich or Bern; yet, at the present time it can justly be said that both the liberal and the conservative schools of German theology are ably represented in the Basel faculty, while even the *tertium quid* of Ritschlianism is not wholly without a hearing.

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On the side of orthodoxy one needs but to mention the name of Conrad von Orelli, who is so well known in America through his Old Testament Prophecy and his Commentary on Isaiah; and whose wiry frame, raven hair, clean cut features, deep voice and impressive utterance seem themselves to mark him out as a leader among the champions of an inspired Bible and a supernatural Christ. His position is very pronounced, and if any of us are disposed to shake our heads over such matters as his recognizing the double authorship of Isaiah, it will be well for us to remember that in Switzerland and Germany he is looked upon as the representative of an extreme conservatism. Prof. Orelli was born at Zürich, and is now forty-seven years old, having been a full professor at Basel for eleven years. He is at present Rector of the university.

It is a curious coincidence that the Dean of the theological faculty, Prof. Bernhard Duhm, is a professor in the same department of Old Testament History and Exegesis, and is in almost every respect the exact opposite of Prof. Orelli. The contrast in personal appearance is as great as that in theological attitude. Prof. Duhm is a slight man, forty-five years old, whose bright reddish gold hair covers his head in a tangle of ringlets, and whose high voice is soft and quiet, while he speaks with little emphasis but with the most painstaking distinctness of enunciation. It is his custom to dictate very carefully a few paragraphs and then more rapidly to amplify and explain, interspersing an occasional bit of quiet humor or sarcasm. He is evidently a favorite with the students, has himself just issued a commentary on Isaiah, and was spoken of by one of the older professors as "*der bedeutendste Kopf*" in the faculty. He was born at Bingum, in Ostfriesland, and in 1889 was called to Basel from Göttingen, where he had been extraordinary professor since 1877.

With reference to his theological attitude, the case was put very concisely though somewhat strongly by one of the students. I asked him how Professors Orelli and Duhm compared in their theological views, and he replied with a smile, "They are just about antipodes." It was my fortune to hear the closing lecture of his course on Old Testament Introduction, and he spoke with

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the utmost freedom of the way in which the later chroniclers of Israel wrote history as they imagined it must have been, and with very little conception of the real state of affairs, or even of the historic possibilities.

At the same time Prof. Duhm is not to be regarded as representing the extreme left wing even at Basel. This position is probably held by Prof. Franz Overbeck, the senior member of the faculty, a man now fifty-five years of age, whose specialties are Church History and New Testament Exegesis. There is nothing in his rapid diction and quiet humor to attract special attention, and a chance hearer might have little idea of his theological position; yet, he ranks as one of the most radical theologians in Switzerland. Born in St. Petersburg, he studied in Leipzig and Göttingen, and has been full professor at Basel since 1871. Characteristic of his attitude is the title of one of his publications, viz., "Concerning the Origin and Justification of a Purely Historical Treatment of the New Testament Writings in Theology."

Another man who belongs emphatically to the liberal wing, and who must be regarded as one of the very strongest men in the faculty is Prof. Paul Wilhelm Schmidt. He is a native of Berlin, a man of powerful frame, with black hair and beard and a huge moustache. His manner is very impressive in the class-room, and he is exceedingly hearty and cordial in personal conversation. His specialty is New Testament Exegesis, and in his *critical* position he is less extreme than many others, and has even written on the "Hypercriticism of the New Testament." Theologically, on the other hand, his attitude is very radical and he maintains it with strong conviction and entire fearlessness.

I chanced to hear the final lecture of Prof. Schmidt's course on the Gospel of Mark, and in it both phases of his position found expression.

Speaking of the words of Jesus uttered upon the cross, he regarded the critical attempt to reject everything except the one utterance recorded by Mark as a groundless self-robbery by which we needlessly deprive ourselves of a precious treasure. A few minutes later, referring to the different accounts of the

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resurrection, he took the ground that Paul's words in I Cor. xv. 4–8 must be regarded as both older and of higher authority than those of any of the Gospels, and from this basis frankly expressed his own personal conviction that the hypothesis of appearances in vision is the only tenable one from the standpoint of Scripture as well as from that of science.

Prof. Schmidt is now forty-seven years old, and has been a member of the Basel faculty for sixteen years, but his influence is by no means confined to the class-room. He is also very outspoken and aggressive as a member of the *reform*[1] party, which in Switzerland corresponds to the *Protestantenverein* of Germany.

Another strong man, of thoroughly scientific spirit, but far less pronouncedly radical than those whom I have just mentioned, is Prof. Rudolf Stähelin, whose specialty is the History of Christian Doctrine. A man of fifty-one, somewhat under the medium height, with sandy hair and beard, he lectures without notes and presents the intricacies of his subject with admirable clearness and precision. His personality is less marked than that of some of the others, but he gives the impression of a thoroughly helpful instructor. He is a native of Basel, where he has spent almost all his life.

By far the youngest of the regular professors is Prof. Adolf Bolliger, who appears scarcely older than some of his students, but seems destined to make for himself a unique place in the Basel faculty. Independent, keen, concise, he does not hesitate to take Dogmatic Theology as his chief course.

These are the marked men in the regular faculty. Among the extraordinary professors and instructors, the right wing and centre are more strongly represented than is the left; but I have already gone sufficiently into detail to show that Basel offers every facility not only for the detailed study of some chosen branch, but also for entering into the various phases of current German and Swiss theology, from Orelli on the one side to Overbeck, Schmidt and Duhm on the other.

[1] In Switzerland, at the present time, the word "Reformer" is used to designate a member of the rationalistic party, which has substantially abandoned the supernatural in the Bible and in the life of Christ.

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Before leaving the University of Basel it is only proper to call attention to a few names outside the theological faculty, which might be of equal interest to the student from America. I mention in philosophy Prof. Frederick Hemann, formerly in the theological faculty, and now treating philosophical subjects from high religious ground; Hans Heussler; Adolf Baumgartner, the historian; and Prof. Jacob Burkhardt, a man about seventy years of age, the author of the finest guide to Italian Art, and now giving illustrated lectures on the History of Art, which would most admirably prepare one for visiting the cities and galleries of Europe.

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MESSIANIC PROPHECY IN THE BOOK OF JOB.

By Prof. EDWARD LEWIS CURTIS, PH.D.,
Yale University.

The book of Job contains no direct allusion to the hope of Israel, and to find anything therein referring to Christ may seem far-fetched and unwarranted. When, however, we read it in the light of New Testament story and doctrine, certain foreshadowings of our Saviour appear. The most obvious of these is that Job, as a representative of innocent suffering, is a type of the Messiah. The outlook of the author of Job, it is true, is broader than Israel; the experience which he gives is common to the entire race; and yet, since the book is of Hebrew literature, we believe the hero was designed especially to represent the afflicted godly of Israel, and the poem was primarily written for their consolation. It is an endeavor to set forth the problem suggested by the life of a Jeremiah or other faithful sufferers. Job, then, as a representative character stands in the same line with the innocent suppliant of the twenty-second Psalm, and the suffering Servant of Jehovah of the fifty-third of Isaiah. He represents that inner righteous kernel of Israel which forms the background or basis of these two celebrated passages. He shows us that the ideal servant of God triumphs through innocent suffering, and thus he foreshadows that which was perfectly realized in the suffering Son of Man.

The assurance of immortality is also given in this book. This is found in the well-known verses:

> "But I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand up at last upon the earth and after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God; whom I shall see for myself. Mine eyes shall behold and not another." (xix. 25–27, R.V.)

Here Job, arising above his previous doubt and despair, boldly declares that after death he shall behold God as his vindicator, his friend. The thought is parallel with that of Ps. xvi. 10sq.

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There the beloved of God has full confidence that he shall not be abandoned in Sheol. In the next life the ties which have bound him to Jehovah will continue. Both of these passages are typically prophetic of Christ's resurrection, because that event fully realized the truth of their idea. Immortality, the real victory over death, became an accomplished fact on Easter morning.

Many find an intimation of the necessity of a mediator between God and man, and hence so far a promise of Christ in ix. 32 sq.:

"For he is not a man, as I am, that I should answer him, that we should come together in judgment. There is no daysman betwixt us, that might lay his hand upon us both."

It must be noticed, however, if such a conception is here taught, it has for its premise an unjust view of God. In the previous verses of this chapter, Job pictures God as a cruel and relentless persecutor, unjust and arbitrary. Job also never found peace with God through any intercessor or mediator apart from God himself, but he did find such a one in God. Job's friends failed him. They proved to be like a deceitful brook. Job's loyalty to God was put also to the severest test. The Almighty did seem against him, and Job's words were at first full of bitter complaint. But they were turned from complaint to supplication, and finally to confidence. He says:

"O earth cover not thou my blood, and let my cry have no resting-place. Even now, behold, my witness is in heaven, and he that voucheth for me is on high." (xvi. 13 sq.)

"Give now a pledge, be surety for me with thyself." (xvii. 3).

In these passages Job draws a distinction in God. God will testify for him to God. God will give a pledge of his innocency to God. Here then is something parallel to what we find in the New Testament doctrine of the Trinity. "If any man sin," says John, "we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous."

Job's passionate longing, "Oh that I knew where I might find him," (xxiii. 2 sq.) finds an answer and fulfillment in Christ's revelation of God. We know where to find him: "He that

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hath seen me hath seen the Father." The heart's desires of the Old Testament are met and realized in the New,—not, however, completely, for the consummation of all has not yet taken place. There are prophetic longings and assurances still in the New Testament and in the hearts of God's people. We look forward to a second coming of our Saviour who said, "I go to prepare a place for you. . .I come again and will receive you unto myself." In that glad hour, whatever be its time or manifestation, all heart yearnings will be stilled, all contradictions solved, and all divine ideas, both of the Old and New Testament perfectly realized.

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

Annual Meeting. — A meeting of the Directors of the American Institute of Sacred Literature was held at the Union Theological Seminary, December 29, 1892, at 9:30. Among others present were Professors Willis J. Beecher, Francis Brown, J. H. Thayer, William R. Harper, Rev. Arthur Brooks, Bishop Henry C. Potter.

After the reading of the Principal's report and the Treasurer's report the Directors considered the work of the Institute in general. A committee of three, consisting of Bishop H. C. Potter, Professors Francis Brown and J. H. Thayer, was appointed to prepare a statement for the public which should set forth the undenominational, unpartisan, coöperative work of the Institute, its needs and its claims upon the attention of men of means.

At this meeting of the Board its membership was increased from fifteen to eighteen, and the following additions were made: Professor S. I. Curtiss of Chicago, Rev. H. P. Faunce of New York City, President W. G. Ballantine of Oberlin, and Rev. Thomas C. Hall of Chicago.

Professors Harper, Curtiss, Burroughs, Ballantine, Terry, and the Rev. Thomas C. Hall were constituted an Executive Committee, with headquarters in Chicago, to whom should be referred the general work of the Institute and the transaction of business between the annual meetings of the Directors.

The old officers of the Board of Directors were reëlected, namely: President, Dean Edward T. Bartlett, D.D., of the Episcopal Divinity School, Philadelphia; Vice-President, Professor Francis Brown, Ph.D., D.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York; Secretary, President George S. Burroughs, Ph.D., Wabash College; Principal, President William R. Harper, Ph.D., D.D., University of Chicago.

The Directors. — The thoroughly undenominational character of the Institute may be seen from the list of officers given above, and of the directors. These represent the leading religious denominations, and include Old and New Testament professors in representative theological seminaries. The present Board is as follows: President E. B. Andrews, D.D., LL.D., Brown University; President W. G. Ballentine, D.D., Oberlin College; Professor Willis J. Beecher, D.D., Auburn Theological Seminary; Rev. Arthur Brooks, D.D., New York City; Professor Chas. R. Brown, Ph.D., Newton Theological Institution; Professor Francis Brown, Ph.D., D.D., Union Theological Seminary; Professor Marcus D. Buell, D.D., Boston University; Professor Edward L. Curtis, Ph.D., Yale University; Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss,

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Ph.D., D.D., Union Park Theological Seminary, Chicago; Rev. H. P. Faunce, New York City; Rev. Thos. C. Hall, Chicago; Bishop H. C. Potter, D.D., New York; Professor Milton S. Terry, D.D., Garrett Biblical Institute; Professor J. Henry Thayer, D.D., Harvard University; Bishop John H. Vincent, D.D., Buffalo.

Institute Work in Australia. — Through correspondence, students, and others, the work of the Institute is becoming well known in Australia. Two institutions, the Australian Bible School of Melbourne, and the Baptist College of Victoria, have undertaken systematic work along Institute lines. In the former several have formed a club for the study of New Testament Greek by correspondence, under the direction of the Institute. The latter will conduct a "Summer School" for Bible study in February, and will offer correspondence instruction in the Bible languages, using the Institute instruction sheets.

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HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE SCRIPTURE MATERIAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL LESSONS.

By Associate Prof. George S. Goodspeed, Ph.D.
The University of Chicago.

II. Haggai and Zechariah.

1. Misfortune and Gloom. It was a melancholy state of affairs which succeeded the first glad season when the returned set their feet once again within the precincts of the Holy City. They found themselves exposed to all the hardships of new settlers without their encouragements. Petty quarrels with their neighbors disturbed their peace. A succession of bad harvests, drought and other material troubles discouraged them. Worse than all else, they looked and looked in vain for the help and presence of their brethren of the East, and for that active material encouragement which Cyrus seemed inclined at first to give. Upon that they depended for the building of the temple — a work which they deemed essential to all their religious progress, regarded both in its temporal and spiritual aspects. All seemed to indicate that Jehovah was still unfavorable to them as He had been during exile times. The heavens above, the earth beneath, the world around, read off the same story. "He was not in the mood to have His house builded. He had not opened the way, rather had He closed all ways, whereby they might obtain means for its erection. The time was not ripe." So they interpreted Providence, and apparently with reason. The evident thing to do was to live along and wait for better times, meanwhile making the most for themselves out of the present unhappy days. Perhaps at first they sincerely and conscientiously purposed to put themselves into the best possible condition for the new morning when it should dawn, but, as the darkness deepened, they sank gradually back into vague questioning and doubt, or dumb acquiescence in the situation. No wonder that they began to lose heart; hope faded away; listlessness and a petty spirit of sordid care and self-seeking took the place of that hopeful and determined faith which, but little more than a decade before, had left comfort and friends behind and braved the desert, in order to re-establish upon the Holy Hill the worship of Jehovah and thus usher in the Messianic Kingdom.

2. The News from the East. From this wretched apathy they were roused by a succession of stirring events in the world around them. Cambyses is suddenly summoned from Egypt by the news that the Magian Gaumata has usurped the throne under the name of his murdered brother, Bardiya. Hastening back past the Jewish colony in Jerusalem with his army,

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he dies of a self-inflicted wound in a city of Syria, perhaps Hamath, not so very far north of them. They have scarcely had time to become conscious of the new reign, when Dareios, a scion of the royal line of the Achæmenidae, joining with himself other Persian nobles, slays the usurper in his own palace, and ascends the throne in 521 B. C. His accession is the signal for revolt in the North, East and South. The complex of Iranian tribes and peoples,[1] gathered under Cyrus' vigorous rule, — the rule, be it remembered, of a once vassal king, — now breaks in pieces when Dareios, the Persian, takes the kingdom. The great empire is in an uproar of confusion. From Babylonia, Media, Armenia, distant Iran, Elam and the original Persia itself, come tidings of rebellion against the new ruler. In every part of the realm the question hangs in the balance whether the empire of Cyrus will survive his son. The colony of Jews living not far from the great commercial and military highway between East and West hears the tramp of the armies and wakes once more to new life and thought, to a higher consciousness of duty and destiny.

3. Haggai's first Sermon, "Consider!" Two men feel the first impulse of the changed conditions, prophets, who hear in the confused din of arms and shouting the voice of Jehovah calling the people to "consider their ways." It was on the first day of the sixth month of the second year of Dareios, in August 520, at what was probably an assembly of the people on a festal occasion, that Haggai spake the word of Jehovah unto Zerubbabel and Joshua.[2] It may be that some special disaster to their crops, some long continued drought during the months immediately preceding,[3] had impressed anew on their minds the thought of Jehovah's anger toward them. He calls them to reconsider their customary interpretation of these things and their habitual attitude resulting from it. Had they understood the meaning of these events? Was not Jehovah's anger the result of their neglect to build His temple? They had taken the result for the cause, entirely misinterpreting the Divine mind and dealing. The difficulty lay with *them* that they had not complied with the first condition of Jehovah's favor, the building of the temple. They had neglected this and cared for themselves, thus becoming doubly guilty and deserving of wrath. This was the meaning of their present calamities. "Consider your doings, consider," he cried, and "to the work!" This new and impressive teaching struck home to the hearts of the leaders and the people. They began to "consider," and, doubtless under Haggai's continued exhortation, to comprehend their folly and sin. To the

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[1] It is significant that with the exception of Babylon no subjected nationalities revolt. The rebels are all of the ruling Aryan peoples.

[2] Called Jeshua in Ezra.

[3] There is some reason for regarding the references to the hardships of their condition in Haggai i. 6, 9-11, as applying to recent troubles not to the experiences of the last fifteen years. That they dwelt in comfortable houses and are reproached for their selfishness by the prophet, indicates a measure of material prosperity in the past.

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new spirit of repentance the prophet spoke words of encouragement which came with the weight of divine inspiration, saying, "'I am with you,' saith the LORD." Reconsideration led to action, and on the 24th of the same month — a date carefully recorded — work was begun on the "Lord's house."

4. Haggai's second Sermon, "Be Strong!" Scarcely a month later the prophet speaks again. They have considered and repented and are at work. But discouragement steals over them. They recall the former glory of the house. They think of the sadly shrunken ideal. Plunged into the debris of building they can not see the finished structure in the single stones which must be piled one on the other, or if they can imagine it, can not see in it anything to desire. The prophet calls them away from such thoughts. The time to "consider" is past. Now is the day to "be strong," for Jehovah is no longer displeased. He is with them, "Jehovah of hosts," the LORD of armies. Do they hear the noise of the battle in the earth? Is the empire tottering? Must Dareios fight for the existence of his kingdom? Let them build the temple, for into this building — small and inglorious though it seem — will come the "desirable things of all the nations" which are trembling and shaking under the hand of Jehovah. Let the temple be only made ready, that the Messianic day, ushered in with war and tumult, may dawn in full glory, and peace reign from Jerusalem.

5. Zechariah; Haggai's last Words. Moved by the example and words of Haggai, another prophet raises his voice, Zechariah, son of Berechiah, son of Iddo. His first sermon delivered in the eighth month is but an echo of the elder prophetic message, as a young bird trying its voice repeats the note heard in the nest. "Return to me, saith Jehovah," and the calamities which followed your fathers will be averted. Your "ways" are the standard of judgment, consider them and be wise. Haggai follows toward the close of the ninth month with an address in which he again forces home on the people the corrupting and wide-reaching influences of their sin in leaving the Temple unbuilt, appearing in disasters to their crops, which have their effect even in the days now passing. But the daydawn of blessing is at hand.[1] And again the threatening state of outward affairs looms up before him and he sees in it and beyond it — through overthrow of nations, the chariots and their riders, — the exaltation of the Messianic kingdom. He boldly speaks out his conviction relating to Zerubbabel that he is to be the chosen king.[2] The lofty hopes cherished by the Jewish patriots of this period for Zerubbabel had some justification in the general situation of affairs. While at the date of Haggai's preaching, Dareios had succeeded in making some headway against the rebels, it is evident that news of the great disturbances would reach Jerusalem slowly, and the significance of his victories would not at first be grasped. Indeed for three years, at least, the question was undecided. It was believed by those devout seers that the breaking up of nationalities

[1] Hag. ii. 10–19.

[2] Hag. ii. 20–23.

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was making the way for the Kingdom, and it is quite probable that a special reason existed for the prophetic expectation which centered on Zerubbabel in his appointment, presumably by Dareios, as "governor of Judah,"[1] a position which he did not hold when first he led the returned exiles to Jerusalem. In this beginning of dignities the prophet saw the fulfillment of the promise. That Haggai speaks in such plain terms as those in ii. 21–23 shows the enthusiasm and conviction which the new situation wrought in the minds of the most thoughtful and patriotic men of the time. These are his last recorded words, but his ideas and expectations are accepted, enlarged and preached by his younger and more brilliant contemporary Zechariah, with a fullness of conviction and vividness of illustration, marking the culmination of this period of national awakening.

6. Zechariah's great Sermon; its Form. Zechariah's great discourse, occupying chapters i. 7 to vi. 8 of the book of his prophecies, is peculiar in its form, showing by its apocalyptic character the influence of Ezekiel. It is a vigorous and splendid picture of the situation, its lessons and its hopes. That he was capable of simple and direct exhortation and instruction his first sermon[2] shows clearly. His selection of the more enigmatic form of vision and symbol for his other discourses is explicable not only by reason of the influence of the elder prophet of the exile, but also, as we shall hope to see more in detail later, in view of the peculiar situation in which he found himself. That situation it is necessary now to explain.

7. Its Occasion and the Crisis. Not long after the beginning of work on the Temple in accordance with the exhortations of Haggai, Jerusalem was visited by the Persian satrap of Syria, Tattenai and his official staff.[3] Whether the visit was made in consequence of hearing something about the suspicious activity of the Jews or was merely the usual official inspection, is not stated, but the new work could not escape his eye. He was probably a new appointee under Dareios and was perhaps making the rounds of his province for the first time. He inquired into the authority for the building of the Temple, demanded the names of those who were directing it, and having obtained the desired information sent a report to his royal master, asking that the original decree of Cyrus to the exiles be looked up and the pleasure of Dareios with respect to the continuance of the work signified. Thereupon he departed, putting no restriction upon the Jews in respect to their activity during the mean time, but most probably leaving one of his officers to see that nothing which threatened the peace of the realm was undertaken in connection with the work. It may well be believed that this visit and its consequences were liable to have a disastrous effect upon the zeal and determination of the people in the task which they had undertaken. Would it after all be in vain? In the midst of the disorder of civil war, could the decree be discovered and would Dareios be inclined to favor them?

[1] Such is his title in Haggai. [2] Zech. i. 1–6. [3] Ezra v. 1–17.

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The uncertainty was enough to cast a chill upon their spirits and unnerve them. Here was the opportunity of Jehovah's prophet, an opportunity demanding for the overcoming of the difficulties encircling it, the union of enthusiasm with caution and wisdom, of lofty inspiring thought with sober self-restraint. The Persian must not hear a word of treason or rebellion. Judah must be filled with faith in a glorious future and inspired to more zealous activity in these critical days before the coming of the king's decree. Zechariah's great sermon in a series of visions shows the successful accomplishment of his task. He stands alone at this crisis and single-handed leads the people and their leaders to the work. It will be possible here to give but brief summaries of the contents and meaning of these visions.[1]

8. Its Contents: "Peace, Conflict, Victory,"—"Be Strong." With the first scene the prophet has stepped back into the immediate past that he may measure the progress already made in the fulfillment of the Divine purpose. Jehovah's messengers have passed through the earth and all is at peace. Where are the signs of commotion preparing the way of the LORD? Under Cyrus and Cambyses who could look for a change? Has Jehovah ceased to be gracious? No, saith the LORD, "I will yet choose Jerusalem."[2] A new look and we are transported into the present! The promise is fulfilling. The horns which scattered the nation are themselves about to be broken. The peoples are in confusion, and the preparation for Messiah's Kingdom is begun.[3] Yet, the question arises, has arisen often in the minds of Jerusalem's leaders, "Can Jerusalem hope to escape disaster all unprotected as she is from this storm of earthly warfare? If only she had fortifications!" But the prophet is otherwise minded. In his opinion he that would plan for Jerusalem's walls, sincere though he be, is yet mistaken. His defenses would only injure the prosperity of the city to which so many are to flock that no fortifications which he would construct could contain the multitude. More than that, the true bulwark of Jerusalem is Jehovah.[4] Walls did not save Babylon. Nor will they save the city now from Dareios. Let Jehovah's people there escape before the storm strikes them. Let them come to Jerusalem, where Jehovah dwelleth, for He is roused up to "choose Jerusalem."[5] Thus far Zechariah has spoken in easily intelligible words the encouraging message of Jehovah. But he has something more detailed to declare. The wretched condition of affairs has pressed most heavily upon the priesthood. Have they not been most responsible? They formed a large body among the exiles. They must at least have suffered most from the disappointment, perhaps, sunk most deeply into discouragement. But Zechariah regards all that as past. In the new day that is breaking, the priesthood in the person of Joshua is exonerated and given places of honor.[6] The words, from this

[1] A comparison of the following summary with the corresponding Scripture material will be sufficient to make the course of thought and meaning of the statements clear.
[2] Zech. i. 8-17. [3] Zech. i. 18-21. [4] Ibid. ii. 1-6.
[5] Ibid. ii. 7-13. [6] Zech. iii. 1-7.

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point become mysterious, enigmatic. Commentators have struggled with them in vain. There are three elements, the "Branch," the "Stone," and the connection of both with Joshua and his fellows. All agree that the "Branch" is the Messianic King. It is evident that Zechariah, with the Persian officer present in the city could not mention "the King" openly. If we remember that the fundamental thought of the time was, first build the temple, then expect the Messianic reign, would not the reference to the "Stone" and its relation to the priesthood be reasonably clear to the prophet's hearers? The priesthood represents the spiritual side of the temple, the stone is the emblem of the material structure they are now raising. The stone has seven eyes, it will see the King in his beauty, for He will surely enter the finished temple where the priests shall behold Him too, if they are faithful, and the land rejoice in peace and love.[1]

As though overwhelmed at the prospect, the prophet must be awakened to the perception of a new thought.[2] The priesthood has been encouraged. Now the other leaders and workers are to receive light and help. "The work is so great, the means so small, the difficulties so formidable, the consent of Dareios so improbable—is there any likelihood that any of us shall live to see the temple completed? If we only had an army to enforce our rights and join in the struggle against Dareios!" The prophet answers, "the lamps in the candlestick shine by means of oil from above and outside of themselves. Your success shall come, but by no army.[3] The spirit of Jehovah shall carry you through from these small beginnings to glorious completion, O Zerubbabel. Jehovah is watching the turmoil throughout the world. He is in the midst of the armies. But He rejoices more over the work which you are doing and shall accomplish, if you recognize and trust to the real source of your strength." These words are very closely connected with those of the preceding vision. They suggest more than they plainly state. The "Branch" is to appear at the completion of the temple. Zerubbabel, who has begun, shall finish it. Is he, indeed, *the King?* "Not by armies, not by mighty men, but by my spirit, saith Jehovah." The two following visions corroborate the hints which underlie the vision just preceding, by affirming vividly the result upon the land of the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom. They are very suggestive of the moral condition of the mass of the returned exiles. The last vision returns to the present again from which the flight has been taken into the impending glorious future. The war chariots come forth to put the earth in uproar. That which moves toward Persia has accomplished all that could be desired. Perhaps new rumors of rebellion in the provinces had just reached Jerusalem. But looking beyond the mere immediate confusion the prophet sees the ultimate issue of the conflict and his spirit is quieted.[4]

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[1] Ibid. iii. 8-10. [2] Ibid. iv. 1-14. [3] Zech. iv. 6 (margin).
[4] Zech v. 1—vi. 8.

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9. The Case before Dareios. It is a question whether this series of splendid visions with their encouraging import and mysterious promise were proclaimed all at one time, or are to be regarded as separate addresses given as occasion required throughout this trying season of uncertainty, while the answer from the king was awaited. Dareios was still in the thick of the combat with his rebellious subjects. It is not impossible that he was at Babylon when the message of the satrap of Syria reached him. The Chaldaean revolt had been quelled in the early spring of 520.[1] When the document of Cyrus was not found in Babylon, the search must be transferred to the archives at Ekbatana. This city, the capital of Media, had been the centre of the most stubborn revolt of all with which Dareios had to deal. Providentially for this affair of the Jews, the king had succeeded in winning back the province in May or June of that same year, and the usurper Phraortes was executed in this very city of Ekbatana only three months before the letter of Tattenai was despatched. There the missing decree was found, and its contents satisfied Dareios of the sincerity and innocence of the religious founders at Jerusalem as well as of the legality of their proceeding. He adds further privileges and largesses to the generous provisions of the Cyrus mandate, requiring only that the royal family be remembered in the prayers of the sanctuary. His attitude is precisely that of Cyrus. The attempt has been made to contrast the two kings in their religious character and attitude toward their subject peoples, but the facts are against it. Both were governed by the same principle of religious toleration. Dareios is no fanatic as Cyrus is no indifferentist. Both favored religiously not only the Jews but other peoples in their realm. Dareios rebuilt temples in Egypt and allowed himself to be pictured there in the act of bringing offerings to Amon. He offered a large reward for the discovery of a new Apis bull and won the hearts of the Egyptians by his favor to their religion. It is unlikely that different motives induced him to help the Jerusalem temple builders in this crisis, unless we may see in the language and details of the decree[2] a special interest in their affairs. They were in the midst of a great move-

[1] The long siege which is described in Herodotus can not have taken place under Dareios. Nöldeke (Ency. Brit. art. *Persia*) suggests that the narrative should apply to Xerxes' siege.

[2] Ezra vi. 6–12. It is probable that the words as here given are those of the writer rather than the original document of the king. They are too Jewish to be the latter. Hunter, *After the Exile*, I. p. 156, holds that Zerubbabel had gone to Dareios as a special envoy to plead the cause of Jerusalem. This embassy underlies the fictitious events of I Apoc. Ezra. See his authorities. The evidence is not strong enough to offset the objection created by the silence of Haggai and Zechariah, not to say the Book of Ezra, on this most important event of the history. It would be very enticing, however, to accept this view and bring the return of Zerubbabel with the royal decree of favor into connection with Zechariah's sermon of the "crown" (cf. below).

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ment of history, their fate and actions controlled by principles which were drawn from a wide range of experience and influence. God had bound up their career with that of the great Persian Empire and was using its kings, unconsciously on their part, to accomplish His purposes for His people.

10. The Prophet triumphant; "the Crown." When Dareios' decision reached Jerusalem is not recorded. Tattenai and his officers, on receiving it, proceeded to announce it and to carry out its provisions.[1] It was a proud day for the prophets when the truth was known. They had carried the people through the crisis, and their words of promise and faith were now crowned by the reality of assured facts. Zechariah was roused to great enthusiasm. It is not improbable that he ventured at this time upon the boldest of his mysterious deeds the record of which, often strangely misunderstood, is found in chapter vi. vs. 9–15 of his prophecies. A combination of events stirred him to preach in symbolic action the sermon of "the crown." His confidence in the favor of Dareios had been confirmed. But more than that, his call to the Babylonian Jews to come forth, and his declaration that Jerusalem was soon to be filled to overflowing were both strikingly answered. The knowledge of Dareios' marked kindness to the Jews of the Return, would naturally become known and lead some of those still remaining behind to unite their fortunes to the favored community. Some of those thus minded had reached Jerusalem about this time and were lodged temporarily with a certain Josiah. They had brought presents of gold and silver, perhaps for the temple building. Zechariah is directed to go to them. He takes of their gifts, and has a "crown" made. Manifestly this has reference to the expected king. It would be highly dangerous to the good standing of the community with the Persian court if the prophet should proceed solemnly to crown some civil functionary, Zerubbabel, for example, whom he had already vaguely, yet in intelligible symbolism, encouraged with such hopes. But just as before he had used the priesthood as the instrument for pointing out the prince and king, so he places the crown on the head of not Zerubbabel but Joshua, yet with significant words that show his reference to the former. Comparing this passage with iii. 8, 9 and iv. 9, we see that it combines the statements of the two. "The Branch" is before the people; he shall finish the temple; "he shall sit upon the throne; there shall be a priest upon his throne," *i. e.*, beside him, and "*the two*" shall be at peace. How clear when one recognizes the situation! Zechariah knows that there will be no suspicion of political rebellion when he puts the crown on Joshua,[2] yet he makes it very

[1] Ezra vi. 13.

[2] Various explanations and changes of text have been introduced to do away with the evident difficulty in this passage. Some maintain that the name of Joshua has been deliberately substituted for the original Zerubbabel by a later priestly editor in the interests of the priesthood. Others think that in vi. 11 a clause has fallen out after the word "Joshua," viz., "and upon the head of Zerubbabel." The interpretation here given solves the difficulty and is in perfect harmony with the historical situation as well as with Zechariah's preceding prophecies.

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plain to the people that it is not Joshua who is meant, that he represents the other leader, the prince, Zerubbabel, who is the "Branch," the builder of the temple, the heir of the promises. Yet, just as in iii. 1–7, the prophet has also a promise of exaltation for the priesthood itself; it is to be in close relation and perfect harmony with the king. The scene closes with a reaffirmation that the Jews who live in the distant lands shall return, just as had already happened in the case of the three men before them. The crown is to be deposited in the temple as a memorial and a pledge.

11. Zechariah's last Sermons. This occasion and its circumstances mark the culmination of Zechariah's work for the community. It had no such far-reaching significance as that of the older prophets. No such important political crisis as that which confronted Isaiah, no grave religious conflict like that in which Elijah was engaged, fell in Zechariah's time. But it was a real crisis, a true conflict, if on a small scale, and the later prophet showed a resolution, a fertility of resource and a power of bringing things to pass which compare well with the qualities of the heroes of old. God had a work for him to do as well, and he did it well. He stirred the dormant energies of his people into action, tided them over a difficult situation without loss of energy, held out before them high hopes and made these bright with truly prophetic lustre. He kept alive the enthusiasm which he had roused during the years of work which lay between the beginning and the completion of their task. We have three final addresses from him, the first dated in the fourth year of Dareios (518 B. C.), and the others later, but undated, probably connected in time as in contents with the first. The situation has now slightly changed. Under the prophetic impulse and by means of the substantial help of the Persian court, the temple is going forward to completion. A deputation comes to the religious authorities at Jerusalem from Bethel[1] asking whether it is necessary to observe the fasts instituted in memory of the destruction of Jerusalem now that the city is rebuilt. Zechariah takes occasion to emphasize the non-ritual side of life and religion in a way irresistibly reminding one of the earlier prophets. The temple being well under way, it is necessary to remember that all which the temple represents should make for *righteousness* among the people. "Be joyful, feast instead of fast now, in view of Jehovah's goodness and favor, and to the end that all this may be real and lasting, *love truth and peace*. Then you shall be the nation and the people sought out by all the world as the one among whom God dwells."[2] It has been said, but without ground, that Haggai and Zechariah gave forth only hollow echoes of earlier prophets. When we read such lofty ethical sentiments as these, it must be confessed that they had at least learned wisely from their

[1] Zech. vii. 2. Hunter, *After the Exile* I. p. 188 note, holds that the Jewish commentators were right in regarding *Bethel* as an error for *Babel*, and that the deputation is from the Jews of the Exile. There is little to favor this.

[2] Zech. viii. 18-23.

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masters, and that too in a time when all the tendencies of thought and action were in the other direction. They, themselves, saw eye to eye with their contemporaries thus far, that they recognized the supreme task of the people to be the building of the temple. This very conviction must have hampered them in their more spiritual conceptions, and may, perhaps, explain the labored style which their prophecies show. That they succeeded in living and working also in the higher atmosphere is proof of their power.

12. The Temple Completed. They accomplished at least the primary element of their task. Four years and more after the first impulse to the building of the temple was given by Haggai, in the last month of the year (March-April), in the sixth year of Dareios (B. C. 516), came the end of the work.[1] The consecration of the completed effort followed soon, when the broad ideas and expectations of the returned were manifested in the sin-offering, which consisted of twelve he-goats for *all-Israel*, now to be reunited in the new Messianic day. A few days after came the new year and the feast of the Passover. Surely they had cause for joy, for the LORD had done great things for them. He had won for them the favor of the King of Persia. He had moved on the hearts of many of their brethren in the East to come and join in their work, and some had even separated themselves from the mixed peoples around them and had sought the LORD. Deeper thoughts lay behind these, and greater expectations. Prophets, priests, nobles and prince were ready for the dawning of that morning whose glory to inspired anticipation seemed already gilding the topmost summits of the new Temple.

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[1] Ezra vi. 13-22.

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Exploration and Discovery.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

By FRANK K. SANDERS, PH.D.
Yale University.

The recent meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis at New York City, December 29 and 30, was varied and interesting. Between thirty and forty members were present at the sessions and a few visitors. The opening address was delivered by the President, Rev. Dr. Talbot W. Chambers, on Prophets and Prophecy. Dr. Chambers held that the conception of the training and career of the prophets set forth by W. Robertson Smith, Driver and George Adam Smith is utterly erroneous, reducing to an injurious minimum their God-granted inspiration.

One of the most interesting discussions of the meeting was upon the "Gospel of Peter." Professor Isaac H. Hall and Professor J. Henry Thayer contributed papers on this recently discovered fragment. Professor Thayer announced six conclusions: (1) That the "Gospel of Peter" was not the basis of the Gospel of Mark, but the apocryphal gospel was founded on the canonical one. (2) The "Gospel of Peter" was used by only a portion of the early church. (3) It was clearly Docetic. (4) Justin Martyr's expression "memoirs" really meant "gospel." (5) In Justin Martyr's day the four canonical gospels were commonly known. (6) The Gospel of Peter especially attests John's gospel.

Rabbi Gottheil of New York city read a note on some ancient Jewish liturgical prayers, supposed to contain in a germinal way many doctrines of the growing Christian church. This liturgy was ascribed traditionally to the Men of the Great Synagogue. Many expressions found in it coincide oddly with expressions found in the New Testament and put the latter in a new light.

Professor John P. Peters gave orally the leading details of a paper on *Ziggurat*, High Place and Temple. He considered the first two to be correlative terms, and aimed to show how the study of the structure of the *Ziggurat* throws light on the structure of the temple. There was little opportunity for the discussion of this theme.

The chief features of Friday morning's session were the papers of Professors Paton and Moore, and a note by Dr. Muss-Arnolt "On certain New Testament passages of peculiar difficulty." Most of these passages were in the Epistle of James.

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Professor Moore defended the early date of the Song of Deborah and its historical character in opposition to the mythical or other theories.

Professor Paton's paper on "The use of the word Kōhēn in the Old Testament" aimed to show that the apparent contradictions in the statements of the Old Testament regarding the priesthood do not lead necessarily to the conclusion of the school of Graf that there was a radical development in the priestly *cultus;* but that all these statements are consistent and clear on the hypothesis of a development in the use of the word Kōhēn itself, which (he claimed) denoted first either a sacred or secular office and was gradually narrowed and specialized in meaning. The paper was ably written and led to one of the most active discussions of the session. Rev. B. W. Bacon argued that such a development in the word was inconceivable without a parallel development in the *cultus.*

The next meeting of the Society will be in May at New Haven.

THE EXPEDITION OF THE BABYLONIAN EXPLORATION FUND.

EXCAVATIONS AT NIFFER DURING THE SEASON OF 1889.

By Associate Prof. Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D.
The University of Chicago.

II.

Notwithstanding all delays, difficulties, misunderstandings, etc., I would regard the results of the first year as quite successful. A great amount of good pioneer-work was accomplished. I can not go into the details of the collections purchased in London and Baghdad. These collections—the J. S., Kh. and H.,—have been described at some length in different numbers of Hebraica. In these were found the Abêsu tablets belonging to the Hammurabi dynasty. Professor Sayce, in a long introduction on the Hammurabi dynasty (*Records of the Past,* New Series, Vol. III.), among other things, says: "Contemporaneous documents lately discovered at Niffer prove that the true name of Ebisum, who is made the eighth king of the first dynasty, was really Abesukh." These tablets were not found at Niffer. Compare Hebraica, October, 1889, where, in commenting on the Kh. collection, which was purchased in London, I said: "One of the most interesting things connected with these collections was the discovery of a king hitherto unknown. The reading of the name puzzled me for a long time. It was read in two or three different ways by two or three different Assyriologists, to whom I had shown these names. At last, on J. S., 41—a collection of antiquities also purchased in London from Joseph Shemtob—with the aid of Mr. Pinches, I read A-bi-e-šhu-'. On J. S., Nos. 42 and 43, the name is written quite plainly in the same

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way." Cf. also J. S. 142, an archaic contract from the same king. In the Kh. collection, cf. Nos. 19 and 198. In the H. collection, there are three or four tablets belonging to this king. In August, 1889, Mr. Joseph Shemtob, an Arab dealer in antiquities in London, had two more of these Abêšu tablets in his possession. In a letter to Dr. Carl Bezold, published in his *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, April, 1889, the identification of Ebisum with Abêšu was established. My letter was written from Niffer, and hence Prof. Sayce's mistake in crediting these tablets to the finds at Niffer. During the first season's excavations at Niffer, no tablets belonging to this king were found. Mr. Pinches has, however, found a tablet of Ammi-Satana in one of the British Museum collections, on which he calls himself the son of Abêšu. The text of this tablet will be produced in HEBRAICA. Mr. Pinches also informed me that there are two Abêšu tablets in the collection brought back by Mr. Budge in 1889. There is also the celebrated astronomical tablet, which is used by Epping and Strassmaier in their *Astronomisches aus Babylon*, the large cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, Hammurabi cones, etc., etc. These collections, as well as the finds at Niffer during the first year, are very full of tablets belonging to the Hammurabi period. Perhaps the most important tablets unearthed at Niffer are the two contracts dated in the second and fourth years of Ašûritililâni. For a full description of these tablets, see my note in the London *Academy*, April 30, 1889; Prof. Hilprecht in Bezold's *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. iv., No. 2, and my note in HEBRAICA, Vol. vii., No. 1, from which the following account is taken:

"Among many other important tablets which were excavated during the stay of the *Expedition of the Babylonian Exploration Fund* at Niffer, in 1889, were three contract tablets belonging to the reign of Ašûritililâni. For the sake of convenience, I will call these tablets 1, 2 and 3. No. 1 was found on the 14th of February, and it was on the 28th of the same month that Professor Hilprecht read the date as Nippûru arḫu Šabâtu ûmu 20. m. ilu Ašûr-êtil-ilu (*sic*) šar mâtu Aš-[šur-Ki]. It is, perhaps, the half of a large reddish-gray tablet, the obverse side being badly mutilated, the reverse, on the other hand, being very well preserved. The name of the king is not so clear, as one would judge from Prof. Hilprecht's remarks in *ZA.*, IV., 2. He himself queries his own reading. If the name is to be read Ašûritilili, this brings nothing new, since it is so written on his brick published in I. R., p. 8. This tablet has passed into the hands of the Turkish government, and hence we may never expect to see it again.

"Of much greater importance are Nos. 2 and 3, both of which were excavated on March 4th, and were identified by me on the following day, after they had been cleaned, as belonging to Ašûritililâni, cf. the *Academy*, April 30, 1889, and *ZA.*, IV., 2. Both of these tablets were handed over to the government, but were later on presented to me by my friend Bedri-Bey, the Turkish Commissioner to the Expedition. I have in turn presented them to the University of Pennsylvania.

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"No. 2 is a small blackish-gray contract, or rather loan tablet, 4.3×3.1×1.2 cms. in size. It is almost perfectly preserved. A small piece was broken off, however, while it was being handled by the officers in the custom house at Scanderûn. The following is a brief summary of the contents of this tablet, viz.: Adar-aḫê-erêb has loaned eight shekels of silver to a man—about whose name there is some doubt. From the first day of Araḫsamna it is to bear interest at the rate of one-half shekel. A list of four witnesses follows, and then, what is of most importance to us, the date, viz.: Nippûru araḫ Araḫsamna umû 1 šattu 4 Aśûritililâni šar mâtu A-śûr-Ki. In my note to the *Academy*, I read the date of the year as 6. I was, perhaps, a little too enthusiastic at the time about my find, and hence was inclined to make the date as large as possible. It can be read 6, but it is better to regard the two lower wedges as prolongations of upper wedges, and to make the number 4.

"No. 3 is a grayish-brown loan tablet, 5.1 × 3.8 × 1.2 cms. in size. It is badly broken, and the names of the parties concerned in the contract are not legible. The date reads: Nippûru araḫ Addaru—day lost—šattu 2 Aśûritililâni šar mâtu Aśśûr. This tablet also was somewhat damaged by the rough handling of the Turkish custom officers.

"The value of these tablets is from a chronological and historical standpoint. They make it necessary for Assyriologists to change their views in regard to the date of the separation of the Babylonian from the Assyrian empire, cf. *Academy* and *ZA.*, as cited above."

In addition to these, we found a brick stamp of Naram-Sin, a fine contract of Evil-Merodach, and numerous tablets of the Persian period.

For a more technical description of the work of the Expedition, I would refer to Prof. Peters' article in the *P. A. O. S.* I have given a fuller account of our life in camp. I have, however, been very careful to follow the lines of Prof. Peters' article, and not to add anything, but rather to elaborate in a few instances. A full account of the Expedition, prepared by Prof. Peters, with the coöperation of the other members of the staff, should be published at once. It is not necessary to wait until all the tablets purchased and excavated can be edited.

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Synopses of Important Articles.

HEROD THE TETRARCH: The Rev. Principal DAVID BROWN, D.D., in *The Expositor*, October, 1892. A study of conscience.

One of the best ways of testing the authenticity of the Gospels is to select some narrative that has a number of minor incidents extending over a considerable period and connecting with outside history, then to see if the collected Gospel narratives make a consistent story. Such a test presents itself in the account of Herod the Tetrarch.

Herod is presented divorced from his wife and living in incestuous relations with Herodias. He had not lost all sense of religion. John the Baptist was at his court. John did not spare Herod, and Herod instead of resenting rebuke, "did many things" — redressed certain wrongs and heard John gladly. That Herod even endured his rebuke of his unlawful marriage, speaks much for his openness to conviction. He stood in awe of John. But Herodias gave him no rest until John was imprisoned, and then till she had accomplished, in spite of Herod's opposition, John's fall. Herod's conscience causes him to be haunted by the ghost of John. Now turn to his treatment of Jesus. Perhaps a year and a half after, he who would have saved John, desires to kill Jesus (Lk. xiii. 31). A little later Jesus is before him as a prisoner. The last spark of religious awe has now left Herod's breast, and he who had heard the servant gladly now has only contempt and scorn for the master. He had trifled with conscience and this was the result.

The consistency of this story is such as to stamp the Gospels with authenticity.

A vigorous statement, whose pictorial almost obscures its evidential value. It illustrates a striking method of reasoning on the historical truthfulness of the Gospels. This method is often carried out in the case of the person of Christ. If not pressed to the claim of an absolute and uncritical identity of view of different Gospel writers, it is valuable and impressive. F. W.

WE SHALL NOT ALL SLEEP. Rev. SMITH B. GOODNOW, in *The Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1892.

In this article the writer gives an exposition of I Cor. xv. 51, and discusses the nature of the resurrection. He combats the theory of Swedenborg that the resurrection takes place at the death of each individual in an immediate translation; also a theory advanced in the "Parousia," written by Dr. Warren of the *Portland Mirror*, viz., that the word sleep here does not mean

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dying, but staying in hades after death, Paul meaning, "though we shall all die yet we shall not all be in hades, but we shall be changed" to a different place, viz., to heaven.

The word sleep, however, is used repeatedly in the New Testament for death, and has that meaning here. In the resurrection there is a personal bodily change, such as was represented in the transfiguration and in the ascension of Christ. In the text two classes are contrasted, — those living who are not to require resurrection, and "the dead" who are "raised." The resurrection of the dead as seen, I Thess. iv. 17, precedes the translation of the living. That this belief expressed by Paul was that current among the disciples is seen by reference to John xxi. 22. The new theory of immediate translation of each believer demolishes the Bible doctrine of the abolishment of death. The writer deprecates the new theory as "cold and bald, quenching the enthusiasm of humanity by a shadowy idea of mere philosophical immortality of the soul" and as tending to eliminate the miraculous from the future history of the globe.

In regard to the exegesis of the passage, the writer holds to the more natural interpretation as against Meyer who would read, — we shall all — not fall asleep — but all be changed, — making the all refer to all that present generation. There is a truth in the thought of this article that is pertinent and that needs to be emphasized. The reality of the immortality of the soul is perhaps best guarded by the realism of Paul in his belief in the resurrection of the body. There are days of intensest realism, as well as of intensest idealism. Paul was a realist in his idealism. A real God in a real world, a real Christ bringing a real and present and permanent salvation to the soul, — this is the realism of Paul, and with this is associated his doctrine of the immortality of the soul through a real resurrection of a spiritual body. The realism of Paul is the very heart and soul of his aggressive missionary zeal, as it must be of all missionary zeal. T. H. R.

ESDRAELON. By Prof. GEORGE ADAM SMITH, in *The Expositor*, November, 1892, pp. 321–342.

Breaking through the table-land of central Palestine, the broad plain of Esdraelon extends from the Jordan on the east, to the mouth of the Kishon on the west. From the north the Galilean hills and from the south the mountains of Samaria send out projecting promontories which indicate that this is but a lapse in the great backbone of Palestine. The shape of the central plain is that of a triangle; the southern base, extends from Carmel to Genin, a distance of twenty miles, while the other two sides are equal — fifteen miles each — with Mt. Tabor at the apex of the angle. From this central part, bays of plain extend in different directions, far into the country, one south of Tabor, one between Gilboa and the mountains about Genin, while the largest stretches eastward to the banks of the Jordan.

The average elevation of the plain is about two hundred feet, but eastward from Gilboa it gently sinks Jordanward to four hundred feet below the

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sea level. The plain itself is one great expanse of loam, red and black, without a single tree — a great wild prairie. No water is visible even at a short distance since the chief stream, the Kishon, flows along in a deep muddy trench. Only one or two hamlets have ventured out upon the plain. Open on every side to foreign invader, Esdraelon still suffers, to-day as in the very earliest days of its history, from the inroads of the desert freebooter.

The name, "Valley of Jezreel," in the Old Testament, seems to have referred only to the valley which runs down from opposite the city of Jezreel to the Jordan, but in later times the term, changed into "Esdraelon," was extended to the entire plain. The other name, "Plain of Megiddo," was taken from the famous old fortress of Megiddo, which was probably situated at the north-east point of Carmel, commanding the pass to the plain of Sharon, the natural avenue to the south. Esdraelon is by nature the great highway of the nations. The five broad valleys leading into it from all directions rendered it accessable to the armies of all the great world powers of antiquity — Canaanite, Midianite, Philistine, Egyptian, Syrian and Assyrian, came up in succession through these passes to war with the Hebrew. Upon this plain the greatest empires, races and faiths, east and west, have contended with each other and have come to judgment.

In this, the seventh of the series of valuable papers on the geography of Palestine, Prof. Smith completes his survey of its physical contour. No one can wander over the hills and through the valleys of the land of the ancient Hebrew without feeling that the division which he makes, or rather accepts, since it is not new, is the only true one. Palestine studied in the light of its six distinct zones,— coast plains, foot hills, central plateau, Jordan valley, Gilead, and Esdraelon,— instead of appearing to be a confused complex of hills and plains, stands out bold and clear even to the student who must view it through another's eyes. Such a study alone furnishes the basis for a true appreciation of the influence of its physical contour upon the people, the history, and the very intellectual conceptions which will be forever associated with this land. These articles, while thoroughly scholarly, are at the same time clothed in such charming language, and the whole is illustrated by so many exquisite and true pen-pictures, that the reader, while ever being instructed, is never wearied. C. F. K.

JONAH IN NINEVEH. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL, in *The Bibliotheca Sacra* for Oct., 1892, reprinted from the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XI.

Two principal objections have been urged against the historical character of the Book of Jonah, viz: the seeming lack of sufficient reason for the miracle of Jonah's preservation in a great fish; and the improbability of the repentance of a whole heathen people at the call of an obscure prophet from a distant land.

Bible miracles, as recorded in both the Old and New Testaments, are, as a rule, not mere wonders intended to excite the astonishment of beholders, but are clearly differentiated from other reputed miracles by their natural-

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ness and their consonance with the circumstances under which they were performed. The story of Jonah's deliverance, however, involves a miracle that is seemingly unnecessary and unnatural, while the instant conversion of Nineveh under the circumstances related seems even more incredible. Is there anything in modern discoveries relating to Assyrian life and history that renders the miraculous element in the Jonah story more reasonable and marvelous effect of his preaching at Nineveh more natural?

The monuments abundantly prove that the ancient Assyrians had among their divinities a fish-god, Dagan, which is represented in a variety of forms, but all containing some combination of a fish and the human figure. These representations appear on Babylonian seals and as images guarding the entrance of temples and palaces in ancient Nineveh. The name also, like that of other divinities, appears in proper names, *e. g.*, in Ishme-Dagan. According to Berosus, this fish-god appeared in early Babylonia and Chaldea from time to time and imparted to the inhabitants the first elements of civilization. He taught them the processes of agriculture, the erection of buildings, and the beginnings of letters, arts and sciences. Each time the god appeared under a different name, and each of these incarnations marked a new epoch.

Now accepting it as a fact that the Ninevites were believers in a divinity who sent messages to them from time to time by a being who arose out of the sea as part fish and part man, is it any wonder, that when they heard that the new prophet among them had come from the mouth of a great fish in the sea to bring them a divinely-sent warning, they should all be ready to heed his message and take steps to avert the threatened destruction of their city? The two main episodes in the story of Jonah are thus shown to be closely connected and are mutually explanatory.

The identification of Jonah with Oannes, the name of the Assyrian fish-god as reported by Berosus is accepted as at least plausible, but contrary to F. C. Baur and other critics who have derived the name Jonah from that of Oannes, the theory is here put forth that just the reverse is true. Supposing it to be a fact that a man named Jonah had been accepted by the Ninevites as the latest incarnation of their deity, his name might readily come to be applied to the god himself and be recorded as such by the later writer Berosus. The preservation of the name Jonah in the modern geographical term Neby Yunus, applied to a portion of the site of Nineveh, seems also to furnish a historic basis for the connection of his name with the ancient city.

The article is a very interesting and suggestive one. One naturally wishes, however, for the opinion of some competent Assyriologist upon the facts stated, before accepting its conclusions. However little credit we may give to the derivation of the name Oannes from that of Jonah, the existence of the fish-god tradition in Nineveh certainly adds much — to use Mr. Trumbull's words — "to the naturalness of the narrative of Jonah at Nineveh, whether that narrative be looked upon as a plain record of facts or as an inspired story of what might have been facts." C. E. C.

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THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF JESUS.—ALBERT RÉVILLE in the *New World* for December, 1892.

The persistent and indestructible element in Christianity is the Christian ideal. Whatever the result of independent criticism of the Scriptures, the existence and the influence of the ideal cannot be denied. Jesus of Nazareth is its initiator, and consequently its revealer. Of the four Gospels only Matthew and Luke relate anything concerning the first years of Jesus. The primitive Gospel history did not go back of the ministry of John the Baptist. Apart from two matters—the miraculous conception, and the location of the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem—these two narratives are in a state of irreconcilable contradiction. They spring from two traditions which have been developed on parallel lines without actual agreement. Their genealogies differ from each other. Neither has historic value. According to Matthew, Jesus is descended from David through the royal line of Solomon, composed of the kings of Judah down to the captivity; according to Luke, through Nathan, another son of David, much more obscure. Thus one emphasizes the royal descent; the other avoids the dishonor attaching to the descent through Bathsheba. Matthew gives twenty-six generations from David to Jesus; Luke forty-one. The first Evangelist finds his genealogy already made, but adds to it the names of four women, each in some way faulty. He does this in order to remind the Jews, who would bring reproach on Mary, that we must not trust to superficial appearances, that the ways of God are deeper than ours. There is no proof that Jesus was descended from David. Both gospels place the birth at Bethlehem, (cf. Micah v. 1). Matthew regards Bethlehem as the home of Joseph and Mary prior to this event; according to Luke their home was Nazareth. Luke explains the birth at Bethlehem by means of the census of Quirinius. But the census was limited to Judea and Samaria, and was taken in the year A.D. 6, after the deposition of Archelaus, when Judea was annexed to Syria. Nazareth was probably the native city; the story of the birth at Bethlehem, as well as of the Davidic descent, being due to the belief in his Messiahship.

The miraculous conception belongs to the dogmatic rather than to the historic order. It arose in the Judea-Christian communities, and as the mythical expression of the exalted feeling of the perfect sanctity of the Messiah. In the legend of the wise men from the East, the magi personify the adhesion of the pagan world to the king of the Jews. The persecution of Herod and the flight into Egypt are legendary. The story of the shepherds at Bethlehem illustrates the Ebionic element in these chapters. It is an effort of the poetic imagination attempting to fill up the gap in the information concerning the early days of Jesus. As to the date of Jesus' birth, this was probably one or two years before the present era. He was not born under Herod the Great, but under Herod Antipas. The incident of the child Jesus in the midst of the doctors is not improbable. The surprise manifested by Mary and Joseph is inconsistent with the announcement that had been made to them concerning Jesus.

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This article contains nothing not already familiar to students of the criticism of the Gospels. It, however, presents the objection to the acceptance of the gospel narrative of the birth and infancy of Jesus in a form which will, perhaps, attract the attention of some who have not before considered them. Some of the positions of the author are well taken and important. It is certainly true that the narrative of the birth and infancy of Jesus does not belong to the first stratum of Apostolic narrative of the life of Jesus, and does not seem even to have exerted any appreciable influence on that first stratum. It is also true that the doctrine of the person of Christ presented in the Epistles is altogether independent of the supernatural birth. It is furthermore true that the accounts of the birth and infancy given by Matthew and Luke are quite distinct and independent of each other. It follows that the question of the historical value of these narratives constitutes a problem by itself which must be investigated in large part independently of the question of the historical value of the remainder of the Gospels. Historical criticism has here a legitimate and important problem, albeit not one which is fundamental to our conception of Christianity, either essential or historical. Yet it can not be said that M. Réville has given us a satisfactory discussion of the problem. It exaggerates the differences between the two narratives and the difficulties of the individual accounts. It is altogether possible that each Evangelist was ignorant of facts narrated by the other, or even had an erroneous conception in some respect of the series of events taken as a whole. But neither of these things, if actual, makes the narrative of necessity unhistorical or even inaccurate. One need not be omniscient to be truthful and trustworthy. In particular does M. Réville's denial of the birth at Bethlehem seem unjustified. The two independent narratives agree in placing the birth at Bethlehem. Surely there is nothing inherently improbable in this; nor does it seem a sufficient reason for denying it that the Jews interpreted the prophecy of Micah as predicting that the Messiah would be born at Bethlehem, especially as Luke — whose tradition Réville tells us truly was developed independently of Matthew's — makes no reference to this prophecy. But there is even less ground for denying that Jesus was of Davidic descent. For this is maintained not only in the infancy-stories but equally in the other portions of the Gospels, in Paul, in the Apocalypse, and in Acts. The reply that this is an inference from the belief that Jesus was the Messiah, is of force only when the whole gospel narrative is regarded as largely unhistorical; for just in proportion as it is insisted that the popular doctrine was that the Messiah must be the son of David, in that proportion is it certain that if Jesus had not been so descended this would have been urged as an objection to his Messiahship. But of such objection we find no trace in the New Testament record. Other points cannot in this brief note be discussed in detail. M. Réville has said all that in brief space could well be said against the historical character of the narratives of the infancy, and has constantly, it would almost seem blindly, ignored everything that could be said on the other side. The whole question is intimately connected with the question of the date of the Synoptic Gospels, and these are assigned by Réville to a date considerably later than that adopted by most critical scholars, and later than we believe the evidence will permit. One's conclusions will almost of necessity be influenced also by the degree of probability or improbability which one attributes to the supernatural as an element of the history of Jesus. We are persuaded that M. Réville has not said the final word in this matter.

E. D. B.

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Notes and Opinions.

Philo of Alexandria.—The Latest Researches on Philo of Alexandria forms the subject of an important and interesting paper by Dr. Leopold Cohn, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for October. A new critical edition of Philo's works is being prepared by Dr. Cohn and Dr. Wendland. The Berlin Academy of Sciences gave the incentive thereto in offering in 1887 as subject for a prize the critical treatment of Philo's book *De Mundi Opificii*, and at the same time expressing the wish that this work might lead to a new critical edition of Philo. Both Dr. Cohn and Dr. Wendland sent in treatises and were awarded the prize. They resolved to unite their labor and to prepare together a critical edition. Dr. Wendland has been working chiefly in the Italian libraries, and Dr. Cohn has compared the manuscripts in Munich and Vienna, Oxford and Paris. The need of a new edition of Philo has been felt for a long time. We are glad to see that the work is progressing under such favorable auspicies.

The Principle of the Revised Version.—In the December number of the *Expositor*, in an article with the above heading, Bishop Ellicott answers the charge made by Bishop How in the preceding number that the revisers had exceeded their instructions. Bishop Ellicott maintains that the revision was made in accordance with instructions "to introduce as few alterations as possible into the text of the authorized version, consistently with faithfulness." This rule recognizes a somewhat expansive principle, viz., that faithfulness is to be the ultimate authority. In such a transcendent book as the New Testament, faithfulness would seem to be almost synonymous with accuracy. The changes made were all made in accordance with some established principle, and the principle once adopted was consistently adhered to. He considers each one of the fifty-two changes in the Sermon on the Mount made by the revision committee, in excess of the number made by the chairman in a specimen revision, and examines the reason for the change. In concluding he says: "The reader is now invited to consider whether the principle of faithfulness cannot be recognized as permeating the great majority of the changes, and whether those in which it may be less patent are not still due to its general influence, rather than to the merely accelerated tendencies of increased literary facilities."

Wendt on the Deity of Christ.—Hardly any book that has recently appeared, treating a subject of Biblical Theology, has been so important and

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has awakened so much interest as Dr. Wendt's work on *The Teaching of Jesus*. In a note in an English journal on the second volume of the work, this statement was made: "The writer is certainly not a believer in the deity of Christ." Dr. Wendt, to whose attention this statement came, replies: "I have not attacked, but defended, the authenticity of those sayings in our Gospels where Jesus proclaims his nearest and unique relation to God. Certainly I have not explained these sayings in the traditional sense of dogmatic Christology; for I sought to understand them historically only according to their context, and to their connection with the whole of Jesus' views. But although Jesus himself does not expressly use the term of His deity, it would be incorrect and misleading to say that, according to my interpretation of His words, Jesus Himself was 'not a believer in His deity.' Indeed, His words, when justly interpreted, state His divine character, not in a smaller but in a higher sense — not on a feebler but in a firmer foundation than the traditional Christian dogmatics.

"My own belief in Christ follows the authority of Jesus himself; and I think my conception of His deity, as according to the just sense of His words, is not an incorrect one."

Is the Revised Version a Failure? — A series of interesting letters in answer to the above question is given in the *Expository Times* for December, 1892. Whether it should be considered a failure or not does not depend entirely on the purpose for which the work was done. The general verdict is that it is far inferior to the Authorized Version in point of style and language, and so unfit to supplant this in church reading, but that its superiority to the old as an accurate translation renders it almost indispensable as an aid in understanding the New Testament. The blame for its failure to come into general use among the people and in the churches is laid by some on the bishops for not having sanctioned its use by the clergy; by some also on the publishers for not having brought it out as cheaply and attractively as they have brought out the Authorized Version. Some object to the manuscript authority made the basis of the translation; some to the principles of translation adopted by the revisers. One correspondent does not like the paragraphic method of printing. Another hopes for a not far-distant re-translation, and would advocate an entire rearrangement of chapters. One holds that it is being used less and less — that it has found its level and will stay there; another that it is gaining a wider recognition, especially among the more intelligent and younger Bible-readers. According to some, the real nature and merits of the revision have not yet been appreciated. The discussion going on in England is an interesting one, and discloses, as is seen, a wide variety of opinion.

Christ's Use of the Term "Son of Man." — The origin of the term Son of Man as used by Christ is sometime referred to Ps. viii. 4, sometimes to Dan.

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vii. 13. It may be referred to both, but more especially to the latter passage where the phrase symbolizes the Kingdom of Saints. But the question arises, Where did Christ get the conception embodied in that term? In one sense it was original with himself, yet he found himself in the Old Testament. He was conscious of fulfilling the Old Testament. We may expect to find there, then, many of the elements of his consciousness. Whence then his conception, conveyed, though yet veiled, by the term Son of Man? This is the question answered in the above article in the *Expositor* for December, by Vernon Bartlett. He finds the answer mainly in Is. liii. in the picture of the Suffering Servant. It is remarkable, he observes, that Christ makes no *explicit* reference to this picture; yet the passage must often have been in his mind. It is with the words from Is. xli. 1, that Christ began his ministry, preaching in the Synagogue at Nazareth, and the whole section, Is. xl.-lxvi. must have been potent with Christ in the determination of his conception of himself and work. Indeed no prophecy was dearer than this to a certain religious class, of whom John the Baptist was the one best known. The affinity between the "Son of Man" of the Gospels and the Servant of Jehovah of Is. xl.-lxvi. is very striking, and the key to the relation between the two is seen in the words of Christ, Mk. ix. 12 sq. . . . "and how *it is written* as regards the Son of Man that he should suffer many things and be set at naught."

The article is a valuable one, throwing light on the significance attached to this term by Christ. T. H. R.

The Gospel according to Peter.—Although the newly discovered Gospel according to Peter has been so short a time in the hands of Biblical scholars, several valuable discussions of it have already appeared. Though the manuscript was discovered in the winter of 1886–7, its value was not recognized by its discoverers, and it was not until last autumn that it was published, when it appeared, edited by M. U. Bouriant, in the Memoirs of the French Archæological Mission at Cairo. At once its value was perceived both in Germany and in England.

In the Transactions of the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, of Berlin, November 3, 1892, Professor A. Harnack republished, with introductions, both the Gospel and the Apocalypse which was contained in the same manuscript. November 20, three days after M. Bouriant's edition was received at Cambridge, England, J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., editor of the admirable series of "*Texts and Studies*" in Biblical and patristic literature, delivered a lecture on the Gospel. A little later, M. R. James, M.A., delivered a lecture on the Apocalypse. These two lectures were at once published in a little volume, which contains also the text of both documents. It is issued by C. J. Clay & Sons. Mr. Robinson directs attention to the fact that in this apocryphal document we have an illustration of what a real "tendency-writing" is, and that it is utterly different from our four gospels, which have sometimes been alleged to be "*Tendenz-schriften.*" As respects date, while not confidently

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dating it earlier than a little after the middle of the second century, he adds, that "we need not be surprised if further evidence shall tend to place this gospel nearer to the beginning than to the middle of the second century." The following sentences show Mr. Robinson's estimate of the value of the gospel as evidence. "Lastly the unmistakable acquaintance of the author with our Four Evangelists deserves a special comment. He uses and misuses each in turn. To him they all stand on an equal footing. He lends no support to the attempt which has been made to place a gulf of separation between the Fourth Gospel and the rest, as regards the period or the area of their acceptance as canonical. Nor again does he conntenance the theory of the continued circulation in the second century of an Ur-evangelium, or such a prae-canonical Gospel as we feel must lie behind our Synoptists."

The *Athenæum*, of December 17, contains an article by F. P. Badham, in which the writer presents evidence which he thinks places the date of writing very near the beginning of the second century. He thinks that the Apocryphal Vision of Isaiah gives evidence of using our newly discovered document. But "Dillman in Germany, and Dean in England, assign the Vision of Isaiah to 110 A. D. More than a decade or two later it cannot be. . . . But assigning the Vision to the very latest date possible, still what a gain to Christian Apologetics. The Gospel of Peter must be earlier—our canonical gospels must be earlier still." The importance of this conclusion, if it prove to be well founded, especially as respects the date of the Fourth Gospel, is obvious.

The Boston *Commonwealth*, of December 31, contains a valuable discussion of the Gospel by Prof. J. Henry Thayer, D.D. He declares that the long drawn controversy over the question whether our four gospels were in use in the days of Justin Martyr is now set at rest. "Half a century of discussion is swept away by the recent discovery at a stroke. Brief as the recovered fragment is, it attests indubitably all four of our canonical books. Not more evidently does the sun surpass the moon in brightness than do our Four Gospels excel in glory this imitation of them; which nevertheless borrows its lustre from them as demonstrably as the moon from the king of day." Dr. Thayer refers later to the evidence of the use of our Gospel, as particularly strong in the case of the Fourth Gospel.

Mr. J. Rendel Harris, now of Cambridge, England, has published a volume entitled, *The Newly Recovered Gospel of St. Peter, with a full account of the same.* It is issued in New York by James Pott & Co. Mr. Harris does not apparently think that the controversy as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is materially affected by this discovery, the position of that Gospel being already firmly established. The date of the fragment he puts "long before 190, A. D.," yet not in the early year of the second century.

In the *Expositor* for January, J. O. F. Murray, Dean of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, calls attention to the evidence of the use of the newly discovered Gospel by Origen, and in both recensions of the fifth book of the Apostolic Constitutions.

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Professor Harnack, not content with the publication in the Transactions mentioned above also issues both Gospel and Apocalypse in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Vol. IX, Heft. 2. Mr. Robinson also announces his intention of issuing them in his *Texts and Studies*. To this list THE BIBLICAL WORLD is glad to add the informing article of Dr. Isaac H. Hall, published in this number.

The Apocalypse has thus far received much less attention than the Gospel, and is apparently of much less importance. Mr. Badham calls it a very apple of Sodom. In addition to the lecture by Mr. James, mentioned above as published in the pamphlet with Mr. Robinson's lecture on the Gospel, Dr. Isaac H. Hall gives a translation with brief introduction in the New York *Independent* for December 29. E. D. B.

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Work and Workers.

THE death of Dr. Hort, the colaborer of Canon Westcott in the preparation of the text of Westcott and Hort's edition of the Greek Testament, removes a careful and laborious New Testament scholar. Unlike his colaborer, Dr. Hort never published much, and the work already mentioned is his *magnum opus*. But this is enough to rest a reputation upon.

PROF. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE is appointed to the chair of Egyptology in the University College, Oxford. This chair was founded by the will of Miss Amelia B. Edwards. With the prestige of its founder and the marked ability and wide experience of the man chosen to fill it, this chair should and doubtless will become one of the most useful to Biblical learning, in the University of Oxford.

THE interest in Palestine, which the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund has so largely increased in England, is to take shape in a Christian reunion to be held in Jerusalem in the coming fall. The Rev. Henry S. Lunn, M.D., a Wesleyan minister of London, and editor of the *Review of the Churches*, with the assistance of the son of the Bishop of Worcester, is making the necessary arrangements. Archdeacon Farrar and a number of Bishops will take part in it. Archdeacon Farrar will deliver six lectures in Jerusalem.

MR. CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER contributes to *Harper's Monthly* a sketchy article on "The Holy Places of Islam" (Nov. 1892, pp. 813–826). The photographs from which were made the illustrations, accompanying the article, were taken by a Muslim officer of high rank, who conducted the Cairo pilgrimage of 1880. They are the first ever taken and afford the western infidel world the first real idea of the looks of these holy places. The text of the article, while communicating nothing new and written solely to accompany and explain the illustrations, is interesting and gathers up much useful material in small space.

IT may seem late to call attention to an address delivered at the opening of a Theological Seminary in October, 1892, but the address of Prof. John Phelps Taylor, of Andover Theological Seminary, on The Place of the English Bible in Modern Theological Education, is one of so much importance that we are glad to mention it. The address is published in full in the *Andover Review* of December, 1892. If for nothing else, it would be of great interest on account of its discussion of recent Biblical literature. Nor does

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the English Bible crowd out the Bible in its original dress. On the contrary, he says that the first method of securing to the English Bible its proper supremacy, is to make the most of it in its original languages. Never before were there such facilities for the study of the Bible, never before did the churches and the unchurched alike call so loudly for the Bible, and never before did the use of the Bible demand such high attainments on the part of those who would expound it.

A RECENT article in the New York *Independent* of January 12, shows that Hebrew is not by any means a dead language. This article describes the literary work which is being done in the language. It began fifty or sixty years ago with a coterie of Jewish scholars in Vilna, Russia, who began to abandon the mediæval and Talmudic phraseology, and write Hebrew with grammatic purity. They aimed to make the language a medium of modern culture. They were called the Maskilim—"Wiseacres"—by their critics. Their worked roused no little opposition but it was pursued with vigor and the confidence born of a firm belief that they were right. They sought pupils and tried to popularize their ideas. Ginsburg and Lebenson are the best known names among them, but others have labored with equal vigor. The result is a large and increasing body of literature, both in translations and original work. The former include works of Goethe, Schiller, Shakespeare, Milton, Tennyson, Longfellow, Whittier, Agassiz, Darwin, Huxley, Spencer. The latter include novels, romances, poems and satires. The principal centres of Hebrew publication are Vilna, Warsaw and Odessa in Russia; Vienna and Brody in Austria; Berlin and Posen in Germany, and Jerusalem. The object of this school of literature is to lift their Jewish brethren by means of a sympathetic appreciation of their ideas and beliefs. Certainly few literatures appeal to a more widely scattered audience and no modern literary efforts are more interesting to the Biblical scholar.

THE REV. GEORGE ADAM SMITH has recently been inaugurated as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College at Glasgow. Prof. Smith is known as the author of some of the best volumes in the Expositor's Bible. The subject of his inaugural address was "The message of the Old Testament to the men of to-day."

It is impossible to summarize with satisfaction an address that covered so wide a field and touched so many points. Of necessity he spoke of the relations of modern Old Testament criticism to the homiletical use of the book. Two facts would tend to allay the uneasiness that had arisen in the minds of many on this subject. The criticism of to-day is not the criticism which cuts into the sinews of the preacher. Nearly every leader of Old Testament criticism in England and Scotland to-day is a believer in evangelical Christianity. This is true, notwithstanding the fact that some of these are as advanced as any on the continent. The second fact is that only a comparatively small por-

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tion of the narrative parts of the old Testament are, after all, touched by the question of criticism. Even these are in large measure those parts which have always given trouble and embarrassment to conscientious preachers. But much of the history, all the wisdom, all the Psalms, remained, only quickened and freshened by the new light which modern criticism pours over their pages.

The thing for which young preachers are perhaps least prepared is the intellectual strain to which the duties of the pulpit subject them. Here lies a great value of the Old Testament. What preaching could be monotonous which drew from the study of this long line of history, of these many living characters, which had become infected by so many different styles of thought and kinds of temperament as the Old Testament presents? Here is the temper for the preacher. The aim of the prophets' preaching was to win men. The modern preacher needs to be infected with their downright realism and earnestness, as he only can be who knows them in the original dress of their thoughts. The characters of the Old Testament furnish, to one who understands them historically, a rich field for the use of the preacher. Not, indeed, by dragging them at the chariot wheels of some New Testament doctrine, but by making them live again, as the thorough Biblical student could make them live.

Lastly, the Old Testament is the great text for preaching upon public life. The Christian pulpit has as yet scarcely touched that period of the Hebrew history in which the individual consciousness was waking first into life. It took a different course in the Hebrew nation from what it did in any other nation. Its solution here is not in any doctrine of the rights of men, but in oneness with the people and in sympathy with their sufferings. This is the way it develops in Jeremiah and the Psalter. This question of individualism is the question of to-day. The Old Testament gives the preacher an answer to it.

Criticism shows that the great difference between the Hebrew and other Semitic religions lies in the conception of God. It is this that makes Hebrew prophecy explicable by no natural laws. This is the center of Old Testament theology. This conception of God sums up the value of the book to the modern preacher. I. F. W.

FOR the interests of higher Biblical study and investigation in England, nothing could be more important than the attitude, especially the official attitude, of the Church of England. Some index of the general interest in higher criticism is afforded by the large amount of discussion provoked by Canon Driver's recent *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, and the favor with which it has been received in certain quarters. Again, it is interesting to note that in the recent annual Church Congress at Folkestone, one of the topics for discussion was "The Relation between the Authority of the Bible and the Authority of the Church." Another was "The Permanent

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Value of the Old Testament," considered in its educational, evidential, moral and devotional aspects.

Significant are the following remarks of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his opening address as President of the Congress. Speaking of the yearning of the Church for the day of deeper spirituality, he says: "Criticism, historical and documentary, has found material, elicited results unexpected where that yearning for 'something deeper' began. Inspired documents, far from being withheld from its range, are precisely those in which it is the most vital to know the truth. . . . The universality of criticism is the seal of its own trustworthiness, for it is bound to criticize criticism. No criticism can ever be exempt from re-examination. And what is its fruit? Does it really withdraw us from the faith? The most acute and accurate critics in our libraries are among our devoutest believers. Does it disparage the religious basis of social duty? Among them are those who have best solved new social difficulties by the resort to Christian grace. Certainly, if secular thought and knowledge have grown by the science and criticism of half a century, the discussions here will show that the Church is no less thankful for the wider, calmer, more human, and more Divine view vouchsafed her of the manner of God's Word and work."

Professor Ince, of Oxford, speaking of the educational value of the Old Testament, pointed out the lessons taught by the various periods of Israelitish history, how the whole was "a perpetual reminder of national as well as individual responsibility to God." But no one was in a position to estimate the permanent value of the Old Testament as an instrument of education who did not approach the study of it in a religious spirit. Professor Kirkpatrick dealt with its evidential value, dwelt on the argument from the Old Testament history *as a whole*, showing the support gained by Christianity from this long record of a controlling Providence working toward the great central fact of the world's history. It was a complex argument, indeed, but the more forcible to our age with its new understanding for history. "The fulfillment of a particular prediction was a sign, attracting attention, inviting to further examination. It might serve to attest the inspiration of the prophet, to show that he was taught by an Omniscient Being, but in itself it might reveal but little of the character of that Being, whereas a varied system of preparation disclosed something of the plan, the method, the resourcefulness of God, working out his purpose through long ages, by manifold methods, in spite of the willfulness and obstinacy of man."

The leading paper on the Old Testament, in its moral and devotional character, was by Professor Driver. Its insistence, with clearness and emphasis, on the primary moral duties; its great ideals of human life and society, particularly those pictures of renovated human nature such as the prophets drew; its true spiritual element, were all of great moral value, he said. And in a devotional aspect nothing could be more helpful than the religious affection of the Psalms, or the conceptions of the Deity. L. B., JR.

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Book Reviews.

The Epistle to the Ephesians. By the Rev. Prof. G. G. FINDLAY, B.A., Headingley College, Leeds. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1892. $1.50.

This is one of the recent volumes of The Expositor's Bible, and is well up to the standard of that series. The first lecture is taken up with a discussion of the authorship and the title of the Epistle. The conclusion is reached that it is one of Paul's letters addressed to the churches of Asia Minor, and "To the Ephesians" is a later addition. The internal arguments for its Pauline authorship are cleverly stated but do not compel our assent. The commentary is critical and at the same time popular. The author does not dodge the difficulties but tries to solve them. Some of the solutions are peculiarly his own. His exposition is clear. One may not agree with his explanations, but no one need be in doubt as to what he thinks the words of the letter mean. There is little attempt to make applications. The author seems content to make the meaning of the passage clear. The manner of treatment, the style and language are all such as to make the book useful to all who wish to study this strange Epistle. O. J. T.

The Epistle to the Thessalonians. By the Rev. JAMES DENNEY, B.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1892. $1.50.

This is a very commendable volume of the series of commentaries known as the The Expositor's Bible, edited by W. R. Nicoll. It should be said to Mr. Denney's credit that he has, on the whole, kept within the bounds of legitimate exegesis. He clearly draws the legitimate and necessary distinction between religious truth, the natural expression of the heart that has experienced the goodness of God, and the metaphysical treatment of such truth, p. 344. This is encouraging as another indication of the present revolt against the metaphysical speculations that under the name of Systematic Theology have dominated the exegesis of the Bible, doing violence to it and obscuring its meaning. The author has endeavored to understand and explain these in connection with the life and thought of the times in which they were produced. He has made them interesting and attractive because he has made them living letters. What he says about the action of the Holy Spirit in the early church, and the nature and value of prophecy ought to do much to correct prevailing erroneous ideas. Objection might be made to some of his explanations, especially of the apocalyptic passages in the second letter, and some of his applications are not very happy. But the volume is a good one, sober in its exegesis, putting the emphasis in the right

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place. The Pauline authorship of the second letter to the Thessalonians has been seriously questioned. Unfortunately Mr. Denney passes this over in silence. A popular commentary, it seems, ought to give its readers the best information about all such critical questions. O. J. T.

The Resultant Greek Testament, exhibiting the text in which the majority of modern editors are agreed, and containing the reading of Stephens (1550), Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Alford, Weiss, The Bâle Edition (1880), Westcott and Hort, and the Revision Committee. By RICHARD FRANCIS WEYMOUTH, D.Lit., with an introduction by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Worcester. Pp. 8+19+644. London: Elliot Stock. N. Y.: Funk & Wagnalls, 1892.

This work, first published in London in 1886, is now re-issued in a cheaper form and with the addition of a brief introduction by the Bishop of Worcester, but otherwise unchanged. The text is determined not by direct appeal to the ancient authorities, but by the votes—to some extent weighed rather than merely counted—of modern editors. At the top of each page the editors whose texts have been consulted are enumerated, and at the bottom of the page are shown the variations of any of these editors from the "majority" text as printed above. Thus the text exhibits what may in a qualified sense be called the consensus of modern editors, while the margin shows the extent to which the minority dissent from the majority. For that large class of readers of the Greek Testament who have no leisure to acquire a technical knowledge of the science and art of textual criticism, this is a very convenient and useful edition, perhaps the best now available. The American edition is evidently from duplicate plates of the English edition, but is slightly inferior to it in paper and press work. We are grateful to the American publishers for putting the book on the American market. But it is hardly fair for them to erase the date of Mr. Weymouth's preface, and the words "cheap edition" from the title page, thus giving the uninformed reader the impression that he has before him an entirely new work. E. D. B.

The Early Narratives of Genesis. A Brief Introduction to the Study of Genesis i.–xi. By HERBERT EDWARD RYLE, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Professorial Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Pp. x+139. $1.

There is no important subject in Biblical lines, the beginnings of which may not be found in Genesis i.–xi. It may fairly be said that one's interpretation of these chapters determines his interpretation of the entire Old Testament. The battle between old and new opinions must be fought out here; for with these chapters every contribution of science, Assyriology and Biblical criticism has had to do.

The present volume consists of eight papers, based on a course of lectures delivered at Cambridge in 1890-91. The object of these papers "was to discuss the contents of the opening chapters of Genesis, in a simple and

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untechnical style, with special reference to the modifications of view which the frank recognition of the claims of science and criticism seems to demand."

In accordance with this purpose the writer discusses the Creation, the Assyro-Babylonian Cosmogony and the Days of Creation, the Story of Paradise, the Story of Cain and Abel, the Antediluvian Patriarchs, the Story of the Flood, the Origin of Nations.

In the case of each subject the position is maintained (1) that the sacred writers obtained their materials from the common sources whence other nations also derived their materials, (2) that these narratives are constructed in accordance with the scientific or non-scientific idea of the earliest times; (3) that the religious conceptions presented were given the writers by the Holy Spirit. Taking this position, the writer freely and frankly acknowledges the existence of errors; and claims that the day has past when the traditional interpretation can be maintained.

It must be confessed that the book is unsatisfactory in that it presents the whole case in such brief form; and it may well be questioned whether views which depart so radically from those ordinarily held should be given even to the general public in so incomplete a form. Such a book will surely unsettle the minds of many who read it; and yet it does not furnish enough of a constructive theory with which to connect new views. It is startling to ordinary readers, the class for which the book is intended, to tell them that the Assyro-Babylonian cosmogony may have originated the Hebrew; and no real help is furnished them in the page or two devoted to the subject. The writer's point of view is best summed up in his own words: "The early traditions of the Semitic race were yoked to the service of the spiritual religion of Israel."

We are in this way brought face to face with the living question of the hour. The book gives, upon the whole, a good introduction to the subject. It is reverent in its spirit, and while it yields entirely too much to the demands of the extreme critics, it will satisfy the minds of some who are not able to accept the traditional positions. The materials upon which the work is based are accessible for the non-professional reader in Lenormant's Beginnings of History.

For two classes of persons, perhaps, it may serve a good purpose, viz.: those holding opinions upon the subject in hand which are not open to modification, who wish, however, to know what others may think about it, and those who for one reason or another have been compelled to give up more conservative positions and are wandering about in search of something more satisfactory. W. R. H.

Pseudepigrapha: an Account of certain Apocryphal Writings of the Jews and Early Christians. By the Rev. WILLIAM J. DEANE, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1891. 7s. 6d.

The centuries between Malachi and John the Baptist are commonly regarded as "centuries of silence." So far as regards actual prophecy this

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may be true, but as regards other literature from Jewish sources this opinion, like many other traditions, seems to be in process of radical modification. The brilliant light of ancient prophecy faded indeed into actual night ere the new and brighter dawn of the Messianic day appeared. But the interval is not one of darkness and silence. Modern criticism feels warranted in placing no inconsiderable portion of the Old Testament, especially of the Psalm-literature in these very centuries. Be that as it may, we possess a body of writings from this period, extra-canonical, indeed, and therefore long neglected, but which is rapidly winning for itself the careful attention it deserves. The value of the Old Testament Apocrypha lies not in any contribution which it makes to the fund of inspired literature, but in the fact that it narrates the story of far-reaching political struggles and of religious persecutions heroically endured; in that it testifies to the decay of old institutions and the rise of new, and in that it reflects the ever-shifting phases of popular thought and of national ideals. The Apocrypha, however, contains only a small portion of the Jewish literature which survives from that period. There remains a large number of Pseudepigrapha, so-called because the authors did not append to them their own names, but those of certain famous persons of earlier times. This practice, quite common among the Jews, was not identical with literary forgery. "The authors, having something to say which they deemed worthy of the attention of their contemporaries, put it forth under the ægis of a great name not to deceive, but to conciliate favor." Such Pseudepigrapha are found among the apocryphal books, *e. g.*, the well-known Wisdom of Solomon, and probably even among the canonical books; *e. g.*, Ecclesiastes.

The eight Pseudepigrapha treated in the volume under consideration are divided into four classes: (a) Lyrical, of which a single example is given in the Psalter of Solomon; (b) Apocalyptic and Prophetical, embracing the Book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; (c) Legendary, the Book of Jubilees, and the Ascension of Isaiah; (d) Mixed, the Sibylline Oracles. Only a few fragments of the latter can with certainty be assigned to the pre-Christian era. These writings contain little information bearing on the course of events, but they tell of the deep penitence that bowed the hearts of the Jews in the religious and political crises of their later history, as well as of the hopes and ideals that lifted and inspired the better class of Jewish patriots. They paint in glowing colors the Messianic expectations of the time. Herein lies their value. They have little intrinsic importance, but they shed light on the most important age in the world's history. Whatever serves to give a more accurate knowledge of the beliefs of the Jews in the time of Jesus deserves most careful study. For we find that many of these beliefs, though resting ultimately on the canonical books of the Old Testament, received their immediate form and color from the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings of the Maccabean age. Preëminently is this true in respect to the Messianic

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hope, the nature and constitution of the Kingdom of God, and the popular conception of the future life.

Mr. Deane's treatment of his material takes the form of critical essays. It does not comport with his plan accordingly to give in any instance the body of the text, but full analyses instead, with occasional extracts. Questions of introduction, such as authorship, purpose and probable date, receive candid and discriminating consideration. The volume is really an introduction to a study of the texts, and as such will be of great value to those who desire to cultivate a closer acquaintance with that world of Jewish thought in the midst of which Jesus lived, and into which he projected his teachings. P. A. N.

Books which Influenced Our Lord and His Apostles, Being a Critical Review of Apocalyptic Jewish Literature. By JOHN E. H. THOMSON, D.D., *Stirling*, pp. 497. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1891.

The author states in the preface that "the primary object of the present work was to give an analysis and description of the little-known Jewish Apocalyptic books." The book is chiefly valuable for the work thus purposed. The writer gives a sympathetic and oftentimes picturesque sketch of the contents of each of the Apocalyptic books, and thus introduces English readers to a body of literature little known but of intrinsic interest and worth. This section of the book constitutes only about one-fifth of the whole volume. It is preceded by chapters on "The Nature and Occasion of Apocalyptic," and "The Home of Apocalyptic," and with these forms the second book. The first book is an introductory study of the "Background of Apocalyptic," and treats of the Constitution of Palestine, civil and religious, the Samaritans, the Sadducees, the Pharisees, the Essenes, the Apocrypha, Alexandrian Thought and Literature, and non-Apocalyptic Palestinian Literature. Book third, on "The Criticism of Apocalyptic" considers the date and authorship of the books in question. A concluding chapter, constituting the fourth book, is devoted to the theological characteristics of the Apocalyptic books. This, which is essentially the most interesting of all as a theme of study, the author, for lack of space and time, gives only in outline.

But the primary purpose of the volume, in the author's process of investigation, became subsidiary to another, viz.: to show the links connecting the Jewish Apocalypses with Christianity. This purpose colors and dominates the whole book. The two theses maintained are, (1) that the Apocalyptic books were written by members of the sect of the Essenes, and (2) that Christ, though not a member of the inmost order, was an Essene. About the former of these two theories, there seems to be a certain plausibility, yet the connection between these books and the sect, the Essenes, is superficial rather than essential. They show, indeed, the presence of Pharisaic rather than of Essene doctrines. Their central theme is the future Messianic Kingdom to be consummated on the earth, and their central doctrines those of the resurrection of the body, and of sin and judgment. The Essenes, though holding to the immortality of the soul, yet denied the resurrection of the body, and,

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consequently, had but a vague conception of the Messianic Kingdom. The purpose of their community life was for the realization of an ideal of individual purity, and was not such as to foster an elaboration of the ideal of a future glorious Messianic Kingdom on the earth.

Especially untenable is the theory that the Psalms of Solomon is an Essene product. These Psalms have been aptly styled by Ryle and James in their admirable edition, "The Psalms of the Pharisees," and such they must be. They breathe the atmosphere of national life, of political parties, to one of which the writer himself belongs. It is not likely that the intense, religious party spirit that pervades the Psalms of Solomon, or the vivid Messianic conception of the Apocalyptic books, with their central thoughts of sin and judgment, with their background of the national history, and with their purpose, the practical one of comfort and of exhortation, originated among a sect of solitaries, or among men, who, though not of the inmost order of the Essenes, yet held in some degree their doctrine.

That Christ himself was an Essene, even though as a member of the outermost order, is improbable. There is no valid evidence that he was such, and the whole spirit and content of his life and teaching are against the theory. The peculiar view of the author, as seen in these two theories, gives to the book its individuality, and is its strength, but at the same time its weakness. One would like to see a larger array of facts, and a greater cogency of reasoning.

In the "Criticism of Apocalyptic" the most important and interesting chapter is that on the *Book of Enoch*. Of the two main portions of the book the author assigns the groundwork (chs. i.–xxxvi. and lxxii.–cv. excluding the Noachian fragments) to the time of Judas Maccabæus. He agrees with Schodde, Lücke, Langen, as against the greater number of critics, in holding the ram with the large horn (in the vision section, chs. lxxxv.–xc.) to refer to Judas Maccabæus, rather than to John Hyrcanus. This date is probably the correct one. The date of the Allegories (chs. xxxvii.–lxxi.) is one of the most mooted as it is also one of the most important questions of Apocalyptic criticism, some holding to a pre-Christian and others to a post-Christian origin. The author places them at 210 B. C. This extremely early date is very improbble. The probable period is the reign of Herod.

The *Book of Baruch* is assigned to about the year 59 B. C., shortly after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey. This is not in accord with the consensus of criticism which places the book after 70 A. D.

The *Book of Jubilees* is assigned to the period *B. C. 5—A. D. 6.*

The *Assumption of Moses* is placed at A. D. 6. An Essene would hardly have ridiculed the Pharisaic purifications as does the writer of this book. Wieseler and Schürer are probably correct in ascribing it to a zealot hostile to the Pharisees.

The *11th Daniel* is held to be an Essene product of the Maccabæan period, not belonging to the original Daniel. This solution of the problem

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of Daniel is not one to commend itself. Though there is as yet no universal consensus of opinion regarding the date of this book, criticism is coming more and more to place it in the Maccabæan period.

It is interesting to note that, in treating of the Apocrypha, the author ascribes 1st Maccabees to a Sadducee. This theory has been ably defended by Geiger, but when carefully examined the points of the argument fail to be sustained. If any fact seems certain it is that 1st Maccabees, alive as it is with the religious spirit of the great Maccabæan uprising, was written by one in thorough sympathy with the orthodox development of that period.

In the section on post-Christian Apocalypses, the author takes up the Ascension of Isaiah, 4th Esdras, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and The Apocalypse of John.

The theory that pervades the book, though giving to it its striking character, yet lessens its value as a permanent contribution to the literature on this period. T. H. R.

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Current Literature.

By Clyde W. Votaw, A.M., B.D.
The University of Chicago.

OLD TESTAMENT.

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Watson's The Book of Job. By A. A. Bevan, in Critical Review, Oct., 1892.

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The Idolatry in Israel. By Rev. J. T. Wright, Ph.D., in Homiletic Review, Dec. 1892.

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Nöldeke's Orientalische Skizzen. By Prof. A. H. Sayce, in Critical Review, Oct. 1892.

Smith's The Old Testament in the Jewish Church. By Prof. G. A. Smith, in Critical Review, Oct. 1892.

The Old Testament in the Light of the Literature of Assyria and Babylonia. By Theo. G. Pinches, in Expository Times, Dec. 1892.

Ryle's Canon of the Old Testament. By Rev. J. A. Selbie, in Expository Times, Dec. 1892.

The Moral and Devotional Value of the Old Testament. By Canon Driver, in Expository Times, Dec. 1892.

Are there Errors in the Bible? By J. McC. Smith, in The Thinker, Nov. 1892.

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Higher Religious Teaching. Questions and Notes on the Gospel according to St. Luke. By G. H. Jones. London: Neil, 1892. 1s. 6d.

Horae Evangelicae; or, The Internal Evidence of the Gospel History. Being an inquiry into the structure and origin of the four Gospels and the characteristic design of each narrative. By T. R. Birks. London: Bell, 1892. 10s. 6d.

The Miracles of Our Lord. Expository and Homiletic. By Jno. Laidlaw, D.D. New York: Funk, 1892. $1.75.

Saint Peter and the First Years of Christianity. By Abbé C. Fouard. Translated by G. F. X. Griffith. New York: Longmans, 1892. $2.00.

Le Communisme Chrétien, d'après les Actes et l'Épitre de Jacques. Thèse. By E. J. Dupuy. Montauban: Granie, 1892.

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The Fifth Gospel: The land where Jesus lived. By J. M. P. Otts. Chicago: Revell Co., 1892. $1.50.

Pagan and Christian Rome. By Rudolfo Lanciani. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $6.00.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME I. MARCH, 1893 NUMBER 3.

IN his *Essays in Biblical Greek*, published in 1889, the late Dr. Edwin Hatch declared: "The language of the New Testament has not yet attracted the special attention of any considerable scholar. There is no good lexicon. There is no philological commentary. There is no adequate grammar. In our own University there is no professor of it, but only a small endowment for a terminal lecture, and four small prizes."

To this somewhat sweeping statement Dr. T. K. Abbott takes exception in his recent volume of *Essays, Chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments*, endeavoring to show that Dr. Hatch's own essays, while suggestive and valuable, seem to indicate that he was not acquainted with the best work which has been done in New Testament lexicography, and as a consequence, offered as new some things that are old, and as true some things that are erroneous. It is especially surprising that Dr. Hatch should wholly ignore, if indeed he was not wholly ignorant of, the admirable lexicon of Professor Thayer, notable not only for its reproduction of the work of Wilke and Grimm, but, not less, for its systematic endeavor to refer the student to the latest research in the lines of lexicographical study. With this book and the very different but also very valuable Biblico-Theological lexicon of Cremer, we have not indeed all that we desire, but we can hardly say with Dr. Hatch that there is no good lexicon of the New Testament.

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BUT is the case the same in the department of grammar? Must it not be admitted, to the disgrace of Biblical scholarship, that Dr. Hatch was quite within bounds in saying that we have no adequate grammar of the New Testament? The valuable labors of Buttmann and Winer in Germany, of their English translators and annotators in England and America, as well as of independent workers in England, such as T. S. Green, S. G. Green, Webster, and Simcox, are surely to be recognized with appreciation. Yet it must be frankly admitted that none of these writers has given to students of the Greek Testament a grammar of New Testament Greek adequate to their need. Such a grammar ought to rest upon a broad foundation of knowledge, not only of classical Greek, but of Indo-European philology; it ought to embody the results of an exhaustive examination of New Testament Greek in the light of this broader knowledge; it ought to be buttressed by a familiar acquaintance with the Greek of writers contemporary with those of the New Testament; while thoroughly scientific in its presentation of the facts of the Greek language, it ought to be adapted in form to the needs of interpreters whose mother-tongue is English, and this requires that it rest upon a knowledge of the English language as thorough as that which is required of the Greek. It is no injustice to say that none of our present grammars fulfil these reasonable demands.

Classical philology has made immense advances in the last forty years, and as a consequence our classical grammars have been almost radically revised. But of all this progress it would almost seem as if New Testament scholars had remained in ignorance. Certain it is that we are compelled to cite as our best authorities either books written before comparative philology had made its almost revolutionizing contributions to Greek grammar or books which make little use of these contributions.

SCARCELY less serious is the defect in form and construction of our best New Testament grammars. The student who, having studied classical Greek in an American college in the last decade, comes to the study of New Testament Greek and seeks a gram-

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mar to aid him must be directed to a work which, in place of clearly defined principles simply stated, furnishes prolonged discussions shaped, in part by forgotten controversies, in part by grammatical doctrines so long discarded that our student has never heard of them unless he has chanced to be a student of the history of Greek grammar as well as of the Greek language tself.

Surely no one will hold that this defect is justified by the intrinsic inferiority of the New Testament writings to those of classical writers. It can no longer be justified on the plea that the usages of the New Testament idiom are too irregular to permit of exact grammatical statement. Nor can we plead that there is no interest in the study of the New Testament sufficient to justify the large labor necessary to produce such a grammar as we have described. With all the attention that the newer sciences are attracting, the New Testament is still diligently studied by large numbers. Indeed, it may be doubted whether it ever attracted a larger number of students, earnest, eager and intelligent, than are now studying it. The intrinsic value of the book, and the earnest attention which it is receiving, not only justify but demand the very best instruments for its interpretation. Among these none is more needed than a grammar worthy to stand in the first rank of scientific grammars. Here is a splendid task ready to some scholar's hand. It is to be hoped that we shall not have many years more to wait before the scholar shall appear and the task be accomplished.

To many of our readers this plea for a grammatical instrument of keener edge for the interpretation of the New Testament will doubtless seem an anachronism. They will say that the day in which grammar was studied for its own sake, and when ancient literature was looked upon as valuable chiefly for the opportunity which it afforded for intellectual gymnastics, has gone by for the classics at least, and ought by all means to have gone by for the Bible as well. They will remind us that literature is now studied for its meaning, not for its grammar, and that a knowledge of the historical situation is more helpful as an aid to interpretation

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than is grammar. This, in general, subject to some necessary modifications, is certainly to be conceded. In Biblical study, not less than in the Greek and Roman classics, we have abundant reason to recognize gratefully the great benefit that has accrued to interpretation from the additions that have been made to our knowledge of the history of the times from which our books have come, and from the employment of the historical material thus obtained for the elucidation of the book itself. But it is a total mistake to suppose that the historical and the grammatical methods are antagonistic, or that the incoming of historical knowledge renders exact grammatical knowledge useless. Rather is it true that the advance along historical lines calls for a corresponding advance along grammatical lines.

It is worthy of notice that in the study of the classical Greek and Latin literature, there has been an approximately parallel development and progress along these two lines. The same years which have seen great progress in historical and archaeological research and have witnessed almost a revolution in the method of teaching Greek and Latin literature, have been not less marked for progress in philological and specifically grammatical knowledge. Nor is it altogether strange that this should be so. The very recognition of the fact that grammar is not an end in itself, but only a servant of the nobler art of interpretation, gives to grammar a dignity and significance which it could not have when it stood alone, or was reckoned as a sort of mental trapeze on which the youth might exercise his mind. It has happened to Greek grammar as it has happened to persons, that humbling itself it has been exalted.

One phase of the effect which the recognition of its subordinate place has had upon grammar is interestingly presented in Professor Goodwin's preface to the recently issued revised edition of his Greek Grammar. Referring to the enlargement of successive editions, he says:

"I trust that no one will infer from this repeated increase in the size of the book that I attribute ever increasing importance to the study of formal grammar in school. On the contrary,

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the growth of the book has come from a more decided opinion that the amount of grammar which should be learned by rote is exceedingly shall compared with that which every real student of the classics must learn in a very different way. When it was thought that the pupil must first learn his Latin and Greek grammar and then learn to read Latin and Greek, it was essential to reduce a school grammar to its least possible dimensions. Now, when a more sensible system leaves most of the details of grammar to be learned by the study of special points which arise in reading or writing, the case is entirely different; and few good teachers or good students are any longer grateful for a small grammar, which must soon be discarded as the horizon widens and new questions press for an answer."

What the New Testament grammar needs is, indeed, not enlargement, but correction and simplification. But here, as in the case of the classical grammar, the demand for improvement is based not on the conviction that grammar is to be studied as an end in itself, but on the recognition of the subordinate place of grammar. If the sword is to be worshiped or be used merely for fencing practice, it matters little how dull it is. If it is to do actual execution, it must needs have shape and edge.

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THE STORY OF THE SPIES: A STUDY IN BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

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One whose knowledge of the higher criticism is limited to newspaper discussions may be pardoned for regarding it as something monstrously foolish, or monstrously wicked, or more likely both. A little critical work, such as can readily be followed by any reader of the English Bible, will give a more intelligent notion of critical methods and results than innumerable columns of partisan invective.

A few preliminary considerations may not be out of place. The higher Biblical criticism employs essentially the same methods as physical science. It gathers all available facts relating to the subject in hand, classifies them, and reasons from them. It will be seen, then, that the results are of two kinds, facts and inferences. The nature of the inferences depends to some extent on the nature of the philosophical presuppositions with which the investigator approaches his subject. But the facts which he brings to light, in so far as they are real facts, have a value independent alike of his presuppositions and of his inferences. Rationalists may discover certain facts in the Bible, but this does not impair the value of the facts. It simply imposes on the friends of the Bible the duty of a more rigid scrutiny before accepting them.

The fate, furthermore, of any hypothesis depends primarily upon the facts. If these are unsubstantial fancies evolved from the subjectivity of over-subtle critics, the hypothesis with its train of inferences will vanish with the facts. It is futile to begin reckoning with the inferences until we have reckoned with the facts. First establish the latter, then it will be time enough to reckon with the former.

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Notwithstanding many unwise and hysterical utterances to the contrary, the disagreement between the old Bible and the new criticism is not so alarming as represented. If certain critical results should be established, the world will not be compelled thereby to surrender its belief in the fact of a supernatural revelation, in the divinity of Jesus Christ, in the atoning efficacy of his death, in the reality of Christian faith and experience, and in the final disappearance of evil in a deathless kingdom of righteousness and peace. To believe the contrary is to imagine that a tissue of falsehoods could originate and perpetuate the greatest regenerative movement that has ever touched the heart of humanity. While we yield absolute confidence to the word of the Son of God as divine and infallible, let us not repeat the papal folly of demanding that men shall accept as final and infallible any human interpretation of that word.

The tension between traditionalism and criticism is most severe just now in respect to the origin of the Hexateuch. Here it is of the utmost importance to apply the above considerations. The main alleged fact is the composite nature of the Hexateuch: the main inference from this alleged fact is its late origin. Eschewing alike presuppositions and inferences, let us see with our own eyes whether the analysis is the crazy-patchwork it is represented to be.

Manifestly all the evidence for the composite nature of the Hexateuch cannot be exhibited in a brief article. Nor will the cause of truth be advanced by gibbeting for popular derision a dislocated and distorted fragment of hypercritical analysis. The decomposition of a brief and fairly representative portion is all that can be attempted within the limits of our present inquiry.

Let the reader open his English Bible, preferably the Revised Version, at the story of the spies in Numbers xiii., xiv. Several reasons lead to this choice; the facility with which the narrative can be decomposed, the comparative absence of technical or recondite considerations, and its occurrence in one of the middle books of the Pentateuch to which the analysis is not supposed to extend by those who concede in some measure the composite character of Genesis.

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The Septuagint correctly makes the last verse of the twelfth chapter the beginning of the thirteenth, since it was from the wilderness of Paran, at the entrance to the promised land, that the spies were sent forth. A superficial reading of the story may not disturb one's impression of its homogeneity. Closer inspection reveals remarkable repetitions. Instead of advancing in an orderly way, the narrative again and again doubles on itself. If these duplicates are carefully disentangled, it will be found that the various fragments coalesce into two thoroughly articulated, homogeneous and independent narratives. The first is complete in itself; the second lacks only a few words, clearly omitted for the purpose of amalgamating it with the other. These omissions can readily be supplied from a substantial duplicate of the second narrative in Deut. i. 19–46. Placing these omitted portions within brackets, the result will appear as follows. The meaning of P and JE will be seen presently.

P.

And afterwards the people journeyed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran. And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Send thou men that they may spy out the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel: of every tribe of their fathers shall ye send a man, every one a prince among them. And Moses sent them from the wilderness of Paran according to the commandment of the LORD: all of them men who were heads of the children of Israel. And these were their names . . . And Moses sent them to spy out the land of Canaan (Num. xii. 16 — xiii. 17^{a}).

JE.

[And we came to Kadesh-barnea. And I said unto you, Ye are come unto the hill country of the Amorites, which the LORD our God giveth unto us. Behold the LORD thy God hath set the land before thee: go up, take possession, as the LORD, the God of thy fathers, hath spoken unto thee; fear not, neither be ye dismayed. And ye came near unto me, every one of you, and said, Let us send men before us, and bring us word again of the way by which we must go up, and the cities unto which we shall come. And the thing pleased me well: and I took twelve men of you, one man for every tribe, (Deut. i. 19^{b}–23)], and said unto them, Get you up this way by the South, and go up into the mountains: and see the land, what it is; and the people that dwell therein, whether they be strong or weak,

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whether they be few or many; and what the land is that they dwell in, whether it be good or bad; and what cities they be that they dwell in, whether in camps, or in strong holds; and what the land is, whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein or not. And be ye of good courage, and bring of the fruit of the land. Now the time was the time of the first-ripe grapes (xiii. 17[b]–20). And they went up by the South, and came unto Hebron; and Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, the children of Anak, were there. (Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt). And they came unto the valley of Eshcol, and cut down from thence one branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bare it upon a staff between two; *they brought* also of the pomegranates, and of the figs. That place was called the Valley of Eshcol, because of the cluster which the children of Israel cut down from thence (vss. 22–25). (*And they returned unto Moses*) to Kadesh; and they brought back word unto them (*him*), and unto all the congregation, and showed them the fruit of the land. And they told him, and said, We came unto the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey; and this is the fruit of it. Howbeit the people that dwell in the land are strong, and the cities are fenced, *and* very great: and moreover we saw the children of Anak there. Amalek dwelleth in the land of the South: and the Hittite, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, dwell in the mountains. and the Canaanite dwelleth by the sea, and along by the

So they went up and spied out the land from the wilderness of Zin unto Rehob, to the entering in of Hamath (vs. 21).

And they returned from spying out the land at the end of forty days. And they came to Moses, and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the wilderness of Paran (vss. 25–26[a]). And they brought up an evil report of the land which they had spied out, unto the children of Israel, saying, The land through which we have gone up to spy it out, is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof (vs. 32[a]).

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And all the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried; and the people wept that night. And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses and against Aaron: and the whole congregation said unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt! or would God we had died in this wilderness (xiv. 1, 2)! Then Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before all the assembly of the congregation of the children of Israel. And Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, which were of them that spied out the land, rent their clothes: and they spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, The land which we passed through to spy it out, is an exceeding good land (vss. 5–7). But all the congregation bade stone them with stones. And the glory of the LORD appeared in the tent of meeting unto all the children of Israel (vs. 10). And the LORD spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, how long *shall I bear* with this evil congregation, which murmur against me? I have heard the murmurings of the children side of Jordan. And Caleb stilled the people before Moses, and said, Let us go up at once and possess it; for we are well able to overcome it. But the men that went up with him said, We be not able to go up against this people, for they are stronger than we (vss. 26b—32). And all the people that we saw in it are men of great stature. And there we saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak, which come of the Nephilim: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so were we in their sight (vss. 32b—33). [And the children of Israel rebelled against the commandment of the LORD, and murmured in their tents, and said,] Wherefore doth the LORD bring us unto this land, to fall by the sword? Our wives and our little ones shall be a prey: were it not better for us to return into Egypt? And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt (xiv. 3, 4). (*But Moses said,*) If the LORD delight in us, then will he bring us into this land, and give it unto us; a land which floweth with milk and honey. Only rebel not against the LORD, neither fear ye the people of the land: for their defence is removed from over them, and the LORD is with us: fear them not (vss. 8, 9; cf. Deut. i. 29–31).

And the LORD said unto Moses, How long will this people despise me? and how long will they not believe in me, for all the signs which I have wrought among them? I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a nation greater

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of Israel, which they murmur against me. Say unto them, As I live, saith the LORD, surely as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you: your carcases shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward, which have murmured against me, surely ye shall not come into the land, concerning which I lifted up my hand that I would make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh: and Joshua the son of Nun.

(But your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have rejected.)

But as for you, your carcases shall fall in this wilderness. And your children shall be wanderers in the wilderness forty years, and shall bear your whoredoms, until your carcases be consumed in the wilderness. After the number of the days in which ye spied out the land, even forty years, for every day a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know my alienation. I the LORD have spoken, surely this will I do unto all this evil congregation, that are gathered together against me: in this wilderness they shall be consumed, and there they shall die. And the men which Moses sent to spy out the land, who returned, and made all the congregation to murmur against him, by bringing up an evil report against the land, even those men that did bring up an evil report against the land, died by the plague before the LORD. But Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, remained alive of those men that went to spy out the land (vss. 26–38).

and mightier than they. And Moses said unto the LORD, Then the Egyptians shall hear it: for thou broughtest up this people in thy might from among them; and they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land: they have heard that thou LORD art in the midst of this people; for thou LORD art seen face to face, and thy cloud standeth over them in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night Now if thou shalt kill this people as one man, then the nations that have heard the fame of thee will speak, saying, Because the LORD was not able to bring this people into the land which he sware unto them, therefore hath he slain them in the wilderness. And now, I pray thee, let the power of the LORD be great, according as thou hast spoken, saying, The LORD is slow to anger, plenteous in mercy, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and that will by no means clear *the guilty*, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation. Pardon, I pray thee, the iniquity of this people, according to the greatness of thy mercy, and according as thou hast forgiven this people, from Egypt even until now. And the LORD said, I have pardoned according to thy word: but in very deed, as I live, and as all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the LORD; because all those men which have seen my glory, and my signs which I wrought in Egypt and in the wilderness, yet have tempted me these ten times, and have not hearkened unto my voice; surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers.

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neither shall any of them that despised me see it:

(But your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have rejected, vs. 31.)

and my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall possess it. Now the Amalekite and the Canaanite dwell in the valley: to-morrow turn ye, and get you into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea (vss. 11–25).

And Moses told these words unto all the children of Israel; and the people mourned greatly. And they rose up early in the morning, and got them up to the top of the mountain, saying, Lo, we be here, and we will go up into the place which the LORD hath promised: for we have sinned. And Moses said, wherefore now do ye transgress the commandment of the LORD, seeing it shall not prosper? Go not up, for the LORD is not among you; that ye be not smitten down before your enemies. . . . But they presumed to go up to the top of the mountain: nevertheless the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and Moses departed not out of the camp. Then the Amalekite came down, and the Canaanite which dwelt in that mountain, and smote them and beat them down, even to Hormah (vss. 39–45).

Should the reader fancy that the above analysis is stuff and nonsense, and that equally good results can be juggled out of modern authors, let him try it, for example, on three or four pages of Gibbon's Rome, or Macaulay's England. To lavish sarcasm on the shrewdness of critics for confining their superfine acuteness to ancient documents written in dead languages, instead

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of attacking modern authors, where common people can follow them, is begging the question, since the very point at issue is the claim that these ancient documents are amalgamations, and are not homogeneous compositions like modern histories. The reader will notice furthermore that the above analysis is not made from a dead language, but simply from the English text.

As a matter of convenience in referring to these narratives we have designated them P and JE, the terms commonly used to designate the Hexateuchal documents to which they are supposed respectively to belong. If at first sight some of the partitions seem arbitrary, the justification will appear presently.

On comparing these narratives with each other, it is perceived at once that P, although the shorter, is the basis which is extended by the incorporation of JE. In prosecuting the comparison no account will be taken of linguistic peculiarities, or of differences in literary style. These things, apparent even in a translation, are important, but must be relegated to specialists.

I. The narratives agree in stating

(a) That the Israelites, having reached the southern borders of Palestine, sent out twelve men, one from each tribe, to bring back a report of the land.

(b) That the spies effected an entrance into the land, and made more or less extensive explorations.

(c) That a large majority brought back an evil report.

(d) That a small minority brought back a good report.

(e) That the children of Israel, in consequence of the evil report brought in by so large a majority, lost confidence in their leaders and murmured bitterly against them.

(f) That the minority of the spies endeavored to quiet the alarm of the people, and to restrain them from precipitate or rebellious action.

(g) That the LORD regarded the murmurings of the people as a grievous sin against himself.

(h) That the LORD'S anger was kindled against them to such a degree that he threatened to destroy them in the wilderness.

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([i]) That Moses interceded for them.

([j]) That the whole "congregation" of Israel, i. e., those from twenty years old and upward, having shown by their pusillanimous conduct their unfitness to enter the promised land, were turned back into the wilderness to die.

([k]) That exception was made in the case of one or two spies who had remained faithful, and to whom was extended the privilege of entering at length the good land.

We see, accordingly, that every essential particular is mentioned in both narratives, and consequently that in every essential particular they are in full harmony.

II. Variations; not necessarily inconsistencies, but for the most part additional details given in one or the other narrative.

([a]) A wider induction of facts than is afforded by the passage under consideration reveals throughout P a strong priestly tendency; JE, on the contrary, exhibits an equally marked prophetic aspect. In harmony with these characteristics, we see that P, in the narrative before us, co-ordinates Aaron with Moses. The spies return to Moses and to Aaron, the people murmur against Moses and against Aaron, both intercede for the congregation, and the LORD addresses both. Aaron, as the head of the priestly order, is exalted into absolute equality with Moses. JE, on the other hand, does not mention Aaron. Moses the prophet, appears in exclusive and unapproachable dignity.

([b]) P represents Moses as giving only general directions "to spy out the land." JE records a very full and picturesque charge.

([c]) In P, who is always statistical and chronological, the names of all the spies and their several tribes are given, together with the length of their absence, forty days. JE gives no list of names and states no specific time.

([d]) P represents both Joshua and Caleb as trying to calm the people. JE speaks of Caleb alone. The ground of assurance urged by the two is different from that urged by the one.

([e]) P, but not JE, tells how the people were upon the point of stoning Joshua and Caleb.

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([f]) P represents the people as murmuring against Moses and Aaron, JE as murmuring against the LORD.

([g]) P, but not JE, records the fact that the glory of the LORD flashed forth from the door of the tent of meeting.

([h]) P, but not JE, informs us that the unfaithful spies were slain at once by a pestilence, whereby the LORD vindicates not only himself, but Moses and Aaron, against whom the people had murmured.

([i]) P makes the return to the desert a definite period of forty years, corresponding to the number of days that the spies had been absent. JE again gives no specific time.

([j]) JE, but not P, represents God as commanding the people to return on the morrow into the wilderness.

([k]) JE, but not P, mentions the tardy repentance of the people, their rebellious obstinacy in attempting to force their way, in defiance of the LORD's word, into the promised land, and their defeat by the Amalekites.

([l]) From the parallel narrative in Deut. i. 19-46, it seems probable that JE contained further particulars about the people trying, by means of tears after their defeat, to change the LORD's mind; but failing in this they continued to abide in Kadesh "many days,"—an exhibition perhaps of fresh disobedience (cf. Num. xiv. 25 and Deut. i. 40).

The above variations suggest that the two narratives are not only distinct, but derived from independent sources, and that they embody different lines of tradition. That this is the case will appear conclusively when we consider

III. Their incongruities; these are not mere variations arising from the fact that one narrative supplies data omitted by the other, but manifest contradictions between the details themselves.

([a]) As already noted, both P and JE represent the children of Israel as journeying northward from Sinai until they reach the borders of Palestine. Here, preparatory to entering, they encamp, according to P, in the wilderness of Paran, but according to JE, at Kadesh or Kadesh-barnea. From these places respect-

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ively the spies are despatched. That "the wilderness of Paran" and "Kadesh" are not two names for the same locality is conclusively proved by the fact that P locates Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin (Num. xxvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 51); that he distinguishes between the wilderness of Paran, south of Hebron, and the wilderness of Zin, south of the Dead Sea, is clear from the fact that after the episode of the spies in the wilderness of Paran, Israel's next move, according to P, is into the wilderness of Zin (Num. xx. 1), which the spies also crossed before entering into the land (Num. xiii. 21).

(b) According to P's account, the spies are sent out in obedience to a direct command of the LORD, as if he desired to strengthen the hearts of the people for the task of the conquest by giving them a report of the goodness of the land. In harmony with this is the absence of any personal directions from Moses, who simply charges them "to spy out the land." If we supply the omitted opening of JE from the Deuteronomist (who in every essential variation, and often word for word follows JE and not P, and who is confirmed by the direct narrative of JE in Num. xxii. 8), it appears that the idea of sending out the spies originated with the people, and that Moses, greatly pleased with it, exhorts the men to obtain just the kind of information that would be indispensably necessary for a leader about to invade a hostile country. The LORD seems not to have been consulted, as neither Moses nor the people seem to have thought of any possibility of sin in the matter. However plausible the usual suggestion of commentators, "that the measure received the special sanction of God, who granted their request at once as a trial and a punishment for their distrust," it must be borne in mind that the narrative conveys not the remotest hint of such a motive on the part of the LORD. Nor is there the slightest sign of popular distrust until after the spies have returned.

(c) P represents the spies as moving eastward from the desert of Paran into the desert of Zin, south of the Dead Sea (xiii. 21), thus avoiding the native tribes, who, as we know, were watching the movements of the Israelites and prepared to resist their

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advance northward (xiv. 43; cf. Deut. i. 44). From Zin the spies explore the land thoroughly as far north as Rehob, to the entering in of Hamath, *i. e.*, as far north of Damascus as Damascus itself is north of Jerusalem. JE, on the contrary, represents them as setting out from the then well-known Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin, and moving northward through the "Negeb," the south borderland as far as Hebron. Terrified at the sight of the Anakim who dwelt there, they return, carrying with them specimens of the fruit gathered by the way. In the former case the scouts must have travelled at least 800 miles, going and returning, which, at an average rate of twenty miles a day, would have consumed the forty days. In the latter case the journey could easily have been performed in ten days.

(d) Naturally, according to P, the spies return to the camp in the wilderness of Paran, while, according to JE, they return to Kadesh. This clears up the extraordinary topographical notice in verse 26, where the spies are said to return "unto the wilderness of Paran to Kadesh." The confusion is removed the moment we discover here the end of one fragment and the beginning of another, belonging to two independent narratives which were loosely welded into one by a writer who supposed that "the wilderness of Paran" and "Kadesh" were only different names for the same place.

It may be remarked in passing that probably the most perplexing topographical notices in the Old Testament are those relating to Kadesh. So long as a single narrative is postulated, the difficulty of satisfactorily locating it is simply insurmountable. The existence of two independent narratives, if granted, greatly simplifies, if it does not wholly solve, the problem, since it removes Kadesh from the wilderness of Paran, and locates it definitely in the wilderness of Zin, a short distance from Mount Hor, "in the edge of the land of Edom" (Num. xxxiii. 36, 37; xx. 22).

(e) The spies, according to P, came back from Hamath empty handed, and with an evil report. "It is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof" (cf. Lev. xxvi. 38), *i. e.*, an exceed-

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ingly undesirable land whose inhabitants are consumed by prevailing pestilences, or by devastating wars. That the majority reported the land as impoverished and unfruitful, is also implied in the vehement protest of the minority, that it is "an exceeding good land." The exact contrary is the report according to JE. So far from being impoverished, the land "floweth with milk and honey." Its extraordinary productiveness was evidenced by the exuberance of its fruits and by the physical development of the inhabitants. It was a most desirable land, but, alas, unconquerable! The people were giants, the cities impregnable.

That the spies, according to JE, did not penetrate beyond Hebron seems corroborated by their mentioning only the native tribes of southern Palestine (vs. 29).

(f) In harmony with these reports are the impressions produced upon the people. In one case they are in a passion at having been lured away from Egypt by promises of a richer land (xiv. 2); in the other, they are terror-stricken at the thought of perishing in such an unequal contest, and resolve to return at once to Egypt (xiv. 3, 4).

(g) P represents two of the scouts, Joshua and Caleb, as faithful (xiv. 6, 30, 38); JE seems to know only of the fidelity of Caleb (xiii. 30, 31; xiv. 24, cf. Deut. 1 : 36).[1] Each of the narratives, moreover, is self-consistent in stating the grounds on which Joshua and Caleb, on the one hand, and Caleb alone, on the other, seek to restore confidence to the people: in the former instance by contradicting the slander of the ten as to the poverty of the land (xiv. 7); and in the latter by emphasizing the abundant ability of the Israelites to conquer it (xiii. 30).

(h) The intercession of Moses and Aaron in P is prompted by the anger and despair of the people. They fall on their faces before all the assembly of the congregation (xiv. 5), who rush upon them with stones; they are rescued from the fury of the people by the fiery manifestation of Jehovah (xiv. 10), who at

[1] Note how the Deuteronomist, in full harmony with JE, asserts indeed that Joshua also shall go into the promised land (i. 38); but the reason assigned for this special favor is, not any connection with the spies, but his relation to Moses as his present colleague and future successor.

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once announces his judgment on the "congregation," and executes swift vengeance on the unfaithful spies (vss. 36–38). In JE, contrariwise, Moses faces the disheartened people with a lofty plea for confidence in the LORD, and with exhortation not to rebel against him by turning back (vss. 8, 9). Moses prostrates himself, not before the congregation, but before the LORD ("I fell down before the LORD forty days and forty nights," Deut. ix. 25) and pleads for their pardon. The sentence of annihilation is commuted, and on the morrow they are ordered back into the wilderness.

Are there any facts which tend to break the force of the above analysis? Only two in the body of the narrative—the apparent misplacement of xiv. 31, which, being an almost word for word repetition of JE in vs. 3, and entirely out of harmony with the rest of P, seems to belong to JE between verses 23 and 24 where it exactly fits in; and the use of "them" for "him" in xiii. 26. The occurrence of "him" in the very next verse, "and they told him," *i. e.*, Moses, and not "them," Moses and Aaron, seems to show that the singular was used in the 26th verse also but was changed to conform it to the first part of the verse.

Outside these chapters there are a few apparently adverse points which may be noted. In Num. xxxii. 7–13 occurs a summary of JE's narrative of the mission of the spies in which Joshua's name is coupled with that of Caleb. Several of P's characteristic details are referred to, such as "from twenty years old and upward," and "he made them wander in the wilderness forty years." In Josh. xiv. 6–15, Caleb, according to the promise of Moses, claims Hebron as his possession. From beginning to end the paragraph is in full harmony with JE, except the phrase "and concerning thee" in vs. 6, referring to Joshua. The rest of the narrative not only omits all reference to Joshua, but seems really to exclude him from the company of the spies, as when Caleb, addressing Joshua himself, says (vs. 8), "Nevertheless, my brethren, that went up with me, made the heart of the people melt; but I wholly followed the LORD my God."

Thus far the reader has been asked to consider facts only,

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whose value and significance he can estimate for himself. At this point a few questions suggesting further lines of thought may be permitted:

(a) If it be conceded that Num. xiii–xiv embodies two amalgamated narratives, what bearing has this fact on the Mosaic authorship? In Genesis Moses may easily have availed himself of pre-existent documents, since he was sketching a distant past. Hence the composite character of Genesis is conceded in some measure by the most conservative scholars. But if Moses wrote the rest of the Pentateuch, how shall we explain the fact that, in relating one of the most critical and momentous events of his own life in which he was the leading actor, he weaves together two distinct and contradictory narratives. If this story as we have it is a mosaic, can it be Mosaic? No one questions that God *could* have inspired him to record history after this fashion, but did he?

(b) After Moses had spent considerable time at Kadesh (some think the greater part of the forty years in the wilderness), did he know where Kadesh was situated, or did he not? If Moses wrote the Pentateuch, how shall we account for the fact that it has been found "so difficult to group satisfactorily all the passages in which mention is made of Kadesh around this [Robinson's identification with Ain-el-Weibeh] or any other one spot, that some commentators and geographers have assumed that two distinct places must bear the name in the Bible?" (Speaker's Commentary). How account for the fact, that when Num. xiii–xiv are resolved into two stories, this otherwise insoluble problem turns out to be a simple contradiction in the component narratives?

(c) Attention is called to the close correspondence between the Deuteronomist and JE. This dependence on JE is conspicuous in all the Deuteronomic narratives. If Numbers in its present form is homogeneous and is written by Moses, how does it happen that the Deuteronomist in his constant references to the events of the wilderness invariably conforms the substance of his narratives, except occasional words and phrases, to that part of Numbers which critics have distinguished as JE.

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(d) If the Deuteronomist quoted from JE alone, and not from the united PJE in its present form, does it indicate that in his time the two had not yet been united, or possibly that P, the "priestly" element, including the whole Levitical Legislation, did not yet exist?

(e) If it is conceded that Num. xiii.–xiv. contain two distinct narratives, then it must be remembered that these are merely parts of two documents, that have been welded together throughout the entire Hexateuch. Would not a compiler feel constrained, as a matter of superficial consistency, to introduce into the material, absorbed from either document, occasional words and phrases that would remove flagrant discords? In other words, would it not be natural to expect in passages from JE, like Num. xxxii. 7–13, Josh. xiv. 6–15, just such harmonistic additions as actually appear?

If the facts, presented in this paper, are real facts, *i. e.*, if the story of the spies is composed of two independent stories woven together, then let it be understood that these facts are only one series of a thousand, all pointing in the direction of the above inquiries. If they are facts, they cannot be laughed out of court, or frowned out of countenance. They must be dealt with honestly and fairly by those who have candor and patience enough to master at least the elements of Biblical criticism. It is neither wise nor safe to fortify ourselves against them by the daily prayer of a pugnacious theologian of the reformation-period—*Imple me, Domine, odio hereticorum.*

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THEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION IN SWITZERLAND.

By REV. P. W. SNYDER,
Middletown, Conn.

II.

ZÜRICH.

Following our chronological order we pass from Basel between the Jura Mountains and the Black Forest, turn a little southward from the valley of the Rhine, and take our first long look at the snow-peaks of the higher Alps from the shores of the lake of Zürich.

In accordance with my purpose of calling attention to the various advantages offered by the Swiss universities to the American pastor or student of theology, I must be pardoned if I tarry a little over the natural attractions of this by far the most beautifully situated of the three university towns of German Switzerland. The city itself is the northern rival of Geneva, which it has finally outstripped in population and bids fair soon to equal in beauty. Charmingly situated at the point where the Limmat leaves the lake, Zürich is flanked on three sides by considerable hills with fine views and delightful forest walks; the hill on the west, the Uetliberg, being a miniature Rigi, with its own railway and hotel and a view quite as extensive as that from the Rigi, though, of course, less imposing. The lake shore is bordered by quays laid out with great care and looking across the water to the glittering peaks of the snow-capped mountains. Everywhere one receives the impression of thrift and energy, while the more modern residences in the suburbs show unusual taste. Few American cities are making such rapid growth.

Again, Zürich is a most admirable starting point for many little trips in northern Switzerland, and he who spends a summer semester there is able not only to drink in the daily beauty of the immediate surroundings but also to choose the most favorable days for longer excursions. Lucerne, the Rigi, Pilatus, the

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Falls of the Rhine, Wesen with the beautiful Wallensee, Glarus and the Klönthal may each be easily visited in a single day, not to mention the points of interest upon the lake itself, to be reached in an hour or two either by train or boat. In my own judgment no other university town of German Switzerland offers such attractions in itself and its surroundings to one who has a summer semester (practically the months of May, June and July) at his disposal.

The educational advantages of Zürich compare not unfavorably with the beauty of its situation. An enthusiastic teacher in Berlin claims that there is no city of its size in the world which is such a center of intellectual activity; yet it must be borne in mind that the popular departments in Zürich are those of medicine and the natural sciences rather than theology. The number of theological students is smaller even than at Bern, averaging about forty. This in itself is somewhat depressing, especially to one coming from one of the larger German universities, and it is difficult for a lecturer to show much enthusiasm where there are only some half-dozen listeners. Another disadvantage is that not infrequently an interesting course of lectures has to be abandoned because the number of students applying is insufficient. At the same time, one soon becomes accustomed to the emptiness of the lecture rooms, and learns that the ability of a professor is by no means always measured by the number of his auditors. This latter fact must be constantly borne in mind in French Switzerland, where the comparatively few students of theology are scattered among six schools.

The following are the best known professors in the Zürich theological faculty.

The most marked figure, beyond all question, is the venerable Professor Gustav Volkmar, a man who remarkably connects the past and present of German criticism. He is now eighty-three years of age, and is one of the best living representatives of Baur's school of criticism, whose conclusions are now being so greatly modified even by those who accept its principles. It is marvelous to sit in his class-room, as he lectures on New Testament Introduction or explains some New Testament passage,

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and to note the keenness of his mind and the firmness of his grasp of the theme, or to mark the quick perception and amused smile with which he corrects a false rendering by one of his pupils. So, too, if one were only to listen to his deep, resonant voice without looking at the age lines in his face, he would think of him as in the sixties rather than the eighties. I notice by the catalogue for this coming winter that he expects to lecture ten hours a week as usual.

Everyone who sits in his classroom must feel that he is listening to the results of long and minute study of the New Testament, yet as a critic Professor Volkmar stands on the extreme left. As a single instance, he regards the anti-Pauline tendency of Jewish Christianity as underlying the Revelation, and believes that the *beast* of chapter xiii. 11, etc., and the *false prophet* of chapters xvi. and xix. were intended to represent the Apostle Paul himself. In the same way he regards even the gospel of Mark, and so, of course, the others, as largely epic rather than historic in their character.

There was a bit of political romance connected with his earlier life which affected his whole professional career. In 1850, while teaching in his native Hesse, he was arrested and deprived of his position for writing an article in favor of the constitution. In consequence of this he went to Zürich, so that the political reaction following upon the year 1848 was the cause of his going to Switzerland and the beginning of his long work in connection with the Zürich University.

Next to Professor Volkmar perhaps the most widely known man in the faculty is Professor Heinrich Kesselring, at present rector of the university. He is a man sixty years of age, whose specialties are New Testament theology and exegesis, and his reputation depends partly upon his broad interest in and connection with various philanthropic movements. Theologically, Prof. Kesselring belongs decidedly to the liberal wing, though he is not so aggressively radical as many others. His scholarship is broad as well as careful, but one of his chief charms is his delightful courtesy. He is exceedingly popular as rector and to know him adds much to the pleasure of a stay in Zürich.

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Professor Paul Christ is one of the clearest thinkers in the faculty. There is nothing particularly striking or impressive in his appearance, but those who follow his lectures cannot fail to appreciate the keenness and comprehensiveness of his analysis. His principal course is ethics, but he also loves to take up some special theme, such as the philosophy of Hartmann or the theology of Schleiermacher. He is at the farthest remove from being the typical popular professor, but it is seldom that one so wins the admiration of those who patiently follow his thought. A great misfortune is that he slowly dictates almost the entire hour. In my judgment it would be a great gain if he, and with him many another German professor, would only be persuaded to print that which he now dictates, and, putting it in the hands of his students, then spend the hour in amplification and illustration. Professor Christ is another member of the theological "left." His dogmatic position is much like that of Professor Pfleiderer of Berlin, whom he greatly admires as a philosopher and theologian, but he holds much more closely than does Pfleiderer to Baur's school of New Testament criticism.

It would be difficult to find in the Zürich faculty any influential representative of traditional or even moderate orthodoxy. The center, the *Vermittlungstheologie* or *Ritschlianism*, is represented by the professor who has the chair of dogmatic theology, Professor G. von Schulthess-Rechberg.[1]

Professor Schulthess is a young man of thirty-seven, who has somewhat recently become a member of the faculty. He is tall, exceedingly courteous, and seriously endeavors to teach a system of theology which shall be at once Biblical and also in harmony with modern critical and theological methods. How far such a system is removed from traditional orthodoxy becomes sufficiently manifest, however, when we bear in mind such facts as the following: *viz.*, that, according to Professor Schulthess, the Biblical idea of the divine righteousness or justice has nothing to do with distributive justice, and this in the New Testament as well as in the Old; and also that the church doctrines of the Logos

[1] In Switzerland a double name like Schulthess-Rechberg is used to avoid confusion, Rechberg being simply the maiden name of Mrs. Schulthess.

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and the personality of the Holy Spirit are to be rejected as later additions to the simple gospel.

This *Vermittlungstheologie* is by no means so popular in Switzerland as it is in Germany, but it still has many adherents among those who are unwilling to make a complete break, either with criticism or with the terminology of received orthodoxy. This is especially true of students who spend a semester or two in Germany, and who are very apt to come back *ver-Ritschlt*, as one of the professors expressed it.

One of the best lecturers in the faculty is Professor Victor Ryssel, of the chair of Old Testament exegesis and theology. He was born in Saxony in 1849, and studied in Leipzig under Professor Delitzsch. For four years he was extraordinary professor at Leipzig, and came to Zürich as full professor in 1889. He is a man of fine presence, and has a good delivery. So far as one can judge by the expressions of the students, his course on Old Testament theology was the most popular one given in the theological department last summer, of which a further evidence is perhaps the fact that he ventured to give it at seven o'clock in the morning.

As a pupil of Professor Delitzsch, his theological antecedents are of course rather conservative, but he is a man of thoroughly scientific spirit, who is gladly heard by men of all "tendencies."

These are the leading men of the Zürich theological faculty, although I have not yet mentioned the venerable church historian, Professor Otto F. Fritzsche, who is now eighty years old and has been a member of the faculty since 1837. Unlike Professor Volkmar, he is now in feeble health, and last year was unable to give all the lectures which were announced in the catalogue.

It must always be borne in mind that the educational attractions of Zürich for an American pastor or student of theology are not confined to this one faculty, or even to the university itself. In the same fine building, overlooking city and lake and Alps, are held not only the lectures of the university, which belongs to the canton of Zürich, but also those of the Polytechnicum, which is supported by the entire Swiss confederation.

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Students of either school have the privilege of attending lectures in the other, and it is no slight privilege to be able to listen to such men as the philosopher Avenarius of the university, or Stern and Platter of the Polytechnicum in history and social science.

It should also be noted that in Zürich, Bern and Geneva the lectures are open to women.

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THE FOURTH GOSPEL:

AN OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF ITS HIGHER CRITICISM.

By Professor ALFRED WILLIAMS ANTHONY, A.M.,
Cobb Divinity School.

To the student of the New Testament no questions are more important or vital than those pertaining to the genuineness and authenticity of John's gospel. Did John the evangelist write the Gospel usually ascribed to him? Is the evidence of the centuries convincing on this point? And does the testimony of the book itself corroborate what the church has claimed? Are there incompatible divergences between John's account of the life of Christ and the account given by the other three evangelists? Do the other writings of John, his epistles and the Apocalypse, weaken or strengthen our confidence in the Gospel? For a half-century about these issues discussion has been rife. Practically conclusions have been reached, and yet, although bringing little new matter, the old queries arise. The student needs to review the field and think through the thoughts of others for himself. "The defense of the Fourth Gospel has become in large measure the defense of historic Christianity," says Prof. Riddle.

Seven definite topics may be suggested for the student's investigation. Let him grapple with these resolutely and patiently and he will not only learn much about this spiritual Gospel and much concerning the methods and results of higher criticism as applicable to all parts of the New Testament, but will also confirm his faith in the historic Christ, and will attain an insight into many conditions of the early centuries which will do much to make plain to his appreciation the salient, essential features of our Christian religion divested of some of its late accretions.

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Books of reference. Many would be helpful, but a few will suffice. Three seem indispensable: The Bampton Lectures for 1890, entitled "Modern Criticism Considered in its Relation to the Fourth Gospel," by Archdeacon H. W. Watkins; "The Fourth Gospel, Evidences External and Internal of its Johannean Authorship; essays by Ezra Abbot, Andrew P. Peabody and Bishop Lightfoot," 1891; and "Introduction to the Johannine Writings," by Paton J. Gloag, D.D., 1891. Other works are scarcely less valuable. I mention the following which, if accessible, should be consulted: The commentaries on John of Godet, Westcott, Weiss, and Plummer (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges); the Introductions to the New Testament of Weiss, Salmon and Dods; Weiss's "Life of Christ," chapters V., VI., and VII.; and a series of articles begun in *The Contemporary Review*, September 1891, and in *The Expositor*, November 1891, and reproduced in *The Magazine of Christian Literature* beginning with October 1891.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION.

I. Make an analysis of the gospel of John. It is necessary to distinguish between epitomizing and analyzing. Epitomizing is a mechanical process by compression; it simply eliminates words and reduces bulk. Analyzing is a chemical process by which the constituent elements of motive, argumentation and logic are discovered. What may be regarded as the theme of the book? What does it attempt to show, or prove? What are its natural divisions? To analyze upon the basis of geographical or chronological divisions is to fail of the thought-element in the book. The analysis should spring from the nature of the narrative.

II. Compare the gospel of John with the synoptic record. It would be well to notice first the differences in literary form, including both the structure of the whole, as brought out in the analysis, and also the differences in striking words and phrases. Then compare them in their agreements in recorded incidents, in their omissions and their apparent contradictions. Compare them, as they usually are compared, in respect to their "differences as to the place and form of our Lord's teaching, and

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differences as to the view which is given of his Person." Chapter V., section II. of Westcott's "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels" will be found helpful on this subject.

III. Examine the external evidence for the genuineness and authenticity of John's gospel. The student must remember that "genuineness" refers to the question of authorship and "authenticity" refers purely to credibility. Who wrote the book? When this question is conclusively answered, the authorship is established. But there remain still the questions, Was the author in a position to know the facts which he states? and, Was he sufficiently free from prejudice or bias to relate them without alteration? External evidence is evidence drawn from sources outside of the book itself. A search for this evidence will lead the student to an examination of the writings of the church fathers and all extant literature bearing upon the subject, particularly in the second century. While this evidence has been collected and sifted and weighed again and again, yet in order to know its value, the student must test it for himself. He should, if the books are accessible, look at all the quotations which his guides adduce in their original setting. An excellent translation of the church fathers will be found in the series now appearing from the publishing house of The Christian Literature Company, "The Ante-Nicene Fathers" having already appeared, and "The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers" now appearing.

IV. Examine the internal evidence for the genuineness and authenticity of John's gospel. This evidence is to be found in the book itself. Do the characteristics of the narrative show that it was written by a Jew, by one who lived or had lived in Palestine, by one who had seen the events which he describes, and are there indications that one of the apostles wrote it? If so, which one? Answers to these questions can be legitimately sought within the book itself.

V. The evidential value of the epistles of John to the authenticity of the fourth Gospel. When the epistles of John are called into court, the critic must first know their worth. He must therefore examine their claims for acceptance as genuine writings of the apostle. When their genuineness is

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established then they should be compared in style, structure and subject matter with the Gospel. Bishop Westcott's "The Epistles of St. John," 2d ed., 1886, will be found helpful.

VI. Compare the gospel of John with the Apocalypse. This topic of investigation demands first an examination of the genuineness of the Apocalypse.[1] The date of its composition must be at least approximately fixed in view of all the existing phenomena. The history of its higher criticism through all the centuries must be scanned. Its style, grammatical and rhetorical, must be compared with that of the Gospel; and then the question must be satisfactorily answered whether the two documents could have originated in the same mind and, if so, what theory consistent with all the facts known will satisfactorily account for their differences. The student will be helped by Simcox's "The Revelation of St. John the Divine" in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.

VII. Write a biography of John the evangelist. This will involve, not only an examination of the data concerning John to be found in the New Testament, with a careful weighing of all the inferences that may be legitimately deduced therefrom, but also a thorough investigation of the claims which have been made from the scant testimony of Papias to the existence of a presbyter John, and his subsequent identification with the evangelist, and also a searching scrutiny of the evidence for the Ephesian residence of the evangelist and his absorption of Greek philosophy and Greek culture sufficient to enable him to write the fourth Gospel.

[1] The recent partition theories of the origin of the Apocalypse are described in an article, "Recent Theories of the Origin of the Apocalypse," published in *The Journal of Biblical Literature* Vol. X., Part I., 1891. The author, Rev. E. C. Moore, of Providence, R. I., was granted the degree of Ph. D. by Brown University on the basis of scholarship shown in this article.

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THE FUNDAMENTAL THOUGHT AND PURPOSE OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW,

Translated from the Introduction to PROF. ROBERT KÜBEL'S *Exegetisch-homiletisches Handbuch zum Evangelium des Matthäus.*[1]

By H. B. HUTCHINS.

1. The data contained in the gospel of Matthew itself for answering the question as to its fundamental thought and purpose:

a. Old Testament citations. It is a familiar fact that Matthew and the other two Synoptists differ very widely in the number of their citations from the Old Testament. Where the evangelist himself is speaking citations occur in the following places in Matthew: i. 23; ii. 15, 18, 23; iii. 3; iv. 14–16; viii. 17; xii. 17–21; xiii. 35; xxi. 4 sq.; (xxvi. 56); xxvii. 9 sq.; xxvii. 35 (not well attested). In Mark, where he himself is speaking, we find citations only in i. 2 sq. (xv. 28 is not genuine); in Luke, only in ii. 23; iii. 4. Both Mark and Luke, for example, in the account of the triumphal entry, omit even the very evident citation from Zech. ix. 9, and in Luke even the narrative of the birth contains no citations. In the discourses of Jesus also, as reported by the evangelists, Matthew has more citations than both the others. Mark has no citations which are not found in Matthew (in a sense xii. 29 is an exception); Luke has only iv. 25 sq. and xxii. 37. Furthermore, in Matthew the citations contained in the discourses of Jesus are in part especially significant; thus, the word of Hosea (vi. 6) twice used by Jesus against the Pharisees (ix. 13, xii. 7), is not found in the parallel passages in Mark and Luke. The same thing is true also in the case of the second Old Testament example for Sabbath desecration, Matt. xii. 5. As to the sermon on the mount, from which v. 21 sq. might properly be considered here, we shall speak at length further on. The manner also in which the citations are made is significant.

[1] All quotations from the Greek have been translated into English.

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The formula which Matthew uses almost constantly, "that it might be fulfilled," and the like, which also occurs in John xii. 38, and xviii. 9, is never found in Mark and Luke in their own discourse (Mark xv. 28, not genuine). All this goes to show at least that to Matthew the things of especial importance are in general the confirmation of the New Testament by means of the Old, and in particular the proof that, and how, in Christ the Old Testament promise is fulfilled, that is, has become a reality.

b. Expressions in this gospel which clearly present in its contents, and especially in its presentation of Christ, the mental attitude of the evangelist towards the Old Testament. The following data belong in line with what has just been said, in so far as they treat of the relation to the Old Testament as respects fulfilment. Matt. i. 1 is, to be sure, not the superscription of the entire book but only of chapter i. Yet the designation "Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham," shows at all events the category under which the author intends chiefly to place Jesus. In this connection compare Mark i. 1 (where "Son of God" is not to be struck out) and the whole of John i. 1 sq. "Jesus the Christ the promised son of David," is undoubtedly the theme of this gospel. With this view agrees the fact that the genealogy is carried back only to Abraham, and also its conclusion, i. 16. But the fulfilment of the Old Testament has also a negative side which is very prominent in Matthew. That the thought of Christ and of this entire gospel is first of all presented in antithesis with that of the scribes and Pharisees of the time, who claimed to be the representatives of the Old Testament, that the apprehension and fulfilment of the Old Testament correctly given by Christ is set in sharp contrast to the apprehension of the scribes and Pharisees, scarcely needs proof. The influence which the conflict of Jesus with the Pharisees exerts upon the contents and arrangement of the gospel is sufficient evidence. Of the other synoptists, it is true, Mark has nearly all, and Luke most, of the sections bearing on this point. But, besides what was quoted above in relation to Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7, and xii. 5, it is noticeable that only Matthew, and he as early as ix. 34, reports a case of calumniation by the Phar-

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isees; only he brings forward the sharp word against them in xv. 13, 14 (Luke vi. 39 is something entirely different), the parable of the two sons, with the biting word against the Pharisees (xxi. 28–32), the anti-Pharisaic discourse, chapter xxiii., as one complete and definitive testimony, and finally the narratives xxvii. 62 sq. and xxviii. 11 sq. Still further, it must be taken into consideration that in Matthew the sermon on the mount, entirely different from the account of Luke (the Paulinist!), is controlled almost throughout by the opposition to the Pharisees and their righteousness; v. 20–vi. 18 may be said to be completely so controlled.

We are accordingly quite justified in the assertion that the diametric opposition between Christ and the Pharisees is much more important to the purpose of this gospel than to that of Mark or Luke. And certainly it is worthy of remark that, since the opposition of John to the Jews is at all events something similar to the opposition of Matthew to the Pharisees, it is precisely the two apostolic evangelists who make that opposition a matter of central importance for their presentation of the gospel history. But the antithesis of Christ in the gospel of Matthew relates not merely to the Pharisaic conception of the Old Testament, especially of its law. The reformed-legal view, which Wichelhaus especially among the later commentators on Matthew represents, is thoroughly one-sided, and therefore incorrect. According to this view, in his opposition to the Pharisaic interpretation and application of the law Jesus throughout completely acquiesced in, recognized, and in no respect whatever "destroyed" the Old Testament law itself. To be sure, v. 17 sq., must be recognized as affirming the positive, that is to say, the spiritually positive, validity of the law. And since to this passage Mark has no parallel at all, and Luke only a relatively weaker parallel, it therefore belongs to those passages which show with especial clearness Matthew's interest in exhibiting the "fulfilment" of the Old Testament through Christ. Add now to this, still from the sermon on the mount, Matt. vii. 12, where the confirmatory assertion, "This is the law and the prophets," has likewise no parallel in Luke vi. 31 (still less in Mark). Moreover,

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passages like Matt. xxii. 34 sq. and its parallels must not be forgotten, as they have a bearing on the positive attitude of Christ towards the law. But some sort of antithesis to the Old Testament law is undoubtedly presented in the opposition of the phrases, "It was said to those of old time," and, "But I say," which is found only in Matthew—v. 21, 22, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39, 43, 44. For "It was said" introduces without doubt, in this case at any rate, words of the Old Testament, and to these words, not merely to the Pharisaic interpretation of them, Christ opposes his "But I." Luke vi. 27 is of an entirely different nature. That something similar is contained in the expressions regarding Sabbath observance cannot be denied. In addition we have the *argumentum ex silentio*, an argument truly significant in the case of a Jewish Christian, that this gospel contains not a syllable to indicate that the kingdom of heaven brought by Christ, or rather to be brought by him, is such a kingdom of God as the law affirms, and the prophets have for the most part painted an Israelitish and externally splendid divine state under the descendants of David. The word of the Lord, "My kingdom is not of this world," preserved, to be sure, not by Matthew, but by the other apostle among the evangelists, is perfectly appropriate to the Christ of Matthew. According to all that we have just said the fulfilment which Christ brings to the Old Testament is a fulfilment by means of which the Old Testament, its law and its prophecy, is raised to a new, even to the spiritual, stage. Everything concerning it and in it is certainly affirmed, but only so affirmed that it accords with this new stage, that of the spirit. Furthermore, it must be considered that only in Matthew is the passing over of the kingdom of God from the Jews to the Gentiles announced as early as viii. 11, in the affair of the centurion, the first man in regard to whom the word "faith" occurs in Matthew (cf. Luke vii. 9; xiii. 28 sq.). In the parable of the husbandmen also, though Mark xii. 9 and Luke xx. 16 have the thought in the parable itself, yet in the speech of Jesus which is connected with the parable and directed against the Pharisees they do not have the express words, "The kingdom of God is taken from you,"

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etc., Matt. xxi. 43. It forms a sort of contrast to this position, however, that Jesus' prohibition to his disciples to enter on any way of the Gentiles and Samaritans (Matt. x. 5), as also the word in answer to the Canaanitish woman, "I am not sent," etc., (xv. 24), are preserved only by Matthew (cf. Mark vii. 27). On the other hand again, only Matthew reports the universal missionary command of the departing Lord, xxviii. 19. For Mark xvi. 15 must be passed over as hardly genuine. Luke, indeed, on his part has the event (xxiv. 47), but he fails to give the solemn closing command. Another point from the sphere of the difference between Matthew and the other two synoptists which might be presented here will be brought out later. If we gather together all that has been here cited we shall perceive that Matthew aims to show that what Christ brings is something new, and yet the old, the kingdom of God promised by the Old Testament, which, however, breaks through the Old Testament limitations. And it breaks through these limitations, first in its spirit and its teaching, in so far as the law of Christ is the spiritual law of life and not the law of the letter,—then in its extent, in so far as this kingdom was originally offered to the Jews, but being rejected by them it passes over to the Gentiles,—and lastly in the manner and method in which Jesus plants and extends it, in so far as he, first of all, for purposes of teaching, held himself within the Old Testament limits, but with perfect clearness, from the very beginning, and more distinctly from stage to stage, he unfolded his conception of the kingdom of God as the all-embracing kingdom of the spirit.

c. Views peculiar to Matthew. Here we shall consider only three points, the conceptions of the kingdom of heaven and of righteousness, then the (Christian) community, and finally a special feature of the portrait of Christ. As is well known the name "the kingdom of heaven" belongs exclusively to Matthew. Matthew brings this name forward in part in the interest of a positive connexion with the Old Testament—for it reminds every reader immediately of Dan. ii. 44, and chapter vii. 27, in part again in opposition to Jewish ideas—for it checks all expectation, conceived in a merely temporal earthly

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fashion, of an externally splendid Jewish Messianic kingdom. How far, because of the essentially eschatalogical conception of the kingdom of heaven (cf. especially iii. 2), the worldly expectations are justified, it is not our purpose here to investigate. For in this case the question is not in regard to something peculiar to Matthew. On the other hand again, the close connexion of the conception of "righteousness" with the kingdom of God, and in general the exalted significance of that conception, is peculiar to Matthew. The word "righteousness," used of the good and of the condition of the citizens of the New Testament kingdom, is totally foreign to Mark and even to the Pauline Luke (except i. 75), while the latter has the verb "justify" in the Pauline sense in xviii. 14 (the sense is different in Matt. xii. 37). In Matthew the righteousness brought by Christ (v. 6) and demanded by him (v. 20) comes into sharp opposition to the Pharisaic righteousness. It has been remarked already that righteousness of life, regarded likewise by Matthew as the fulfilment of the Old Testament law of God, comes out much more clearly than in Mark and Luke. In Mark the word "law" is altogether wanting, and in the conversation about the first commandment xii. 28 sq., the word of Jesus already quoted about 'the whole of the law and the prophets' (Matt. xxii. 40) is not given. Luke puts "law" into the mouth of Jesus only twice, xvi. 16, and xxiv. 44—both times of the book of the law.

The significance of the word "church" in Matthew is something still more remarkable. Only Matthew, as is well known, has the two expressions of Christ in regard to his community, xvi. 18 and xviii. 17. In the first passage the lack of this word of Christ in Mark and Luke is especially remarkable, because both nevertheless (Mark viii. 27 sq., Luke ix. 18 sq.) relate the occasion, the confession of Peter. Even the "Interpreter of Peter," Mark, says nothing of the assignment of the keys of the kingdom to Peter! Luke vii. 3 sq. has a short parallel to the second passage (Matt. xviii. 15 sq.); but he also says nothing of the "church," though it is the same Luke in whose second writing, the Acts, the "church" is nevertheless so frequently mentioned.

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But still further, the entire section Matt. xviii., although Mark and Luke contain some parallels, has this peculiarity that only in Matthew is the purpose clearly evident of collecting here such words of Jesus as relate to the inner circle of disciples or brethren and their duties. The word and the idea "brethren," as applied to the members of the specifically Christian community, generally retreats into the background in Mark and Luke in comparison with Matthew (Matt. v. 22 sq., 47; vii. 3 sq.; xii. 48 sq.; xviii. 15, 21, 35; xxiii. 8;—in Mark only iii. 34 sq.;—in Luke only vi. 42; viii. 21; xvii. 3; xxii. 32, although the expression is frequent in the Acts). We see that in the eyes of Matthew the community of Christ stands forth clearly as a distinct, organized union of believers in Christ separating itself from the Israelitish community. The idea is similar to that of John, the other apostolic evangelist, who, it is true, does not speak of the "church," but does emphasize brotherly love. The words of Christ bearing on this point are also especially important to Matthew.

Finally, there is a feature of the portrait of Christ which is peculiar to Matthew, and which leads us to an entirely different point. It may now be briefly touched upon. We do not now refer to the fact that Matthew uses for Jesus, "son of David," as also "king," sometimes alone, as in xxv. 34 sq., sometimes with "of Israel," etc., much more frequently than do Mark and Luke. Compare the interesting parallels Matt. xxi. 5; Mark xi. 10; Luke xix. 38. But the following points are especially significant. Only Matthew (viii. 15) sets down the healing work of Jesus as fulfilling Isa. liii. Only he in general (cf. with Mark and Luke) transfers to Christ the deutero-Isaianic idea of the "Servant of God." Luke, however, frequently employs this idea in the Acts. And the description of Jesus as the tender shepherd of the flock of the people—a description especially enjoyed by Matthew and frequently given in detail—agrees well with this idea (Matt. iv. 23 sq., cf. Mark i. 39; Matt. ix. 35 sq., cf. Mark vi. 34; Matt. xv. 29 sq.). At the same time this description comes into rugged contrast with the rejection of Jesus on the part of Israel, whose terrible word (xxvii. 35)

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Matthew again is the only one to report. It is precisely the servant and the shepherd rejected by his own people who gathers to himself a new flock from among the Gentiles who have been hitherto shut out from the kingdom of God.

d. The sections and the most important single words peculiar to Matthew. Chapters i. and ii.: the genealogy (cf. Luke as above), the birth, the Magi, the flight into Egypt, the return, the settlement in Nazareth; all permeated with Old Testament citations, and obviously subservient to the chief point of view already presented, "Jesus the promised Messiah," iii. 14, 15—a conversation between Jesus and John; note especially, "to fulfill all righteousness," iv. 13–16—a citation from Isa. ix.; iv. 23–25 (already treated), also chapters v.–vii.; not only does this as one great discourse from the standpoint of "righteousness" in the sense spoken of above occur only in Matthew, but in it are also several passages which are peculiar to him; note v. 5, 7, 8, 10 (several beatitudes), 13 (in part), 14, 16, the children of light, 17–20 (already treated, the fulfilment of the law), 21, etc., "it was said to them of old time, but I say," etc. (already treated), 21–24, the fifth commandment, 27–32, the sixth commandment (Mark and Luke have parallels, not to this passage, but to Matt. xix.); vi. 1–8, 14–18, alms, prayers, fasting; vii. 6, "that which is holy" and "the dogs," 12 (already treated), 14b, 15, 16a, the narrow way and the false prophets; viii. 11, 12 (already treated), 17 (already treated); ix. 13 (already treated); ix. 27–38, the two blind men, the dumb man, the first insult by the Pharisees, etc.; x., the discourse on sending out the apostles; not only does this great unified discourse occur as a whole only in Matthew, but there are in it also several passages which are peculiar to him; note x. 5, 6 (already treated), 8, "freely," 16, wise and harmless, 23, nearness of the Parousia, 25, if they have called me Beelzebub, etc.; xi. 28–30, invitation to the weary; xii. 5, 7, 17 sq. (already treated), 36, 37, the idle word, 40, the sign of Jonah (different from Mark and Luke); xiii. 24–30, 36–43, parable of the tares, 35, citation relating to parables, 44–52, parables of the treasure, the pearl, the net, final word; xiv. 28–31, Peter on the water; xv. 13, 14,

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24, 29–31 (already treated); xvi. 17–19 (already treated), 28, observe the announcement of the future in Matthew as compared with Mark ix. 1 and Luke ix. 27; Matt. xvii. 20, because of your unbelief (little faith), 24–27, narrative of the stater; xviii. 10, the angels of the children, 15–35 (already treated); xix. 10–12, eunuchs; xx. 1–16, the workers in the vineyard; xxi. 4, 5 (already treated); xxi. 10, 11, the people acknowledge Jesus as the prophet, 16, citation from Ps. viii. 28–32, 43 (already treated); xxii. 6, 7 (cf. Luke xiv. 16 sq.) reference to the destruction of Jerusalem—chapter xxiii., not only does this great unified discourse, concluding the anti-Pharisaic contest, occur as a whole only in Matthew, but there are in it also several passages which are peculiar to him, *e. g.*, 2, 3; note especially, "What they say, that do, but . . . ," also 5, 8–11, 15–22, 24, 28; xxiv. 10–12, 20, neither on the Sabbath, 29, immediately, 30, sign of the Son of man; xxv. 1–13, the ten virgins, 14–30 (? cf. Luke xix. 12 sq.), 31–46, the judgment discourse; xxvi. 15, the thirty pieces of silver, 63 cq., the oath administered by the high priest to Christ, 72, the first oath of Peter's denial; xxvii. 3–10, the death of Judas (cf. Acts i. 16 cq.), 19, the wife of Pilate, 24, 25, Pilate's handwashing and the outcry of the people, 51b–53, the earthquake and the appearance of the dead after the death of Christ, 62–66 and xxviii. 11–15, the watchers at the tomb; xxviii. 2–4, the angel rolls the stone away, 9, 10, the meeting of Jesus and the women, 16–20, the final appearance and the last word of Christ.

Now this collection, in which of course we could not consider the minor verbal variations from Mark and Luke or one of them, gives occasion for the following reflections: The number of sections and words peculiar to Matthew is relatively not very great. If all the passages were arranged consecutively we should have six or seven chapters of the average length of the chapters of Matthew—that is, not quite one-quarter of the whole Gospel. The greatest peculiarity is to be found in the discourses and parables. Luke indeed has more parables peculiar to him than Matthew has. And as to the discourses, it is to be carefully noted that it is not the amount of material

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contained in Matthew which is the most significant peculiarity of the gospel, but rather the collection into long connected discourses of material which in the others, especially in Luke, is scattered through the entire book. We cannot here discuss further the bearing of this point on the question of the author and style of the gospel. The point which we now emphasize is that the gathering together of these long discourses and discourses of the character of these is indicative of Matthew's chief thought and purpose. In an expressly doctrinal discourse at the very beginning (v.–vii.) Jesus expounds the program of his kingdom and its righteousness in opposition to the Pharisees; in an expressly missionary discourse (x.) we have the calling and lot of his disciples; in a long chain of parables (xiii.) he shows, on the one hand, again his kingdom and its development, and, on the other, how the knowledge of it is a mystery for the great mass of obdurate people; in a series of connected discourses (xviii.) he depicts the life of his "church"; in a great decisive discourse (xxiii.) he breaks with the Pharisees and the Judaism led by them; in an eschatological discourse running through two chapters (xxiv., xxv.) he teaches how his community must prepare itself for the Parousia. Thus there is given a formal, thorough, and comprehensive "teaching" concerning the truths which, as we have already observed, are the most important for Matthew. If we can gather these points together somewhat as follows, "The relation positive and negative of that which Christ brings to the Old Testament, especially the negative in opposition to the Pharisaic Judaism; the kingdom of heaven, not an external Jewish kingdom, appearing, however, at the Parousia as a kingdom of glory; the "righteousness" of the citizens of the kingdom; the Christian community which they form as "brethren" in especial communion with one another; all of which is lost to the Jews, because they have rejected the tender shepherd and the servant of God": then all that is necessary is to show, in regard to some of the passages quoted as peculiar to the Gospel, how they fit in with this point of view. In the Magi (ii.) the first Gentiles adore a Messiah, unrecognized by Jerusalem, its king, its scribes, and its people. At the baptism (iii. 15)

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Jesus says to John, "It becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." To the Old Testament prophecies referring to Jesus belongs also "the sign of Jonah," which is at the same time, however, a sign of judgment against Israel, xii. 40. Although he is as Son of God free, he submits himself to the duty of paying the temple tax, xvii. 24 sq. He is to come as the glorified king of the kingdom, xxiv., xxv., and he will come soon, xxiv. 29. Finally, he acknowledges himself as the Son of God, xxvi. 64; even Pilate's wife confesses him, xxvii. 19; through him the bodies of the Old Testament saints come to life, xxvii. 51 sq; as Lord of the world he gives his final command, xxviii. 16 sq. It is evident that the fundamental point of view already given in i. 1 is determinative for all these points. Besides the points already discussed at length, xxvii. 62 sq. and xxviii. 11 sq. also belong to the conflict with the Pharisees. Even their last device against Christ fails. Then, besides the points already touched upon, the following points also are necessary for the depicting of the righteousness of his kingdom, both as to the manner in which one enters it, and as to the manner in which one conducts himself in it: The exposition of the commandments, etc., v. 21 sq. vi. 1 ff, vii. 14 sq., the invitation, xi. 28 sq., the parables, xiii. 44 sq., the passage regarding eunuchs, xix. 10 sq. Concerning the disciples of Christ, their call and their lot in the world note, v. 14 sq. vii. 6, x. 5 sq., 16, 25, xx. 1 sq. But Christ finds 'little faith,' and 'no faith,' even in the circle of the apostles, although he has been solemnly confessed. Although Mark has preserved the strongest expressions in regard to the hardness of the disciples' hearts (vi. 52, etc.), yet the words in Matt. xvii. 20, the accounts of Peter, xiv. 28 sq. xxvi. 72, and single expressions from the warning example of Judas, xxvi. 15, xxvii. 3 sq. are peculiar to Matthew. Although the disciples formed a peculiar band of brethren, they were, nevertheless, still thought of as Jews, xxiv. 20, "neither on the Sabbath"—according to the usual conception of this passage; moreover, the question here is only in regard to the Palestinians. On the other hand, as has been shown, the passing over of the kingdom of God from the Jews to the Gentiles is a matter of especial importance to the author.

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With the destruction of Jerusalem, this passing over ensues as the final rejection of the Jews (though not without hope of future restoration, xxiii. 39).

We come now to a quite special point, which perhaps enables us from the intimations already gained respecting the purpose of the gospel to reach a definite conclusion as to the time-relations of the author. Only Matt. xxii. 7, in the parable of the marriage of the king's son (Luke xiv. 16 sq.), gives the reference to the destruction of Jerusalem. Only he has "immediately," xxiv. 29. The difference between Matt. xxiv. 15 and Luke xxi. 20 is obvious. And if here Mark xiii. 14 also goes along with Matthew, even with the parenthetical challenge, "Let him that readeth understand," which surely in both gospels proceeds from the writer and not from Jesus, it follows that the expression of the latter, "standing in the holy place," is more precise than the "standing where it ought not" of the former. If we take all these things together, and in addition consider such passages as xxvii. 25, viii. 11, xxi. 43, then — whatever may be the case with Mark and Luke — it can be said of Matthew at any rate (setting aside first the question of sources), that he wrote at a time when the destruction of Jerusalem was immediately impending, and it was especially important not merely to give his readers instruction for their behavior in this crisis, but to show to them how it was now evident that the destruction of the Jewish theocracy was a righteous judgment of God, and the passing over of the kingdom of God from Israel to the Gentiles, even as it was sealed by this destruction, was the just consequence of the rejection of Jesus by his own people. We need not here discuss other questions suggested by the passages cited (*e. g.* "immediately"), which are of such special significance for the relation of the destruction of Jerusalem to the Parousia. All we need to note is that the "immediately" (and passages like x. 23) show that Matthew deemed it especially important, in the manner of an Old Testament prophet, *e. g.* Joel, to teach the reader to recognize in the great events of the time, which prove the justice of God, the immediate harbingers of the day of the Lord and the completion of the kingdom.

[Continued in next issue.]

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

The Institute stands for "Systematic Bible Study." Its aim is to promote such study by every possible means. While, therefore, it occupies an independent position — conducting correspondence courses, summer schools and examinations and furnishing lectures on Biblical topics for the general public — it seeks also to work in harmony with all other organizations whose legitimate work includes Bible study. It aims through affiliation, to help on the work of other organizations rather than to set itself up as a rival to them. Its present position in reference to some of these may be noted.

To supplement the work of the *International Committee* inductive studies upon the current Sunday School lessons are furnished in the *Sunday School Times*. Upon these studies is based a regular correspondence course. A fortnightly instruction sheet is furnished to each student, with the help of which a recitation paper is made out and submitted to the criticism of an Institute instructor. A final examination is given at the end of the course, open to all at a nominal fee, whether they have followed the course by correspondence or otherwise.

In the field of the *Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor*, almost every State Secretary in the Union and the Dominion Secretaries in Canada are coöperating with the Institute in making Bible study a special work for the Christian Endeavorers. A special course on the Life of the Christ, based on the four Gospels, has been prepared as a first course for all societies. This may be taken with or without connection with the Institute. Speakers upon the subject of Bible Study are also provided for state and county conventions.

The King's Daughters, through their Central Council, have been placed in connection with the Institute. A special series of simple studies on the Founding of the Christian Church appears in the *Silver Cross*, the organ of that order, and also leads up to an examination at the close.

The Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union has also just completed the same sort of a union, whereby a series of brief studies upon an Old Testament subject appears in the *Oak and Ivy Leaf*, their official organ.

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In all these studies the aim is not to present material already worked out so much as to guide the student in working for himself. Few results are given, but many suggestions for obtaining results. The whole work of the Institute gathers about the idea of individual study, and therefore it seeks to guide and direct, rather than to teach facts alone.

Here, then, are these great organizations all wholly or in part recognizing the same end and all working together for it. To an intelligent observer of the field of Bible study the results are already apparent.

The Examination on the Founding of the Christian Church, based on Acts i. to xv., was one of the most satisfactory ever conducted by the Institute. In the number of its candidates it did not exceed the examination of 1892, but there is a notable improvement in the character of the papers. In past years very few have ventured to try the advanced grade of the questions. In the recent examination the advanced grade was only *second* in popularity, the progressive grade leading as heretofore. This argues two things, viz.: increasing confidence in the character of the examination questions and more thorough preparatory study on the part of the candidates,—two most interesting inferences.

Two more examinations are announced. The subjects are: (1) The Founding of the Christian Church (continued), covering Acts from the fifteenth chapter to the close of the book, the Epistles and the Revelation, and (2) the ground covered by the International Lessons of the current six months. The dates are January, 1894, and July, 1893, respectively. Candidates are now enrolling for these examinations and receiving helpful suggestions for preparatory work.

The Institute conducted a Biblical institute, consisting of nine sessions, February 24 to 26, at the University of Chicago. The lecturers were President Harper and Professors Burton, Nordell, Price and Tufts, of the University, and President Burroughs, of Wabash College. The subjects all centered around one theme, the work of Isaiah, except the last evening, when a symposium on "Bible Study, Why and How?" formed the program.

The only summer school as yet definitely arranged for is the one at Chautauqua, July 5 to August 15, in three terms of two weeks each. The instructors will include Professors Harper, McClenahan, Horswell, Burnham and Batten, of former schools, with one new addition, Professor J. S. Riggs, of Auburn Theological Seminary, who will give instruction in English New Testament. Schools, or single courses of lectures, in connection with other Chautauqua assemblies, will be announced soon.

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STUDIES IN THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL LESSONS.

By Associate Prof. George S. Goodspeed, Ph.D.
The University of Chicago.

III. Ezra and Nehemiah.

1. Ideals Unrealized. For thirty years (516-485 B. C.) after the building of the temple history is silent as to the life of the returned Jews. Its silence speaks volumes. The Messianic king had not been revealed with the completion of God's house. The expectation of the prophet was unrealized. Dareios remained master of the situation and the rebellious empire was quieted. His next ten years were occupied in organizing his realm into a firm and united state, which endured for two centuries attacks from without and decay and dissension within. Then came his series of disastrous foreign wars, the Scythian campaign, the invasion of Greece and the battle of Marathon (490 B. C.), the campaign to the East and South, all giving him little reward and much difficulty. Jerusalem remains the insignificant province, whose temple is restored indeed, but its hopes of exaltation in the earth disappointed. The prince with the glorious future opening before him has disappeared. Zechariah's splendid visions have faded into the light of common day. The reason for this rude disenchantment from the dreams of supremacy is not far to seek. The prophet himself has felt the danger and sought to guard against it in his later utterances, which ring with the note of ethical reformation. The temple was not yet associated in the popular mind with righteousness. Though, as the prophet himself declares[1] it was social injustice which brought about the former national disasters, they must again be warned against similar doings. Jehovah will do great things for them, let them not fear; *but*, "These are the things that *ye* shall do:[2] Speak ye every man the truth with his neighbor," etc. During the years in which the temple was rising this was what they had not done. They had not shown themselves worthy of the blessing He stood ready to bestow. That history records nothing during the period which followed suggests that the reaction from the disappointment of high-strung expectations only led them into lower depths of unworthy thinking and living. Scepticism and laxity prevail. With the disappearance of prince and prophet, the priest has fallen heir to the "crown," which through him was to pass to the civil ruler; but the priest is also infected

[1] Zech. vii. 8-14. [2] Zech. viii. 16.

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with the general spirit of discouragement and irreligion, and neglects his duties. The whole aspect of affairs is very dark.

2. *The Awakening: "My Messenger."* A new start is taken when a new ruler comes to the throne of the empire. Dareios is succeeded by his son Xerxes in 485 B. C., and the stir attending the change of masters communicates itself to the little community in Palestine. But who was there to feel the thrill of a higher meaning on this occasion? Was there uncorrupted life still among the people? Who was to interpret for them the significance of this event? Who, if not a prophet with the message of Jehovah in his mouth? Such an one may well be seen in Malachi, who can with a fair degree of probability be assigned to this period. The message which he has to communicate is not long, but it is weighty with meaning. His work did not go without success as the words of his own book testify. The faithful were encouraged and stimulated to word and deed. They "spake one with another," and speaking led to action. But what could they hope to do in the way of separating themselves from the people of the land? How could Jerusalem set itself apart and preserve such an existence without walls to define between those who served Jehovah and those who did not, and to protect those within from the jealous, quarrelsome and offended outsiders? The wall must be built again. Is there any evidence that such a move was made at this time? In Ezra, iv. 6—the first verse of the misplaced passage—is a reference to an accusation in the first years of Xerxes' reign, which must have had its ground in an action on the part of the Jews. The probabilities are that this action was the attempt to build the city wall,—a probability strengthened by the following verses, which detail a similar attempt and its failure under Artaxerxes. That the accusation respecting this endeavor to build the wall thus lodged at the court by the enemies of the Jews was successful is owing doubtless in part to the fact that when Xerxes came to the throne he had upon his hands a revolt in Egypt. It would not be wise to allow a fortified post to stand thus on his flank and rear as he passed down the coast. The work could not be permitted. Thus, the outward evidence of Malachi's work and the means of its success come to nought. The tendencies which he rebuked must continue unchecked. The degenerate priesthood has triumphed. The sins which he denounces reappear in greater power and wider extent. The policy of union with neighboring people's strikes deeper root. It finds defenders within the community who point to the glowing pictures of Zechariah where Jerusalem is to be without walls and nations are to flock to her. They fall back on the broad and sublime expectations of that Isaiah whose prophecies made bright the last years of the exile and paint a future in which strangers shall build up the nation and their kings shall minister unto her. The spirit of the present moment is in accord with

[1] Mal. iv. 4-6.

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them. But Malachi has spoken a further word of the new Elijah who shall restore the old relations and avert the curse. In this expectation he was not disappointed. The real restorer may not have been such an Elijah as he had expected, but it was a genuine fulfillment of the thought which lay in the prophet's mind when, twenty-seven years after Malachi had spoken, there came to Jerusalem Ezra the Scribe, with the law of Jehovah in his hand.

3. The New Inspiration: "The Law." The last word of Malachi was, "Remember the law of Moses!" This exhortation marks the beginning of a new era for Jerusalem. The conception of the "law" which makes its first appearance in Malachi's message is destined from this time forward especially under the hand of Ezra to exercise a dominating influence. The mention of Ezra and his connection with this "law" leads the thought directly to the Babylonian Jews as the center whence the new impulse proceeded. With the exile, what proved to be the death blow was given to prophecy as a force in Israel's life. What was to take its place? Manifestly men's thought turned more and more, in part, toward the "sages," but especially toward the priestly teachers. Already Ezekiel had led the way toward a conception of national life which found its highest ideal in religious, or, rather ritual, service of Jehovah, in obedience to clearly prescribed and closely coördinated laws for the guidance of religious life. They were led to exalt the separateness of Israel's religion and Israel herself, and to emphasize that separateness by the carrying into detail the provisions for maintaining it. They themselves in their situation must needs develop it yet more, lest they be lost in the overwhelming mass of heathendom that encircled them. To accomplish this separateness they were not yet ready to think of a spiritual dedication to Jehovah's service; it must be a devotion which realized itself in act, in the regulation of religious life in every sphere. But when the religious life was realized as the essential life for all Israel the conception of regulation by law passed imperceptibly into the whole of Israel's existence. Thus arose the idea of *life through the "law,"* destined to play so important a part in the coming ages of Israel's life. For the half century after the return Israel in exile had been thinking through and working over this problem, had been committing the priestly traditions to writing and carrying them out into action. She had formed a new and mighty instrument for the guidance of her life, and having experienced its power in her own circles, was ready to bring it to the help of the other Israel which was at Jerusalem. It was with this that Ezra came to the Holy City. It was to introduce this that he was willing to leave the happier lot of the unreturned and make the weary journey to Jerusalem.

4. Ezra's Commission and Company. The discouragement of the faithful and the worldliness of the nobles in Jerusalem were strong enough to repress any movement toward better things which might have accompanied the accession of Artaxerxes I. to the throne of Persia, in 465 B. C. Indeed,

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the failure of Messianic hopes may have suggested to the community that independent nationality was out of the question for them. They must submit to continue part of the Empire. Comparatively little is known about the new king under whom they now come. A young man, under the influence of the queen mother, he discloses in his life and manners the growing power of luxury and oriental corruption which was eating out the strength of the Empire. The usual disturbances had accompanied his accession, the most serious of which was the revolt of Egypt, which seems to have been in full force up to at least the tenth year of his reign. The representations of his character which the Biblical narratives give are quite favorable to his political insight as well as his religious feeling. From other sources, also, it has been concluded that his administration was marked by the restoration of the finances of the state exhausted under Xerxes, by the establishment of order in the Empire and the removal of abuses. Thus far he was a worthy follower of the great Dareios, and was like him in his favor toward the Jews. The book of Ezra has preserved for us a copy of the decree which he made on behalf of Ezra, when he had determined on his expedition to Jerusalem.[1] It is the longest and the most ample in the privileges granted of any received by the Jews. According to it Ezra's mission is one of investigation into Judah's condition; he is to be accompanied by any Israelites who desire to go; is empowered to receive offerings for the temple and to buy supplies for the sacrifices; has authority to call upon the royal treasurers for help up to a certain specified amount; secures freedom from taxation for the temple officials, and more than all else is commissioned to appoint judges over the Jewish people with the authority of life and death. The standard of regulation is "the law of his God" backed up by this decree from the king. Speculation may busy itself with the motive for granting such a sweeping authority, but there is little in the situation as it is known to us to explain it. In the present disturbed state of Egypt it would be a wise political measure to put a body of loyal people into the city which lay just north of Egypt's border where it was not unlikely that ambitious families were already disaffected. Moreover, Ezra's work, so far as it presented itself to the king, was a religious one, and as such could not be objectionable, especially since its design, the introduction of the "law," had been attended with such good results nearer home among the Babylonian Jews. It was to the interest of the king to reproduce those results at Jerusalem.

Ezra, armed with these large powers, gathered his company, perhaps some five thousand strong, at "the river that runneth to Ahava." It is significant of the changed state of affairs and of the character of his purposes, that he names two priestly families first among the band, and only

[1] Ezra vii. 11–26.

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then the member of the royal family, "Hattush of the sons of David." The priest precedes the king from this time forth. The difficulty of securing Levites, characteristic of the first return, appears to have troubled Ezra also. It is illustrative also of the life of the times that he sends a deputation to "Iddo, the chief at the place Casiphia,"—which speculation has regarded as a kind of theological seminary,—and from thence secures the men needed.

5. *The Astounding Discovery.* The journey was accomplished in due time without unusual incident, and the company arriving in Jerusalem rested three days. On the fourth, and succeeding days, the gifts for the temple were handed over to the priests, thank-offerings made and sacrifices burned, and the proper officials informed concerning Ezra's mission and authority and their coöperation sought and obtained. Ezra is now ready to proceed to the work of inquiry and religious reorganization in the community. The first step is enough to reveal to him good reason for his coming. Some of those faithful ones "who feared the Lord" in Malachi's time had preserved their fidelity even during the twenty-five years of degeneracy which followed, and they bring report to Ezra respecting the prevalence of that custom of marriage with the surrounding peoples against which Malachi had inveighed. They tell how the priests and Levites, the chief noble families, have even led the way in this matter,[1] and that the mass of the community has only too readily followed their example. Ezra is quite overcome with horror and grief at this news. It seems to us that the information had burst on him all unawares. Yet he could hardly have been ignorant of the general situation, and perhaps his violent manifestations of grief are better understood as the oriental way of publicly expressing one's sentiments concerning something already known, in order to impress them upon the people. That Ezra had good reason for his attitude toward these mixed marriages is certain. The idea which underlay them may have been thoroughly sincere and upright, but it was illtimed and bound to be disastrous. The community was not yet strong enough religiously to admit and assimilate a mass of half-heathen persons, and to come into such intimate relations with the surrounding peoples as these marriages involved. The gain in position, comfort and influence could not compensate for the danger of religious degeneracy. There was no such firm grasp upon the great mission of Jerusalem to the world, no such clear conception of its position, no such presence and appropriation of religious forces by the community, as to warrant the wide-open policy. Ezra may not have known it, but he had come face to face with a danger which threatened the future, not only of Jerusalem, but of the religion of Jehovah. It was enough for him that the dangers of such action had already worked themselves out in Babylon, where the exiled Jews must live to themselves if they hoped to live at all, where the doctrine of the separateness of Jehovah's

[1] Ezra ix. 1, 2.

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people was central and vital. It was enough for him that this "law of Jehovah in his hand," which was a sacred trust given to him to administer, was clear and strong in its prohibitions against marriage with the "unclean." He shows his wisdom as well as his firmness in the methods which he adopts in this emergency.[1] First of all he thoroughly identifies himself with the community which has sinned. He does not take the attitude of one who has come from a holier place and society to rebuke and punish sinners. From the moment he has set foot in Jerusalem he is one of them, one with them in misfortune and guilt, as well as in hope and duty. Then, also, he does not exercise his ample authority without regard to their feelings. He endeavors to excite in them a consciousness of the situation and grief on account of it such as he feels. The manifestation of his feeling, the declaration in word and deed both of his oneness with them and his grief at their sin — *his* sin as one of them — had this noble end in view, to move them to the spontaneous obedience of the law which he was ready to enforce.

6. Measures against Mixed Marriages. All this wise and impressive bearing had its effect. It was a truly prophetic measure and it stirred Jerusalem in the same manner. Led by Shechaniah, the people who have gathered around Ezra during these manifestations agree to put away their foreign wives and encourage Ezra to proceed in his carrying out the "law." He seems to have won the most prominent of the community to his side, who swear to obey it. But Ezra is still cautious. An assembly of the entire community is called and, though it is in the rainy season and cold, meets to deliberate upon the important subject. Ezra will, if possible, induce them to undertake the affair themselves. The attitude of the assembly is, however, not in all respects an enthusiastic one. They consent to separation "from the peoples of the land and from the strange women" in a somewhat restrained way, saying, "So must we do," but leave the carrying out of their decision to a court of officials, whose members they suggest if not appoint. They seem to be anxious to be released as soon as possible, owing, doubtless, to the state of the weather and the unpleasantness of the subject. Ezra has not been able to move them as he had moved the first company. There were even those in the assembly who spoke against the whole movement. Ezra finds himself therefore thrown back on his own authority. He appears not to have accepted the persons whom the assembly had suggested as the proper commission to deal with the offenders, but organizes his own commission, with himself at its head. Ten days after, it goes to work, and in three months all is over. The community has been examined, and a list of those Jews who married foreigners is given in Ezra x. 18–44, among whom were found priests, Levites and princes. They promised to divorce their wives and made the proper burnt offering for their sin. Here the narrative of the

[1] Ezra ix. 3–15.

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Book of Ezra ends abruptly, with only the significant statement that "some of them had wives by whom they had children."

7. *The Attempt to Build the Wall.* The rapid and successful accomplishment of this measure was indeed only a preliminary work but might reasonably be regarded as indicative of the future. It can only be conjectured that Ezra proceeded with the same combination of zeal, wisdom and decision to a further extension of "the law" in the community. It must be thought of as accomplished by teaching on his own part and that of the scribes who accompanied him. For several years this work may have been kept up. The chief difficulties came, no doubt, from without, in the opposition constantly manifested from those whose wrath has been roused by the attitude and action of the community repudiating marriages with their families. Among the people themselves the desire for separation was continually hampered by their living in such daily contact with the heathen. In view of these difficulties the same purpose took shape in Ezra's mind as had possessed the community in earlier times — to fortify Jerusalem. He had good reasons for this course apart from its manifest necessity in the carrying out of his religious ideas. He had been given large authority; there was no decree existing which prevented it; he felt secure of the favor of the Persian court. The latter had been proved, indeed, by the failure of intrigues against him which are hinted at in a single verse, Ezra iv. 7. Who "Bishlam" and his companions were is not certain, but the probabilities are that they were officials in Syria, and were influenced by Ezra's enemies to write to the Persian court a warning letter. He undertook, therefore, the measure which in the time of Malachi had failed, viz., the building of the walls. But the times were against him. The satrap of Syria, Megabyzus, who was high in favor with the king and had reconquered Egypt for the empire, had recently received from the queen-mother what he conceived to be an affront, and rumors of rebellion began to reach the court. Apparently in this uncertain state of things, two officials, taking advantage of these rumors and Ezra's action, write the letter now found in Ezra iv. 8-16. It has its effect. The king returns reply which, while very guardedly expressed — he makes no decree himself — gives these officials authority to stop the work. This they do at once. They hasten to Jerusalem apparently with an armed force, and not only prevent further progress but break down the wall and burn the gates with fire.[1] Manifestly this would be a great blow to Ezra's influence. He had gone beyond his instructions in this matter and his failure to sustain himself therein reacted to the damage of his legitimate authority. "The remnant are in great affliction and reproach," was the report brought back to the East respecting Jerusalem. Naturally this would follow when such measures as those respecting the mixed marriages had exasperated cer-

[1] Neh. i. 3.

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tain prominent elements, both within and without the community. Ezra had made no serious mistake, but his failure had shown conclusively that something more than religious authority was needed to restore Jerusalem to a position where religion, as Ezra conceived it, could flourish. The "law of Moses" must have beside it a law of the king to make its effectiveness possible. Yet we cannot believe that the teaching work of Ezra was a failure. Later events seem to indicate that during the years that preceded he had been laying the foundations broad and deep. It was only after ten years of such work, perhaps, that he moved out to that other venture, the building of the wall. That venture indeed did fail, but the other and truer work endured. All that was needed was the presence of another leader who, armed with proper authority, could carry through the public and political measures in which Ezra had failed. Such a leader Jehovah was about to raise up and call from the East. It was Nehemiah, cupbearer to Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who set out for Jerusalem thirteen years after Ezra had left Babylon for the Holy City.

8. Nehemiah the Governor. In the present book of Nehemiah are passages from his own "memoirs" which illustrate clearly the character of both the man and the work which he did. He had been trained on two sides—as a Persian courtier and as a Jewish zealot—and the combination of the two elements contains the secret of his success. He was a master in the perilous act of intrigue, so imperatively necessary for one's safety, not to say progress, at court. He saw through the clumsy devices of the Samaritan opponents and foiled them, while his cleverer plans for defeating foes without and within the community were brilliantly achieved. From the day when he secured the favor of the king and queen for his enterprise to the time when he saw his work completed he shows himself shrewd, cautious, resourceful, prompt and active. But these qualities were controlled by a fervid piety which devoted everything to the attainment of its object. He who before had been little more than a wily politician who had wormed his way to a high place about the king, becomes a high-minded, self-sacrificing patriot, making out of a despairing, feeble folk a self-respecting community and giving a permanent and stable home to the religious truths of which they were the heirs.

9. The Fortification of Jerusalem. The purpose of his mission to Judah was "to build the city of his fathers' sepulchers." Large privileges were secured by him, privileges which distinguish themselves from those granted to Jews previously by their practical utility. Above all were two—first, his own appointment as governor of Judah; and, second, letters of attestation to the governors of the satrapy of Syria, which would make known his peculiarly close relation to the king and thereby secure him both position and favor "beyond the river." What the latter privilege wrought for him is seen in the fact that the Persian officials no longer appear as opponents of the Jews, and thus the hostility of the neighboring chiefs is deprived of one of its strongest supports,

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while, at the same time, they, and not Jerusalem, must now stand in the position of opposing the lawful authority in the person of Nehemiah, the governor. The difficulties which, even with such advantages, he must needs overcome were by no means small. The Jerusalemites themselves were partly discouraged, partly unsympathetic. The condition of Syria, recently in revolt under Megabyzus, who had now returned to the empire, but rather as a victor than as a subdued rebel, made the assertion of Persian authority, and particularly Persian court authority, of little comparative weight as over against local independence. Chiefs of tribes round about who had no wish to see the religious separateness of Jerusalem established must be most carefully handled, lest they in a sudden attack should bring the whole work to nought. In these circumstances Nehemiah comes to Jerusalem in 445 B. C. and shows himself equal to the situation. His particular purpose in coming must not be revealed until he has examined the task to be performed and is in a position to interest the people themselves in a united and determined effort to accomplish it. A secret night ride around the city discloses to him what must be done by way of repairs. He then calls the leaders to him[2] and by exhortation as to their duty and encouragement in view of his position and relation to the king stirs them to the resolution, "Let us rise and build." The work is carefully planned, every family or guild being assigned to a particular portion of the wall, and all, both within and without the city, heartily coöperating. The enthusiasm aroused seems to have quite daunted the hostile chieftains of the neighboring districts, who at first taunt them as being rebels, then scorn their attempts as failures,[3] at length determine to stop the effort by force[4] and, when intimidated by the dauntless front and skillful maneuvers of the governor, at last resort to intrigue through disaffected Judeans within the city.[5] All is in vain. Even a serious crisis[6] in the midst of Jerusalem caused by the disgraceful cruelty and avarice of the nobles is successfully averted and in fifty-two days the wall is completed. The proper arrangements are made for guarding and opening the gates and the measures for the city's defense put in charge of faithful officers. Jerusalem is once more in a position to take her place among the cities and to afford protection for the people and the truth of God.

10. The Reappearance of Ezra. The order of events after the building of the wall is difficult to determine. Nehemiah's memoir states that owing to the size of the city and the small number of the inhabitants he was led under divine direction to make a census and determine the genealogy of the people. He finds and annexes the document containing the list of the first company that returned. His memoir is at this point broken off and the narrative resumed by another document. It begins again with chapter xi., but

[1] Neh. ii. 12-16. [2] Neh. ii. 17, 18.

[3] Neh. ii. 19, 20; iv. 1-3. [4] Neh. iv. 7-23. [5] Neh. vi. 1-13. [6] Neh. v. 1-13.

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whether this also consists of a document belonging to the times of the first return is a question in dispute among scholars. With chapter xii. 27 Nehemiah takes up the narrative again with the account of the dedication of the wall. As no dates are given we are forced back on conjectures as to the probable course of events. It seems most natural that the dedication of the wall followed hard on its completion. At any rate, the striking thing is that among the members of those two stately processions that walked along the newly finished fortifications was *Ezra the Scribe*. His work was now to begin. Thus far Nehemiah had not mentioned him, and it may be that the governor purposely entered into no public communication with him in order not to complicate the situation by religious differences. But it must be remembered that Nehemiah was of the exile in life and in thought as was Ezra. More than that, Ezra's religious commission from the king had by no means been withdrawn. It was still operative. The time was now come to put the religious reformation into motion with better assurance of success.

11. The Introduction of "the Law." At a festival of the people held in the seventh month of possibly the same year, 444 B. C., Ezra is asked to read "the book of the law of Moses which Jehovah had commanded to Israel." The reading, accompanied in some way not clear to us with explanations by the Levites, causes great grief among the people, who recognize how far short the conduct of their fathers came of the divine requirement and how severe was the punishment for their sins. What can they themselves do in the presence of such a law? This melancholy attitude, though itself so full of promise, is now untimely and is corrected by Nehemiah and Ezra. The festal day is a time for mirth. A holy day unto Jehovah is a holiday. Strength comes from rejoicing in Jehovah. The reading is kept up and the lessons learned are carried into practice. The feast of Tabernacles is observed. The whole culminates on the twenty-fourth day of the same month, during the course of which enthusiasm has been gradually rising. Coming together with outward signs of humiliation they confess their sins, separating themselves from all strangers. Thus half a day is spent. The Levites utter a solemn blessing. Then Ezra speaks.[1] He sums up the lessons which they have learned from "the Law,"—how during the history of the nation blessing has followed obedience and punishment was the reward of apostasy, how Jehovah had been gracious but the people rebellious. The justice of Jehovah is extolled in punishing the fathers and in allowing the present nation to be servants to Persia. Now, however, they propose to enter into a solemn agreement "to walk in God's law, which was given by Moses, the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of Jehovah our Lord, and his judgments and his statutes."[2] This "covenant" embraces

[1] Neh. ix. 6, where the Septuagint inserts, "And Ezra said."

[2] Neh. ix. 38; x. 29.

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as practical provisions the avoidance of mixed marriages and of trade on the Sabbath, the keeping of the Sabbatic year, the care for the ritual and the payment of the temple tax and the tithes for the priests and Levites. The "covenant" is signed and sworn to by the heads of the community as representatives of the whole body, who are in hearty accord with their action.

This day has been well called the birthday of Judaism. It was the acceptance of the "law of Moses" as the rule of their life—this "law" enshrined in a book. It was the practical acknowledgment that henceforth Israel was a religious community, willing to accept the yoke of subjection to a foreign power but in its inner life superior to all outward constraint, subject there to the "law" of Jehovah alone and in that subjection holy and blessed. The "law" spoke to the individual also with a power such as religion had never before exercised. No Israelite could be in doubt as to his duty, his relation to Jehovah, his privileges and his obligations. They were clearly revealed in the Holy Book, the center of the national and individual life. Prophecy had spoken, stirred the people and passed into silence. But the "law" was ever present, and its meaning clear under the interpretative teaching of the "scribe." If the emphasis on belief and morality was less evident than in the prophetic message, their place was supplied by an all-embracing "holiness" which might be reached by obedience to law. The new régime was indeed a revolution, but there was much that was salutary about it. It produced earnest and pious men. It spoke in such Psalms as the one hundred and third. It gave us the Old Testament Scriptures. It was the sacred vessel in which the religion of Jehovah, the eternal truths of God, passed into the possession of the Christian Church.

12. The Latter Days of Nehemiah. Nehemiah returned to the Persian court in 433 B. C.,[1] and remained there "certain days." During his absence a reaction, natural in the circumstances, had taken place. In the section of his memoirs which extends from Neh. xiii. 4–31, he himself gives us a glimpse into what had been going on. It is noteworthy that the name of the high priest Eliashib, who had performed his part in the building of the wall, does not appear in the account of the dedication of the wall, the reading of the law, or the signing of the covenant. The priestly princes had led the way in the liberalizing of the community and seem to have taken it unkindly that Ezra and Nehemiah should have carried through their notions of religious separation. During Nehemiah's absence their influence was regained and their way of thinking restored. The old freedom of intercourse with foreigners came in again and the religious services fell into their previous disorganization. The strictness of Sabbath observance was neglected. It seems as though Nehemiah's absence must have been somewhat prolonged. His indignation at the mixed marriages from hearing the children of such

[1] Neh. xiii. 6.

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ill-assorted pairs speaking a jargon points in the same direction. If we may conjecture that Ezra had died in the interval, the strength of the reaction is also better conceivable. It was the presence of these sins in the priestly family itself which stirred the governor's wrath most deeply. The grandson of the high priest had married a daughter of the Samaritan chief. Nehemiah drove him out of the city. The consequences of this step were incalculably important to the community. This priest, Manasseh by name, fled to his father-in-law, and under his protection set up a temple on Mount Gerizim and with "law" and ritual established the Samaritan community and worship as a copy of that at Jerusalem. The result was both beneficial and harmful to the Jewish community. It narrowed them, developed their separateness, but also relieved them from a great danger—that of being absorbed in the surrounding heathenism. It aroused those fierce religious hatreds which endured into the time of Christ between Jew and Samaritan. It stimulated the zeal of the community for those reforms which had temporarily suffered eclipse, but which henceforth became the settled way of life and worship. The further history of Jerusalem is practically the history of the development of those ideas and practices which Ezra and Nehemiah introduced and made the law of the community in 444 B. C.

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Exploration and Discovery.

THE PRESENT AND POSSIBILITIES OF EXCAVATION IN PALESTINE.

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As representing the first extensive excavations in the land of the ancient Hebrew, the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Tell el Hesy, now with certainty identified with old Lachish, is interesting, not only because of the actual contributions to our knowledge, but as an index of what we may reasonably expect to find when other equally promising *tells* are laid bare. When it is remembered that Lachish appears to have been, during most of its Hebrew history, but a frontier fortress, the results are by no means discouraging. The January number of the *Quarterly Statement* of the Fund contains an extended résumé of the results of the excavations, carried on last spring, from Mr. Bliss, who has the work in charge. Operations were resumed March 28th and suspended May 26th. During this period the foundations of several interesting structures were laid bare. One of them, evidently, as indicated by the symmetry of the rooms, a public building, contained a room thirty by fifteen feet, which is remarkably large for a mud edifice. As a rule, however, the rooms were small. Two in the same building were only eleven by four feet. It is also an interesting fact, that the outer walls are uniformly about five feet six inches in thickness, varying from this mean never more than two or three inches. From the measurements Professor Petrie has concluded that the cubit used was the foot of 13.3 inches found in Asia Minor.

Among the other finds was a wine-press, or place for making the *dibs*, the grape treacle, which plays such an important part in the cuisine of the modern Syrian. Many types and forms of pottery ware were turned up; lamps and Phœnician bowls, probably dating from the thirteenth century; a great variety of bronze utensils and weapons; Egyptian cylinders; and—most valuable of all—the famous little inscribed cuneiform tablet. The genuineness of the latter can no longer be doubted. It was found in the debris of decayed brick and stone by one of the workmen, a simple-hearted lad of nineteen years, and handed over to Mr. Bliss while the fresh earth was

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still clinging to the incised cuneiform letters. This proof is further corroborated by the testimony of Professor Sayce, who, from the nature of the contents, pronounces it undoubtedly genuine, and further publishes the text and his translation in the *Statement* (pp. 26 to 28).

We can well ask what are the contributions thus far from this *tell* of the Philistine plain to our meager knowledge of that life which is the background of the Old Testament history and literature?

It has introduced us to the homes of the ancient Hebrews, and we have been able to enter the mud residences of these dwellers of the plain and to know with certainty that neither the style of architecture nor material used has changed during the thirty intervening centuries. Further, our limited information respecting their domestic economy has been greatly increased. The very form of the clay dishes out of which they ate is known to us. The lamps which lighted their mud huts were of the low, pottery type, with the neck on one side, similar to those in use in the valley of the Nile. The rude bronze needles proclaim the trials of the ancient seamstress. Bronze, iron, silver and gold were the metals known to them, and these evidently in small quantities, the acquisitions of trade or conquest. For weapons the Hebrews were limited chiefly to flint and stone, and their rough arrow-heads and knives differ little from those of savage nations to-day. Only the earlier lords of the land, the Amorites, possessed bronze arrow-heads, knives and axes in abundance. The culinary department is represented by numerous pit ovens, or *tannûrs*, counterparts of the modern ovens of Palestine, while examples of the other type, now in use among the Lebanons, have been found. The latter is made of mud bricks, narrowing to a small aperture at the top, on which a pot can be placed. On the front there is a round opening which can be closed. When the fire at the bottom burns down to coals. dough is plastered on the inside to bake. Thus, doubtless, the ancient Hebrews made those thin, broad sheets of gray bread, such as the modern *fellah* rolls up in his wallet when he goes on a journey.

The little bronze images, and the still ruder little female figures in pottery, perhaps represent the teraphim, the household gods, which Rachel hid in the camel furniture, and which even so late and enlightened a prophet as Hosea counted as a necessity of the religious life.

Low as is the stage of civilization thus reflected, it seems to be a true picture of the home life of at least the great mass of the Hebrew nation. At the great cities foreign culture made its impression, but nothing has yet been discovered giving the slightest indication of an independent civilization or original art development. The finest bronze weapons thus far discovered are Amorite; the best specimens of pottery are all Phœnician; the little bronze images are Egyptian; the porcelain cylinders are Egyptian imitations of Babylonian models; even the systems of weights and measures in use appear to have been foreign; and the only real literary remains come from the earlier

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Amorite times. The testimony of the Old Testament is the same. To build their palaces and even their central sanctuary the Hebrews must introduce foreign workmen. King Ahaz introduces new styles only as he copies Damascene models. The student, therefore, who sees in the Phœnician treasures from Mycenæ (now at Athens) the representative of that art which affected the Hebrews, especially of the royal period, is not far from the truth.

On the other hand there is a popular conception prevalent that the Hebrews were, on religious grounds, always bitterly opposed to all art representations. This is true from the time of the great reformation of Josiah on, and the hatred reaches its culmination in the Maccabæan age. The cause is patent. Art had been so perverted and was so closely associated with the hated idolatry, which was such a deadly menace to the true religion, that it came to be regarded with intense antipathy. The later development of Jewish thought presents many analogies. Perhaps the closest is that of the local sanctuaries, apparently common and universally recognized until about the same period, when they were placed under the heaviest bans.

Among the positive proofs that in early times the Hebrews had no objections to art representations might be cited the reference to Solomon's lion throne, 1 Kings x. 18. Over the holiest center of their worship, the ark, were the cherubim. Their possible imitation, the calves of Jeroboam I, set up at Dan and Bethel, duplicated at Gilgal and Samaria, and probably at many other sanctuaries, were openly denounced by no prophet before Hosea. From the reference in 2 Kings xvi. 17, it appears that the brazen oxen supported the great sea in the temple unmolested, until the time of Ahaz, who instituted a change because of a personal fancy rather than from religious motives. It is as significant as it is surprising that these allusions, to be sure, limited chiefly to the prophetical record, have escaped the shears of later editors who regarded art with no favorable eye. Other indications are by no means lacking. For example, Proverbs speaks of a worker in carved works. Hence we are justified in concluding that while the Hebrews were characterized by a lack of originality, which was probably, as we shall see, in the department of art intensified by the absence of suitable materials at hand, yet there was, during the earlier and major portion of their history, no antipathy, but rather a love, for the beautiful, expressed in objective form. Therefore there is every reason for expecting that the *tells* of Palestine, especially those of the large cities, will yield art treasures, interesting for their association, if not native to Canaan. The little bronze man and goat found at Lachish is an earnest that we shall yet look upon some of those molten images, the work of man's hands, which so sorely tempted those early people, and called forth the withering sarcasm and thunders of the Hebrew prophets.

A question, to the excavator even more vital, is, what literary remains may he expect to find in these same *tells?* Its answer involves the greater and even more complicated question of how far writing was known among the

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ancient Hebrews. The subject is certainly worthy of more exhaustive treatment than it has yet received, for the light that it throws on higher critical questions, but I will here attempt to give only a few suggestions. The earliest date given to a Phœnician inscription is about 1000 B. C. (Baal Libnan text). This date is doubtful, but accepting it and the fairly well established conclusion that the old Hebrew alphabet came from Egypt through the Phœnicians, the question arises whether the Hebrews were acquainted with this script before the reign of David at the earliest.

The references in the Biblical narrative to writing are suggestive, even though they may show the influence of their late authorship. "Samuel (1 Sam. x. 25) told the people the manner of the kingdom and wrote it in a book and laid it up before the Lord." "David (2 Sam. xi. 14, 15) wrote a letter to Joab and sent it by the hand of Uriah." Jezebel wrote letters (1 Kings xxi. 8) in Ahab's name. Jehoram read a letter from the king of Syria, and Jehu (2 Kings v. 5–7) wrote letters to the rulers of Jezreel. In all these cases the Hebrew word used is "Sepher," which comes from a common Semitic root meaning to scrape or scratch. Perhaps in its original meaning it may favor the idea of a tablet cut with some instrument, but the term is later applied to rolls upon which the letters were written with a pen. The same term appears in the famous Kirjath-Sepher, or "Book-town," in which Professor Sayce expects to find the famous Canaanitish library. If the hypothesis of a library is correct it was pre-Israelitish, since there are no indications that it was a repository of Hebrew literature. In the light of the recent finds it would therefore refer to a cuneiform library. Hence with these facts before us there is no valid reason why "Sepher" could not refer to an inscribed cuneiform tablet, and there are positive grounds for believing that originally such was its use. Other references to writing among the Hebrews might be cited, as for example, 2 Chron. ii. 11, which speaks of the correspondence of Hiram of Tyre with Solomon, but it is needless to multiply examples. One reference, however, Judges viii. 14, which seems to belong to an old document, is significant. It tells us that a boy of Succoth, captured by chance, is able to write down the names of the seventy-seven princes and elders of the city. If the Hebrews became masters of the land of Canaan, as appears probable, not only by actual conquest, but also by a process of extensive assimilation with the children of the land, one questions whether the wide knowledge of the cuneiform, betrayed by recent finds, suddenly vanished from off the face of the earth, or whether it is not much more reasonable to hold that it was adopted by the non-original and imitative Hebrews, and thus handed down.

There is no reason for doubting but that there was some historical basis for the many allusions in the different books to writing at an early date in Israel's history. That the script employed was the Phœnician is nowhere postulated, and hence the argument against the existence of a knowledge of writing

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based on the ground that this was not known in Israel before at least 900 B. C., falls completely. If, on the other hand, it is a fact, as a certain German scholar claims he can demonstrate, that the cuneiform continued to be the commercial writing of the Semitic world long after the exile, there is no reason for not supposing that it was known and employed by the Hebrews even after the Phœnician appeared on the field. There are indications that possibly this explains not a few hitherto obscure allusions. One will suffice. To Isaiah (viii. 1) the command comes to announce to his countrymen his message, which itself suggests to the student several familiar Assyrian roots, by writing it upon a tablet with the pen of a man. The word for the tablet, which the prophet is to take, occurs only in this passage. Its primary meaning is something clean, smooth, therefore a polished metal or stone surface. He is not to write with a pen such as was commonly employed in writing the Phœnician script upon papyrus, but he is to use a "Heret," chisel. This word is found elsewhere only in Ex. xxxii. 4, where it is the name of the tool used by Aaron in fashioning the molten calf. This peculiar expression "pen of a man," or, more literally, "chisel of common humanity," evidently does not refer to some particular language or dialect, as it is sometimes explained, but to the kind of script. The tablet and chisel strongly suggest the cuneiform. If the latter was also the earlier and thus known to all, and, further, at this time the script of the business and diplomatic world, the force of this puzzling phrase is at last explained. In characters intelligible to even the common people would then plainly refer to the characters of the Tell el Amarna tablets. The above hypothesis has been suggested by an inductive study of the texts. Whether it be accepted or not the fact remains that during the greater part of Hebrew history the art of writing was not only known but commonly employed.

Unfortunately the probability of finding some of these bits of ancient literature depends not only upon whether there was writing, but also upon the character of the material upon which it was inscribed. It must ever be a source of regret that the Hebrews had neither the plastic clay which exposure to the sun made so durable, nor the soft alabaster of the Assyrians, upon which to inscribe their records. Papyrus (species of which grows wild in Palestine) seems to have been the material in common use. Contrary to the general belief, the use of leather for this purpose appears to have been a late discovery. For immortalizing their thought in monumental form, the land of Canaan contributed only marl, crystalline limestone and basalt, materials neither durable nor easy to work. Of the three the latter is the best, but is not found in Judah at all. The Siloam inscription is cut in hard dolmitic stone, chased with a fine tool and then finished carefully. It is also interesting to know that the Tell el Hesy tablet is not of baked clay, but of a very hard, fine stone of a blackish-brown color. Therefore, in art and for monumental purposes, the Hebrews were limited largely to imported

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materials, precious stones, ivory, bronze and gold. The reference in Deut. xxvii. 2 to the use of stones plastered with plaster as a basis for the inscription both suggests an incised cuneiform text, and indicates that the lack was deeply felt. Exodus xxviii. 9–11 speaks of the use of two onyx stones (on the ephod), upon which the names of the tribes are to be engraved with the engraving of a signet. The term signet reminds one at once of the cartouches from the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates. It is also interesting to note that the verb used in each case is the common Assyrian word (patahu) meaning to dig, to engrave. In the 36th verse of the same chapter, the same kind of engraving is referred to. The material in this case is a plate of pure gold. In this paucity of suitable material is perhaps to be found the explanation of what is practically established as a fact, namely, that the Hebrews did not, like the Egyptians, put inscriptions upon the tombs of their dead.

If on *a priori* grounds the outlook is discouraging, yet there is encouragement in the results which have rewarded the very limited research of the past. If the rude Moabites of the ninth century could rear such a monument as the inscription of king Mesha, the Hebrews, who were, not only in the light of their own records, but also of the Assyrian monuments, on a much higher plane of civilization, must have left behind some lasting literary remains which we shall yet see. Of this the beautifully executed Siloam text is a token. If, further, as we have good reason to believe, the cuneiform was the early script, the possibilities are infinitely multiplied, since this calls for a durable material. As one thinks of the many *tells* of Palestine and of what they may contain, the question involuntarily arises, "How long must we wait?"

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Synopses of Important Articles.

THE HISTORICAL CHRIST AND MODERN CHRISTIANITY. By REV. PROF. A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Thinker*, January 1893.

Two countercries are audible in the religious world at the present time: one is, "back to Christ;" the other, "Christ as we find him in our immediate environment." Of the latter class, those who would make "Christianity independent of history," there are three types: the philosophical, the ecclesiastical, and the pietistic. They all stand in need of supplementing and rectification by a full, wholesome knowledge of the historic Jesus. The late Prof. Green of Oxford is the prominent representative of the philosophical type. The ideas on which he laid stress are valuable; they are truly, if not exclusively, Christian; and they may greatly help men to live good and noble lives. But I think a man who holds these views would be a far better Christian if he did not treat the evangelic history as a superfluous scaffolding after he had by its means built up his system of philosophic ideas. The ecclesiastical type adheres to the church, its institutions and means of grace, as for all practical purposes the sole and sufficient channel through which individual believers attain to Christian faith and life. The church gives us a Christ that is divine, but asserts in a faint, hesitating way that he was also human. But a merely divine Christ cannot do much for us. The moral virtue, as well as the truth, lies in the confession that God is immanent in the well-known and well-beloved man Jesus. There is the ever-present danger, too, that in the Christian church Rabbinism may re-invade the kingdom of heaven. The pietistic type tends toward intense, exaggerated subjectivity. The Christ which such a one craves to dwell in his heart and reign over him, is merely a projection of his undisciplined conscience, which shares and sanctions its errors, prejudices, scruples, and fanaticisms, instead of an objective Christ coming in from without, from the gospel history, to rectify, enlighten, and liberalize the conscience. The historic Christ cannot be superseded by philosophy, by the church, or by Christian experience. The urgent duty of the hour is rather to make the story of the earthly Jesus our religious *vade mecum*.

Prof. Bruce is right. Christianity is neither a philosophic nor an intuitive religion, but a religion essentially historic. It was introduced and established at a definite historical time and place, by a definite, historical individual—Jesus of Nazareth. We have writings which purport to give an authentic account of his person, teaching and work. The first question, then, is one of history. This cannot be set aside or ignored. Are these records trustworthy or are they not? If they are not, we have

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no Christianity, or have no right to have such; nothing remains but a theistic religion. If they are, then the historic Christ is the ultimate authority in every essential element of Christianity. To gain an intimate, realized knowledge of his person, teaching and work becomes the first and supreme duty of everyone, especially of him who would assume to be a leader in religious thought or practice. History takes precedence over speculation, and over religious intuition, as regards matters which have been divinely revealed in history. It is the firm conviction of many that the greatest light and inspiration for individual and organic religious life is to be found in personal contact and intimacy with Jesus Christ and his disciples, as they are set before us in the New Testament writings. C. W. V.

THE EXPEDIENCY OF CHRIST'S DEPARTURE. By Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, in *The Thinker*, January 1893.

Luke xxvi. 29 and John xvi. 7–11 may be put together, not as being historically connected, but as presenting two sides of a great problem, its difficulty and its solution. The disciples wanted an outward guide, a visible companion, but Christ tells them that his departure is expedient for them. He is not here insisting on the necessity of his death, or of his ascension. It is not the manner of his departure, but the fact of it. The thesis of the passage from John is the need of invisibility to perfect communion with Christ. There are three aspects in which the reign of the invisible spirit will aid the communion of his disciples. We should have said that the visible Christ would best convict of sin, of righteousness and of judgment. Not so Christ. To take the statements one by one: He shall convict the world of sin; *i. e.*, that sin consists, not in the thing we do, but in the ideal we believe in. As long as right and wrong are matters of positive law, they are held to lie in the commission of positive acts. But when the visible tribunal is withdrawn, and man is thrown back on the instincts of his spiritual life, he can no longer label acts as good and bad. What is good to-day may be bad to-morrow. It becomes a question of motives, not of outward actions. The tendency of all visible tribunals is to emphasize the outward act. It was so in the law of Moses. The man under the Old Testament thought not so much of sin as of sins. The outward standard must be removed, the legal tribunal veiled, and man forced to the ideal standard within himself. And this could only be done as Christ withdrew from visible presence.

The inward adviser shall convince the world of righteousness, "because I go to my Father and ye see me no more." The relation of Christ to his disciples had been that of a master, and all their service had been performed under his own eyes. The only real test of fidelity could be in the withdrawal of his presence, and in thus leaving their service to the integrity of their own consciences. The submission to the authority of an invisible spirit will prove to all men that there is an intrinsic majesty in moral truth. Historically it has done so. The greatest testimony to the power of holiness is its continuance in the absence of any outward tribunal.

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The adviser shall convince the world of "judgment, because the prince of this world is judged." Man is driven into the recesses of his spiritual life, and sin is now first judged in its citadel. Before, it had only been judged in its outworks. The judgment had been that of immediate penalty. But the true judgment of conscience is only seen when sin does not involve calamity. If, when place and power seem to belong to wrong, and holiness to bring no worldly good, there comes into the mind of one a sense of moral pain, a judgment of right, then the judgment of God is proved to be a real thing. But these advantages bring pain and sorrow. Yes, but pain is a revelation. It reveals life in the organism which suffers it. It looks forward to joy. Only in the sharp pain of coming face to face with his inward ideals, could man be lifted to a higher life. It was expedient for him that Christ should go away.

The article is clear and striking. The idea which underlies it is one which needs emphasis in our Christian thought. It is that the Holy Spirit is no charm or talisman, acting without law or reason, causeless in the moral world. That is not what the symbol of the wind as applied to the Spirit means. But is the connection which is made in this passage correct? We think that the expediency of Christ's departure has reference to the coming of the Spirit, and not to his work after he has come. The connection between the first and the last parts of the passage does not seem to be so close as is here made. I. F. W.

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Notes and Opinions.

On the New Testament Conception of "Possession."—Professor Shürer, of Univer. of Kiel, has a few words to say on this interesting but perplexing topic in the *Jahrbuch für Protestantische Theologie*, and presents an argument to show that two different conceptions of the phenomenon are found in the sources of our synoptic gospels. In Mark he finds by an analysis of the different miracles of healing that only mental diseases, such as madness or epilepsy, are considered the result of demoniac "possession," and that a distinction is made between these and other forms of disease miraculously healed.

On the other hand, in a source used in common by the first and third evangelists in the composition of their gospels, demoniac possession is regarded as the cause of other diseases as well as psychical. In Luke xi. 14, and its two parallels in Matthew, there is dumbness as well as possession, while the affliction of the woman in Luke xiii. 10-17 is regarded as due to Satanic influence. That this divergent view belongs not to the two evangelists individually, but to their common earlier source, seems to be shown by their adherence in passages peculiar to themselves to the distinction drawn by Mark.

The Epistles of Paul Paraphrased.—The Iliff School of Theology, located in Denver, Colo., is issuing as a monthly periodical *Studies in St. Paul's Epistles*, edited by Bishop H. W. Warren, D.D. The first number contains a treatment of the first epistle to the Thessalonians, by Prof. Wilbur F. Steele. A brief introduction to the epistle is followed by a free paraphrase, into which an analysis is woven and parenthetical notes are interjected. The paraphrase is very bold, made striking sometimes by the use of modern terms not usually included in the religious vocabulary, sometimes by words which have some linguistic relationship to the Greek word used by Paul. The aim of this little publication is most admirable. A translation of the letters of Paul into thoroughly modern English untrammeled by any previous version would be of great value. The task is, however, a difficult one. The present attempt will, it is to be hoped, encourage other similar attempts; it will hardly exclude the necessity for them. The following sentences illustrate its strength and its weakness:

"But we, brethren, like, as Æschylus has it, a young eaglet torn from its mother, orphaned, bereaved in our separation from you for the space of an hour, that is separation in face, not in heart,—we to the utmost exerted ourselves your face to see with great yearning. On which account we were moved to come unto you, I, that is, Paul, both on one occasion and twice. but chopped in upon us Satan."

E. D. B.

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The Parable of the Unjust Steward. (Luke xvi. 1–13).—Wm. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, expounds this parable in the January *Expositor*. The lesson of the parable is a caution against that shrewd and yet unscrupulous spirit which seeks self-interest at the cost of truth and principle. The difficult words, "Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail (or when it shall fail), they may receive you into everlasting habitations," are ironical. The policy which the faithless steward adopted did answer. He secured the open doors of welcome of the tenants; but such dextrous policy can never win open doors in the everlasting habitations. The experience of Judas illustrates this parable, and is a lesson against endeavoring to win on both sides, on the spiritual and on the temporal. "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."

Judaism and Higher Criticism.—Rabbi Joseph Strauss, Ph.D., writes on the above subject in the *Expository Times* for January. Criticism of the Scripture, he tells us, is nothing new to Judaism. By virtue of its fundamental principles of religion and morality it is strong enough to survive ephemeral attacks. Philo, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher of the first century A. D., treats many passages of the Bible allegorically or parabolically. In the Talmud (300 B. C.—600 A. D.) critical views concerning the authorship of certain passages and books of Scripture are uttered with a boldness that would even astonish modern critics. In the treaties of Bawbhaw Bathraw several pages are devoted to the discussion regarding the authorship of some passages and books of the Bible. One rabbi asserts that the last eight verses of the Pentateuch, which report the death of Moses, cannot have been written by Moses himself but by Joshua. Another doctor, speaking of Job, makes the daring assertion, "Job never lived, nor was he created," but the book is a parable, a poem invented by a poetic mind. Of Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes, it is asserted that they were written by men of the great synagogue, which actually brings these books down to the time of the Maccabees.

Ibn Ezra (1088–1167) doubts the Mosaic authorship of Gen. xii. 6 and xxxvi. 31–43 and other passages. Maimonides (1135–1204) and Spinoza (1632–1677) and Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) may be quoted as instances and proofs that with the acceptance of the results of honest criticism it is not only possible to keep within the fold of Judaism, but that it is the duty of a Jew to "investigate well" and to "prove all things and to hold fast what is good."

The Revised Version in Australia.—In the January *Expository Times* is an interesting letter from the Bishop of Ballarat regarding the use of the revised version in his own diocese in Australia. The Bishop recently publicly advised the reading of the lessons in the church service from the Revised Version. The suggestion was approved by the diocesan assembly and followed by fourteen or more of the sixty parishes. In this action the Bishop of Ballarat stands alone among the bishops of Australia. His next neighbor, the Bishop of Mel-

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bourne, has given publicly the opposite advice, arguing that the original text was still uncertain; that the Bible Society had not accepted, nor the church of England formally indorsed the Revision. The bishop writes: "Nearly ten years of study of my 'parallel Bible' has forced on me the conviction that the unrevised Authorized Version is so full of small mistakes and so discreditably wrong in some important details that it is contrary to duty to encourage its use where a corrected (albeit not perfect) form of it is available." He asserts that rhythm is valueless when purchased, as often in the authorized version, at the expense of fidelity, but concedes that the revision is the less idiomatic in some passages, remarking that in a few passages it seems forgotten that, after all, aorists are made for man and not *vice versa*. The more I study both, the less do such defects as cling to the Revised Version disturb me, and the more unbearable do the blunders of the Authorized Version become; and the cumulative effect on my estimate of the former produced by its multitudinous emendations of the latter is overwhelming." The writer believes, with the Bishop of Durham, that the revised version will displace the Authorized version by degrees, as the authorized version did the "Great" and Genevan Bible. T. H. R.

The Synoptic Problem is discussed at some length by Professor Hilgenfeld in the first number of the thirty-sixth volume of the *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaftliche Theologie*. He gives a critique of the latest presentation of the "two sources" theory, that of Weizsäcker in the last edition of his "Apostolic Age," adding also a shorter discussion of the position of Feine. Feine's hypothesis of the modification of the original "Logia" source in an Ebionitic and ascetic direction before its incorporation into the third gospel has been adopted and applied in the eighth edition of Meyer's Commentary on Luke, which appeared last year from the hands of Professor Johannes Weiss, son of the well known Berlin scholar.

Other investigations of Hilgenfeld in the same periodical during the past year have covered some of the gospel chronology (cf. The times of the birth, life and passion of Jesus according to Hippolytus [xxxv. 3]; the time of the life of Jesus in Hippolytus [xxxvi. 1]; and on Sulpicius Quirinius [xxxvi. 2]); while four articles [xxxv. 3, 4, xxxvi. 2, 3] have discussed the Epistle to the Romans.

A valuable article in the line of text history and criticism is by Dr. Stark, of Berlin, in the same periodical [xxxv. 4, xxxvi. 1], entitled "The Old Testament Quotationsin the Writers of the New Testament." It deals not only with quotations found in the gospels, but compares them in full with the different texts of the LXX with a view to ascertaining their relation to the latter. He finds that in the different MSS. they exhibit, to an astonishing extent, the same variant readings as the LXX, and among the texts of the latter, especially the Alexandrinus. Finally he suggests the question whether these New Testament quotations have obtained their form from the LXX, or whether perhaps not rather *vice versa*. L. B., Jr.

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Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR HOLTZMANN has recently undertaken the management of the valuable literary review the "*Theologischer Jahresbericht*," a post left vacant by the death of Professor R. A. Lipsius.

AMONG the new works along New Testament lines promised in the near future is a New Testament Introduction by the well-known commentator Frédéric Godet, professor in Neuchâtel.

It will be interesting to compare this work of the stanch defender of conservative views with the latest product of the German school of criticism, *i. e.*, Professor Holtzmann's Introduction to the New Testament, which appeared in its third edition only last summer.

THE eminent textual scholar Paul de Lagarde, who died somewhat more than a year ago, bequeathed his property to the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen, as a fund to advance the publication of scholarly works along the line which Lagarde himself had planned. A number of his friends and admirers are now proposing the establishment of an additional fund as a fitting memorial of the great scholar. The purpose of this latter fund, which is under the care of Professor Dr. G. Hoffman, of University of Kiel, is the support of scholars whose time will be devoted to the preparation of those works for whose publication Lagarde himself has provided.

ON the 9th of January occurred in Zürich the death of the aged New Testament scholar Volkmar, at the close of his eighty-fourth year. As a young man he taught for seventeen years in various German gymnasia, but in 1850, compelled for political reasons to leave Germany, he took a professorship at Zürich, where he has since been. While some of his publications were in the province of church history, he was also known for his studies in the apocalyptic and apocryphal literature and the synoptic problem. Only in the latter direction, however, has his work found favor among more recent critics. In general, the eccentricities of his scholarship detracted much from the value and acceptation of his results. He was in the main a supporter of the Tübingen school.

IT is announced that a new introduction to the Old Testament from the hands of Professor König in Rostock will soon be published by Weber in Bonn. It will form one of the "*Sammlung Theologischer Handbücher*," to which a number of well-known German scholars are contributing. The forthcoming introduction is intended to replace the old and still useful work by DeWette-Schrader, as well as Keil's, and will contain, besides the ordinary

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topics, a treatment of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. If the coming handbooks in this series equal the standard set by Müller's Church History, the first part of which has appeared, and with the expected excellence of the History of Dogma, which is in the hands of Professor Harnack, it will prove a very valuable series.

OF the many literary and historical problems presented by the recently discovered Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter, of which a notice has already appeared in the BIBLICAL WORLD, the most interesting to Biblical students is their relation to our New Testament gospels. And yet this relationship, as it would seem from the varying opinions of investigators, is not so clear as to be unmistakable. English scholars are inclined to assume that references can be found to all four Gospels, while Robinson finds proof of the writer's knowledge of still another besides the canonical. Harnack*, however, doubts whether a distinct use of any one of the four can be surely pointed out. Lods, in his Paris edition of the fragments, considers the use of Matthew and Mark as undoubted, of Luke as uncertain, and of John as improbable. Professor Schürer, in his review of the above, † concludes that a knowledge of all four is probable.

Other interesting points are: 1. The placing of the crucifixion of Christ on either the 13th or 14th of Nisan, thus agreeing with John rather than the synoptical tradition. 2. The reference to the descent into Hades. 3. The coincidence of the resurrection and ascension, and the lack of any account of subsequent appearances of the risen Lord until after the passover-week. (The narrative breaks off just about as the first appearance of Christ to the disciples in Galilee is apparently to be related). 4. The close connection of the Apocalypse and the Second Epistle of Peter, although, which depends upon the other, remains an unanswered question.

It may be interesting to add in this connection that the third fragment of the find — the portion of the Book of Enoch — has been textually revised and published by Professor Dillmann, who compares it carefully with his long published Aethiopic version. L. B., Jr.

DILLMAN'S Genesis has been recently published in a sixth edition, and his Job in a fourth edition.

A COMPLETE survey of Palestinian literature of 1889 and 1890 is contained in a late number of *Die Zeitschrift des Deutchen Palästina-Vereins*. It contains discussions of 580 books and articles published in Europe and America.

* *Bruchstücke d. Evangeliums und d. Apokalypse d. Petrus. Texte ev. Untersuchungen* IX. 2.

† *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1893, No. 2.

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THE chair of Semitic philology at Tübingen has been vacant since the departure of Professor Socin to Leipzig. Dr. Nestle, who is well known for his work in Syriac, has been filling the place, and is to do so for another term. It is said that he will probably be called permanently to the chair.

A SECOND Latin text of the apocryphal Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians has been discovered. The text was found in Laon, and has been brought to Bonn. It came originally from the cloister St. Vincent. Its date is the thirteenth century. The value of this second copy is great in settling the questions of the correct text of this letter.

THE idea of summer schools is being put into practice on the other side of the Atlantic. The school at Oxford is well known to our readers. Perhaps not so familiar are those which were held in Germany last summer. The protestants held one at Bonn, designed especially for the clergy. Some of the Biblical lectures have since been published. The Catholic school was held at Gladbach, and dealt largely with the sociological questions of the day.

THE library of Professor Lipsius, of Jena, lately deceased, contains probably the largest collection of theological journals in existence. This collection was largely made through his editorship of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*. In accord with his wish, the collection will be sold as a whole.

THE *Magazine of Christian Literature* has been united with *The Thinker*. The union seems to be made by the addition to the English magazine, *The Thinker*, of twenty-four pages of matter, containing book reviews, current literature, etc.

THE winter meeting of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research was held January 21. Papers were presented by Professor R. F. Weidner, on the prophetic gift; M. S. Terry, inspired fiction; and G. H. Gilbert, woman's place in the churches of Paul. The plea made by Professor Terry was for the admission of the possibility of the use of fiction in the Bible, as a vehicle of religious teaching. We have it in the parables of Christ, why then may we not have entire books which are fictional? Not that we are to jump to the conclusion that every book whose difficulties may perplex us is therefore fiction, but if scholarship should satisfactorily show a fictional element in any book, we need not be widely alarmed. It may be that neither its canonicity nor its religious value is thereby affected.

AMID all the different phases which Bible study is taking on in these days, none is like to be of wider interest than that of the literary aspect of the Bible. Bible literature is a phrase that is much used in these days, but the Bible as literature has hardly yet entered the popular conception. It is, then, a matter of importance that one of the courses in the Extension Department of the University of Chicago for which there is the most call, is a course on the Literary Study of the Bible, by Professor R. G. Moulton. The aim

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of the course is to apply literary canons to the Bible, and to show the help to its understanding which comes from such an application. The syllabus published with it is a little manual, with abundant illustration and a wider scope of topic than can be crowded into a short course of lectures. In connection with this subject, we note a book recently published by Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale, on the Bible and English Prose Style. This matter is one which has received tribute in the form of brilliant sentences from more than one master of English style, but that it should be put in form for popular, systematic study is a hopeful sign. We have faith enough in the inherent force of religious truth to believe that if the Bible is once comprehended as human literature, its divine element will not remain long unnoticed or unacknowledged.

In another place we publish an estimate of Dr. Hort as a teacher. It is interesting to compare with that an estimate of Dr. Baur in the same capacity, by Dr. Seyerlin, who studied under him. Now that the Christian world no longer stands in fear of Baur as an enemy of the faith, that the distinctive features of the Tübingin school of New Testament criticism are a matter of history and no longer of bitter controversy, it is well to see what were the characteristics of its leader, and wherein his power over the students lay. His lectures were not mere extracts from his books, but freshly written, receiving constant additions of material and constant changes of thought, as he gained what he thought to be new light on points. They bore the fruit of the latest and ripest learing, and yet were fitted to the comprehension of the beginner. His thought was always clear, keen, vigorous. He did not hesitate, as German professors do not, to carry the controversy of the world outside into his classes. The great thing which attracted his pupils to the study of his subjects, was the incisive way in which he was able to summarize and characterize the spirit of the periods of history under consideration. He made large demands on the diligence of his pupils. He was a ready councillor and true friend to all earnest students, and his chief aim was to train them to independence of thought. His one purpose lay in his studies. He did not trouble himself with questions which might lie outside them. He cared nothing for popularity, and never aimed to make a sensation. He disdained to form a school. This lay outside his nature, and would have been impossible for him. The school sprang up out of attachment to him and his views, entirely spontaneously. His personality had much to do with this, his inclination, nothing. L. E. W.

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Book Reviews.

Dissertations on the Apostolic Age. Reprinted from Editions of St. Paul's Epistles. By the late J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co., 1892. pp. 435.

The five dissertations reprinted in this volume possess an independent value, and are re-issued in this form in the hope that they may reach a larger number of general readers. The topics discussed are, "The Brethren of the Lord," "St. Paul and the Three," "The Christian Ministry," "St. Paul and Seneca," and "The Essenes." The only additions are full indexes of subjects and passages, and a few pages of supplementary notes to the essay on "The Christian Ministry." In this the main position held by the church of England, "that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's church, bishops, priests and deacons," is reaffirmed, and certain misapprehensions corrected. The dissertations have been so long before the public, and are so well-known, as to need no extended critical notice. Many whose studies do not lead them to a use of Bishop Lightfoot's invaluable commentaries will, nevertheless, be glad to possess these models of careful and critical scholarship in a separate form. P. A. N.

A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel. By A. A. BEVAN, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. New York: MacMillan & Co., 1892. Pp. XIII. and 235. $1.75.

The author states in the preface that this volume is intended "to assist those who are entering upon the study of the language and text of the Book of Daniel." He does not claim to present much that is new, but attempts to bring together into a small compass material valuable for the understanding of this book. In his "Prolegomena" he discusses briefly the text and the oldest versions, ancient and mediæval interpreters, and modern interpreters; the origin and purpose of the book, its linguistic character, and the Septuagint version,

Mr. Bevan disposes of a large amount of material in this introduction, but is not sufficiently careful in his statements. On p. 16 he finds a difficulty where none occurs; Nebuchadrezzer made his *first trip* to Palestine before he became actual king on the throne of Babylon, the years of Dan. i. 1. agreeing exactly with the statements of Jer. xxv. 1. On p. 18, it seems evident to his mind that Belshazzar is represented in Daniel as supreme ruler, "which certainly does not agree with the theory [it is no theory, but a fact] that his father was still alive and at the head of the state." On p. 40 are examples of statements which the author would not have made if he had

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been sufficiently acquainted with Babylonian. In speaking of the existence of Greek words in Daniel, he says: "In order to reconcile this fact with the theory of the antiquity of the book, it has been maintained that the names of the musical instruments . . . may have been borrowed from the Greeks by the Babylonians as early as the 6th century B. C. Such a supposition, if not absolutely impossible, is at least extremely precarious, and wholly unsupported by the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions." Does the author entirely ignore the fact that for at least 1,000 years before the date assigned to Daniel there was lively commercial intercourse between all the great nations of western Asia, northern Africa and Europe? Such statements as the above are injudicious and misleading, and are, I am sorry to say, too frequent in the pages of the book. He locates the composition of Daniel, as does the school which he follows, in the Maccabæan period. His arguments are substantially those of his party. His linguistic and historical notes reveal little that is new, but give us a good compilation of all that tends to substantiate his position. His interpretation of the book accords with his views of its date. One is somewhat surprised constantly to find the author speaking *ex cathedra* on points which are extremely doubtful. Mr. Bevan should carefully revise and tone down many of his statements before another edition. Some special work in the line of Babylonian literature and history would add vastly to the usefulness of his book, As it is, it will serve a good purpose, but must be used with caution. It is supplied with valuable indexes of Scripture texts and Aramaic words. PRICE.

Amos: An Essay in Exegesis. By H. G. MITCHELL, Professor in Boston University. Boston: N. J. Bartlett & Co. Pp. 209.

By German, as well as English commentators, the prophecy of Amos has been singularly neglected. The Cambridge Bible series, which is now nearly complete in the department of prophecy, has not yet given us a volume on this important book. Professor Mitchell tells us in his preface that his essay in exegesis is intended especially for use in schools of theology, but he has so carefully limited the critical notes that one cannot but feel that he has fallen a little below his aim, and hit rather the great public of Bible students who are interested in all things scriptural, but do not have the time for original investigation. The book is popular throughout, and well calculated to present in attractive form the general results of scholarship in the study of Amos. Of the deeper questions of the prophecy—textual, critical and theological—some are ignored, some raised, none treated exhaustively. But at the present day there is a growing demand for this type of book. The author's plan in accomplishing his task is one which is commending itself more and more to Bible students as the only true and scientific method of studying prophecy. He first introduces us to the surroundings and times of the prophet, then he

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endeavors to make clear what he wished to teach, and finally to study him in his relations to other Old Testament authors.

In the introductory studies the reader learns to know the simple, rugged, fearless prophet of Tekoa in his home, and becomes familiar with some of the social and religious problems that weighed upon his heart. The analysis of the material is especially felicitous. In the body of the book, under the head of "Translation and Comments," it may well be questioned whether the author has not made two grave mistakes. The first is one of form. Instead of putting the translation and accompanying notes on the same page, he compels the reader to continually turn from the one to the other. Further, the notes, while suggestive, often explain what is clear to all, except perhaps the most primary student. Not a little material, in itself interesting, but somewhat foreign to the understanding of the text, is introduced, with the unfortunate result that the comments alone occupy one hundred and twenty-five pages.

The spirit manifested in the chapter on Amos and the Hexateuch is fair and open to the testimony of facts. That the Deuteronomist was influenced by Amos rather than Amos by the former is established. His thesis that it is no longer admissible to suppose that Amos derived his material from tradition can hardly be said to be proved. From this he infers that JE was in existence and known to the prophet. The conclusion is drawn from an inductive study of the passages throwing light upon the prophet's conceptions of God, that he had attained to a purely monotheistical position.

The relative age of Joel, Obediah and Amos is treated at some length. The author frankly professes a preference for the early date of Joel, but he arrives at absolutely no conclusion as the result of his study. Unfortunately the social philosophy, which is one of the central questions of the prophecy, and which is most interesting in the light of to-day, is scarcely noticed. If Professor Mitchell does not exhaust the subject, neither does he the reader, for no one can read the book without receiving suggestions, and, for the student taking up Amos for the first time, it is a most valuable aid.

C. F. K.

Christian Scriptures: comprising the greater portion of the Books of the New Testament. Part III. of *Scriptures Hebrew and Christian*, arranged and edited as an introduction to the study of the Bible. By E. T. BARTLETT, D.D., and Professor J. P. PETERS, PH.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893. Pp. xii. × 601. $2.00.

Amid changing interpretations of the Bible, said Dr. Jowett, our aim should be, not to add another, but to recover the original one; that is, to regain the meaning of the words as they first struck on the ears and flashed before the eyes of those who heard and read them. Such is the purpose of the editor of this volume, Dean E. T. Bartlett, D.D., of the Protestant

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Divinity School in Philadelphia. The "young readers," for whom it professes to be especially prepared, may be interpreted to mean, not those young in years, but those young in historic and systematic knowledge of the Bible, a class from which very few can claim exemption. Three grand principles are held in view: (1) the sacredness of the Book; (2) the idea that everyone, in his first introduction to the Scriptures, should be led as soon as possible to the true point of view regarding them, that he may be saved from the need later of unlearning; (3) the Bible must be read historically if we would reach down into the depths of its meaning.

The volume contains the whole New Testament, with the exception of Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Revelation iv.–xx., which are omitted because too difficult or too brief for the treatment herein designed. The books are arranged in chronological order, Mark being placed first. James and 1 Peter are made to precede all the Pauline epistles, Revelation is put at 68 A.D., and all the other Johannine writings at the end of the century. There is a discussion of each group of writings, and an introduction preceding each book. These are concise, scholarly, clear and informing. Each book is carefully analyzed, the headings appearing in their proper places through the material. The text is treated by sections, so that verse and chapter numbers appear only at the top of the page. Old Testament quotations are printed in italics, a complete list of which is given at the end of the book.

The translation is based upon the Revision Version, with especial use and commendation of the readings of the American Committee, and, except in three passages, the Greek text of Westcott and Hort is followed. The aim has been to clear up all difficulties and obscurities by simple and lucid renderings into English. This is accomplished in the text, without the assistance of foot-notes, or appended notes, and the work is admirably done. One may turn to a score of obscure passages, by way of testing, and find the meaning made plain. Of course, this necessitated a choice on the part of the editor between the various readings given such passages, but he has generally taken that which stands approved by the best modern scholars. Some of the difficulties, however, are not removed, *e. g.*, Matt. xvi. 18; Luke ix. 57–62. And others are, I believe, wrongly construed, *e. g.*, John ii. 4, "Woman, what wilt thou have me to do?"; Acts xiii. 8, "He had suffered their manners."

Granting that it is desirable to break up and surround the text of Scripture with analyses and historical information, a matter concerning which there may still be difference of opinion, this volume presents such an arrangement, worked out with skill, ability and wisdom. It will serve him well who wishes to read with historical intelligence the books of the New Testament, and will at the same time prove an inspiration to further study. C. W. V.

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Current Literature.

By CLYDE W. VOTAW, A.M., B.D.

The University of Chicago.

OLD TESTAMENT.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME I. APRIL, 1893 NUMBER 4

IN our study of the spiritual element in the Bible we touch the central source and secret of its amazing power. The historical background is important to such a degree that its study, in the light of recent exploration and discovery, has in many instances almost revolutionized our conception of the author and his book. The Gospels are no longer suspended in the air. The stndy of the land where the Saviour wrought and taught, of the people with whom he mingled, of their customs, habits, and peculiarities, as perpetuated among their descendants to-day, has given the world a "fifth gospel" outside of the Bible. The prophets have stepped out from an obscure part as living men endowed with intense and lofty personality. They are revealed not only as inspired reformers whose clarion voices summon their people to repentance and faith, but as unselfish patriots, as judicious and clear-sighted statesmen, whose divine mission and native sagacity thrust them as central and conspicuous figures into the complicated and turbulent politics of their day. Moreover the spirit of a living criticism has breathed upon the dry bones of their prophecies, and, lo, the disjointed and scattered fragments have come together, bone to his bone, form and beauty have clothed them, and again they glow and pulsate with their pristine life. Even in the case of the Apocalypse, that most mysterious and perplexing among the canonical books, whose writer seems at first sight to be wholly out of touch with his own age, and to be projecting his visions into an illimitable future, one thing is clear; whatever significance his message has for us, or for nations yet unborn, his oracles took shape and color from the

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momentous conflicts and perils of his own age, and were addressed first of all (and perhaps altogether in the seer's own thought) to the men with whom he stood face to face, and this fact gives at least a firm starting point for their interpretation. The service thus rendered by historical criticism in revivifying these obscure writings has been inestimable. But when the utmost shall have been accomplished in this direction, criticism will only have constructed a firmer historical background for the spiritual element in the foreground.

LITERARY criticism has a function in Bible study as great, if not greater, than historical criticism. Problems of authorship, date and purpose must be considered. Each book must be interpreted as far as possible from the point of view of its writer. Distinctive types of style, such as history, legislation, poetry, doctrine are to be noted, the exact sense of words and phrases to be ascertained, and grammatical peculiarities to be explained. This, however, is only a preparation for a higher appreciation of a book as literature. We are charmed by the idyllic simplicity and freshness of the early Hebrew traditions, by the kingly dignity and power of the Davidic psalms, and by the practical philosophy and good sense of the wisdom literature. Paul grasps us by the might of his intellect, and we are swept along on the resistless current of his reasonings. We endeavor to sound the lucid depths of the Johannean writings, and the plummet at once floats in an abyss. From a purely literary point of view, what writer of ancient times more richly rewards a close and sympathetic study than Isaiah? He is *facile princeps* among the prophets, but his greatness here is fully paralleled by his greatness in the world of literature. However long one may be tempted to linger in admiration over the beauty of his style, the transparency and simplicity of his thought, the strength and purity of his emotion, the uniform majesty of his language, the grandeur of his poetic imagery, the amazing sweep of his prophetic vision, and the variety and energy of his eloquence, these are only the decorations of the outer court through which one passes into the inner sanctuary of the spirit. When Isaiah writes he is not bent

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on making an immortal contribution to the world's literature. He is as unconscious of the exquisite felicities of his style and the majestic strength of his diction, as the water bubbling up from a mountain spring is unconscious of its sparkling purity. As it flows forth because it cannot do otherwise, so the prophet is driven by an inward impulse to communicate his message—the divine word that surges in his soul with a power as irresistible as that of the tides. The rhetorical garment in which the message clothes itself occasions him the smallest possible solicitude. The message itself, the word of Jehovah, the eternal spiritual truth is everything. What is thus true of Isaiah is true in corresponding measure of every other inspired writer. In these days when men are so often dazzled by the brilliant results of historical criticism, and when sacred literature is studied so largely simply as literature, the temptation to rest here becomes very strong, as though these things were ends in themselves rather than means to a higher end. He who misses the spiritual element in the Bible misses its heart and essence. To him its living personalities become only interesting figures in a great historical movement; its lofty poetic strains only as "a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument." Historical and literary criticism are of inestimable worth when tributary to a fuller and more sympathetic apprehension of the spiritual contents of the Bible. Otherwise they are as the chaff to the wheat.

SINGULARLY enough, historical and literary criticism which should have been conspicuous helps for strengthening of faith in the Bible, have become among the most potent means for disturbing it. In the hands of those who are inimical to revealed truth, and desirous of eliminating from the Bible every supernatural element for the purpose of destroying its claims to a divine origin, these critical instruments have been employed with alarming efficacy in disintegrating certain prevailing orthodox conceptions of the Scriptures. The success has not been so signal as a hostile criticism has been forward in proclaiming. Illogical and confused ideas have been forced to the wall, indeed. *A priori* dicta

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as to the divine method employed in producing an inspired literature, like similar dicta in respect to the creation of the world, have been abandoned as untenable in view of the incontrovertible facts hurled at them by the critics. Again and again the church has been forced to modify her traditional formulas, until to-day there seems scarcely any solid ground left to stand on. Many are trembling for the ark of God, as though it were on the point of falling wholly into the hands of the Philistines. That this result will not follow is quite certain. The more thoroughly the old *theories* are shaken, the more clearly does the *fact* of inspiration impress itself on every candid investigator. Even a poem like the Song of Solomon, which only the most perverse and despotic traditionalism can twist into an allegory representing Christ and the Church, instead of a simple oriental love-song, exhibits to the fair-minded reader a theme and an occasion abundantly worthy of being illuminated by inspiration. Theories, interpretations, creeds and formulas, so venerable and decrepit as almost to be themselves regarded as inspired, are fast crumbling into dust. They are only human scaffoldings that the storm will sweep away. By and by men will rejoice when they see the temple of truth stand out against the horizon in fairer outlines. They lament now only because they mistake the scaffoldings for the temple itself. So it will come to pass that these agencies of historical and literary criticism, now regarded with sore misgivings, will turn out after all to be God's harbingers of a brighter dawn, of a larger and truer conception of the nature and purpose of His revelation. The revelation itself will be more clearly apprehended, because the literature which embodies it is better understood. Through doubts, fears, and crises, God leads His people into a larger faith.

THIS revelation, which is identical with the spiritual element in the Bible, converges in the person of Jesus Christ, and again radiates into the world of error and sin. He is the true Light which shineth in the darkness, and "which lighteth every man coming into the world." No study of the Bible is worth the name unless it promotes a better knowledge of him, and leads

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the heart and will into loving submission to him. Time and again a hostile criticism has audaciously announced that it has resolved the Light of the World into the light of common day. But the light only shines with greater and steadier radiance as the centuries roll away. The historic Christ remains the central figure in the world's history. However men may hate him or oppose him, they are coming more and more to recognize in him the possible solution of their desperate problems. Men who are groping their way out of the darkness, whose lives have been embittered by the inequalities of life, who have conceived of the Church as leagued with their oppressors, and of her ministers as hirelings of the rich, are looking behind ministers and churches to the Master himself, and announcing that they discover in him the great friend of humanity, whose teachings when rescued from the accretions of a speculative theology and given a chance to operate in society, will introduce the long-looked-for day of social deliverance and human rights.

Christianity itself seems to be in a transition stage toward a more spiritual and living apprehension of the teachings of its Founder. There was a time when orthodox religion consisted chiefly in external conformity to a ritualistic worship. Then came a period of intellectual development, when doctrine was predominantly emphasized, and when salvation was primarily conditioned by dogmatic orthodoxy. This was the period of endless multiplication of sects and creeds. There is a third and final stage, that in which the chief emphasis is laid on a personal participation in the life of the Son of God. These stages may be characterized by the words, doing, believing, being. They do not supersede each other. Each higher takes up into itself the lower. The life and freedom of the spirit result in right living and correct thinking. We see, then, how the ultimate goal of all Bible study is the spiritual element in the book; how this spiritual element converges in Jesus Christ; and how the essence of Christianity, which consists in a personal participation in the divine life revealed and communicated by Christ, culminates in a worship wherein "the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth."

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THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE ROYAL PROPHET ISAIAH.

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Social science came into existence as soon as problems arose in society, and thoughtful men began to suggest plans for their solution. The name alone is the contribution of modern thought. As the history of the Hebrew state unfolded, it revealed evils which, at certain periods, were most threatening. Fortunately, within that commonwealth, there were great national teachers, untrammeled by fear of authority or public opinion, who studied deeply these questions, and then essayed to answer them. The questions present a remarkable analogy to those which are agitating society to-day. The position and the conclusions of those inspired thinkers, the prophets, in addition to the new interest which they possess, simply from a historical standpoint, are of vital importance in the development of a practical social philosophy for the needs of the present. Even if it be denied that they enjoyed an especial degree of spiritual enlightenment, yet there are obvious reasons why they were peculiarly fitted to be our teachers. As one studies their work it becomes patent that they were instructors of the nation and not of individuals. On the social organization, as a whole, their attention was ever fixed. Society was not as complicated as at present and therefore they could study it with greater ease and certainty. More significant still, is the fact that they were elevated, by virtue of their calling, above party strife and prejudices, and were actuated solely by the earnest desire for the attainment of absolute truth—the will of Jehovah.

In an earlier article[1] the socialistic ideas of the prophet Amos were considered. Later study along the same lines has made

[1] Old and New Test. Student, June, 1892.

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it evident that the sermons of the royal prophet Isaiah contain no small measure of the same socialistic element.

Of the social development of Judah during the years immediately following the disruption, little is known, probably because there was little to be known. The tendencies manifested in Solomon's policy, which threatened to revolutionize the internal state of the kingdom, and to turn it into an oriental despotism, were checked abruptly and effectually by the supreme act of separation. This left Judah a little principality of a few thousand square miles, crippled in resources, and forced for a few decades to wage a doubtful war of defence against its far stronger northern rival. Even when its political independence was assured, it had little to hope for beyond mere existence as a petty state, overshadowed by Northern Israel, and protected from foreign conquest by its insignificance and seclusion. A loose over-lordship maintained with great difficulty over the wild Edomites, brought to the Judeans little wealth or influence from without. Within, only the products absolutely necessary for a simple existence could be expected from their narrow valleys and bare limestone hills, capable at best of supporting only a sparse population. Once when under Amaziah they did aspire to conquest a crushing defeat left them the "fallen hut," referred to by Amos. In the light of these facts we can, with practical certainty, picture their social life as being of the simplest. They were a nation of husbandmen and shepherds with a royal shepherd at their head. While, as we know, the religious life of the nation was not all that it might be, yet the conditions were conducive to a liberal measure of justice and social equality. This view of the past is reflected in the retrospective glances of later prophets. With Amos and Micah the ideal future is this past restored.

But with the reign of Uzziah came a marked change. While Jeroboam II was pushing his conquests and paving the way for the era of prosperity in Northern Israel, in only a lesser degree, Judah was advancing to wealth and power. Already Amaziah had captured Sela which commanded the trade with South Arabia. Uzziah extended the boundaries and became master of

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the port of Elath on the Red Sea, which was the key to the trade with India. The old foes, the Philistines, were subdued, and the Ammonites and Arab tribes awed. Not only without, but within was Judah's might established. The glowing picture in Chronicles is substantiated by the allusions in contemporary and later prophets (Cf. i. 1; Hos. viii. 14; Isa. ii. 7; Mic. i. 13; v. 10;). Fortresses and strong cities were established, and a standing army was organized and equipped. Conquest and commerce brought in unwonted wealth. As in Northern Israel, these proved but heralds of a rapid and sweeping transformation in the social organization. Suddenly acquired riches are dangerous for nations as well as individuals. Doubly so for an oriental community still in the agricultural stage. A taste of wealth and power engenders a thirst for more. In the flush of the new experience and in the excitement of acquiring, the people forgot to distinguish between fair means and false. The profits of commerce and conquest accrued chiefly to those who already had vested interests or influence, while the poor only grew poorer, actually, and by contrast. His hereditary holdings were swallowed up (Mic. ii. 2, 9; Isa. v. 8) by the large estates of the wealthy proprietors, and thus the ranks of the proletariat were swelled. For more than half a century these forces were at work. The question was, should they go on unchecked until, as in Northern Israel, the social structure was rotten to the very core, ready to crumble at the least shock from without? Doubtless this awful example lent force to the words of the two prophets, so different in character but one in purpose, who, about the year 735 B. C., came forward as heralds of divine truth, to grapple with the national problem. One was the countryman Micah, the other Isaiah, reared at the capital, familiar with all the great questions of state, acquainted with and probably himself a member of the ruling classes. Through their eyes it is thus possible to view the same problem from two standpoints entirely different.

Isaiah was the great statesman and theologian of Judah. The major portion of his prophecies treat of political and religious questions, but at two periods in his life, when the social problems, perhaps, more imperatively demanded attention, he

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became preëminently a social teacher. The sermons of the first period are contained in chaps. ii–v. The pictures of wealth and prosperity and commerce bespeak the latter days of Jotham's rule, while, on the other hand, it is difficult to find in iii. 2, anything except a reference to the effeminate rule of the youthful Ahaz. Without citing other indications, we can with assurance group these prophecies about the year 735, when the death of Jotham brought Ahaz from the harem to the throne.

Already the mutterings of the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion were audible. Assyria was also moving on the distant horizon. Just as to-day when a dread pestilence threatens, an unusual activity is awakened and sanitary evils formerly overlooked are corrected, so the prophets were incited by impending danger to endeavor to purge the state of its social evils. Crises gave birth to almost all the oral prophecies which we possess. Preëminently is this true of the great sermons of Isaiah. At the present occasion he first (chap. ii.) comes before the people with a general charge. It is nothing that they are eager to hear. Like his teacher, Amos, he first gains their attention. This is accomplished by directing their gaze upon a glowing picture of the future. Even while they are entranced with the glimpse of those coming days, when their beloved Jerusalem shall be the center of the world-rule, and love and justice shall be the regulating principles binding together humanity, he brings out, by a most striking contrast, all the heinousness of the present internal condition of the state. "What folly it is to talk of other nations coming to Jerusalem to learn, when you are slavishly aping their customs and suing for alliances; of simplicity, while you are heaping up gold and silver in your treasuries; of peace, while you are multiplying chariots; of the rule of Jehovah, while you are paying homage to the thousands of idols that fill the land?" Thus with the keen sword of contrast he hews away with one blow all their false confidence, and lays bare the infamy of the body politic.

Later perhaps, when his thinking had deepened and crystallized, he appears with another general charge, which is recorded in chapter v. Again with consummate skill he wins his audience, so adverse to hearing their own doom pronounced. He

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asks permission to sing a song, a song of a vineyard. Simply, beautifully, he recounts how a fair site was selected, the ground prepared and no pains spared to make this vineyard of which he sings perfect in every detail. But alas, its fruit! It bears only wild grapes. "Is it not just, O Judeans, to utterly destroy this vineyard?" While their heads are still nodding in assent, like a flash comes the application. "Israel is this vineyard, carefully planted by Jehovah. Judah is His favorite vine. What is its fruit? Justice and right doing? No, only oppression and the cry of the wronged." Evidently the social organization is sadly awry. But Isaiah does not rest with general denunciations. He is searching for the cause of the social disorders, and having found it, he does not hesitate to place the responsibility just where it belongs, noble though he was. "Alas, for the nation (iii. 12–13). No wonder that it bears evil fruit. Its rulers, what are they? Little better than petulant children or weak women. O, my people, they which lead you cause you to err; and if you try to walk in the right way, they destroy the very ground from under you. Verily, upon the elders and princes shall the divine judgment fall, because they are the ones who merit it (vss. 14, 15). For it is ye that have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses; what mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the face of the poor?" Strong terms the prophet puts into the mouth of an indignant God, but undoubtedly well merited; for in the next chapter he proceeds to specify those social evils which he deems most deadly: "Woe unto those that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land" (v. 8). Here is the first record in the world's history of a blow struck squarely at land-monopoly. So vivid is the picture that one can almost see the rich nobles gradually driving out their weaker neighbors from their little ancestral possessions, and thus adding acre after acre to their own lands, until they dwell solitarily in the midst of their vast estates. The significant fact is that the prophet does not here denounce the means employed, but the result. To the prophet's mind land-monopoly in itself was a heinous crime. In little

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Judah where the supply of productive land was limited, the evil appeared in clearer outline. The principle, which this one typical example so clearly establishes, was a broad and vital one. Excessive wealth is an injustice. The interpretation of the term "excessive" must necessarily vary in different lands and times. In poverty-stricken Judah it was applied to what we would call petty estates. But the principle remains, even though the evil of its infringement may not, in a larger state and under more complicated relations, be so obvious. One of the fundamental assumptions, common to all socialistic schools alike, thus finds clear expression in the teachings of this old Hebrew prophet. As Isaiah thinks of those thus made outcast and homeless, while the princely proprietors roll in luxury, his blood boils. "Woe to you. As surely as there is a just God in heaven, these palaces shall be without inhabitants and these fields unproductive. An angry God will take justice into His own hands."

Again the woe is pronounced upon another social evil (vss. 11, 12). This time it falls upon those who make drinking and feasting the chief end of their life. The effect upon themselves of all this revelry and music is to banish from their minds all thought of a God active in the world. But this unfortunately is not all. The whole people suffer. Captivity, famine and want are the inevitable consequences (v. 13). With his keen discernment, Isaiah has grasped a great economic principle. He does not overlook the terrible immediate evils of intemperance, but being a social teacher he does not stop here, but also studies its effect upon society as a whole. He finds that it imposes a burden upon the state which will ultimately prove its ruin. Energy thus wasted is a loss which falls upon society as a whole —a simple truth in economics too often overlooked by sage statesmen.

The second woe against those "mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink," (vss. 22, 23) shows that it was the rulers, the judges whom Isaiah had in mind, for he adds, "they are the ones who justify the wicked for a reward." Unjust monopoly, intemperance and official corruption are the virtues of these classes who stand as examples for the nation.

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Like stubble or dry grass before a blazing fire shall they be utterly consumed, blossoms, roots and all, because they have thus rejected and spurned those everlasting laws, in accordance with which Jehovah rules the universe (v. 24).

But the prophet does not stop with a study of externals. He investigates motives and finds within the hearts of the nation's leaders elements which account for the unnatural crop of "wild grapes." The first element is a defiant, skeptical spirit, which leads them to devote all their energies to evil doing, and then impiously call upon Jehovah to punish if He can. It is a feeling of blind security as unfounded as it is blasphemous (v. 19). The second is a total disregard for the truth. Those leaders who should stand for verity make white black and black white with supreme indifference (v. 20).

The third is a calm self-sufficiency, which is an end unto itself. "They are wise in their own eyes and prudent in their own sight" (v. 21).

With the corrupt nobles, the responsibility for the existing social evils, was shared by others. It may have been precipitated by some incident in his preaching, but Isaiah's attack upon the proud, vain women of the capital was the result of mature deliberation. Again in later years (xxxii. 9) he reproaches the women for their spirit of utter carelessness. Here he suddenly turns from general charges to a particular class (iii. 16–iv. 1). "Upon you, O haughty, voluptuous daughters of Jerusalem, rests a great burden of guilt. Not the passion for gratifying the appetite, which Amos denounced in the women of Samaria, but a passion for show and adornment is leading you into cruel excesses." As Isaiah with marvelous minuteness rehearses the various articles of their gorgeous costumes, he is thinking of the effect of all this upon their character, and of the injustice represented by all this finery. He thinks perhaps of the poor dependents slaving on the great estates of the nobles, or of the poor outcasts starving in the midst of such splendor. Such thoughts must have inspired the harsh threats which follow. "The day is not far distant when Jehovah will strip off all this finery. Baldness, sackcloth and branding shall succeed the present beauty.

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Foreign conquest with all its horrors shall utterly change their present lot." Isaiah was right. Society could not be leavened when the leaven was worthless. "If the women are corrupt, the state is moribund."

Another passage (ix. 8–x. 4) confirms the socialistic position and teachings of Isaiah. Here, not the national sins of Judah, but of Northern Israel are the object of attack. Judah is trembling in the fear of an invasion from the North. Isaiah has uttered his remarkable prophecies, recorded in chapters vii. and viii., assuring his countrymen that Syria and Northern Israel are but tails of burning fire-brands, which will quickly burn out. Hence there is no real cause for terror. Perhaps some of his hearers came and asked him on what he based these conclusions. He recognized that this was a rare occasion to establish a great principle. The message is really for Judah, although the denunciations fall upon Israel.

"You ask why I think that Israel is on the verge of dissolution. Note the blind feeling of security. Hear their boastful words: 'The bricks are fallen, but we will build with hewn stone.' Invaders and foes on every side do not shake their false confidence in their own ability—that self-confidence that you will remember Amos denounced so bitterly. There is no trace of true reform. Their legislators go on enacting unjust laws, their judges pervert the fountain of justice. The poor and needy thus become the prey of those in power. The holiest instincts of the nation are violated, for the widows and fatherless, instead of being succored and defended at any cost are hunted down and spoiled. What is in store for such rulers? Disgrace, captivity, desolation. Saddest of all, they shall drag the whole nation down with them. Do you question now why I proclaimed its speedy fall." True, Isaiah was also aware that Assyria was rapidly advancing, but he saw in this only the effect, the instrument of judgment. The corruption of society was the true cause.

Possibly at certain periods, the social evils in Judah were not so glaring. But there are no indications of a permanent social reform. When the immediate danger of the Syro-Ephraimitish

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invasion had past, the nobles appear to have continued in their practices, so suicidal to the future life of the state. One man, even though he were an Isaiah, was well nigh helpless against the strong tendencies of the times. Discouraging was the outlook. But obstacles only nerved him to action.

Another great national crisis influenced him to speak, and the people in their extremity to give heed. To the year 701 B. C., the year in which Sennacherib swept down the western plains of Palestine, capturing and sacking cities, laying desolate the towns of Judah, and sending his legions up to the walls of the Holy City itself, must be assigned the prophecy contained in chapter i. Certain scholars would place it in the year of the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion, while others feel obliged to postulate an unrecorded invasion by Sargon in 711. The latter is only a conjecture, and internal evidence does not support the former. The picture of utter desolation is satisfied alone by the events of 701. The awful résumé of the degenerate state of society indicates that during the thirty years intervening the progress has been only downwards. The old apathy so much deplored by Isaiah in earlier times is gone, and the nation is beginning to realize that all is not well. The absence of any word of condemnation against the king strengthens the belief that the reformer, Hezekiah, is on the throne. After more than a generation of valiant service, the prophet speaks with an authority and boldness which well accords with what we know of his position in the state at this later date.

Again he opens his address with a general charge, but it is no longer necessary for him to win a hearing by some attractive picture. Heaven and earth are called to witness the unnatural sight. A brute animal recognizes the source from which its bounties come, but this nation, Judah, instead of acknowledging the loving God who has heaped upon them all conceivable blessings, have rebelled against and spurned him. Graphically he presents the results of this course. Society is sick. "From the soles of the feet even unto the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises, and festering sores, they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with oil."

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Sadder still; instead of improving, it is continually growing worse. Externally the prospect is equally deplorable. Lands desolate, cities plundered, and fair Zion itself, deserted and alone, is in a state of siege. Only a little handful of men within its walls are preserving the spark of national life from utter annihilation. Little wonder that Isaiah gains a hearing at this great crisis, for he is the only man who can save the state.

Even the rulers are aroused to the necessity of action. As their feeling of false security departs, they seek to conciliate Jehovah by redoubled sacrifices, and a more punctilious observance of religious rites. With biting sarcasm Isaiah, like Amos before him, waves all these externals aside. "They are hateful—an abomination to Jehovah. Do you think that he can grant your prayers when you spread forth your hands before him all stained with the blood of murder? Once the judges of this city rendered just decisions. But now what do I see? The early purity of the social life has been polluted. The princes are in league with highwaymen and thieves. No one would refuse a bribe. Instead, they court them. Superlative of infamy! The sacred cause of the orphan and widow is set aside, and judgment is rendered to the highest bidder." The social evils are those of earlier days grown greater. Chapter xxviii. 14–18, coming from the same period, confirms the socialistic conclusions voiced in chapter i.

Carefully and earnestly, Isaiah studies society, and he found that "the times were sadly out of joint." Inequality, suffering, moral corruption and threatening dissolution, are only a few of the evils of the social organism. The reform of Hezekiah had changed the externals of the religious cult, but it had not permeated into the heart of society. Unlike the hero of Shakespeare's great tragedy, he did not idly lament, but set before him the task of ascertaining the causes, and then of applying a remedy. What the evils were we have seen. Unfortunately they were not confined to Isaiah's time. The chief responsibility he lays at the door of the nobles, the wealthy proprietors and the vain women. Their dastardly crimes—oppression, taking of bribes, land-monopoly, drunkenness and revelry are

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at the bottom of the evils. They, too, are the leaders of society. Compared with their sins those of the masses he considered not worthy of notice. When we remember that the prophets generally addressed the nation collectively, this limiting of the responsibility to distinct classes represents a great advance along socialistic lines.

Notwithstanding their blindness to danger and calm feeling of security, Isaiah repeatedly warns them that destruction will — must come upon them for their crimes. Never does he suggest that the lower classes, so sadly wronged, should arise and take justice into their own hands. For "the Lord will enter into judgment with the elders of His people and the princes thereof" (iii. 14), and "Jehovah shall avenge Himself of His adversaries" (i. 25). Isaiah throughout bases his teachings upon the universal laws of justice, the same for all classes alike.

His conclusions also rest upon an idea common and fundamental to all types of socialism. Society is a unit, and its fate is bound up with that of its component parts. Each class, therefore, has a duty to perform to the whole. If it fails in this the whole suffers. This is the tragic element in the situation. It is the tragedy of Israel's history and of human life. The innocent, as well as the culpable, must suffer for the latter's crimes. "Therefore my people have gone into captivity for lack of knowledge" (v. 13). Since those who were responsible have not been true, the whole state is going to pieces.

Isaiah, however, did not teach that the present or the future is hopeless. A catastrophe is certainly impending. Yet there is still one way to avert it. Sacrifices are of no avail. "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow." "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land." A thorough reform, bearing fruit in life and conduct, so complete that it shall do away with all the social evils is the only remedy. For this he longed and labored. But judging from present conditions is there a reasonable ground for anticipating its realization? As he studied the times and noted

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the persistent indifference of the ruling classes, he came to the same conclusion as Amos before him in Northern Israel. There is no hope for amelioration through peaceful means. A convulsion must do what reform can not, because of the attitude of those in power. The worst is coming (ii. 10; iii. 11). Divine justice must be vindicated. The state must be turned upside down that the deserving classes may come on top. Destruction is swiftly coming upon the high towers and strong walls and proud ships of Tarshish. The lofty shall be brought low. Men shall be glad to escape to the caves of the rock. All the pillars of the state shall fall. Society shall be completely disintegrated, and no one shall be found to reconstruct it. Jerusalem shall become a ruin and Judah shall cease to be a nation. In v. 26–30 he clearly indicates the means. It is to come from without. With powerful imagery he pictures the advance of the foreign foes, led on by Jehovah, to execute judgment upon his own corrupt nation. In the immediate future, therefore, Isaiah thinks only of coming judgment.

Under such conditions a less inspired man would have become a pessimist. Grandly he rises above the present horror. The innocent shall not forever suffer with the guilty. There is yet a future for them. The present social disorders can be removed only by extreme methods. But "in that day" (iv. 2) when the sifting process is complete, and the oppressors of the people are no more; after the Lord shall have "purged the blood of Jerusalem from its midst by the blast of judgment and the blast of burning;" after "he has purged away this dross," then shall the glorious pictures which illumine his sermons be realized.

It is well worth the time to study Isaiah's pictures of this ideal state, this Utopia of his day-dreams, for they contain the elements of his constructive social policy. Other prophets shared these ideals. The earlier developed the temporal and social side, while the later accent more and more the purely spiritual. Isaiah considers both aspects. He has given us several portraits of this reconstructed state, in each of which some particular element is brought out in strong relief, with a few of those bold strokes which were the natural expression of

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the prophet's poetical soul; but the composite is remarkably clear cut.

The political organization of this new state is to be practically the same as that of the then existing. A Davidic king is to sit upon the throne. About him princes and judges. Therefore that for which Isaiah longed was to be realized by a thorough moral and social, rather than a political, reform. Unknown to him were the extreme measures of certain modern, radical socialistic schools who would attain the ideal social state by completely remodeling the political structure. Chapter xxxii. coming from the earlier days of 701 B. C., portrays that regenerate state for which he looked. Then the principles of absolute justice shall govern the actions of king and nobles. The man of authority, instead of being an oppressor, shall be a guardian of those who are now so sadly in need of succor. This new generation shall be quick to perceive the truth. No longer will it be possible to palm off the false for genuine. Men and things shall be estimated at their true worth. Every act shall receive its due reward. The laborer shall enjoy the fruits of his toil, and not the undeserving. No longer shall the poor and needy be the prey of the designing.

Chapter xxxiii. 15, clearly states who will survive this sifting process to become the citizens of this ideal state. "He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing blood." Qualifications depend, not upon birth or position, but simply upon ability and inclination to rightly perform his functions as a unit in this new commonwealth. The wheel of fortune shall thus turn, bringing up the oppressed classes, while the oppressors go down. For "he shall dwell on high places, his place of defence shall be the munitions of the rocks." The citadels shall no longer be the possession of voluptuous nobles. "His bread will be given him; his waters shall not fail." The present want shall be a thing of the past.

Repeatedly Isaiah has proclaimed that the unproductiveness of the land is the inevitable consequence of their moral and

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social crimes. But now that the old evils are removed, and those who rule, do so with justice, broad fields, watered by Jehovah's showers, shall bear rich harvests (xxx. 23–26). Even on the bare, thirsty mountain-tops, springs shall send their leaping streams to irrigate the land of Judah, by nature so dry. The light of the sun and moon shall be increased many fold, so that brightness shall ever reign. The picture is highly poetical, but the idea in the prophet's mind is clear. Justice, mercy, prosperity and equality are the characteristics of the future commonwealth which looms up before his vision.

Thus we have seen that Isaiah carefully analyzed the society of his times, he held up its evils, he fixed the responsibility where it belonged, and he took a step farther, he presented before his wondering countrymen the picture of a perfect state, which, he declared, would ultimately succeed the imperfect one of the present. Modern socialism, with many detours, travels thus far along the same road, but at this point a barrier confronts it which has proved quite insuperable. How is this ideal state to grow out of the present? Almost as many schemes are suggested as there are so-called socialists. Isaiah here parts company with most of them. If socialism rests on a purely economic basis, he is no socialist. He advocated no particular theory for the political and economic reorganization of society. His bridge between the present and the future state was not a material, but a moral and spiritual structure. In the heart of humanity the transition must be realized. Its objective manifestation will be the new ideal commonwealth. Isaiah saw no hope for society while the present purposes ruled the actions of mankind. An external remedy was not enough. To be effective it must move the hearts and wills of men. The only power capable of purifying and inspiring the human soul to action resided with the Father of all truth. Therefore he proclaimed that Jehovah would perform a mighty wonder. The details of the pictures vary according to the immediate circumstances. At one time he declares that Jehovah himself will come and dwell among His people. At another, His representative, the Prince of Peace, who in his character embodies the essential

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elements—justice, mercy and strength—of that ideal state, which he would inaugurate, is heralded. The fundamental principle is one. The Divine, acting in history and in the heart of man, alone can, and will, bridge over this broad chasm, and prepare the way for this perfect society that Isaiah pictured and confidently expected. No one can say that he was an idle dreamer. His predictions have been in part, and are today, still being realized, although the plans of the Divine unfold more slowly than the prophet perhaps anticipated. Within the heart of humanity those principles of justice, universal equality and fraternity which Isaiah taught are gaining wider and wider acceptance; and in the same proportion as this is realized, are they taking objective form in society. Modern socialism, therefore, in so far as it is based on fact and truth, is but a corollary of this great principle.

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THE FUNDAMENTAL THOUGHT AND PURPOSE OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

Translated from the Introduction to PROF. ROBERT KÜBEL'S *Exegetisch-homiletisches Handbuch zum Evangelium des Matthäus*,

BY H. B. HUTCHINS.

[Continued from the March number.]

2. The result of the data thus collected as bearing upon the question of the fundamental thought and purpose of this gospel may be stated as follows: It presents Jesus to us as the Christ, who brings in the kingdom of heaven. The wretched are drawn to him, and especially the poor people of Israel, who are as sheep without a shepherd. But Israel, through the influence of the Pharisees, the leaders of the time, is prevented from coming to him. Hence, the throwing open of the kingdom of heaven to the wretched involves Jesus in bitterest conflict with the Pharisees, a conflict which he opens in the very beginning with the sermon on the mount, and which, indeed, in the end, costs him a felon's death on the cross. But out of this bitter labor of the Servant of God, there come not only Christ's own victorious resurrection and exaltation to the lordship of the world (xxviii. 18), as he himself will finally demonstrate in his Parousia, but also the New Testament church and the salvation of the world. Matthew shows, however, that this Jesus really is the Christ, because in his person, in his teaching and work, in his end, everything has been realized which, according to the Old Testament, is to be expected of the Christ. It is realized in his person, because, as is already indicated by his descent, birth, etc., he is the promised son of David, and he is at every turn constantly more clearly and decisively recognized and acknowledged as "Son of God." It is realized in his teaching and work, because his work is that of the Isaianic Servant of God, the shepherd who cares for the flock of God; this is the

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act of the "righteous man" (xxvii. 19, 24), who fulfills all righteousness, who himself most carefully obeys the will of God, but —quite different from the Pharisees—lays an easy yoke on his disciples. His teaching, also, is that of the true "righteousness," the teaching of the kingdom of heaven, into which men enter through the forsaking of sin and the denial of self and the world, and as citizens of which they bear the cross in following Christ, receiving, however, in return, the glorious "reward in heaven." Lastly, it is realized in his end, because in it the fulfillment of the "Scriptures" comes out with perfect clearness. In his death the ransom is paid for the many. In the New Testament blood of the passover a new covenant is established; the closed sanctuary is opened; the righteous dead of the Old Testament who await redemption are waked to life. Furthermore, a fulfillment of the law and the prophets is given, in which positive and negative are conjoined. The higher view demanded by the old itself is re-established, the divine kingdom of the Son of Man. According to his idea this is an all-embracing kingdom (viii. 11), and although for his earthly task as teacher, Jesus limited himself to the territory of Israel, yet all who hunger and thirst are invited to enter. Indeed, since Israel despises this invitation, the kingdom of God passes over from Israel to the Gentiles, and the departing Lord gives command that all nations be made his disciples. And this passing over of the kingdom to the Gentiles becomes final with the judgment upon Jerusalem, and it is precisely to the significance of this critical epoch that Matthew refers with special emphasis. But with this epoch also, the transition is made to the time of the fulfillment, to the Parousia, and the setting up of the kingdom of glory. But the kingdom of the spirit brought by Christ is not universal in the sense that there is not to be a great distinction among its "called," only a few of whom, as "chosen," really belong to it as citizens and heirs. The New Testament church is a peculiar union of brethren, with strict discipline over one another, and with the word of pardon, which is a word of "binding" as well as of "loosing." Tares and wheat are commingled, but at last they will be completely separated, and hence the most important duty is

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seriously to prepare oneself for this final crisis. In short, the purpose of this gospel is in the critical period of the final passing over of the kingdom of God from the Jews to the Gentiles, and in expectation of the consummation of the kingdom, to present Jesus as the Christ whom the Jews have wrongfully rejected, and who therefore justly gives them over to judgment and turns to the Gentiles with the offer of salvation—the salvation which he, as the promised Messiah and Servant of God, has wrought out by his teaching, by his labor on behalf of men, by his suffering, by his resurrection, and which he will perfect when he comes again in the glory of his kingdom—the salvation which is offered in his community to all the wretched, but which, as it is ethical in its results, must exhibit itself in the practice of the "righteousness" which belongs to it.

3. Is the definition of the purpose which has been given to be somewhat more specialized or modified? Or must we assume, besides the chief purpose described, still another secondary purpose, suggested by what the gospel perhaps intimates in reference to a special circle of readers to which it is addressed? From what has been said already, it is evident that the author is a Jewish Christian. He is not, however, a Jewish Christian in the technical sense of a narrow-minded, particularistic, and dogmatically conceived Judaism, but, partly in the sense of being related to Israel by virtue of descent, as well as by his manner of thought and expression; partly in the sense of having a preponderating interest in the question of the relation of the New Testament to the Old, and in the recognition of Jesus as the Christ, etc. If the author was an apostle, he surely belonged to the "apostles of the circumcision," who labored chiefly, at all events, for the circumcision. But, granting that, is this gospel intended chiefly or solely for the circumcision? Are the readers also Jewish Christians? And if such is the case, must we assume that he has particularly in mind a special circle of Jewish Christians (Palestinians, perhaps) without, however, excluding the rest of the circumcision. We can answer the first question in the affirmative, if we do not mean that the author intends to write only for the Jews, with express exclusion of the Gentiles.

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The example of Paul on the one side, and of Peter and John on the other, shows that the division of the field of labor (Gal. ii. 6–10) was not in general intended to be so sharply made. And if this gospel lays especial stress on the proof that Jesus is the Christ, that was a subject quite as interesting to the Gentile Christians as to the Jewish Christians. And, even in those New Testament writings which have Gentile Christians as their chief or only readers, the greatest importance is attached to the question of the relation of the New Testament to the Old. Moreover, if the author, as has been shown, writes in the time of the passing over of the kingdom of God from the Jews to the Gentiles, and represents this event as taking place through the righteousness of God and in virtue of the express words of Jesus, then along with this idea he has in view *eo ipso* a Christianity in which the circumcision more and more ceases to be a special sphere shut off from the rest. In such a Christianity the congregations from among the Jews, in so far as they do not wilfully exclude themselves by becoming more and more sectarian, must gradually coalesce with the congregations from among the Gentiles. Therefore, Matthew can by no means have intended to write for the Jewish Christians in the sense of excluding the Gentile Christians. He writes for the entire Christian world. But since he is himself a Jew, it is self-evident that he has in mind the circle to which he himself belongs, as the circle which will be the nearest and the immediate readers of the gospel. We cannot, it is true, from any single direct indication in the gospel itself, learn to whom the author has especially directed his writing. The case is entirely different, not only with Luke, but also, to a certain extent, with John (xx. 31). But the view that he writes, in the first instance, for Jewish Christians, is sustained by indirect proofs contained in the entire method of the gospel as hitherto presented. The genealogy traced from Abraham, the conflict with the Pharisees, etc., were more important for Jewish Christians than for Gentile Christians. In the thought of the author himself, however, this is important for the Jewish Christian readers, not in the sense of any gratification of national pride, but in the entirely reverse sense of the

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contest with Judaism, understanding his word in what, for brevity, may be called the anti-Pauline sense. The presentation of this conflict is not, to be sure, his special purpose in the composition of this gospel; but the emphasis on the positive side of the fulfilment of the law and the prophets through Christ (v. 17 ff.) as well as the reference to its negative side, particularly again in the matter of the passing over of the kingdom of God from the Jews to the Gentiles, becomes intelligible, if we recognize that, together with his chief purpose, he intends also to combat narrowly Jewish conceptions within Christianity itself. The particular opponent whom Matthew attacks is, to be sure, Pharisaic Judaism itself as it placed itself in opposition to Christianity from without. But in so far as Pharisaism in the form of Judaism made itself felt on Christian soil, this also is attacked by such opposition. By this we do not mean that such polemic is the peculiar purpose of this gospel. It bears none of the marks of a polemic tendency-writing (*'tendenzschrift'*), or, indeed, of a *'tendenzschrift'* of any kind. But the manner and the method of the author's treatment of the work of Jesus, the manner of his selection from and his formation of the discourses of Jesus Christ, etc., show that he is a man whose writing without any effort or intention on his part is necessarily though incidentally influenced by this conflict.

But the immediate circle of readers addressed by this gospel —and this brings us to the second question—might be conceived of still more definitely, and in this way there be discovered another aim, secondary, indeed, but not unimportant in its bearing on the character of the gospel and the date of its composition. Are the Jewish Christians, of whom as readers the author is in the first instance thinking, to be looked for especially in Palestine? So the church fathers for the most part assume. The fact that the author "does not explain Old Testament and Palestinian allusions"—cf. *e. g.* Matt. xv. 2 with Mark vii. 3f, the failure to explain the term, "holy city," iv. 5, xxvii. 53, etc.—does not necessitate our answering this question in the affirmative, for this was not necessary for Jewish Christians, and besides, there is an opposing consideration in the interpretation of Hebrew names and words (i. 23; xxvii. 33-46) which proves

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—as does also, perhaps, the peculiar relation of this gospel to the LXX.—that the Hellenists are by no means to be thought of as excluded from consideration. For the contrary position we can adduce Matt. xxiv. 15-20. To be sure, Mark xv. 14-18 agrees with this almost word for word, and, according to our conviction, we have here a truly reported speech of Jesus. Hence, the purpose contained in the passage must be regarded as the purpose of Jesus himself, and the reason why this discourse is reported so accurately (cf. on the contrary, Luke xxi. 20ff.) must be regarded as common to both the evangelists. Indeed both, by the phrase "Let him that readeth understand," call especial attention to the matter. However, the report of Matthew does differ, as has already been said, from that of Mark by its use of the expression "in the holy place," and especially, "on the Sabbath" (20); in addition Mark lacks (14) "spoken of by Daniel the prophet." Matthew therefore keeps more specially in view the subject under discussion. Now, in this passage the point is, that the inhabitants of Judæa—the expression is entirely general, therefore it means not merely the Palestinian Christians—when they see the abomination of desolation shall flee forthwith. And the injunction, "Let him that readeth understand," to which we supply as the object of "readeth," not the words of Daniel, but the words of Jesus, has—not exclusively, but yet in a measure—the sense: "Take heed to what you have read; if it comes soon, then follow this summons, etc." If this view is correct, the author is thinking especially of the Palestinians, for only for them, viz., "those in Judæa," had the emphasizing of this injunction any meaning. Therefore, we shall be obliged to answer our question in the affirmative, in that we distinguish three circles of readers of whom the author is thinking. The widest circle is composed of Christians in general; the more limited circle is that of the Jewish Christians; the narrowest is that of the Jewish Christians in Palestine (in a certain sense also, the Jews). It is self-evident that these concentric circles are not mutually exclusive, but at special points the narrower and the narrowest circles become prominent as the ones who are immediately addressed. And if we consider what has just been

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said, together with the remarks before made in regard to the special purpose as determined by the conditions of the time, we discover this also, as a special secondary purpose, viz: To give to the Jews instruction and warning for the time of judgment closely impending over Jerusalem and Judæa.

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THE TABERNACLE.

PROFESSOR JAMES STRONG, S.T.D.,
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A peculiar interest belongs to this comparatively small structure on account of several circumstances which render it unique in character. It was the earliest of which we have any positive record, as having been erected for the worship of the true God, and, therefore, was not modelled after the specimens of which remains exist to the present day; especially in Egypt, supposing these to have been extant at that time; but was constructed in accordance with explicit and minute directions by Jehovah himself, accompanied with a pattern exhibited to Moses on Mount Sinai. It also differed from all other temples in being movable, and was actually transported in detached portions for a period of forty years of migration. Moreover, as might have been expected from these singular facts, it was of the most ingenious and yet practical style, both in plan and workmanship. The biblical description of it, the only original source of information, except such hints as oriental analogies and the requirements of the case suggest, although occupying two long chapters, is remarkably concise, and yet sufficiently definite to enable the careful expositor to reconstruct it complete. True, great diversity of opinion has existed among archæologists on this head, and almost all have despaired of any rational solution of the many problems which present themselves in the account and its interpretation; but the present writer at least believes that all these have at last been satisfactorily adjusted both with the statements of the text, and with the known habits of the times, the region of country, and the demands of use and consistency. The purpose of this short article is not to trouble the reader with the details of this elucidation, but merely to notice, in a historical manner, certain salient features which can be readily understood and

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appreciated by all who have given attention to the subject. Incidentally it may be remarked that the study, more or less profound, of the theme, even down to the present day, is evinced by the fact that no less than twenty monographs upon it, some of them highly elaborate, have been published, during the last three centuries, exclusively devoted to this structure as a whole, and innumerable others to its immediate accompaniments. We may also premise that the success which now appears to have crowned these efforts is a specimen of the improved results of modern methods of investigation, as well as an omen of the probability that similar, if not all, difficulties in the sacred volume will at length be cleared up. Biblical archæology has certainly entered upon a new career of triumph.

The first cardinal fact which we here mention, as adapting the central erection to the nomadic necessities of the people for whom it was designed, is the distinction, generally overlooked, of the *mishkan*, or "dwelling-house" base, and the *ôhel*, or "tent" superstructure. The former, being the wooden walls on the sides, gave solidity and capacity to the building, while the latter, being the canvas roof, afforded a light but effectual protection from sun and rain. The method and means of combining these two, no less than of constructing each of them, have been very inadequately treated by most critics and writers on the subject. Fergusson, an architect himself, was the first to perceive that the roof, of course, must have had a peak, as every tent-maker knows and practices; but his mode of joining and applying the curtains of which this covering consisted is an obvious failure, both as to dimensions and utility; for he is compelled to extend them as wings far beyond the bounds of the walls, and at last makes a sad gap in the roof directly over the precious vail! Besides, nobody suggested any way of fastening the roof to the walls, until Paine discovered that the "taches," absurdly understood as designating *S-hooks* for attaching the two sets of goats-hair curtains together (instead of a substantial and close stitching together, like that of the breadths themselves), were *knobs* in the walls for buttoning down the edge-loops securely over the eaves, thus preventing all

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drip inside. In like manner he showed that the coats of badger-skin and of ram-skin were a perpendicular outside sheathing of the walls, and not a clumsy and useless blanket on the roof, intended to stop the aforesaid leak!

As to the disposition of the "boards" (rather *planks*) of the walls themselves, the great puzzle was how to construct each "corner-board" out of a single cubit-and-a-half-wide plank (like all the others), so as to make up ten cubits for the rear out of these two and the six other planks. No plan except the one devised by the present writer accomplished this feat; and it may be added, none but his succeeds in getting all the requisite sockets duly under the planks without confusion and interference. Especially has nobody before him expounded the proof-text on this point as to the bars and rings (Exod. xxvi. 24) in any consistent or intelligible manner. The "corner-boards" are the key to the whole situation.

Paine likewise was the first to suggest the use of the sixth or surplus breadth of one of the roof-curtains, although he plainly contradicts the text (Exod. xxvi. 12) by wrapping it across the rear gable only. It was he also who first gave any good reason for sewing the eleven breadths into two large sheets, namely, because they were spread double, like the "fly" over a modern tent for better shedding the water; but here again his curtains misfit in length, because he makes the rear twelve instead of ten cubits broad by his mistake in the corner-boards.

But even a greater trouble with interpreters has been how to dispose of the inside or colored curtains; for until Paine none of them could make these fit, in whatever way they might be stretched. Here once more Paine's ingenuity was of service, by suggesting that they were sewed together end-wise, and that they ran double along the walls, instead of being hung (by some unknown attachments) overhead, where they would soon lose their beautiful colors by the wet. As each compound length would thus be exactly twice as long as the circuit of the three walls, Paine shrewdly suggested that they must have been *fulled in*, as folds in curtains usually are; but how this could be done without disfiguring the cherubs embroidered on them he

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did not expound. He, too, for the first time, has exhibited a rational mode of distributing the three colors (blue, purple and crimson), by having them woven in cross-stripes of wool on a white linen foundation of warp or longitudinal threads, adopting (as he honorably acknowledges) a private hint to that effect from the present writer; but he gives no explanation of the proportionate width of these stripes, nor any reason why they are invariably named in this precise order, nor what relation they hold to the cherubs upon them.

Advancing now into the interior of these sacred apartments, we are met with numerous questions as to the form, construction, adjustment and significance of the various articles or pieces of furniture, both decorative and useful, which they present or contain. Most conspicuous of these are the cherubic figures already brought to notice as ranged around the walls like a cordon of sentinels or guard about the abode of the divine Majesty. On a careful estimate their total will prove to be an exact multiple of seven, the sacred number, both in the holy and the most holy place, and consequently likewise in the two combined. Moreover, by a coincidence too remarkable to be accidental, we shall find the cherubs as well as the colored stripes on which they are represented, as well as those with which they are interspersed, all occurring in exact harmony with the boards of the walls on which they hang, and precisely opposite each other on the two side walls, notwithstanding the necessary reversal of the direction of these last in the continuous series; and this is happily brought about by the same "corner-boards," which from a stumbling-block have been converted into a stepping-stone to the most satisfactory results. Again, the length required for the woolen loops, on which the curtains are suspended, is thus ascertained; and it will be discovered to be mathematically exact in order to fulfil that striking but at first seemingly unnecessary injunction, several times repeated, "See that thou hang the vail under the taches;" for it thus turns out that the four-cubit-wide curtains, added to the single cubit of a perpendicular to the triangle which the loops constitute in order to stretch the blue stripe for forming a smooth ground for the gold-threaded cher-

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ubs, make up the five cubits demanded for the height of the vail, like that of all the other doorway screens. Furthermore, the number of pillars required for the successive entrances, and the space of the passages between them, gradually diminishing from the outermost to the innermost, as propriety and usage approve, as well as their purpose of due and equable support, without interfering with the sockets of the wall-planks or concealing the cherub-figures, vindicates not only the whole arrangement, but also the presence or absence of the rods or "fillets" by which they are kept apart and at the same time together, and the number and position of the hooks (not otherwise specified), in precise accord with the statements of the sacred text. Such a series of agreements is a cumulative and conclusive argument that the minutest details and extreme concinnity have at last been authoritatively expounded.

The cherubim themselves have been a standing riddle among archæologists, as to their form and still more as to their significance. The fact that on their first mention in Scripture, where they appear as guardians at the gate of Eden forfeited, they are called (in the original) "*the* cherubim," shows that they were already well-known in the time of Moses, and accordingly we find figures of this sort freely delineated on the Egyptian monuments. From the visions of Isaiah (where they re-appear under the title of *seraphim*), and more copiously in those of Ezekiel, we gather that they were substantially human in shape, but with the fore-legs and feet of an ox; that they had, besides human hands, two pairs of wings, one for clothing, and the other for flight (in Isaiah an extra pair for veiling the face); and were four-faced, as a man (the proper front), a lion (on the right), an ox (on the left), and an eagle (behind), all of course upon a single head. Those on the curtains were doubtless with both sets of wings closed, and with arms folded, as the panels were too narrow to contain them otherwise, while those on the sacred vail were probably flying, and those on the ark were certainly with extended wings. There is no authority for supposing that any of those in the tabernacle were kneeling, although this posture is sometimes depicted on the Egyptian monuments; and

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the *living creatures* (A. V. most unfortunately "beasts") of the Apocalypse occasionally assume that attitude. As to their symbolization we may assume that they were not intended to represent any actual being (especially not the glorified state of Christ or the saints — a grotesque and even shocking thought to us), for then they would have been idolatrous; but were, as we conceive, merely imaginative embodiments of the four leading attributes of Deity in the physical world according to the unscientific, but really profound and correct, notions of the Hebrews; namely, *intelligence, power, constancy and rapidity*. Accordingly they are (especially in Ezekiel) the bearers of Jehovah's throne; and they correspond essentially to what we term cardinal "laws of nature," *i.e.*, forces acting for a definite purpose uniformly and instantaneously. In this light the location of the two upon the lid of the sacred ark is preëminently fitting as the custodians of the *divine* law, nature thus corroborating revelation.

In this connection we may not inappropriately pause a moment to correct a common error, which confounds these symbolical forms with angels; whereas the latter are actual beings, who temporarily in Scripture assumed a human body, but were invariably *destitute of wings*, notwithstanding the idealism of poets and the delineation of painters and sculptors. The common pictorial representation of the cherubim as beautiful young "cherubs" is equally devoid of foundation. They were essentially *animal* forms, as their analogues on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments abundantly show, no less than all the scriptural portraitures.

Inasmuch as the official garb of the sacerdotal order is part of the prescription in the cultus of the tabernacle, this paper would be incomplete without some allusion to it. It was in fact but an improved fashion of the ordinary dress of orientals, consisting essentially of the tunic or shirt, with the invariable girdle for the waist, and the skull-cap for the head, but omitting the sandals on account of the sanctity of the edifice, and adding drawers for the sake of decency. The high-priest had an extra robe or surtout fringed with bells and tassels, an ornamental ephod or cape, sustaining the breastplate as a pouch for

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the mysterious Urim and Thummim, a turban about the head, bearing the gold plate with its inscription significant of consecration to Jehovah's service.

The furniture or apparatus for the two sacred apartments, as well as for the exterior court, is likewise minutely described in the Scripture account; but for its elucidation, which would require great detail, we content ourself with referring the reader to our book so often alluded to above.

On one other point, however, of a general character we may be indulged with a little amplification, namely, the gradually increasing sanctity of the successive inclosures. The great mass of the Israelites were wholly excluded from the sacred precincts, and privileged characters among laymen were alone allowed to enter even the outer (and only) court with any considerable degree of freedom; while (male) worshipers could only do so for purposes of special sacrifice. The Levites were admitted to this at all times as assistants of the sacerdotal order, but under no circumstances could they enter farther, except to carry away the frame-work and fixtures of the tabernacle itself, together with the sacred utensils, after these had been properly dismantled and covered by the priests. The ordinary priests again went into the holy place, as a regular thing, but twice a day, namely, at the hour of the morning and evening sacrifice (*i. e.*, the one offered on the brazen altar outside), in order to extinguish and trim or else to light the lamps in the candelabrum, to change the shew-bread (once a week), and to burn incense on the golden altar. The high priest on the day of annual atonement only went (according to the rabbins, several times) into the most holy place, but in plain linen clothing (to denote humility), for the purpose of sprinkling the blood around (not upon) the mercy-seat of the ark. In all this graduated seclusion we perceive a strong contrast with the synagogue of later times, which was the precursor of Christian churches, where full liberty of access prevails for all classes and persons, because no special Shekinah of the divine presence is ever visibly there vouchsafed, and no Levitical services are held therein. The one great and final Sacrifice has been offered once for all, in the

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person of the supreme High Priest himself; each truly regenerate individual is a priest for himself or herself; the prayers of the saints are the daily incense; and every pious heart is the divine abode. The original model of the tabernacle is reserved for the disclosure of the heavenly world.[1]

[1] For a copious elucidation of everything relating to the subject the reader is referred to the writer's full work entitled "The Tabernacle of Israel in the Desert," published by Harris, Jones & Co., Providence, R. I.; 1888, square 8vo; with a portfolio of colored plates.

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THEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION IN SWITZERLAND.

By Rev. P. W. Snyder,
Middletown, Conn.

III.

BERN.

Everyone goes to Bern. No one stays in Bern. This seems to be the rule for the American public in Switzerland, and for the ordinary traveler it is easily understood. The quaint old town has too many charms to be passed by, but it lies too near the great centers of attraction in the Bernese Oberland, too near Thun and Interlaken, Grindelwald and Lauterbrunnen; and so, after a hurried glance at the clock-tower and the cathedral, the museum, and one or two modern buildings, the bears, and the wonderful view from the cathedral terrace or the Klosterhof, the tourist hastens on to see the mountains face to face or turns his steps toward Geneva.

It by no means follows that such haste is to be recommended to the student.

It is true that the theological faculty of Bern is smaller than that of Basel or Zürich, and that the lectures are given in the dreariest building I have ever known dignified by the name university,—a building whose "classic" shades make it painfully easy to sympathize with Faust when he exclaimed:

> "Weh! Steck ich in dem Kerker noch?
> Verfluchtes, dumpfes Mauerloch!"

especially when one remembers that the whole glory of the Bernese Oberland lies just outside those wretched class-rooms and is ever visible from the windows.

It is also true that the immediate situation of the city has no such charm as that of Zürich, though, on its sandstone peninsula high above the swift Aare, Bern is much more picturesque than

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Basel. Nevertheless, the newer suburbs must afford delightful places for residence, while the wonderful Alpine views from the city itself and the neighboring hills, together with the fact that the very heart of the Oberland can be reached at any time in a few hours, may well commend Bern to one who wishes to carry on his studies for a summer semester and still be within easy reach and under the constant spell of the Bernese Alps.

At the same time there are attractions in departments closely allied to that of theology which ought not to be overlooked. Professor Ludwig Stein, for instance, who gave up the position of Jewish Rabbi in Berlin to devote himself to philosophy, presents the history and problems of his chosen department in an exceedingly vivid and attractive manner and draws about him many enthusiastic listeners. So the historian, Professor Philipp Woker, who also lectures on church history in the (old) Catholic faculty, is most admirable as a lecturer, despite some peculiar mannerisms, and is a great favorite with his students.

In the theological faculty itself we find a state of things somewhat different from that in either of the other universities.

Doubtless the best known name is that of Professor Rudolf Steck, who lectures on New Testament introduction and exegesis. He is a man fifty years of age, a native of Bern, and has been professor there for eleven years. He is delightfully informal socially, while as a lecturer his manner is very quiet, with occasional touches of humor. There is nothing about him in any way striking, and a stranger who met him or saw him in the class-room would have no idea that he was looking at the principal exponent of one of the most radical critical hypotheses about the New Testament which has ever been suggested. Professor Steck, and apart from him no one outside of Holland, regards the comparatively pacific tone of the Acts as representing the real state of things in the early church, and rejects every single Pauline epistle as a spurious work, forged in the interest of an increasingly bitter conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christians. From this standpoint he not only regards all these epistles as late forgeries, but also reverses their commonly accepted order, placing those last which, like Galatians,

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show the most intensity of feeling. This is Baur's critical process stretched to such an extreme that, like an umbrella, it has suddenly turned inside out and reversed all its own previous conclusions. It is to the credit of German criticism that Professor Steck stands almost absolutely alone in this matter, and that the genuineness of at least the four greater Pauline epistles is practically unquestioned.

Next to Professor Steck, and with him representing the radical element in the Bern theological faculty, is Professor H. Lüdemann, who has the chair of dogmatics and history of theology. Whether one sympathizes with his views or not, it is refreshing to mark his outspoken frankness and earnestness of conviction and to listen to his clean-cut sentences in the class-room. In him there is no minimum, even, of the Ritschlian leaven, and he gives the impression of being much like Professor Schmidt of Basel in his aggressive advocacy of the "reform" in theology. He was born in Kiel in 1842, and was extraordinary professor there from 1878 till 1884, when he was called to Bern as full professor.

The other active professors, E. E. Müller, F. Barth and S. Oettli, are supposed to represent the center and right wing, perhaps in the order mentioned, although I imagine that the right wing at Bern does not reach very far beyond the center.

Among them Professor Oettli, with his vivid manner and decided Swiss accent, is looked upon as a very strong man in his department of Old Testament introduction and exegesis. He assisted in commenting on the Hagiographa in Strack's and Zöckler's Commentary.

Such are the leading theological instructors in the three universities of German Switzerland. Let us try briefly to sum up the results of our investigations.

First of all, there is abundant opportunity to study the methods and results of the more radical German critical and theological tendencies. No one can fail to be struck by the predominance of a decidedly liberal theology. Orthodoxy is represented, but, as a rule, not by the men who give tone to the various institutions. Only in Basel is there a thoroughly

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vigorous orthodox party under the leadership of Orelli, and even there my own personal feeling is that the aggressiveness and enthusiasm are rather on the side of the liberal element. Orelli himself seems to be overmatched in influence by Duhm, while Schmidt probably produces a deeper impression upon the students than any other man in the faculty.

This fact does not exactly recommend German Switzerland for inexperienced or unstable American students who have hitherto come in contact with little but the systems and traditions of American orthodoxy. The shock would probably be too severe to be altogether wholesome.

When Professor Schmidt, in an address on the "inner unity of the protestant church" delivered at the *Reformtag* at St. Gallen last June, speaks of the doctrines of the pre-existence of Christ, the personality of God, the atonement and the life everlasting as "non-essentials," doctrines whose acceptance or rejection ought not to prevent men from working together as Christians in the same church — then the uninitiated Christian from across the ocean is inclined to catch his breath and wonder what doctrines Professor Schmidt does regard as of any special consequence: nor, *these things* being *abandoned* or *questioned*, can he find a great deal of satisfaction in the one thing which Schmidt does emphasize, faith "in a living God, the God of Jesus Christ, the Holy One, whose demand of holiness is as omnipresent as is his sin-cleansing power in all who open their hearts to the incoming of his spirit."

I do not believe that every young man, or every pastor, is ready to listen with impunity to such instruction. It may possibly be pure mountain air, but, if so, it is too rare to be breathed with impunity by one fresh from the valley. It is apt to produce hemorrhage. But for the more thoughtful, for those who already realize something of the magnitude of the questions that must be answered, it ought to be a wholesome thing, as it certainly is an intensely interesting and stimulating thing, to come face to face with the extreme results of methods of treating Scripture whose cautious application to the Old Testament is already causing so much feeling in our own country.

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It is also a valuable lesson in charity, a lesson which may help us to estimate at their true worth the relatively insignificant matters over which we are exercised in our assemblies and mission boards. It *ought*, surely, to enlarge our sympathies when we become familiar with the spirit of men who have no thought of going out of the church, who glory in their protestant Christianity, and who verily believe that they are going on in the spirit of the reformation; who even address missionary gatherings, and nevertheless deny or question nearly every doctrine which we have been wont to regard as distinctive of Christianity.

Apart from their critical and dogmatic position there is no doubt that the universities of German Switzerland offer excellent facilities both for pursuing special lines of theological study and also for hearing lectures on those allied branches of philosophy, history and social science which are so closely connected with the practical work of the ministry.

If I were to rank the three universities according to their value for the theological student or pastor simply as places for study, the order would be Basel, Zürich, Bern. If, on the other hand, I were to rank the cities according to their relative attractiveness as places of residence and centers from which to make excursions in the spring and early summer, the order would be Zürich, Bern, Basel.

FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

As already indicated, the transition from German to French Switzerland is almost like passing from one country to another. Language, physiognomy, traditions, methods of thought, are all sharply contrasted; and this contrast is quite as marked in the theological schools as elsewhere, especially in the independent schools.

In the comparatively large universities of Geneva and Lausanne the external difference is less pronounced. Here there is much of the freedom of the German university life, the students being left largely to their own tastes and inclinations in the choice of lectures, etc. In the independent schools, on the con-

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trary, where there is but the single faculty and a small number of students, the state of things is much more like that in our own smaller theological seminaries, and this is also the case in the academy of Neuchâtel. In these schools the relations between professors and students are far more intimate, and the courses of study pursued by the individual students are subjected to a much more rigid supervision than in the universities. The champion of the university system would probably say that the young men in the independent schools are treated as scholars rather than as students, but this method has, nevertheless, its own manifest advantages.

I shall make no attempt to describe the six theological faculties of French Switzerland with the same personal detail with which I have spoken of the three in German Switzerland, but shall content myself with general statements and calling attention to a few of the best-known instructors.

GENEVA.

The charms of Geneva for both summer and winter residence are too well known to need any description in such an article as this. Those who are at all acquainted with Switzerland know something of the beauties and wonderful location of this most attractive city. It is probable, however, that the traveling public is much more familiar with the Pont du Montblanc and the Jardin Anglais than it is even with the fine university, fronting the Promenade des Bastions, with its hundred professors and instructors and six hundred students; while comparatively few ever find their way to the unpretending Oratoire, in the obscure Rue Tabassont, where between sixty and seventy young men are receiving an evangelical theological training or the preparatory schooling.

With reference to the theological department of the *University*, with its five professors and rather more than forty students, I must repeat the statement that here a liberal spirit prevails, not so different from that of German Switzerland. It is, however, somewhat more conservative, no one holding so radical ground as do several of the professors whose names I have already men-

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tioned. A most admirable and authoritative statement of the attitude of the *Église Nationale* in Geneva is given in an article entitled "Protestantism in Geneva," by Professor August Bouvier, professor of systematic theology in the university. The article was written for *The Modern Review* of January 1, 1884, but the French text is published in pamphlet form in the Libraire Fischbacher, Paris, and the Libraire Cherbuliez, Geneva. From this it will be seen that the position taken by the theologians of the university, in harmony with the party of "liberal Christianity" or "modern theology" (technical terms in French Switzerland), is a somewhat radical assertion of the rationalistic standpoint. It is evidently the position of Professor Bouvier himself and denies "inspiration, miracles, the supernatural, dogmatism and confessionalism." It retains, however, "Christian theism, the central and sovereign place which belongs to Christ in the faith and religious life of the soul, and in the history of humanity, to Christ the revealer of the divine sonship of men, the founder of the kingdom of God and of true civilization, moral and social; and finally, personal survival, which, in the opinion of almost all, will eventuate under the government of God in universal salvation." Professor Bouvier himself cannot fail to make a lasting and most delightful impression, with his tall form, silvery hair and gracious manner. He is a native of Geneva, a son-in-law of Adolf Monod, is now sixty-six years of age and has been a member of the faculty for twenty-seven years.

I notice by the catalogue that of forty-four students only fifteen are Swiss, while twenty-five are French, three are Italian and one is German.

Over against the liberalism of the university, the conservatism of the theological school established by the *Société Évangélique* is all the more marked. Founded, as already stated, as a direct reaction against German socinianism, it does not desire to draw its students exclusively from any one denomination, but "desires to be of service to all the churches which have *preserved the foundations of the faith*, and call for pastors according to the heart of God." Among the conditions of admission is one

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which would cause no surprise in America, but which a person fresh from a German university feels like reading over two or three times to make sure that there is no mistake. It is that the applicant must make a written statement of the circumstances of his conversion and of the motives which have led him to choose the university.

Of the professors I can speak from personal knowledge of but a single one, Professor Baumgartner, a young man of most charming address, who has recently received his Ph.D. from Marburg, and who has the chair of Old Testament introduction and exegesis.

Such are in general the attitudes of the two theological faculties of Geneva, and one scarcely need call attention to the opportunities for study offered by two so sharply contrasted schools in a city itself so fascinating.

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

The Chautauqua Assemblies throughout the country will, this year, represent systematic Bible study as never before. At Waseca, Minn.; Colfax, Ia.; Ling Pine, Neb.; Southern California, Pacific Grove, Pennsylvania, Chautauqua; Fryeburg, Me.; Framingham, Mass., and Lakeside, O., the matter of establishing a regular department of Sacred Literature is under serious consideration. At five of these Assemblies arrangements are actually completed for such work, and instructors and lecturers have been assigned. It is not to be inferred that none of these Assemblies have had Bible work before. The realization of the need for this work has been a steady growth for years. A class in the systematic study of some part of the Bible has been a regular part of the work of certain Assemblies for several sessions, but the schools have been independent and scattered heretofore, while now there will be a unity, arising from the connection of each with the central organization of the Institute, which recommends the instructors and the courses of study. At the Mother Chautauqua such a connection has been maintained for a number of years.

Rev. O. C. S. Wallace, of Toronto, Ont., has sent the following interesting report of the work of the Institute Bible Club in his church. It is encouraging, as it shows the practical working of the Institute plan, and how important results are secured that do not figure largely in the published reports of the Institute.

The Bible Club of the Bloor Street Baptist Church, Toronto, was organized early in 1891. The first year was spent upon *The Life of Christ.* In the January, 1892, examination eighteen certificates were awarded to our Club by the Institute. During the second year we went over the first half of the course on *The Founding of the Christian Church*, and the Institute gave certificates to twenty-two members of the Club, several of whom secured the maximum mark, 100, and all but two of whom were marked "first class." Thirteen of the twenty-two took the Advanced grade work, seven the Progressive, and two the Intermediate. The third year's work has been taken up with undiminished interest, the working members of the Club numbering between thirty and forty.

The members of the Bible Class are distinguished for the diligence with which they apply themselves to their scriptural studies, the enthusiasm with which they talk of the Bible from day to day, and their competency as Sun-

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day-school teachers. Some time ago I asked from each a written answer to the question "How have you been benefited by these lessons?" In substance the answers received were: "Greatly increased interest in the Scriptures;" "Much better understanding of the Bible;" "A quickened spiritual life." A very large proportion gave the last named answer.

The work has proved a great blessing to us, and Bible study is pursued in our homes with increased zest and profit. I believe thoroughly in the Bible Club idea, and hope that the attempt to engage a larger number of the young people of the continent in such study may be successful.

Brief mention was made in the March number of THE BIBLICAL WORLD of the plan of Bible study proposed by the Institute for the Young People's Societies. This plan is simply the regular "Correspondence Club" plan adapted to the special needs of the class for whom it is intended. For this class the Life of Christ course, based on the four Gospels, is recommended as being best fitted, both in subject and treatment, for a beginner's course.

In the interest of Bible study in general, and especially of this plan for the young people, a special representative of the Institute will visit nine State Conventions of the Y. P. S. C. E. during the next three months. These are all in the West, from Colorado to Washington, and follow each other in rapid succession. In addition to an address on Bible study at each convention, an effort will be made to meet, personally, all who are interested, and to give them any help that may be desired toward organization in the several States.

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STUDIES IN THE WISDOM BOOKS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LESSONS.

By Associate Professor George S. Goodspeed, Ph.D.
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I. The Book of Job.

1. The Wisdom literature. The books of Job, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes belong to what is called the Wisdom Literature of the Hebrews. This literature differs from the prophetic writings in fixing its attention, not directly upon the social and religious questions of the age or historical period, but upon the more general problems which concern man as man, as a part of the world and under divine government. Prophecy sought to move the men of its particular time to action in view of some threatening crisis. "Wisdom," if ever it considered this crisis, was concerned with it only as it presented an occasion for the consideration of general principles or for the application of maxims of practical wisdom. Hence, while the prophetic books need to be interpreted in the light of their historical setting and the occasions which brought them into being, these can be immediately made available and applied to modern problems, since they are after all the old problems of man in all ages.

2. The book of Job as wisdom and prophecy. While the above statement is true in general, it needs to be modified when applied to the book under consideration. The book of Job is a discussion of the problem of suffering, and in that sense is a "Wisdom" book. It is not like the sermons of Isaiah, bathed in local color, nor does it address itself directly to the needs of a political or religious epoch. It portrays an episode in the life of an individual, indeed, but it presents only the spiritual element of that episode, and presents it, not for what it is in itself, but as an illustration of fundamental principles directly applicable to all human life.

Yet the book of Job, more than any of the other two wisdom books, has a definite historical situation in mind. It thus stands midway between the prophets and the "wise men." It is a prophetico-wisdom book, a book in which meditation and reflection on great principles have produced a definite religious lesson—but in which a tremendous living problem has driven the author to reflection, and in which the principles that he elucidates are intended to apply to the solution of that problem.

3. What was the historical background? From this point of view we take up the study of the book of Job, the study of a book in which the "Wise

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Man" has turned "prophet," the philosopher has stepped down into the sphere of a nation's life and offered a solution for a particular difficulty in the crisis of a nation's history.

That nation was Israel. That crisis was the exile.

4. The two-fold problem of the Exile. When Israel was carried into exile there was no distinction made between the faithful worshippers of Jehovah and the false and idolatrous people. All were consigned to one common fate. But when they were settled in their new homes in the land of the conqueror, when the faithful in obedience to the will of Jehovah had submitted to the foreign yoke—a new series of sufferings began. It was the false Israel who felt the captivity less burdensome, less of a punishment. The true Israel, on the other hand, found their devotion to Jehovah the cause of their severest woes. Both from the heathen who surrounded them, their captors and lords, and from their faithless brethren who had given in their allegiance to the gods of the land, came the cruel strokes of scorn and injury. The difficulty which assailed them was therefore two-fold. Why were they, the faithful remnant, sent into exile? Why were they *kept* in exile when they had patiently submitted to the conqueror as the instrument of Jehovah's will?

5. The search for the solution. The problem was a serious one, involving the very foundations of religious faith and life. Questionings of all sorts presented themselves. Had God deserted them? Could Jehovah be the God of righteousness and allow this? It was an awful crisis in the history of Israel's religion—and of her nationality as well. Would they survive the experience into which they were plunged? Could they understand the anomaly—solve the difficulty and come forth triumphantly, not only from the captivity but from the bondage of their dark doubts and difficulties into a day of spiritual victory?

To help on the dawning of this day was the purpose of the Book of Job. It sets forth the critical moments in the life-history of a man which illustrate the meaning of Israel's present crisis, and it brings forth also for all time certain principles of Divine government, and certain elements of the Divine character.

6. The divisions of the book of Job. The book consists of the following divisions:[1]

(1) Chapters i.–ii. The prologue (in prose).

(2) Chapter iii. Job's passionate outbreak in the presence of his friends (in poetry, as also the following).

(3) Chapters iv.–xxxi. The debate between Job and his friends, consisting of three circles of speeches (1) chaps. iv.–xiv., (2) xv.–xxi., (3) xxii–xxxi. "Each of these three circles comprises six speeches, one by each of the three friends in succession, with a reply from Job. In the last round Zophar, the third speaker, fails to come forward."

[1] This outline is that of Davidson in his commentary in the Cambridge Bible.

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(4) Chapters xxxii.–xxxvii. The speeches of Elihu.

(5) Chapters xxxviii.–xlii. 6. The speeches of Jehovah out of the storm.

(6) Chapter xlii. 7–17. The epilogue (in prose).[1]

(7) *The lesson of the prologue.* What does the book contribute to the solution of the problem that confused and overwhelmed the faithful Israel suffering in exile?

The dramatic scene in the prologue offers one element of solution. God permits his innocent and faithful servants to be severely *tested* by misfortune and suffering in order to bring forth from their example evidences of their fidelity. The exhortation of the prologue, therefore, is—"O Israel, God is putting you into the furnace of affliction to illustrate your faithfulness to him in the most unhappy and grievous sufferings. Be faithful therefore." Such faithfulness Job exhibited. Twice he stood the test and accepted the will of God without murmuring.

But just here comes a difficulty. What was to result in Job's case from his standing these two fearful tests? Manifestly, restoration and reward. This could be the only right sequel. Of this restoration and reward the epilogue speaks. But there is an intervening experience of terrible and prolonged suffering and struggle. The two—prologue and epilogue—belong together. Testing—triumphantly met—should be rewarded. Israel, faithful Israel, willingly submits to be led away into exile with the unrighteous. This prologue teaches her that this was allowed as her test. She suffers the reproach of the heathen and the renegade Hebrews. This is her test. The prologue explains this to her, and makes it possible for her to preserve her consciousness of innocence, her trust in Jehovah. Now what does she expect as a result of her standing this test? Nothing else than restoration and reward. But just this result does not come. Hence the test theory of suffering fails for the Israel who continues in suffering and misery after meeting the tests which Jehovah has permitted the Satan to bring to bear.

8. An illustrative possibility. To illustrate the situation more definitely, let us suppose that in the early years of the exile the little story of Job, the prose tale, including prologue and epilogue—that is all—appeared from the hand of some unknown writer, explaining to Israel the meaning of her being taken away into exile and made to suffer the reproach of strangers—though innocent, though righteous. How did this explain the situation? "It is a *test*, be faithful, as was Job, and you shall be delivered and rewarded!" This the faithful Israel did. It was conscious of doing this—but the suffering continued. A test cannot last forever. Once met, it is over, once for all. Job accepted the loss of property and family, the infliction of the dreadful disease, but the acceptance of both was followed by the removal of both and restora-

[1] The story of the book is concisely and clearly told in the first chapter of Davidson's Introduction. A general knowledge of the contents of the Book of Job is requisite for an understanding of the treatment that follows.

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tion to the old happiness. A prologue of testing was followed by an epilogue of restoration. Israel's experience was different; the restoration did not come.

Hence the prose story of Job fails to explain the continuance of suffering. The test theory falls to the ground.

Another writer, a poet, sees the difficulty. He recognizes the truth of the prose story but also its inadequacy, breaks it in two, inserts his contribution to the new problem between the two parts—a poem, in which the endeavor is made to teach Israel what the *continuance* of these sufferings means, while she continues pious and righteous.

9. *The higher meaning of the poem.* He goes over the whole field of discussion. In the person of Job in debate with the three friends, he reviews the various theories to account for the sufferings of the righteous, the theory that they must have sinned, the theory that suffering is chastisement for which a man should be thankful [1]—what is this in the present circumstances but the theory of *testing* in another form?—the theory that suffering is for the prevention of sin, to keep a man from falling into it.

He shatters all these against Job's conviction of innocence before Jehovah, and his demand that the suffering be stopped whose continuance—it grows worse and worse—stirred him to open his mouth in the beginning, and keeps him in doubt and sometimes despair throughout the colloquies.

It seems, therefore, that the poem marks a decided advance on the prologue.[2] It is the endeavor to explain not suffering borne as a trial on the part of the righteous, but the *discipline of suffering;* to show how suffering is a school in which a man may remain, though righteous, though pious, there to learn new and higher lessons concerning God's ways and will, and concerning God Himself.

10. *The school of suffering and its lessons.* The school of suffering—this was what Job was passing through in the *poem* as distinct from the prose prologue.

And what did he learn there?

11. *Job's lesson of trust in himself.* (1) He learned there to grasp with a clearer consciousness and with unmovable assurance the fact of his own *righteousness*—to hold fast to it—to maintain it—never to doubt *himself.* It need not be said how clearly this appears in his passionate outcries against the insinuating statements and open accusations of his friends. They would explain his sufferings by his sin. He would have no such explanation

[1] Cf. v. 17–26.

[2] It is not claimed that there was a prose story of Job which was afterwards worked over into the combination of prose and poetry which we find at present. The attempt is made merely to present it as a possibility in order to bring out more clearly what seems to be the only satisfactory standpoint for the interpretation, viz., the advance in thought from the prologue to the poem and its correspondence to the exile problems.

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—better no explanation at all, than a denial of the inmost central facts of his own consciousness.

12. His old idea of God shattered. (2) He learned to give up his old idea of God. A thoughtful consideration of chap. i. 20, 21; ii. 10 of the prologue will reveal the idea of God with which Job entered upon these experiences. The attitude of Job toward God is a stoical one. His conception is of a master, a more or less arbitrary ruler, who renders evil or good alike, and man should take it as from the hand of a master. Master and slave is the relation which predominates. Indeed is not the whole representation of a testing God in the prologue after that order?

Entering into the debate with such notions of God, and confronted by such a figure as his friends held up before him, a God who punishes only the sinner but does good to the righteous, Job growing even more conscious of his own righteousness, cries out against their God and his. The truth is, that all through the poem it is not Job but God who is being tested, to see whether He, as conceived by the debaters, can be equal to that situation. Job brings Jehovah to the bar of his own experience, the Jehovah of his friends' belief and of his own, proves how in his own case injustice has been done to the innocent—and not in his own case only, but in the case of multitudes all over the world. Chapter xxiv. gives us his conclusions as to the absence of the divine rectitude in the world at large.

He has gained the victory over his friends and—over himself. "He has shown that God's rule over the world is not just in the sense in which his friends insisted that it was just, and in the sense in which his own moral feeling demanded that it should be just. God is not righteous in the sense that He punishes wickedness with outward calamity and rewards the righteous with outward good." He is not righteous to allow suffering to dominate in Job's life and increase and grow worse—while he himself grows more conscious of his own innocence. The God of Job's ideal is shattered.

13. A new God disclosed. (3) Job has learned to know another Jehovah. He has learned him in the growing grasp of his own personal righteousness. Observe how all through his passionate outcries he appeals from God to God; he shatters the idol with one sentence only to feel after, grope after, the Ideal with the next word.[1] We have before us the process of growing into a firmer grasp on Jehovah's righteousness as the corollary of the consciousness of personal righteousness.

14. A God greater than the individual apprehension. (4) Yet one thing more Job has to learn, and this the Almighty alone can teach him. What has led Job to destroy his old conception of Jehovah and to grasp after the new and higher conception? His own personal sufferings endured with a consciousness of innocence. He has measured all the world, and God too, by himself. He has burst into passionate complaints, even blasphemies, has con-

[1] Cf. xiv. 13–15; xvi. 18–21; xix. 23–27; xxiii. 1–10.

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demned from his own standpoint the moral government of the world and pronounced all wrong, while at the same time he sees, through his own moral consciousness, the background of the higher and greater moral consciousness of a truly righteous God. Everything however has revolved about himself and is judged by himself. He needs another lesson. Jehovah speaks to him out of the storm. What does He say? Only this, "Learn that while I am reflected in your thought and heart, I am greater than the circle of your thought and life. I am the creator" (recall those magnificent pictures), "I am the God of righteousness ruling the whole earth. Do you care in view of this to undertake the moral government of the earth, you who judge me from your own standpoint and think I revolve about you!" This was what Job needed to enlarge and elevate his thought of God—an insight unto God's relation to the universe. This is the meaning of those speeches of the Almighty and this is their result, as Job's last words reveal (xlii. 1–6).

15. The application to Israel in exile. What was all this but the most benignant and fruitful truth for Israel, innocent and suffering more and more as the days of exile passed? "You are in the school of suffering, undergoing the discipline of learning the truth. Your old notions of Jehovah are inadequate. Throw them away and learn to trust your own heart and Him as righteous to the end and in the highest sense. But learn, too, that though He is your God, and is teaching you now and revealing Himself to you, as He did to Job, in this experience—it is to teach you that He is greater than your highest conception. 'His ways are not your ways, his thoughts not your thoughts,' as a great prophet of our time has said, and the Psalmist who sings, 'His ways are in the great waters and his footsteps not known.' He is the God of the whole earth, the righteous ruler of the world." This was what Israel did learn in the exile. She gave up her particularism, her belief that Jehovah had no interest in others beside herself. She came to know as the result of the exile experience something of the breadth and majesty, the wondrous sweep and power of the divine character. This was the lesson of the poem of Job. The epilogue adds the sequel. Having passed through the experience, having learned the lessons of the school of suffering, Job is graduated with honor and the reward is his. Such would be Israel's lot. With this promise the writer leaves his people to the future.

16. The permanent teaching of the book. But he as a "wise man" has left for us more general principles. He has taught us how suffering may be a test of our fidelity, and, more than that, how God leaves us to the discipline of suffering that we may come to know our own selves better, and to know God as higher and greater than our thought, to acknowledge, with his perfect righteousness, the impossibility of including His ways within the circle of our comprehension. We are thus assured of His righteousness, and we may safely trust ourselves to His government, believing that all His ways are just, though we may not be able to trace the sweep of the greater circle in which our experiences are single points.

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THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

By Associate Professor Robert Francis Harper, Ph.D.
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I.

In the beginning of the XVIIth century accounts of the inscriptions in Persepolis were brought by travelers to Europe. The first of these accounts is that of the celebrated traveler, Pietro de Valle, in a letter from Schiraz, dated October 21, 1621. In 1674 Chardin copied the first complete inscription, the so-called Window inscription, the shortest of the trilingual Achæmenian inscriptions. A copy of this may be found in his travels published in 1711. This inscription was copied in 1694 by Kämpfer. He also copied the Babylonian text of the so-called Persepolis inscription H — in all twenty-five lines. In his work, published in 1712, Kämpfer discusses the nature of the newly discovered writing, and inquires whether it is alphabetic, syllabic or ideographic, deciding in favor of the ideographic. Kämpfer was also the first to make use of the term *cuneiform*, *i. e.*, wedge-shaped. In 1701, the Dutchman, de Bruin, began his travels. He devoted the year 1704 to the ruins of Persepolis. In 1714 he published two new trilingual inscriptions, besides one Old-Persian and one Babylonian. Notwithstanding the publication of these new finds, nothing further was done toward their decipherment until the beginning of the XIXth century.

In 1762 the celebrated vase of Xerxes was found by Count Caylus, and the quadrilingual inscription on it containing the words, "Xerxes, the Great King," was published in the same year. The important rôle played by these vase inscriptions will be noticed later.

In 1765 Carsten Niebuhr copied in Persepolis several Achæmenian inscriptions. He also distinguished forty-two different signs, which he correctly called letters. From 1798 Tychsen and Münter carried on the work begun by Niebuhr, and published their scanty results in 1802. In the same year, on September 4, Georg Friedrich Grotefend placed his discoveries before the Society of Sciences in Göttingen. Grotefend was the first to decipher a complete inscription. His discoveries did not, at once, receive the notice which they merited, and it was not until the Parisian Arabist, Silvestre de Sacy, published his accounts of them that they attracted attention.

The following short account of Grotefend's method of work is, for the most part, from Friedrich Delitzsch's appendices in the German edition of

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George Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*. As towards the end of the XVIIIth century new and more reliable copies of inscriptions arrived in Europe, their study was taken up again, and in 1802 Grotefend, of Hanover, published the first translation of a cuneiform text, viz.: Of a Persian Achæmenian inscription. His genius succeeded, by combinations as bold as they were ingenious, in paving the way for further discoveries. The old authors told him that the palaces of Persepolis, out of whose ruins the inscriptions came, had been built by Achæmenian kings. The Pehleve inscriptions, scattered over these same ruins, and deciphered by de Sacy, led to the expectation that something somewhat analogous would be found in the cuneiform. Grotefend had already learned the direction in which these inscriptions were to be read, viz.: From right to left. He chose for his work two small ones—the first of which had been engraved on a door-post of a building on the second palace-terrace of Persepolis, and the second on the wall of a building on the third terrace. Münter had already, by chance, noted in the inscriptions a word which was often repeated and he had decided that this word must have the meaning of "king." This same word was also found in the two inscriptions of Grotefend, which were almost alike. The only difference was that, in the first inscription a group of signs, which we may call A, preceded the word for "king," and in the second a group, which we may call B; and further that in the second, A and the word for "king" following it were repeated, while in the first a group of signs (C) without the title of king corresponded to A. Accordingly the two inscriptions had some such form as this:

I. A king———— C————
II. B king———— A king————

From this Grotefend drew the conclusion that these groups of signs contained proper names, standing in a geneaological relation to each other. A must be the father of B, C the father of A, and, while A as well as B were kings, C, because the title was ever wanting after his name, was not born a king. According to this, A seemed to be the founder of a dynasty. The kings were Achæmenian, and hence only two things were possible. A contained either the name of Cyrus or that of Darius. The first possibility was discarded at once, because the father as well as the son of Cyrus was named Cambyses, and hence the groups of signs, B and C, must have been the same. Again, group A was too long for Cyrus. Accordingly, Darius was all that was left for A, and Grotefend, taking into consideration the forms of these names known to the Greeks, Hebrews and Persians, read:

A: D-a-r-h-w-u-sch=Darius.
B: Kh-sch-h-a-r-sch-a=Xerxes.
C: V-i-sch-t-a-s-p=Hystaspes.

and translated the inscriptions:

"Xerxes, the mighty king, king of kings, son of Darius, the king. . ."
"Darius, the mighty king, king of kings . . . son of Hystaspes."

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Later investigations showed that he had read these signs correctly. There was only one mistake—the *h* should have been read *j*. The correctness of his method of decipherment was confirmed, beyond all doubt, by the vase mentioned above. On this there is a quadrilingual inscription. The first is written in Egyptian hieroglyphs, and was deciphered by Champollion as the name of Xerxes. The other three are in cuneiform characters, the first of which, the Old-Persian, corresponded exactly to the group on the Persepolis inscription, which Grotefend read Xerxes. All later investigations are based on the discovery of Grotefend. Thirty years later (1836), Burnouf and Lassen took up the work. Lassen did great service to the young science by his ingenious discovery in one of the Darius inscriptions of a list of peoples which added much new material for the recognition of new values of the single letters, and rendered it possible, for the first time, not only to read the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, but also to explain them from a philological standpoint. The theory of Grotefend that the language of these inscriptions and that of the Avesta were exactly similar was proved to be wrong. From this time on, new discoveries in both the grammar and the lexicon were made, from time to time, by such men as Beer, Holtzman, Westergaard and others, but the material at hand was altogether too limited to permit any great advances.

It was the good fortune of Henry Rawlinson to discover this greatly needed material. In 1835, while a resident in the East, Rawlinson began his study of the cuneiform inscriptions. At first his work was quite independent of Grotefend's. From an examination of the inscriptions of Elvend, near Hamadan, without any assistance from Grotefend's work, he found the name of Hystaspes, Darius and Cyrus. In the spring of 1836, while in Teheran, he first became acquainted with the works of his predecessors—that of Grotefend in the third edition of Heeren's *Ideen*, and of St. Martin in Klaproth's *Aperçu de l'origine des diverses écritures* (Paris, 1832). He found, however, that he was already, as the result of his own study, further advanced than Grotefend. In 1837 he copied, for the first time, a large part of the Persian text of the Behistun inscription, viz.: The whole of Column I, the first paragraph of Column II, and 1-10 of Column III, besides four small inscriptions. On January 1, 1838, he sent his first translations, with notes, to London, and they were first brought to notice on May 12, 1838, by Sir Gore Ouseley, in a meeting of the Asiatic Society. Rawlinson's first report was not published at that time. Gildemeister, of Bonn, has printed the most important part in the XXVIth volume of *ZDMG*. In 1839, he was called into active service in the war with the Afghans, and it was 1843 before he could again return to his copying. In 1844 he finished the first inscription, *i. e.*, the Old-Persian, and in 1847 he copied the Babylonian text. During the following year he worked out the basis of all later decipherment. In 1849 he returned to England with the manuscript containing the Babylonian text of this trilingual inscription, and in 1850 he presented to the Royal Asiatic Society a translation of the

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Assyrian inscription found on the famous Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser. In 1851 the printing of his *Memoir on the Babylonian and Assyrian Inscriptions* was finished. This contains the cuneiform text, the transliteration and translation of the Babylonian version of the Behistun inscription (112 long lines, the middle part of most of which has been rendered unreadable on account of the long continued trickling of water over them), together with a commentary and an analysis of the first thirty-seven lines. "The list of signs added to the above contains 246 numbers, with the addition of phonetic values (and also ideographic), most of which have turned out to be correct." In 1852 Rawlinson was sent by the English government as Consul General to Baghdâd. He was given power by the authorities of the British Museum to conduct excavations wherever he found favorable sites. In 1855 he returned to England and has since remained there, with the exception of a short diplomatic trip to Persia in 1858.

"The year 1857 is memorable in the annals of Assyriology. In that year the Royal Asiatic Society of London proposed a test of the genuine character of the translations offered by scholars of the Assyrian inscriptions. It was as follows: Eight hundred lines of cuneiform writing, recently found by Layard on clay cylinders, at Kalah Sherkat, not far from the site of Nineveh, were to be independently translated by any scholars who would come forward and accept the proposal; the results of their work were to be sent, sealed, to the secretary of the society, and the packets were to be opened on the same day before a commission, which should report on the points of resemblance or unlikeness to be found in the translations. This proposal was made public in March, and on May 25 four packets were opened, containing the work of Sir H. Rawlinson, Mr. Fox Talbot, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert. The general similarity of the results in the four essays formed a strong confirmation of the genuineness of the translations, and the correctness of the method of decipherment, which even such a sceptic as M. Renan freely admitted."

Henry Rawlinson is, in every sense of the word, the "Father of Assyriology." He was the first to make the discovery of an inscription of any length and importance, and he was the first to translate an Assyrian inscription. His discoveries, although somewhat dependent on those of Grotefend, were on the other hand practically independent.

[To be Continued.]

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Synopses of Important Articles.

THE DIFFICULT WORDS OF CHRIST; I. THE CHILDREN AT PLAY, MATT. XI. 16–19. By Rev. JAS. STALKER, D. D., in *The Expositor*, Jan. 1893.

The passage is a criticism passed by Christ upon the generation to which he belonged, in respect to their treatment of John the Baptist and himself. Characteristically he has embodied his rebuke in a figure of speech, and has drawn from child life. A game is described in which children imitated first a marriage, one piping and the others dancing about him; then a funeral, one wailing, the others following mourning. Construing Christ's figure, who are represented by the children who complain to their companions? There are two views: (1) that they are Jesus and John the Baptist; (2) that they are the Jews in general. The latter view comes from a too literal adjustment of the parallels; the phrase "it is like" is simply a link by which the thing to be illustrated is loosely connected with the illustration, which is then developed as a picture with perfect freedom. Further, were not John and Jesus the innovators, who proposed the new departures, but could not get their contemporaries to join? Is it historical to say that fickleness and an excessive disposition to change were the characteristics of the age of Jesus? An additional argument against the second view, sentimental indeed but not therefore without weight, is that it takes all the sunshine out of the picture of child life which the illustration presents, and would Jesus have been likely to do that? By the first view nothing is lost, because all that is really brought out by the second is included; and there is everything to gain.

The discussion is rather an exegetical than a practical one, as the general meaning and point of the parable are the same under any explanation. It is a little surprising that Dr. Stalker (with Godet) has gone back to the old interpretation of the passage, as against many recent commentators (Lange, Meyer, Weiss, Holtzmann, Bruce, Schaff, *et al.*) His principal reason for doing so is to avoid certain alleged violence done the history by the more recent view, which he cites in order to refute. But the difficulty is a conjectural and not a real one. Excessive pressure is brought to bear upon the figure to make it yield historic detail. The error of literalism which Dr. Stalker decries in his first argument characterizes his second. The figure of the parable introduces us to children at play in the streets with their customary youthful games of mimicry. Some wish to have a mock marriage, but their fellows refuse to join in their gayety; then they propose a mock funeral, but still they will not respond. In fact, they are childish, insincere and unreasonable. And just so, says Jesus, are the men of this generation. Nothing which is genuinely religious will suit them, because they do not wish to be suited. If Jesus and John have to be identified either with the children who propose the games or with those who refuse to play, the manner

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of introducing the comparison (see especially Luke vii. 31–35) and the natural parallelism of figure and explanation demand the latter; *i. e.*, the Jews called upon John to be less somber and severe, but he would not; they called upon Christ to be less cheerful and social, but neither would he respond. But it is neither necessary nor desirable to understand that Jesus identified himself and John with either group of children. To do so involves a manifest lack of dignity. Christ is administering a rebuke to the Jews of his time for rejecting their truest religious leaders. He employs this illustration to disclose the underlying cause and spirit of their opposition, which were their childishness, insincerity and unreasonableness. Any attempt to draw out detailed similarities between figure and explanation is unwise because involving difficulty and violence. Besides, such a proceeding is out of harmony with the best principles of exegesis as applied to parabolic interpretation.

ST. PAUL AND INSPIRATION. By Prof. GEORGE T. PURVES, D.D., in *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, January, 1893.

The influence of Paul's teachings is so great that it may truly be said that our apprehension of Christianity depends upon our apprehension of Paul.

I. In considering the testimony which Paul gave to his consciousness of apostolic office we have, first, a summary of his teachings respecting "his gospel;" this was not elaborated by his own mind, but received through direct revelation of Jesus Christ. Furthermore, his mind was the subject of special illumination by the Holy Spirit, so that he was enabled to apprehend this objective revelation, and to regard himself as a vehicle for the utterance of God's thought; "God doth beseech you by us," "Christ speaketh in me," etc. Therefore he claims absolute authority over the faith and conduct of Christians, and, identifying "his gospel" with "the word of the Lord," he warns against any one who teaches otherwise, even though he were an angel from heaven. He attached the same authority to his letters as to his oral teaching, and to the verbal form in which his truth was expressed no less than to the truth itself; cf. 2 Thess. 2.15; 1 Cor. 2.13. Though his rhetoric, argument and style were brought to his mind by the Holy Spirit, yet there was never a more living writer than Paul, whose marked self-consciousness, intense personality, and limitations as well, stamp themselves on all his writings.

II. Setting aside at once the objections brought by naturalism, these claims are justified (a) by the fact that they were freely admitted by the other apostles, and (b) by the fact that "his gospel" is a legitimate unfolding of ideas already announced in the teachings of Jesus; it stands in such relation to that of the other apostolic writers as to be an integral and necessary part of the apostolic teaching as a whole, and a legitimate unfolding of the teachings of the Old Testament.

III. In view of the above facts, what was Paul's doctrine about the Scripture? Did he attach the same conception of authority and inspiration to it that he attached to his own teachings, whether oral or written? (a) His

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descriptions of the Old Testament indicate that he regarded it as God's gift to the church of all time, that it was "inspired by God," and "*written* for our admonition." (b) Paul's actual use of Scripture shows that he regarded "his gospel" as the very substance of the law and the prophets. He treats the Biblical narrative—so far at least as its leading features are concerned—as true, and as fundamental to his view of God's government of the world and of the method of man's salvation. He supports his argument by appeal to the precise words used by the sacred writers; but since he does not derive his doctrine from the Scriptures, but from direct revelation of Jesus Christ, he is not confined to exact quotation. His exegetical method was determined by his practical purpose, so that he could either show his reverence for the letter of Scripture, or his disregard for it, as occasion required.

In the light of this study we may grasp the meaning of the word *theopneustos*—"breathed into by God"—applied by him to the Scriptures. He evidently meant that, as writings, they were so composed under God's particular direction that both in substance and in form they were the special utterance of His mind and will. The Divine Spirit dwelt in them, and breathed through them.

The authority which Paul claims for his own writings, and which he attributes to the Old Testament, he accords to the writings of other apostles and inspired men which were accepted by the church as a part of Scripture.

IV. A Christian scholar must, therefore, approach the study of the Bible with peculiar reverence, not in the same mental attitude in which he approaches other literature, not blindly nor unintelligently, but with quickened intellectual and moral power, so that he may understand it as a living thing, an organism. Paul nowhere describes the *method* by which the Divine Spirit operates in himself, or in the prophets, to produce the Scriptures. He testifies to the fact and its consequences.

The account which the Bible gives of itself provides the strongest incentive to textual criticism, the reproduction as nearly as possible of the original; it will stimulate to the most exact and painstaking exegesis; it should lead to an apprehension of the Bible as a whole. The student should not be surprised to find that elements historical, verbal, or doctrinal, which enter into the structure of the Bible, had a previous existence of their own (for example in the synoptic gospels); but only as incorporated in the Scriptures can such materials be affirmed to be inspired.

The above admirable inductive study, covering twenty-four pages, makes it clear that Paul claimed for himself, and for the other Biblical writers, a divine authority in a very high and altogether peculiar sense. But while asserting the *fact*, it is equally clear that neither he nor they give the data for constructing an adequate *theory* of inspiration. Dr. Purves' investigation proves that a careful statement of the Bible's testimony respecting its own inspiration nowise conflicts with the sober results of a most rigid higher criticism of either the Old Testament or the New. P. A. N.

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PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY; I. THE SOURCES. By REV. PROF. A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor*, January, 1893.

To make ourselves acquainted with the Pauline type of Christianity or *Paulinism*, a careful study of the four letters to the Galatian, Corinthian and Roman churches is all that is necessary. This limitation is justified by the fact that these epistles are everywhere recognized as genuine. Moreover, these epistles have the advantage of being controversial, for in a great crisis the thoughts of men are clear, defining themselves with the utmost sharpness and energy against those of their opponents. The issue is clear and vital, viz., the nature and destination of Christianity. In the group known as the *prison* epistles the special characteristic is the prominence given to Christology. The other groups, containing the epistles to the Thessalonians and the pastoral letters, yield no distinctive contribution to Paulinism. Since the first of these four groups is separated from the last by some sixteen years, the question may be asked with propriety, Was there any growth in Paul's mind in relation to Christianity, or must we conceive of his sytem of Christian thought as the same at all stages of his history, poured out at the first gush so to speak, and settling thereafter into an unchangeable, rigid form? There is no *a priori* objection to the hypothesis of development. But what is the fact in respect to Paul? The epistles to the Thessalonians, with the discourses in Acts, have been supposed to be the sources of a *Primitive Paulinism*. That these epistles represent a kind of rudimentary gospel is beyond doubt. But it by no means follows that that rudimentary gospel represents all that Paul then knew. That this was not the case is clearly seen from the fact that the Thessalonian epistles were written at least a year or two after the council at Jerusalem, where Paul appeared as the champion of gentile liberties. The encounter with Peter at Antioch had also taken place, and Paul's utterance at that time, Gal. ii. 14–21, is not a supposed primitive Paulinism, but the fully formulated Paulinism of the controversial letters. There is, then, every reason to believe that his characteristic ideas had taken form before he wrote the Thessalonian epistles. The phenomena encountered in those epistles are perhaps best explained by supposing that they show us the form in which Paul judged it fitting to present the gospel to nascent Christian communities when he had in view merely their immediate religious needs and capacities. Viewed from this point these epistles are a kind of Christian Primer, in which the frequent occurrence of such phrases as "ye remember," "ye know," indicates that the writer wishes to impress upon his readers the importance of former instruction. The elements of Christian truth contained in this Primer may be summarized as follows. (1) The word commonly used by Paul to denote the message of salvation is the Gospel, more definitely the *Gospel of God*. (2) The substance of this message is escape from "the wrath to come." Salvation is regarded chiefly from the *eschatological* point of view. (3) The great object of Christian trust appears,

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not so much as Jesus the crucified, but rather as Jesus exalted into heaven, and about to come thence again for the destruction of sinners and the salvation of believers. Once only is Christ's death referred to as a means of salvation, I Thess. v. 10, and that in the most general terms. It indicates, at least, that Paul was not accustomed in his mission-addresses to enter with much fullness or exactness of statement into the doctrine of redemption by Christ's death. This also corresponds with the reports of his mission-addresses in the book of Acts. The points chiefly insisted on are Christ's death for sin and his resurrection, the former being rather implied than expressed, cf. Acts xiii. 38-39. (4) In the passage just referred to the word "justified" occurs, but it is not found in the Thessalonian epistles. The same idea in *essence* is presented in the words "faith" and "grace." (5) Jesus is called *the Son of God* and *the Lord*. (6) Mention is also made of the Holy Spirit, and in the specifically Pauline sense of the *Sanctifier*. While salvation is regarded from the eschatological point of view, present sanctification is strongly insisted on as a preparation for the future salvation. The writer's interest in real Christian goodness is intense and unmistakable; and it inspires us with confidence that whatever Paulinism may mean, it will never be found to imply indifference to ethical ideals and their embodiment in right conduct.

This article is the first of a series in which Professor Bruce discusses Paul's Conception of Christianity. The first article, on The Sources, will be followed by an attempt to form as definite conception as possible of the nature and import of Paul's religious experience, and this by a rapid survey of the four great epistles to the Galatian, Corinthian and Roman churches. The series promises to be one of exceptional interest and value.

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Notes and Opinions.

How slowly old errors die is curiously illustrated in the article of the Century Dictionary on the word Bible. Explaining its derivation (through the Latin *biblia*), from the Greek *biblos*, also written *byblos*, it gives as one definition of the latter, "The Egyptian papyrus, of the inner bark of which paper was made." All of which is quite true except the last clause; and this is quite incorrect, inasmuch as the papyrus is an endogenous plant, and has no bark either inner or outer. Did the Century dictionary writer possibly rely on Liddell and Scott, who define *biblos* as "the inner bark of the papyrus," and then "a book, of which the leaves were made of this bark"? If so, he might have learned to distrust the authority of L. and S. in this particular matter if he had turned to *byblos*, which he would have found defined as the fibrous coats of the papyrus. . . . "especially the *outer* coat of papyrus used for writing on." Under *papyros*, although it is defined as a rush, it is stated that writing paper was made of it "by peeling off its outer coat and gluing the slips together transversely." This venerable error (self-contradicting, but not self-correcting), the late Dr. Ezra Abbot was at pains to correct in a most interesting article in the Library Journal of Nov., 1878, in which he shows the general prevalence of the error even among scholars, and sets the matter right in his usual thoroughgoing fashion. The Century Dictionary also itself states the matter correctly under the head of papyrus. "The papyrus was prepared by cutting the central pith of the reed into longitudinal strips which were laid side by side, with another layer of strips crossing them at right angles. The two layers, thus prepared, were soaked in water, then pressed together to make them adhere, and dried."

E. D. B.

The Preface to the First Epistle of John.—In the *Expositor* for February, Professor Findlay expounds the first four verses of the first Epistle of John. This is a homiletical epistle, the address of an absent pastor to his flock, or to disciples widely scattered. It is a specimen of apostolic preaching to believers, a masterpiece in the art of edification. The address is based on the gospel history. The preface is indeed a summary of the Gospel according to John (cf. 1 John i. 1-18; xx. 30, 31). Its subject is *the eternal life manifested.* St. John had witnessed the supreme manifestation of God. The secret of the universe had been revealed to him in this which *was from the beginning.* The source of spiritual life to men is that which was in the first instance the source of natural life to all creatures. Here lies the foundation of John's

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theology. It assumes the unity of the seen and the unseen. It interdicts and excludes all gnostical, dualistic and docetic conceptions of the world. This life that came from the Father and was manifested to the eyes of the witnesses of Jesus, was the one life and love that runs through all things, the source and root of being.

The apostle emphatically asserts the actuality of the manifestation of this life. Twice in three verses he reiterates, "we have seen it," twice "we have heard," and twice he repeats, "the life was manifested." The apostles were well aware of the importance of historical truth. Their faith was calm, rational, sagacious. Criticism and an alien philosophy were not idle in those days. The Gnostics of the later apostolic age were already, in their peculiar method and dialect, treating the incarnation, the miracles, the resurrection and the ascension, as a myth, a beautiful poetic dream, a pictorial representation of religious truth. In this epistle John confronts the Gnostic error with his impressive and authoritative declaration. From the eternal life revealed in Christ and thus attested, there is derived a *new divine fellowship for man.* "Our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ." Three words resume the teaching of the first paragraph of this epistle: *life, manifestation, fellowship.* T. H. R.

The Kingdom of God.— Erich Haupt, D.D., Professor of Theology at Halle, contributes a short but very full and valuable article on this subject for the March *Expository Times.* In the Synoptic Gospels (he writes) the Kingdom of God is the main theme of the preaching of Jesus. Nowhere, however, does Jesus give an express explanation of this term, but leaves his hearers to gather his meaning from the totality of his words and from the various occasions on which he uses them. The foundation of the idea is contained in the Old Testament and is developed in later Judaism. Jesus attaches himself to this preceding development, but in such a way as to give to the term an entirely new meaning. The term itself is not found in the Old Testament, but is first used in the Apocalyptic writings of Judaism about the time of Jesus. The Kingdom of God is the condition in which God's sovereign will, both as regards Israel and the Gentiles, is to be fully recognized and carried out. This will was a *saving* as well as a *sovereign* will. So the term came to designate the salvation, the sum of the blessings which God's sovereignty was to bring. God's sovereignty and the salvation of Israel, especially of the pious in Israel, became so synonymous that the first term became interchangeable with the latter.

To Jesus, as to the Jews, the Kingdom of God consists in this, that God *give salvation.* The Kingdom of God is not a place. It is not an organization of individuals. It is that which God gives to man in salvation. Sometimes instead of the term "Kingdom of God," we find the phrase "Eternal Life" (cf Mat. xviii. 8, 9), and in John the latter has taken the place of the former. With this exception Paul agrees for whom the Kingdom of God is righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. Christ uses the term "King-

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dom of Heaven" as well as the term "Kingdom of God." By the word heaven he seeks to describe not the *place* but the *kind* of this kingdom, its nature and its character. "My kingdom is not of this world," is an explanatory paraphrase for the expression "Kingdom of Heaven." It is the condition in which, within this earthly world, the world of eternity has attained reality. Christ brought this kingdom into this world for in him the eternal life was actually existent. *It* is here, for *he* is here. "Summing up, we may say that to Christ the term Kingdom of God is the comprehensive expression for the New Testament blessing of salvation in its fullest sense."

The Higher Criticism.—Several noteworthy articles have recently appeared on Biblical Criticism. Orello Cone of Buchtel College has an exceedingly thoughtful study in the *New World* for September on New Testament Criticism and Religious Belief. The writer shows the relation between the two. Religious belief affects criticism and is affected by it. Criticism will give to religious belief its true basis. There is no conflict between faith and reason, rather between theology and science, between preconceived doctrinal opinions and opening new truth. A true reconciliation is certain, for man's nature is religious, and truth exists. Criticism of the New Testament prepares the way for a true belief. Such is the spirit of this article. The writer admits that there must be preconceived conceptions of the Bible on the part of any one who approaches it, but asserts that this must not affect the integrity of the critical process. The position that the New Testament writings are in their entirety, in form as well as in content, of supernatural origin, forestalls all criticism. There can be no true criticism with iron-clad prepossessions, whether they be of the dogmatic, ultra-conservative, theologic character, or whether they be of the equally dogmatic, rationalistic, philosophic nature. The writer discusses the task of criticism, its problems of the text and the writings themselves, and considers at length the theory under which criticism must do its work, viz.: that the New Testament writings, though if containing a divine revelation, yet as literature, are of human origin. Criticism of the New Testament writings proceeds on the assumption that they constitute a literature. The writer does not make the distinctions of "lower" and "higher" criticism.

In the *Reformed Quarterly Review* for October, Rev. A. A. Pfanstiehl writes on Modern Biblical Criticism. Acknowledging the necessity and value of criticism, whatever the school of theology to which one belongs, he yet deprecates certain dangers and tendencies of criticism. It deals with the Bible as literature and not as revelation, and so the truth considered and handled as literature, treated critically, scrutinized as text and writing, loses the freshness and life-giving power inherent in it. We hardly agree with the writer when he accuses the higher criticism of upsetting Biblical Theology and of destroying the inspiration of the Scriptures. This may be true of a certain type of investigation that goes under the name of higher criticism,

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but higher criticism itself, truly conceived, is the handmaid of Biblical Theology, and is absolutely the only process by which we can arrive at a true theory of inspiration.

This brings us to the article by Dr. Osgood, of Rochester Theological Seminary, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1892, on the History and Definition of Higher Criticism. This is an interesting and forceful article, in which the writer denies the propriety of the two divisions of literary criticism. He claims that criticism is one process, that the so-called lower and higher criticism over-lap, that the problems of each are necessarily related, that no problems of the lower can be solved without the aid of the higher, and that moreover the appellation of one as lower and the other as higher is unjust and untrue. The consideration of the text requires just as much penetration and learning as the consideration of the authenticity and genuineness. He asserts that the distinction is not common among literary critics, and is one not made by Schleiermacher, Kuenen, Weiss and many other of the leading scholars of this and preceding generations. The writer gives a characterization of the life and work of Eichhorn who was the first to claim general recognition for this distinction. In denying the validity of this distinction he asserts that Eichhorn gave no definition of higher criticism, and no rules or principles on which to base its results. Though there may be much force in what the writer says, yet there do exist these two phases of criticism represented by such men as Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and Ezra Abbott on the one hand, and by Weiss and Wellhausen on the other. Each has its problems and its aims distinct from that of the other. Each presents a sort of work very different from the other, and one that requires a different type of mind. The one investigates the problems of the text, the other that of the authenticity, genuineness, date, etc., of the writing itself. Though the lower may require as great penetration and learning, yet the higher has the broader outlook and the wider range, touching the history and philosophy of the age.

The last paper to which we will call attention is one by President Harper recently published in the *Chautauqua Assembly Herald* on "The Higher Criticism." Since it meets many of the queries raised by the preceding articles we will give this more in detail. President Harper does not question the validity of the term "higher" criticism. He takes it as one established, in use now for a century, and considers its purpose, its principles, its method and spirit, and its results. Criticism, he asserts, in its technical success, is in a single word, "inquiry." The whole business of a critic is to make inquiry. The literary critic inquires as to the authorship, the authenticity, the style and the character of a particular writing. The historical critic makes inquiry as to the date and details of an historical event, and its relation to other events which occurred before and after. History and literature have always been and are inseparable. The term, "higher criticism," describes the process of inquiring which includes both the literary and the historical, the term lower criticism being applicable to inquiry that relates only to the text. "The pur-

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pose of the 'higher criticism' is to discover the date of the book, its authorship, the particular circumstances under which it had its origin, the various characteristics of style which it presents; the occasion of the book; the purpose which in the mind of its author it was intended to subserve. Any and every man who asks these questions concerning any book is a higher critic. Every real student of the Sacred Word is a higher critic. If he is not a higher critic he is not a student." The materials of higher criticism are (1) the book itself, its diction, its style, its historical allusions, its religious ideas and (2) outside sources. The principles of the higher criticism require that allowance be made for the literary methods in vogue in the age in which the author wrote, for the fact that he wrote first of all for the people of his own times, and that his purpose was to bring to men that which must otherwise have been unknown, the knowledge of God and of His will concerning men. That the work of the higher criticism is a reasonable work, who can doubt? It is the very work which the student does in every other line of thought. It is necessary. The questions asked by higher criticism must be answered by the friends as well as by the enemies of Biblical religion. The indifferent must be aroused. Tradition obscures the truth, and the sacredness of truth makes the work absolutely imperative.

It is necessary to distinguish carefully between the true criticism and the false, a rational criticism and a rationalistic. The difference between the two lies not so much in a difference of purpose, materials or principles, but rather in the method of work and in the spirit in which the work is conducted. There are two classes of rationalistic critics: the class that gives undue prominence to the authority of reason and denies the authority of the Scriptures and the supernatural origin of Christianity; and that other class, truly rationalistic, though not often so-called, that magnify the authority of Scripture, but in their work, though perhaps unconscious of the fact, place reason still higher. The first class argue, there being no supernatural revelation, this material had its origin thus and thus. The second class argue, there being a supernatural revelation, this material had its origin thus and thus. There is another school of critics hardly yet organized, still largely ideal, which for convenience may be called the rational school. The rational criticism will be scientific in spirit, observing all the facts and formulating conclusions to be perfected only after reflection and verification. It will be broad and open, as against narrow and dogmatic. It requires the work of the specialist, but also recognizes that the very ability to specialize carries with it inability to generalize. The spirit of the rational criticism is never bold, yet never shrinking back, always cautious, yet ever alert. The charge of narrowness and dogmatism may be made against both classes of rationalistic critics. The rational criticism must be constructive not destructive. It will be characterized by the spirit of the greatest of all reformers. "I came not to destroy but to fulfill." He did a destructive work but his spirit was the constructive. The rational criticism is reverent not blasphemous. Here and here perhaps most widely the

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rational parts company with the rationalistic crititicism. World-wide is the difference between the reverent and irreverent spirit. The higher criticism will recognize both the natural and the supernatural elements. The result will be: (1) the man who has believed, without knowing why, will have an intelligent basis for his faith; (2) the men who have not been able to believe, intelligent, broad-minded men, with the removal of misconception will have no room for scepticism; (3) "The large class whose attitude has always been that of cold indifference will learn that this book is what it purports to be, the Word of God, and that being such it is worthy of all the respect and attention its strongest adherents claim for it. It will become to them a thing of life, not because it has changed — it has always been alive — but because they have changed toward it. Their interest will be aroused. The beauty and sweetness, the power and majesty will now appeal to them. A something has been found which serves as a connecting link between it and them. They have been brought into touch with it. Only this; but this is everything. And the world will, at last, give to the Sacred Word in reality the place which its friends now flatter themselves it occupies, the place of supremacy. The Bible is not supreme to-day. That it will be one day not one of us will doubt; but that day is far distant unless soon a rational interpretation and a rational presentation of Biblical material prevails more widely."

T. H. R.

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Work and Workers.

Two articles of interest have lately appeared in memorial of Dr. Hort, one in the *Expositor* and one in the *Expository Times*. Both are written with that tone of affection which shows the personal charm of the man, but we wish to note what they tell of the method and character of his work. Both emphasize the thoroughness of his work. It was said of the printing of the Westcott and Hort Greek Testament, "when we thought it was all finished, Dr. Hort went over it with a microscope." In study he was not satisfied till he had gone to the bottom of every difficulty. He was almost too fearful of not doing sufficient justice to every point he had to deal with. "And in this no doubt lies the explanation of the fact that, with the exception of the" New Testament "mentioned above, and of a smaller volume containing his two most characteristic and valuable Dissertations on the true reading of John i. 18, and on the Constantinopolitan Creed and other Eastern Creeds of the fourth century, he has left nothing but scattered papers in one or two journals behind him." His modesty and the range of his studies are also noted. This last affected his method as a worker in his chosen sphere. "He was always large in his view; and notwithstanding his extreme fastidiousness and minuteness in investigation he always escaped the charge of pedantry." "As a lecturer, he was not popular with undergraduates. But no professor in any subject lectured to so many Bachelors and Masters of Arts." He took great pains with his lectures, but his great attraction was his sympathetic patience with all opinions and his great readiness to help all students, even those out of his own line, with whom he was thrown into even casual contact.

Oxford, like other places of Christian learning, has been touched by the thought of the Bible as a widening revelation to widening capacities receiving the things of God; and it is interesting to note lecture-course titles which would hardly have been understood twenty-five years ago. Perhaps the University itself shows not so much of this as one would think who remembers that Cheyne, Driver, Sanday, are all Oxford professors. The fact is that the neo-Catholic party, now dominating the Established Church, seeks and finds its inspiration through the Church; and it is in the dissenting bodies that the new enthusiasm for Scripture exists. The younger ministers talk of the revival of religious life which they expect from a coming wave of Bible reading. A few Sundays ago in London I found one of the older ministers, Dr. Clifford, a Baptist leader, trying to help on the reading in a practical way. In the earlier part of the service he gave what might be called a prelude on the

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meaning of the "Song of Songs." The sketch was very interesting, but I do not know whether Dr. Clifford gives these preludes regularly.

To return to the University. Canon Cheyne is not here this term, while Dr. Sanday is convalescent after severe illness. Nevertheless he is giving some of his courses, including one on "New Testament Times." At Mansfield, Mr. Bartlett lectures on "Development of Piety and Theology in the Primitive Church." Dr. Drummond, principal of Manchester New College (Unitarian), and well-known as the English authority on Philo's theology, is giving an "Introduction to the Fourth Gospel." On the whole, however, the New Testament work of the term shows few interesting features. There is more to attract on the Old Testament side. Canon Driver's most advanced course deals with the Minor Prophets. About fifteen men are with him in this study, which is rather elaborately textual. Perhaps half of them have been drawn hither from the Merchant Taylors' School in London. That school, a little oddly, affords teaching of Hebrew. Mr. Gray, of Mansfield, an unusually attractive lecturer, is treating of Second Isaiah and the "Theology of the Psalms." Mr. Ottley, one of the "Lux Mundi" essayists, is lecturing on Old Testament Theology, and the undergraduate who wishes to study the theology of single books, has a choice of Genesis (in Hebrew), Isaiah, two books of Psalms, Ezra and Nehemiah. Manchester New College has a tendency to general inquiries, and its two Old Testament courses concern "Introduction to the Literature and Religion of Israel," and "History of the O. T. Text." The Rev. J. E. Carpenter is the lecturer. F. R. S.

THE subject of the Bampton Lectures for 1893 is "History and Permanent Contents of the Doctrine of Inspiration." In other words, Dr. Sanday will trace the history of the doctrine from 400 A.D. backward somewhat minutely, and then compare the result of his investigation with modern apprehension of the truth of Inspiration.

What does Dr. Sanday look like? What did the undergraduates, as they looked across from the galleries, and the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, the Heads of Colleges, the Tutors, the Fellows, the M.A's, and the strangers within the gates, as they looked up to the tall pulpit,—what did they see? They saw a tall thin man dressed in black gown and Geneva bands. They saw a long thin face wearing a sweet expression, enlivened by bright, merry eyes, and broadening somewhat to a fine forehead. They heard a light clear voice speaking in a manner best described as "steady by jerks." Canon Driver has the same manner, but more jerky.

Dr. Sanday did not waste much time in his preface. For good or for evil, he said, the dictum is now accepted that the Bible is to be studied like any other book. He regretted that the assumption had lain near at hand, "Then the Bible must be like any other book;" but he believed that naturalistic criticism has gone as far as it can go, and that we are now on the way back to a better temper.

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After announcing his subject, Dr. Sanday remarked that until the present century the doctrine of inspiration had received no additions since 400 A.D.; and then he proceeded at once to consider the problems presented by the New Testament. He said that these problems were three: 1, Growth of the Canon; 2, Significance attributed to it; 3, Grounds for inclusion of some books and exclusion of others.

1. No council defined the limits of the Canon, but in the West Jerome's translation fixed them practically; while in the East the struggle for admission was largely over by 200 A.D. During the preceding century a process of selection and reduction was going on.

This division of the lecture dealt largely with Harnack's theory that the Canon sprang into existence between 150–180, as a weapon forged by the Catholics to use against the Gnostics. He admitted that the Gnostic conflict hastened the formation of the Canon, but showed by much cumulative evidence the length of the consolidating process.

2. The doctrine of the Fathers as to the significance of the Canon might be called "high." Every verse was of equal importance in their view, and might be used in all sorts of combinations for establishment of doctrine and destruction of heresy. Dr. Sanday traced a constant "low" doctrine, however, quoting largely from Origen at this point.

3. First ground of inclusion, apostolicity. This argument won a place, finally, for the Apocalypse, and tended to deny one to "Hebrews;" but the latter was included, as reflecting Paul. A second ground took in Mark and Luke and the Acts, because vouched for by apostles. A third ground was found in the Reception by apostolic churches; and here we come to a most important factor, namely, the influence of leading churchmen, as Athanasius and Epiphanius. Dr. Sanday said that this influence was stronger the further back the historian tests it. The last ground assigned—one that operated for exclusion—was the mystical use of numbers, which desired four gospels, corresponding to the cardinal points, etc.

I have given a hasty summary of the first lecture in a series which may not be epoch-making, but will be useful and helpful to many; for many are feeling after the clear résumé of history and the enunciation of doctrine which Dr. Sanday's lectures are going to supply. F. R. S.

OXFORD, February 27, 1893.

PROFESSOR W. MUSS ARNOLT, of John Hopkins University, has accepted a call to the chair of Biblical Literature at Michigan University. Mr. Muss Arnolt is known as a writer on Semitic subjects. He has an article in the forthcoming number of the *Hebraica* on A Comparative Study of the Babylonian Creation Tablets.

The *Theologischer Jahresbericht* has passed under the editorial management of Professor Holtzman, of Strassburg. Doubtless it will continue to maintain the same high character as under the late Professor Lipsius.

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The Holy Synod, the official body of the Russian Church, has determined to direct the revision of the Bible in Russian. A body of scholars has been appointed to conduct the translation, and the approval of the Czar has been obtained. It is expected that the publication will be ready in about two years. This seems to be a biblical movement eastward, from the English through the German to the Russian.

The following are among recent articles on the Aristides Apology, discovered lately by Professor J. Rendel Harris: A translation, with exegetical and critical annotations, by Dr. Raabe, in the Gebhardt-Harnack *Texte und Untersuchungen, Band IX;* another in the *Tuebingin Quartelschrift;* discussions of the age of the writing in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift.*

The closeness with which the whole world of scholarship is bound together is illustrated by a movement, almost simultaneous, of several biblical and theological journals. It is a movement toward the admission of articles in different languages in journals intended to appeal specially to scholars. Two journals are already doing this. One is the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.* Another is the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society. In our late exchanges we note that the number of these polyglot periodicals is to be increased, nor is the increase to come only in Germany. At the last Old Catholic Congress at Lucerne it was determined to found a new Catholic theological journal. It is to be called the *Internationale Theologische Zeitschrift,* and will be edited by Professor E. Michaud, of the Catholic theological faculty of the University of Bern. It will be a quarterly, having articles in French, German or English. Another comes from the Russification of the University of Dorpat in the Baltic provinces. It is a theological journal, to be called the *Utishonyia Sapisky,* or Learned Documents, and is to be published by the Council of the University. In addition to Russian, articles will be admitted in Latin, as well as in other European languages. Nor is America to escape the influence of this universalization of scholarship. *Hebraica* will hereafter be open to articles in other languages than English. The next number is to contain, among other things, an article in German by R. Kraetzschmar, of Leipzig. All these things are evidences that scholarship as well as steam is drawing the world together.

The death of Dr. Worcester, professor of Theology at Union Seminary, has left this chair vacant for the second time within a few years. Dr. Briggs will fill the post temporarily.

A catalogue of books on Oriental languages has recently been published by Mr. James Thin, of Edinburgh. It is particularly full under "India" and "Hebrew."

An elaborate work is just published by Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Ritter. It contains the results of his excavations during the last twelve years in Cyprus, and is entitled *Kypros, the Bible and Homer.* It consists of 500 pages of letter-press, with 219 plates. It is historical, but gives special

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attention to the inscriptions, art and sanctuaries of the island. Mr. Gladstone writes an introduction for the book.

The Cambridge Press will shortly publish a collection of popular articles relating to the history and archæology of the Bible. It will be called the *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, and will be bound up with copies of the Bible. The general editorial work will be by Professor Lumby. The following have written articles for the work: Bishop Perowne, Professors Robertson Smith, Gwalkin, Skeat, Davidson, and Rev. Mr. Houghton. The publication is expected in April. This should be a valuable addition to the popular helps on the Bible.

PROFESSOR SAYCE is spending this winter in Egypt. In letters to the *Academy*, he is noting not only his own work and the corrections of former readings of inscriptions, but the general progress of exploration, as well as the items of interest which an observing and scientific traveler would note. In a recent letter he mentions the work of the French Archæological School during this season. They have copied and numbered all the inscriptions at Sehel, as well as on the main land between Sehel and Assuan, and will soon descend the river and superintend excavations at Kom Ombas.

PROFESSOR SWETE, who has already published, anonymously, a study of the Gospel of Peter, is soon to issue a more elaborate treatise on the same subject.

On March 18 the Chicago Society of Biblical Research held its spring meeting. The following papers were presented: The Argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Professor D. C. Marquis; The Literary Structure of the Song of Solomon, Professor A. S. Carrier; The Teaching of Jesus on the Kingdom of God, Professor A. C. Zenos. Professor Carrier took the ground that the Song of Solomon is not a drama in the modern sense, but rather a dramatic poem. He divided it into three acts, a division perhaps new. Another member of the Society, Professor Terry, of the Northwestern University, is soon to publish a study of the Song of Solomon.

Another venture, which indicates the growing interest in Oriental thought, is *The Oriental Review*, a bi-monthly, to be published at Washington. It is to be a popular magazine of Oriental science and comparative religion. Its aim will be to present, in a popular way, the results of the work of specialists in all lines of the fields covered by its subjects. It will also publish translations of some of the ancient texts, having arranged at present for translations of the Buddhist Book of the Great Decease, the Precepts of Ptah-Hotep, and the Descent of Ishtax. It makes no claim to the advocacy of any particular school of thought, but appeals to that widening circle of broad scholarship which, not only on religious, but on literary and philosophical grounds, turns with increasing interest to the results of Oriental study.

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Book Reviews.

Inductive Studies in the Twelve Minor Prophets. By WILBERT W. WHITE, PH.D., Professor of Hebrew in Xenia Theological Seminary. Chicago: Young Men's Era Publishing Company, 1892. Pp. 114.

These new and practical methods of Bible study are the hopeful signs of the times. This little volume is the outgrowth and embodiment of plans successfully employed by Professor White in two conferences of college students at Lake Geneva, Wis., during the summer of 1892. It lays out before the workman the stone and timbers, with full specifications for constructing the edifice. Special stress is laid where it should be, on the careful, conscientious study of the words of the prophets. Helps in the shape of commentaries should always follow and never precede personal investigation. No student can go through this volume as directed without finding in the Minor Prophets a new mine of spiritual wealth. The mechanical make-up of the book is also attractive. PRICE.

The Central Teaching of Jesus Christ. A Study and Exposition of the Five Chapters of the Gospel according to St. John, xiii. to xvii. inclusive. By THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Wells. New York and London: Macmillan & Co., 1892.

From one point of view this is an excellent book. There is much in it that is helpful, speaking to the heart and imagination. There is much in it to cheer, comfort and exalt. But there is much in it that is based on false exegesis and uncritical suppositions. Only by arbitrary methods can such results be obtained. The author's mind is in that peculiar state in which it is unable to see any real discrepancies or difficulties. He has but to expend his ingenuity on explaining things. How these various explanations fit into each other and how reasonable they are as a whole is no concern of his. When anything seems to him inexplicable, it is referred to some deep mystery. He makes the central teaching of Jesus include too much. As a work of the Christian imagination, it would be excellent; and on this account it will be helpful to many. But its fundamental hypotheses are rejected by most scholars. O. J. T.

Primary Witness to the Truth of the Gospel. A Series of Discourses: also a Charge on Modern Teaching on the Canon of the Old Testament. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892. Pp. 333.

The seventeen sermons in this volume contain forcible and suggestive expositions of practical Christian truth. They are addressed by the venerable

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Bishop of St. Andrews to the people of his diocese to testify to his undiminished interest in their spiritual welfare while hindered by ill-health from appearing in his pulpit. The first sermon, on the "Witness of the Old Testament," is followed by one on the "Witness of St. John the Baptist," and this by two on the "Witness of Jesus Christ." The next, on the "Witness of all the Apostles," is followed by a series of individual testimonies from the more prominent New Testament actors and writers, such as Nathanael, Thomas, Stephen, Andrew, Peter, James, John, Paul and Luke. The last considers the "Witness of the Jews at the Present Day." The writer aims to present from these individual and independent sources a mass of cumulative testimony that will place the truth of the Gospel beyond all reasonable doubt. Still the tone is not controversial, but didactic. Not only the truth itself, but its moral applications are constantly pressed upon the reader's attention.

In the "Charge" at the close of the volume, the Bishop discusses mainly the Pentateuchal analysis. It is a little unfortunate that, after stating the origin and rise of the new opinions, and giving a sketch of the modern theory, instead of considering the grounds on which the theory is based, he contents himself with stating some "*A Priori* Obstacles to the New Teaching," and with referring his readers to recent literature on the subject. Of course the Bishop means to exhibit judicial fairness; but an upright judge will not take occasion to prejudice the jury against the defendant before the case is heard. In theological controversies this habit is common. Let us have truth, let us get at the facts, even if we must experience the painful necessity of reconstructing *a priori* conclusions and pet theories on a basis commensurate with the new facts. This primary love of truth, entirely compatible with a strong leaning toward conservatism, is especially desirable in one who "attempts to assist and guide his clergy in the formation of their opinions" on controverted critical questions.

The misuse of the word "canon," denoting by it the genuineness of a book in the Bible, instead of the mere fact that it is included among the books of the Bible, should be noted. Also, that some of the authors on whom the bishop mainly relies for a refutation of the "new theories" are not first class. P. A. N.

The Formation of the Gospels. By F. P. BADHAM, M. A., Exeter College, Oxford. Second edition, revised and enlarged, pp. 8 + 196. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1892. 5 shillings.

The first edition of this work on the Synoptic problem appeared in 1891. The new edition is more than double the size of its predecessor, and presents the author's theory in a form much easier for the reader to grasp, both because it is more fully set forth in the body of the book, and especially because an appendix presents the three Gospels analyzed by means of

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typographical variations to indicate the sources from which, according to the theory, the several Synoptists drew. The theory itself in its essential features may be briefly stated, mainly in the author's own words, as follows:

1. Previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, Matthew's disciples possessed two Gospels A and B, the former written before, the latter after the flight to Pella. A and B were speedily combined, giving AB.

2. Somewhat later a Pauline Christian having A and B, and AB produces a new harmony of A and B, intended to supersede AB. This new harmony is our second Gospel.

3. Mark in Rome (*circ.* A. D. 72), knowing nothing of the forementioned documents, writes down what he remembers of the preaching of Peter.

4. About A. D. 82, Luke combines the "Preaching" and our second Gospel, occasionally showing acquaintance with the other documents above-mentioned.

5. Into AB are interpolated certain sections of the "Preaching," producing our first Gospel.

Other subsidiary elements of Mr. Badham's theory are that Mark, the author of the "Preaching," is also the author of a large part of Acts, which Luke, the author of the "we-sections," incorporated into his history of the apostolic period, as he had previously made the "Preaching" a main source for his Gospel; furthermore, that Mark is the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus we have three books from Mark,—the "Preaching of Peter," a narrative of the apostolic age incorporated into Acts, and Hebrews. To this may also be added I. Peter as belonging to the general group of Petrine literature, though actually written not by Mark but by Silas.

It is evident that we have here not only a theory of the Synoptic problem departing in some important particulars from those most in favor of late, but some suggestions respecting the authorship of other books novel enough at least to attract attention. From the point of view of the Synoptic problem, the most noteworthy feature of Mr. Badham's theory is that the true Mark document described by Papias as based on the preaching of Peter is neither identified with our second Gospel, nor found in it, but is discovered imbedded in the third Gospel. The author thus parts company alike with ancient tradition and the general consensus of modern opinion. The elaborateness of the theory, despite the brevity of the statement, is also noticeable. It gives us a full literary outfit, so to speak. We have three primitive documents—a first redactor who combined A and B; a second redactor who attempted to improve the work of the first and gave us our second Gospel; a third, Luke, who gave us our third Gospel, and finally an interpolator of AB who gave us our first Gospel. The theory is defended chiefly by two classes of arguments. It separates our existing documents into parts chiefly on the ground of the doublets, repetitions and inconsistencies which it finds in all three of the Synoptists. It reunites the fragments in new combinations and assigns them to their several authors, mainly on the basis of lists of words

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found to be common to the separate parts. The tables of doublets, despite numerous instances of very doubtful identification, give the book a certain value independent of the theory advocated. This theory the author does not undertake to prove directly, claiming that the only test to be applied is whether the key will fit the many and complicated locks which are to be opened.

We are not prepared to say that none of the propositions advanced by Mr. Badham can be substantiated, but we strongly incline to believe that the theory will require modification in important particulars before it can be accepted simply on the ground that the key fits all the locks. Take to begin with, the proposition that the true Petrine Gospel of Mark is not in the second Gospel, but is to be recovered from Luke by analysis of that Gospel, some portions used by Luke being also found in the first Gospel. Now this proposition is open to serious objections. It involves a strangely inconsistent attitude toward tradition. If anything can be established by tradition, it would seem that we ought to regard it as thus established that Mark is in some sense the author of our second Gospel, and that the apostle Peter was a chief source of Mark's information. Now, in connection with one of the testimonies by which this conclusion is sustained, namely, the statement which Papias transmits from John the Elder, Mark's Gospel is referred to as not being *in order*. This latter could in the nature of the case be nothing more than opinion, yet Mr. Badham attaches such weight to it that he makes it almost the corner stone of his theory. Judging that our second Gospel is not disorderly, he sets aside the constant verdict of antiquity identifying our second Gospel with that which Mark wrote, in order to preserve intact this passing expression of opinion on the part of John, and, relegating our second Gospel to an unknown author, creates out of Luke a disorderly Gospel for Mark. The difficulty of this particular hypothesis is seen to be still greater when we consider it chronologically. Both these documents, the true Mark and our present Mark, were in existence as early as 80 A. D., for about this year Mr. Badham places the composition of Luke, which used as its main sources the two documents above named. They were both in existence as late as about A. D. 170, for it is part of Mr. Badham's theory that the "Preaching" was used by Tatian in the construction of his Diatessaron. Thus for ninety years they existed side by side. At the beginning, of course, the names of Mark and Peter were connected with the "Preaching;" also in the days of John the Elder, and likewise apparently in the days of Papias, say about 130 A. D. But in the latter part of the second century the name of Mark is attached unquestioningly to our second Gospel. This is indeed a strange catastrophe that transfers a name from one document to another which has nothing in common with that other, and makes this transfer in the midst, or just at the close, of ninety years of coexistence of the two documents.

If Mr. Badham had contented himself with the proposition that Luke

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employed two sources, one of which was our second Gospel, and the other a document which was nearly as extensive and to which he sometimes gave the preference, it would have been less difficult to agree with him. There is indeed much in his argument respecting the relation of the two documents and Luke's treatment of them that is worthy of attention. Such for example in his instancing of the fact that Luke, assuming, as is now quite generally held, that he had our second Gospel, set aside its account of Peter's denial to insert another account. This fact suggests that we must set some limit to the Petrine influence on the second Gospel, or at least to Luke's estimate of that influence. But the affirmation that Luke *always* preferred this other document to our second Gospel is one for which no proof is advanced, and which indeed the terms of the hypothesis exclude the possibility of proving or disproving. That he always preferred it in the instances which we can observe is, to be sure, true, since Luke's Gospel is *ex hypothesi* our only source for recovering the hypothetical document. But if the hypothetical is to be regarded as real, the proof must be carried beyond the hypothetical to the real. This has not been done. While, therefore, what Mr. Badham has brought forward in this connection is important, it proves much less than he seems to suppose, and certainly fails to substantiate his theory.

When we turn to the second part of Mr. Badham's theory, which postulates two documents, A and B, which by diverse combination give rise to our first and second Gospels, we find it no more firmly established than the first part. The author regards it as a striking proof of the truth of his theory that the discrepancies between the first and second Gospels as respects order of events are accounted for by supposing that the compilers of these Gospels dovetailed identical documents at different points. But when he puts his theory to the test the combination of the two documents involves not merely a dovetailing process, but such motiveless transpositions and such identifications of very different material as put the theory to a severe strain.

In general it may be said that the whole theory is on the one side based on fanciful and subjective considerations, and on the other builds on inconclusive verbal arguments. The former characteristic appears conspicuously in the attempt to justify the assumption that Luke had before him Matthew's account of the infancy of Jesus, and in his endeavor to harmonize the chronology of John with that of his reconstructed Synoptic sources. As respects the lists of words by which he seeks to bind together the now separated fragments of the original documents, it may be justly said that one or two of them create a certain probability in favor of the propositions in defense of which they are put forth, some are wholly inconclusive, and some actually favor a conclusion exactly opposite to that which they are supposed to establish. Our space forbids the exhibition of the weakness of these lists in detail, but the proof can be had by anyone who will take pains to examine them carefully, Greek Testament in hand.

As a serious and boldly independent attempt to solve an important

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problem of New Testament criticism, and as directing attention to certain facts important for its right solution, this book is welcome. But it cannot be accepted as saying the final word on this subject. Some of this work will probably stand. Much of it seems more brilliant and fanciful than substantial or demonstrative. E. D. B.

Two Present-Day Questions: I. BIBLICAL CRITICISM. II. THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT. Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, etc. By W. Sanday, M.A., D.D., LL.D. Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York, 1892.

In the first sermon, the author pleads for the best critical scholarship. Progress is the law of all life. But new opinions should be received slowly and fully tested. The consensus of the best scholars must be awaited. Time should be given that we may grow out of the old traditions into the new truths. Much of the work of the higher critics may now be accepted, even in the extreme form in which their results are stated. The Christian conscience can reconcile itself to them without real loss in religious life. For Christianity does not stand or fall with such questions as authorship, infallibility, inspiration and the like. The author thinks the English mind is peculiarly fitted to solve many of the problems that are now before the scholarly Christian world.

In the second sermon, he discusses the question, how far should the clergy take part in the "social movement" that is now upon us. He is of the opinion that the attitude of the clergy to this movement should be one of reserve. "The Christian teacher *is* called upon to enforce duties as duties, he is *not* called upon to claim or defend or champion rights as rights."

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Current Literature.

By Clyde W. Votaw.
The University of Chicago.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Books and Pamphlets.

Bible Studies. Readings in the Early Books of the Old Testament, with familiar comment. Given in 1878–9. By Rev. H. W. Beecher. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1893. $1.50.

Heth and Moab: Explorations in Syria in 1881–1882. By C. R. Conder, LL.D., D.C.L., R.E. New York: Macmillan, 1892.

An Introduction to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther. By A. H. Sayce, M.A. Third Edition. New York: Revell Co., 1893. $1.00.

The Psalms, Vol. I. Psa. i–xxxviii. Expositor's Bible Series. By A. Maclaren, D.D. New York: Armstrong, 1893. $1.50.

The Bible Remembrancer; containing analysis of the whole Bible, introductions to all the books, diagrams, maps, etc. New York: Revell, 1892. $1.25.

Book by Book; Popular Studies in the Canon of Scripture. Introductions to the Biblical books by Farrar, Spence, Elmslie, Davidson, Dods, Leathes, McClear, Robinson, Sanday, and Milligan. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1892. $2.50.

From the Pyramids to the Acropolis: Sacred Places seen through Biblical spectacles. By T. DeW. Talmage, D.D. Philadelphia: Hist. Pub. Co. $1.00.

The City and the Land. A course of seven lectures of the Palestine Exploration Society. London: Watt, 1892. 3s. 6d.

New Light on the Bible and the Holy Land. By B. T. A. Evetts. London: Cassell, 1892. 21s.

The Holy City Jerusalem: Topography, Walls and Temple. By S. R. Forbes. Chelmsford: Durrant, 1892. 5s.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME I. MAY, 1893 NUMBER 5

THE question, What books shall I buy to aid me in my study? is one which is constantly raised by the student of the Bible. This question is all the more important because in many cases the number of books that can be bought is limited. Even ministers—perhaps we should say ministers especially—to whom books are tools almost as indispensable as are hammer and saw to the carpenter, are often compelled to limit themselves to a very few of the books which they would be glad to have. Let us, in the first instance, suppose the case of a Bible student, somewhat fully trained, and ambitious to do thorough and substantial work, but compelled to be very limited in his purchase of books. What books shall he buy?

IN another part of this issue there is quoted the testimony of Bishop Westcott to the preëminent value of the lexicon and the grammar, and, still more, of the concordance in the study of the New Testament. What is the significance of this testimony? Certainly, Bishop Westcott is not thinking of the concordance merely as an index for finding a passage, the location of which has slipped the student's mind. He undoubtedly has in mind the employment of the concordance for the purpose of examining the whole list of passages containing a given word. In other words, he refers to the task of ascertaining the meaning of a word by a purely inductive process. It is certainly a significant

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fact that a scholar who has all the wealth of immense libraries at his command, nevertheless declares that he has obtained his most valuable results by the use of two books, a concordance of the New Testament and a concordance of the Septuagint (the Greek texts to which these concordances refer are of course taken for granted), and testifies if the student will add to these but two others, a grammar and a lexicon, "he will find that he has at his command a fruitful field of investigation which yields to every effort fresh signs of the inexhaustible wealth of the 'Written Word.'" Is there not in the testimony of this most competent witness a suggestion to the Bible student who is perplexed to know how, with but little money to spend in books, he may make the best use of that little? Let him, having a Greek Testament or a Hebrew Bible, or both, provide himself with a concordance of the original text, and begin a faithful inductive study of some of the great words of the Bible. Let him take, for example, such terms as righteousness, holiness, sin, repentance, forgiveness; or such as heart, soul, flesh, spirit, or any one of a multitude more. Let him take each word by itself, and study with care every passage in which the word is contained, endeavoring by a faithful examination of the context to determine what the exact meaning of the word is. Let him note the result of this examination of each passage, and after comparison and revision and re-comparison, sum up the results of his work in a definition of the word; or, if it prove to have several meanings, in an analytical tabulation of the various meanings. The student who will patiently pursue this method with some of the great words of the Bible, will certainly find himself busy for a time, and if Bishop Westcott is right he will be most profitably employed.

BUT why is this kind of study of preëminent value? In the first place, because it is a study of the ultimate elements of biblical thought. The student does not undertake to grasp the whole of a book at once, still less a system of thought built on the Bible. Instead, he lays hold upon the separate elements of the biblical thought, and concentrating attention on these, one

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by one, gains a firm hold upon them. Archbishop Trench has somewhere said that "the words of the New Testament are eminently the elements (στοιχεῖα) of Christian theology, and he who will not begin with a patient study of these, shall never make any considerable, least of all any secure advances in this; for here, as elsewhere, sure disappointment awaits him who thinks to possess the whole without first possessing the parts of which that whole is composed."

In the second place this method enables the student to work independently and at first hand. Here he can make real original investigation at first sources, and, free from all *a priori* presuppositions, can proceed in purely inductive fashion on the basis of the ultimate facts. Other advantages could be spoken of, but these are sufficient for the present.

This method of study is of course one which can be pursued to best advantage only by the student who has at least some knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. Subject to some limitation it may however be pursued fruitfully, in the case of the New Testament at least, by the use of a concordance of the Revised Version.

BUT there is another method of study which requires an even less expensive outfit than this which we have just referred to and which can be pursued to advantage without appeal to the Greek or Hebrew. The study of each book of the Bible as a whole is indispensable to any thorough study of the Bible and it is possible to the student who has only an English Bible. True as it is that the whole cannot be possessed without first possessing the parts, it is hardly less true in interpretation that the parts cannot be possessed without first possessing the whole. The book cannot indeed be understood till we know the meaning of the words. But it is also true that we shall often miss the meaning of the words—certainly of the sentence—unless we take in the thought of the book as a whole. To this broad study of a book as a whole a knowledge of the historical situation out of which the book arose is a great help, if it is not an indispensable aid. And for this a few books are needed. Yet it is often the

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very book under consideration that is our chief source of information respecting this historical situation, and next to this in value are other books of the Bible. So that while at this point books are greatly desirable, yet even here much good work can be done with little other help than that which the Bible itself affords, and can be done morever in a genuinely independent fashion.

THUS it appears that there are at least two ways of studying the Bible, both scholarly, and, if the student choose to make them so, thoroughly independent and inductive, for neither of which is an extensive library required. The Bible student who is possessed of a Hebrew Bible and a Greek New Testament and can read them, who has concordances of both, and an English Bible for rapid reading, has at his hand the tools for much of the very best and most scholarly work that can be done on the Bible by any one, however amply equipped. Other books are certainly desirable; it is difficult to restrain the pen from naming others that seem *almost indispensable*. But substantial and fruitful work can be done with these books. Such work will far surpass in value that which will be done by the student who, feeding on the multitude of digested and re-digested compends and popularizations, never himself reaches the foundations of biblical thought, never drinks at the fountain head.

THE student of the Bible after the fashion just indicated is also receiving in this study the very best training for the judicious buying of other helps to further work. He is not only cultivating the right method in investigation, he is also developing the sense for the best books in the line of fruitful investigation. The man who uses books which contain results, popular compends of achieved knowledge in the sphere which he proposes to examine, comes to require such books in every sphere of his study. He loses the power to use a thoroughly scientific book which is helpful largely because its use demands the student's best thought. It is not too much to say that the demand for the "manual," the "primer," the collections of "thoughts," "illustrations," etc.—a

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great demand, to judge by the ever-increasing supply—is a sign of the decay of really scholarly habits among biblical students. It would be more deplorable were the other fact not equally patent that never before were so many thoroughly good books for biblical study produced and sold as at the present time. Be this as it may, the point to be emphasized is this, that the man who buys popular compends will find himself constrained to buy them in ever-increasing numbers or fall hopelessly in the rear, while the student of the Bible and its concordances finds himself intuitively feeling after those works which go to the root of the matter and guide him to the freshest and most fruitful results because they stimulate him to the closest study and subject him to the severest discipline. Ministers who want to know the most and the best in the biblical sphere do not need more books but better books, or rather they need to make the right use of the few books they possess as the most efficient means to guide them in the purchase of others.

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"THE STORY OF THE SPIES" ONCE MORE.

By Prof. Wm. Henry Green, D.D.,
Princeton Theological Seminary.

The narrative of the spies in Num. xiii. and xiv. is discussed in the March number of The Biblical World. The article contains a very clear statement of the analysis of these chapters proposed by the most recent divisive critics. And the respected author appears to think that the simple presentation of the analysis must carry conviction to every mind that the chapters are composite, and have been formed by the blending of two narratives which were originally distinct and independent. I must confess that I cannot see it in that light. There are some obvious difficulties in the way of the conclusion so confidently reached.

In the first place, the narrative has every appearance of unity, of being a consistent, well-ordered, properly-constructed narrative, which unfolds regularly, step by step, until it reaches its termination. It harmonizes throughout, and everything is in its proper place. There is nothing superfluous, nothing lacking. Every part contributes its share to the general design, and adds in its measure to the completeness which characterizes the whole. It may be fitly called a well-told tale. It is indeed said in the article above referred to, "A superficial reading of the story may not disturb one's impression of its homogeneity. Closer inspection reveals remarkable repetitions. Instead of advancing in an orderly way, the narrative again and again doubles on itself." But this can, I think, be shown to be a mistake. I hope in this paper to demonstrate the contrary. Now, the conviction in my mind is irresistible that such an appearance of unity could not exist unless the unity was real. A narrative compiled from two distinct accounts of the same transaction, independently conceived and written, cannot possess the unity attaching to the product of

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a single mind. The difference is that between a material woven continuously throughout and one that is pieced together, however skilfully. The latter will inevitably be betrayed by the recurring seams, the interrupted threads, and the varied texture. A writer may draw his materials from various sources, and by elaborating them in his own mind give unity to the whole. But, if he simply compiles a narrative from preëxisting written sources, extracting a sentence or paragraph first from one, then from another, each being retained unaltered, so that they can be taken apart again and the original sources precisely reconstructed, it is impossible that it should have even a tolerable semblance of continuity. Yet this is what the divisive critical hypothesis assumes with regard to the Pentateuchal history as a whole, and each of its several portions.

A second difficulty, kindred to that already stated, is that the narratives into which the critics resolve the chapters before us, and from which they claim that these have been compounded, are inferior in symmetry and structural arrangement to the story as it lies in the existing text. On the critical hypothesis precisely the reverse should be the case. If the chapters are a conglomerate, in which heterogeneous materials have been compacted, the critical severance, which restores the component parts to their original connection, and exhibits each of the primary narratives in its pristine form, and purged of all interpolations and extraneous matter, must remove disfigurements, and reunite the broken links of connection designed by the early narrators. The intermingling of goods of different patterns has a confusing effect. It is only when they are separated, and each is viewed by itself, that its proper pattern can be traced and its real beauty discerned. But, when the separation spoils and mars the fabric, we must conclude that what has taken place is not the resolution of a compound into its primary constituents, but the violent rending asunder of what was really a unit, the breaking of a graceful statue into misshapen fragments. This is precisely what the critical analysis does. The results which it produces are confusion instead of order; discrepancies, incongruities, contrarieties, contradictions, in what before was harmonious, symmetrical and

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complete, and which are created simply by the putting asunder of what properly belongs together. And it thereby writes its own condemnation. Harmony does not arise from combining the incongruous, but discord naturally follows upon the derangement of parts which, properly fitted into one another, are harmonious.

Bearing these considerations in mind, let us now study with some care the story of the spies as given in the book of Numbers, and in the double form yielded by critical processes. We shall confine ourselves strictly here to the analysis presented in the lucid article above mentioned; and this we shall follow step by step from the beginning to the end.

The first thing that strikes attention is that the first section of chap. xiii. viz. vss. 1–16, which narrates the selection of twelve men as spies, is incapable of division, and is assigned entire to P. The account of JE is without any beginning whatever, and one has to be supplied from Deuteronomy. The allegation (p. 178)* that Deut. follows JE, and not P, is somewhat precarious, and is no very reliable basis for the assumption that everything in Deut. has been drawn from JE, and may be, in substance at least, credited to that document. We shall find in a very conspicuous example, before we finish these chapters, that Deut. sides with P where JE differs from it. Num. xxxii. 8 JE† is appealed to as confirming the identity of JE's account and that of Deut. But that passage says nothing of *twelve* spies having been sent, and it diverges from Deut. as really as P, in what is represented to be an "incongruity" or "contradiction." In Deut. (i.22) it is said that the spies were sent at the instance of the people, in P by direction of Jehovah; according to xxxii. 8, Moses sent them, and there is no mention of any suggestion from the people on the one hand, or from Jehovah on the other. If the reticence of this passage

*This and similar references hereafter are to the March number of THE BIBLICAL WORLD.

†It is proper to remark here that xxxii. 8–13 is not, from the critics' point of view, a pure text of JE, but has been manipulated by R, so that any critical argument from it becomes precarious. The allusion to the census, "from twenty years old and upward," ver. 11, the mention of Joshua along with Caleb, vs. 12, and the sentence of "forty years" wandering in the wilderness, vs. 13, are, on their hypothesis, all from P.

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is no bar, as, according to the article before us, it is not, to its harmonious agreement with Dt., neither is precisely the same reticence in xiii. 1, 2. The solicitation of the people is expressed in neither, but ,if understood in one, can, with exactly the same propriety, be understood in the other. The people made the suggestion, it pleased Moses, and Jehovah directed him to act accordingly. Where is the difficulty?

It should further be distinctly observed that the mention in Dt. of the selection of spies in no way proves, and can by no possibility prove, that there ever was a duplicate account of such a selection distinct from xiii. 1–16, and connected with subsequent verses of this chapter so as to form a parallel narrative of this transaction. The critics indeed affirm it. They say that the Redactor in combining the two separate accounts thought it unnecessary to repeat from JE what had already been related with sufficient fullness from P, and so omitted the statement of JE upon this point. This is possible. Anything is possible, which does not positively contradict known facts. But we cannot accept every conjecture as true simply because it is possible. If we are expected to believe it, some reason must be given for our faith. And no reason can be given in the present instance, which does not first assume the very thing which is in question. *If* there were two complete and independent narratives of the mission of the spies, each must have been prefaced by a statement of their selection. But all depends upon this "if." The statement in Dt. is nothing to the purpose; for it is just as explicable on the assumption of a single narrative in these chapters as of two narratives. That a passage parallel to vss. 1–16 once existed as the introduction of an account by JE, but has been omitted by R (the Redactor), is purely an inference from the prior assumption of the truth of the divisive hypothesis. It cannot bolster up the hypothesis; it is only a deduction from it. The hypothesis must be independently proved, before it can be admitted.

The next paragraph, vss. 17–20, contains the sending of the spies and the directions given to them, both of which belong, of course, to any complete account of the transaction. But the critics divide them, and give the sending of the spies without

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any directions, vs. 17a, to P, and the directions with no mention of the spies themselves or their being sent, or who sent them, vs. 17b–20, to JE. The portion assigned to JE begins abruptly "and he said to them," with nothing to intimate who is the speaker, who are spoken to, or on what occasion. All this, we are to suppose, was in a once-existing separate preface of JE's account, but was omitted by R as superfluous after what he had already drawn from P. Again we say, this is possible; but there is no proof of it. The text, as we possess it, contains but one statement on these points. And that there ever was another in this connection is simply an inference from the hypothesis itself, and may be admitted as a corollary from that hypothesis, after it has first been clearly proved, but not before. It brings no aid to its support.

The absence of directions in P is traced (p. 178) to the fact that "the spies are sent out in obedience to a direct command of the LORD," whereas directions are given in JE because "the idea of sending out the spies originated with the people." One would uaturally expect a precisely opposite conclusion from the premises. If the LORD gave command to send the spies, it might be supposed that he would specify what he intended them to do; and if particular directions could be dispensed with, it would be when the proposal came from the people, who might then be presumed to know their own mind in the matter.

It is besides a most remarkable coincidence, and upon the critical hypothesis it is altogether accidental and undesigned, that these two imperfect and halting statements respectively made by P and by JE, quite independently of each other, with no collusion and no thought of mutual adaptation, yet when brought together precisely match, exactly complete each other, each supplying what the other lacks, and the combination of the two making just what is required in a full and satisfactory statement of the affair. In P, spies are sent, but no directions are given them; in JE directions are given, but nothing said about their being sent. Put these together, and you have just what the case calls for, and what we actually find in the existing text. Now is this complete and appropriate statement the result of a

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lucky accident? Has it arisen from combining two partial accounts which were altogether unrelated? Or have these partial accounts been produced by the sundering of what was originally complete? Any sensible man may answer for himself.

The next paragraph, vss. 21-24, records the spies' fulfilment of their errand. They traversed the land to its utmost limit, noting particularly the Anakim at Hebron and the grapes of Eshcol, from which they cut a famous cluster. Here is a general statement, and particulars under it which were thought worthy of special mention. This is certainly appropriate and fitting, and all agrees well together. But the critics partition it, and thereby, in their own esteem, create a variance. The general statement, vs. 21, is given to P; the particulars, vss. 22-24, to JE. These specially noteworthy particulars are then set over against the general statement, and because the former do not cover the entire ground sketched in the latter, which no one should expect them to do, it is charged that there is a discrepancy; as though the particular mention of Hebron and Eshcol affirmed or in any way implied that the spies went to these places only and to no others.

But the critics tell us that one writer speaks of their going throughout the entire extent of the land; another only of their going to Hebron and Eshcol. These are represented to be two separate accounts, which must be kept distinct. Each must be interpreted independently and by itself. Neither of them is to be explained in connection with the other; least of all must any attempt be made to harmonize them. Nothing is to be more strictly avoided, according to the critics, than any approach to harmonistic methods, or any connivance at them.

Let it be distinctly observed here that the only semblance of variance arises from this absolute severance of what is entirely harmonious when viewed together. Observe further, that if the propriety of the critical analysis were conceded, the alleged variance would not follow from it. No honest lawyer would deal with witnesses, no reputable historian would interpret his sources after the example here set by the critics. They would be held to be in accord so long as their language fairly interpreted would

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admit. Apply this obviously just principle to the present case, and the supposed variance instantly vanishes, whether the narrative be single or duplicate. Observe still further, that there is no ground whatever for the partition in the present instance, except that there are distinct clauses which are capable of being separated. But why all may not have proceeded from the same writer does not appear, unless indeed, as the critics claim, they represent incompatible conceptions; this, however, is clearly not the case.

In Deut. i. 24, Num. xxxii. 9, the valley of Eshcol alone is mentioned as visited by the spies, and nothing is said of Hebron. Are we then to infer that there is a variance between vss. 22 and 23 of the chapter before us, and that two different and discrepant narratives are combined in these verses? That according to one they went simply to Hebron and not to Eshcol, and according to the other they went simply to Eshcol and not to Hebron? Some critics, who are ready to splinter the text *ad infinitum* have gone to this length. But the respected author of the article which we are considering, is chargeable with no such extravagance. He claims (p. 178) that Deut. is in entire accord with JE, and that Num. xxxii. 8 (and of course vs. 9 also) is from JE. There is no discrepancy, then, in his opinion in the circumstance that Deut. and JE in one place mention Eshcol only, and that JE in another place speaks of both Eshcol and Hebron as in the route of the spies. If now Hebron may be omitted from the statement without the suspicion of variance, why not Eshcol also? And where is the propriety of alleging that vs. 21, in which the spies are said to have traversed the whole land without specifying particular localities, is at variance with vss. 22, 23, in which two localities, through which they passed, are named but nothing said as to the extent of their journey?

But again, the directions given to the spies and the report which they render, as these are found in the portion assigned to JE, are both inconsistent with the limitation of their journey to spots so near the southern border as Hebron and Eshcol. They were to go into the mountain district, vs. 17, which runs through Canaan with but slight interruption from south to north, and

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investigate the character of the land and of the population, vs. 18, and the cities, vs. 19, and the products of the country, vs. 20. How could they do this in any adequate manner, if they went no further than Hebron? In their report they give an account of the land, vs. 27, which surely cannot be meant to apply only to a very limited district, but must be intended to characterize it in general; also of the people and the cities, vs. 28, not a single city merely; and they specify the various populations of its several regions, the South, the mountain tract, the region along the sea, and that beside the Jordan, vs. 29.* All this implies an extensive tour through the country. So that the verses assigned by the critics to JE compel to the conclusion that the route of the spies could not have terminated at Hebron and Eshcol, but must have taken the full range indicated in vs. 21, which is assigned to P.

To sum up the case then in regard to this paragraph. There is no ground for partitioning it between P and JE, unless two different conceptions of the route of the spies are here expressed. The critics affirm that this is the case, and partition accordingly. The alternative then is this; either two accounts, which are really at variance, happen to have been so constructed without any reference to each other, that when united they appear to be in entire accord; or else an apparent variance has been created in an account, really harmonious, by rending it asunder and setting the severed parts in seeming opposition. I invoke the judgment of candid men; which is more likely to have occurred? Has harmony in this instance accidentally resulted from placing contradictory statements side by side? Is it not far easier to believe that apparent inconsistency has been created by isolating statements which were meant to be viewed in conjunction, and when so viewed are in entire agreement?

The incidental remark in vs. 22, fixing the age of Hebron by comparison with that of Zoan, is significant as showing that the Egyptian city was more familiar to the writer and his readers than Hebron in Palestine.

*The statement (p. 180) that vs. 29 mentions "only the native tribes of southern Palestine" is shown to be a mistake by Josh. xi. 1–3; xii. 7, 8.

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The next paragraph, vss. 25–33, records the return of the spies and their report. They come back bringing the fruit of the land, vss. 25, 26. Then follow, first, the report in which they all unite, describing the land as fertile and the inhabitants as strong, vss. 27–29; secondly, the diverse representations, the quieting assurances of Caleb, vs. 30, and the discouraging declarations of the others, vss. 31–33. This natural and well-arranged account is partitioned by assigning the return, vss. 25, 26a to P, and the whole of the report vss. 26b–33 to JE, except a trifling fragment vs. 32a, which is given to P. The consequence is that JE says nothing whatever of their return. Here, again, we are expected to believe that there was a separate statement of this fact, distinct from that in the text, which R has not thought it necessary to retain. The words "to Kadesh," vs. 26, are sundered from the clause to which they belong, and given to JE, though wholly unconnected, for the sake of creating a fresh divergence. As they stand in the text they are plainly epexegetical of the preceding; they came 'unto the wilderness of Paran,' that is to say, 'to Kadesh.' But we are told (p. 178) these "are not two names for the same locality," for "P locates Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin, Num. xxvii. 14, Deut. xxxii. 51;" so, too, Num. xx. 1, xxxiii. 36. It is hence inferred that P and JE do not agree in regard to the point from which the spies were despatched. But the difficulty is purely imaginary. Zin was the special name of a small section of the more comprehensive wilderness of Paran. So that Kadesh might, without impropriety, be said to be in either.[1]

Verse 26b is plainly the continuation of 26a, though the critics sunder them, giving the latter to P and the former to JE. The consequence is that there is nothing in JE to which 'them' can refer. 'Unto them and unto all the congregation,' 26b, is evidently identical with "to Moses and to Aaron and to all the congregation of the children of Israel," 26a. The reference to Aaron (involved in the plural pronoun) and the word "congre-

[1] The statement (p. 178) that "Israel's next move, according to P, is into the wilderness of Zin, Num. xx. 1," overlooks the interval of thirty-eight years that lay between.

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gation" are reckoned among the most decisive tests of P, and the presence of either in any passage is uniformly held to prove that it belongs to P. But the manifest allusion to ver. 20, previously assigned to JE, makes it necessary for the sake of consistency to give 26b to JE likewise, in spite of the violation of their own criteria and the intimate connection of this clause with 26a, from which it is thus severed. In order to relieve the difficulty somewhat we are told (p. 181) that 'the occurrence of "him" in the very next verse, "and they told him," *i. e.* Moses, and not "them," Moses and Aaron, seems to show that the singular was used in the 26th verse also, but was changed to conform it to the first part of the verse.' But if a change was made for conformity in one verse, why not in the other also? The spies return to Moses and Aaron and all the people and bring back word to them and show them the fruit of the land, but they make their formal report to Moses, by whom they were commissioned. So it is uniformly in the history. Moses and Aaron appear in conjunction, but the responsible acts are those of Moses. Ex. viii. 25–31 (vs. 28, intreat ye), ix. 27–29, x. 3, 7 (this man), 8, 9, 16–18.

Verse 32a is assigned to P and connected directly with vss. 25, 26a, the effect of which is to make it the language of the entire body of the spies without exception. This is not P's meaning, as the critics themselves must confess. A limitation of the subject, as in vs. 31, and a counter report, as in vs. 30, are here indispensable. The report as given in P is said (p. 180) to be "the exact contrary of the report according to JE." "It is a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof" is held to denote "an exceedingly undesirable land whose inhabitants are consumed by prevailing pestilences or by devastating wars." This may illustrate how completely the narrator is in the power of the critic. By shifting the lines of division between the documents he can change the contents of each at will; and by sundering clauses from their proper connection, he can attribute to them senses that they could not otherwise bear. There is no suggestion of "pestilence" in the figurative expression above cited, either here or Lev. xxvi. 38, but only of being destroyed by

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powerful foes. It thus fits precisely into the connection in which it stands. This meaning is further determined in the present instance by the manifest allusion to it in the language of Joshua and Caleb xiv. 9, "for they (the people of the land) are bread for us;" a clause, which has been inadvertently, but most unfortunately omitted in the analysis (p. 172). Instead of our being eaten up by the people of the land, giants as they are, they shall be bread for us. This direct allusion further shows that xiii. 32 and xiv. 9 are from the same pen, and cannot belong to different documents, as the critics will have it.

On the whole, then, we meet the same phenomenon in this paragraph as in those before it. JE's portion is defective, containing no notice of the return. That of P is likewise defective, the evil report being attributed to all the spies, and no intimation given of a different account by any of them. And this evil report in P is "the exact contrary" of the evil report as given in JE. But when these two defective and mutually antagonistic accounts are put together, the result is a complete and harmonious narrative, exactly suited to the situation. Is this again a lucky accident? For observe that the skill of the Redactor is confined to his adroit piecing together; it cannot cover faults inherent in the original constitution of the documents. The result reached could never have been attained if they had not fortunately chanced to be capable of this perfect adjustment. Are we not once more compelled to conclude that the true original is the narrative in the text, and the so-called documents are only sundered portions of it?

The next paragraph, xiv. 1–10, relates in a graphic manner how the people rebelled, and how Joshua and Caleb vainly endeavored to correct their misapprehension and bring them to a sense of their duty. The critics sever vss. 3, 4 JE from vss. 1, 2 P, thus dividing in twain the language of the people, which is all of one piece, and evidently belongs together. Vss. 3, 4 in JE is introduced abruptly, with no mention of the speakers, and no statement of the despondent and murmuring attitude of the people. We are to suppose that there was a separate mention of this fact, which has not been preserved, the supposition being itself based upon the hypothesis, in support of which it is offered.

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In like manner the language of Joshua and Caleb is cut in two by assigning vss. 5–7 to P and vss. 8–9 to JE, as though they were the words of Moses. It has already been shown that vs. 9 cannot be separated from xiii. 32. The assumption that Moses speaks what in the common text is attributed to Joshua and Caleb, implies, according to the critical hypothesis itself, an unwarranted imputation of either recklessness or bad faith to R, and finds no justification in Deut. i. 29, 30. Moreover, the meager address left to Joshua and Caleb, "The land, etc., is an exceeding good land," is nothing to the purpose. It does not touch the point about which the people were agitated, even according to P, as the critics apportion it. We are told (p. 180) "That the majority reported the land as impoverished and unfruitful, is also implied in the vehement protest of the minority, that it is 'an exceeding good land.'" But there is no such suggestion in the evil report in P any more than in JE. The one thing that alarmed the people alike in both is lest they fall a prey to the terrible occupants of the land. Vss. 8, 9 are, therefore, an essential part of their address, if there is any appropriateness in it at all.

There is no inconsistency between xiv. 6 and xiii. 30. The critics by referring the former to P and the latter to JE, and making them parallel but variant accounts of the same thing, confuse quite different transactions, distinct in time and occasion. Chap. xiii. 27–33 is exclusively occupied with the report of the spies, not with its effect upon the people. The part which Caleb took in that report is stated xiii. 30. On the following day the people broke out in loud discontent, and xiv. 6 sqq. relates how Joshua and Caleb strove to allay it.

It thus appears that in this paragraph again, there is completeness, harmony and fitness in the text, while the documents are fragmentary, dissonant and ill adapted to the situation. Can there be any doubt which is the true original?

In the succeeding paragraphs vss. 11–25 are given to JE and vss. 26–38 to P, and these two sections are regarded as variant accounts of the same thing, whereas they are quite distinct. The former details Moses' intercession on behalf of the people, and

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the LORD's response. In the latter, sentence is pronounced and ordered to be communicated to the people. The LORD had already announced to Moses the exclusion of the rebels from the promised land. He now specifies with exactness who are to be thus excluded and how; all who were twenty years old and upward at the recent census except Caleb and Joshua shall perish in the wilderness during a wandering of forty years. Caleb is mentioned in the former section with special commendation and a special promise, because he had distinguished himself at the very outset on the occasion of the spies making their report. In the second section, which specifies who were to be exempted from the sentence of perishing in the wilderness, Caleb and Joshua are both named, Caleb before Joshua because of his greater promptness and fidelity.

The critical partition leads to the statement (p. 177) that P makes the term of wandering forty years, JE gives no definite time; (p. 180) in P two spies are faithful, in JE only one. In both respects Deut. agrees with P; 40 years Deut. i. 3, ii. 7, 14, viii. 2, 4, xxix. 5; Caleb and Joshua Deut. i. 36, 38.[1]

Attention is called (p. 181) to "the apparent displacement of xiv. 31, which being an almost word for word repetition of JE in vs. 3, and entirely out of harmony with the rest of P, seems to belong to JE between verses 23 and 24 where it exactly fits in." It certainly is a very damaging fact to find this verse where it is. It is also very difficult to find any reason for such a displacement as is here supposed. Moreover Wellhausen has shown, for a reason that every Hebraist must acknowledge, that vs. 30 must go with vs. 31; its emphatic pronoun cannot otherwise be accounted for than by the contrast between 'ye' and 'your little ones.' If then vs. 31 is given to JE, so must vs. 30 be with its 'Caleb and Joshua.'

[1] It is alleged (p. 180 note) that Joshua was permitted to go into the promised land not because of his "connection with the spies but his relation to Moses as his present colleague and future successor." But the affair of the spies gives shape to the whole passage Deut. i. 36–39, as is shown by the order 'Caleb,' 'Joshua,' 'your little ones,' cf. Num. xiv. 30, 31, as well as by the terms employed. The very natural reference to Moses' own exclusion leads to the reflection that Joshua was thus graciously preserved to be his successor.

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The plain reference of vs. 39 to vs. 28 forbids the assignment of the former to JE; vss. 11–25 were not made known to the people, and yet on the critics' partition they are represented as acting as though they knew all about it.

Here again we have a consistent and appropriate narrative in the text, with incongruities resulting from the partition. Whilst the narrative 'advances in an orderly way,' the critics create confusion by their erroneous assumption that it 'doubles on itself' (p. 170), and their consequent attempt to treat two transactions, which are quite distinct, as though they were one and the same.

The result of the preceding investigation is, as it seems to me, to establish the intrinsic superiority throughout of the narrative in the text to the defective and limping documents which the critics have deduced from it, and to create a strong presumption of the unity and originality of the former as opposed to the derived and fractional character of the latter.

A further difficulty in the way of accepting the critical analysis is the facility with which it can be applied where it is obviously of no significance. It is assumed by the divisive critics and their followers, that the simple partition of the text of the Pentateuch or of any portion of it is a palpable and irrefragable demonstration of its composite character; whereas it demonstrates nothing but the ingenuity of the operator. Any other writing can be divided in a similar manner by the same methods. Any narrative containing a series of incidents can be cloven asunder as readily as the story of the spies. To illustrate this I have selected at random the parable of the prodigal son, Luke xv. 11–32, and have made a perfectly extemporaneous partition of it, which I herewith submit. No doubt, if it was worth the time and the trouble, I might with a little pains improve it. But such as it is, it is sufficient for my present purpose. And I venture to say that it has fewer infelicities than the analysis of the story of the spies, which has been wrought out by the combined labors of a succession of such eminent scholars as Vater (1802), Knobel (1861), Noeldeke (1869), Kayser (1874), Wellhausen (1876), Dillmann (1886), each of

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whom has corrected defects in the work of his predecessors, and contributed something toward its present form.

A.

11. A certain man had two sons: 12. and the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of thy substance that falleth to me. . . . 13. And not many days after the younger son gathered all together, . . . and there he wasted his substance with riotous living. . . . 14b and he began to be in want.

16b. And no man gave unto him. . .

20. And he arose, and came to his father; . . . and he ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. 21. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: I am no more worthy to be called thy son. 22. But the father said to his servants, Bring forth quickly the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet: . . . 24. for this my son was dead, and is alive again. . . . And they began to be merry. 25. Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, . . . 28. he was angry, and would not go in: and his father came out, and entreated him. 29. But he answered and said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, and I never transgressed a commandment of thine: and yet thou never

B.

(A certain man had two sons:)

12b. and he divided unto them his living.

13b. And (one of them) took his journey into a far country. . . . 14. And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that country. . . . 15. And he went and joined himself to one of the citizens of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine. 16. And he would fain have been filled with the husks that the swine did eat. . . . 17. But when he came to himself he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish here with hunger! 18. I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight: 19. I am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants. . . . 20b. But while he was yet afar off, his father saw him, and was moved with compassion: . . . 23. and (said) Bring the fatted calf, and kill it, and let us eat, and make merry: . . . he was lost, and is found. . . . 25b. (And the other son) heard music and dancing. 26. And he called to him one of the servants, and inquired what these things might be. 27. And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe

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gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends: 30. but when this thy son came, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou killedst for him the fatted calf. 31. And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that is mine is thine. 32. But it was meet to make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again.

and sound. . . . 32b. he was lost and is found.

There are here two complete narratives, agreeing in some points, and disagreeing in others, each having its special characteristics. The only deficiencies are enclosed in parentheses, and may be readily explained as omissions by the Redactor in effecting the combination. A clause must be supplied at the beginning of B, a subject is wanting in vs. 13b and vs. 25b, and the verb "said" is wanting in vs. 23.

A and B agree that there were two sons, one of whom received a portion of his father's property, and by his own fault was reduced to great destitution, in consequence of which he returned penitently to his father, and addressed him in language which is nearly identical in both accounts. The father received him with great tenderness and demonstrations of joy, which attracted the attention of the other son.

The differences are quite as striking as the points of agreement. A distinguishes the sons as elder and younger; B makes no mention of their relative ages. In A the younger obtained his portion by solicitation, and the father retained the remainder in his own possession; in B the father divided his property between both of his sons of his own motion. In A the prodigal remained in his father's neighborhood, and reduced himself to penury by riotous living; in B he went to a distant country and spent all his property, but there is no intimation that he indulged in unseemly excesses. It would rather appear that he was injudicious; and to crown his misfortunes there occurred a severe famine. His fault seems to have consisted in having gone so far away from his father and from the holy land, and in engaging in

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the unclean occupation of tending swine. In A the destitution seems to have been chiefly want of clothing; in B want of food. Hence in A the father directed the best robe and ring and shoes to be brought for him; in B the fatted calf was killed. In B the son came from a distant land, and the father saw him afar off; in A he came from the neighborhood, and the father ran at once and fell on his neck and kissed him. In B he had been engaged in a menial occupation, and so bethought himself of his father's hired servants, and asked to be made a servant himself; in A he had been living luxuriously, and while confessing his unworthiness makes no request to be put on the footing of a servant. In A the father speaks of his son having been dead because of his profligate life; in B of his having been lost because of his absence in a distant land. In A, but not in B, the other son was displeased at the reception given to the prodigal. And here it would appear that R has slightly altered the text. The elder son must have said to his father in A 'When this thy son came, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou didst put on him the best robe.' But thinking that this did not make a good contrast with the 'kid,' the Redactor substituted for it the B phrase 'thou killedst for him the fatted calf.'

An argument, that will prove everything, proves nothing. And a style of critical analysis, which can be made to prove everything composite, is not to be trusted.

The readiness, with which a simple narrative yields to critical methods, is here sufficiently shown. That didactic composition is not proof against it, is shown in a very clever and effective manner in *Romans Dissected*, by E. D. McRealsham, the pseudonym of Professor C. M. Mead, D.D., of Hartford Theological Seminary. The result of his ingenious and scholarly discussion is to demonstrate that as plausible an argument can be made from diction, style and doctrinal contents for the fourfold division of the Epistle to the Romans as for the composite character of the Pentateuch.

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THE OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATION IN MATTHEW XXVII. 9, 10.

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I. A preliminary discussion respecting the phrase, "by Jeremiah the prophet."

The evangelist prefaces his quotation with these words: "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying." But nowhere in the prophecy of Jeremiah can the words of the quotation be found, or anything resembling them. The scripture most like them is in the book of Zechariah (xi. 13). How this discrepancy arose has been and still is a mooted question. A number of theories to solve the difficulty have been set forth, some[1] of which have only to be read in order to be rejected. This discussion is concerned only with those that seem most plausible. It has been supposed:

1. That there was an apocryphal book of Jeremiah from which Matthew quotes.

Origen said[2]: "I suspect either that the Scriptures have an error, and that for Zechariah Jeremiah was placed, or that there is some secret writing of Jeremiah's in which it is written."

Jerome refers to such a book. Commenting on this passage he wrote: "This passage (*testimonium*) is not found in Jeremiah. But in Zechariah . . . something similar occurs. . . . I read recently in a certain Hebrew volume . . an apocryphum of Jeremiah, in which I found this scripture, word for word. But still I am inclined to think that from Zechariah this passage is taken, in the usual manner of the evangelists and apostles, who, neglecting

[1] Cf. Morison, *Commentary on Matthew, in loc., et al.*

[2] Origen, *in Evan. Matt. Comment.* Vol. V., p. 28 f. Berolini, 1835, ed. Lommatzsch.

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the order of the words, only give the general sense in citation from the Old Testament."[1]

Fragments of such an apocryphum are still extant.[2] Jerome evidently rejected the writing as not genuine. It seems an attempt on the part of the early Christians to solve the difficulty we are now discussing.

2. That the book bearing the name of Zechariah was not all written by Zechariah, son of Iddo, but that a part—including chapter xi—was composed by an earlier prophet.

This hypothesis has raised the question of the integrity of the book of Zechariah. Critics still differ widely as to results. But even were the question of the integrity of the book satisfactorily settled, the task would nevertheless remain of proving the earlier prophecy Jeremiah's—the only direct evidence being this passage in Matthew. The critics, indeed, who think that chapters ix–xiv belong to an earlier period than chapters i–viii, also confess the necessity of assigning them to a time prior even to Jeremiah's day.

Another form of this theory appears in the supposition that the words were actually Jeremiah's, but somehow have become incorporated into the text of Zechariah. This would make Matthew assume the rôle of a textual critic, for the words he quotes must have been in Zechariah in Matthew's day, as the LXX proves. To be sure there is much confusion in the text of Jeremiah. But to show that a part of Jeremiah has passed over into Zechariah is yet an insuperable difficulty.

3. That Matthew erred either in memory or in knowledge.

This theory would be the easiest way out of the difficulty, if

[1] Hieron. *in loc.* (vii. 288). Cf. Smith, *Dict. Bib.* art. *Zechariah.*

[2] Cf. Henderson, *Comm. on Minor Prophets.* Also, Meyer on Matt. *in loc.* Henderson gives the passage,—"Jeremiah spake again to Pashur, Ye and your fathers have resisted the truth, and your sons . . . will commit more grievous sins than ye. For they will give the price of him that is valued and do injury to him that maketh the sick whole. . . . And they will take thirty pieces of silver, the price which the children of Israel have given. They have given them for the potter's field, as the Lord commanded."

The writer of 2 Macc. alludes to records in which are found certain commandments of Jeremiah to them "that were carried away"—records not in the book of Jeremiah. (2 Macc. ii. 1–8).

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it did not involve in its acceptance other and more serious considerations. That Matthew was well acquainted with the Old Testament prophecy a close examination of his use of prophecy will clearly demonstrate. He wrote to those who also were versed in the Old Testament Scriptures and who could readily verify all his statements. If it was a slip of memory, it was carelessness, and is it not quite probable that such a mistake would have been discovered and corrected shortly after it had been made? If it was an error in knowledge, Matthew was culpable. But it will be shown in another part of this paper that Matthew's reference to prophecy in this case is highly creditable and evinces the close student of the relation between the gospel history and the prophetic utterances. It is very easy, however, to exaggerate the results of accepting this solution of the question.

4. That it is a scribal error.

This theory assumes two forms: (*a*) That an abbreviation, ζοῦ, was used for the prophet's name, which, under scribal manipulation, became Ιοῦ in the earliest MSS. The MSS., however, have the name in full. Wright[1], following Turpie, remarks that "such contractions do not occur in the oldest MSS." (*b*) That Matthew did not write the name of the prophet, but simply, "by the prophet," and that for some reason a scribe inserted the name, and blundered. But it may be remarked that the MSS. evidence supporting the prophet's name is unimpeachable. Only a few MSS.[2] omit it. A few others[3] of minor importance have the name of Zechariah. Furthermore, it is easier to show good reasons why the few MSS. have omitted the prophet's name, or have inserted that of Zechariah, than to find good cause why Jeremiah appears in the most important MSS.

[1] *Zechariah and his Prophecies* (Bampt. Lect. 1878) p. 337 note. Also, Smith, *Dict. Bib.* art. *Zechariah*.

It must be that Wright cannot intend his remark to refer to contractions generally, but only to the two in question. For in the Vatican MS. the name Jesus, and also Christ, is contracted, the first and last letters being used according to the case.

[2] Syr. Psch. 33. 157. Lat. MSS. a. b.

[3] Syr. Hcl. mg. 22, an Arabic MS. quoted by Bengel. Cf. the various Greek Testaments, and also Henderson, *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*.

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It may be of some weight in this connection to remember that Matthew, in quoting from Zechariah elsewhere in his gospel (see xxi.5, also xxvi. 31, where he reports Christ as using words from Zechariah) does not mention the prophet by name. Indeed, this is invariably the case when he quotes from any of the minor prophets; to be accounted for, perhaps, by the fact that in the Hebrew Scriptures the minor prophets formed one book.

From this somewhat extended discussion it may be seen how difficult it is to reach any satisfactory conclusion regarding the matter. With our present light some form of (3) or (4) must be decided upon. Although the major evidence seems to favor some form of (3), yet it is altogether possible that the mistake is due to scribal error.

II. Let us now turn our attention to Zech. xi. 13. It reads as follows:

"And Jehovah said unto me, Cast it unto the potter, the goodly price, that I was prised at of them. And I took the thirty *pieces* of silver and cast them unto the potter, in the house of Jehovah."

Any interpretation of verse 13 would be incomplete unless it took into account the section in which it occurs (vss. 1–13).

The language seems to be that of a prophetic narrative which has its foundation in past facts, *i. e.*, from the prophet's point of view. The prophet bases his discourse upon events in Israel's history, describing them in prophetic symbolism, through which he interprets to the people their own action.[1] It may be also that he prefigures the outgrowth of continuance in similar action. Whatever view, however, one may take of vss. 1–13, whether as a prediction to be fulfilled, or as a prophetic interpretation of Israel's history, the utterance is one full of woe to the people of the land.

The chapter begins with a statement of judgment upon the

[1] I have been led to this view by a sentence in Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (p. 328). "The view which appears to present the least difficulty, and which may claim at least the *presumptive* support of the narrative form of the prophecy is, that it is (until v. 15 f.) a symbolical description of events which had already taken place, the *significance* of which the prophet, by his allegory, points out, but respecting which the historical sources at our disposal are partially, perhaps even wholly, silent." Cf. Keil *in loc.* Also, Ewald, *Prophets of the Old Testament, in loc.*

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Jewish nation. The wide-open doors of Lebanon, the fallen cedars, the howling of the oaks of Bashan, graphically describe the rush and onslaught of the destroyer as he swept through the land. The distress of nature is echoed back by the wailing of the shepherds because of their despoiled glory.

Through his representative, the shepherd, Jehovah fed his flock, the people of Israel. But they were insensible to Jehovah's loving kindness. They became alienated from him. They were a flock of slaughter, "because, under the tyranny of their foreign masters, they were given over to destruction."[1] The shepherd's official insignia were two staves: the one, Beauty or Graciousness, representing the favor of Jehovah in his covenant relations with his people; the other, Bands or Binders, the symbol of the unity between the two parts of Jehovah's people. Wearied at last with Israel's many transgressions and disinclination to requite Jehovah's love, the shepherd cut the staff Beauty asunder, and thus indicated that God had removed his favor from his people — the favor that protected Israel from the nations, and had preserved them in their possessions. Graciousness broken, Israel became the prey of hostile forces. The compact between Jehovah and his people ended, Jehovah, through his representative, called for his reward of service. He sought for some expression — if there were any at all — of his flock's appreciation of his mercies in their behalf. "If ye think good, give me my hire; and, if not, forbear. So they weighed for my hire thirty *pieces* of silver." Thirty silverlings! the price of a slave[2] gored by an ox — the very consummation of insult. A paltry sum indeed for all Jehovah's kindness — "the magnificent price" of the people's esteem of their God. Away with it! "cast it to the potter."

Some commentators regard *yôçēr* as an error for *'ôçar* (treasury), as rendered in the Syriac version, or for *'ôçēr* (treasurer), according to Targum Jonathan. On critical grounds, however, there is no need of changing the Hebrew text. The question to be considered in such a change is, would it throw any light on the passage: "Cast it to the treasury," or, same idea, "to the treasurer." Instead of adding light, this rendering rather creates

[1] Alexander, *Zechariah's Vision and Warning*, p. 213. [2] *Vide* Ex. xxi. 32.

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a new difficulty, viz., the reconciliation of the contempt expressed in the passage, and the offering of the mean sum of money to Jehovah by putting it into the treasury of the sanctuary. No dishonorable gains[1] were to be brought into the house of Jehovah, and shall we suppose that the wages granted in contumely were to be placed there? Such disposition of the silver would have taken away the contempt altogether. Besides, the money had already been paid to Jehovah, and why should he order it to be paid over again to himself? For this he virtually would do in commanding it to be cast into the temple treasury.

Keil[2] suggests that "to the potter" may be a proverbial expression indicative of supreme contempt—like, *e. g.*, our own, "to the dogs"—even though, as Keil himself admits, it is impossible to trace the origin of it satisfactorily. Accepting this view, as perhaps on the whole the most suitable, we have a meaning in harmony with the irony of the passage. "The price," says Wright,[3] so insultingly offered to the shepherd, was to be flung to a potter, as one of the lowest of the laboring classes; to be cast to a poor worker in clay whose productions were of so little value that when marred by any accident they could easily be replaced at a trifling expenditure of cost or toil. The price offered by the people to the Lord was so mean and despicable that it could only be regarded as offered in mockery, and hence the worthless silver was not to be cast into the treasury, or used for pious purposes, but flung to one of the lowest of the people, thrown back to one of themselves, even as a dishonored carcass was flung upon the graves of the common people (Jer. xxvi. 23)."

Bishop Newcome's[4] suggestion, that there may have been some Levites in the temple to furnish the potters' vessels for the offerings of wine and oil, and that it was to one of these the thirty silverings were cast, has no well-grounded support. Hengstenberg[5] assumes that "to the potter" is the same as to an unclean place, and bases his argument upon the supposition

[1] See Deut. xxiii. 18. [2] *Commentary on Minor Prophets, in loc.*
[3] Wright, *Zechariah and his Prophecies*, p. 329. [4] Newcome, *Minor Prophets, in loc.*
[5] *Christology of O. T.*, Vol. IV. p 45 (2d ed., Edinburgh, 1858).

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that the temple potter worked in the valley of Hinnom. (He makes the prophecy of Zechariah in this place a renewal of Jer. xviii. 19). But this theory will hardly hold good, for it is not clear at all that any potter either dwelt in Hinnom or had his workshop there.

"And I took the thirty *pieces* of silver and cast them unto the potter in the house of Jehovah." If thus far we are correct, or partially correct, in our interpretation, what is the force of the phrase, "the house of Jehovah"? There can be no doubt, I think, that the potter, when the money is flung to him, is in the temple.[1] The connection seems to be this. The temple is the point of departure in Jewish activity. Here Israel assembled to worship; here Jehovah met his people. No other place would have been so fitting as this for the transaction mentioned in this scripture. "The house[2] of Jehovah came into consideration here . . . as the place where the people appeared in the presence of their God to receive or to solicit the blessing of the covenant from him."

The fact that the silver was cast into the temple indicates all the more Jehovah's displeasure and his utter abhorrence of the despicable price offered for his shepherding. Thus, too, the repudiation of Israel by their God could not be gainsaid.

We may not understand, however, that the event actually happened in the temple—that the money was really flung into the sanctuary by Jehovah's representative. It is not necessary to our interpretation to make the flinging literal. Accordingly we may regard the act as a symbolical presentation to the people of the consequences of their own actions towards their Lord and his appointed shepherd. Whatever else may have been the prophet's purpose, or however he may have comprehended his own prefiguration, we may be confident that primarily and chiefly vss. 1–14 constitute a sermon to the people, with a personal application for them, then and there. Perhaps it would not be asserting too much to say that the prophet uses vss. 1–14

[1] Hengstenberg supposes that the money is first flung into the temple, and then carried away to the potter.

[2] Keil, *Commentary on Minor Prophets, in loc.* Cf. Alexander, Dods *et al.*

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as the starting-point for the prophetic warning declared in vss. 15–17.

In passing to the consideration of the New Testament scripture several noteworthy features of the Old Testament passage should be borne in mind.

1. *Jehovah representative.*
2. *His shameful treatment at the hands of the people.*
   (*a*) *His rejection by the people.*
   (*b*) *The price at which he is valued by them.*
3. *The temple as the scene of Jehovah's repudiation of his people.*

III. The New Testament passage[1].

First, the situation: Judas had agreed with the chief priests to deliver Christ into their hands, and in this agreement it should be noticed that the price of the treachery was left to the priests, the representatives of the Jewish people. Judas said to them:—"What are ye willing to give me and I will deliver him unto you? And they weighed unto him thirty pieces of silver." From that time Judas sought to betray Jesus. The opportunity soon came; and Judas accomplished the infamous deed for which the priests had paid him thirty pieces of silver. But when Judas realized that the Jews had carried their rancor to the point of condemning Jesus to death, he regretted what he had done. The clinking coin in his wallet no longer gave forth a joyful sound to his ear but became a lash to his conscience. His remorse drove him back to the priests and the elders, and to them he breaks forth into the lament, "I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood." His sorrow availed nothing, however. The priests and elders spurned him. "What is that to us? see thou to it." In despair Judas flung the silver into the sanctuary and went out and hanged himself. The money—the price of blood—lay at the feet of the priests. Their tender consciences, for-

[1] Regarding the LXX translation of Zech. xi. 13 but a word needs be said. At first sight the Greek appears to differ from the Hebrew. But it is a divergence that diminishes on examination. By a few slight changes of the Hebrew text, as suggested by Toy *et al.*, we should have the reading of the LXX. The peculiarities of the quotation in Matthew derive no support from the LXX. Accordingly, since the LXX affords no help for the interpretation of Zech. xi. 13, it is not discussed at length in this paper.

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sooth, would not allow them to put blood money into the temple treasury. That would have been unlawful. Accordingly, after consulting together they decided to buy the potter's field to bury strangers in.

It is at this point in the record that the evangelist gives additional importance to the events by his reference to the prophet: "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was priced, whom *certain* of the children of Israel did price; and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me" (R. V.).

Secondly, Matthew's use of the quotation: In his entire narrative of the betrayal of Christ it seems as if Matthew had in mind the section of Zechariah's prophecy that we have been examining.[1]

To Matthew Jesus is God's representative to Israel. He receives only maltreatment and scorn from the Jews. They reject him officially and in mass. In the bargain between Judas and the priests, not only is Judas paid thirty pieces of silver for his dastardly act, but also a value is put upon him whom Judas betrayed. Then the silver is flung into the sanctuary. The objection that Judas does not represent the shepherd of the prophecy, and consequently that it was Judas rather than the shepherd who cast down the money in the temple, has little force and does not touch the underlying significance of the events. In both cases it is Jehovah's representative who is shamefully treated by Israel. Christ was valued at the same price as the shepherd's services. The money goes for the purchase of the potter's field. The incidents cluster about the temple. The whole story vividly recalls the prophecy of Zechariah referred to above.

Matthew, however, in setting forth the fulfilment of the prophecy seems to lay the stress upon the fact that the potter's field was purchased with the silver, whereas in Zechariah, as we

[1] It may be that he had Jer. chaps. xviii. and xix. also in mind, as some scholars have imagined, but the connection with Jeremiah is not at all evident, and it may well be doubted whether any such connection would have been discovered if the name of that prophet had not appeared in the gospel.

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have already seen, the emphasis appears to be upon Jehovah's repudiation of his flock because of their contemptuous rejection of his favors.

Shall we say, then, that Matthew has misapplied the words he quotes? It does not necessarily follow that he has done so. It is evident that he gives the Old Testament scripture a new turn of meaning, but it is because of the historical situation in which he conceives the prophecy to be fulfilled. The quotation, as used by Matthew, seems to be a free adaptation of the Hebrew passage to the case in hand.[1]

If, on the one hand, we are disposed to think that Matthew in his use of the specific verse (Zech. xi. 13) has been governed somewhat by external coincidences, on the other hand, in his account of the betrayal of Christ by Judas, he has called to our attention the deep significance of the prophetic prefiguration in the larger section (Zech. xi. 1–13), and has, therefore, shown himself to be something more than a mere superficial reader of prophecy.

[1] Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah* (5th ed.) Vol. II. p. 576. Also Wright on *Zechariah*, p. 342.

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PROFESSOR KAMPHAUSEN ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL.[1]

By Prof. John Dyneley Prince,
University of the City of New York.

In a recent contribution to the apparently inexhaustible literature on the book of Daniel, Professor D. Adolf Kamphausen of Bonn discusses in the light of modern historical criticism this much disputed portion of Scripture. The first part of his paper is devoted to refuting at some length two opinions of the late Paul de Lagarde, viz: that Daniel is merely a combination of various sections, quite separate in origin, and that the fourth and last kingdom prophesied in the seventh chapter is the Roman Empire.[2]

Dr. Kamphausen is quite right in regarding the book of Daniel as a connected whole. A comparison of the two recognized divisions of the work, the apocalyptic chapters and the narrative sections, shows plainly their interdependence. It is apparent, for example, that in several places identical prophecies are simply repeated in different forms, in which connection should be mentioned the coincidence of the visions regarding the four kingdoms in chaps. ii. and vii. Moreover, in all the prophecies a period of trial and tribulations is always followed by the triumph of the Lord and his saints. That the apocalyptic chapters themselves form a whole, few since Bertholdt, save Lagarde, have doubted.

The only germ of truth in the dismemberment theory lies in the fact that the Maccabæan author has probably embodied in

[1] *Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung. Ein Vortrag mit Anmerkungen*, von D. Adolf Kamphausen, Ord. Prof. der Theologie zu Bonn. Leipzig: Hinrichs 1893, pp. vi. and 46.

[2] See *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1891, pp. 497–520.

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his work a number of originally independent parts, all of which have the same paranetic object in view.

Although probably correct in his idea, that the bilingual character of the book does not presuppose a separate origin for the Aramaic chapters, Kamphausen's explanation of the sudden change of language in chap. ii. 4 is very unsatisfactory. He says (p. 13) that, as both Aramaic and Hebrew were equally well understood at the time when the book was written, the author used whichever language he considered most appropriate to his subject. Thus Aramaic was used for the speech of the Chaldees in chap. ii. and was continued through the parts relating to Babylonian history. Kamphausen hints that the apocalyptic chap. vii. is in Aramaic, because of its close resemblance to the second chapter.

It should be remembered, however, that the second chapter, although containing the account of a similar vision to that in chap. vii., is still narrative in form, while chap. vii. is undoubtedly apocalyptic, and, according to Kamphausen's theory regarding the appropriateness of Hebrew to such literature, should have been in that language. The difficulty, therefore, with this view, which is practically that of Merx, is, that the apocalyptic seventh chapter, which is clearly a part of the prophetic division of the book, is in Aramaic, while, on the other hand, the narrative first chapter is in Hebrew.

The best explanation of the bilingual character of Daniel seems that suggested by Lenormant and adopted by A. A. Bevan (*The Book of Daniel*, 1892, pp. 27ff), that the work was written originally all in Hebrew, and for the convenience of the general reader was then translated into the Aramaic vernacular. It may be supposed that certain parts of the original Hebrew manuscript being lost, the missing sections were supplied from the current Aramaic translation. This theory at least explains the language of the second chapter, without compelling the supposition of an arbitrary change of idiom on the part of the author. It may be mentioned that the idea of an original Hebrew version of Daniel was somewhat sarcastically suggested by Bertholdt as a parallel to P. D. Huetius' view in his

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Demonstr. Evang., p. 472, that the entire work was written first in Aramaic and afterwards translated into Hebrew. (Bertholdt, *Comm. on Dan.*, p. 52.)

Kamphausen's statement that the author of Daniel undoubtedly regarded Aramaic as the language of the Chaldeans who ruled in Babylon, and that he could have known nothing of the real Assyro-Babylonian, seems by no means certain.

It is now regarded as possible that the Babylonian language may have been in use, even as a spoken idiom, until and during the first part of the Hellenic period. We have the inscription of Antiochus Soter (280–260 B. C.) in good Babylonian, and it is interesting to notice that a brick from Tello contains a proper name of distinctly Assyrian character engraved in both Aramaic and Greek letters. (See Gutbrod, *ZA.* vi., p. 27.) It does not seem an untenable supposition, therefore, that the Maccabæan author of Daniel, in his reference to the writing of the Chaldees in chap. i. 4, may really have meant the Babylonian cuneiform characters, of which he might have heard or even seen specimens. In this connection it should be mentioned that the comment is inexact which Dr. Kamphausen has made on my brief article about the interpretation of the mysterious sentence in Daniel, v. 25. (*J. H. U. Circulars*, No. 98, p. 94.) He asserts that I there advanced the opinion that the author of Daniel understood the Babylonian language and characters. I merely suggested, however, that the events recorded in Daniel v. may really have taken place at the Babylonian court at the time of the fall of the city, and advanced the hypothesis that the sentence was unintelligible to the wise men because it may have been written ideographically in the Babylonian language. The implication was that the account descended in tradition to the Maccabæan writer of Daniel.

Lagarde's error, that the fourth kingdom in Daniel is not the Greek, but the Roman Empire, Kamphausen has rightly refuted. Because Josephus has not anywhere mentioned chaps. vii., ix.–xi., Lagarde came to the conclusion that chap. vii. was not in existence in the canon at the time of Josephus and was consequently a later insertion referring to the Roman power; an *argumentum ex*

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silentio of the boldest sort. To judge the prophecies of chap. vii. apart from the context of the rest of the book, and to apply them in a manner quite at variance with the general tone of the work is against the first principles of true exegesis. There can be little doubt that the allusions of all the other prophetic sections of Daniel refer to the Greek power as the last empire, and to deliberately extract chap. vii. from its context and thus to ignore its close resemblance to chap. ii. seems entirely unwarranted.

The latter part of Kamphausen's lecture is an able, condensed argument against the old idea that the book has its origin in the Achæmenian period. The author might have noted, in his treatment of the name "Darius" in Daniel, that the theory of the historical confusion of Darius Hystaspis, in the biblical allusion to a "Darius the Mede," dates from the eleventh century of our era. Marianus Scotus, the celebrated Benedictine, appears to have held this view.[1]

It might also be added here that the interpolation of a Median rule in Babylon directly after its fall may be due to a confusion in the biblical author's mind of the fall of Babylon at the hands of the Persians with the earlier capture and overthrow of Nineveh by the Medes.

Every unprejudiced reader will agree with Professor Kamphausen that, in spite of the unhistorical character of Daniel, the book was certainly not written in vain. If it be remembered that the biblical author really makes no pretense of writing a history, but rather a comforting assurance to his people, groaning under the Syrian tyranny, the book should lose none of its beauty and force.

Kamphausen's lecture may be characterized as a clear and concise exposition of the best modern views regarding the book of Daniel and it will certainly prove a valuable introduction to the critical study of that work.

[1] See Bertholdt, *Comm. on Daniel*, p. 844.

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THE NEW GREEK ENOCH FRAGMENTS.

By Professor George H. Schodde, Ph.D.,
Capital University.

That the day of valuable literary finds is by no means passed is again shown by the discovery of the portions of the apocryphal gospel and the apocalypse of Peter, together with larger fragments of the Greek text of the book of Enoch, by all odds the most valuable of the pre-Christian Jewish apocalypses. Not since the discovery, just ten years ago, of the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles by Bishop Bryennios, has any new literary discovery aroused the general interest which the pseudo-Petrine writings have awakened. While the eagerness to see what the harvest will be in the case of the Enoch fragments is not so great, yet there can be no doubt that as their value becomes better known for text-critical, historical and other purposes, the interest in them will become deeper and wider. Even as matters now stand they have already done the service of having furnished excellent reasons for trusting the Ethiopic text as a whole, in which language only the book of Enoch has been preserved, notwithstanding that this version is a translation of a translation, the original having been Hebrew or Aramaic, and the Ethiopic having been done out of the Greek.

The manuscript which contained these literary treasures, was discovered in the winter of 1886–'87, in the Christian burial city of Akhmim, used from the fifth to the fifteenth century, in Upper Egypt, the old Panopolis, by excavators under the direction of the French archæologist Grébaut, who at that time, as the head of the Egyptian Museums, had charge of this work. The editor, U. Bouriant, an Egyptologist of note, states that the publication at so late a date, namely the end of 1892, was owing to *fâcheux regards sur lesquels il est inutile de s'étendre*. In reality

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two Greek manuscripts were found in one grave, one on papyrus, containing writings of a mathematical character, the other on parchment, containing the gospel and apocalypse of Peter; the Enoch fragments; a small segment taken from a canonical gospel (pasted on the inside of the book cover of the volume); and one leaf covered with uncial letters, of which Bouriant says, that it was pasted "*sur la garde intérieure*" of the cover. It is manifestly a fragment of the acts of a little-known martyr Julian. The whole is published in the *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire sous la direction de M. U. Bouriant*, (Tome ix^me^ 1^er^ fascicule Paris, Ernest Leroux 1892, ii. 147, lexicon size); a series of works containing original materials chiefly from the Orient, together with excellent discussions, which is unfortunately but too little known to American students. The mathematical codex also is published in this *fascicule* by J. Baillet, entitled "*La papyrus mathématique d'Akhmim*," and runs to page 89, including several pages in *fac-simile*. The editor of the second manuscript, Bouriant, has devoted nearly his whole attention to the Enoch fragments. Of the Peter apocalypse and gospel he gives only a translation; to the Enoch fragments he gives an introduction and partial commentary, and parts of these he prints twice, once in order to compare them with the Syncellus Greek fragments, and a second time in connection with the whole text as far as discovered. His estimate of the relative worth of the parts of the codex is seen both in his little "*Fragments du texte Grec du livre d'Enoch, et de quelques écrits attribués à Saint Pierre*, as also is the fact that he has promised a *fac-simile* reproduction of the Enoch fragments, but not of the other documents. Then, too, he has aided in the publication of the ambitious and really valuable discussion of these fragments just issued by the French docent Adolphe Lods, entitled "*Le Livre d'Hénoch, fragments Grecs. . . . publiés avec les variants du texte Éthiopien, traduits et annotés*" (Paris, 1892, Leroux). The discussion of these finds has not followed the estimates of the original editor. The pseudo-gospel and apocalypse of Peter have crowded the Enoch fragments somewhat into the background for the present.

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Bouriant describes the Gizeh manuscript, as it is now called from the fact that it is deposited in the museum of that city. It contains thirty-three sheets, which the editor has paged, making sixty-six pages in all. It is bound in covers somewhat black with age. The pages are fifteen centimeters high and twelve centimeters long. No date is mentioned anywhere, but the editor concludes from the orthography, type of writing, and other data, that the manuscript is no older than the eighth century and no younger than the twelfth. As both the pseudo-Petrine writings date from the second century, according to the judgment of both Harnack and Schürer and the book of Enoch, in all or nearly all its parts is pre-christian, at least in the original language, the manuscript is considerably removed from the date of the composition of the writings. The Syncellus Greek fragments of Enoch date from the eighth century, although it is of course not known from what older source they were taken. It will thus be impossible to decide as to the relative age of these two Greek texts, and their relative value must be determined by internal criticism. So far as this has been done, the judgment must be pronounced in favor of the new text, which to all intents and purposes is a confirmation of the Ethiopic text. The Syncellus fragments differ materially from the latter text, and the fact that they were one step nearer to the original was regarded as an evidence in favor their correctness, although they contained not a few readings that condemn themselves. The new Greek text agrees in substance with the Ethiopic, and over against the Syncellus fragments presents the characteristics of one recension. It also has the advantage over the Syncellus text of being much longer. The former contains only vi. 1–x. 14 and xv. 8 to xvi. 1, *i. e.* only about 3¼ pages in Dillmann's German translation. The new fragments contain virtually the entire first 32 chapters of the book *i. e.* 16 pages in Dillmann's translation. This is indeed only about one-fifth of the entire book but yet it is five times as much of the Greek text as we had before. The present Greek text still contains small *lacunæ*, which arose from the fact that the eye of the writer jumped from the beginning of the third to the beginning of the fifth chapter, which begin alike.

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In this way the two small chapters, three and four, are lacking. On the other hand, the manuscript has another portion duplicated, namely, chaps. xx. 2–xxi. 9.

The editor has not followed the order of the documents in the original manuscript. He begins with Enoch, while the latter closes with these fragments. In the manuscript the first page contains only a large Coptic cross; pp. 2–10 bring the fragments of the gospel of Peter; pp. 11–19 contain the larger portion of the apocalypse of Peter; pp. 21–66 contain the Enoch fragments, but written by two different hands, namely, chaps. i.–xiv. by one, and xv.–xxxii. by another. For this reason Bouriant speaks of "two" fragments, although in the text itself the second continues the first without a break. He states, however, that the Petrine pieces are written *plus cursive que celle des fragments d'Enoch.*

The publication of these new fragments is a literary event of great importance for New Testament research. Not only do we have the Greek original in a better shape than before from which Jude 14 and 15, were taken—the only direct citation in the New Testament writings from an apocalypse;—but we have also reason to put greater confidence in the entire text of the book of Enoch, notwithstanding that the Gizeh fragments contain quite a number of unique readings that do not harmonize with the Ethiopic. The fragments of the more important parts of the book would indeed have been more welcome, *e. g.* of the "Similitudes," or the historical vision in lxxxv.–xc.; but what we here have is certainly most welcome. A closer study of the new finds will doubtless still more enhance their value.

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

In response to a request for some account of the formation and work of the British Institute of Sacred Literature, Professor J. T. Marshall, of Manchester, one of those most active in bringing about its organization and upon whom the main responsibility and labor of conducting it has rested, has sent the following statement. This is accompanied by a neat circular explaining the plan and purpose of the British Institute and describing the courses offered. While this work in Great Britain has no organic connection with the American Institute, it is clearly the direct outgrowth of it. The same methods have been adopted and the same text books and instruction sheets are employed as in America. Those who are interested in the work on this side the water cannot fail to be interested in Professor Marshall's account, and to rejoice in the success which is attending the effort to extend the study of the Scriptures in the original languages on the other side of the sea:

"The formation of the *British Institute of Sacred Literature* owes its inception to the visit of Professor Harper to this country in 1891. His last public appearance during that visit was on the platform of the Baptist Union, whose autumnal session was held in Manchester, during the early days of October. Professor Harper's reputation secured for him, as a visitor, a most enthusiastic reception, and his vivid description of the splendid service done by the American Institute in arousing a zeal for biblical studies throughout the States was received with equal enthusiasm. There were doubtless, among the hundreds of Baptist ministers assembled, grave compunctions of conscience over youthful resolutions unfulfilled; distasteful reminiscences of neglected Hebrew Bibles, followed by a reactionary spasm of pious resolve to equip themselves more fully as ministers of the Word. Only such emotions could explain the immense outburst of applause which shortly afterwards greeted Dr. Maclaren's statement, that he and I had been persuaded by Professor Harper, if there were satisfactory indications that such a thing was desired, to attempt in some way to bring English ministers into connection with Professor Harper's educational system. The Baptist ministers gave their answers very significantly, and though the number of recruits from among them has not thus far fulfilled the promise of the augury, yet it was their enthusiasm which was interpreted to mean that the ministry of England is conscious of its need of further education in the biblical languages. Shortly afterwards a

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paper appeared in *The Freeman* on "the Education of Ministers," pointing out that there is a considerable percentage of our ministers who have never had a college training, and that many who have enjoyed this advantage, have sadly neglected the original Scriptures—especially the Hebrew; and suggesting that education by correspondence was the most likely way of supplying this early deficiency. Similar papers appeared in *many* of the religious journals, and the consequence was, that almost two hundred letters were received from men of all denominations, asking what was going to be done, or suggesting what should be done. In view of all this, Dr. Maclaren and myself felt encouraged to enter into negotiations with Professor Harper, to be supplied with question-sheets from Chicago, while the work of examination was to be done in this country. When these preliminaries were completed, before launching the matter fully, it was decided to lift the matter off denominational lines, by seeking the coöperation of scholars of other persuasions. Dr. Thomson, of the Lancaster Independent College, and Professor W. F. Slater, M.A., of the Wesleyan College, Didsbury, both readily consented to coöperation; and the prospectus of the British Institute of Sacred Literature was issued under their names. There are now 54 students attached to the Institute. Every religious denomination has its representative, and they are scattered as far as the limits of our islands will permit. They are classified as follows: Hebrew, First Course, 18; Second, 7; Third, 7; Fourth, 2. Greek, First Course, 11; Second, 9.

"We are exceedingly grateful for the interest taken in our movement by the Editor of *The Expository Times*. It is probable that through his kind intervention, we may be able to report an important step in advance, when we are next asked to give an account of ourselves."

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STUDIES IN THE WISDOM BOOKS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LESSONS.

By GEORGE S. GOODSPEED,
The University of Chicago.

II. THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

1. Practical character of "Wisdom." Hebrew "wisdom" was everywhere practical in its character and aims. The religious problems with which it dealt were not, in the first instance, speculative or theoretical; they were those which lay upon the hearts of living men, and prevented the free action of the religious life. The discussions respecting social and political affairs in general did not take the form of philosophical inquiries into origin and purpose. They were admonitions, "directions," as Schürer says, "based upon a thoughtful study of human things for so regulating our life as to ensure our being truly happy." The only sense in which one may speak of philosophy among the Hebrews is that of moral or practical philosophy; not metaphysical principles, but coördinated results of practical experience.

This being the case, the literary work which most truly represents the "wisdom" is not the book of Job, in which the "wise" man has turned prophet, and applied his wisdom to the exigencies of a particular situation in the history of Israel's religion. The book of Proverbs is a much better example of "wisdom" in its undiluted, simple elements, manifested in various forms and applications. Here wise men figure in their usual and natural character as guides of men and censors of social, political and private life.

2. Divisions of the Book. A superficial reading of the book of Proverbs makes it clear that no analysis of it can be made on the basis of the thought. The most convenient and natural division is made by the titles of various sections, some longer, some shorter, scattered through the book.

At chap. x. 1; xxiv. 23; xxv. 1; xxx. 1; xxxi. 1; are such titles. Similar divisions are implied at i. 7; xxii. 17; xxxi. 10. This analysis would give the following parts of the book:

(1) i. 1–6. The Preface.
(2) i. 7–ix. 18. The Praise of Wisdom.
(3) x. 1–xxii. 16. The Proverbs of Solomon.
(4) xxii. 17–xxiv. 22. Further Exhortations concerning Wisdom.
(5) xxiv. 23–34. Other Sayings of the Wise.
(6) xxv. 1–xxix. 27. Hezekian Collection of Solomon's Proverbs.

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(7) xxx. 1–33. The Words of Agur.
(8) xxxi. 1–9. The Words of King Lemuel.
(9) xxxi. 10–31. The Poem of the Virtuous Woman.

3. The "Books" of Proverbs. This cursory examination and analysis reveals the fact that we have not a homogeneous production written at one time by Solomon or any other writer, but a gathering together of collections of proverbs written by Solomon and others. The book of Proverbs is really the *books* of Proverbs, the library of Hebrew proverbial literature. These different books are also distinguished by variety of form and, in fact, of content. In the "proverbs of Solomon" and the "Hezekian collection," which constitute a large portion of the whole, each verse consists of two lines (sometimes three), in which, for the most part, two characters or two attitudes of mind are contrasted. These "proverbs" have, in many cases, no connection with one another, and their order and arrangement might be changed without doing violence to the thought. If, however, we turn to the last chapter, *vss.* 10–31, we find a poem, a unity of thought, and, as a reference to the original will reveal, an alphabetic structure, *i. e.*, its lines begin with the letters of the alphabet, each in order — a style of composition much more complicated than the simple maxims of the other sections. In the thirtieth chapter are examples of riddles and enigmas in *vss.* 21–23. The first section of the book is the most artistic and connected of all. It has one subject, the "Praise of Wisdom," illustrated and enforced in a variety of ways. It contains no detached maxims, but a series of pictures, sermons, exhortations, culminating, perhaps, in the lofty description of wisdom in the eighth chapter, as the master workman of Jehovah in creation.

4. The Contents of the Books. Some general observations may here be made respecting the contents of the "books." The "Solomonic book" contains a number of proverbs duplicated.[1] In the "Hezekian book" appears another peculiarity. A number of its proverbs are similar to those in the "Solomonic book."[2] This latter phenomenon would seem to indicate that the two "books" were made independently of one another.

It is interesting also to notice that the early verses (1–4) of the thirtieth chapter concern themselves, in part, with those problems of divine providence which appear in the books of Job and Ecclesiastes. The other proverbial "books" do not trouble themselves with such subjects, but deal with matters of practical wisdom. Professor Cheyne, in comparing these proverbial "books" with the little "book" (chaps. i.–ix.), on the praise of wisdom, says that the former speak solely from the basis of experience, while the latter commends wisdom for itself, its emphasis is on Divine Teaching. It is certainly true that many of the proverbs and maxims are not religious at all.

[1] Cf. xiv. 12 and xvi. 25; and, with slight changes of expression, x. 1 and xv. 20; x. 2 and xi. 4; xvi. 2 and xxi. 2; xix. 5 and 9.

[2] Cf. xxv. 24 and xxi. 9; xxvi. 13 and xxii. 13; xxvi. 15 and xix. 24.

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Of the five grand divisions into which the contents of the Solomonic and Hezekian "books" may be divided, only one-half of one is purely religious—less than one hundred proverbs in all. It is significant that there is but one reference to immortality (xii. 28), while there are four to death or future punishment; four to sheol or the under-world; four to sacrifice; two to prayer; four to faith in God; one each to reconciliation with God and atonement. The name of God (Jehovah) occurs fifty-nine times.[1]

It is almost impossible to give an account of the contents of these "Books," certainly of those parts which are made up of disconnected maxims on a variety of subjects. Among the topics treated are *Social-political matters*, like the family life and relations, the King, the People, their relations, the rich and poor; *Legal matters*, such as the duties of judges, the laws of social life from usury to cruelty to animals and murder; *Economic subjects*, like wealth in its relations to righteousness, labor, commercial and agricultural industries; the *Question of Education*, the value and importance of right knowledge, the training of children; *Ethical and religious subjects*, like duties to one's self, self-denial, prudence, godliness, duties to one's fellow men, veracity, love, friendship, liberality, etc., the relations of God and man, the divine character and judgment, human sin and the fear of God.[2]

5. Author and Date of the Book. We must distinguish between the book and the "books," as to authorship and date. There were the special collections made at particular times, and there was the collection of these collections into the book of Proverbs which we possess. Taking up the latter question, first we ask, "When did the Book, as a whole, take its present form?" We can only determine this approximately. It must certainly have been after the time of Hezekiah when the Hezekian collection was made. If scholars are right in thinking that the writer of chap. xxx. was troubled with the same problems as those which met the author of Job, then we must put the book in the time of the Exile, or after. This is the best that can be done. *Who* made the final collection is, of course, not known.

In considering the separate collections, the first glance shows that some of them do not claim Solomon as their author. This is true of chaps. xxx., xxxi. and of xxii. 17–xxiv. 34. It has also been urged, that if chap. x. 1 has as its heading the "Proverbs of Solomon," then the one who put the preceding collection before it, chaps. i.–ix., did not regard this as written by Solomon. In that case the Solomonic portions are the two collections, x. 1–xxii. 16, and xxv.–xxix. The striking fact already noted, that the former collection, purporting to come from Solomon, contains repetitions of proverbs, suggests that Solomon himself did not have the collection and editing of it, and indeed

[1] These statements are made on the authority of an article entitled, "A Classification of the Solomonic Proverbs," by Dr. K. Yuasa, in *Old and New Testament Student*, Vol. XIII. p. 147 ff.

[2] For this classification I am indebted to Dr. Yuasa.

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makes it probable that the collection itself consisted of smaller collections of sayings of different wise men. This conclusion is favored also by the different kinds of material, and the different forms of literary statement which this collection contains. Some proverbs are rough, some are polished and sharpened to the keenest point.

The Hezekian collection had proverbs like the Solomonic. Hence these two collections were independent. Professor Davidson has discovered, to his satisfaction at least, that this collection, by its form and contents, is to be put earlier than the other collection. There are not so many finely wrought aphorisms in it. Hence, according to him, the Hezekian collection is the nucleus of the book. It contains less religious matter than the other parts, and more details concerning common life and things. Thus, if the reasoning is correct, none of the collections come from Solomon's time, since the earliest one was made by Hezekiah's scribes.

6. *Solomon's Relation to the Proverbs.* What, then, is the connection of Solomon with this collection of "wisdom" books? In describing this one cannot do better than summarize the statements of Professor Davidson.[1]

There can be no doubt that he was a writer of proverbs. The tradition of his authorship in this kind of literature is too strong to be set aside. I Kings iv. 29–34 is proof of it. It is not necessary to doubt that he wrote some of the proverbs contained in our present collections, and that much of the material in those collections goes back to his time. In his day the condition of things in Israel was favorable to reflective thought. The nation was coming into form. Conditions were settled. Relations to foreign nations, and the beginnings of trade and commerce all united to afford a field for the discovery of general principles and a stimulus for their application. Solomon himself was in sympathy with this movement. He threw into it a keen, vigorous mind, with an eye for human nature, and a knowledge of the world, and a faculty of pointed speech. His proverbs, along with those of the men of like mind who occupied themselves with the moral education and social demeanor of the people, and those of their successors, have found their way into the collections which make up the book of Proverbs.

7. *The "Wise Men" and their Work.* The loss of the splendid figure of Solomon from the title page of the book of Proverbs is not without its compensations. The proof that he did not write much of what that book contains is not merely a negative result. It is rather positive and constructive, in that it sets before us, in a clear and truthful way, the real position and work of the less known, but, for this sphere, more important "Wise men" or "Sages."

Was this kind of thought and literary activity the especial province of

[1] Cf. *Ency. Brit.*, article, "Proverbs," a most lucid and informing presentation of the material relating to the Book.

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a particular class of thinkers and writers? This is not necessarily to be expected, for the same man may think along many lines and express his thinking in many forms. Indeed, in the case of the writer of Job, a "wisdom" book, there was the prophetic fire and purpose, as well as the meditative, reflective and generalizing spirit of the philosopher. But we find good reason to hold that just as the prophetic and priestly ideas and literary activity were represented by special schools of prophets and priests, the same was true of the Hebrew "wisdom," which was fostered by a class of teachers and thinkers called the "Wise men" or the "Sages." It is self-evident from the private way in which they would carry on their work, and the indirect relation which they would take to the historical and religious development of the nation, that they do not figure largely in the annals of Hebrew history, or receive frequent mention in the pages of prophetic or priestly literature. Still there are some references to them, such as in Jer. xviii. 18 and Ezek. vii. 26, which indicate that they were marked off into a class, and exercised an influence which set them alongside the two great bodies of leaders and teachers in Israel, the priests and the prophets.

They work apart from priest and prophet, though not opposed to either. Proverbs iii. 9 shows their attitude toward priests; xxix. 18, toward the prophets. They pursue their own line, addressing the Israelite in his life as a man in his relations toward his family, his fellow men, his God. As has been said, this line was aside from the main current of the nation's life, though it was a no less influential one. Their work was devoted largely in private to a circle of followers or to men as individuals.

Thus, as Solomon steps into the background they come forward, a succession of teachers, century after century, developing the body of truths which it was their especial province to maintain and promulgate. Their monuments are in the "books" of Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and not a few of the Psalms.

8. Their Teachings. We may, perhaps, with Davidson, trace the progress of their thought from epoch to epoch, as it appears in the special book which is now under consideration. At first they may be regarded as seeking to prepare men for the duties of life by general moral maxims which condensed the experience of the past in comparisons and antitheses. The results of their familiar homely instruction, are found chiefly in the Hezekian collection. Later on they have continued to exercise their reflective and penetrative judgment in a less external way. They seek to analyze the mind and the springs of moral action, and find the sources of outward activity there. As the course of thought about God widens in Israel, He comes to be thought of more as universal in his activity. The idea of "wisdom" rises to a union of nature and experience and man, under the Divine government. Wisdom is the counterpart of the Divine mind, and human wisdom consists in entering into the knowledge and obedience of this universal "wisdom." This is the

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teaching of the first "Book," the first nine chapters of Proverbs, where the thought is the broadest and highest.

9. Relation to other Proverbial Literature. The product of the educational and literary activity of these men is both similar to and different from the proverbial literature of other nations. In form all proverbs are more or less alike. Some of the proverbs of other nations express the thought they embody more sharply and clearly than do the corresponding sayings of the Hebrews. This comes largely from the fact that the Hebrew proverbs are not the outgrowths of popular life and experience, coming out from the ranks of the people, sharpened into form by passing for centuries from lip to lip. They are the production of teachers, they are not folk sayings, but the condensation of the thought of devout, shrewd and practised men. Hence they are not as rude, as homely, as popular proverbs. Yet it is the high moral and religious character of the book of Proverbs which distinguishes it from the proverbs of other nations. There are moral and religious proverbs among other peoples, but the body of such literature does not reach the high point, does not move with the same sure foot in the higher moral and religious regions as do the biblical proverbs.

10. Religious Value of the Proverbs. Here lies their religious value. They constitute that body of the Hebrew literature which is nearest the earth, most touched with earthly, common, everyday thoughts, ideas, actions, the external, the practical, the commonplace — out of which so much of our life is built. In this region, where it is so easy to err and mislead, the biblical proverbs are remarkable, because they reach so religious a standpoint; because they are permeated with the religious sentiment and pitched to the religious standard. At certain moments these wise men can rise to that symbolic picture of "wisdom" as the connecting link between heaven and earth, which later writers catch up and carry on until it blends with the reality of the Divine Saviour. But on lower stages their "wisdom" reveals — and *suggests* where it does not reveal — how the religious principle of life may have, must have, its moral application in all the spheres of our human activity — not only its meaning toward God but toward ourselves and our neighbor.

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Exploration and Discovery.

THE DECIPHERMENT OF THE ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

By Robert Francis Harper.
The University of Chicago.

II.

Passing over Löwenstern, de Saulcy, Longperier and others we come to the Irishman, Edward Hincks (died December 3, 1866, at Killeleagh, County Down, Ireland). In 1849 Hincks read a paper before the Irish Academy on the Khorsabad inscriptions in which he dealt chiefly with the ideograms of the Assyrio-Babylonian, and with the chronology of the Assyrians. In 1856 an appendix to the foregoing containing "Addenda and Corrigenda" was printed. In all probability this appendix was printed in 1850, but the complete volume of the Transactions of the Academy did not appear until 1855. The most important discovery in this Appendix is that the so-called Homophones (*i. e.* signs with the same value) for the single consonants were in reality different signs, some of which had a vowel before them and others a vowel after them; or, to be more explicit, in the case of the seven accepted signs for the consonant *b*, the values *ab*, *ib*, *ub*, *ba*, *bi*, *be*, and *bu* were to be sharply distinguished from each other. This was a great gain for the decipherment of the Assyrian. The list of signs was, on account of this discovery, quite different from the one proposed by de Saulcy and by Hincks himself in his earlier writings. The phonetic complement was discovered independently by both Hincks and Rawlinson. This so-called complement is a sign attached to an ideogram to indicate the reading of the ideogram, *e. g.* IS. KU= both *kakku* and *tukultu*. When the ideogram is to be read *tukultu*, we have, in almost every case, the phonetic complement, *tu*, *ti* or *ta* added to the IS. KU. to indicate this reading. The compound syllabic values were first noted by Hincks, viz: signs having values consisting of a consonant + a vowel + a consonant, as *dan* (=*da*+*an*), *bul* (=*bu*-*ul*), etc. The so-called "allophones" or "polyphones," *i. e.* characters that can be read in two or more different ways, *e. g. dan*, *kal*, *lab*, *rib*, all values of one sign, were first observed by Rawlinson. *Cf.* also *riu*-*u*-*kit*, to be read *u*-*sam*-*kit*.

With Hommel, the history of the investigations from 1851 on can be divided

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into two periods, with Hincks and Oppert as the leaders of the first. During this period, all that had been done before was arranged philologically and new facts gathered from new inscriptions were added to those already known. In 1868, '70 and '72 appeared the first three volumes of Edwin Norris' *Assyrian Dictionary*. During this time volumes I – IV of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* were published by Rawlinson, Norris and George Smith.

Schrader, the father of Assyriology in Germany, may be regarded as the connecting link between these two periods, belonging neither to the first nor to the second. His great service to the science has been from the standpoint of history and not of philology.

The second period begins with Friedrich Delitzsch and continues to the present time. The characteristic feature of this period is the close and strictly philological work done by Delitzsch and his school. When Delitzsch commenced the study of Assyrian, "Assyriology was in a state of slavish dependence on Arabic lexicography." He soon became convinced that Arabic was not so important to the study of Assyrian as the North Semitic languages, the Hebrew and the Aramaic dialects. He was the first to make any real attempt to explain the vocabulary of the Assyrians by means of the usage of words in the Assyrian texts. In other words, instead of slavishly following the lexicons of the Arabic, Hebrew, etc., and giving Arabic meanings to roots in Assyrian containing the same radicals, he studied the language from its own literature, calling the cognates to his assistance only when it was necessary. All the historical inscriptions have been retranslated and explained philologically. Much good work has been done in the mythical texts (Haupt, Jensen); the religious literature (Zimmern, Sayce, etc.); the contract tablets (Strassmaier, Talqvist, Peiser and others); syllabaries (Delitzsch); astronomical tablets (Oppert, Sayce, Epping and Strassmaier); letters (Smith, Delitzsch and others). There still remains a great deal to be done.

"The historical inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia have been, for the most part, carefully studied and translated. The more important texts hitherto published have been collated and fresh translations made by competent scholars during the last decade. No one can hope to add much to Semitic science historically, or linguistically, by continuing to work over the old material. There are not a few passages in these inscriptions in which there is still uncertainty, and others are wholly obscure. The obscurities are mainly etymological and lexical, and the aid necessary to their elucidation can be found only in new historical texts yet to be discovered, or, to a limited extent, in other branches of its copious literature, still imperfectly examined or wholly unknown. Assyriology in the future, more than in the past, must depend upon itself for its interpretation without, however, disdaining valuable suggestions yet to be received from Hebrew and Aramaic, Arabic and Syriac, and even from some of the more remotely connected branches of this widespread family of languages. Assyrian possesses a vast deal of material for its exposition in the thousands of unpublished texts in the British Museum and in the

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other collections in Europe and the United States. But the past lines of advance are not the future lines of progress. The time for the publication of "Miscellaneous Texts" is past. There is a call for students to devote themselves to special "series" dealing with particular subjects. Not even vocabularies and syllabaries can safely be taken at random and applied without discrimination to texts generally. Many of them were evidently intended for the explanation of special works. The meanings attached have application only within the bounds of the subject for which they were prepared. It is well known that even in modern languages words which are the same orthographically and genetically connote, by the special uses to which they have been applied, quite divergent and sometimes even antithetic ideas. This occurred much more frequently in ancient languages than in modern. Facility in the formation of special terms was not a characteristic of early languages. The main vocabulary was levied upon for the best it could offer to do duty in their stead, and these words were, so to speak, compelled to connote certain ideas in accordance with the character of the subject treated. This fact must not be lost sight of by Assyriologists, for, great as is the temptation to overlook it, the confusion consequent upon the oversight may be greater. This is not the place to discuss this subject. We call attention to it here in connection with the work under review. Not only must Assyriology depend more largely upon itself, but, further, each department of its literature must be studied exhaustively and, to a certain extent, independently. Astrological and astronomical works cannot be explained except in their own light. Mythological, ceremonial and religious texts derive little aid from contract tablets. Epistolary correspondence cannot be successfully made out by depending upon the historical vocabulary. Each class, if it is to be studied profoundly and scientifically, demands separate and exhaustive examination." [1]

[1] J. A. Craig, in his review of Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K Collection*. *Hebraica*, vol. vii., Nos. 3 and 4.

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Synopses of Important Articles.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE HEBREW MONARCHY. I., LAND. By Rev. Prof. W. H. BENNETT, M.A., in *The Thinker* for Feb. 1893.

The opportunity to use land is, in some ways, a more fundamental condition of a satisfactory life than even personal freedom. In the Old Testament, freeman and landowner are synonymous terms. Landlord and tenant were unknown characters in Israel of Old Testament times. Land tenure recognized no absolute ownership. The land was the property not of the individual but of the family. The partition of the land of Palestine among the tribes, in the book of Joshua, is said to have been "according to their families." All regulations for the sale of land tended to keep it in the family. The law providing that, in the Jubilee year, all land sold within the past fifty years should revert to its former owner, was in favor of the family tenure. At some points in Israel's history this law was trampled under foot. The kingdom of the ten tribes was drowned in a flood of injustice and violence, oppression and fraud, land-thieving and heritage-seizure. But in full force, the law deprived the land-holder the right of selling his landed estate. It was held as a sacred trust for posterity. His right was simply that of use for his own time and life. PRICE.

THE FOLK-SONG OF ISRAEL IN THE MOUTH OF THE PROPHETS. By Professor KARL BUDDE, in the *New World* for March, 1893.

Professor Budde attempts in the present article to point out the prevalency of the use of Folk-poesy in the writings of the Old Testament prophets. The father of literature on this subject was Hamann, followed by the poet and writer Herder. Herder especially devoted his attention to the beauty of the poetry of the ancient Hebrews, and in his work on that subject presented matter in a very attractive and comprehensive form. Folk-song is a very common element of every-day life among Oriental peoples. It is especially prominent upon occasions of great joy or lamentation, at wedding feasts and at funerals. This is noted even today by residents and travellers in the East. But to turn to the Old Testament: we find illustrations of both kinds of Folk-song, joy and exultation in Ps. xlv., and in the Song of Solomon; mourning and lamentation in the Book of Lamentations. The Folk-song devoted to mourning and weeping was especially prevalent among classes of persons who made it their profession to mourn for the dead and for great disasters. The remnants of this literature or poesy display a peculiar make-up.

One of the best illustrations will be found in Lamentations ii. 1–3. While

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in regular Hebrew poetry the lines are almost of equal length and either synonymous, synthetic or antithetic in their relations to each other, those of the dirge consist, each verse of two lines, the second of which is always shorter than the first, on an average in the ratio of two to three. This gives a kind of undulating or limping movement as characteristic of the lament, for example:

"Ah, how the Lord in his anger has smitten
The daughter of Zion;
And dashed from heaven to earth the beauty of Israel,
And no way remembered his foot-stool."

Another interesting example is found in Isa. xiv. 4:

"Ah! how the tyrant is at rest;
Ended is the oppression.
Jehovah hath stolen the staff of the wicked,
The sceptre of the rulers."

In Jer. ix. 17–21, the professional mourning women are called on and they give us in verse 22 a specimen of a dirge which they used on sorrowful occasions. The employment of this kind of metre in the Book of Lamentations called to the mind of everyone who heard it the presence of death. The overthrow of the sacred city was even as a death in the family, and impressed upon every hearer the thought of personal loss. Jeremiah in his prophecy uses the same special metre when he replies to Zedekiah (chap. xxxviii. 22) and foretells to him the certain overthrow of his city and of his people. Taking the prophets all through we find that there are probably fifty of these chants or dirges embodied in their writings. In fact there are only five, Joel, Jonah and the three post-exilic prophets who do not use it. A second stage of adaptation of the lament, is in its ironical use as shown in Jeremiah xlvi.-xlix. and often in Ezekiel. A third use is that of adapting it to hymnic verse in general as found especially in Isaiah xl. 9–11; xliv. 23–28. A fourth stage is that in which nothing but the empty form was left. This peculiar adaptation is found in the pilgrimage songs, Ps. cxx.–cxxxiv. In all of these four classes we find the same undulating, limping metre. The investigation of this class of poetry leads to some important results. The Book of Lamentations cannot be brought down many years after the fall of Jerusalem. It becomes a "sheer impossibility" to bring down Ps. cxxxvii. as done by Professor Cheyne, to the time of Simon Maccabæus. It must be left in the exile and near the beginning of it. Other writings which have been brought down to a late date are certainly earlier on the evidence of the Folk-song.

Professor Budde has given us a very interesting and instructive sketch of his topic. It reveals some attractive points concerning poetic lip-literature of the people. Its bearing on textual criticism is noted but slightly. However, there is an inclination on his part, as seen in some of his other writings, to generalize on too narrow a basis. For example, he concludes because Isa. xl.–lxvi. uses the undulating metre for joyful expressions; that this was a late adaptation of the dirge, and that Micah vii. 7, where the same metre is used, therefore belongs to a date 100 years later than the supposed

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author. Of course that is a hasty conclusion made on too narrow a premise. He also maintains that the presence of this metre gives a good basis for the emendation of the text and the discovery of omissions and the transference of words, but these can easily be carried too far. The article as a whole is very valuable in the study of Old Testament poetry, especially as found among the prophets. PRICE.

PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY. II. Paul's Religious History. By Rev. Professor A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor*, for February, 1893.

A study of Paul's conception of Christianity fitly begins with an inquiry into his religious history, since his theology is the outgrowth of his experience, and because acquaintance with his spiritual history helps us to assume a sympathetic appreciative attitude toward his theology. The autobiographical hints in the controversial group of epistles are comparatively few, but valuable. They occur conspicuously in the first chapter of Galatians and the seventh of Romans. The former shows him, before he became a Christian, as a zealot in Judaism, whose ambition was to excel in establishing a legal righteousness. The latter shows his failure, arising from the discovery that the law forbade *coveting, i. e.*, that a mere feeling, a state of the heart not falling under the observation of others, is condemned as sin. The momentousness of this discovery for Paul himself it is impossible to exaggerate. From that moment his Judaism was doomed (Rom. vii. 9). Hope died because the zealot saw that there was a whole world of sin within of which he had not dreamed, with which it was hard to cope, and which made righteousness by conformity to the law appear unattainable. This was a great step from Judaism toward Christianity. It led up to the turning-point of his life, which, however marvellous, was not so sudden and unprepared as it seems. While the objective appearance of Christ to Paul at his conversion is by all means to be maintained, it is legitimate to assume that there was a subjective state answering to the objective phenomenon. Before Christ appeared *to* him on the way to Damascus He had been revealed *in* him (Gal. ii. 15), not yet as an object of faith, but as an object of earnest thought. That Paul had thought of Christ's claims, and of the significance of his life, death and resurrection, explains his fiercely hostile attitude to Christianity, which he regarded as a rival to Judaism. He hated it, yet was drawn toward it, and could not let it alone. Now when a spiritual crisis comes to a man of such heroic temper and resolute will, it possesses deep and inexhaustible significance. In the view of some writers the spiritual development of this remarkable man took place mainly after his conversion. It would be nearer the truth to say that on that day his spiritual development to a large extent lay behind him. For him to become a Christian meant everything. It meant becoming a *Paulinist* Christian in the sense which the famous controversial epistles enable us to set upon that expression. The preparation for the great change had been so thorough that the convert leaped at a bound into a large cosmopolitan idea of Christianity, its nature and destination. This view of Paul's conversion is

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borne out by the autobiographical notices in the first chapter of Galatians. Four points deserve attention here. (1) He calls his old way of life Judaism, rather than Pharisaism or Rabbinism, obviously having present controversies in view. He knows all about Judaizing, and Judaism. It had been his life element. It was a miracle that he had ever been set free from its thrall. It was owing to the sovereign grace of God that he had completely and forever broken away from it. (2) He virtually asserts the identity of his gospel throughout the whole period during which he had been a Christian. The gospel which he received "by revelation" at his conversion was the same that he had preached to the Galatians, and was now obliged to defend against those who called it in question, and sought to frustrate it. The Galatians saw no inconsistency in beginning with faith in a crucified Jesus and ending with Jewish legalism; but for him these two things appeared utterly incompatible. "If righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for naught" (Gal. ii. 21). (3) Paul connects his conversion with his call to be an Apostle to the Gentiles (Gal. i. 15). What the circumstances required was that he should make it clear beyond dispute that he was an apostle to the Gentiles by immediate Divine authority and equipment. He could never have spoken of his call as he did if his heathen mission had been a tardy afterthought. (4) Paul's visit to Peter three years after his conversion was long enough for Peter to rehearse to him the Evangelic memorabilia, but hardly enough for a vital process of spiritual development. It was not there that he learned, or could possibly learn, his own gospel. That he had got by heart before he made his visit to Peter, when in thought and prayer he was alone with God in Arabia.

This article continues the series begun by Prof. Bruce in the January number of *The Expositor*. His exposition of that portion of Paul's religious experience which antedates his conversion, as given above, combines the view of Beyschlag, who emphasizes the fruitless struggle after a legal righteousness, with the view of Pfleiderer, who places the chief stress on Paul's acquaintance with Christian beliefs about Jesus and the effect of his reflection on those beliefs. P. A. N.

THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN THE PSALTER. *Die Messianische Hoffnung im Psalter.* By Bernh. Stade, Giessen, in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, II. 5, p. 369.

No more interesting results in Old Testament study than those presented under the above title by Professor Stade, of Giessen, in the last number of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, have appeared in the German theological journals for many a month. This interest is but enhanced by the *positive* character of the results, — a feature, it must be confessed, too often lacking in the work of the German critic, and this positive contribution to the problem of the Psalter will be welcomed by all, in the present uncertain condition of the question.

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In an historical introduction, Stade states that the Jewish view of the Messianic element in the Psalter in the time of Christ came to be the inheritance of the Christian Church, and has been largely retained to the present day. This view was abandoned by the Jews themselves in the Middle Ages. Like the Jews, and perhaps in the beginning somewhat influenced by them, Christian scholars have gradually thrown aside the old opinion, resulting in a wide diversity of interpretation, which was never greater than now. In his own words, "while some recognize that the interpretation of the same (the Psalms) found in the New Testament and the early Church presents a view which obtained by reason of the circumstances of the time, but is not binding upon us, and deduce and explain the interpretations of Jesus, like that concerning Ps. cx. (Mat. xxii. 41 f.), from his human development,—others, (but going from instance to instance and not without concessions,) seek to demonstrate the old view as properly subsisting." The resort of other conservatives is to a "typical Messianic significance."

This inharmonious condition of the discussion results, as Stade thinks, from an improper putting of the question, as will be seen.

The Messianic thought in the time of Christ was more than a merely abstract exegetical opinion. It belonged to the living tissue of their daily faith; they *expected* a coming judgment, marked features of which were the confusion and destruction of the wicked, the overthrow of the old order of things, and the establishment of a new and glorious kingdom (cf. the request of the sons of Zebedee). In their thought they stood before a "*Weltkatastrophe.*" Now the Psalms are the songs for the service of the second temple, and express and embody the religious faith of the people. Do these songs show that the people stand before a great "world-catastrophe"? This is a more relevant question, for to them the judgment was a larger element in Messianic faith than the person of the Messianic King, which had not as yet assumed the proportions given it in the time of Christ. Whether a passage then, is Messianic or not, is not to be determined exclusively from its mention of the Messianic *King*, but rather primarily from reference to characteristics of the Messianic *time*.

Whether the Psalms be an expression of post-exilic piety (Reuss, Wellhausen, Smend, Cheyne), or the historic embodiment of the religious sense of Israel, from David down, the question is the same. Further, whether the individual speaks, or the congregation, the question is not altered, for all the songs came ultimately to be the expression of the people's feeling, and in this feeling the history of Messianic prophecy shows that the Messianic King does not, as in New Testament times, occupy the central point.

With the new question in view Stade now takes up the detailed treatment of a large number of Psalms: His first group consists of Ps. vii., xiii., xxii., xxxv., lvii., lix., lxviii. lxxiv., lxxxiii., lxxxv., xc., xciv., cvi.–cix., cxv., cxxiii., cxxvi., cxxx., cxliv. The characteristic of this group is a cry of oppression and a demand for justice and judgment, for Jehovah to appear as a judge in the

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world-judgment, which originates with the second Isaiah. Each Psalm closely inspected shows this same characteristic, the most interesting being the cxlivth, where for the first time there is reference to the Messianic King (vs. 10).

This leads to a second group, comprising Ps. xviii., lxxii., lxxxix., cxxxii., all mentioning the Messianic King or the restoration of David's line; this being the object of fervent supplication, as the judgment has before been. A further group expresses faith in the Messianic future, but not addressed directly to Jehovah to summon him to judgment. Observe that in Psalms of *lamentation* the Messianic hope appears as consolation tendered present misfortune; in Psalms of *praise* and *thanksgiving*, it furnishes the ground for praise of God. This group contains Ps. lx., lxix., lxxv., lxxvii., xcvi., cii., cxiii., cxxxv., cxxxviii., cxl., cxlix., of which cxlix. is unusual in presenting also the triumph of Israel.

From the study of these three groups of Psalms, it is evident that Israel contemplates her political situation and social condition in the light of the Messianic hope. The mitigation of her present evil state, release from degradation and oppression, are hourly expected. The true meaning of her cry of distress and prayer for help has always been missed, because they have always been considered as *general* in sense, whereas they are *specific*, and the help for which Israel cries and prays is the *help of Jehovah in the world-judgment.*

In demonstration of the Messianic character of the foregoing ideas three lines of proof are possible:

1. The occurrence elsewhere in the Psalms of the same expressions, where the reference to the Messianic hope is indisputable.
2. Such a reference probable from the further contents of the Psalm.
3. The occurrence of the same expressions in Messianic passages of the prophets.

A large number of phrases characteristic of the Psalms above treated are shown in detail to possess direct, verbal parallels in the Messianic oracles of the prophets. Such expressions as, "Arise, oh Jehovah," iii. 8, ix. 20, are compared with, "Now will I rise, saith Jehovah," Is. xxxiii. 10, and this comparison is carried out with a large number of similar phrases and developed with great exactness and care.

Stade now takes up those Psalms which assume a position directly in the midst of the Messianic time, where the poet sees the Messianic judgment and glories as in a vision. For a prophetic parallel see Amos ix. Psalms of this character fall into different classes as follows:

a. Jahweh appearing in judgment, Ps. xxix.

b. Jahweh as King, (a further development of the preceding,) Ps. xcvii. and related Ps. xcix.

c. The judgment itself, Ps. lviii. and lxxxii., also xviii., which has been already used, and in which the poet varies from the judgment actually present, to the judgment hoped for.

d. The time after the completed judgment, Ps. xlvi., less plainly Ps. xlviii.

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As a type of the general class of Psalms projected into the midst of the Messianic time, Ps. xlvii. will serve, where Jahweh has but just entered upon his kingdom. The same, in liturgical form, is Ps. xciii.

The dawn of the Messianic kingdom and the entrance of Jahweh into his temple are the same. The recognition of this fact in the interpretation of Ps. xxiv. will establish the hitherto unperceived connection between vss. 1–6 and 7–10, which have been separated as incoherent by many commentators. With this Psalm compare Is. 63:1. It is a liturgical song of praise, and the connection of such representations of Jahweh coming in triumph from judgment, with the liturgical praise of God, is further shown by Ps. lxxvi.

The intimate relation between the hope for the coming of the Messianic time, and the description of the same, is shown by Ps. xcviii., but still more remarkably in Ps. ix–x, (which form one alphabetic song,) where the two thoughts interchange and alternate "*kaleidoscopartig*."

In conclusion Stade says: "While the Messianic references, when scrutinized after the plan 'prophecy and fulfillment,' threatened to disappear under the hands, on *our* fashion of questioning, the Psalter has shown itself to be completely filled with them."

The continuance of the Messianic idea through the centuries between the restoration and the beginning of the apocalyptical literature is of course clear from the later prophets, and it might possibly also be shown from them that this hope was not merely the learned, theoretic interest of a few pious individuals. But according to the view above presented the Messianic idea is shown to be the central light in the living hope and common faith of the people.

On three sides, the faith of Israel is higher than all others; first, they believed in one God, the final ground of all things; second, they believed in a moral law absolutely binding on men and revealed to Israel throughout her history; third, they believed in a coming Kingdom of God, ushered in by a judgment at which all wrong should be set right and resulting in absolute harmony between God and man. This was the greatest of the three, as it was the one absolutely unique. It brought to bear upon their daily living a force utterly unknown to the life of any other people and of incalculable effect in the moral progress of the nation.

It must be recollected by the reader, that what is here so hastily sketched, is presented with careful demonstration in an elaborate article of nearly fifty pages. To the writer the weak point in Stade's theory seems to be the prominence given the "world-judgment" and "world-catastrophe" in the minds of the post-exilic Jews as a necessary postulate of his theory, whereas it again appears as one of the largest results of the applied theory. But as a strikingly original and carefully developed hypothesis, its verification or rejection is of interest to every Old Testament student, and deserves the closest study, in view of the POSITIVE results which its establishment affords. J. H. B.

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Notes and Opinions.

Three Motives to Repentance. — James Denney, in the March *Expositor*, treats of the three motives to repentance found in Luke xiii. 1–9.

1. The massacre of the Galileans in the Temple, by Pilate, is a lesson for the nation. Their death is a picture and a prophecy of the doom which within a generation should overtake their race. The same cause that led to the death of the Galileans would bring about the destruction of the nation. So when we see moral forces operating in others and causing their moral ruin, this is a warning to us who find in ourselves the same tendencies active.

2. The falling of the tower of Siloam was an accident. Great accidents stir men's natures. They bring certain truths before the mind in a startling way, and thus furnish a true motive to repentance. To see men moved deeply, yet not permanently and to a change of life — this caused Christ to speak with startling vehemence.

3. The parable of the fig-tree in the vineyard was, perhaps, not spoken at the same time with the two previous exhortations. But it presents the same appeal, with the same importunity. "If it bear fruit thenceforth, *well;* but if not, thou shalt *cut it down*." We cannot understand this three-fold summons to repentance unless we remember the spiritual tension of Christ at that time. These three words are three flashes from the fire burning in his heart. They show his soul-travail for the conversion of men. T. H. R.

About the Sixth Hour. — A valuable article by W M. Ramsay, in the *Expositor* of March, continues the discussion between Doctors Sanday and Dods, in previous numbers (1891), regarding the mode of reckoning time in the Roman world. Confusion has been caused by failure to distinguish properly between the civil and the natural days. The former consisted of twenty-four hours, beginning among the Greeks and Jews at sunset, and among the Romans at midnight. The natural day extended from sunrise to sunset, and varied in length according to the season, the hours at midsummer being seventy-five minutes and at midwinter forty-five minutes. It has been supposed by many commentators that there were two different methods of reckoning the hours, the Roman beginning at midnight and the Jewish beginning at sunrise. But this is a mistake. Hours were never reckoned by the civil day, but always by the natural. The night, in popular usage, was divided into watches, not hours. There is then only one meaning to the phrases, "the first hour," "the sixth hour." The first hour indicates the time when one-

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twelfth of the natural day has passed; the sixth hour, midday at all seasons of the year. Only rarely do we find any attempt to indicate time more precisely than by the complete hour of the day. In the popular language little attempt was made to reckon any hours except the third, sixth and ninth. "To the oriental mind the question between the third hour and the sixth hour is not more important than the doubt between 12.5 and 12.10 is to us." At a point of time midway between the third and the sixth hours, it would be a question by which of these two hours to designate it. "Godet's remark, that the apostles had no watches, has been called flippant, but it touches the critical point. The apostles had no means of avoiding the difficulty as to whether it was the third or the sixth hour when the sun was near midheaven, and they cared very little about the point."

Polycarp's martyrdom at the eighth hour is the stock example to prove a second method of reckoning from midnight. But though executions usually took place in the forenoon, the evidence in this case shows that Polycarp was put to death in the afternoon—at the eighth hour from sunrise. T. H. R.

The Synoptic Problem.—The interest in this most important question of New Testament criticism gives no signs of abating. In 1793 the theological faculty of Göttingen announced it as the subject for competitive prize essays. In 1893 the offering of such a prize would apparently be a work of supererogation. *The Expository Times* for March devotes several editorial pages to it and publishes three articles upon it by contributors. In the first of these latter, Professor J. T. Marshall, M. A., of Manchester, gives an interesting account of the genesis and development of the theory which has been made familiar to New Testament students by his papers in *The Expositor* for 1890–1892, and presents an outline of the arguments for it. Professor Marshall's theory is, in brief, that many of the divergences between the gospels occurring in passages largely similar in substance are to be explained by the supposition that the several evangelists translated, for the most part independently, from a common Aramaic source. He does not claim that this theory solves the whole problem. Those passages which are peculiar to one gospel, as well as those in which two or even three evangelists show a close verbal agreement, are left untouched by it. He does not regard his theory as antagonistic to the two-document hypothesis, which Dr. Sanday has recently said holds the field, but claims that if this hypothesis establish itself, his investigations must be admitted to have shown that both documents existed primarily in Aramaic. It thus appears that Professor Marshall's view tends to the conclusion that there was a primitive Aramaic Mark as well as a primitive Aramaic Matthew. This Aramaic Mark, if such there was, contained "almost the whole of Mark's Gospel to the end of chap. xiii." but no account of the Lord's passion.

The second article is by Mr. Halcombe, and is the first of a series of articles expounding in outline the theory already advocated in his book, *The Historic Problem of the Gospels*, London, 1889. This theory is in brief that

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the Gospel of John is the earliest of our four gospels, and that the other three were written in the order in which they stand in the New Testament. The remark of Dr. Dods respecting Mr. Badham's work, *The Formation of the Gospels*, may be applied slightly changed to Mr. Halcombe's theory. It "runs so counter to recent criticism . . . that perhaps he may find it difficult to gain a patient hearing." Mr. Halcombe continues the exposition of his theory in the April number of *The Expository Times*.

In the third article, Rev. Arthur Wright, author of *The Composition of the Four Gospels*, London, 1890, a book which defended a peculiar form of the oral gospel theory, replies to some criticisms offered by Professor Marshall in the February *Expository Times* on an article in the January number, in which Mr. Wright had defended his own theory and urged objections to that of Professor Marshall. Mr. Wright announces that he is about to publish some new and convincing evidence for the truth of this theory.

In *The Expositor* for February and March we have two valuable articles by Rev. Professor V. H. Stanton, D.D., of Cambridge, entitled *Some Points in the Synoptic Problem*. Professor Stanton announces himself as adhering in general to the documentary hypothesis, so far at least as to maintain that both the first evangelist and the third possessed and used our second gospel or a document substantially identical with it. He contends, however, that the apostolic unwritten gospel was a more important factor in the production of our synoptic gospels than has been recognized by the advocates of the various theories of the documentary dependence of one gospel on another. His first article is specially devoted to a criticism of the view presented in Dr. Paul Ewald's *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage*, Leipzig, 1890. Dr. Ewald proposed to explain the similarity of the first three gospels, and the difference between them all and the fourth, by supposing that the original apostolic tradition contained both the simpler elements which we now find chiefly in the synoptic gospels and the profounder elements which appear in the fourth gospel, but suffered in a particular region, under the influence of local and temporary causes, a one-sided shrinkage, by which the Johannine element largely disappeared. From this one-sided and shrunken tradition sprang the earliest gospel, nearly identical with our Mark. The employment of this document by the first and third evangelists was the primary cause of the one-sidedness of all three. The absence of Johannine elements from the other sources employed by the first and third evangelists, Dr. Ewald partly denies, partly explains by reference to the special purpose of the source or by the influence exerted on the evangelist by his chief source. Professor Stanton objects to this explanation of the one-sidedness of the synoptic narrative, contending that it is due rather to the fact that the work of the apostles required first of all a presentation of the work of Jesus in its simpler, more objective aspects—those aspects, indeed, which were most prominent in the ministry among the Galileans; that those to whom the apostles preached at first were not prepared for the more mysterious truths concerning the person of Christ and his

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oneness with God which are recorded in the fourth gospel. Thus the special character of the synoptic gospels and their general resemblance to one another are due to the fact that they arose out of the earlier type of apostolic tradition. But this alone would not, in the opinion of Professor Stanton, account for the resemblance of these gospels in details and minutiæ. This element of the problem, he holds, compels us to suppose a documentary relation between the several synoptic gospels. This discussion is especially interesting by reason of the distinction which is made between the general resemblance of the synoptic gospels in the type of teaching which they present, and their specific resemblance in selection of events, order of events, and verbal expression, and the reference of these two kinds of resemblance to different causes. In his second article Professor Stanton boldly attacks the two-document hypothesis itself. He shows in the first place that while Dr. Sanday is right in a sense in saying that this hypothesis holds the field at present, yet in fact this term, "two-document hypothesis" is applied to very diverse theories, some of which ought rather to be called three-document theories. Moreover the diversity of these theories is as important a fact as their harmony, and their mutual criticisms raise the question whether every form of the two-document theory is not in fact open to serious objection. Thus, the apparent unity of criticism at this point is rather apparent than real, and really conceals a radical diversity of opinion. In particular Professor Stanton attacks the theory that both the first and the third evangelists used the Logia of the apostle Matthew, urging against the theory the marked differences in the arrangement of material supposed to be obtained from the Logia as a common source as well as the verbal differences. This objection is strengthened by showing that these differences between Matthew and Luke in matter supposed to be derived from the Logia are much greater than the differences which we know—or which the advocates of the two-document hypothesis, as well as Mr. Stanton, maintain —to have come from the second gospel.

Both of Professor Stanton's articles are well worthy of attention. His partial defense of the oral gospel theory will, we believe, commend itself to the judgment of many. His criticism of the two-document theory is pertinent and forceful. Whether it is altogether convincing can be better judged when he has completed his argument. It is evident that unanimity on this important question has not yet been arrived at. It is scarcely less evident that biblical scholarship will not give over the investigation till more satisfactory results are reached than have yet been attained. E. D. B.

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Work and Workers.

A NEW work by Professor C. C. Everett, on the Gospel of Paul, has just appeared. It embodies the results of long research.

TWO NEW appointments are announced in the biblical work of Theological Seminaries. The Rev. C. C. Camp, of Joliet, Ill., has been appointed to the chair of New Testament Exegesis in Seabury Divinity School, and the Rev. T. W. Kretschmann as instructor in Hebrew in Mt. Airy Seminary.

AT the late Michigan State Y. P. S. C. E. convention, the claims of a systematic Bible study for young people were presented by I. F. Wood, of the University of Chicago. Dr. C. F. Kent makes a tour of the State conventions of the Pacific Coast for the same purpose. These addresses are made under the direction of the American Institute of Sacred Literature.

AMONG the aids to New Testament study which have been needed by the student, is a vocabulary of New Testament Greek, so arranged that it could be used by the class or the private student for gaining familiarity with the more important words used. A small one has been printed, but not published, by Professor Horswell, of the North-Western University. Now we have the promise of another, designed for classes reading at sight, by Professor Jacobus, of Hartford Seminary.

IT now seems probable that the use of letters and signs to distinguish documents, a use familiar to all scholars of the Pentateuchal analysis, will pass into use in New Testament criticism. Johannes Weiss, the son of Professor Bernhard Weiss, in a late edition of Luke in the Meyer series, uses such letters. He distinguishes A, the original Mark; Q, the Logia; and L, the Lukian documents. According to his theory, Q and L had already been united before they came into use by the author of the third gospel.

TO MOST visitors, the most impressive sight in the famous Gizeh museum in Cairo is that of the royal mummies which were unrolled a few years ago. To look upon the face of a Pharaoh of the twentieth dynasty is an impressive experience, no matter how familiar with antiquities a person may be. The World's Fair promises facsimiles of these mummies, in the Egyptian collection. There will also be a large number of reproductions, including those of tombs and temples. The exhibit will be well worth the close attention, not only of those specially interested in Egyptian antiquities, but of all students of the Bible.

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A NEW series of theological handbooks is announced from Bonn. The following are the volumes and authors, as arranged: *Theologische Encyklopadie*, Prof. Knoke; *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte*, Prof. Orelli; *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Prof. König; *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Prof. Meinhold; *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Prof. Paul Ewald; *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Prof. Kühl; *Leben Jesu und Geschichte des Apostolischen Zeitalters*, Prof. Steude; *Dogmatik*, Prof. Schmidt; *Ethik*, Prof. Lemme; *Kirchensgeschichte*, Prof. Deutsch; *Dogmengeschichte*, Prof. Barth; *Symbolik*, Prof. Seiffert; *Religions-und Kirchenstatistik*, Pastor Koffnane; *Praktische Theologie*, Prof. Riggenbach; *Kirchenrecht*, Prof. v. Kirchenheim.

PRESIDENT DWIGHT, of Yale, remarked in a conference a few years ago, that, while Old Testament questions held the field almost exclusively at that time, he was sure that the New Testament would soon come into prominence again as the subject of critical interest. The New Testament questions are not yet settled, and, at the same time, they are so vital that they have but to be propounded to command their appropriate share of attention. It looks as though the time were drawing near when this prophecy would have its fulfilment. The synoptic question is commanding more attention in England and Germany than it has for a little time previously. The recent discoveries in New Testament apocryphal documents have roused anew questions of date and relationship of the gospels. The Bampton Lectures of Dr. Sanday contribute their share to the growing interest. We have another announcement of a book that will also bear on the questions. It is *Canonical and Uncanonical Scriptures*, by Rev. W. E. Barnes, Fellow of St. Peter's, Oxford. It will be of special interest, inasmuch as it will include a discussion of the newly-found Gospel of St. Peter.

THE following summary of Old and New Testament courses in the various German universities for the Summer Semester may prove of interest to others besides those who are looking forward to a visit to any of these centres of learning. The few courses where the name of the Professor does not appear are given by Licentiates or Docents.

Berlin: Professor Dillmann, History of Israel, Psalms, smaller exilic pieces in Isaiah, Old Testament seminar; Professor Strack, Old Testament Introduction, Genesis, Leviticus, selections from Jeremiah; Professor Weiss, Gospel of John, Pauline Epistles to Thessalonians, Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, New Testament seminar; Professor Kaftan, Romans; Professor Pfleiderer, Synoptic Gospels; Professor Lommatzsch, New Testament Introduction; Professor v. d. Goltz, Biblical Theology of Ephesians; also courses in Biblical Theology of the New Testament, Life of Christ, History of Apostolic Times.

Leipzig: Professor Buhl, Genesis, Messianic Prophecy, Old Testament club; Professor Guthe, Psalms, History of Israel, Old Testament club;

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other courses in Isaiah, History of Israelitish Worship, and an Exegetical seminar conducted by Professor Fricke; Professor Heinrici, New Testament Introduction, Revelation, James; Professor Schnedermann, New Testament Theology, Mark, Jewish people in New Testament Times, New Testament exercises; Professor Gregory, John, Exegetical club; Professor Luthardt, Romans; Professor Hofmann, Matthew; Professor Fricke, Galatians, Philippians, and Philemon, Exegetical seminar; Professor Hauck, Apostolic Times.

Göttingen: Professor Smend, Genesis, History of Israel until exile, Old Testament seminar; Professor Schultz, selected Psalms; Prof. Wellhausen, Daniel; also courses in Old Testament Introduction, and easy Prophetical Passages; Professor Joh. Weiss, Synoptics, Origin of four Gospels; Professor Wiesinger, Romans, New Testament seminar; Professor Lunemann, John; Professor Häring, Hebrews; Professor Bonwetsch, The Apostolic Age; also courses on General Epistles and Revelation.

Halle: Professor Rothstein, Isaiah, Job, selections from Proverbs, Old Testament exercises; Professor Kautzsch, Genesis, Postexilic Jewish History; also courses in Psalms and Old Testament Introduction; Professor Beyschlag, John, Galatians, Life of Christ, accounts of Passion and Resurrection; Professor Haupt, New Testament Introduction, Philippians, Colossians, and Ephesians, New Testament exercises; Professor Köhler, I Corinthians; also a course on the Parables.

Breslau: Professor Kittel, Isaiah, History of Israel, Old Testament seminar; Professor Löhr, Daniel, Minor Prophets, Old Testament Archaeology; also a course on Psalms; Professor Hahn, Romans, New Testament Theology, New Testament seminar; Professor Wrede, James, Synoptics, Elementary New Testament exercises; Professor Arnold, New Testament Times.

Greifswald: Professor Bæthgen, Old Testament Introduction, Genesis, Old Testament seminar; Professor Giesebrecht, Isaiah, proseminar; Professor Schlatter, New Testament Introduction, Romans, New Testament seminar; Professor Nathusius, Pastoral Epistles; also courses on Hebrews, Luke, and Johannine Doctrines.

Königsberg: Professor Cornill, Genesis, History of Israel, exegetical exercises; Professor Sommers, Job, Jewish Antiquities, Introduction to Old Testament Apocrypha, Old Testament seminar; Professor Grau, Synoptics, Life of Christ, New Testament seminar; Professor Link, New Testament Introduction, Corinthians, James; Professor Jacoby, Johannine Epistles.

Marburg: Professor v. Baudissin, Old Testament Introduction, Psalms, Old Testament seminar; Professor Jülicher, Matthew, New Testament Seminar; Professor Kühl, New Testament Theology, Galatians, exegetical exercises; Professor Achelis, I Peter and I John; also courses in I Corinthians, and cursory reading of John.

Tübingen: Professor Grill, Isaiah, Old Testament Theology; also

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course in History of Israel under first three Kings, and Old Testament conservatory; Professor Buder, Synoptic Discourses of Jesus; Professor Gottschick, John; Professor Kübel, Romans.

Jena: Professor Siegfried, Genesis, Old Testament seminar; Professor Schmiedel, New Testament Introduction, Corinthians, exercises; Professor Hilgenfeld, Synoptics, New Testament seminar; Professor Nippold, Life of Christ.

Kiel: Professor Klostermann, Isaiah xl.–lxvi., Religious Antiquities, Old Testament seminar; Professor Schürer, New Testament Introduction, Matthew with Parallels, New Testament seminar; Professor Kawerau, narratives of Passion.

Erlangen: Professor Köhler, Messianic Prophecies, Isaiah, Songs of the Pentateuch (seminar); Professor Zahn, I Corinthians, History of Jesus, Parts of Acts (seminar); Professor Seeberg, Matthew and Parallels; Professor Müller, Philippians, Philemon, Timothy, and Titus.

Bonn: Professor Kamphausen, Genesis, Old Testament seminar; Professor Meinhold, Job, Old Testament Theology; Professor Grafe, I Corinthians; Professor Sieffert, Hebrews; Professor Krafft, New Testament Times; also courses on Life of Christ, and accounts of Passion and Resurrection.

Freiburg: Professor König, Messianic Passages; Professor Hoberg, New Testament Introduction, Hebrews, Course on accounts of Passion and Glorification.

Würzburg: Professor Scholz, Jeremiah, Old Testament exegesis; Professor Grimm, I Corinthians. L. B. JR.

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Book Reviews.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. The Greek Text with notes and essays by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Durham. Second edition. London: Macmillan and Co. 1892. 8vo. pp. 84 + 504. $4.00

This admirable commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews is already known to scholars through the first edition, which appeared in 1889. The new edition differs from the original only by a few minor corrections. The work is an example of the very best class of modern commentaries, presenting the results of thorough mastery of the historical situation, of careful and scholarly study of the words of the Epistle, and of faithful tracing of the author's course of thought. Bishop Westcott regards it as certain that Paul did not write the epistle, but that it cannot now be determined who its author was. He inclines to believe that it was written to the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem. As respects date, he places it between A.D. 64 and 67, probably just before the commencement of the Jewish war.

One remark of the preface is well worth quoting for the benefit of those who wish to know how the best work in interpretation is done. Having mentioned various writers who have been helpful to him, he says, "But I have always seemed to learn most from Trommius and Bruder. If to these concordances — till the former is superseded by the promised Oxford concordance — the student adds Dr. Moulton's edition of Winer's Grammar, and Dr. Thayer's edition of Grimm's Lexicon, he will find that he has at his command a fruitful field of investigation, which yields to every effort fresh signs of the inexhaustible wealth of the Written Word." E. D. B.

Har Moad, or The Mountain of the Assembly: A series of archæological studies, chiefly from the standpoint of the cuneiform inscriptions. By the Rev. O. D. MILLER, D.D.; with plate illustrations. Published by S. M. Whipple, North Adams, Mass. Pp. xxi + 445.

The title of this book is taken from Isaiah xiv. 13. The author sets out to prove that it refers to Mt. Meru, in Central Asia. The volume in hand is made up of five books. Book I is a discussion, covering more than 100 pages, of Cushite archæology. The main sources of information used were the works of Lenormant, George Smith and Rawlinson. The methods employed are exceedingly ingenious. By the division of the readings of

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cuneiform signs into their elements, and by choosing such significations of these elementary parts as suit his case, the author, through labyrinthian processes, arrives at his conclusions. His transformations from Pa-te-si to Cabiri on p. 65 *seq.* illustrate quite fairly his method. Book II deals with Mosaic and Babylonian cosmogony. By his own peculiar methods the author announces that he has proved that the race was cradled on Mt. Meru, and from that point radiated the different nations with their quota of religion and civilization. "On that summit, which penetrated the rotating center of the celestial sphere, the divine and human were first united in blissful fellowship." Book III is devoted to a discussion of the "celestial earth." All the great events of the race in its edenic period are found to have taken place at the summit of Mt. Meru. To determine the date of that mysterious epoch in human history the author discusses in Book IV the twelve stars of Phœnicia. He attempts to show that "they exhibit the order in which the Mosaic antediluvian genealogy was adjusted to the zodiac." Book V attacks the problem of zodiacal chronology, and discovers the characteristic features of the Eden of Genesis in that particular celestial region around and centering in the constellation Lyra. In his concluding remarks he seems to have settled all the problems touching the antiquity, the religion, the dispersion and the development of the race.

The work displays a prodigious amount of reading in the departments of mythology and the so-called occult sciences. It also shows what can be done by setting out to prove a particular proposition rather than to ascertain the truth. The author bends every point to establish his preconception of the location of the original central home of the race. His methods are multifarious, suspicious and even vicious. By them anything can be proved, anything that one desires can be established. Where he clings close to recognized leaders, he presents with force some truths, but his speculations therefrom have rarely more than a tangential relation to the original. The arrangement of the subject matter is exceedingly unfortunate. Altogether the work does not add to the equipment of the scholar, either in material or in the conception of truth. PRICE.

How to Read the Prophets. With Explanations, Map and Glossary. By Rev BUCHANNAN BLAKE, B.D. Part III, Jeremiah. New York: imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1892. Pp. 287. Price, $1.50.

Mr. Blake has already given us two small works arranged on the plan of this third part. The main features of the book are a new translation and arrangement of the prophecies of Jeremiah in the supposed chronological order. In this arrangement he embodies such passages of Kings and Chronicles as throw light upon the utterances of Jeremiah. 173 pages of the book are devoted to the presentation of this material. The second division of about

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100 pages takes the same matter and weaves it into narrative form. The third division, of a few pages only, discusses the religious conceptions of Jeremiah, gives us a chronological table and a glossary of names and notes, followed by a subject index. Considerable care has been used in the presentation of the poetical form. This adds very greatly to the beauty of the prophecy and the vividness of the thought. It makes also a handsomer page for the reader. But he has not always carefully observed the divisions of the verses. For example: In chapter ix. 17–22 (pp. 47–48) the characteristic metre of the dirge, and that which makes it the more effective is unnoticed. Likewise in chapter li., we have a similar disregard of the metre. It is to be noted that he locates chapters vii.–ix, in the reign of Jehoiakim, as being a more elaborate presentation of the discourse mentioned in chapter xxvi. After chapters xxv. 38 he introduces the prophecies against foreign nations. But why should these not be brought in immediately after xxv. 13, as in the Septuagint, and allow the remaining verses of chapter xxv. to summarize what is said in these longer prophecies of xlvi.–xlix? There is apparently some confusion also in the arrangement of his matter. For example: On page 96 after he has nearly finished up the reign of Jehoiakim, he introduces the brief reign of Jehoahaz; also on pages 96a and 96b, he introduces, entirely out of chronological order, matter concerning the reign of Jehoiachin. Following that on page 97 we have the account of the death of Jehoiakim. It seems that the author had omitted two pages and afterward attempted to insert them between two closely connected in thought. This is a blemish which should be corrected before another edition of the book. Another conclusion for which no reason appears is that chapters ix. 23–x. 17 were uttered by Jeremiah in Egypt. Chapters l.–li., are later productions, added to the book by some later hand. Taking the book as a whole it will be useful in giving the reader a connected story of Jeremiah's work, but it would add very greatly to the satisfaction of the general reader for whom it was prepared to know why this or that order has been adopted. A few lines only of explanation would have sufficed. The most ordinary reader will not be satisfied nor be ready to accept his chronological divisions. But the life of Jeremiah and the condition of his times will be more vivid and of more real value to him after having once read the volume. PRICE.

Sermons on Subjects connected with the Old Testament. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford. London: Methuen & Co.

This is a volume of twelve sermons preached in Oxford and Cambridge, and published as a supplement to the author's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament." They are meant to illustrate Dr. Driver's contention that the adoption of critical conclusions "implies no change in respect to the Divine attributes of the Old Testament; no change in the lessons of human

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duty to be derived from it; no change as to the general position (apart from the interpretation of particular passages) that the Old Testament points forward prophetically to Christ."

The last five sermons are simpler, and are published to show how "the specific lessons of the Old Testament" may be enforced and its "providential purpose" recognized, without interpreting its words in a sense alien to their original meaning, or context, or otherwise deviating from the strict application of critical and exegetical canons.

As an introduction, the paper read at the Church Congress at Folkestone, 1892, "On the Permanent Moral and Devotional Value of the Old Testament for the Christian Church," is prefixed. The Old Testament is of permanent value, he says, (1) on account of the clearness with which it insists on the primary *moral* duties obligatory on man as man; (2) on account of the examples of faith and conduct, character and principle it affords for our models; (3) on account of the great ideals of human life and society it holds before its readers. As to devotional uses, we have only to think of the Psalms, of the book of Job, and of the Second Isaiah. Its piety is manly and never descends to the effeminate pietism of modern days. We now come to the sermons. The first seven are essays rather than sermons. In the first, Dr. Driver shows that evolution is compatible with faith, because that doctrine applies only to the body, and does not reach the soul. In the second (Isa. vi. 3) he shows how the glory of God is reflected in the creation of the world and in fitting it for the abode of man. In the third, under the title of "The Ideals of the Prophets" (Gen. xii. 3), he speaks of the ideal destiny of Israel in its various aspects, a holy nation, a Messianic king, a people through whom all the world would be blessed. The fourth sermon treats of the growth of belief in a future state as seen in the Old Testament and the Jewish Targums. The fifth deals with the Hebrew prophets (Amos ii. 11, 12) and shows their work in the two spheres of politics and morals. They were the teachers of their own generation, the correctors of its political mistakes, its social abuses, its moral shortcomings.

"The Voice of God in the Old Testament" (Heb. i. 1) is the title of sermon VI, and deals with the variety of form and circumstance and occasion with which God revealed himself to the fathers. In sermon VII, on "Inspiration," he defines it as a unique and extraordinary *spiritual insight*, enabling those who received it, without superseding or suppressing the human faculties but rather using them as its instruments, to declare in different degrees and in accordance with the needs and circumstances of particular ages or particular occasions, the mind and purpose of God.

The other sermons are shorter and simpler. In a sermon on "The first chapter of Genesis" he shows that Science and Theology are complementary, not antagonistic. The purpose of the Bible is to teach religious truth, not scientific truth. In "The Warrior from Edom," (Isaiah lxiii. 1), he declares

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the fundamental thought to be, the impotence of the nations to arrest God's purposes at a critical moment in the history of his people.

Sermon X is on "The Sixty-eighth Psalm." This psalm, he says, describes a past event, viz. the historical ascent of God into the "tent" prepared for him by David upon Zion. It is not a prediction of the ascension of our Lord. It has no reference to the future. Nevertheless the ascent of the Ark in which God was present into Zion, *prefigured* the ascent of Christ into heaven.

Sermon XI is called "The Lord our Righteousness" (Jeremiah xxiii. 6). This means the Lord *is* our righteousness, and is significant of the fact in a degenerate age that the nation's righteousness can only be secured by God.

In the sermon "Mercy and not Sacrifice," (Hosea vi. 6), he dilates on that *kindliness* of feeling which goes so far to make us love God with all our hearts and our neighbor as ourselves.

Dr. Driver is by no means an eloquent preacher, but his sermons are solid, scholarly, reverent and helpful. THOMAS PRYDE.

The Pauline Theology: a Study of the Origin and Correlation of the doctrinal Teachings of the Apostle Paul. By GEORGE B. STEVENS, PH.D.,D.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892. Pp. xi. + 383. $2.00.

This able work on the doctrinal teachings of the great apostle is one of the most valuable contributions to exegetical theology made in recent years. In exegetical principles, method and structure, temper and style, it is worthy of highest praise. The author has clearly conceived the true nature of his task and has aimed faithfully to expound the thought of the apostle Paul from the apostle's own point of view. In accordance with this aim he has conscientiously surrendered himself to the leading of the apostle, reading what he says in the connection in which he says it, and with the emphasis which that connection gives it. It ought not perhaps to be exceptionally high praise to give a writer in exegetical theology, that he uniformly maintains his balance and poise and never betrays a polemical bias of his own; but whether exceptionally high or not, it is praise to which Professor Stevens is honestly entitled. He shows himself familiar with the ablest recent works on the apostle and his doctrines, yet is thoroughly independent in his own discussion.

The introductory chapters, on the conversion of Paul, his style and modes of thought, the shaping forces of his doctrine, and the sources of his doctrine, are deeply interesting and instructive in themselves and excellently prepare the way for the systematic presentation of the doctrines which the following chapters give. In the study of the man Saul, the historical and psychological elements of the problem are carefully investigated, yet with a full recognition of the divine element of the situation. The chapter on the apostle's style and modes of thought is noteworthy for its clear recognition of the obvi-

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ous, but too commonly neglected, principle, that the sense of a passage is to be determined in view of its argumentative intent — the place it fills in the course of thought. The application of this principle to several passages in Romans which are sometimes misinterpreted through neglect of it is very refreshing.

When Professor Stevens comes to his main task, the exposition of the teachings of the apostle, it is difficult to find serious fault with him at any point. The book seems to show its author to be a man of very different type of mind, to be sure, from that of the apostle whose doctrines he is expounding, but possessed of that ability to assume the mental position of the apostle and to look at things along his angle of vision which is the mark of a true interpreter. What chiefly characterizes his work is not any novel definitions of the great terms of the apostle's vocabulary, but a clear perception of the relations in which these terms stand, or perhaps even more a clear apprehension of the limits of the apostle's statements. Yet the work is by no means characteristically negative. If many readers fail to find in this exposition of Paulinism certain things which they have been told were Pauline, they will also, we are sure, gain some most helpful enlargement of their previous conceptions of the apostle's thought. Especially enlightening is the exposition of the nature of faith, as "the entrance of the soul into right relation to God," "man's part in the constitution of a new and vital personal relation of the soul to Christ," "the very opposite of a meritorious claim upon God's mercy," yet constituting alike the ground of acceptance with God and the principle of the Christian life. Thus it gives unity and continuity to the Christian life and makes justification and sanctification not wholly disconnected facts, but facts vitally related through faith and grace which are the necessary conditions of both. To many the discussion of Rom. v. 12. will be of special interest, though they will possibly wish that the two following verses had been brought into connection with the view presented of this verse. But it is difficult to particularize since almost every chapter calls for special commendation as a whole or in detail.

The points at which one can conscientiously find fault are very few. The statement on page 179 that "it cannot be shown that Paul considers the law to have had the purpose or effect of adding to the inherent energy of the sinful principle which pervades human nature and is the root of sinful actions," seems to be contradicted by what we judge a truer statement of the case on page 189. The assertion (p. 357) that Paul couples the expression "from the dead" only with Christ's resurrection seems to overlook Phil. iii. 11. The discussion of Rom. ii. 12 alike on page 48 and on page 105, seems to imply that the statements of this verse and of both those that precede, and those that follow it refer merely to a hypothetical divine judgment. But surely this is not the language of mere hypothesis. Nor is this view required in order to make the apostle self-consistent. The doctrine of an actual final judgment on the basis of character is not merely not inconsistent with the

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doctrine of justification by faith, but is really called for by that doctrine, when understood as Professor Stevens rightly interprets it. Of course Rom. ii. 12 must be understood not to refer to all humanity, but to one only of the two great classes mentioned in vss. 6–10.

But such small matters of dissent scarcely at all diminish our hearty appreciation of this most valuable book. Professor Stevens has put all students under obligations of gratitude to him not only for the valuable contents of his book but not less for the admirable example he has given of what Biblical Theology in its true sense is. E. D. B.

A Harmony of the Four Gospels in the Revised Version: chronologically arranged in parallel columns. By S. D. WADDY, Q.C., M.P. 12mo., pp. 44 + 199. London: T. Woolmer, 1887.

The Gospel History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in a connected narrative, in the words of the Revised Version. Arranged by C. C. JAMES, M.A. 12mo., pp. 26 + 188. London: Clay & Sons, 1890.

A Harmony of the Gospels in the Words of the Revised Version. Arranged by C. C. JAMES, M.A. London: Clay & Sons, 1892. 12 mo., pp. 30+274.

A New Harmony of the Four Gospels in English According to the Common Version. By GEORGE W. CLARK, D.D. Revised Edition. 12mo., pp. 302. Philadelphia: Am. Bapt. Pub. Soc., 1892.

Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien, bearbeitet von A. HUCK. 8vo., pp., 16 + 175. Freiburg, i. B.: Mohr, 1892.

The first of the five volumes whose titles are here given, that of Mr. Waddy, is noteworthy as the first Harmony of the Gospels which makes use of the Revised Version of 1881, though a Diatessaron using this version had already appeared in this country some years in advance of it. It is further noteworthy as proceeding not from a theologian but from a barrister. The author holds that the most important use of a harmony is to bring into juxtaposition the accounts given by the different evangelists of each separate incident in the life of Jesus, and that the second use, the arrangements of the events in chronological order is subordinate, and indeed impossible of perfect realization. The book accomplishes fairly well the first of these two purposes, the passages which are properly parallel being arranged in parallel columns, and due attention being given to all the mechanical details which effect so much the practical usefulness of a harmony. As respects the second purpose, the author has, wisely it seems, abstained from embodying in his scheme of divisions any special theory of the chronology of the life of Jesus, either as respects the length of the ministry or the particular years in which it fell. But he could not avoid adopting some theory of the order of the events; and

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he has followed the majority of recent harmonists in making Mark his chief authority among the Synoptists. In the details of order *non disputandum* is to be sure the reviewer's best rule, yet it seems difficult to justify some of the peculiarities of Mr. Waddy's order. For example, to detach Luke xi. 27, 28, and xi. 33–xiii. 21, for which there are no parallels, wholly from their connection in Luke for the sake of fulfilling the seeming requirement of Luke xiii. 18, though the most definite assertion of Luke xi. 27 is thereby disregarded, seems unwise. On the other hand there is much reason to think that the author is right in identifying the departure into Galilee, John chap. iv, with that recorded in Matthew iv. 12, and also in distinguishing the departure from Galilee of Luke ix. 51 from that of John vii. 10, though this combination of opinions is very unusual. The notes prefixed to the harmony are of little value, being chiefly instances of the kind of harmonizing that does not harmonize.

The *Gospel History* of Mr. James adds one more to the list of Diatessarons of the English gospels prepared under the impression that such a book had not previously been issued. If we mistake not there have been published in this country in the space of twenty years four different English Diatessarons, at least one of which, Cadman's *Christ in the Gospels*, employed the text of the Revised Version. Yet Mr. James says in his preface, "I have not been able to find such a book," a fact which indicates that though the man who reads an American book is perhaps not so rare as in Sydney Smith's day, he is still somewhat too rare in England. Mr. James divides the gospel history into one hundred and eighty-seven sections, the titles of which, with references to the corresponding passages of the gospels, are printed in a table at the beginning of the book. These references are also placed at the foot of the page under the text of the sections themselves in the body of the book. These sections are not grouped into parts or periods of the life except by the insertion of light lines in the table. These lines occur at points suggesting the usual divisions into Infancy and Youth, Public Ministry, Passion Week, Resurrection History. Rather strangely, however, the Public Ministry is divided into two parts by a line falling between the Confession of Peter and the Transfiguration. The author's method of constructing the composite sections he states as follows: "First, I arranged the parallel passages, side by side, as denoted by the best authorities. Then taking the fullest account of each event as the ground work, I have endeavored to weave into that the additional facts, traits, or illustrations which are found in the other narratives. Whatever I have not been able thus to weave in I have placed in the table of variations at the end of the volume." Mr. James accepts Luke's order as chronological, and differs from Mr. Waddy in order of events chiefly by reason of this fact. The work of composition seems to be well done; marginal references to illustrative passages and cross references to sections containing similar material add to the value of the work. There is but one harmonistic note, a good one on the Sermon on the Mount and its parallel in Luke. The

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titles of the sections are brief and terse, contrasted in this respect with Mr. Waddy's, which are full and descriptive.

Mr. James's second book differs from his first chiefly in the fact that under each section it prints the several accounts, if there be more than one, in full and separately, instead of weaving them together into one narrative, as in his former work. At three points he has changed the order of events. Mark i. 14–ii. 22, with its parallels, is now placed after the unknown feast of John chap. v., instead of before it. Luke ix. 51–x. 42 is now placed before the feast of dedication, John x. 22, instead of after it. The raising of Lazarus, which, in the *Gospel History*, was placed just after the feast of dedication, and hence before Luke ix. 51, is now placed between Luke chap. xvi. and chap. xvii. This harmony has one notable peculiarity of mechanical arrangement. The different accounts of each section, or portion of a section, are all exhibited to the eye on one double page, but instead of being placed in parallel columns of varying width, they are printed the full width of the page, sometimes on opposite pages, sometimes one below the other on the same page. The effect is certainly much pleasanter to the eye, and, for many purposes of a harmony, quite as serviceable as the method more commonly adopted. The space which, by this method, would otherwise occasionally be left blank, has been used for printing what Mr. James calls quasi-parallels, that is, similar material, not, however, judged to belong to the occasion in question. This adds a valuable feature to the harmony, though one cannot but regret that it is introduced, not when there existed valuable quasi-parallels, but only when it chanced that there would otherwise be a blank page.

The division of the history into five parts, hinted at in the earlier work, is here explicitly stated, and briefly defended in a note at the beginning. The cross references of the earlier book are inserted in this also, a few additional notes are given, and useful tables and indexes are included.

Dr. Clark's book is a revised edition of a work which in its first edition had a very large sale, and which will undoubtedly be used by large numbers in its present edition. The gospel record is divided into eight parts, with definite chronological limits, and the parts into sections, the location and date of the events of which are in many cases given. The feast of John v. 1 is taken as a passover, and the ministry consequently made to extend to three years and a half. It is doubtful whether it is wise to combine with a harmony so much chronology which is of necessity extra-evangelic and problematical. Though assigning to Matthew less weight than to the other gospels in determining the order of events, Dr. Clark yet follows Matthew more closely than do most recent harmonists, particularly in reference to the events of Matt. chaps. viii. and ix. The departure to Galilee recorded by John, chap. iv, is identified with that given by the Synoptists, Matt. iv. 12, etc. The departure from Galilee recorded in Luke ix. 51, is identified with that of John vii. 10, and distinguished from that of Matthew xix. 1. The Sermon on the Mount is distinguished from the Sermon on the Plain, the former being

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placed before, and the latter after the Choosing of the Twelve. Seventy-five pages of notes appended to the harmony discuss the chief problems of harmonization, for the most part with fairness and clearness. Occasionally a difficulty is too easily dismissed, as in the statement on p. 240, that "the two reasons for Jesus going into Galilee are harmonious and supplementary." An unconscious begging of the question seems to be the explanation of the third argument for making the feast of John v. 1 a passover. The date of John v. 1 can hardly be inferred from the fact that Luke vi. 1 was harvest time, since the chronological relation of John, chap. v. to Luke chap. vi. is itself determined only when the date of John v. 1 is fixed. The titles of the sections are descriptive rather than terse. There has been a little carelessness in spelling proper names. We find Stephens for Stevens, Cadmus for Cadman, and Mimpress for Mimpriss.

We can not but regret that in preparing a new edition the author did not take the opportunity to employ the text of the Revised Version. The insertion of many of its renderings as footnotes is but an imperfect substitute for the text itself. The mechanical execution is of that inferior sort with which the publishers have dishonored so many of the books issued by them.

In the fifth book in our list we have a very useful harmony, or rather synopsis, of the Greek text of the first three gospels. It is intended specially as a companion to the first volume of Prof. Holtzmann's *Handcommentar zum Neuen Testament*, and its list of sections is transcribed almost unchanged from the second edition of that work. The text is that of Tischendorf as edited by von Gebhardt, but the margin shows the readings preferred by Holtzmann, as also those preferred by Weiss. The order of sections being that adopted by Holtzmann in his commentary, it naturally reflects his theory of the relation of the synoptic gospels, which takes Mark to be the oldest of our present gospels, makes Matthew to have used Mark, and Luke to have used both Mark and Matthew. Accordingly Mark's order is followed invariably for sections contained in Mark; Matthew's order is followed, with slight exceptions, for sections contained in Matthew, but not in Mark; while Luke suffers such dissection and transposition as is required by the application of the two preceding principles. Matter found only in Luke seems to be arranged chiefly in accordance with the editor's (*i. e.*, Holtzmann's) sense of the proper connection of thought. Some of the identifications seem forced and improbable. Such are the designation of the story of the ten lepers (Luke xvii. 11-19) as a variant form of the story of the leper (Luke v. 12-16). The dove-tailing together into one account of the mission of the Twelve and the mission of the Seventy fails to commend itself to the reviewer's judgment. Despite these defects, however, if defects they are, and quite apart from any question of the correctness of the theory of the relation of the gospels which underlies its arrangement, the book is a very useful and acceptable one. Is is especially convenient for the study of the synoptic problem. For this purpose the absence of the Fourth Gospel is of course an advantage. A

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simple mechanical feature greatly increases the value. The passages from each gospel are printed in a column of uniform width, one-third of the page, whether there is one account or two or three. Thus the reader sees by a glance at the page what gospel or gospels he has before him. By this means also the extent of the parallelism of two or more accounts is more easily perceived.

In one respect all these works fail, as, indeed, do almost all works of this character (that of Mr. James is in part an exception), in that while freely dissecting the gospels in order to bring parallel passages together, they yet fail of exhibiting all the instances of parallelism, especially in the sayings of Christ. The remedy lies not in further dissection, but in a system of cross references, by which the parallelism might be more fully exhibited, while even at the same time diminishing the amount of dissection and transposition required.

For continuous reading of the gospel narrative and for such study as does not particularly call for comparison of the gospels one with another, Mr. James's *Gospel History* is excellent, and the more so because of its use of the Revised Version. If one desire a harmony using the Revised Version, he will choose between Mr. Waddy's book and Mr. James's later book, and will probably be wise to give the preference to the latter. The absence of a definite chronological scheme is a feature common to both these books which will be esteemed by many a virtue rather than a defect. The student who wishes a harmony fitted to a definite chronological scheme with somewhat full harmonistic notes, and who is content to use the Common Version with notes of important variations of the Revised Version, will find Dr. Clark's book very useful. The student of the synoptic problem will find no book more convenient for his purpose than that of Pastor Huck. E. D. B.

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Current Literature.

By Clyde W. Votaw,
The University of Chicago.

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MINDS are differently constituted. For some it is as natural to accept everything that presents itself, as for others to reject everything. At one period of life the individual may have a disposition to accept; at another period the same individual may be more inclined to reject. Childhood and old age are for different reasons credulous; sturdier manhood, more skeptical. Belief in the case of different individuals is based upon different foundations. What in one instance is entirely satisfactory proves in another to be utterly insufficient. At one age of the world, and for persons of a certain cast of mind in all ages, prophecy and miracles are demanded, if religious faith is to stand firm, while the personal experience and the great teachings of history render a better service in another age and for another class of minds.

To be ready to believe is to hold one's mind open to receive truth upon good and satisfactory evidence. To believe is to accept that which evidence of one kind or another shows to be true. The man who believes is, in a word, the man who possesses a mind sufficiently trained to adapt itself to new evidence upon any given subject. The believing man will accept only that for which he finds sufficient evidence; but this he will always accept. The non-believing man is one who is not ready to accept new truth, or new forms of old truth, without a kind of evidence which under ordinary circumstances would not

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be demanded. Non-believers divide themselves into two classes: (1) Those who do not believe in religious truth of any kind; (2) those who do not believe in the more modern representations of religious truth. The former may have a mind ready to accept anything however difficult to believe, in any line of thought which does not come into contact with the religious, but the moment that the religious question is presented, the mind assumes an attitude which renders it incapable of exercising belief. The latter having been trained in accordance with the views of a particular school, refuse to accept any religious idea which is not strictly in harmony with the ideas of the system proposed. In both cases the mind is closed and not open. In both cases the non-belief is due in large measure to lack of favorable opportunity for thoroughly estimating the position of those with whose views the individual has come into conflict.

BELIEF IN THE BIBLE is something so indefinite as to be difficult to define. A score of questions immediately suggest themselves. Do I believe that the Bible came from God? If so, in what sense and how? Do I believe that all that is contained in the Bible originally belonged to it? Or, have we in this collection certain accretions which have connected themselves in an illegitimate manner? Or, have we in it all that God intended we should have, there being a possibility that some of the books have been lost? Any one of these questions might be settled and the others be left unsettled. Still further, if the belief is to be an intelligent belief, the answer can only be secured after years of research and investigation. If now, I chance to be one of those who believe and I raise these questions, I do so in order to establish my belief more firmly. If I am an unbeliever and raise these questions, the purpose is to secure a ground for belief. On the other hand I may have an intellectual belief in the Bible and lack that spiritual belief which alone will enable me to grasp its full meaning, for there is a spiritual belief which exists separate from the intellectual belief. All this shows that no answer given to the questions

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asked above can be satisfactory. I may say "yes," and mean a dozen different things. One man may say "yes," and yet not believe half so strongly or so intelligently as another man who will be compelled to say "no." For what is in the Bible is one thing, what men of our times have put into it is another. In any case, belief in the Bible is something which depends to a considerable extent upon certain things outside of the Bible rather than upon the Bible itself.

WHY do I believe in the Bible and in what the Bible contains? Two answers may be given this double question. First, I believe in the Bible because of what it contains. These things are not found in the bibles of other nations, or, indeed, anywhere in other literatures. The early stories of ancient nations may be placed side by side with Israel's early stories, and although all treat of the same subjects, namely, The Creation, The Garden of Eden, The Fall, the Beginnings of Civilization, The Early Patriarchs, The Deluge, The Dispersion of Nations, there is something found in the biblical accounts of these important events which no other account presents. This something is the evidence on which I base my belief that a more than man has here done work. The histories of the most ancient nations may be placed side by side with the biblical histories found in the Pentateuch, Samuel and Kings. While much that is common to all may be found in the Bible, there is an additional element which no other ancient history furnishes. This element may be difficult to describe, but it is easily felt. It is something which elevates and purifies; which stimulates and dignifies. The world's literatures are full of significant expression to God of the heart's feelings on account of sin, but a study of the utterances in this line found in the Bible reveals the fact that there are ideas here not found elsewhere. One reads universal literature in vain to find a story like the story of the Life and Death of Jesus Christ. And so, because the Bible contains things not found elsewhere, because these things seem to be essential to any true life, one believes in the Bible. The pres-

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ence of these things is evidence to an unbiased reader or student that the book which contains them is worthy of special regard. All these things are good things, and the book which alone contains them must be a good book. The purpose which it was intended to subserve, and which is clearly seen on every page, must be a good purpose. I am ready, therefore, to believe it and to believe in it. This may be very general, but it is enough. Particulars must be left for those who have the time and ability to bestow upon them their attention.

Secondly, I believe what the Bible contains because the Bible contains it. This may seem to be reasoning in a circle. If applied in detail, however, it is not necessarily such. The Bible contains many things about which there is no dispute. Here is something, however, concerning which I may be doubtful. The truth of the other portions does not, it is true, prove conclusively the truth of this portion, but the fact that this doubtful portion is found in the book, the great mass of which no one disputes, is some evidence at least of the reliability of the thing doubted. So long, therefore, as there is no positive and direct proof to the contrary, I believe this thing simply because I find it in the Bible. Perhaps the tendency of ordinary religious thought is to carry this possibility too far, and especially does this hold good in those cases in which the thing supposed to be found in the Bible is only a conjecture.

But after all the practical question suggests itself, How shall we secure belief in the case of those who have never yet been led to believe? It may be set down as a well established fact that argument will accomplish nothing. In most cases it drives men farther away. The man who is ready to argue is in most cases going in directly the opposite direction from that of belief. Non-belief in the majority of instances is due to lack of acquaintance with the facts. Few persons who really know the contents of the Bible are unwilling to accept it. Our first duty, therefore, should be to make known as best we can the essential ideas of this great collection of books. But here arises a serious difficulty. Non-belief is due in many instances also to the confusion

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which has come to exist among men between Bible truth on the one hand and the distorted conceptions which are palmed off upon an unsuspecting public for Bible truth. Skepticism finds in these distortions the best soil in which to grow. The second obligation, therefore, which rests upon us, is to clear away the rubbish and to teach as Bible truth that which can beyond a doubt be shown to be real Bible truth. Patience and prayer must accompany the work both of teacher and taught, and with patience and prayer misconceptions will be laid aside, while truth in all its fullness and in all its power will exercise the influence which only truth can exercise.

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THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS AND THE TEACHINGS OF THE JEWS IN THE TIME OF CHRIST RESPECTING THE MESSIAH AND HIS KINGDOM.

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In the following brief statement of the teachings of Jesus about himself and his kingdom in their relation to the teachings of the Jews respecting the Messiah and his kingdom, we shall notice especially some points in which the two systems differ rather than seek to set forth the doctrines of the gospel in the framework of Pharisaic theology. Such a method of treatment not only favors clearness of statement, but also seems to follow the balance of truth; for the essentials of Christianity lie more outside than inside Judaism, and what is unlike the theology of the scribes is more prominent in the words of Christ than are those things which he approved in their teachings.[1] Of course, certain fundamental doctrines underlie both Judaism and Christianity, for both draw instruction from the Old Testament, the teachings of both center in the Messianic hope, and the gospel is, in an important sense, the fulfilment of the Law and the Prophets. These considerations weighed so much with earlier writers, such as Schöttgen (*Horæ Hebraicæ*, 1742), Bertholdt (*Christologia Judæorum*, 1811) and Gfrörer (*Jahrhundert des Heils*, 1838), that they spoke of Jewish theology as if essentially the same as Christian in its views of the Messiah and his kingdom. The chief question at issue seemed to be whether Jesus of Nazareth really was the Messiah in whom both the synagogue and the church believed. All that Christians hold was regarded as already hoped for by Israel. From such premises

[1] See the valuable essay of Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*, Göttingen, 1892.

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we can see how easy it was for Strauss to build up his mythical Life of Jesus out of Jewish expectations of the Christian Messiah, and for Renan and Grätz[1] to teach that original Christianity was simply an outgrowth of Judaism under a wonderful reformer of the school of Hillel named Jesus. But recent investigation has largely moved away from this low plane; the attempt to make Christianity a form of Judaism is about given up; and such a reconstruction of history belongs almost entirely to the past.[2]

Jesus and his gospel were a fulfilment, a development of Judaism; but they were such a fulfilment as the butterfly is of the caterpillar, a development which makes it much easier to describe them by way of contrast than of comparison, for the one has wings, finds its true home above the earth and is spiritual, while the other creeps upon the ground, and rests everywhere upon what is national and material.

1. We come now to our subject proper, and notice first of all that Jesus taught a *new conception of the character of God*, which revolutionized all man's spiritual relations to Jehovah, Some of the teachers of later Jewish theology, (a) in opposition to heathenism, and (b) through the deeper study of the Old Testament in the schools of the scribes, had reached a lofty view of the transcendental and holy character of God.[3] This teaching Jesus accepted as the noblest development of the theology of the scribes; but he enlarged it so as to make the heavenly Sovereign, of whom Israel spoke as head of the theocratic kingdom, the divine Parent of all men. He made the Lord of heaven and earth Father (Matt. 11:25), who reveals the treasures of his grace, not to the wise and prudent but to babes, he put God's fatherly love at the foundation of his preaching of the kingdom. The believer is now a child and his prayer runs: "Our father. . . . . .Thy kingdom come." Bousset does not

[1] *Gesch. der Juden* 1867, III, p. 217.

[2] Lucius, *Der Essenismus in sein. Verhältniss z. Judentum*, Strassburg, 1891, and the literature there quoted; also Lightfoot, *Epp. to Colossians and Philemon*, 1875 p. 82.

[3] Cf. Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Licht der Messian. Hoffnungen seiner Zeit*, 2d ed., Strassburg, 1892.

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hesitate to say (p. 41ff.) that faith in the God-Father, and the central position given it by Jesus, may be called what is essentially and fundamentally new in his preaching. So far-reaching is this new view of God. The Jews regarded Jehovah as the righteous judge; and when they spoke of him occasionally as father they limited his fatherhood to Israel, and even then made no vital, practical use of the conception. Now, instead of a transcendental, far-off God of holiness and otherworldliness, whom men necessarily served in legal worship, Jesus taught the Heavenly Father as immanent, to whom believers stand in the moral, spiritual relation of loving children. His view of God as Father, by changing the character of Jehovah, transformed all Jewish teachings respecting man's relation to God, just as a change in the nature of the sun would change all the relations of the planets that revolve about it. Love has taken the place of law; the theocracy has become a family; the king is now father; and the subject, the slave, has become a son. And yet law and the claims of right are not weakened by this turning of a kingdom into a family, for this relation of love is a relation of likeness, and the children of the king must be perfect even as their Father in Heaven is perfect (Matt. 5:48). Instead of making void the law, the gospel rather establishes it (Rom. 3:31).

2. This enlarged conception of God led Jesus to teach also a *new view of man and the world.* The Fatherhood of God had as its natural correlate the brotherhood of man. And if all men are brethren, then this world as their home is the Father's house. The Jews had torn God and the world apart, putting the one in the remotest heaven of spiritual abstractions, and handing the other over to everything undivine, earthly and devilish. Now Jesus brought that infinitely distant God back to the world and put his children in immediate communion with him. He taught that this fair world still belongs to Jehovah. The heavenly Father makes his sun to shine on the evil and on the good; he cares for the grass and the flowers; he watches the fall of the sparrow; hence this is not the devil's world, and instead of dreading it, suspecting it, and washing off every contact with it as defiling, after the ascetic spirit of the Pharisees, in order to

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get nearer God, the disciples of Christ were taught to enjoy it as a gift of the Father in heaven for which they should be thankful to him. The Jews considered John the Baptist a true man of God, an ideal saint; but Jesus, using this world as not abusing it, they regarded as "a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners" (Matt. 11 : 19). The only man that did not belong to this earth was looked upon by the Pharisees, the professional saints of his day, as *too worldly*, too much at home in nature and among men. Bousset is so struck by this far-reaching contrast that he says Christ's doctrine of the supreme God as Father, and his new view of man's relation to the world about him and the present life, are the two points in which he departed most radically from the teachings of his time.

And yet Jesus did teach separation from the world of the severest sort; but it was in the sense that God and His kingdom are to have the first place in the thoughts and affections of men. Worldly goods, friends, wife and children, even life itself (Matt. 7 : 13; Luke 14 : 26) must be given a second place by those who truly repent and unfeignedly believe Christ's holy gospel. Here the requirements of Jesus go into the very motives of men, and demand a separation from the world far greater than was sought after by the Rabbis.

But in this renunciation of the world there was nothing ascetic, no idea that possession of wife and friends, houses or lands, was wrong in itself (Matt. 25 : 14; Luke 16 : 10), and none of that misanthropy, which led the Pharisees to look upon this world and human life now as only a means to an end, and to bitterly hate the rich, the Sadducees, the Herodians and the Romans.

3. The teachings of Jesus also respecting *the Messiah* show marked divergence from Jewish theology. The following points may be distinguished: [1] The scribes spoke of the Messiah as ideally preëxistent in the mind of God, and occasionally a personal preëxistence seems taught (Enoch 48 : 3); but of the exalted character of the Messiah, as set forth in the Gospels as the eternal Son of God, we find no clear conception. The idea

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of the incarnation of God was utterly foreign and abhorrent to Judaism. Rabbinical theology taught no God-Man. The scribes expected that Messiah would be born as other men. He would not be sinless. In adult life he would become the Messiah. He would probably die like other men (so 4 Ezra); hence we can see how John the Baptist could be thought of as the Messiah, and how many false messiahs could arise. In contrast with all this is Christ, the supernatural Messiah, born of a virgin, without sin (John 8: 46), who did all that Jehovah did (John 5: 19), the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. Wendt says: "according to the conception of the Jews the messianic king was *also* Son of God; according to the conception of Jesus (Mark 12: 35–37) the Son of God *as such* was the messianic King."[1]

[2] Jewish teachings respecting the Messiah were diverse, fragmentary, and conflicting; Jesus first presented and taught a consistent, personal, whole Messiah. The two views in the Old Testament, of a glorious king like David, and of the suffering servant of the Lord, were never harmonized in the theology of the Rabbis. They finally adopted the theory of two messiahs. Sometimes they spoke of the Messiah as a king, again as a prophet; Gfrörer finds four types of Messiah in the rabbinical writings; but nowhere are they harmonious; nowhere do they show the royal and prophetic, much less the divine elements in living union. Christianity first united the perfectly human and the perfectly divine Messiah, the man of sorrows and the King of glory.

[3] Jesus appeared as *prophet, priest, and king*, a combination of offices unknown to the Jewish conception of the Messiah. The scribes rarely spoke of him as a prophet—in John 7: 40 the prophet and the Messiah are distinguished,—neither did they combine in him prophetic and royal functions; neither did they speak of him as a priest. The Targum of Jonathan speaks of the Messiah as a high priest; but that is as a ruler. The *shekinah* and the *metatron* are also called high priest, just as Philo calls his *logos* high priest. But these titles were not

[1] *The Teaching of Jesus.* Engl. Transl., Edinburgh, 1892, Vol. II., p. 133.

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meant to describe the Messiah, though Baldensperger thinks they had been identified with him before the time of Christ; the *logos* of Philo, which he terms the "first-born" and "only begotten" son of God, was never spoken of as becoming incarnate, neither was it ever identified with the Messiah. The priesthood of the Messiah and the incarnation of the *logos* are purely Christian conceptions. The Jew expected above all else a king; but Jesus appeared first of all as a prophet; and was so far from the Jewish messianic hopes that he regarded the inducements to make him a king as seductions of satan.

[4] These differences of view show themselves further in the fact that Jewish theology in the time of Christ had no doctrine of a *suffering Messiah*. The Rabbis did not know what to make of passages like Ps. 22; Zech. 12: 10; 13: 7; and Isaiah 53. As we have noticed, the royal Messiah and the suffering Messiah were never identified in Jewish teachings, an identification which forms the very corner-stone of the gospel. To avoid such a doctrine, the scribes wrested their Scriptures in the most violent way. The Targum of Jonathan on Isa. 52–53 identifies the servant of Jehovah with the Messiah; but the passages describing his sufferings are referred to Israel. It was thought that the Messiah might suffer, but he would do so as a soldier endures the hardships of a victorious campaign. He might bear affliction as a just one in spite of his being just; but the teaching of Jesus was unknown, that suffering is necessary even for the perfect man in full communion with God, for true piety involves self-denial for the good of others. Some of the richest Christian virtues grow only in the place of pain, where patience has its perfect work and where that love which endures all things blossoms.

[5] The closely associated doctrine, that the Messiah *made atonement* by his sufferings and death, was utterly unfamiliar to Pharisaic theology.[1] This cardinal teaching of Christianity was not even visible on the horizon of Jewish thought; hence Jesus must teach it again and again as a strange thing to his disciples

[1] See Dalman, *Der leidende u. der sterbende Messias der Synagoge*. Berlin. 1888 p. 86.

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and others (Matt. 16: 22; Luke 17: 25). It was entirely new to those who heard it. Peter rebuked Christ for speaking of such a thing as possible. The disciples were all "exceeding sorry" when he told them that he should die, though he added at once that he would arise again. Paul speaks of it as most strange and repulsive to the Jews, the chief stumbling-block to their accepting the gospel (1 Cor. 1: 23). And when the Lord was crucified his followers saw in this a proof that Jesus was not "he who should have redeemed Israel" (Luke 24: 21). Suffering and death formed no part of the work of the Messiah, according to Jewish conceptions. The cross had no more place in the theology of the Rabbis than the modern guillotine has in that of the Christian. It need hardly be added that the doctrine of the resurrection of the Messiah, his becoming the first-fruits of them that sleep, his ascension to heaven, his mediatorial reign in glory, and his relation as exalted Lord to his people were all unknown to Jewish teachings in the time of Christ..

4. The *Kingdom of God* preached by Jesus was also very different from that taught and expected by the Jews. The following particulars may be noticed:

[1] All students of the New Testament know the national character of the messianic kingdom hoped for by Israel. It was said that the Jewish people under Messiah would differ from their former state only in ruling over all the nations of the earth. The long struggle against Rome shows it was a conquering Messiah and a temporal kingdom that were expected by the mass of the Jews. In such a kingdom the Rabbis thought the law would be established, the temple restored, and Judaism reign over the gentiles. But of deliverance from sin, of the overthrow of the kingdom of satan, of a regenerated humanity, and of a spiritual rule of the Messiah very little was heard or thought. Here and there a godly soul like Simeon or Anna had dreams of such a Messiah;[1] but only Christian hearts were responsive to such visions and saved them from oblivion. In contrast with these largely material views, Jesus taught the true spiritual sovereignty of Jehovah as the Father in heaven, whose

[1] Cf. also *Enoch* 48: 4, 5; *Psalms of Solomon*, 17.

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will is the highest law of the kingdom and the supreme aim of man. This will Jesus *realized* for the first time; and he led men through faith and repentance and union with himself to a like realization of the will of God. Such a realization is a present reality and no longer a remote possibility as it was in rabbinical teachings. Hence the kingdom of God is not so much a future local manifestation as the Jews represented it, as a present, spiritual quality, the great moral good, which man needs. The believer trusts in God as his father; this trust receives the gift of divine righteousness; the gift of this righteousness means the rule of God's will in man's will; and as this rule constitutes the kingdom of God in the heart, the kingdom that Jesus founded, it might well be said that this kingdom was in the midst of men, or within them. Judaism was at best a religion of hope; but Jesus brought a religion of possession. The essentials of the messianic kindom are enjoyed now; and this life is by no means what the Pharisees regarded it, a preparation for a kingdom of glory hereafter. Wendt calls this far-reaching principle the deepest contrast between the teachings of Jesus and those of the Jews, for here was a conscious breaking through of the comfortless transcendentalism of the future, which so weighed upon Judaism. The one great hope of Israel, in the time of Christ, was that of the national glories of the Jews; and that was the only great hope of his people about which Jesus was silent. Instead of national salvation for Israel, he taught spiritual deliverance for individuals of all nations.

[2] The relation in which Jesus set *his kingdom to the kingdoms of the world* shows how new were his teachings within Judaism. The founder of the heavenly kingdom appeared under Augustus Cæsar, the first Roman emperor; the kingdom and the empire appeared together, each claiming the world of humanity, the *Orbis Romanus*. Now for the Jews, the Gentiles and their rulers had no rights which the messianic kingdom of Israel was bound to respect. Only as conquered subjects of Israel had they any hope of happiness. But Jesus showed that both the Jew and the Roman had a place in God's economy. He opened a new philosophy of religion and human society, in which both

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church and state had distinct rights; piety and politics had separate domains, and should not be confounded in a coarse national theocracy as was done in the teachings of Jewish priestcraft. In the brief statement: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," Ranke declares,[1] Jesus fixed the rights of politics and religion; and this, he maintains, is the most important, most original, and most fruitful in its results of all the sayings of Christ. He taught here what Judaism had never grasped, that national and human interests, the things of the state and the concerns of religion may and should be distinguished; he revealed for the first time international human devotion to God and duty to man.

[3] Another striking feature in the teaching of Jesus was that he made the *recognition of himself as Messiah and redeemer* a condition of belonging to the kingdom of God. Jewish theology had no such doctrine. Sack, a Jewish writer, expressing this thought in an unsympathetic way,[2] calls it dogmatic faith, and says it received its peculiar character through faith in Jesus Christ. Now for the first time, he continues, was religion made a matter of the individual conscience. It was built on a supernatural faith and not upon a mere natural belief, as he says the Jews ever taught. To have the Son was to have life; to not have the Son of God was to incur the wrath of God and eternal death. There was no way now to enter heaven but by taking up the cross and following Christ (Mark 8:35; 10:29). Both the person and the preaching of Jesus must be accepted (John 6:29). All the power of God to save, all the mercy of the heavenly Father were revealed in him, hence he claimed the authority to forgive sins (Mark 2:5, 7), a thing that horrified the Jews, for it made him equal with God.

[4] Coming to *life in the kingdom*, a world-wide difference of teaching appears. Pharisaic piety was fundamentally and everywhere *legalism*, only softened occasionally by the messianic hope.

[1] *Weltgeschichte*, III. p. 161, quoted in Holtzmann's essay *Das Neue Testament und der römische Staat*, Strassburg, 1892.

[2] *Die altjüdische Religion im Uebergang vom Bibelthume zum Talmudismus.* Berlin, 1889, p. 457.

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Now Jesus went back to the broader, deeper teachings of the prophets and the psalms, the true religion of Israel, into which the law came incidentally to give the knowledge of sin (cf. Rom. 5:20). He set aside, as utterly inconsistent with his gospel, the whole system of levitical purifications, and taught in its place the free grace of God, simple faith, forgiveness, and obedience of love, all of which was a peculiar stumbling-block to the legalistic Pharisees (Matt. 21:31; Luke 7:36-48). The two objections constantly urged by Jews against early Christianity were that it destroyed the law, and that it offered a humble, obscure, crucified Messiah. Both the gospel and Christ were entirely foreign to Jewish thought and expectations, and could never have appeared as a natural product of Judaism. The Jew looked for the favor of God as a thing to be purchased by good works; the Christians received it as a gracious gift; the Jew expected earthly riches and glory as the form of his reward; the Christian longed to be "rich in faith," rich toward God in an eternal life already begun on earth; the Jew was full of forebodings because his theology ever preached the unfitness of Israel to receive the Messiah and his kingdom; the Christian received from Jesus a gospel, glad tidings of joyful certainty, for nothing could separate believers from the full enjoyment of God both now and hereafter. Jesus gave the idea of future everlasting life in heaven an importance unknown to Jewish theology, and made it an organic part of his view of the kingdom of heaven in a way hitherto unheard of.

[5] Christ's interpretation of the *law of love*, which underlies all the commandments, shows how far he differed from Judaism. The Jews found in the Old Testament love to God (Deut. 6:51) and love to one's neighbor (Lev. 19:18); but Jesus added three new elements, which revolutionized religious life (Mark 12:28-34): (*a*) He widened the conception of "neighbor" to make it include all men in need, even enemies, while the scribes taught love only to the neighbor Jew; (*b*) he put love to God and love to man on the same plane, whereas the Rabbis put love to God above love to man; and (*c*) he brought these two principles lying apart in the Old Testament, into vital,

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organic union, making love to man the test and proof of love to God. Hillel summed up the law in the golden rule, that is, in ethics; but Jesus joined love to man to love to God. He made ethics and religion, piety and theology, social duties and religious duties one, and thus, as never before had been done, vitally unified doctrine and life.

[6] Similar difference can be seen in Christ's teachings about *all the commandments*. He laid stress upon the spirit not the letter. In only one case did he depart from the Mosaic law; that was in the question of marriage: but here he went back to the original revelation of God, which taught one man and one woman in wedlock. This law Jesus fulfilled. He stripped off all traditionalism from the law, like icicles and sleet from a tree in early spring, and called it into life, showing its true, fruitful expression of the mind of God. From his own divine consciousness as the incarnate Word he expounded the written Word, teaching men for all time what was local and temporary in it and what was universal and permanent. This living test of doctrines can be seen especially in the two great fields of ceremonial purification and the Sabbath. Jesus taught that it was not eating with unwashen hands that defiled the man; but rather bad thoughts uttered by uncharitable tongues. Not work for God and humanity broke the Sabbath; but going idle only to glorify this sign of the covenant made it of non-effect..

Jesus ate with publicans and sinners until he was denounced as a Samaritan. He could even propose to destroy the temple, the center of Mosaic legalism, while the Jew expected that Messiah would confer upon it eternal glory. Law, which the scribes put at the center of religious life, Jesus put at the circumference; and faith, mercy, love, virtue, which they placed in the distance, he put in the foreground. Thus the whole outlook and perspective of man's life was changed. The saint among the Jews was the man that washed himself most. Jesus said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

[7] Our limits will not permit us to trace the difference between the eschatological teachings of Christ respecting his kingdom and those of the Jews; we notice only the closing

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scene, the view of *the last judgment.* (*a*) The Jews taught that the judge would be Jehovah; Jesus taught that the Son of Man will be judge (John 5:22). Stanton goes so far as to call this view "the most significant new feature of the Christian doctrine of the Messiah."[1] In the Old Testament two lines of prophecy run towards hope and victory; the one looks for the Day of Vengeance of Jehovah, it sings the *dies iræ* of Judaism (Isa. 34:8; 35:4); the other speaks of the seed of Abraham, the son of David, the messianic King. But Judaism never identified these two movements. It was Jesus that made the son of David the Son of Man and judge of all the earth in the day of vengeance of our God.

(*b*) Jesus also taught great difference of rewards and punishments. He spoke of few cities and many cities, of few stripes and many stripes. The Jews did not so speak. For them all Israel would finally be saved; and the Gentiles with some exceptions be lost. Jesus told the Jews that not every Israelite that said "Lord, Lord" would be saved; while from east and west, north and south, Gentiles would enter the kingdom of God past faithless Jews, who would be thrust out (Luke 13:24-30).

(*c*) The literal, materialistic views of rewards and punishments held by the Jews, were made spiritual by Christ. Flesh and blood could not inherit the kingdom, neither could they be punished in the future life. Heaven and hell are both spiritual in their joys and sorrows. Especially in speaking of the happiness of the redeemed did Jesus differ from the earthly, material conception cherished by the best of Jews.

[1] *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah.* Edinburgh, 1886, p. 291.

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AVESTA, THE BIBLE OF ZOROASTER.

By Professor A. V. W. Jackson, Ph. D.,
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It is hardly more than a century ago that the western world, already often enriched by the treasures of the East, received another gift, a contribution from Persia, and a new text deciphered was added to our list of sacred books of ancient nations — this was the Avesta, or Zend-Avesta, the bible and prayer-book of Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Iran. This work of antiquity, dating back some centuries before the Christian era, still forms, with the supplementary writings in the Pahlavi or Middle Persian language, the scriptures of the modern Parsis in India, and of some scattered bands in Yezd and Kirman, the surviving remnants of the faith of Ormazd.

For our first direct knowledge, or rather practically for the discovery of the Avesta, we have to thank the spirited zeal of that enthusiastic young Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron. The somewhat romantic story of his enterprise and its success is too familiar to relate; suffice to say, that in 1771 with his translation of the Zoroastrian scriptures, the first in any European tongue (*Le Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre*, 3 vols., Paris, 1771), he opened to scholars a new field for research, the rich harvest of which we are really only just beginning to reap, and which stands ready to offer more full and abundant sheaves, especially to the student of our own Bible.

To the biblical student, the Avesta and the religion of Zoroaster have more than one distinct point of interest. It may fairly be said that the sacred books of no other people, outside the light of the great revelation, contain a clearer grasp of the ideas, of right and wrong, or a firmer faith in the importance of the purity alike of body and soul, a more ethical conception of duty (considering the early times), or a truer, nobler, more ideal

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belief in the resurrection of the body, the coming of a Saviour, and of the rewards and punishments hereafter for the immortal soul, than are to be found in the scriptures of ancient Iran, illuminated by the spirit of the great teacher himself, Zoroaster.

All that is good in these early books becomes doubly interesting in the light of biblical allusion. The law of the Medes and Persians 'which altereth not' (Dan. 6: 8-12) has passed into a proverb. The Medes themselves are several times specially mentioned in the Scriptures. In 2 Kings we are told that on the destruction of Samaria (B. C. 722) 'the king of Assyria placed captive Israelites in certain cities of the Medes' (2 Kings 17: 6; 18:11). In Ezra 6: 2-5, it is at Acmetha (Ecbatana) 'the palace in the province of the Medes', that the famous decree of Cyrus was found. In Isaiah, Daniel and Esther (*e. g.*, Esther 1: 9 *seq.*, 10: 2; 6:1), there are several marked allusions to the Medes and Persians. The scene of the apocryphal book of Tobit is laid in Media; as is also a portion of Judith with its allusions to Rhages (Av. *Ragha*), the important Median town which plays no insignificant part in connection with Zoroaster. The very name Asmodeus, in the book of Tobit just referred to, was first understood when it was discovered to be none other than the name of the awful fiend Aeshma Daeva ('Demon of Fury') in the Avesta.

It may likewise well be remembered that it was Cyrus, the ancient Persian king, a follower of the faith of Zoroaster, whom God called his 'anointed' (Isa. 45: 1-3), his 'shepherd' (Isa. 44: 28), and the 'righteous' one (Isa. 41: 2); and who gave command that the temple at Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and that the Jews be returned from captivity to their own city (2 Chr. 36: 22-23; Ezra 1: 1-7; 3: 7; 4: 3): 'thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus whose right hand I have holden', etc. It was Darius, likewise, the worshipper of Ormazd, that favored the rebuilding of the temple, and who ordered the decree of Cyrus to be carried into effect (Ezra 5: 15-17; 6: 1-12). Lastly, but most important to us, it was the Magi—true followers of the ancient faith of Persia, those wise men from the East—that

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came bearing gold, frankincense, and myrrh to the babe at Bethlehem (Matt. 2: 1-2).[1] And it was perhaps in symbolic acknowledgment of the dawn of a new and blessed era, that those worshippers of light itself bowed before the glorious majesty of the new born light of the world.

This faith of Zoroaster, founded centuries before our Saviour's time, became the creed of the great Achæmenian kings, Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes. Under the power of these mighty monarchs, the belief in Ormazd might have spread into Europe, who knows how far, had it not been for the battle of Marathon. The victorious Alexander, moreover, in his invasion of Persia, dealt the Zoroastrian religion an almost fatal blow, from which, however, it was destined to recover. Its sacred books he destroyed, but the faith struggled on for five hundred years; and in the second century of our era it arose again under the patronage of Sassanian dynasts. Zoroastrianism was once more restored to its ancient glory; church and state became one, and commands were given for collecting all that could be found of the ancient scriptures. The religion then flourished for four hundred years; but early in the seventh century came the Mohammedan invasion. The fanatic followers of the new prophet of Islam bore in one hand the sword, and in the other the Koran. A final destructive blow was now dealt to Zoroastrianism. Its old adherents, in order to avoid persecution, were forced to adopt the religion of Islam. Some, however, preferred exile and found among the Hindus a place of safety, of peace, and of freedom to worship Ormazd. Their descendants are the modern Parsis of India, who form a thrifty, prosperous community, far better, in fact, than their persecuted brethren, the Guebers who remained in Persia. It is these two scanty peoples, numbering less than 100,000 souls, that have preserved for us the fragmentary remnants of the ancient Avesta.

What has survived to-day of the Avesta, might possibly equal in extent one-tenth of our Bible, and may be regarded as divided into the following books:

[1] In the Apocryphal N. T., *The Infancy* 3: 7, it is actually said that they came in accordance with the prophecy of 'Zoroadescht' (Zoroaster).

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1. Yasna (including Gāthās)
2. Visperad
3. Yashts
4. Minor Texts
5. Vendīdād
6. Fragments.

No single existing manuscript contains all these complete; but the Yasna, Visperad, and Vendidad are usually found grouped together as a sort of prayer book, and are called Vendidad Sādah or 'Vendidad pure,' *i. e.* text without commentary; because when they are thus grouped for liturgical purposes the Avesta text is not accompanied by the rendering and comments in the Pahlavi language.

Tradition claims that the original Zoroastrian Avesta was in itself a literature of vast dimensions. The Latin writer, Pliny, in his Natural History, speaks of 2,000,000 verses of Zoroaster. Semitic authors add testimony about the works of the prophet being translated into seven or even twelve different tongues. A statement may also be quoted to the effect that the original Avesta was written on 1,200 parchments, with gold illuminated letters, and deposited in the library at Persepolis. It was this copy that Alexander the Great—'the accursed Iskander,' as Parsi tradition calls him—allowed to be destroyed, when at the request of Thais, as the story goes, he permitted the burning of the palace. It is also implied that there was another copy of the original Avesta which somehow perished at the hands of the Greeks. More blame, doubtless, than is just, is put upon Alexander; but his shoulders are broad enough to bear the burden; and his invasion, it is true, was ultimately the cause of much of the scriptures being forgotten, or falling into disuse, in consequence of the ruin he brought upon the religion. The tradition, at all events, that the original Avesta consisted of twenty-one 'Nasks' or books, rests, it seems, on good foundation. There is no special reason to doubt it.

The Sassanian rulers (A. D. 229–379), who gathered and codified all they could collect of the texts, were able to give a detailed outline of the contents and extent of each of these Nasks. From their description the original Avesta must have been a sort of encyclopædia, not alone of religion, but of many matters relating to the arts, sciences, and professions, closely

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connected with daily life. Judging from the table of contents of the Nasks, it would seem that not more than a quarter, perhaps less, of the ancient monument of the Avesta could be restored even at the time of the Sassanian council. The Vendidad, for example, according to tradition, is one of the surviving Nasks; but even a superficial examination of this book shows that in its present form it can not be complete; the frame-work is all there, but the material is in a more or less disjointed and fragmentary condition. The Mohammedan invasion also, it must be added, has done much toward destroying a great deal that would otherwise have survived in spite of 'the accursed Iskander's' conquest. Fragmentary as the remnants are, let us rejoice in them. The following sketch will give some idea of their character.

1. The *Yasna*, 'sacrifice worship,' is the chief liturgical work of the sacred canon. It consists chiefly of ascriptions of praise and of prayer. It answers, in fact, partly to what we might call a book of common prayer. It comprises seventy-two chapters; these fall into three nearly equal parts. The middle or oldest part is the section of *Gāthās*, 'the hymns' or psalms of Zoroaster himself; they are seventeen in number, and, they, like the Psalms of David, are divided into five groups. A treatment of these sacred and interesting remnants of the prophet's direct words and teachings must be reserved for elsewhere.

The opening chapters of the Yasna contain passages for recitation at the sacrifice—a sacrifice consisting chiefly of praise and thanksgiving, accompanied by ritual ceremonies. The priest invokes Ahura Mazda (Ormazd) and the heavenly hierarchy; he consecrates the holy water, *zaothra*, the *myazda*, or obligation, and the *baresma*, or bundle of sacred twigs, and then with due solemnity he and his assistant prepare the *haoma* (the *sōma* of the Hindus), or juice of a sacred plant which was drunk as part of the religious service. The sacredness and solemnity attached to this rite in the Zoroastrian religion may possibly be better comprehended, if compared—with all reverence, be it understood—with our communion service; in the Zoroastrian rite, however, there is no idea of a sacrifice, the

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suggested resemblance is therefore merely an external one, based on form and ceremony. In the Yasna ceremony, the priest begins at chapter 9, to chant the direct praise of Haoma. The latter is personified as having appeared to Zoroaster in a vision, and as telling him what blessings the haoma-worship brings. The lines are metrical and somewhat resemble the Kalevala verse of Longfellow's Hiawatha.

havanîm ā ratūm ā
Haomō upāit Zarathushtrəm
ātrəm pairi-yaozhdathəntəm
Gāthāosca srāvayantəm.

ā dim pərəsat Zarathushtrō:
'Kō narə ahi
yim azəm vîspahe anhəush
astvatō sraēshtəm dādarəsa
hvahe gayehe hvanvatō [amərshahe]?'

Which may be rendered thus:

At the time of morning worship
'Haoma came to Zoroaster,
Who was serving at the Fire
And the holy Psalms intoning.

'What man art thou?' asked the Prophet,

'Who of all the world material,
Fairest art that ever I saw
In my blessed life immortal.'

Haoma gives answer and explains his presence.

Zoroaster again enquires, asking questions about the pious persons who in the past have worshipped Haoma, and prepared the sacred draught. The divinity names several holy men; among them is Yima, in whose reign was the Golden Age. His blessed rule is thus described:

In the reign of gallant Yima,
Heat there was not, cold there was not,
Neither age nor death existed,
Nor disease the work of Demons;

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But the son walked with the father,
Fifteen years[1] old each in figure,
Long as Vivanghvats' son, Yima,
The good Shepherd, ruled as sovereign.

The chanting of the praises of Haoma continues for three chapters, concluding at Ys. 11. Then follows an interesting chapter (Ys. 12), the Avestan Creed, recited by those who adopted the Zoroastrian faith, renounced their primitive marauding and nomadic habits, and peacefully cultivated the fields. Other divisions of a catechetical or a devotional nature are inserted; and then come the Gāthās or Psalms, the most interesting and valuable part of all the Avesta, comprising chapters 28–53. The closing sections of the Yasna (Ys. 55–72) conclude the ritual worship.

2. The *Visperad* 'all the masters' forms in 24 sections a supplement to the Yasna. Invocations and offerings of praise are addressed to all holy beings and sacred things. In ceremonial recitation the sections of the Visperad are inserted between the Yasna chapters, somewhat as the verses of the litany in church service.

3. The *Yashts* 'praises' form a book of some 21 hymns of adoration and praise of the divinities or angels, *Yazatas* (*Izads*) 'worshipful ones' of the religion. The most important of the Yashts are those in praise of Ardvi Sura Anahita 'the high, exalted, undefiled,' the goddess of waters (Yt. 5), and of the star Tishtrya (Yt. 8); of Mithra the divinity of truth and light (Yt. 10), of the Fravashis, or glorified souls of the righteous (Yt. 13), of the Genius of Victory, Verethraghna (Yt. 14), and of the Kingly Glory (Yt. 19), together with the exaltation of some abstract qualities that receive personification and religious adoration.

The Yashts for the most part are written in meter, and they have poetic merit. Their material in general is old. It is evident that we have in them certain ancient Iranian legends. A conjecture might be made, not without reason or probability, that the Yashts represent the pre-Zoroastrian sagas and hymns of

[1]The Iranian idea of the bloom of youth, 'sweet sixteen.']

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praise, and that in the new religion or Zoroastrian reformation of the old faith, concessions were made, and the Yashts were allowed to remain as a form of worship, and were given a scriptural or orthodox tone. Or possibly they may be later restorations of old myths and forms of worship, introduced after the Prophet's time, when the religion had sunk to a somewhat lower level than the high spiritual plane on which it had been placed by its founder. The mythological matter they contain is interesting from the comparative standpoint; and their legends and historical allusions receive a flood of light from Firdausi's later Persian epic, the Shāh Nāmah. The Yashts are not regularly incorporated into the Vendidad-Sādah used in everyday worship; they are rather the popular legends, the apocryphal books, scriptural tales, a sort of collection of 'St. George-and-the-dragon' pious stories.

Some idea of the Yashts, for example, may be gained from the following selections: In Yt. 19:40–41, the praises of the ancient and noble hero Keresaspa, and of his deeds, are sung in pious strains. The meter is the same as above.

Yō janat azhīm Sruvarəm
Yim aspō-garəm nərə-garəm
Yim vīshavañtəm zairitəm
Yim upairi vish raodhat
Khshvaēpaya vaēnaya barəshna;
Yim upairi vish raodhat
Arshtyō-barəza zairitəm.

Or, as this may be rendered:

'He who slew the dragon Srvara,
Which devoured men and horses,
Yellow serpent, rank with poison,
Over which poison was streaming—
Snake with darting, watchful head,
Over whom the yellow poison
Thumb-deep in a stream was flowing.'

The story continues, relating how Keresaspa, Sinbad-like, mistaking the monster for some island, begins to cook his meal

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upon the dragon's back. His final slaying of the creature forms the burden of the devout song of praise.

The same Keresaspa also kills a monstrous demon, who is just growing to man's estate. This fiend presumptuous utters vaunts worthy of some early romance, if not of Milton's rebel angels. This is his proud boast:

> I am yet only a stripling,
> But if ever I come to manhood
> I shall make the heaven my chariot
> And the earth to be its wheel.
> I shall force the Holy Spirit
> Down from out the shining Heaven;
> I shall rout the Evil Spirit
> Up from out the dark Abysm;
> They, as steeds, shall draw my chariot,
> God and Devil yoked together.

(4) Under the designation, *Minor Texts* of the Avesta, may be understood a series of shorter prayers, praises, and blessings, the Nyaishes, Gahs, Sorozahs, and Afringans, answering somewhat to our little manuals of daily devotion, or to the prayers, thanksgivings, and orders for special occasions in the Book of Common Prayer.

(5) The *Vendîdâd*, 'law against the daevas, or demons,' is a book of much interest. It is written chiefly in prose; and in its present form many portions may be several centuries younger than Zoroaster; but much of the material is certainly old, perhaps in part even pre-Zoroastrian. The Vendidad is a priestly code, and its character will best be understood if the book be paralleled with the Mosaic code, and the Vendidad be called the Iranian Pentateuch. Its chapters number twenty-two. The first chapter ('Fargard 1') is a sort of Avestan Genesis, a dualistic account of the creation of good things and places by Ormazd, and of the Devil Ahriman's offsetting these by producing evils. Chapter 2 sketches the legend of Yima and the golden age, and describes the coming of a destructive winter, an Iranian flood, against which Yima is commanded to make a *Vara* 'enclosure, paradise,' and to bring therein the seeds of all good things, two of every

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kind, to be preserved. Chapter 3 is filled with the praises of agriculture; while chapter 4 is legal in its tone and several of its passages would find parallels in Leviticus and Numbers. From Vd. 5 to Vd. 12, the treatment of the dead is the main subject considered; it is in these chapters that we see the sources of many of the peculiar customs to-day followed by the Parsis, especially the origin of the 'Towers of Silence.' The three following chapters (Vd. 13–15) devoted to dogs and their treatment are of such character as to call forth the ridicule of Sir William Jones when the Avesta was first discovered and he disbelieved its authenticity. Happily to-day, criticism has led us to a better understanding of such material, and has enabled us to place it in its proper light, when forming judgment on the customs and beliefs of antiquity. Chapters 15–17, and partly 18, are devoted to purifications of several sorts of uncleanness. Parallels to Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, are again not far to seek. In Fargard 19 is found a fragment relating to the temptation of Zoroaster by Ahriman, and an announcement of the revelation. The closing sections (chapters 20–22) are chiefly medical.

(6) Besides the above books there are a number of fragments from lost portions of the Nasks or 'books' of the original Avesta. Some of them are full of interest as they relate to the fate of the soul after death. Here, for example, from the missing Varshtmansar Nask (cf. Dinkart 46. 1) is preserved an old metrical fragment (Frag. 4. 1–3) in praise of the Airyama Ishya Prayer (Ys. 51. 4). The words of the Airyama Prayer shall be intoned by the Saoshyant 'Saviour,' and his glorious attendants at the great day of judgment as a sort of last trump whose notes shall raise the dead again to life; shall banish the Devil, Ahriman, from the earth; and shall restore the world. Ormazd himself says to Zoroaster (Frag. 4. 1–3):

1 The Airyama Ishya, I tell thee
Upright, holy Zoroaster,
Is the greatest of all prayers.
Verily among all prayers
It is this one which I gifted
With revivifying powers.

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2 This prayer shall the Saoshyants, Saviours,
Chant; and by the chanting of it
I shall rule over my creatures.
I who am Ahura Mazda.
Not shall Ahriman have power,
Anra Mainyu, o'er my creatures,
He (the fiend) of foul religion.

3 In the earth shall Ahriman hide,
In the earth, the demons hide.
Up, the dead again shall rise
And within their lifeless bodies
Incorporate life shall be restored.

Other interesting fragments might be quoted which have escaped the ravages of 'the accursed Iskander' (Alexander), the fanaticism of Islam, and the devouring maw of time. These fragments give us some idea of certain lost parts of the original Avesta the outlines of whose contents are preserved in the account found in the Pahlavi Dinkart, of the Zoroastrian 21 Nasks. We are fortunate, however, in possessing so much of the old Avestan scriptures as we do. What is missing of the original is in a measure made up for, or supplemented by the sacred writings of Sassanian times, the Pahlavi Books. These are in part translations of old Avesta texts now lost; in part they are original productions. The works in the Pahlavi language are of great value to the student of Zoroastrianism; they fill up many a lacuna; they supplement our knowledge; or, again, they present the later development of the religion. All this a separate paper on Pahlavi literature might well show.

From the above description of the Zoroastrian sacred books, however, some idea of their interest and importance may be formed. The Avesta, as we now possess it, is perhaps rather a Prayer-Book than a Bible. The Vendidad, Visperad and Yasna are always recited together, and with their chapters intermingled in the ritual, they might remind one, in fact, of the forms of prayer to-day used in church. The Vendidad might be compared with portions of the Old or New Testament lessons; the solemn preparation of the holy water, the *barsom* or consecrated twigs, and of the *haoma* juice, is a sort of communion service; the Gatha

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would be psalms, or even collects and gospel; the metrical parts of the Yasna might supply hymns. The epic and narrative parts of the great metrical Yashts might perhaps find a parallel in the apocryphal books, or in the legends of the saints which were not wanting in the old Anglo-Saxon church.

Let us remember that the faith of Zoroaster lingers even until to-day; the Avesta is yet chanted in solemn tones by the white-robed priest in the temples at Bombay; the spark of the sacred fire is still cherished; most of the old rites, ceremonies and customs are preserved as of yore; and the followers of the Prophet of Ancient Iran, though they now number hardly 90,000 brethren, still form a united community, upright, honest, thrifty, prosperous, and faithful to the teachings of their Master. What the nature of those teachings is, must be reserved for discussion elsewhere.

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THE FIRST WRITTEN GOSPEL.

RESULTS OF SOME OF THE RECENT INVESTIGATIONS.

By LESTER BRADNER, JR., PH.D.,
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Students of the synoptic problem are familiar with the fact that the theory proposed by Weisse in 1838, that an extra-canonical writing, the "Logia" of the apostle Matthew mentioned by Papias, and the Gospel of Mark are the sources of the other two gospels, has been gradually gaining ground until it is now acknowledged with slight variations by nearly all the foremost New Testament scholars. The attainment of unity of opinion, however, on this one point leaves several important questions still to be discussed.[1]

As respects the relation of these two sources the view of Bernhard Weiss that Mark's Gospel is a secondary written source based upon the Logia as primary, seems to be gaining ground. As concerns date, Weiss puts this, "The oldest gospel," between 64 and 66 A. D.[2] If it should be established by later research that the writing was know to Paul, and that references to it are found in his epistles, as Marshall and Resch promise to show, then of course the terminal date of the original must be set perhaps a decade earlier. But that it should have been written much earlier than this latter date is quite unlikely. With reference

[1] The reader who desires to pursue the subject further may be referred to the New Testament Introductions of Weiss and Holtzmann, the article "Gospels" by Abbott in the Encyclopedia Britannica, the interesting discussion on *The Present State of the Synoptic Problem* by Sanday in *The Expositor* for 1891, the nearly contemporary articles by Marshall in the same magazine, and a German work just published by Alfred Resch, spoken of later in this article. Mention should also be made of Bruce's *Kingdom of God*, Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*, and Johann Weiss's *Das Reich Gottes*.

[2] Sanday agrees substantially with Weiss, and thinks that the Logia could hardly have been written before 63–68 A. D.

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to its extent there is not as yet perfect unanimity. Weiss maintains that the discourses of the Logia were not thrown together without definite order, or in such extensive combinations as we find in Matthew, but were fitted into a brief historical framework, not strictly chronological and yet, sufficient to indicate to the reader or hearer under what circumstances the words were spoken. And farther, the arrangement and sequence of material seem to have been controlled by a desire to follow somewhat the historical course of Jesus' ministry, beginning with an introduction concerning the preaching of John the Baptist. Then, touching on Jesus' baptism and temptation, it gave at some length the Sermon on the Mount. Then through a series of accounts of both miracles and discourses, it proceeds as far as the sayings concerning the second coming, and closes, according to Weiss, with the account of the anointing in Bethany, the prophecy, on this occasion, of Jesus' death supplying in a meagre way the place of the story of the Passion. Nevertheless, the possibility that the close of Christ's career was narrated is not excluded.[1] Wendt, in his attempt at a reconstruction of the Logia, in the first volume of his *Lehre Jesu*, dissents from quite such an extensive view of the contents of the Logia, and confines himself more to passages which have no verbal parallels in Mark.[2] On the other hand he considers the whole of Luke's long insertion 9:51–18:14 as drawn from the Logia, whereas Weiss would reserve portions of it not paralleled by Matthew for the third Luke source. Marshall would include in the Logia several paragraphs additional to those assigned to it by Weiss. Resch supports these

[1] Weiss remarks as to the probable extension of the source beyond the limits that can be distinctly proved: "A source which contained the words of the Baptist, the baptism and temptation of Jesus, must necessarily have had a sort of introduction; and the last piece that can be proved to belong to it, the account of the anointing, points by its very prophecy of the death of Jesus, immediately to follow, to a conclusion of his history." I should be inclined to suggest the extent of the Gospel of Mark as a good criterion for the probable historical compass of the Logia account.

[2] The Logia included, according to Wendt, the original of Luke 3:7-9, 16 f; 4:16-30; 5:39; 6:20-49; 7:2-10, 18-50; 8:1-3; 9:51—18:14; 19:1-27, 37-44; 20:18; 21:34-36; 22:14-17, 26-32, 35-38, with their parallel passages in Matt.: and also the following, peculiar to Matt.: 5:14; 7:6; 9:27-30; 12:5-7; 13:24-30, 47-50, 52; 16:17 f; 17:24-27; 18:19 f; 19:10-12; 20:1-16; 23:1-12; 25:36-41.

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additions, and would include still other material from extra-canonical sources.

It being possible, therefore, by a close critical method to determine within certain limits the probable extent of this earliest document, the question what language the writer used becomes of interest. And on this point have centered the investigations of two of the most recent writers, Resch[1] and Marshall.[2] In times past this question has not seemed of very great difficulty or even importance. Those who believed in such a source at all were mostly content to accept the testimony of Papias that it was written Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ "in the Hebrew dialect," and many thought that in the translations of that original made by each evangelist himself, lay the key to the variations of the synoptics in common passages. According to the latest results these men seem in the main to have followed the right track, only failing to note one or two critical steps which are essential to an exact conclusion. In the first place it should be clear from the correspondences in the Greek text of our synoptics that a first-hand translation by the evangelists themselves is out of the question unless in Mark's case alone. The common document which lay in their hands for incorporation into a new gospel was not Hebrew but Greek. Otherwise we could not find passages agreeing so exactly in words and the order of words, even down to minute particles. Secondly, just what is meant by Papias's expression, "in the Hebrew dialect." For besides the true Hebrew, the Aramaic, which was closely allied and the general speech of the people in the time of Christ, also frequently goes under the name of Hebrew, by virtue of an inexact use of the term. To be sure, the knowledge of the original language is not so important a question as the extent of the document when we consider that our evangelists worked from translations; nevertheless it has relative significance from the fact that a determination of the original, and therewith the possible variations of translation, would confine within narrower and clearer

[1] Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien; textkritische und quellenkritische Grundlegungen, Leipzig, 1893.

[2] Articles in *The Expositor*, 1890–1892.

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limits the departures of the several evangelists from the original text, thus enabling us to classify more closely their modifications. At the same time, our interest in a more exact knowledge of the teaching and theology of the earliest church requires us to recover, if possible, the original language in which the fountain head of the triple synoptic stream first flowed from the apostle's pen.

The above mentioned scholars, Marshall in England, and Resch in Germany, pursued their labors for the settlement of this question separately and independently until they had reached the final conclusion: Marshall, that Aramaic was the original language; Resch, that it was Hebrew proper. That opposite results have been obtained does not invalidate the process so much as it might seem, owing to the affinities of the two languages, and the interest lies in the similar methods used by the two men, and the possibility of their producing reliable results. Of Marshall's work I shall not attempt to speak in detail as it is accessible to English readers in the volumes of *The Expositor* (1890–1892), and on this account I should like to give a somewhat fuller survey of Resch's researches, and the more since his must be regarded as more comprehensive, and in this way more valuable than Marshall's.

The work in which Resch first called attention to his results was issued in 1889 under the title "Agrapha, Extra-canonical Gospel-Fragments."[1] It is a very complete collection, comparison, and discussion of all those quotations of the sayings of Christ (*Herrenworte*) which have no place in our canonical gospels, but are found either in the other New Testament writings, or in apocryphal books, ancient liturgies or the patristic works. This work is intended to serve as an introductory textual study for the support of the hypothesis first stated there, but carried out more fully in his more recent book, that the original gospel was written in Hebrew; that the different translations of this original furnish a key to many of the variations of our synoptical gospels; that in extent it included all of these extra-canonical

[1] Numbered v. 4. in the series of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, edited by Gebhardt and Harnack, in which Resch's new work appears as X. 1.

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gospel fragments which may be proved genuine, and that in character it was a gospel of the type almost completely deleted by the subsequent process of canonization, and whose sole remaining representative (and this perhaps only partial) is the peculiar Codex Cantabrigiensis or Bezæ (Codex D). This first publication has already been noticed in Sanday's articles in *The Expositor* already referred to, so that I shall confine myself to the second, a smaller volume of 160 pages, bearing the general title "Extra-canonical Parallel-Texts to the Gospels." But this title belongs to the whole of a larger work of which the present part is only the "Critical Basis as to Texts and Sources," and to be followed by treatments of the Gospels of the Infancy, the Gospel of John, the three synoptics and Acts. The whole is then to be succeeded by a work on the "Parallels of the canonical gospels." This program of an investigation so comprehensive and yet so compact, involving many years of critical work, ought to be welcomed by every lover of New Testament scholarship, and the results, whatever position may be taken as to their main drift, cannot fail to be an important addition to the history and equipment of gospel criticism.

The particular part of this plan now under discussion treats in its first few chapters of the Canon. Its formation is shown to be the work and the necessary and rightful work of the church. Three epochs of Canon criticism are distinguished: *a*) the time of its formation; *b*) the age of the Reformation; *c*) the present historical effort to determine the exact process of canonization, and to reach behind it to pre-canonical writings. As to the Canon of the gospels, three epochs are again noted: *a*) collection of the traditional gospels into a quadruple gospel canon; *b*) this gospel canon attains sole authority in the church; *c*) the fixing and final purification of the text of the canonical gospels. The date, 140 A. D., is regarded as the latest possible for the termination of the first step. The second cannot have taken place before Irenæus's time, nor after Origen's. In the third epoch three steps can be traced: *a*) the recension which produces the archetype of the Codex Bezæ, the Syrian text of Cureton, and the old Latin versions, as well as a part of the oriental (1st half

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of the 2d Cent.); *b*) the work of Origen; and *c*) the final fixing of the text at the closing of the canon. Chapter or paragraph 3 discusses canonical and extra-canonical texts, showing the need of investigation of the latter as the occasion for the present and preceding volumes, and the following chapter groups together the sources whence a collection of these texts which have escaped the conforming zeal of the recensors may be gathered. They are in brief: (1) The Greek Codex Bezæ; (2) The old Latin versions; (3) The old oriental, especially Syriac versions; (4) Tatian's Diatessaron; (5) The patristic quotations from the gospels; (6) The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; (7) The Liturgies of the primitive church.[1] The question of what is to be regarded as the final source of a collection of extra-canonical texts so rich and extensive yet retaining withal so close a connection with the text of the synoptics, forms a transition to the consideration, in chaps. 5-8, of the pre-canonical gospel. As to critical principles with regard to the synoptic problem, the author upholds the position of Professor Weiss, whom he considers the surest guide in this territory despite the more recent work of Wendt, Ewald, Feine and Mandel. Bousset[2] he thinks, has made some advances upon Weiss by using the extra-canonical texts as well in his investigations. Resch's statement of his principles is then as follows: (1) The priority of Mark. (2) The existence of a pre-canonical source. (3) The "two-source" theory (for Matthew and Luke).[3] (4) The secondary character of the first canonical gospel, (5) and of the third, (6) as well as the second. (7) Various translations

[1] The first four of these sources are shown to have a peculiar relationship between themselves as all pointing back to an archetype dating not later than 140, and exhibiting a variety of the pre-canonical text whose best extant representative is the Codex Bezæ. The views of J. Rendel Harris as to the "Western text" are discussed but not upheld, Resch strongly preferring Credner's positions.

[2] *Die Evangeliencitate Justin des Märtyrers in ihrem Werthe für die Evangelienkritik.*

[3] It seems as if Professor Stanton (cf. *Expositor*, March 1893,) were justified in his objection to the use of this name as characterizing the Weiss theory. The solution as applied to the whole synoptic question would more correctly be termed a "one-source," or an "Urevangelium" (primitive gospel) theory. Strictly taken, two sources are to be assumed only for Matthew, since Mark has but one, the Logia, and Luke is acknowledged by Weiss himself to have three.

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of the pre-canonical gospel. (8) The very early use of this gospel (reaching back to Paul). (9) Its later influence (upon patristic quotations and readings in the gospels such as the Codex Bezæ contains). A number of analogies for redactional processes are then pointed out, such as the Apostolical Constitutions, the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, and the Sybilline Oracles, as well as the Acta Pilati and examples in the Old Testament. Thus fortified as to the justification of his method, the writer enumerates the sources which are to furnish the contents of this pre-canonical gospel. They are: (1) All parallels between Luke and Matthew where Mark is lacking. (2) The discourse material (including parables) which Matthew alone furnishes. (3) That of the same category peculiar to Luke. (4) Many passages of narrative and discourse common to all three (especially those designated by Weiss). (5) A number of genuine "Agrapha." (6) Parallels in other New Testament books to the synoptic texts. As subsidiary indications come in: (7) All texts pointing by their Hebraisms to a Hebrew original. (8) Such varying expressions of the synoptics as can be shown to be different translations of a common Hebrew original. (9) Variant readings of like character in the Codex Bezæ. The only departure shown in this list from the position taken by Weiss is the addition of material from extra-canonical sources and from other parts of the New Testament. The latter is a point of much importance since it involves the acquaintance of Paul with this first written gospel and his use of quotations from it, as well as quotations in the other epistles and the Apocalypse. Resch supports the hypothesis by exhibiting parallel quotations between the epistles and synoptic gospels as follows: Romans and 1 Corinthians, ten each; 2 Corinthians, two; Galatians, four; Ephesians and Philippians, five each; Colossians, one; 1 Thessalonians, five; 1 Timothy, three; 2 Timothy, two; 1 Peter and James, three each; and Apocalypse, nine; making in all sixty-two cases of parallel texts.[1]

[1] I select a few of the more striking instances:

Rom.	2:19	cf.	Matt.	15:14		1 Tim.	5:18	cf.	Matt.	10:10
"	8:15	"	Mark	14:36					Luke	10:7
"	8:26	"	Matt.	20:22		2 Tim.	2:12	"	Matt.	10:33

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Chapter 7 takes up the discussion as to the language of this original gospel. Having already (Agrapha § 6.) stated and supported the belief that this was the Biblical Hebrew, the author advances a few additional points in favor of that position. He maintains that a literary use of the Hebrew was still kept up in apostolic times in Palestine, alongside the Aramaic and Greek spoken by the common people, and therefore it was possible that the author of the earliest gospel should have chosen any one of the three. The actual choice would depend somewhat on his purpose. A point of considerable weight is the following: "If he chose the learned Hebraic idiom, his work obtained in advance an esoteric character which would best explain its disappearance from view in the old Catholic Church." It is in fact remarkable that we have not more external evidence of the existence and use of such an important document, and it seems as if an Aramaic original would have had a wider circulation and more mention. On this ground therefore the Aramaic hypothesis seems less fitted to explain the facts. In this field Resch must of course meet the arguments of Marshall who favors the Aramaic. This he does partly by showing that an Aramaic original contradicts the direct testimony of Jerome and Epiphanius that the language was Hebrew and not Syro-Chaldaic (= Aramaic), and partly by arguing that the few Aramaic elements at present found in the synoptic text, proper names, nouns and sentences, do not necessarily require the hypothesis of an Aramaic original. The proper names and nouns are not sufficient evidence, and as for the sentences, two of them (ἐφφαθά Mark 7:34, ταλιθά κούμ Mark 5:41) probably do not belong to the pre-canonical gospel

			Mark	10:38	1 Pet.	3:14	cf.	Matt.	5:10
"	16:19	cf.	Matt.	10:16	James	5:12	"	Matt.	5:34-37
1 Cor.	10:27	"	Luke	10:8	Rev.	3:3	"	Matt.	24:43f
"	12:28	"	Luke	11:49	"	3:5	"	Matt.	10:32
			Matt.	23:34				Luke	12:8
Gal.	4:14	"	Matt.	10:40	"	3:20 a	"	Matt.	24:33
Phil.	2:8f	"	Luke	14:11	"	3:20 b-21 a		Luke	22:30
"	2:15	"	Matt.	5:14	"	11:2	"	Luke	21:24
1 Thess.	5:2f	"	Luke	21:34f	"	13:10	"	Matt.	26:52
1 "	5:13	"	Mark	9:50	"	14:4	"	Luke	9:57
1 Tim.	2:5f	"	Matt.	20:28					

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while the words from the cross (ἐλωΐ ἐλωΐ, λεμὰ σαβαχθανεί Matt. 27:46; Mark 15:34) show evidence in the Western text of having been handed down in Hebrew rather than in Aramaic. At the same time Resch admits that the question must rest mainly on the evidence as to which dialect best explains the divergencies of the synoptic parallels. He criticizes Marshall's work, however, as confined too closely to the canonical text, without a comparison of patristic and extra-canonical parallels, and as being based not so much upon an analysis of the discourses, where the evidence of a source is clearest, as upon the more treacherous ground of the narrative passages, where the redaction is always a greater disturbing factor. As to Marshall's effort to explain a large number of divergencies by the assumption of such accidental changes and corruption in the Aramaic text as the confusion of similar consonants, or the omission or transposition of two adjacent letters, or the different vocalization of the same consonants, all cases which have their exact parallels in the relation of the Septuagint to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, Resch admits that such mistakes may have been made, even adds a few examples of his own, but considers that Marshall has carried this method entirely too far. Besides, he rightly argues that there is not the same latitude for texual corruption in MSS. only a few decades old as in the case of the Old Testament books, where the transmission is reckoned by centuries. So the author decides to remain by the Hebrew hypothesis, in accordance with the literal testimony of tradition, and believes that in all necessary and likely cases given by Marshall, a Hebrew root will explain the phenomena equally as well as an Aramaic.[1]

In chapter 8, the author takes a farther step and proceeds to deal with the Greek translations of this original Hebrew gospel.

[1]Marshall, in his criticism of the present work (*Critical Review*, Jan., 1893, p. 73) says in reply, that he is not prepared to accept the high authority that Resch claims for the Codex Bezæ and the Western Text, and as for the variant readings in the fathers, they do not furnish sufficient proof of a Hebrew original. Then, in regard to text corruption, it is quite as possible for an Aramaic text under the conditions of the time as for the ancient Hebrew MSS. Moreover, Resch has not proved the superiority of the translation back into Hebrew, as against the Aramaic. And finally, Marshall prefers an independent position on the synoptic problem and thinks he cannot be condemned for not adhering in every case to the results of Weiss.

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Recurring to the various versions of the Old Testament, he notes some general characteristics which mark different styles of translation: *e.g.* the careful literal tendency, the freer and yet faithful reproduction of an original, and the loose paraphrasing style. He then asks whether any such varying types can be discovered in the translations used by our evangelists, and what evidence remains of various translations. The answer is found in the comparison of our synoptical gospels with each other and with extra-canonical parallels. Mark, as the first redactor of our original gospel, may be regarded as pursuing a paraphrastic and eclectic method. He is, in truth, the interpreter (ἑρμηνεύτης), and his gospel is a sort of Targum on the primitive work. Consequently his type of translation is the least reliable source for a reconstruction of the Logia text. It is even possible that we have traces of his use of two different translations, which Marshall thinks may explain his pleonasms, but no stress is laid on this point. Quite a different character belongs to the version used by our first evangelist, in that it is so strongly marked by Hebraisms. That he was well versed in Hebrew, there is no doubt, and we might imagine that he had made his own translation except that the Hebraisms seem to point to an older version than the type used by Paul and Luke. These three types are then displayed by several tables showing the various renderings of the same Hebrew word, while another table of some length collates the resemblances between the Lucanian type and the parallels in the Pauline epistles. Luke, then, owing to his similarities in some cases and his divergencies in others with respect to Matthew's reproduction of the Logia, is credited with the use of two different types of translations, one of which is the Pauline-Lucanian and the other the Matthæan. It is not, however, strictly necessary that these variant types should each have covered the whole extent of the Logia.

The author now enters the field of extra-canonical parallels, and shows by a number of tables that the same variety of translation of a common Hebrew word exists among them as in the gospels. In the course of this investigation, Resch discovers a surprising resemblance between the changes made in the evident

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recension of the Gospel of Luke in the Codex Bezæ, and the Matthæan type of Logia-translation which leads him to regard it as trustworthy testimony to a type of translation independent of and yet closely related to the Matthæan. A second point of importance is the establishment of still another type called the Alexandrian. This is maintained on the ground of the uniform predominance of certain extra-canonical readings in Clement of Alexandria, and his followers, Origen and Macarius, as well as in Alexandrian gospel-fragments, the Egyptian gospel and the Faijum fragment. Especially to be noted here is the fact that among these variants are to found such as could only have arisen from a conscious translation of the Hebrew text, as for example, Matt. 18:3, where for στρέφεσθαι καὶ γίνεσθαι a harsh literal translation of the Hebrew idiom *shubh wehaya* [*h*], Clement reads αὖθις γίνεσθαι. The survey closes with the hope that more work will be spent in noting Hebraisms in the various Greek versions, and in the endeavor to reconstruct the pre-canonical gospel by translations of its probable contents back into Hebrew.

On the whole, among the various topics treated, four appear to be of leading importance, namely: the value of the family of "Western Texts," the use made of canonical and extra-canonical parallel texts, the language of the original gospel, and its translations with their types. A judgment in the matter of New Testament texts will not be ventured upon by the present reviewer. The opinion even of such eminent critics as Westcott and Hort seems somewhat divided. Some of the Western readings they hesitate to reject, a few are considered superior to non-Western readings, but the general criticism is made that the Western text is on the whole less pure and trustworthy. Its characteristics are said to be a love of paraphrase, assimilation of clauses for the purpose of harmonizing, and its readiness to adopt alterations or additions from extraneous sources (Cf. Westcott and Hort, *Greek Test.*) If Resch can point out a trustworthy origin for these variations by means of the different translations of a common Hebrew text, it would certainly relieve this family of texts from much unjust criticism; and it would perhaps be an advantage to think that the less pleasing elements of an old text had been

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subsequently pruned out, than that they had been introduced arbitrarily into a text originally pure. At least it may be said that Resch is not entirely alone in his position as regards the the value of these texts, while Westcott and Hort probably hold to the more conservative side.

To fail to make use of the extra-canonical as well as canonical parallels to synoptic passages would certainly be a mistake, and even if all of Resch's conclusions on this matter cannot be made good, he has rendered a great service in the collection of the material, and in showing at least the possible limits of its application. And yet there is always the danger of becoming mechanical in the effort to prove too much, and of losing sight, as Sanday notes in his criticism of Resch's previous work, of the latitude which must be granted to each evangelist for his individuality of style, and for the use of synonyms. And this must be especially true of an age when the letter of the sacred text was of much less importance than its meaning. Not that this excludes the possibility or probability of such a theory as Resch advances, but that it must render its application at times precarious. Sanday remarks (in the article in *The Expositor* previously referred to) that there are always two unprovable steps with respect to parallel texts in the epistles: *a*) that they come from a written gospel, and *b*)that this gospel was the Logia. The first objection may perhaps be set aside in case the parallel in the language is sufficiently close, and the second can be controlled somewhat through the analysis itself of the synoptics which constructs the extent of the source. But it is certainly a question deserving consideration how far we may rightly extend the compass of this original gospel. Resch's tendency would be to make it include the greatest possible amount, especially when it comes to the identification with it of all the genuine Agrapha. On the other hand, the additional material secured by each of the two later synoptics and the claim of the third evangelist that he was superseding both in exactness and extent, a *number* of existing works on the life of Christ should make us wary of pressing too much material upon this earliest source, and failing to allow that oral tradition may have carried

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down many sayings of Jesus which the evangelists have not included in their accounts.

The original language of the Logia is a point to be settled by experts in Semitic dialects, and by a patient testing of the relative applicability of each language to the various points of the problem. We are, I think, to assume that neither Resch nor Marshall has offered the whole of his evidence. And while one may be inclined to prefer the completeness and apparent harmony of Resch's results to the occasional "tours de force" and necessary supposition of textual corruption which belong to Marshall's hypothesis, a premature judgment would be unfair. The matter must be appealed, as Marshall himself says, to the general consensus of scholarly opinion. Finally, as to various types of translation, if the theory can be sustained without infringing too largely upon the individualities of the various writers, it would have the advantage of relieving us from many arbitrary and complicated theories of redaction, while the attainment of an approximate original would prove a great advance in securing an accurate historical and literary knowledge of the earliest written record of Christianity. No one who is conversant with the matter will hesitate to admit the presence of the problem and its importance, and it is to be hoped that American scholars will not leave the list of contestants for the prize of its solution to be so completely filled out by German and English names as it has been in the past.

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THEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION IN SWITZERLAND.

By Rev. P. M. Snyder,
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IV.

LAUSANNE.

Here, as in Geneva, are two schools of theology side by side, but the contrast is not so marked. In fact, so slight is the present dogmatic divergence that one of the professors of the university expressed himself very frankly about the needlessness of having two complete sets of professors, because the schools differ about the relation of church and state. Here, as elsewhere, however, history has shown that it is much easier to make a breach than to heal it, and certain obvious advantages come from the very rivalry.

The university has existed as such only since 1890, when the medical department was added; but as an academy it has been organized since 1838, and the theological faculty dates back to 1538. The lectures are still held in a building as old as that at Bern and lying in the centre of the old town; but a Russian graduate has recently left by will three million francs for a new building, so that in a few years the university will be admirably housed.

I refer to only two of the professors, Professor H. Vuilleumier and Professor Paschoud. The former has the chair of Old Testament introduction and exegesis. He is a man thoroughly familiar with German scholarship, speaking the language with as much apparent fluency as he does French, and yet looking at the different developments of German thought from the independent standpoint of one who feels that he belongs to a different race and has no interest in the victory of this or that party or tendency.

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Professor Paschoud is a man of different mould, somewhat less cosmopolitan and speaking German only with difficulty. He has been in the active pastorate for years, and was called but two years ago to the chair of practical theology. At this time his opening address was an exceedingly interesting discussion of the burning ecclesiastical question in French Switzerland, a defence of the position of the state church as contrasted with that of the free church.

From the independent faculty two names are perhaps deserving of special prominence: Professor Gautier, brother of the astronomer Professor Raoul Gautier of Geneva; and Professor Astié, recently brought into special prominence by the action of the synod of the free church. This has expressed its disapproval of his *imprudences*, while curiously enough not venturing to characterize his statements as untrue. Of course this action is made the most of by the advocates of liberalism, as showing that heresy cannot even be kept out of the free church despite its strict tests and orthodox traditions. The fact is, however, that Professor Astié's utterances regarding inspiration and kindred themes would scarcely have attracted attention outside the free church, and perhaps not even there, had it not been for a certain brusqueness in the manner of their expression. He is one of the older professors, and, in the language of one of the professors of the state church, "they ought to have let him alone."

NEUCHÂTEL.

The journey from Lausanne to Neuchâtel, where the state "Academie" still lacks the needed medical faculty to make it a university, and where the free theological school is not yet quite twenty years old, takes us again away from the higher Alps and to the slopes of the Jura range. This time, however, the Jura mountains are to the westward and not between us and the Alps, as at Basel, so that on clear days the Alpine panorama from Neuchâtel is more extended than from any other Swiss city, reaching all the way from Pilatus by Lucerne to Mt. Blanc.

The city itself is most beautifully located, stretching along the lake with its fine new quays and reaching far up the hill-

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side. The chateau, which commands the town, is wonderfully picturesque, with its old bastions and beautiful church, and parts of the town are very quaint; but the new streets by the lake are broad and beautiful, and even the older portion of the city has not been turned into a labyrinth by its ridges and ravines as has Lausanne.

The academy lies at the north end of the city, in an admirable situation beside the lake, and is an excellent modern building. The rules concerning attendance upon lectures, etc., are quite different from these of the universities, students of theology, for instance, being required to attend all the courses of their year much as we are in our own seminaries. Here, as elsewhere, however, persons are allowed to attend the lectures as *auditeurs* without matriculating as students.

The lectures of the *Faculté Independente* are held in quarters in themselves unpretentious, but situated only a few rods from the chateau with its mediæval battlements and commanding its wonderful views. The number of students is very small but, as an offset, the relations between students and professors are correspondingly intimate and cordial.

In Neuchâtel there is a single form which overshadows all others and is looked upon with an affectionate reverence scarcely to be paralleled among the living leaders of the free church in Switzerland. I refer to the venerable Professor Frédéric L. Godet, so well known in America through his commentaries, especially that upon the Gospel of Luke. Born in Neuchâtel October 25, 1812, he was instructor of the late Emperor Frederick of Germany from 1838 to 1844. In 1850 he became professor of theology in the academy at Neuchâtel, and held this position until 1873. At that time he left the state church, was one of the leaders in organizing the free church of the canton of Neuchâtel, and became professor of theology in the free theological faculty. In 1887 he resigned his professorship, but he still, at the age of eighty, delivers one lecture a week as a favor to those who love to sit at his feet. Last summer his subject was a running exegesis of the Acts.

While Dr. Godet has so largely retired from active work, his

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presence is still a benediction not only to the church and school which he helped to found, but also to all who come under his influence. I shall not soon forget my own first meeting with him. It seemed to me that I had never seen one in whose face and words and whole manner such ripeness and tenderness of Christian faith and experience were mingled with an almost childlike eagerness and enthusiasm of interest in whatever concerned the kingdom of God. "The revered head of orthodoxy,"—as he was called by one whose own views are decidedly liberal,—it was yet beautiful to note the Christian charity of his disposition, and to see how he regarded even the prevalent exclusive emphasis of the humanity of Jesus only as the excessive development of a movement necessary in order to bring the distant Christ of theology again into vital contact with the life of the world.

Such was the impression of a first interview, and it was only intensified by subsequent meetings and by listening to the beautiful simplicity of his preaching in the little hotel chapel of a hamlet high up in the Bernese Oberland.

Fortunately for the free school, the chair vacated by Dr. Godet is ably filled by his son, Professor Georges Godet, a most delightful man and efficient teacher, and one to whom I am under personal obligation for much of my information about the origin of the free church in Neuchâtel.

Another name held in high esteem is that of Professor Monvert, who teaches church history and Old Testament introduction.

This completes the list of the protestant schools of theology in French Switzerland.

On the whole, we find a state of things, both in theology and in methods of instruction, much more closely allied to our own than is the case in German Switzerland. This is especially true of the independent schools; and I imagine that a student could go from one of the more liberal of our theological seminaries to the independent schools of Geneva, Lausanne, or Neuchâtel without experiencing any serious shock except in the change of languages. So far removed are these schools from the prevail-

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ing liberalism of German thought that one of their professors told me with evident sorrow that when their students went for a semester or two to a German university they were apt to come back very much shaken in their faith.

Apart from its greater average orthodoxy and the greater similarity of its methods to our own—two things which will be regarded as advantages or disadvantages according to what one seeks—there is one respect in which French Switzerland has for many Americans a decided advantage over German Switzerland. I mean as a place in which to acquire a foreign language. It is so universally the case that the younger men coming to Europe for study wish also to perfect themselves in one of the continental languages, that the opportunities for doing this ought to be taken into account. In giving the preference to French Switzerland in this respect, I do not mean that French is more valuable for the theologian than German—for the reverse is doubtless the case—but simply that in French Switzerland the people speak French and in German Switzerland they do not speak German. In the cities of French Switzerland, and in none of them more than in Neuchâtel, a pure and beautiful French has almost entirely taken the place of the *patois*. In German Switzerland, on the other hand, even among the cultured, a dialect is spoken which is allied to the *Mittel-hoch-deutsch*, and is so different from pure German as almost to constitute a distinct language. Of course one hears good German in the universities, where, indeed, many of the professors are Germans and not Swiss, and also in the churches; but it is not spoken on the streets, and even the students talk to one another in a language almost absolutely unintelligible, even to a good German scholar. All people of culture in German Switzerland can speak pure German, but they ordinarily do not, and that fact should be borne in mind by such as have still imperfect mastery of the language.

It would be easy to enter into detail concerning the examinations to which students are subjected, and the various steps by which the Swiss student of theology becomes a pastor. I have refrained from doing so, partly because the process is in general so similar to that in Germany, but chiefly because I have wished

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to make these papers primarily of practical assistance to the American student who wishes to know what kind of instruction is to be found in the different Swiss schools of theology. I shall be more than content if the facts here given prove at all as helpful to the reader as has been the necessary investigation to myself, especially if they shall lead any to share the intellectual and spiritual, as well as the physical stimulus of this unique land.

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

The series of Outline Inductive Bible Studies, prepared by the Vice-Principal of the Institute for *The Sunday School Times*, and published therein since the beginning of the year, has attracted much attention. They are intended to supplement the usual helps on the International lessons by giving suggestions for further work in connection with the biblical material. They are literally *studies*, and leave the homiletical treatment largely to others. The following is quoted from a recent issue of the *Times*, in "Notes on Open Letters." The words are those of an instructor in an Iowa college:

"Before the beginning of this year I would have thought improvement in *The Sunday School Times* to be almost impossible. But the Outline Inductive Studies are specially helpful to me. They furnish that which I myself had for years tried to prepare, in order that the study of the lessons might be a continuous study of the Bible. The Outlines are, of course, so much more thorough and complete than I was able to make them that their help to me is invaluable."

A second series of studies commences July first. The subject will be The Founding of the Christian Church. The material covered will be the Acts, 15:35 to the close of the book, the Epistles and the Revelation. A review of the first half of the Acts will precede the course. It will be noted that this is the material covered by the Institute's examination of January, 1894. The direction sheets for this examination are now ready, and candidates are enrolling rapidly, so as to be ready for teaching the lessons in July.

Interesting reports are coming in from the State Conventions of the Y. P. S. C. E., where addresses have been given by Institute representatives. At the Michigan Convention, April 5th, much enthusiasm was manifested, and local secretaries declared their intention of organizing clubs for the study of the Life of Christ in their societies at once.

From the Utah Convention a large number of names applying for special information has been received. In both Michigan and Utah the leaders in Christian Endeavor work have become much interested, and are planning to introduce Bible Study into their work wherever possible.

The schedule of Institute courses and instructors at Summer Schools, as thus far arranged for, is given below:

Chautauqua, July and August.

Hebrew and English Old Testament; Professors William R. Harper, D. A. McClenahan and S. Burnham.

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Chautauqua, July and August.

New Testament Greek, and English New Testament; Professors J. S. Riggs, Chas. Horswell and Mr. C. W. Votaw.

Framingham, Mass., July.

New Testament Greek, and the English Bible; Mr. C. W. Votaw.

Pennsylvania Chautauqua, July.

The English Bible; Professor Willis J. Beecher.

Lakeside, Ohio, July.

Hebrew and the English Bible; Mr. Lincoln Hulley.

Colfax, Iowa, July.

The English Bible; Mr. I. F. Wood.

Bay View, Mich., July and August.

The English Bible; Professor M. S. Terry and others.

Associated Bible Schools of Kansas, August.

New Testament, Greek and English Bible; Mr. I. F. Wood.

Lake Madison, South Dakota.

Dr. E. L. Parks.

Southern California and Pacific Grove.

Hebrew and the English Bible; Dr. C. F. Kent.

(Arrangements at these two assemblies are not quite complete.)

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STUDIES IN THE WISDOM BOOKS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LESSONS.

By GEORGE S. GOODSPEED,
The University of Chicago.

III. THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

1. Its General Characteristics. Ecclesiastes is the third of the great "Wisdom" books which call for consideration in the scheme of the International Lessons. It differs not a little from Proverbs and Job both in form and contents. It is a prose work while they are poetical. Proverbs contains the simplest, if not the earliest, manifestation of that activity of the "wise men" which was occupied in the examination of social and individual life, and the search for principles of right living and their application. Job presents a single problem of human life in connection with a great historical crisis in Israel, the problem of suffering. Ecclesiastes has certain features in common with both these sides of Hebrew wisdom, but, different from Proverbs, its chief concern is with moral problems and difficulties, not with merely prudential considerations for common life, and it reaches out beyond the single topic which fills the horizon of the Book of Job. It comes nearest to being a speculative treatise, though it is not. It recounts the experience and conclusions of a man who was searching for a practical philosophy of living. He seeks by all the means in his power, through thought and action, in the midst of human society and in the depths of human intellect, to solve the riddle of the chief end of man, the meaning and purpose of human life, in order to be able to find thereby the way practically to get the most and best out of life. Here, as everywhere in Hebrew philosophy, the eye is fixed on purely practical ends.

2. Analysis of the Book. Ecclesiastes is almost incapable of analysis, as any one may prove either by reading it through or by comparing the results of commentators' attempts to furnish an analysis. The thoughts do not follow in apparent logical order and succession. Style and language alike aid in concealing the course of thought. The single expressions are often difficult to interpret. The style is harsh, the structure of the sentences often irregular. Some have concluded that we have the contents of a philosopher's note-book, set down in Emersonian fashion without connection, or more than a general relation. Others conjecture that the author died before the book received its last touches from him. These ideas merely express the difficulty found in tracing the order of thought from beginning to end. The book is the best

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foundation for the arguments of those who maintain that Hebrew literature does not know the principles and rules of logical and orderly composition which we think indispensable to a literary production.

3. The Title and Introduction. The title states that the book contains the words of the son of David, King in Jerusalem. He is called Koheleth, a term to which various meanings have been attached. It is in Hebrew a feminine form apparently, and various attempts have been made to explain the gender. Some think of an indirect reference to wisdom, the feminine figure who plays so great a part in the early chapters of Proverbs. Perhaps the best explanation is based on the Arabic use of the feminine in a neuter sense to express the sum total, the highest point, of the qualities which the word denotes. Thus the son of David as *Koheleth* was all that a "Master of Assemblies" could be expected to be, he was the "Prince of preachers." Who is this son of David, King in Jerusalem? Tradition has recognized in him Solomon, the chief, the typical representative of the "wise men." Later scholarship has inferred from the contents of the book, its language and other things, that this tradition is not well founded. Whether that is true or not, it is certain that the writer, whoever he was, has brought Solomon forward as the centre about whom the thoughts of the book revolve. For our purpose the question is immaterial.

Most writers regard 1:2–11 as the introduction to the book. The opening words may be regarded as the motto of the subsequent utterances. They meet us not less than thirty-nine times in the book. "Everything is empty and fleeting. Man gets no result worth having from his labor (vs. 2, 3)." These are the fundamental thoughts. Notice the general point of view. It is man who stands in the foreground, not the Israelite; it is the "world under the sun," not Jerusalem — the standpoint of the "sages" always. To these two thoughts are added four illustrative or parallel statements:

v. 4. Man passes away but nature remains the same.

vs. 5–7. There is movement but no progress.

vs. 8–10. There is labor but nothing new produced.

v. 11. One's labor makes no impression on the future.

Nature and man alike move on and labor, but both go round the same circle — man not enjoying even the permanence of nature. Generation succeeds to generation, each consigning its predecessors to forgetfulness, while it journeys on over the same weary road.

This passage, with its solemn melancholy impressive eloquence, sums up at the beginning the writer's conclusions as to the general features of human life in the world.

4. The Problem of Koheleth. But he does not stop here. Such a view of things does not by any means paralyze his effort and activity. It stimulates him to the endeavor and the thought which he has recorded in the following pages. "On this basis," he asks "what is the practical rule of living, what is a man to do to make a success of life under these conditions?" Man is

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here in such a world; he lives; he must do something; he must find — not a speculative theory of the universe and human existence — but some workable practical method of making the best of it. Such is the problem of Ecclesiastes, the key to the book.

5. Koheleth's Belief in God. If such is man upon the earth, transitory and suffering, aspiring and not attaining, laboring and not achieving, living and must die, with no prospect of remembrance after death, surely it were well "to curse God and die." Can such anomalies of existence be reconciled with belief in God? This is the question which springs to our lips. The temptation in such a view of the world is to deny the existence or the presence of God in the earth. Strange as it seems to us, Koheleth is never once assailed by these questionings and doubts. He is no sceptic in the sense of denying Theism. A superficial reader of the book, with nineteenth century ideas, sometimes leaps to that inference, or at least theorizes about a progress of faith in God in the chapters culminating in the last. The inference and theory are both erroneous. It ought to be sufficient merely to go hastily through the chapters to discover how profound a belief in the existence and activity of God was possessed by the writer. What comes to man is from God; he gives it; men receive their portion from the hand of God. They are in his hands. He will judge, he proves them. All things are done by him. There are those that please him. Exalted as he is, he is deeply interested and active in the affairs of this earth. Because he is exalted, men should fear him.[1] Such remarkable ideas respecting God coupled with such a gloomy view of human life are extraordinary. This only can be suggested in explanation. The belief in God had become a part of the man's nature. He could not throw it off. He had no thought of throwing it off. Given God, as an element in the problem, as governor and arbiter of the race, the only matter which needed investigation and solution was the adjustment of one's life to the facts, the constitution of the world as God had evidently established it. Why he had so established it, how it reflected on his character and purposes, were problems that never seem to have crossed Koheleth's mind.

6. The various unsatisfactory Solutions. What is to be done? How is man to make the most of life? This is the practical problem. Various ways were tried by the writer, various conclusions arrived at, various theories put up as attempts to reach the satisfactory result. These attempts are not set down in order in the book. They must be gathered from a comparison of different passages and selected from much more or less irrelevant matter.

(1) Koheleth first tried to form a consistent theory of the universe through observation and inquiry into human activity.[2] Wisdom, in the sense of intellectual investigation, was the means employed. Well fitted as he was for this investigation, he found that the results were unsatisfactory. Inquiry did

[1] The student may find proof for these statements in 1:13; 2:24; 2:26; 3:10-14; 3:17; 5:2, 7, 18; 7:13,14,26; 8:12; 9:1; 11:9, etc. [2] 1:13.

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not make man happy; it increased his dissatisfaction.[1] Another attempt was made, through another kind of "wisdom," with better success.[2] Koheleth no longer tried to form a speculative theory, he fell back on practical wisdom, the results of wise observation of moral conduct. Such was the teaching of the "sages" in Israel. They saw how much nearer the reality of things one came in the house of mourning.[3] They perceived the value of sound judgment in a counsellor.[4] Koheleth utters some very useful maxims respecting the details of practical life. Wisdom has taught him that wickedness is folly and righteousness is life.[5] But it could not lead him to the reason of things which it suggested.[6] It could not save him from making an awful mistake in his own life when once he put his trust in an unfaithful woman.[7] Even "wisdom" with all its effectiveness is rejected.

(2) He will test the effectiveness of self-satisfaction when pushed to its utmost limit.[8] This he had a good opportunity to do, for he had all that heart could wish.[9] Some of these pleasures were noble and worthy, others were frivolous and sensual. But after the entire round had been run, all were found to be wanting. The attempt to give oneself full swing in material enjoyments did not satisfy.[10] Closely connected with this line of thought was his observation of the emptiness of the search for and enjoyment of riches. No one sleeps any better if as well for their acquisition;[11] they often injure instead of benefit;[12] worse than all when one has amassed them, he is often snatched away before he can enjoy them.[13]

(3) In the course of his observation one thing has caught the eye of Koheleth. Everything has its destined time for coming and going, growing and dying. Nature and the world are full of opportune moments.[14] What if man yielding up the search for the reason of things, could find and seize the opportunity or opportunities which God has destined to make his life worthy and satisfactory. What if he should get in touch with the great machine? Man is evidently made to be in tune with the universe. Everything is beautiful in its time and the human reaches out and apprehends the beauty of the world.[15] But however this may be, man cannot hope to find and seize the opportunity, to realize the beauty.[16]

(4) Will not what is commonly called "success" be a suitable basis for happiness? The difficulty is that the successful man is hated by his envious neighbor, and success costs too much at that price.[17] May not social fellowship be available? Isolation is a most prolific source of misery while companionship is ever more profitable.[18] Yet the wise youth who associated himself with the people and gained a crown, lost it as speedily and sank into oblivion.[19] Certainly the friendship of human kind is rare. Woman's love has proved a delusion.[20]

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[1] 1:16-18. [2] 7:1-29; 8:1-7. [3] 7:1-4. [4] 7:19; 8:1. [5] 7:25. [6] 7:23, 24. [7] 7:26-29. [8] 2:1-7. [9] 2:7,9,10. [10] 2:2,11. [11] 5:10-12. [12] 5:13,14. [13] 6:1,2. [14] 3:1-8. [15] 3:11*a*. [16] 3:11*b*. [17] 4:4-6. [18] 4:7-12. [19] 4:13-16. [20] 7:26-29.

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(5) Will Koheleth throw all scruples aside and plunge into vice? Wisdom has taught him the folly and danger of that course. It is at this point that his profound belief in God comes out clearly. However great the anomalies of life, one thing is certain, that "it shall not be well with the wicked."[1]

(6) He has not refused to seek for the help he needs in the popular religion of the day.[2] The features of it as described and suggested by him are most in accord with that legal and ritual religion which Ezra introduced. It has degenerated from its early prime into a timid, anxious performance of rites and scrupulous offering of tribute and vows to God, and on the other hand into a selfish calculating spirit which is willing to cheat him. Koheleth allows the power and significance of religion, but spurns its spurious counterfeits and casts the popular faith and worship, the legalism of the time, after the other rejected suitors.

(7) There is one other solace remaining which religionists of the day are hailing as a new discovery. If one cannot enjoy this life there is another to come, and the hope of a happy *immortality* brightens the dreary waste of this vain world. But this, too, Koheleth cannot accept. He sees no evidence of it in the earth. Here his pessimism touches its lowest point and the dreary song of forgetfulness in death and darkness in the grave echoes solemnly again and again throughout the book.[3] Man and beast are alike, they go unto one place. We do not know the future. The dead remember nothing, "there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave." It is true that in the last chapter[4] the dust and the spirit of man part company, yet the statement must be interpreted in accordance with the general tone of the book. There is no hope of immortality.

7. *The Solution finally Accepted.* Ecclesiastes is by no means a merely negative and sceptical book. It offers, along with its rejection of many of the great hopes which men have thought satisfying, its own contribution to the problem. This solution is not reached at the end, it appears again and again throughout the chapters, and is emphasized in opposition to the various unsatisfactory theories which are set up. It has a two-fold character,—one might almost say, a manward and a Godward side; perhaps better, a material and a spiritual element.

(1) Over against vain searching for the reason of things and empty striving after that which brings no comfort in its acquisition, the Preacher commends the renunciation of all these and enjoyment of that which is one's lot and portion in life. "Find satisfaction in that which it falls to you to do and receive," is his oft-repeated refrain. Whatever it be, it is to be accepted as from God and to be enjoyed with joy and gladness.[5] The spirit recoils on

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[1] 8:12,13. [2] 5:1-7. [3] 1:11; 2:16; 2:19; 3:3,19,21,22*b*; 4:16; 6:6; 7:14; 8:7,10; 9:2,5,6,10; 11:8. [4] 11:7. [5] 2:24; 3:12,13,22; 5:18; 8:15; 9:7-10; 11:9,10.

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itself, learning, after all its weary profitless round of travel over the earth, that happiness is found at its own door. The conclusion to which Koheleth has arrived is not materialistic as has been superficially thought. The essence of his thought is not the eating, the drinking and the rejoicing, but the fact that man may at least know this, that what does come to him, the labor that is given him to do, is *from God.* In view of that fact he may rejoice, he can rejoice, believing as he does in the divine providence. Yet even here Koheleth does not set great store by his solution. After having offered his modest remedy he adds, yet "this also is vanity and a striving after wind." He recognizes that the element of earthly material activity entering in makes even this not entirely satisfactory. Nothing commends his moral sanity and his wise insight more than this frank confession. Life cannot be summed up successfully and satisfyingly where material things form a part of the scheme.

(2) Hence he adds one more word which rounds out and elevates his philosophy. It, too, appears more than once in his discussion. It is simply this — Fear God.[1] At the end of his vain attempt to find satisfaction in the popular religion, he turns to that which lies at the basis of all religion which is to endure as strength to the heart of man. The scribe who appended the postscript to his book, rightly grasped the profoundest lesson of the Preacher when he gathered all up into what was to him "the end of the matter, 'Fear God'" — though with the true spirit of a scribe he added what Koheleth had rejected — "and keep his commandments."[2] This is the deepest and truest word that Koheleth has for us. There is not much enthusiasm or inspiration for the superficial hearer in this motto, but it has been the hope and strength of thoughtful and sober workers in many generations.

8. *The religious Value of Ecclesiastes.* The book cannot be called one of the attractive books of the Old Testament. To many it is almost repulsive. The Jewish church was divided respecting it. The Christian finds its tone far below, and its outlook far narrower than, the teachings of the gospel of him who "brought life and immortality to light." Still many noble men are enrolled among its students and admirers and there are elements in it which make it of permanent value to the moral and religious teaching of mankind.

(1) As long as there is suffering and oppression in the world and the divine justice and love are overlaid and lost in the confusion of human struggle, passion and sorrow, so long will Ecclesiastes continue to appeal to men. There is a pessimistic element in life. He who builds up his theory of humanity without it, will find that he has a defective theory. Undue optimism is in

[1] 5:7; 7:18; 8:12.

[2] Koheleth rejected this addition in so far as it represented the ideas of the popular legal religion of his day, which hedged up the way of life with prohibitions and scribal rules claiming divine authority.

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the end as weak and worthless as undue pessimism. These dark things of human existence did not go out of sight with the "year of our Lord." They are permanent facts, reappearing in social and individual life, and must be reckoned with. Koheleth bids us never overlook or slight them in marking out our pathway in the world.

(2) Koheleth himself is no mean man as he writes himself down before us. Above all things else he is thoroughly honest with himself and with the facts. He will see the worst, not glossing over manifest evils, not soothing himself with what he knows to be unsatisfying. He stands out nobly beside the religion of his time, which was only too ready to use any means to get its followers out of trouble, whether those means were fair or foul, true or false. Upon the highest truth of all that came within the range of his observation, the doctrine of immortality, he sadly but firmly turns his back. It is not for him, for he cannot make himself believe it. Intellectual and spiritual honesty and sincerity are taught on every page of Ecclesiastes.

(3) Because Koheleth was honest with himself, because he renounced every fair-seeming scheme which could not satisfy, he has struck out for us so many fruitful truths and stirred so many thoughtful minds to deeper reflection. He has therefore left on record for us, a testimony to the value of "honest doubt." If he had been satisfied with the intellectual presuppositions of the scribal doctrine and the ritual practices of the popular religion, we would have suffered the loss of a body of stimulating thought which we could ill afford to lose, and he would have fallen short of those high truths which finally braced his soul for the battle of life. Earnest skepticism is always near the fountain of truth. The skeptics of one age have been more than once the prophets of the age to come.

(4) Just as doubt is often the fruitful source of the discovery of truth, so is dissatisfaction the beginning of a search which leads into a higher and more enduring satisfaction. Such was Koheleth's experience. What if he had sunk back into the unmeaning forms of the temple-worship of his day, the round of observances which was the sum of religion! It was his unwillingness to stop short of a true and satisfying goal that led him on so far in his search. This is an elemental and uplifting fact of experience and nowhere has it a better illustration than in the book of Ecclesiastes.

(5) The two-fold conclusion to which Koheleth came still has its teaching for us. A life of renunciation and quietness, lived in the fear of God, how that contrasts with the hurry and worry of our present age! In investigation we need to be reminded that not all things are for us to know. The present generation may well cultivate a healthful agnosticism with Koheleth than to wear its heart out beating against the walls of unattainable truth. Both in practical life and in mental and spiritual exertion, it is no mistake from time to time to listen for his quiet, cool, impassioned word, Fear God, accept thy portion from him of labor, rejoice in it and be glad. "Be not righteous overmuch; neither make thyself over wise."

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Such a book as this was needed in the Sacred Library to meet and satisfy the mood of mind and heart into which all thoughtful persons at times fall, and out of which so much wisdom may be drawn, if one will but follow Koheleth to the end, and press on further to the higher light and fuller life for which he looked, but to which he could not attain.[1]

[1] There are several excellent helps for the study of the Book of Ecclesiastes. The Commentary on Ecclesiastes in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges is written by the late Dean Plumptre, and, though a comparatively small volume, is one of the best commentaries on any biblical book in the language. Canon Cheyne in "Job and Solomon, or the Wisdom of the Old Testament," gives one hundred pages (pp. 199-301) to Koheleth, written in his usual clear, somewhat discursive and wordy, but yet instructive, fashion. Driver's "Introduction" (pp. 436-449) packs a large amount of information into a brief space. The few pages given to Ecclesiastes in Kuenen's "Religion of Israel," vol. iii. pp. 90-95, are most profitable in suggestion, worth many volumes of other men. The article "Ecclesiastes" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* is also helpful.

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Exploration and Discovery.

SCIENTIFIC EGYPTOLOGY.

For scientific work in Egyptian, two distinct foundations are now indispensable: (1) The complete mastery of Coptic; (2) a good knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic and Assyrian.

At present Professor Erman, of Berlin, occupies a unique position in the department of Egyptology. Investigators before his time were satisfied with loose translations, loose rendering of meanings, and general inexactness. They recognized to a very slight extent the principles of grammar, and were entirely ignorant of syntax. In most cases they possessed but a smattering of Coptic. No distinction was made between the oldest and latest language. When Erman began, his first work was to distinguish periods of development in the Egyptian language. With a keenness which was very marked he began with the Coptic, which was, of course, the last phase of the dying language. He then took up the language of the "New Empire" (18th to 20th dynasties), and studied every line of its immense literature on the basis of which he wrote his *Neuägyptische Grammatik*, the first scientific grammar of the tongue containing a definite syntax, a thing undreamed of by earlier Egyptologists.

Going back still further, he took up the language of the "Middle Empire" (11th to 13th dynasties), and wrote a grammar on that period. On this foundation he now proceeded to the most difficult task of all; *i. e.*, the language of the "Old Empire" (4th to 6th dynasties). The grammar of this period has just been completed, and will appear within a few weeks. This great work has consumed fifteen years, during which he has also written the most complete Archæology that has yet been written, a marvel of correct detail. Erman seems to be to-day the only man in Europe who can translate an inscription with absolute grammatical exactness. Older men look askance at his results, and cling to their old, inexact methods. Erman's learning is very great, and there is still much to be hoped from him. By his efforts Egyptology has really become a science, and may now be studied from a philological point of view.

J. H. B.

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Synopses of Important Articles.

SOME POINTS IN THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. III. SOME SECONDARY FEATURES. By REV. PROF. V. H. STANTON, D.D., in *The Expositor* for April 1893, pp. 256–266.

The resemblances in substance, order, and language, broadly considered, between the first three gospels and the matter common to Matthew and Luke, but not found elsewhere, are certainly primary features of the synoptic problem. Not all others would be admitted by all to be secondary, but the following seem to be fairly so reckoned.

1. Recognizing that the first and third evangelists used a document substantially identical with our Mark, it still remains a question whether there was not some reciprocal action, by which Mark derived something from Matthew and Luke. Here we touch the question whether there was an original Mark different in any degree from our Mark.

2. The "doublets, repetitions, and inconsistencies," are reckoned by F. P. Badham as primary features, and his arguments merit attention. But as he has apparently gained no adherents as yet, it is evident that the doublets, etc. are not yet generally recognized as of primary importance. The whole argument, moreover, involves the inconsistency of assuming that doublets when occurring in the same work are a sign of difference of source, but when occuring in different works, must have come from the same source.

3. The discourse passages which being common to Mark and the other synoptists, more particularly Matthew, are briefer in Mark than in the other evangelists, merit special attention. Weiss does not, however, appear to have made any converts to his view, that these were derived by all the evangelists from the Logia. Indeed, this explanation is arbitrary and unattractive. A more probable explanation is, that Mark is here as elsewhere, original, but that the other two wove in additional matter from the other source, or substituted similar matter from that other source. The latter is indeed, for several reasons, more probable. But if so, then "the assumption which many critics are wont to make, that wherever there is identity of form in two of the gospels, there must be direct dependence upon one another, or upon a common document, is without foundation."

4. In sections common to all three of the synoptists, when two agree verbally as against a third, Mark is almost always one of the two. Yet exceptionally Matthew and Luke agree as against Mark. These are the crucial cases for deciding whether the third gospel is directly dependent on the first.

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Holtzmann at first explained them by reference to the original Mark, but has since abandoned that view. Weiss has recourse to the Logia. Simons bases on them an argument for a dependence of the third evangelist on the first gospel, but only by *reminiscence*, not by copying. But none of these views substantiate themselves. The phenomena are explicable by reference to three causes. (*a*) Accidental coincidence between the first and the third evangelists in their adaptation of Mark. (*b*) Tradition known to both, leading both to make the same modifications. (*c*) Assimilation by copyists, too early to be eliminated by textual criticism. These explanations are not offered as adequate of themselves to account for the great mass of close resemblances, amounting in some cases to identity, in the matter contained in Matthew and Luke. They may, however, modify our view of these parallels.

This article continues Professor Stanton's sober but forcible presentation of objections to the most popular current view of the synoptic problem. The chief interest of the present article is probably in its fourth point, and to many it will seem doubtful whether the causes which Professor Stanton names are adequate to account for the facts, yet it is certainly fair to recognize that the facts themselves are narrow in scope and quite exceptional in character. E. D. B.

PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY: III. THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS. By Rev. Professor A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor* for March, 1893.

Paul's success as a gentile apostle speedily precipitated a bitter conflict touching the question: Must heathen converts submit to Jewish rites in order to obtain the benefits of salvation and of fellowship with Christians of Hebrew extraction? The trouble began at the Jerusalem conference. The settlement then reached was neither radical nor final, and left room for misunderstandings, and for the development of opposite tendencies. The collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch revealed the existence of these tendencies. The controversy between Paul and the Judaists passed beyond circumcision to other questions of grave import. To set aside circumcision was virtually to annul the whole law, argued Paul's opponents; and this he admitted. Thereon the Judaists raised the question: Who is this man who dares to teach so blasphemous a doctrine against the law of Moses? He calls himself an apostle: what right has he to the name? He is not one of the twelve. None but they can authoritatively interpret the mind of the Lord. Paul could not shirk the question, but felt bound to show his authority. But that question disposed of, still another remained: On Paul's view of the law, what about the election of Israel? Could that be a true interpretation of Christianity which cancelled this? These three questions respecting the law, the apostolate, and the election, seem to mark distinct stages in the controversy. The Epistle to the Galatians is occupied predominantly with the first of these three themes, the two Epistles to the Corinthians with the second, and the Epistle to the Romans, in

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the matter peculiar to it, with the third. This may also be assumed to be the order in which these epistles were actually written.

The very first sentence in the Epistle to the Galatians shows that something had occurred to disturb the spirit of the writer. His independence and authority as a teacher had been assailed. After announcing the theme of the Epistle, salvation by grace and not by circumcision, 1:6–10, he sets himself in a very earnest way to demonstrate his entire freedom from all dependence on the other apostles, 1:11; 2:21. This personal defence may be regarded as parenthetical, but is very important in its bearing on the main design of the Epistle. It consists of three parts, the first showing that Paul was not indebted to the other apostles for his knowledge of Christ and of the gospel (1:11–24); the second, that he was in no wise controlled by them in regard to his preaching of the gospel (2:1–10); the third, that so far from any of the apostles prescribing to him what he should preach, he had remonstrated with Peter himself in regard to his inconsistency (2:11–21). This third division contains also an epitome of Paulinism. The main part of the Epistle, chapters 3–5, may be summed by three phrases: Legalism condemned, chapter 3; Christian liberty asserted, chapters 4:1–5:6; Abuse of Christian liberty censured, chapter 5:13–26. In proof of the first of these points Paul appeals to the experience of the Galatian converts (3:1–5), and to the history of Abraham (6–9), shows that the law brings only cursing (10–14), argues from the date of the Sinaitic legislation the superiority of the promise to the law (15–18), and exhibits the functions of the law (19–29). In proof of the second point he brings out the epoch-making significance of the advent of Jesus in the general religious history of the world, since with his advent commenced the era of grace, of liberty, of sonship, of the new humanity which is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, but all are one in Christ (4:1–5). This is one of the greatest thoughts in the whole range of Paulinism. It is plainly the duty of him who lives in this new era to enter into its spirit, and subjectively to realize its lofty ideal, to be free indeed, as a son of God arrived at his majority, and not to return again to bondage to the weak and beggarly elements, whether of Jewish legalism or of Pagan superstition, from which it was the very purpose of Christ's coming to redeem him (4:6–20). Paul commends his logical argument and pathetic appeal to the acceptance of his readers by the allegory of Sarah and Hagar and their sons. It is to be taken as poetry rather than logic, meant not so much to convince the reason as to captivate the imagination. With passionate earnestness this true son of the Jerusalem above, appeals once more to the Galatians to stand fast in their Christ-bought liberty, and not to become reintangled in a yoke of bondage, and warns them that that must be the inevitable effort of their submitting to the rite of circumcision (5:1–4). Then follows a brief, sententious statement of the healthy normal Christian attitude on all such questions as were in debate (5–6). On the apostle's warning against the abuse of liberty, little need be said. He traces the source of abuse to the *flesh* and finds the antidote in

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walking in the Spirit (chapter 5 : 13–26). After the speech to Peter, the postscript (6 : 11–17) is the most characteristic thing in the Epistle. The sentiments are as unmistakably Pauline as the penmanship. Here is no elaborate reasoning, whether of the ex-rabbi or of the theological doctor, but abrupt, impassioned, prophetic utterances of deepest convictions.

A remarkably luminous exposition of the leading features of the great controversy precipitated in the early church by Paul's work among the gentiles. From this point of view the writer presents an admirable analysis of the Epistle to the Galatians and of Paul's apologetic in behalf of Christian liberty and against legal bondage. Any student of the New Testament would confer a lasting benefit on himself by procuring this series of articles for detailed study. P. A. N.

ISRAEL IN EGYPT. By Prof. C. H. TOY, in *The New World*, March, 1893, pp. 121–141.

Israel is no exception to the rule, that ancient peoples know little or nothing trustworthy of their beginnings. The narratives cannot be regarded as properly historical since the earliest of them dates from the ninth century, and we have no knowledge of trustworthy written documents behind them. The patriarchal history, when analyzed, shows that it is a late construction of tradition, partly legendary, out of harmony with succeeding history. The descent of Jacob into Egypt is part of this legendary story. The Egyptian coloring in Genesis is explicable from the knowledge of Egypt probably possessed by the writer in the eighth or ninth centuries.

The national history of Israel really begins with Exodus. The Egyptian residence and escape has been regarded as the force which moulded the nation into form. Is there any evidence to substantiate this view? What influence on Israelitish life and thought was exercised by Egypt? The strength of the tradition preserved in the Old Testament is proof that the Israelites did dwell for a time on the border of Egypt. But for Abraham's Egyptian sojourn there is little proof, as Abraham's person is at present an unsolved problem. That Jacob and his family descended into Egypt contains a germ of historic truth, but in Goshen the Hebrew tribes were still in a very loose, nomadic condition. Moses did in some sense organize them, but there can have been little systematic or thorough-going organization, for the Book of Judges is against any such assumption. There is little light on what tribes of Israel were in Goshen, probably none in their later form. The hints in the Bible favor growth by a mixture of tribes and peoples.

Outside the Bible there is little satisfactory information. The "Aperu" of the monuments is too doubtful. The identification of Egyptian cities like Pithom is of little service. It only allows that the Hebrews were pressed into service by Egypt, were a subject race, but adds nothing to our knowledge of their social and religious condition. Manetho's narrative is equally obscure. The religious movement of Amenhotep IV., ascribed to Semitic influences,

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can have had nothing to do with the Hebrews. The use of "Yaudu" and "Chabiru" in the Tel Amarna despatches, is as yet too uncertain to make it available, likewise the terms Joseph-El and Jacob-El in the list of Totmes III. Thus the information from all sources is scanty and indefinite. The pre-Canaanite period of Hebrew history can hardly be reconstructed. Thus the narrative of the "Exodus" has an historical interest for the times when the narrative was written down, but hardly for the events of which it treats. The "Exodus" was important as the beginning of a national life for Israel, but it did not probably differ from the other nomadic movements of the time. Chronology cannot give any satisfactory answer as to its date, or, indeed, as to the date of any of the pre-Canaanite Egyptian relations of Israel.

As nomads on the borders of Egypt, the Israelite tribes had no effective intellectual, or religious intercourse with Egypt. It is doubtful whether they spoke or understood the Egyptian language. Certainly their religious conceptions were different. As the nation developed later we find no place for Egyptian religious influences. Neither the bull-worship of Jeroboam, nor the statements of Ezekiel 8:10, really show the presence of Egyptian ideas. Likewise there is little probability of the Egyptian origin of the tribe of Levi, or of the Ark, or of the "urim and thummim." Moreover, the differences between the two religions appear in the monotheistic idea, which in Egypt was the possession of the few, while in Israel it appears in the worship of Jehovah as national god. The absence of any developed idea of the future life in Israel, compared with the highly wrought out doctrine among the Egyptians, favors a similar conclusion. Egypt, therefore, did not discernibly affect Hebrew religious thought, or definitely influence the beginnings of the Israelitish religion.

Most students would conclude that this article does not do justice to the patriarchal history of the Hebrews. Abraham, even when treated on the strictest scientific principles, yields to Kittel, for example, something more than a negative unsolved problem. To be sure, it is better to be thoroughly honest than to bend from the truth in the interest of apologetics. Yet there is danger sometimes of being too doubtful, of enveloping everything in a mist of uncertainty and indefiniteness, as seems to be the case here. To come to the main topic of discussion; on *a priori* grounds it is reasonable to conclude that the Hebrews could not have lived so long, even on the borders of Egypt, and not have been influenced by its higher civilization. This conclusion is seen to have a good deal in its favor when the details of the biblical narratives relating to Egypt are carefully examined. The ninth century writer of Genesis was exceedingly familiar with the Egyptian life and customs of a thousand or twelve hundred years before his time. Was such knowledge as this common in Israel, and yet did no influences from Egypt enter there? The religious differences mentioned by Professor Toy are striking, and as far as they go, conclusive, though they are too few to afford any strong argument for his position. While the article as a whole is lucid and informing, the reader feels that the subject is too large to receive just and adequate treatment in the space which could be devoted to it in an article of twenty pages.

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Notes and Opinions.

Galilee.—This is the subject of an interesting article by Geo. Adam Smith, in the March *Expositor*. After considering the physical characteristics of the province he treats of three influences of the political geography: (1) the neighborhood of classic scenes of Hebrew history; (2) the great world-roads that crossed the province; (3) the surrounding heathen civilization. Of supreme interest, however, is the village of Nazareth. Owing to the silence of the gospel narrative on the childhood and youth of Jesus, Nazareth has been represented by many writers as a secluded and obscure village. On the contrary, it was not far from the large roads that traversed the land, and was thus in close touch with the Roman world.

"The chief lesson that Nazareth has for us is the possibility of a pure home and a spotless youth in the very face of the evil world." T. H. R.

Stevens's Pauline Theology.—A review of this important book was given in our May number. We quote below from a review by Dr. Marcus Dods, in the April number of the *Critical Review*: "In expounding the system of Paul, Professor Stevens exhibits not only ample knowledge of his subject, but marked ability. He possesses fairness of mind and soundness of judgment, and a faculty of lucid exposition. There is nothing hasty or crude, nothing of the partisan or polemic, in the volume. Not so original as Sabatier or Pfleiderer, Professor Stevens is as independent as either, and gives us on the whole, a surer hold of Paul's thought. Without the passages of brilliant exegesis which delight the reader of Pfleiderer, the volume from Yale carries conviction by its equable sobriety and insight, and it may fairly be ranked with the very best Pauline literature. . . . Our first business is to ascertain what exactly Paul does teach; what these expressions meant for him, and what inferences he himself drew from them. Professor Stevens does much to promote this work, but occasionally his account of Paul's meaning seems colored by non-Pauline ideas. This, however, while it no doubt somewhat lessens the value of the volume, will not prevent it from being accepted as a standard work on the subject, and on the whole, as the truest presentation we have of the Pauline Theology." T. H. R.

"Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not."—In the *Expository Times* for April, is a most admirable exposition of 1 John, 3:4–8, by the late Professor Richard Rothe, D.D. We quote only a few words on the above passage. "If in Christ there is no sin then naturally neither can he sin who is abidingly

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in Christ. Only in consequence of a falling away from fellowship with Christ would sinning be possible for a Christian. . . . The impression which the actual beholding of Christ produces upon us is an impression which separates us completely from sin. If such a separation from sin does not take place, either the Christ beheld is not the truly historical Christ, or the beholding of Christ is not a real beholding; it is not really the mind eye of the spirit that has been directed towards him; the beholder has been satisfied with a merely external glance. The understanding of Christ, the intelligent knowledge of him which is the natural consequence of inwardly beholding him, intensifies that impression. Just as our feeling receives from Christ the direct impression that he forms the absolute antithesis to sin, so it becomes clearer to our understanding, the more it occupies itself with sin as its object, that through him there has appeared for us also a necessary separation from sin. It is therefore, of the utmost importance that we grow in this comprehension of Christ. It is altogether characteristic of Christ that the comprehension of him is incompatible with sin in the person that beholds him. This fact throws special light upon the perfect uniqueness of the Redeemer. Our Christianity must, therefore, take a radical bent towards the person of Christ; we must not let it consist in a Christian doctrine." T. H. R.

The Book of Enoch and the New Testament.— the Book of Enoch is of special interest to the student of the life of Christ, inasmuch as in this book the expected Messiah is described under the title, Son of Man,—the term used by Jesus of himself as the Messiah. Hence, several questions present themselves. Was Jesus familiar with the Book of Enoch? Did he borrow the title from this book? Did the conception of the Messiah in Enoch influence at all his conception of himself as the Messiah? How is the term used in Enoch, and how in the New Testament?

The Rev. R. H. Charles, M.A., Oxford, considers briefly this general subject in the April *Expository Times* under the heading, "Messianic Doctrine of the Book of Enoch and its Influence on the New Testament." We first consider certain opinions concerning the origin and meaning of the term as used by Jesus, as that of Meyer, who holds to its origin in Daniel, and its meaning as given there; Schleiermacher, who considered it to be equivalent to "the ideal man;" Bartlet in his recent article in *The Expositor* (Dec. '92), who would subsume under it the conception of the Servant of Jehovah in Isaiah. According to Mr. Charles, the meaning of the term as used by Jesus is a synthesis of the conception of the supernatural Messiah as found in Enoch, and of the conceptions of the Servant of Jehovah, as found in Isaiah. Jesus borrowed the title from Enoch, where were attached to it the supernatural attributes of superhuman glory, and universal dominion, and supreme judicial power. "Whilst therefore in adopting the title, the Son of Man, from Enoch, Jesus made from the outset supernatural claims, yet the supernatural claims were to be vindicated not after the external Judaistic conceptions of the Book of

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Enoch, but in a revelation of the Father in a sinless and redemptive life, death, and resurrection. Thus in the life of the actual Son of Man, the Father was revealed in the Son, and supernatural greatness in universal service. He that was greatest was likewise Servant of all." Mr. Charles, as is thus seen, holds with the best criticism to the pre-Christian origin of Enoch. He agrees with Meyer in taking John 12:34 to indicate that the term Son of Man was generally understood as a title for the Messiah. Dan. 7 is regarded as the ultimate source of the designation.

We, ourselves, are inclined to think that the use of the title Son of Man by Jesus, was suggested by Daniel rather than by Enoch, and that sufficient weight has not yet been given to the influence of the Daniel passage. It is not clear that the term was in the days of Jesus a generally understood title for the Messiah. In considering the subject, two questions must be kept in some measure distinct, viz: What was Jesus' conception of himself? What was his use of this term? T. H. R.

The Gospel of Peter.—Three important works on the "Gospel of Peter" have already appeared; one in London, by Robinson and James, another in Paris, by Lods, and the third in Leipzig, by Harnack. In the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* of Leipzig, Bratke has recently reviewed these, substantially as follows:

Thus far all who have written about the newly discovered Gospel of Peter are agreed that it is the same writing that is mentioned in Eusebius H. E. VI. 12. Hitherto it has been supposed that the first mention of it was in the writings of Serapion (about 200 A. D.), quoted by Eusebius. Harnack and Lods, quite independently of each other, have shown that it is very probable that it was known to Justin Martyr, who included it among the memorabilia of which he speaks. There are still several questions in regard to the text that can not be answered until the *fac simile* of the MS. is published, and even then there will probably be room for conjectures.

As to the character and sources of this new gospel, there is not the same agreement. Robinson regards it as the work of a heretic who derived all his historical materials from our four canonical gospels. These materials, however, he consciously changed and colored in accordance with his docetic views. It is, therefore, a heretical work, and must have been regarded as such by the church from its first appearance.

Lods thinks that the author derived his knowledge from the gospels of Matthew and Mark, possibly also from that of Luke; but probably he did not use the Gospel of John. It is a "tendency" writing; the particular purpose of the author can generally be discovered in each change that he makes. This gospel, therefore, gives us no new trustworthy information.

On the other hand, Harnack regards it as of some independent value. He thinks it probable that the author knew and used the Gospel of Mark, perhaps, also, that of John. He did not use the Gospel of Matthew, but knew the

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same set of traditions which the author of the Gospel of Matthew worked into his gospel. Its relation to the Gospel of Luke is not clear. Harnack thinks it possible, however, that the Gospel of Peter is not dependent on any of the canonical gospels, but the author drew his materials from the great stream of traditions and stories which was then still being constantly added to, and much of which was not yet committed to writing. While it seems to have been written with a "tendency," it is nevertheless on the whole an independent attempt to write the history of Jesus, and therefore has some historical value. Although it is docetic, it was at the time not felt to be heretical, because, among the Christians of all classes, docetic views were then widely prevalent. They had not yet been stamped as heretical.

This gospel knows nothing of an appearance of the risen Lord to the women or to any one else until the 21st of Nisan. The disciples were so frightened that they stole away to Galilee, where, one week after the crucifixion, they had the first vision of the risen Messiah. It shows very close relationship to the Gospel of Mark, and possibly used the now lost ending of that gospel.

The author of this gospel shows a great fondness for miracles. Almost everything is exaggerated into the miraculous. He treats his materials in the freest way. He is not in the least bound to the letter of the canonical gospels, but changes everything to suit his purpose.

The Gospel of Peter agrees with that of John in saying that Jesus was crucified on the 14th of Nisan, but contains other things which are contradictory to statements of John's Gospel. Unfortunately, therefore, the literary relations of the two writings can not be determined.

It contains several new traits and details; many little things not contained in our canonical gospels. Among other things, it contains a reference to the so-called descent into hell. It brings together the resurrection and ascension, and represents them as *one* act, not separated by the space of forty days. While this differs from the accounts in the Acts, it agrees with the earliest Christian belief. Paul never separates the ascension from the resurrection, but speaks of them as one act. The source of these new statements is yet to be discovered.

Bratke thinks it did not originate in the circles to which we owe the preservation of the best type of Christianity, and therefore it can not be regarded as a new source of knowledge about the condition of the "Great Church" in the first half of the second century. It is, after all, a tendency writing, and only adds fresh proof that our four canonical gospels have preserved to us the best traditions about the work of Jesus. It was probably produced among the heathen-Christian docetic-encratitic circles of Syria, which afterwards developed into a heretical sect, and separated themselves from the great church. It was written in the first third of the second century. O. J. T.

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Work and Workers.

THE valuable series of books, The Records of the Past, will be closed with Vol. VI, recently issued.

A NEW chair, devoted to Assyriology and Comparative Religion, has been established at the Chicago Theological Seminary. Professor E. T. Harper, Ph.D., has been appointed its first occupant.

CROWELL AND CO. will soon publish a translation of "The Theology of the Old Testament," by Pastor Piepenbring, of Strassburg. The translation is made by Professor Mitchell, of Boston University.

REV. ROBERT F. HORTON, of London, the well known author of "Revelation and the Bible," has delivered the Yale lectures on Preaching this year. He is here only for the short time necessary to give these lectures.

DR. SAMUEL COX, the first editor of *The Expositor*, is recently dead. He was a voluminous writer on theological subjects, and also published commentaries on Job, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, etc. His eschatological views led, some years ago, to the severance of his connection with *The Expositor*.

PROFESSOR SAYCE reports from Egypt the discovery of an inscription which he believes to be the long-sought writing and language of Lydia. It is cut in the rocks at Silsilis, and consists of two lines of large, finely cut characters. As the rock below has been quarried out, it is possible that the inscription originally consisted of more lines.

Biblia presents a portrait, in the April number, of Dr. Edouard Naville, with a brief sketch of his work. He is said to be more familiar with the Egyptian hieroglyphics than any other man living. Miss Amelia Edwards said of him, "When we remember that every temple in Egypt was a great stone book, and when we also remember that every line in these great stone books is read by M. Naville as easily as we read the columns of the daily papers, you may perceive for yourselves how vast an accession to the great religious and historical history of Egypt we are likely to owe to his labor."

To many, the question of how to obtain good biblical maps is a difficult problem. The maps of the Palestine Exploration Fund are now to be made more accessible to the American public by being placed in the hands of the map dealers, G. W. Colton & Co. These maps, based on the surveys undertaken by the Fund, are the most perfect in existence. We also notice that a new map of Egypt has been published by the Oxford Map Publishers, Ohio, which is

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said to be accurate and up to date. The longer one studies the Bible, the more impressed he is with the value of maps as an aid. The American Institute of Sacred Literature realizes this, and is now supplying to its examination classes in the second part of Acts, a small map of Paul's journeys, for constant use with the studies.

AN evidence of the increased interest in Comparative Religion is furnished by the announcement from Ginn & Co. of a series of handbooks on the History of Religions. The series will be edited by Professor Jastrow, and will consist of the following volumes: The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, by Professor Jastrow; The Religion of Egypt, by Mrs. Stevenson; The Religion of Israel, by Professor Peters; The Religion of India, by Professor Hopkins; The Religion of Persia, by Prof. Jackson; Introduction to the History of Religions, by Professor Toy; The Religion of the Ancient Teutons, by Professor de La Saussaye. Each volume will include, in addition to the bare history, a consideration of the relation of the religion to other religions, a bibliography, and account of the sources, while maps and illustrations will add to the value of each volume. Other volumes besides those mentioned above will be added later to the series.

DR. ALEXANDER KOHUT, the author of a recent Talmudic Lexicon of vast proportions, is an example of the power of labor directed to one end. When scarcely more than a boy he decided on this great work. He is a Hungarian Jew, and in his thirteenth year discovered that the best book then known on the subject, R. Nathan's Arukh, was full of errors. So astonished and pained was the lad at this discovery, that he then decided to prepare a complete lexicon of his own. The remarkable thing is that he kept his resolve. He studied under the best masters, then worked at his gigantic task for twenty-five years before he saw its completion. The work was completed in New York, where he was minister of the Temple Ahavath Chesid. The money of wealthy American Jews has helped provide for the publication of these nine volumes. The work is printed entirely in unpointed Hebrew, except where etymologies or references require the use of some other language.

A COMPANY of translators have been at work in England for some time in the endeavor to produce a translation of the New Testament into the English of to-day. The aim is to make a translation which shall be idiomatic modern English, and at the same time not unfaithful to the Greek. They say that missionaries have given scores of nations a Bible in their living languages, while we ourselves have only a Bible that is in diction three hundred years old. Arrangements are now being made to enlist a company of American translators in the work. The following are the rules under which the work is being done: (1) The version is to be a translation, not a revision or a paraphrase. (2). The language to be as simple as is consistent with accuracy, all words and idioms not in common use being, as far as possible, excluded. (3).

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The ordinary common usage to be followed in printing dialogues, quotations, etc. (4). The Greek text to be that of the 1891 edition of Westcott and Hort.

AN ARTICLE in the *Independent* reviews, in an interesting way, the half-century existence of the American Oriental Society. It calls attention to the great increase in Oriental studies since the origin of this society. When, in 1810, Moses Stuart went to Andover as Professor of Biblical Literature, he knew the Hebrew alphabet only, and had read very little of the text. He did not know the vowels, having used an unpointed text. Now the Oriental scholars of America equal in numbers those of any other country. During the first years of the Society, the papers of its journal were almost entirely contributed by missionaries. In fact, it was stated in an early inaugural address, that the journal was to provide a place for the publication of papers by them. The second era of the Society was one of Sanskrit study, under the leadership of Professor Whitney, the veteran scholar of Yale. After this came the era of Semitic study, which now holds the field. Not that the Indo-Germanic studies command less attention or have less interest than in the days when scholars were looking toward Sanskrit as the key to new treasuries of linguistic relationship, but that Semitic scholarship has taken its proper place in the linguistic study of the country. The rapidity with which it has sprung into existence has made it almost a romance, while the interest lent to it by studies relating to biblical fields gives it an interest to the general cultured public that no mere linguistic investigation can ever hope to command.

IN *The Sunday School Times* of April 22 appears an article of interest from the discoverer of the newly-found Syriac Gospels. The discoverer is a woman, Mrs. Lewis, of Cambridge, from whom the manuscript will be called the Lewis Codex. The manuscript is a palimpsest, bearing many resemblances to the Curetonian, and probably one of the oldest yet known, dating, says Professor Harris, from at least the sixth century. Mrs. Lewis, with her sister, both travelers and scholars of no small experience, went to the famous convent of Mt. Sinai in the spring of 1892. They took with them photographic apparatus, and had in view the photographing of whatever Syriac manuscripts in the library might seem to be of value. It was while prosecuting this work that they found the Syriac Gospels. The book of one hundred and seventy-eight leaves was glued together by some greasy substance, and had to be separated with care. Realizing that the find was of value, she photographed the whole of the volume. On their return to England, the plates were examined by Syriac scholars, and some pages transcribed. Later, they returned to the convent, accompanied by Professor Harris, Professor Bensly, and Mr. Barkitt, where, for more than a month, they worked on the manuscript from sunrise to sunset. Much of it was very difficult to decipher, but large portions of it have been transcribed. Thus another gift has been bestowed on scholarship by the musty library of the old fortress-convent of Mount Sinai.

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Book Reviews.

The Blood Covenant: A Primitive Rite. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL. Second Edition, with a Supplement. Philadelphia: John D. Wattles. 1893.

The pleasure of reviewing in *The Old Testament Student*, Dec., 1885, the first edition of this remarkable book is still vivid in memory. The lapse of years has left no disposition to abate a word from the hearty praise then given it. The first edition was soon exhausted. The second was delayed by the author's desire to fortify several controverted positions by fuller proof. Circumstances beyond his control hindered the execution of this purpose until the present time. The original work is now enlarged by a supplement of twenty-eight pages, in which additional evidence is adduced to meet several objections to the validity of the main argument. Further investigations in this fresh and marvellously suggestive field of primitive covenants, enable the author to promise at an early day another volume on the Name Covenant, The Covenant of Salt, and The Threshold Covenant. This work will be awaited with great interest. P. A. N.

Among Many Witnesses. A Book for Bible Students. By Evangelist M. B. WILLIAMS. Second Edition. Chicago: Revell Co., 1892, pp. 231.

A small book of an entirely popular character and style, pleasant to read, and in accordance with current church views of the matters discussed. In a brief, general way the many questions which arise about the Bible have been touched upon. The different chapters treat of opinions [about the Bible], its History, Its Structure, Brief Sketches of the Old and New Testament Books, Thoughts on the Great Controversy [against the Bible], and a practical Conclusion. The book is not characterized by any considerable breadth of scholarship. Inexcusably gross language is used to describe the sincere adverse critics of the Bible (pp. 43, 225). The Book of Job is held (p. 19) to have been written by Job himself, a contemporary of the patriarchs, about 1893 B. C. The epistles of James and Jude are said to have been written by James the son of Alpheus (the apostle) and his brother Jude, who were brothers of Jesus (p. 138, differently on p. 127). These three citations indicate the general tenor of the book. The typography of the work is deficient; proper names are frequently misspelled (pp. 49, 50, 121), as well as common words.

The books on the subject of biblical introduction which from time to time appear from the hands of our evangelists are unsatisfactory; such works, to

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be of value, must be prepared by Christian scholars. We have trustworthy books, and they should be used and recommended, *e. g.* Ladd's "*What is the Bible?*" and Dods's "*New Testament Introduction*," covering satisfactorily the ground of the book by Mr. Williams. C. W. V.

The City and the Land. London and New York: Macmillan & Co, pp. 234.

This little book is the course of seven lectures delivered in London last year, under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund. It is the more valuable as being an attempt to popularize the best results of the Society's work through the medium of lectures by the men who have themselves wrought in its work. The names of the lecturers are a sufficient guarantee of the value of their work — Wilson, Conder, Tristram, Besant, Wright, Petrie, Dalton. In the first lecture Sir Charles Wilson takes ground with Ferguson in placing the site of Solomon's temple, not on the traditional spot, but in the southwest corner of the *Haram Esh Sherif*, or temple area. This position, which very few scholars hold, is combatted incidentally in the following lecture by Major Conder. Conder's conceptions of the future of Palestine are interesting. He discusses the Jewish colonies lately settled there, and is hopeful for their future. He urges the construction of a railway from Haifa to Damascus, passing down the valley of the Jezreel and crossing the Jordan, thence reaching the plains of Bashan by the valley of the Yarmuk, whence it would follow the Roman road to Damascus. Two different sides of what might be called the romance of scholarship are given. One is the story of the vicissitudes of the Society, as told by the secretary, Walter Besant. The other is "the story of a 'tell,'" in which the discoverer of Lachish, Mr. Petrie, relates the exploration of this now historic mound of the Palestine plain. It would well repay anyone who hopes to visit Palestine to read the final lecture, "The Modern Traveler in Palestine." He will find much excellent advice. Not less valuable are the lectures on the Hittites and the Natural History of Palestine. The latter is of special interest as a study of the geographical distribution of fauna, in a country which is almost a natural laboratory for such study. The great thing which is lacking to this admirable little book is a map, especially a plan of Jerusalem, to accompany the first lecture.

I. F. W.

Bible Studies. Readings in the Early Books of the Old Testament with Familiar Comment, given in 1878–79. By HENRY WARD BEECHER; edited, from the stenographic notes of T. J. Ellinwood, by Jno. R. Howard. New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert, 1893. Pp. 438. Price, $1.50.

Mr. Beecher was a student of the Scriptures. He was not however a critic of the first order. During the successive years of his ministry he occasionally gave a series of sermons on various topics connected with the Bible. Among these was one on themes connected especially with the earlier records

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of the Old Testament. Some of these have been gathered from the notes of his stenographer and issued in the present volume. They cover twenty different discourses from Genesis through the book of Ruth, and deal with the most prominent figures and events during these periods. The first two discourses are treatments of "The Inspiration of the Bible" and "How to Read the Bible." Mr. Beecher of course did not believe in the current verbal or even in the so-called plenary inspiration of the Scripture. But he firmly believed in the supernatural and divine element of the Bible. He gives an able presentation of what he conceives a doctrine of inspiration should embody. The second discourse on "How to Read the Bible" is not so satisfactory. After spending considerable time on methods of interpretation of the Scriptures, he advises the reader, without reference to creed or belief, to read the Book of Proverbs, to mark it with special reference to his own life. He should note with pencil the rules and maxims of the book which he has already adopted and followed, those which he is willing and ready to adopt, and those which at present he is not able to follow. The paper closes with an appeal to the reader to spend his time on the maxims of this book. Later on he will deal with other topics for the same reader. His discourses following this take up the Book of Beginnings, or Genesis; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, the Emancipation, etc., etc. Mr. Beecher found myth, legend and tradition in many of the early accounts of the Old Testament. Difficulties were thus easily disposed of, and absolute freedom is manifest in interpretation. The directness, the simplicity and the comprehensive conception of the writer are apparent on every page. His discourses are not merely rhetoric, not mere flourishes of expression, but have a purpose in view. They are aimed at the life of the listener. He endeavors, apparently at every point, not only to brush away error but to lift up man, to ennoble his life and to lead him into a higher aspiration. Though one cannot agree with him at every point, nor adopt his interpretations through and through, still there is an inspiration and a strength in his discourses which elevate and ennoble. While these Bible Studies add little if anything to our information concerning the topics with with which they deal, still they are suggestive and inspiring treatments of the themes which they discuss. They present in narrative form material which the general Bible student will be sure to enjoy. PRICE.

The Problem of Jesus. By GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN, D.D., LL.D. Revised edition. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1892. 12 mo., pp. 36.

This is a very remarkable book. Few men of our generation, other than its accomplished author, could have produced it. It sets forth in condensed and forcible form the argument for the acceptance of Jesus Christ, based on his *personality*, his *religion*, and his *influence*. The exposition of these three elements of the "problem of Jesus" is in itself a cumulative argument carried into

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hundred of items, yet so compactly stated as to be included in the compass of a few pages. This argument is the obverse and the complement of the historical argument as set forth, for example, in Fisher's *Supernatural Origin of Christianity*. Or perhaps it would be more exact to say that it represents one of the three pillars of the evidence of Christianity, the other two being represented respectively by such works as Professor Fisher's book, just named, and Professor Stearns's *Evidence of Christian Experience*. There is room for all these. Each represents a legitimate line of argument, each in its way indispensable. Yet it is perhaps not too much to say that the argument of Dr. Boardman's book is peculiarly adapted to the temper of our own day, while its brevity still further commends it to those busy men and women to whom we judge it is especially addressed.

It may be heartily commended to all who wish to deal fairly with the question, Who is Jesus, and what should be my attitude towards him? E. D. B.

The Gospel of Matthew in Greek. Edited by ALEXANDER KERR and HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Professors in the University of Wisconsin. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1892. 12 mo., pp. 25×116. Price $1.00.

This book has some excellent features. Its lists of quotations in Matthew from the Old Testament, of passages peculiar to Matthew, of words peculiar to Matthew, of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα in Matthew, its examples of Hebraism, and its historical and geographical indexes are all useful. Barring a few misprints in the Greek, its mechanical execution is good. It would be a convenient book for New Testament classes in college or academy. We should be glad to believe that its publication is a sign that there is to be more and better study of the Greek Testament in these institutions. It is probable that the authors would have made a more salable and perhaps a more useful book, if they had done either more or less. In its present form, though it contains some things useful to the advanced student, he will hardly purchase it for the sake of these, since they are, for the most part, accessible to him already, and perhaps even more because he will be repelled by the evidently elementary character of the book as a whole. If, on the other hand, it was intended for the beginner in the study of the Greek Testament, its value to him would have been but little diminished if some portions of the introduction had been omitted, and if even at the sacrifice of some of the mechanical beauty its bulk and its cost had been reduced by one-half. The section on the original language of Matthew is so inadequate as to be misleading. It would better have been omitted altogether. E. D. B.

Pleas and Claims for Christ. By Rev. H. S. HOLLAND, M.A., Canon Residentiary and Precentor of St. Paul's. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892, pp. 323.

This is a volume of sermons, nineteen in all, the first ten offering pleas to

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the mind and imagination in behalf of the Christian Faith, the remainder presenting the claims of Christianity over the moral and practical life. The themes, based upon well-chosen texts, are all useful and attractive, the treatment of them is skilful, vigorous, and influential, *e. g.* The Witness of Christ, The Demand for Results, The Function of the Gospel, Social Responsibilities, The Limits of Speed. The texts, with two exceptions from Isaiah, are all taken from the New Testament, six of them from the Fourth Gospel. One must choose between the many books of published sermons, all meritorious, and all useful. It can hardly be said that this volume has particular claims to attention, but it is an excellent work. C. W. V.

Our Lord's Signs in St. John's Gospel. Discussions chiefly Exegetical and Doctrinal on the Eight Miracles in the Fourth Gospel. By JOHN HUTCHISON, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1892, pp. 237.

The author has already published two books of value, treating of Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and the Philippians. This volume is prepared from a similar point of view, being chiefly an exposition of the eight miracles narrated in the Fourth Gospel. He rightly regards them as having a larger and more vital significance than do the miracles as recorded in the synoptic gospels. Then, from this standpoint, he sets forth, with painstaking care and exact exegesis, the circumstances and the meaning of each of the eight miracles, giving in each case (1) the exposition, (2) the significance of the "sign." In a masterly way it is shown that the miracles cited by John are actual parables, embodiments of spiritual doctrine and truth.

Nothing strikingly new has been added to the view or the information of the subject,—probably that would have been too much to expect, considering the exhaustive studies in this field by Trench, Bruce, and others. Some of the conclusions arrived at on disputed points might not win acceptance. But the treatise is a very able, interesting and valuable one. It should stand on the shelves with the other first-rate books upon the miracles of Christ.

C. W. V.

The Life of Jesus Critically Examined. By Dr. DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by George Eliot. Second Edition, in one volume. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1892, pp. 784. $4.50.

This is the famous work put out by Strauss in 1835, with the comparatively few alterations incident to the several editions, and translated by England's great novelist. Of the work itself nothing need be said. It was an epoch-making book, and did much to bring about the present advanced knowledge concerning the life of Christ. It has been outgrown; its importance is historical, not practical. Yet it will be valuable to the education of the individual judgment, for the individual mind must pass through stages of opinion and knowledge such as the race itself has previously emerged from. A man

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must know what has been, in order to understand what is, and to think out what should be. This is the sufficient reason for reissuing Strauss's Life of Jesus.

The work is in one large volume, rather small but clear print, and finely made. An index would have been a happy addition to the original. No other edition of the book will prove so serviceable. There has been wisdom exercised in reproducing this original work, with its independence and its historic significance, rather than the *New Life of Jesus* which Strauss put out a generation later, with marked modifications.

The interest and value of this particular edition is greatly enhanced by an introduction by Professor Pfleiderer. He justifies the re-publication of this monumental work of Strauss, discusses its historical importance, exhibits with acumen the weaknesses of Strauss's position, and gives an account of the subsequent development of the Strauss school of New Testament historic criticism. He regards Keim's Life of Jesus as "the best representation of the present condition of our knowledge of the life of Jesus." C. W. V.

The Acts of the Apostles. Vol. II. Expositor's Bible Series. By Rev. G. T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin. New York: Armstrong & Son, 1892, pp. 16+480. $1.50.

The first volume of this expository work preceded this one by about a year, and was highly commended for its good style, practical character, and scholarship. The second volume concludes the treatment of the Acts, covering chaps. 9-28, a somewhat uneven apportionment of the material, and also of the history. The effect of this is apparent in Dr. Stokes's presentation of chaps. 21-26, the outlines of which are barely sketched; Paul's trial before the Sanhedrim is given *five* lines (p. 429). This compression can not but be a matter of regret. It was evidently necessitated by imperfect calculation at the start.

The many features of the first volume appear again in the second—learned notes, apologetic argument, abundant illustration, frequent and long digressions with reference to current parties and problems in the English Church, and good homiletic treatment of the Acts. The discussion of the Jerusalem Conference is excellent. Exception must be taken to Dr. Stokes's view that Paul was tried at Athens before the Court of Areopagus (pp. 309-310). He understands that it was Aquila who took the vow (p. 333), and that Eutychus had merely fainted (p. 403). The volume is in the excellent typography of the series, and has a fair index. A few blemishes of style, more expressive than elegant, occur, *e.g.*, "Barnabas in plain language wished to perpetrate a job in favor of a member of his family" (p. 254, by the way, also, an unfortunate statement of the case), and "St. Paul did not let things slide, trusting in the Divine care alone" (p. 444).

The two volumes form an attractive and useful aid to the study of the Book of the Acts, for popular purposes. C. W. V.

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Current Literature.

By Clyde W. Votaw,
The University of Chicago.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Books and Pamphlets.

Homiletical Commentary on the Book of Exodus. By Rev. J. S. Exell. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. $3.00.

Ueber den Einfluss der Psalmen auf die Christliche Liturgie und Hymnologie mit steter Rücksichtname auf talmudisch-midrashische Literatur. By Rabbi M. Grünwald. 4 Heft. Frankfurt a M.: Kauffman, 1893. M. 2.

Le Livre de la sagesse et les Psaumes cix-cxvi. allegoriquement expliques. Précédés d'une introduction par le vicomte François de Salignac Fénelon. By Prosper Le Blanc d'Ambonne. Nantes: Grimand, 1893.

De Poetische Boeken des Ouden Verbonds. [Historisch-critisch Onderzoeknaar het ontstaan en de vezameling van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds, nitgeven door J. C. Matthes.] 1. Stuk. De Poëzie en de Gnomische Geschriften. By A. Kuenen. Leiden: Engels, 1893. 2.60fl.

Präparationen zum Alten Testament. Zum Gebrauch für die Schule und den Privatunterricht. By W. and Marx Freund. 7 Abt. 1 Heft. Präparation zu Jeremia cap. 1-19. Leipzig: Violet, 1893. 75 pf.

Inductive Studies in the Twelve Minor Prophets. By W. W. White. Chicago: Y. M. Era Pub. Co., 1893. 50¢.

L'Esclavage chez les ancient Hébreux. Etude d'archéologie biblique. By T. André. Paris: Fischbacher, 1893. 3.50 fr.

Essai sur l'idée de Dieu dans l'Ancient Testament. Dissertation. By W. Merminod. Genève: Beroud, 1893. 50¢.

The Harmony of History. [Chronological Tables of History, 1000 B.C.—322 B.C.] By A. Bickersteth. London: Low, 1893. 2s. 6d.

The Bible in the World's Education. By H. W. Warren, S.T.D. New York: Meth. Bk. Conc., 1893. $1.00.

Wit and Humor of the Bible. By M. D. Shutter, D.D. Boston: Arena Pub. Co., 1893. $1.50.

Articles and Reviews.

Light on Scriptural Texts from Recent Discoveries. III. The Beginnings of Civilization. By Wm. H. Ward, D.D., in Homiletic Review, Apr. 1893.

Ezra and First Esdras. Editorial in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

On Some of the [Imprecatory] Psalms. By Rev. Alex. Cumming, in Expository Times, Apr. 1893.

Joel. By Rev. Wm. Johnston, in Can. Meth. Quarterly, Apr. 1893.

The Records of the Past, Vol. VI. Editorial in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

Economic Conditions of the Hebrew Monarchy. II. Labor. By Prof. W. H. Bennett, in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

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Was there a Personal Piety in Earlier Israel? By Dr. F. Schnedermann, abstract in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

Joseph's The Ideal in Judaism. Editorial in Expository Times, Apr. 1893.

Old Testament History. By Prof. G. G. Cameron, D.D., in Expository Times, Apr. 1893.

Authority and Dogma in Judaism. Editorial in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

The Present Task of the Apologist. By Prof. A. B. Bruce, D.D., in Homiletic Review, Apr. 1893.

The Higher Criticism and its Application to the Bible. By Prof. E. L. Curtis, Ph.D., in the Andover Review, Mar.-Apr. 1893.

The Real Problem of Inspiration. By Prof. B. B. Warfield, D.D., in Presbyt. and Ref. Review, Apr. 1893.

Horton's Revelation and the Bible. By Rev. D. W. Jenkins, in Expository Times, Apr. 1893.

The Inspiration of the Bible. By A. Bouvier, abstract in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

NEW TESTAMENT.

Books and Pamphlets.

The Divinity of Jesus Christ. An Exposition of the Origin and Reasonableness of the Belief of the Christian Church. By the authors of "Progressive Orthodoxy" [Certain Professors of Andover Theological Seminary.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.00.

The Place of Christ in Modern Theology. By A. M. Fairbairn, D.D. New York: Scribners, 1893. $2.50.

The Gospel of the Kingdom. A Popular Exposition of the Gospel according to Matthew. By C. H. Spurgeon, D.D. New York: Baker and Taylor Co. $1.50.

The People's Bible. Vol. XVII. Matt. i–xi. By Jos. Parker, D.D. London: Hazell, 1893. 8s.

Der Tag des letzten Abendmahles Christi. Eine harmonistisch-exegetische Studie. By J. Kreschnicka. Horn: Gymnasiums, 1893.

Agoniae Christi. Sermons on the Sufferings of Christ, together with others on his Nature and his Work. By Wm. Lefroy, D.D. New York: Dutton & Co., 1893. $1.25.

Das Schrift-zeugnis von Jesus dem Sohne Gottes, kurz dargelegt. By A. Kinzler. Basel: Missionsbuchhandlung, 1893. 80 pf.

Die Neutestamentliche Formel "in Christo Jesu" untersucht. By G. Adf. Deissmann. Marburg i. H.: Ehvert, 1893. M. 2.50.

Sermons et études bibliques. Sur la route d'Emmaüs. La Transfiguration. Gethsémané. By H. Bergner. Genève: Eggiman, 1893. 3.50 fr.

The Gospel of St. Luke in Anglo-Saxon. Edited from the manuscripts, with introduction, notes and glossary. By J. W. Bright. London: Frowde, 1893. 5s.

Recent Evidence for the Authenticity of the Gospels: Tatian's Diatessaron. By M. Maher. London: Catholic Truth Society, 1893. 6d.

Notes on the Teaching of St. Paul, with an Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans. By E. T. Green. London: Skeffington, 1893. 1s. 6d.

Das Verhältniss von Apostelgeschichte xv. zu Galater ii. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Partieverhältnisse im Urchristenthum. By Julius Spiess. Crefeld: Gymnasiums, 1892.

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The Genuine Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers. By Archbp. Wake. London: Routledge, 1893. 3s. 6d.

Outlines of the History of Dogma. By Dr. Adolf Harnack. Translated by E. K. Mitchell, M.A. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1893. $2.50.

The Biblical Doctrine of Sin. [Handbooks for Bible Classes.] By Rev. J. S. Candlish, D.D. Edinburgh: Clarks, 1893. 1s. 6d.

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The Direction of the Wind when Jesus Walked on the Sea of Galilee. By G. A. F. Knight, in Expository Times, Apr. 1893.

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The Nature of Christ's Authority as a Lawgiver. By Rev. G. F. Genung, in the Andover Review, Mar.-Apr. 1893.

The Sermon on the Mount and the Nicene Creed. Editorial in the Thinker, Apr. 1893.

Relation of the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel to the Entire Work. By Prof. A. Harnack, D.D., abstract in The Thinker, Apr. 1893. This article reviewed by Dr. H. Holtzmann, abstract in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

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Paul's Use of "Katallage," Rom. 5:11, and Elsewhere. By Rev. And. Thom, in Expository Times, Apr. 1893.

Paul's Purpose in Writing Romans. By M. W. Jacobus, D.D., abstract in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

"Let Us have Peace with God," Rom. 5:1. By Prof. J. A. Beet, D.D., in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

The Veil of Moses, 2 Cor. 3:13-18. By P. J. Gloag, D.D., in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

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The Table Fellowship of Jew and Gentile. By Rev. Jos. Strauss, in Expository Times, Apr. 1893.

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External Evidence as to Seneca's Writings and Paul's. By Prof. C. M. Mead, in Presbyt. and Ref. Review, Apr. 1893.

The Sequence of the Christian Virtues, 2 Peter 1:5-7. By Prof. J. S. Blackie, LL.D., in Expository Times, Apr. 1893.

Exposition of 1 John 3:4-8. By Prof. Rich. Rothe, D.D., in Expository Times, Apr. 1893.

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Early Contact of the Christian Faith with the Roman World. IV. Cyprus and Pisidia. By Prof. H. R. Reynolds, D.D., in The Thinker, Apr. 1893.

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