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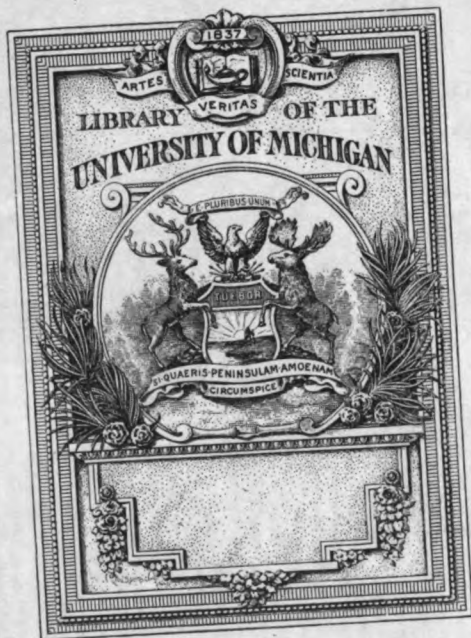
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The Biblical world

William Rainey Harper, Ernest De Witt Burton, Shailer Mathews, University of Chicago, JSTOR (Organization)



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THE
BIBLICAL WORLD

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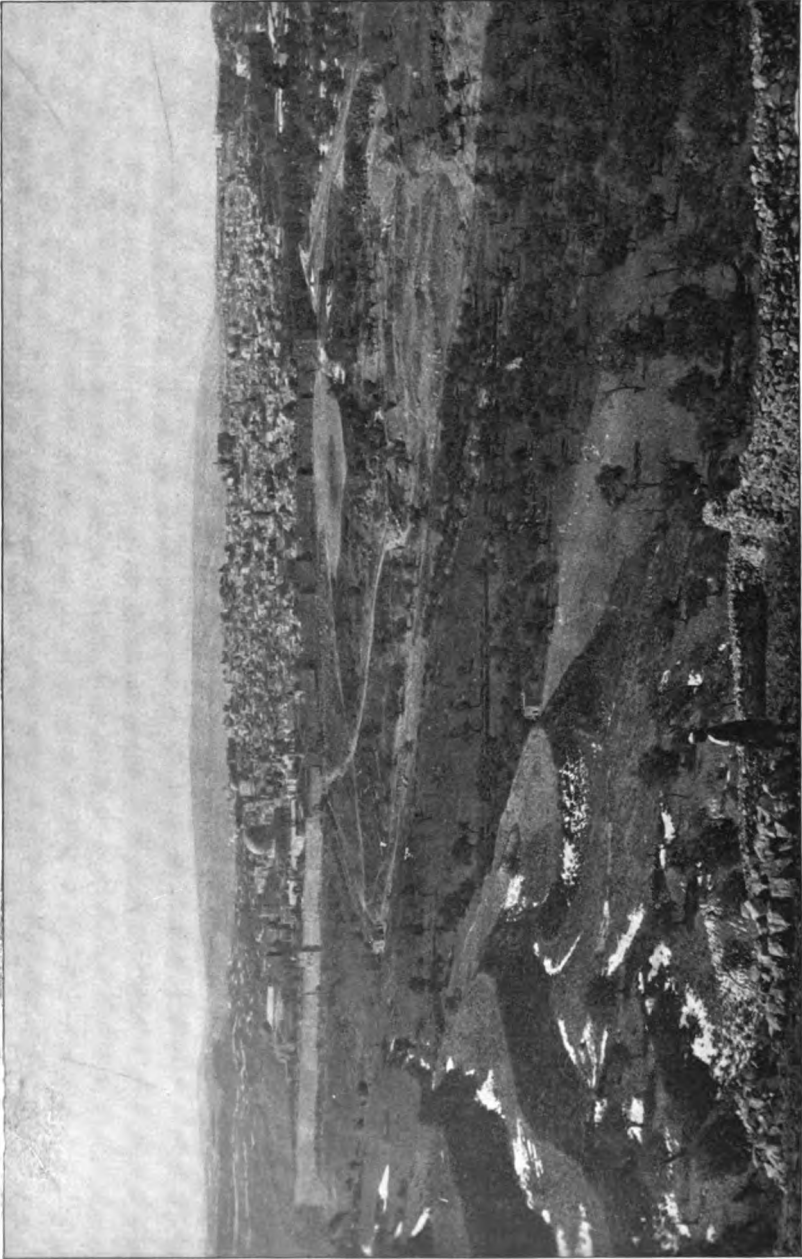
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JERUSALEM, SEEN FROM MOUNT SCOPUS.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XIX

JANUARY, 1902

NUMBER I

JESUS' USE OF HYPERBOLE.

THE ever-increasing regard for the teaching of Jesus which marks the present period of Bible study and which brings us nearer to the original Christianity—the gospel of Christ—than has been true of any previous century except the first, has made it supremely important that we should know how to interpret his teaching correctly. Since we have come to recognize that his conception of God is the one for us to hold, his ideal of life is the one for us to live by, his knowledge of himself is the truth for us to accept, and his view of the future is the one which brings joy and peace, we are more concerned than formerly to ascertain the meaning of his words. Nor can we be too thankful for the blessing and guidance which we have in the gospels that record for us the life and teaching of Jesus. They come down to us, under the guiding hand of God, from the knowledge, trust, and devotion of the first generation of Christians, who found in these memorabilia of their Master the supreme source of their religious beliefs, the inspiration of their faith and hope, and the never-failing guide of their conduct.

The sayings of Jesus were so simple and plain that those who heard him were able to understand him. He sought to be intelligible in his teaching, and he was so. That is, he left earnest hearers in no doubt as to God's love and care for them, and as to what the will of God required of them. The gospel in its essential points was meant for a universal message which would make necessary

truth known to all who sought it. And so today the untrained reader of the English Bible can find in the gospels the spiritual assurance, the strength, and the wisdom which he needs for the determination of his life. If this were not so, the gospel of Christ would be the exclusive possession of the educated few, like intellectual systems of theology, philosophy, and ethics, rather than a religion for all mankind. The critical error of the Roman Catholic church, past and present, is the idea that the Bible is intelligible only to the clergy, and that therefore the untrained masses must learn Christianity from the priests and not from the Scriptures. It was the Protestant Reformation which restored the Bible to the hands of the people, and placed upon them once more the privilege and the responsibility of getting their religion at first hand from the New Testament. It is the crowning glory of the gospel that *no* man need be without its guidance, comfort, and inspiration.

But while this is true, we are confronted with the fact that some of Jesus' teachings are interpreted in different and in contradictory ways. If the essential gospel ideas can-
CONFLICTING tradictory ways. If the essential gospel ideas can-
INTERPRETATIONS not be misunderstood, there are yet many of his
OF CERTAIN sayings which are capable of various meanings. One
TEACHINGS particular problem is whether in certain teachings
 Jesus wished his words to be taken literally, as precepts or statutes. Some are insisting that Jesus is to be so understood when he says: "Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also" (Matt. 5 : 39). But this utterance is only one of a class. Shall we then interpret Matt. 6 : 3, 4 as forbidding all organized charity, Matt. 6 : 6 as forbidding all public prayer, and Matt. 6 : 25 as forbidding all plans and provisions for the future? Nothing but absurdity results from an attempt to take these teachings literally. Christianity so interpreted makes unreasonable demands upon men. And, therefore, not a few have risen up to condemn Christianity as an impractical dream of an ancient idealist who meant well, but was unable to furnish to men any practical guide to conduct.

The difficulty arises from a failure to take account of the style in which Jesus gave his teaching. He definitely chose a literary style in which to express himself. That style was distinctly popular, and in the nature of the case oriental. Too often Jesus' teaching has been handled as though it were a systematic, scientific treatise on theology and ethics, whose expressions were fittingly to be subjected to laboratory test, each element to be exactly determined by finely graduated measuring-rod or delicate weighing-scales; or as a new volume of legislation, every word and clause of which was to be applied with complete literalness, forming a rigid system of minutely regulated conduct. No greater mistake could be made, and the results so obtained must be hopelessly incorrect and perverse. Microscopic analysis is a radically wrong process to be applied to Jesus' utterances. For he chose to deal with the masses, and his ideas were expressed in language which they could hear and consider.

As he taught the Galilean multitudes, in their synagogues, upon the highways, along the seashore, or upon the hillsides, Jesus put his religious truths and ethical principles into concrete popular sayings, contrasting his ideal of life in many simple ways with the conventional notions and practices of his day, and illustrating his teaching from the ordinary avocations, experiences, and environment of his hearers. Figurative language was natural to him as an oriental, and by no other style of expression could he have held the attention of his oriental audiences. Similes, metaphors, illustrations, parables, hyperbolic expressions, were constantly upon his lips. So that we must ever be on our guard against interpreting literally what he has spoken figuratively.

In his use of hyperbole Jesus is sometimes misunderstood. The reason for this probably is that a hyperbolic utterance has the appearance on the surface of being an exact, literal statement. To take it otherwise seems to be a reduction of its full meaning, a dilution of its proper strength. The plea is that, if some of Jesus' emphatic utterances are to be interpreted figuratively, and so divested of

*HIS
HYPERBOLICAL
SAYINGS*

their peculiar force, what is to protect all of his teaching from a similar reduction? One must reply, a true historical method of interpretation. For it is just as certain that all of Jesus' language is not hyperbolic, as that some of it is so. The problem is to distinguish the hyperbolic sayings from the rest. What criterion can be found for this differentiation?

Hyperbole is a rhetorical device for producing emphasis; it is a figure of speech in which one says more than is meant, or states unconditionally what must in use be conditioned, for the purpose of a strong effect. We have no difficulty with Jesus' saying, "If any man cometh unto me, and *hateth* not his own father and mother and wife and children, he cannot be my disciple" (Luke 14:26); obviously he means to impress the idea that we are to seek *first* the kingdom of God, and no one can suppose him to mean that he requires hatred instead of love. So when he says, "If thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out and cast it from thee" (Matt. 5:29), no one supposes that a physical act is advised, inasmuch as the removal of an eye would not accomplish the suppression of impure desires.

It becomes evident, in this way, that when an act enjoined by Christ is inconsistent with his plain teaching, or is in itself unreasonable and ineffective, one should look to see whether his language is to be understood figuratively. Perhaps in that way a good sense is to be obtained. By this process we arrive at the idea that in Matt. 6:3, 4, 6, Jesus was inculcating a *principle* for acts of religious worship; he did not mean to forbid organized charity or public prayer, but he did mean to teach that these things must never be done ostentatiously or with selfish motives, to gain the praise of men for superior generosity or piety. Similarly, in Matt. 6:25 he does not wish to condemn prudence, and an ultimate goal in life; but he does wish to establish the *principle* that one is to live for spiritual ends, with a trust in God for needful things which will forestall that anxiety for the future which men have who think they must take care of themselves, without a heavenly Father to love and provide for them.

TESTS OF
HYPERBOLE

And so we come back to the famous non-resistance passage. Did Jesus intend that his words should be taken literally, so *MEANING OF THE NON-RESISTANCE TEACHING* that the evil-doer should have an entirely free course in his abuse of Christians? Did he mean it as a *rule* of conduct that his followers were never to stand for the rights of men or to rebuke wickedness? See his teaching as to how a disciple is to deal with another disciple who sinned against him, Matt. 18: 15-17. No one has yet been able to show that the welfare of mankind and the progress of the kingdom would be advanced by the literal non-resistance method. Civilization has risen to its present height, not by allowing violent and wicked men to have their own way, but by building up a system of law which shall suppress violence and wickedness, which shall secure to men protection from evil, abuse, and extortion, and shall guarantee to them the rights of man. It is irrational to interpret Matt. 5: 39 literally.

But what, then, is Jesus' meaning? The saying is hyperbolic, worded so as to produce a profound and lasting impression. The general statement is contained in the words, "Resist not him that is evil;" while the verses which follow (39b-42) present four concrete illustrations of such conduct. The literary form is throughout a hyperbole. In this striking figurative language Jesus is inculcating a *principle* of conduct, namely, that men are not to act from motives of hatred and revenge; on the contrary, they are to be unselfish, loving, and forgiving. They are to overcome evil with good, they are to heap coals of fire upon their enemies' head, they are to be longsuffering and patient, ready to endure personal abuse without seeking retaliation, ready to yield rather than to stand for their rights, ready to serve others as far as possible, and ready to share with others, in a reasonable degree, their goods.

This principle is to control, even to determine, all Christian conduct. It does not do away with civil law, and institutions which seek to protect the rights of men; it does not even forbid war when civilization can be advanced in no other way (who will say that the rebellion, with its emancipation of the slaves,

was unjustifiable on Christian grounds?). For the reign of righteousness, justice, and truth must prevail, and Christian men must make it prevail. What this teaching of *THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-SACRIFICE, LOVE, AND FORGIVENESS* Jesus does do is to provide that in our work for the welfare of men we shall never be actuated by selfish motives, but shall have in view the higher good of all, leaving behind that primitive stage when men exacted an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

So understood, Matt. 5:39-42 is in accord with Jesus' other teaching, and presents a reasonable principle of human conduct. The saying was interpreted in a common-sense manner by the first Christians; why cannot as much be done today? The more Jesus' teaching is studied, the more it will be seen that he is inculcating the great religious and ethical principles of life, not giving a new legalism to bind men to a harder yoke of statutory servitude. Life by principle is the essence of the gospel. Jesus gave the principles, and in the application of these principles to their lives men are to use that intelligence which is bestowed upon them as a part of their human equipment. Among the principles of the kingdom which Jesus has established, that principle is certainly not the least which provides that our conduct is to be governed alone by motives of self-sacrifice, love, and forgiveness.

GRINDING IN ANCIENT AND MODERN PALESTINE.

By PROFESSOR GUSTAF DALMAN, PH.D., D.D.,
Leipzig, Germany.

1. *The shape of the hand-mill.*—The hand-mill is one of the most primitive utensils found in the world. Yet we learn from wooden models found in Egyptian tombs, now preserved in the Museum of Gizeh in Egypt, that there was a time when grain was ground in another way, and one which is still in use among the Kaffirs of South Africa. Women spread some corn on a flat stone and triturated it with the help of a smaller stone moved by their hands to and fro over the grains. Another very old way of producing meal was the pounding of the grains in a mortar. Though the latter system is still in common use in Palestine for pounding coffee, no trace can be found in the Bible that the Hebrews of Palestine took to this or the first-named method when they wanted to make flour. They were already in a higher stage of civilization, their system being the rotating of one round flat stone on another stone of the same kind by the power of the human hand—that is to say, the hand-mill. The Hebrew name of the hand-mill, *rechayim*, by its dual form indicates a utensil consisting of two parts. Indeed, these two parts are explicitly mentioned in Deut. 24:6, and the Bedouins of east-Jordanic Palestine have the same old Semitic name still in use for their hand-mill, which in its simplicity doubtless fully represents the hand-mill of the Hebrews. In Palestine the stones of the hand-mill are now mostly made of the hard black basalt of Bashan. Probably the author of the book of Job was thinking of the same kind of stone when he compared the hard and strong heart of Leviathan with a millstone (Job 41:15).

Both stones of the hand-mill are quite flat on their inner side. This needs to be said because a widespread picture of the oriental hand-mill wrongly makes the lower side of the upper

stone convex, and the upper side of the lower stone concave. I have turned many mills upside down all over Palestine, and have inquired of many people, but have never found or heard of such a curious kind of mill. The lower stone, with a diameter of eighteen inches to two feet, has at the center a wooden or iron



MAKING FLOUR.

—Trumbull, *Oriental Social Life*.

peg, to serve as the axis for the upper stone. This upper stone, usually a little smaller than the lower one, has also a central hole. Sometimes small braces are fitted in from the peg to the sides of the central hole to make the rotary movement more regular. The peg does not close the hole completely, since there must always remain an opening sufficient for the grain to be put into the mill. Often the upper stone has a kind

of hollow at its central opening, and from this hollow place a groove like a band conducts to the periphery on one side (fig. 1). The stones are seldom thicker than four centimeters, and, of course, are not to be compared in size with the stones of our water- and wind-mills. Still, they are heavy enough to crush the head of a man when thrown from the height of a tower, as happened to Abimelech at Thebez (Judg. 9 : 53).

According to certain indications in the Talmud, there was found in ancient times in Palestine an improved kind of hand-mill, such as I saw at Jezreel (*Qera'in*) and at Māṭha, near Jerusalem. In this machine the lower stone is fastened into a rough clay base, with a brim which catches the flour. On one side a basin is attached to it, into which the flour is collected (fig. 2). As the clay base of the mill is fastened to the floor of the house, a mill of this kind works more easily and smoothly than the common one. But naturally only peasants, not Bedouins, can have it.

2. *The work at the hand-mill.*—When a woman intends to grind, she spreads a cloth, a cloak, or a tray of basket-work on the ground. On this she sets the mill, and places at its side the vessel containing the grain. Then she sits down with crossed legs, taking the mill between her knees, and pours the grain into the hole of the mill with her left hand, while with the right hand she turns the upper stone by its handle. Some women, however, prefer to do the whole work with their right hand, and, in consequence, interrupt the process of grinding to put new grain into the mill. The meal comes out over the edge of the lower stone and falls down on the cloth beneath it.

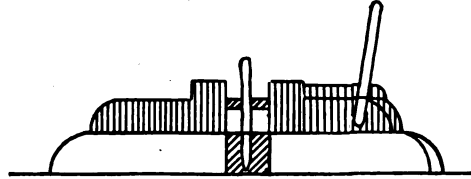


FIG. 1. THE HAND-MILL.

It is easy to get grain peeled by the hand-mill. But if real meal is to be made, the material must go through the mill several times over, or else only a few grains will be put in at one time. In each case the work proceeds slowly, and it will be understood that, at least in our time, people prefer to get their grain ground in water- and mule-mills. Even Bedouins use the hand-mill only in case of need, when the stock of flour from the water- or mule-mill has not been renewed in time.

It is quite probable that the millstones formerly were often larger than they are now, but even with the present mills it is better if two women can arrange to do together the tedious work

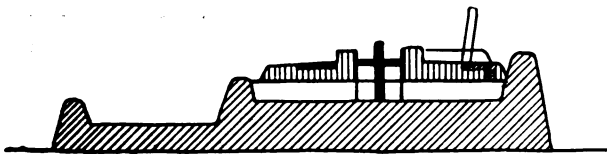


FIG. 2. A HAND-MILL WITH CLAY BASE.

of grinding their meal. Then one will turn the upper stone with her right hand, and the other help

her by seizing the handle with her left and at the same time pouring the grain into the mill with her right hand. When they become tired, they change places, and thus they can keep up the grinding for several hours, if necessary. When the writer of Ecclesiastes (12:3) describes the old man's inability to chew his

food by saying, "The grinding women cease because they are few," he refers to the fact that the work of grinding goes slowly and poorly when one of the two grinders is left alone by her companion. Two persons naturally belonging together are separated when, according to Christ's saying in Matt. 24:41, of the two women grinding at the mill "the one shall be taken, and the other left."

It cannot be proved that grinding in itself was a despised kind of work. Like kneading and baking, it belonged to the occupations of women. But if there were slaves in the household, it would be done by them, and not by the mistress; and, as no special ability was required for performing it, no slaves of higher qualifications would have been chosen. The maid-servant at the mill (Exod. 11:5) certainly means a slave of lowest rank; and the prophet in Isa. 47:2 calls the daughter of Babel to do lowest service when he bids her to take the mill and to grind flour. Samson (Judg. 16:21) and the young Judeans (Lam. 5:13) in being put to work at the mill were degraded to the rank of the lowest servants, even of maidservants. Still, circumstances could make it necessary for a man to grind his flour himself, as I saw it at the khan of Hammām, between Aleppo and the Taurus. Certainly the women and daughters of peasants having no slaves always did this part of the household work. The Mishna tells us that a wife who brings with her at least one slave from her father's house is free from grinding, baking, and washing. Only cooking, spinning, bed-making, and nursing of children cannot be refused by her. Two slaves would free her also from cooking and bed-making, and three from the remaining duties.

In every household a great quantity of bread was necessary every day, since in those times meat and vegetables were not part of the regular daily food; nor had they potatoes, which even yet are not in common use in the East. Oriental bread, besides, must be eaten as fresh as possible, because it quickly loses its good taste. At least twice a week peasants now do their baking, while the Bedouin women bake every day. Where the hand-mill is used for grinding, one usually prepares not

more flour at one time than the quantity necessary for the "daily bread." As the baking is done in the forenoon, the dough is kneaded in the first hours of the morning, perhaps between 2 and 3 o'clock in the night. Then the women will begin with grinding about midnight. The sound of the hand-mill at night is an indication that the necessary food is being provided for the household. Where this sound is not heard desolation



WOMEN GRINDING GRAIN IN SYRIA.

reigns. In a destroyed city the voice of the hand-mill has become silent, as also the voice of the bride and the bridegroom (Jer. 25 : 10; Rev. 18 : 22). To take from a man his mill, or even one of his millstones, was to rob him of his daily bread; and a millstone would have been a good pledge, because its owner had to do his utmost to win it back. But the deuteronomic law (Deut. 24 : 6) forbids the taking of millstones, as the life of a man is not to be put in pledge.

3. *The water-mill.*—In modern Palestine the hand-mill is still a piece of household furniture, found alike in the houses of peasants and in the tents of Bedouins. But it is only in common use for bruising wheat and barley, lentils and peas, not

for grinding flour. This last work is done for peasants and Bedouins by water-mills, and for the town people at mills turned by donkeys. Palestine is, at least in winter, not quite without small rivulets, just strong enough to drive a mill. A rough channel leads the water of the brook along the hillside, whence it runs over a stone conduit to the roof of the mill-house, and finally disappears there in a perpendicular shaft like a chimney. At the lower end of this shaft, in an open vault under the mill-house, the water bursts forth through a side opening on to the water-wheel, which stands in a horizontal position. The axle of this wheel projects upward into the mill-house, where it connects with the two millstones, and above them hangs the hopper, which is suspended from the roof. The hopper is shaken by a simple apparatus moved by the millstone. This is the usual system of water-mills all over Palestine, both east and west of the Jordan. It may be seen also at the fountains of Capernaum, beside the lake of Galilee, and upon the small river which runs down to the Jordan from es-Salt on Mount Gilead. But probably water-mills were not found in Palestine before the beginning of the Middle Ages. In biblical and talmudical times Palestine was without them; as for wind-mills, they have been introduced into the country only recently.

4. *The Græco-Roman donkey-mill.*—We have good reason to ask whether the Palestinian people did not at least make use of the power of domestic animals for grinding purposes. It seems simple to fasten a pole to the upper millstone, so that the mill may be turned by donkeys or mules. Then heavier and larger stones could be used and a greater quantity, as well as a better quality, of flour would have been produced. Yet nothing in the Old Testament points to such an arrangement. When we come to the New Testament and the Talmud, we see that the donkey-mill of the Romans was in use in Palestine, and the Talmud shows by the Greek names given to the parts of this mill that it was not of Semitic origin. Apparently it had come into the country along with many other products of Græco-Roman civilization. I had no clear idea about the exact arrangement of this donkey-mill until I visited Mount Tabor.

There, among other fragments of ancient stonework found in the ruins on the top of the mountain, I saw a specimen of such a mill, quite complete in all its parts. On a round stone base a cone is set, which is nearly covered by another stone shaped like a bell. This last-named stone has a wide opening on its top and is provided with two shoulders with square holes, designed to hold the poles to which the donkeys were attached; or, in some cases, slaves were made to perform this task (fig. 3). It is clear that this stone from a donkey-mill, when attached to the neck of the wicked man (Matt. 18 : 6), would effectively

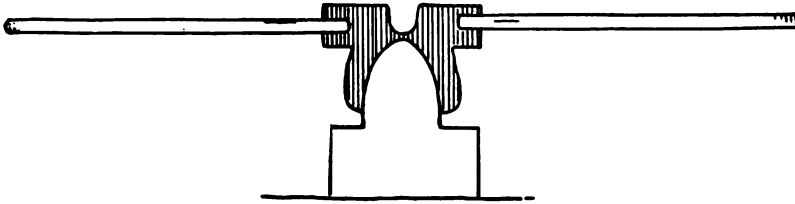


FIG. 3. AN ANCIENT DONKEY-MILL.

drag him to the bottom of the sea. The stone of the hand-mill would not give quite so vivid a picture.

5. *The mule-mill.*—The Græco-Roman pattern of the donkey-mill is now completely out of use, and, as I think, rightly, because it involved too much friction. Another pattern of mill, which possibly was used along with the former even as early as the first century, has superseded the donkey-mill entirely. In its simplest form I saw it at Hebron. Millstones of the usual shape, but larger than the stones of the hand-mill, were placed on a round stone base, and the upper stone was moved by a large pole, to which a mule was attached. From a basket, placed over the opening of the upper stone, the grain ran down slowly into the mill, and the flour came out upon the edge of the stone base, where it was collected into a vessel standing beneath it (fig. 4).

Another and an improved pattern of this mill I examined at Aleppo. In this case the upper millstone was not moved directly by the mule, but through the medium of a large, horizontal, toothed wheel, from which the movement was transmitted

to the mill. There they had also a special arrangement for setting the stones at different distances from each other, that they might produce different qualities of flour. A third kind of the mule-mill is in use at Jerusalem, operated by a tread-mill. The animals stand on a sloping platform, upon which

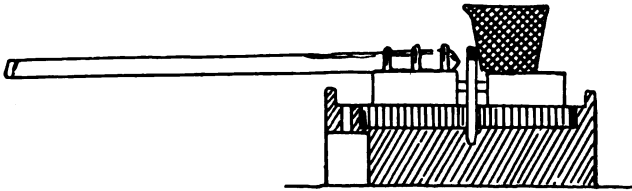


FIG. 4. A MULE-MILL OF HEBRON.

they continually walk in the same position. This turns the platform, and the motion is transmitted to the mill. I cannot determine which of

these two kinds of mill produces the greater amount of flour for the same amount of force. In any case, it is a long distance from the hand-mill of old Israel to the mule-mill of modern Palestine.

6. *Kinds of flour.*—Only two different kinds of flour are mentioned in the Bible—common meal (*kemach*) and flour (*sölet*). Nothing is said about the way of producing the latter. Talmudic references, however, make it certain that the process was by separating the bran from the meal by means of a fine sieve; but this sieve is not the same as the coarse sieve for cleansing the grain after winnowing. Thus it is still done today in the homes of the peasants and Bedouins of Palestine when the work of sifting has not been done at the mill. The Talmud mentions various kinds of flour, but we cannot make out with certainty what distinguished them. In modern Palestine three kinds of flour are usually separated besides the bran. The first two kinds are considered equally valuable; one is white, and is used for baked bread; the other is yellow, and is used for certain cooking purposes and by the confectioner. The third kind is of a dark color, and is cheaper; it is used for the bread of the poor. These three qualities of flour are separated by means of a box, which is shaken by hand, or by means of a mechanically turned sieve of cylindrical shape. As a curiosity we mention that the use of the cylindrical sieve was for a time prohibited at

Aleppo by the government, because it relieved the men of too much work.

7. *Bruised grain*.—The Bible speaks several times of “bruised grain” (*geres rīphōth*, Lev. 2:14, 16; 2 Sam. 17:19; Prov. 27:22). If flour was wheat (or barley) prepared for baking, then “bruised grain” was wheat prepared for cooking. At present this is done in two ways. Either they boil the wheat and break it afterward, or they break it without its having been boiled. The first method is now the more common one. Peas-

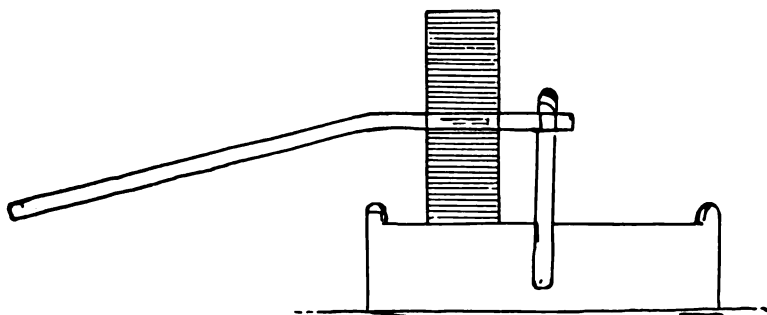


FIG. 5. A MILL FOR BRUISING GRAIN.

ants and Bedouins prepare from it their daily dish by boiling it in water and flavoring it with salt and butter. In biblical times, however, it is probable that the second method was the customary one. At least we do not hear anything about boiling the grain before breaking it, and the Mishna, when speaking about the way of preparing the “bruised grain” from the sheaf of the wave-offering (Lev. 23:10 ff.), makes it quite clear that at least in the temple no boiling was traditional. Yet from 2 Sam. 17:19 it is possible to infer that the *rīphōth* were spread in the court yard for drying after the process of boiling. Then *rīphōth* would correspond to the Arabic expression *selī a*, which means boiled wheat before it becomes *burrul* by drying and bruising.

As is occasionally seen today, a stone mortar, with wooden pestle, was used for breaking the grain (see Numb. 11:8; Prov. 27:22); but we may take it for granted that the mill itself was used for the same purpose. According to the Talmud, they had in Palestine special mills for bruising grain, different from the

usual hand-mill. These might have been like the usual mill, only with lighter stones; or they might have been built like olive mills, with a perpendicular round stone, moved around a pole on a cylindrical base (fig. 5). This latter method I saw in use at Aleppo. Otherwise all kinds of mule-mills and hand-mills serve for breaking grain, and a sieve is used for cleansing it from the husks and even for separating different qualities. The Mishna says that the bruised grain of the holy sheaf was sifted by thirteen sieves, to take away all the dust of the meal and all parts of the husks. Nothing but "bruised grain" was to be waved before the altar. In any case, even mills and sieves belonged to the furniture of God's temple, and were hallowed to his service by holy use. May we say that in this way was foreshadowed the time in which we live, when all household work done by God's children in his name has become as holy as the most holy rite of the sanctuary?



MAKING BREAD.

—Trumbull, *Oriental Social Life*.

THE ARTICLE "JESUS" IN THE THREE ENCYCLOPÆDIAS.

By REV. JAMES STALKER, D.D.,
Glasgow, Scotland.

WHEN the second volume of the Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible* was published (1899), widespread attention was drawn to the article on Jesus by Dr. Sanday as not only the gem of the volume, but an ornament to the entire work. Since then even more attention has, for other reasons, been excited by the corresponding article, from the pen of Dr. Bruce, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1901), edited by Professor Cheyne and Dr. Sutherland Black. And, still later, in the ninth volume of the new third edition of the kindred work of reference in Germany, Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (1901), the article on the same subject, by Professor Zöckler, has had special attention challenged to it by its being postponed from its alphabetical place in the preceding volume and made to open the present one. These are indications of the paramount interest which this subject has at present for the public mind; the writers to whom it has been intrusted in these three works are men of conspicuous knowledge and ability; and it may be profitable to compare the modes in which they have acquitted themselves of their task.

I.

Dr. Bruce's performance has created something like consternation among his own friends on account of the negative tone by which it is pervaded; and this has been felt to be the more painful because, through the lamented author's death before its publication, it has come to the public with the air of a last will and testament. Certain Unitarians have been claiming it for their own and using it for their peculiar purposes, forgetting that, if it were really as they suppose—if one who up to the day of

his death had eaten the bread of a Trinitarian church had left behind him a legacy of Unitarianism—the scientific interest of the incident would disappear in the importance of the article as a document in estimating the author's character. They might have been restrained by the very first words, in which Jesus is spoken of as not only the author, but the object, of the Christian faith, and there are plenty of other indications throughout the article which prove to a discerning eye that the distinguished author had no intention of turning his back in this last product of his pen on the testimony of his whole preceding life.

It cannot, however, be denied that the representation of Jesus is humanitarian, while the references to his higher claims are most meager. So strongly has this been felt that the idea has been mooted in certain quarters that Dr. Bruce's manuscript may have been subjected to editorial curtailment or modification. I am, however, in a position to state that this is not the case, the manuscript having been courteously submitted to my inspection; and I have the highest authority for the statement that no limitations were imposed on Dr. Bruce beyond his general acquaintance with the aim and method of the new dictionary.

To some of Dr. Bruce's friends it may appear that the tone of the article is to be accounted for by the failing power of one on whom disease had already laid a fatal hand. But a close examination will hardly justify such an idea. Certainly there is not present the buoyancy of his best work; but every sentence is written with precision; and the whole is not very different from what might have been anticipated by anyone who had read with care his commentary on the synoptic gospels.

A more likely explanation lies in the fact, which close students of Dr. Bruce's writings have noted for many years, that the apologetic habit had been growing upon him, and that it had at length become so confirmed that he was unable to address himself to a subject in any other attitude. Almost unconsciously he had in his mind a reader acquainted with everything that could be said against the Christian positions, and he confined himself to demonstrating what such a fair inquirer must concede at the least. But the keeping up of such an attitude reacts on the

apologete himself, who, by thus confining his attention to the minimum of truth, loses the warming and invigorating influence of the maximum. While Dr. Bruce's later books may be of great value to those whose faith is in danger of being lost altogether, they are disappointing to those who are already standing on securer ground.

Another influence which may have restrained the hand of the author is that the article was designed for an encyclopædia; because, even when editors impose no unusual limitations, it is always difficult to decide how much should go into such a work, and it is not unnatural to conclude that it ought to be the minimum. Evidently this was Dr. Bruce's conclusion; for he has cut down to the very bone what he had to say, rigidly excluding the dogmatic construction of the facts and restraining himself to the baldest narrative. It is a pity he did not feel, or was not encouraged to recognize, that on such a subject he might have allowed himself ample latitude, and that the utterance of his whole mind would have proved of the deepest interest to readers in every quarter of the world.

The most disappointing feature of the article is the coldness of its tone. Here again, of course, the question is: What is becoming in an encyclopædia? Ought an expert, writing in such a place, to expatiate with warmth on his favorite subject, or ought he to state the facts without emotion? Certain it is that many an expert would have written about some trivial novelty of science or invention with more enthusiasm than has been here displayed in dealing with the highest of all subjects. Yet it may be urged that there are minds on which the cool statement makes the deepest impression; and readers of Dr. Bruce's works will not forget the warmth into which he habitually kindles, when writing on a larger scale, in speaking of the Son of man.

The article opens with a brief but vigorous discussion of the "sources," in which the author announces himself as an adherent of what is known as the two-source theory, and reiterates his well-known preference for Mark. Then, following out his design of confining himself to a minimum, he announces that he

will relate only what is common to the synoptists. Accordingly he passes at a bound over everything relating to the infancy and childhood, as this lies outside the triple tradition. Not the slightest allusion is made to the supernatural birth—a procedure the reason assigned for which seems to be very insufficient. Then the public ministry is presented under four broad aspects: first, a preaching ministry among the people at large; second, a teaching ministry among disciples; third, a healing ministry; fourth, a prophetic or critical ministry, antagonistic to current conceptions and embodiments of righteousness.

Under the first of these, occasion is taken to explain the method of teaching by parables; and, in connection with this, strong adhesion is given to the view of Jülicher, that the intention attributed by the evangelists to Jesus of using the parable as a veil to conceal the truth is mistaken:

It is not credible that Jesus would either cherish or avow such an inhuman intention, though it is credible that in his bitter disappointment at the meager fruit of his popular ministry he might express himself in a way that might easily be misunderstood on the principle of reading intention in the light of result.

Under the second division a summary is given of the teaching of Jesus; and this is the only part where the style swells out into something like sonority, and the impression made is deep and convincing. The statement concludes with the fine sentence that the spiritual intuitions of Jesus are "pure truth, valid for all ages; God, man, and the moral ideal cannot be more truly or happily conceived." After this the mention of Peter's confession leads on to a consideration of what may be called the claims of Jesus. But here Dr. Bruce advances with an extremely cautious step. To the chosen self-designation of Jesus, "the Son of man," he attaches the minimum of significance, inclining to the old notion of Paulus, recently revived by Lietzmann and Wellhausen, that it means no more than "man," and fighting very shy of its messianic reference. Indeed, the messianic claim of Jesus is to Dr. Bruce more a difficulty than an explanation; and he speaks with extreme severity of the school in Germany which has recently represented the messianic

and eschatological elements as occupying a foremost place in the consciousness of Jesus.

Under the third head there is a more cordial acknowledgment of the miraculous element in the ministry of Jesus than might have been expected from the general tone of the article; and the evidence is presented with powerful effect which is furnished by the theories invented by enemies to account for the miracles; such as that of Herod, that he was John the Baptist risen from the dead, and that of the Pharisees, that he was in league with Beelzebub. These were thoroughly characteristic suggestions, however absurd; and they would not have been propounded at all unless there had been a problem to explain.

In describing the conflict with the religious leaders—the last of the four elements into which the ministry is divided—Dr. Bruce is handling a thoroughly congenial theme. Probably at all times the portion of his Master's example which he found it easiest to imitate was his opposition to traditionalism and pharisaism. The readers of his works are aware how trenchantly he always wrote on this theme; and in the present instance his pen has lost none of its cunning.

Coming to the passion, Dr. Bruce divides the incidents, in about equal proportions, into two kinds: those which are incontestable, and those which criticism has attacked with greater or less success. Of the latter he seems not disinclined to sacrifice a considerable number; yet, "when criticism has done its work, the passion narratives remain," he asserts, "in their main features history, not legend." "A history," he adds, "how profoundly significant, as well as moving!" The theory of criticism is that incidents were invented at the suggestion of Old Testament predictions; but Dr. Bruce holds that the movement of the apostolic mind was in the opposite direction, the application of Old Testament texts to the incidents being in some cases so imaginative that it could never have been thought of unless the incidents had been there beforehand.

On the burning question of the resurrection the following is Dr. Bruce's deliverance:

Christianity could not have entered on its victorious career unless the followers of the Crucified had believed that he not only died, but rose again. . . . The primitive disciples believed that their Master rose on the third day, and that he would soon come to the earth again; and this faith and hope became the common possession of the apostolic church. The faith and the hope both find support and justification in the words of Jesus as reported by the evangelists.

This is an imperfect sketch of a deeply interesting article, in which the most successful feature is the development of the ethical teaching of Jesus. No doubt the ethical teaching of our Lord is that which lies most conspicuously on the surface of the gospels; but one misses in Dr. Bruce's pages almost any reference to those subtler elements of the teaching of Jesus in which the Christian church has always believed the most solemn and moving part of his message to lie. There is hardly a word on the relation of Jesus to God or the significance of his death. The great text in Matt. 11 : 25 is referred to, but not with anything like the impressiveness of writers like Wendt or Keim. Dr. Bruce says that what the primitive Christians asked about Jesus was, first, what he taught; secondly, what he did; and thirdly, what he suffered. But what the hearts of men from the first asked was, who he was, and with what object he had appeared in this world; and without a doubt it was to the belief that in him the eternal love had incarnated itself for the purpose of taking away the sin of the world that the Christian church owed its origin and its permanence.

II.

Professor Sanday's article deserves all the praise which has been so liberally bestowed upon it. In fact, it would be difficult to find a parallel among the articles of any encyclopædia to the thoroughness and fineness of its work. It is said that Professor Sanday is preparing a larger work on the same subject, and the article has all the appearance of having had the benefit of wider studies.

In the first place, the writer has taken plenty of room. His article is three times the length of Dr. Bruce's, almost attaining the dimensions of a book. Yet there is no prolixity. Every

page is packed with matter. The author has an admirable way, not only of dividing his subject under clear and simple heads, but of subdividing what falls under each head into a number of particulars, so that he keeps himself always to the point, and rapidly quits a topic when he has done with it.

In this way he passes all the features of the life of Christ under review; and, besides telling the actual story, he gives, at the beginning, a comprehensive account of the condition of the world which was the matrix of that life, and, at the close, a still more careful estimate of the influence exercised by Jesus on subsequent centuries. Special emphasis is laid on those topics which have recently come much into discussion, and the reader will here become acquainted with what has been done by specialists during the last few years to illuminate this or that point of the subject. Thus, the bearing of the apocalyptic and pseudepigraphical writings which appeared between the Old Testament and the New on the ideas and language of Jesus is recognized; the essence of countless books on "the kingdom of God" and "the Son of man" is distilled into a few pages; and the points are given of the controversies which have been raised of late concerning the Lord's Supper; while older difficulties, like those connected with miracles, are fully dealt with. The strong features of the article are its comprehensiveness and the way in which the knowledge of the reader is brought up to date on what may be called the problems of the life of Christ.

On all these subjects Professor Sanday has not only read widely and reflected long, but has made up his own mind, and it is seldom that he declines to express a decided opinion. His judgments will confirm the convictions of those whose minds are confused with the din of controversy, while they will command the respect of all who have reflected on these topics themselves. It cannot, indeed, be said that his conclusions are all equally reassuring. His speculations, for instance, on the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, which he believes to be a rule for Christian society, but inapplicable to human society in general, will raise in many minds the question: Is not Christ, then, the moral lawgiver for the whole life of humanity? and, if not, who is to fill this great

place? In dealing with the very difficult idea of "the Son of man," while rightly holding that the messianic reference is the primary one, he concedes too much to the contention that it can ever have been a mere translation of the Aramaic term for "man." When the Greek language had to render from the Hebrew the exact equivalent of this Aramaic term, in the sense simply of "man," it did not do so in the words with which it renders the favorite name of Jesus; and this change must have been based on a difference in the mouth of Jesus himself, if, indeed, he spoke Aramaic in his public addresses. What Dr. Sanday says of the Lord's Supper will be felt to have a certain vagueness; and he should not have assumed without argument that Christian baptism is referred to in the third chapter of John as a birth of water and of the Spirit. But it would be unreasonable to expect that in a single article all the problems of the life of Christ should be solved. It is one of the evidences of the divine greatness of this subject that it is constantly throwing new questions to the surface.

Professor Sanday assumes from the first the attitude of a Christian believer, and nothing is more remarkable in the whole performance than the delicate fervor of faith that is combined with fidelity to facts and fairness toward the opinions of others. He holds that Jesus was from his baptism perfectly conscious of his messianic vocation, and resolved to found the kingdom of God upon earth; but he had first to transform the conceptions of the kingdom entertained by his contemporaries; and this delayed his full manifestation of himself, while it accounts for the comparative rarity of testimonies from his own lips in the gospels. But his work, toward the close, centered more and more in his own person, and he spoke about himself with growing freedom. Like Dr. Bruce, Professor Sanday begins with the story as it is told in the triple tradition; but, after finishing this, he goes back to those incidents which have less ample documentary support, holding that "it by no means follows that what is peculiar to a single gospel is by that fact stamped as less historical." He gives a long and most sympathetic discussion of the infancy, showing good reason why the experience of Mary

should have been handed down only by Luke. The fourth gospel is accepted as authoritative, and its guidance is followed, especially in determining the dates of the ministry. In speaking of the Perean period, for example, the author says :

The historical value of the fourth gospel comes out strongly in this period. Rarely has any situation been described with the extraordinary vividness and truth to nature of chap. 7. Not less graphic are the details of chap. 9, and there is marked decision in the statements of 10 : 22 f., 40 f.; 11 : 54-57.

Professor Sanday is not shackled by any rigid doctrine of inspiration and, therefore, from time to time acknowledges that the record on which he is commenting may be imperfect or even mistaken ; but he does not display a particle of the inclination to domineer over his text and glory in the exposure of its assumed imperfections which is so unamiable a feature of much modern criticism. He writes, on the contrary, with unflinching reverence, and with pride in his authorities, being evidently glad when he is able to vindicate their absolute trustworthiness and surrendering their testimony even on little things only with hesitation and dislike. Here lies the deep gulf between a believing and disbelieving treatment of the record, as Delitzsch pointed out in the theological literature of his own country; and it looks as if it may soon be the line of demarkation in the religious literature of this country also.

The weakness of this remarkable article lies in its criticism, and this may, in spite of its freshness, soon render it antiquated. The discussion of the "sources" in the introduction is meager, and in marked contrast with the expansiveness which the writer permits himself elsewhere; and, although in the course of the article there are valuable critical principles casually mentioned—the remark is specially important, that the miracles of the triple tradition include, not only those of healing, but such as the feeding of the five thousand—yet these are not compacted into systematic form, and it may be questioned if they go deep enough. In England the comfortable belief has long prevailed that with the overcoming of the Tübingen theory serious attacks on the credibility of the gospels had come to an end, and that

Bishop Lightfoot, in his reply to *Supernatural Religion*, had practically said the last word. Old Testament critics, while dismembering the Old Testament books, have kept on assuring the Christian public that there was no danger of a similar process being applied to the historical books of the New Testament. But in Germany, France, and Holland there has been practically no cessation of the disintegrating processes of the Tübingen school, although the reasons for setting the incidents aside have somewhat altered; and the Walpurgis dance of interpolation and mythification, with its anonymous authors and redactors, has swept over the gospels and the Acts in exactly the same way as it is doing over the books of the Old Testament. There are vast quantities of material of this kind accumulated in the theological literature of the continent; and it is not likely that hands will be wanting to transfer it to our shores. The skepticism of the Ritschlian school in regard to the miraculous birth and the bodily resurrection of our Lord is not likely to remain long without imitation in this country, when the Ritschlian doctrines in general are exerting so widespread an influence; and disbelief on points so cardinal as these will unquestionably be only like the letting out of water. The criticism of Wendt and Holtzmann breaks up even so compact a gospel as that of Mark, going behind it to a supposed original from which the greatest miracles and the grandest sayings of our Lord are eliminated. There are scholars who, operating with such canons as these—that Jesus can have uttered no testimony to his own messiahship before the great confession of Peter, and that he cannot have spoken a single word about the distant future, because he expected the world to come to an end within a single generation—contract the authentic history within still narrower limits. Should such a conflict be upon us, Professor Sanday would no doubt be one of the most intrepid defenders of the citadel of the faith; but in this article he has given scarcely any indication of the weapons by which such an attack could be repulsed.

III.

If the strong point of Dr. Bruce's article is the exposition of the ethical teaching of Jesus, and that of Dr. Sanday's the

statement of the actual state of the discussion, the strong point of Dr. Zöckler's article is the registration of relevant literature. In it anyone can learn what to read, either on the life of Christ as a whole or on any section of the subject; and this, it is easy to see, is one of the principal uses of an encyclopædia. Dr. Zöckler supplies a history of the literature of the life of Christ from the earliest times down to the books of yesterday—from the earliest attempts of Christian bards to tell the divine story in verse down to the caricatures of socialists and atheists, who, it would appear, on the continent, make use of this strange form of insolence in support of their propaganda.

We are, according to this authority, at present in the critical and scientific stage of the long development. This stage dates from the writings of Schleiermacher and Hase, and its writers are of two schools—the negative and the positive. The negative school has manifested itself in three phases—first, the mythical, of which Strauss was the great protagonist, representing the miracles as a crown of legend woven for the head of Jesus, the details being suggested by the miracles attributed to the heroes of the Old Testament; secondly, the criticism of tendency, which accounted for the New Testament books as pamphlets produced by the controversies of the apostolic age and by the attempts made to reconcile the diverse parties, Baur being here the foremost man, and his subordinates such names as Köstlin, Hilgenfeld, and Volkmar; and, thirdly, the eclectic phase, which is most prominent at the present hour, and in which the ideas of myth and tendency are both made use of, while recourse is also had to the older naturalistic explanations of miracle, and an idealizing activity is at work, volatilizing the evangelic history into legend and romance; Renan's being here the principal name, while others are Schenkel, Keim, Wittichen, Schmidt, the author of *Supernatural Religion*, Réville, Loman, and Brandt. The positive school has carried on a vigorous and successful apologetic against all these different phases of negative criticism; and Zöckler gives happy and generous characterizations of the principal works that have appeared, not only in German, but in French, Dutch, and English also.

In addition to this history of opinion on the subject as a whole, the author carefully traces the phases of opinion and enumerates the most important books, and even learned articles, on every important problem of the life; and from these lists students will obtain excellent guidance for the study of special aspects of the subject. Sometimes, indeed, the author himself appears to grow a little weary of the endless enumeration of authorities; and in one place he actually refers to Sanday's article for the full names of a number of German books.

It is a remarkable fact that of the articles in the three encyclopædias the German one is decidedly the most orthodox. And this is not the only indication furnished by the new edition of the greatest theological encyclopædia in the world that there are large sections of the learned world in Germany on which extreme views in criticism have made little impression, and that, in the conflicts lying before us in this country and America, we may be able to fetch our weapons of defense from the country which we have been wont to think of as the source of all that is arbitrary and extreme. While giving very fully the history of the criticism of the "sources," Zöckler himself does not acknowledge any varying scale of values as belonging to the four gospels or to any portions of them. At the most, he only acknowledges a certain subjective element in John's reports of our Lord's discourses, and of course he recognizes that one of the evangelists is more important for one purpose and another for another; but, while even Dr. Sanday speaks freely of the mistakes of the evangelists, I do not remember that Dr. Zöckler acknowledges a single real discrepancy, unless it be in the date of the Last Supper, where he prefers the account of John. He goes so far as to say that nothing but prejudice stands in the way of believing that Matthew may have produced our first gospel as it stands by translating his own *logia* into Greek and furnishing them with historical settings. His belief in the traditional view of Jesus adopted by Christianity is no hesitating one, but confident and full-blooded, and he writes as one who knows himself able to give an account to all comers of the faith that is in him.

The following extract, on the burning question of our Lord's bodily resurrection, will be read with interest, both on account of the information it conveys as to the present state of opinion in Germany and as a specimen of the author's style:

The vision theory exerts an almost unlimited sovereignty at present among the ranks of theological liberalism, and this in such a way that by the representatives of this tendency who have advanced farthest toward the left the visionary appearance of Christ seen by the disciples is conceived as purely subjective, whereas the more moderate liberalism seeks to refer the appearances of the Risen One to objective, that is, in a certain sense real and God-caused sights or visions. The former modification virtually ends in representing the belief in the resurrection as having arisen from the hallucination or self-deception of the disciples; thus Renan, Strauss, H. Lang, Hausrath, Holsten, on the whole also H. Ewald. On the contrary, the representatives of the objective vision theory claim, if not a bodily, yet a spiritual reality for the self-manifestations of the Christ, who now lives in a higher form of existence. Christ is, according to them, not indeed in a corporeal manner, but in a spiritual sense, really risen, to live on and reign as the spiritual head of his church; the visions caused by him among the company of his disciples are actual, if only internal, miracles—genuine acts of God, serving for the laying of the foundation of the kingdom of Christ, true manifestations of the exalted Savior to his own, as well as "telegrams from heaven" to the children of God upon earth. So especially Keim, Schweizer, H. Lotze, Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Pfeiderer, and Réville. . . . Both theories, the objective as well as the subjective, differ only in degree, not in fact, and in the one as well as in the other form they are irreconcilable with the historical fact that out of the belief in the resurrection on the part of the apostles there has issued, not a transient and ultimately extinguished religious movement, but the perfect new birth of the spiritual life of humanity, the establishment of a kingdom of truth and love, the victory of which over the powers that resist it is certain, and the everlasting duration of which is beyond all question. By the effects of the faith of the apostles, as seen in the origin of the church and the new birth of the world, the vision hypothesis is condemned in each of the forms which it has heretofore assumed, and in every modification which it ever can assume in the future.

The immediately imminent problem of the life of Christ is the attempt to reconstruct out of our present gospels the apostolic source from which they were derived; and it is possible that this may not be beyond the reach of biblical science, though of course it will afford opportunities for almost unlimited conjecture. To such an attempt those will naturally look with

hope who dislike and distrust dogmatic Christianity; because it is not unnatural to suppose that the original picture may have been more simple and human than the one elaborated at a later period. If, however, this should turn out to be the case, it would not necessarily follow that the simpler representation is the more correct. Later information may be, not only fuller, but more accurate than a first report. The parable of the Prodigal Son occurs only in Luke, which is not the earliest of the gospels; but is there any single thing attributed to our Lord which bears his stamp more unmistakably? Certain it is that the simpler and less miraculous the story of Jesus becomes, the more difficult is it to reconcile it with the facts of history indubitably disclosed in the writings of Paul. From these documents we learn with absolute certainty that within a quarter of a century after our Lord's death, and before any one of our present gospels was written, there was received without question in the young Christian communities a Christology substantially identical with that which is now the faith of Christendom. Whence was this derived? If it can be shown that it was not derived from the tradition which forms the basis of the synoptic gospels, then it is certain that the infant church must have been also in possession of another tradition, virtually identical with the gospel of John; for there is nothing of importance in the Christology of John that is not to be found also in the epistles of Paul.

The acknowledged fact that the gospels did not come into existence till at least a generation after the passing of Jesus from the earth will always afford to what may be called scrupulous historical consciences the opportunity of doubting whether in the interval the facts may not have been tampered with, and this alarm may at any time communicate itself to the general public. It is with the view of meeting such a state of mind that a writer like Resch has, with the labor of a lifetime, endeavored to reconstruct the apostolic source; and he is able to persuade himself that he can present the record as it existed within half a dozen years of the crucifixion. It is impossible to follow his course even at a distance without being infected with his enthusiasm; and, from the historical point of view, the attempt is of engrossing

interest. But it cannot be ignored that too frequently the motive of such reconstructions is a different one; it is the desire to eliminate or to minimize the supernatural. On this account the testimony of Paul will probably in the near future assume more and more importance, as it is seen that the interval between the death of Jesus and the writing of the gospels is not a blank, but is filled with historical documents of the very first order, testifying to a faith in the divinity of our Lord so calm, widespread, and undisputed that it can be explained only as the reflex of Christ's own testimony concerning himself.

A Meditation.

John 14:1. "Let not your heart be troubled; believe in God, believe also in me."

Here lies the way to the untroubled heart. Not through avoiding trouble, for it lies in the straight path God has marked out for each of us. Not through shutting the door of the heart against the emotion of sorrow when trouble comes, for so we should shut ourselves out from the promise, "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." Not through stifling the divine instinct of compassion for the sorrow and pain of the world in the interests of a selfish serenity, lest we lose our likeness to the Father who pitieth his children. But through finding the peace of God that lasts through all experiences, and makes every personal grief and every burden borne for another bring forth golden harvests where weeds had grown before.

That peace is the gift of the Master to the soul that responds to the command, "Believe in God; believe also in me;" that seeks no other picture of God than the face of Jesus; that finds no higher conception of God than the life and person of Jesus; that never has a thought of God save in terms of what it knows of Jesus; that never lifts a prayer to God that is not addressed to the heart of Him who said: "Come unto me."

In such a living Christian faith is the secret of the untroubled heart.

WILLIAM P. MERRILL.

CHICAGO.

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF PAUL.

I. THE SOCIAL CONTENT OF EARLY MESSIANISM.

By SHAILER MATHEWS,
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AS THE immediate successors of Jesus, the apostles might naturally be expected to have found material for their teaching in that of his. That the early church possessed the ethical teachings of Jesus essentially as they appear in our synoptic gospels is, of course, undeniable, for it must have been the early church that preserved for us such teachings as have been grouped in these gospels. That these teachings were well known and revered is further argued, not alone by literature like the epistle of Clement and the *Didache*, but quite as strongly by the appearance of gospels purporting to relate some authoritative act or word of the Master. The social environment in which Christianity found itself as it swept out from Palestine was by no means simple, and the problems attendant upon the application of the idealism of Jesus to Græco-Roman society were certainly difficult enough to warrant the most elaborate analysis of the great principles which he had taught. Further, the probability that the early apostles would be the expositors of the social teachings of Jesus is strengthened by the fact that the apostles were accustomed to precisely such a method of enforcing religious truth. Paul had been trained in the rabbinical schools, where the most painstaking and penetrating analysis of the *Thorah* of Moses had resulted in an enormous extension of Mosaic principles to the minutest act of life. It would seem that it must have been almost inevitable that he should have treated Jesus' teaching as he had treated the *Pentateuch*, and have made it the basis of innumerable *halachoth*; and that his fellow-apostles, even though not rabbis, in presenting the ideals of Christian life should have followed their teachers and

turned to the words of their Christ as an authoritative constitution from which to draw statutes for the regulation of social life.

Even a cursory reading of the apostolic literature will disclose how incorrect are these *a priori* conjectures. In all the writings of Paul there are but three distinct references to the words of Jesus, and in but one case is there an appeal to his words as a basis for regulating social life. So far were the other apostles from being interpreters of the teachings of Jesus that, if we had no other source than their canonical writings from which to derive information, we could hardly be sure that he had given any teachings of any sort whatsoever. As far as social matters are concerned, this paradox is rendered even more remarkable by the fact that Paul is constantly dealing with precisely those problems of the family and other social relations with which Jesus himself dealt, and that, too, not incidentally. His purpose was farthest possible from being primarily theological. Theology, even the most abstract, was with him a basis of ethics. Yet, though he called himself the slave of Christ, he all but never quoted his Master's commands.

The explanation of this fact must be found in the point of view occupied by the apostle. The Christ had come, had ascended to heaven. Thence he was presently to appear to establish his kingdom.

But this is evidently a phase of a hope known to every student of Hebrew and Jewish literature—messianism.

Apostolic Christianity gave a new character to the elements of messianism, but it did not destroy it as a form of thought. To discover its social contents, and how regulative it was of Paul's thought and teaching, must be the first task of any man who would understand the apostle.

SECTION I. THE SOCIAL AND NATIONAL MESSIANISM OF THE PROPHETS.

Messianism is that fixed social belief of the Jewish people that Jehovah would deliver Israel, and erect it into a glorious empire to which a conquered world would be subject. It sometimes, indeed generally, involved the hope of a personal

king—the Messiah, the Anointed One of God—but its central and ever-present thought was that of the divinely established kingdom rather than the king. Fundamentally it was the child of the prophets' faith in Jehovah's care for an oppressed Israel. From the time that the first Hebrew dared to speak forth in Jehovah's name and promise his downtrodden fellow-countrymen divine deliverance from all their complaints, the Jewish race mitigated political oppression with ideal utopias. Primitive enough were these hopes in some of their aspects, fit products of a cruel and barbarous age. A conquering Israel, a Davidic king, a suppliant, terrorized, tortured world—these were the dreams which Jehovah was to make real. But, as prophecy advanced in religious and ethical conceptions, with this elemental optimism there was associated an ever-growing sense of Israel's moral and religious isolation. As a consequence, although barbarity still displayed itself in all forecasts of the future of heathendom, ethical ideals were infused into the hopes for the triumph of Israel. As the Hebrew religion grew moral, so the Hebrew utopias grew religious. Compared with the hopes of New Testament times, it is true, they were lacking in those transcendental elements that are commonly associated with messianism, but they were none the less of the same general nature. That they were full of social content is clear from the Hebrew literature,¹ even if many elements in early literature be attributed to the prophetic spirit of later editors. The historical basis of the messianic ideal was the glorious reign of David and Solomon, and in the pictures of the ideal kings given in the "royal" psalms² there beats the inextinguishable optimism of a nation's faith in a divinely assured future. Early prophets, like Elijah and Elisha, saw in the religious and political crises resulting from the division of the kingdom of Solomon an opportunity to urge higher national ideals upon both the masses and the court. The

¹ For the collection of these sayings see GOODSPEED, *Israel's Messianic Hope* (with good bibliography); DELITZSCH, *Messianic Prophecies*; HÜHN, *Die messianischen Weissagungen*.

² Pss. 2; 24:7-10; 45; 72; 110. Cf. GOODSPEED, *Israel's Messianic Hope*, pp. 72, 73.

calamities that threatened Israel, even during the brilliant reign of Jeroboam II., served as texts, not only for the dark forebodings of Amos, but for Hosea's prophecies of prosperity and peace that would come to the remnant of the nation when once it turned from idols and foreign alliances to a forgiving Jehovah.³ In the disasters and miseries that came to both kingdoms during the days of Tiglathpileser III., Sargon, and Sennacherib, Isaiah unfolded to Judah a religio-international policy that promised national deliverance and prosperity under a divinely appointed king,⁴ and, as if to guarantee the certainty of the new nation, he set about the preparation of a "remnant" which should be its nucleus.⁵ Micah also promised an empire to a faithful nation.⁶ That Judah refused to listen to the words of these prophets makes all the more evident the social and political elements in their discourses. In fact, even if one should overlook the elaborate social provisions of Deuteronomy, propheticism, as a whole, was concerned with a regenerate Hebrew nation and a righteous king. That against which it cried out was such matters as the oppression of the poor, the formation of great landed estates, luxury, avarice, international policies, and national bad faith. Yet in denunciations there is the persistent trust in the nation's God. Even after the fading of Isaiah's promised future, Jeremiah, convinced though he was that Judah must certainly fall before the Chaldeans, yet looked beyond the approaching captivity to a restoration of the nation. Jehovah had made a new covenant with his people,⁷ and his law was to be planted deep in their hearts as an inward guide. While it is true that the prophet does not describe in detail ideal institutions, it is clear from his denunciation of economic oppression⁸ that just social conditions must have figured largely in his conception of the new covenant and the restored state.

With the exile this religio-political messianic hope, thus far so general and impersonal, passed into a new stage. The

³ For instance, Hos. 2: 19-23; 14: 1-8.

⁴ Isa. 2: 2-4; 4: 2-6; 9: 2-7; 11: 1-9; 19: 19-25.

⁵ Isa. 8: 16-18.

⁷ Jer. 31: 31-44; 33: 17-22.

⁶ Mic. 4: 1-5.

⁸ Jer. 7: 1-15.

misery suffered by the Jews deported to Babylon, and the wonder that Jehovah could permit so great national and individual suffering, resulted in the formation of that pious remnant which Isaiah and Jeremiah had foreseen. Out from the misery there sprang fresh faith in a rapidly approaching divine deliverance. Ezekiel in Babylon planned a new commonwealth centered about a temple rebuilt with extravagant splendor. Religious as the hope of the exile was, and formally non-messianic as the Priestly Code undoubtedly is,⁹ each was none the less social,¹⁰ and never more so than when the sorrows of the good men of the nation were distinctly made vicarious¹¹ for the nation itself. In no other literature has the problem of national and communal suffering been more nobly faced and answered.

Throughout this period of prophetic optimism there ran a developing social theory that at last was to be incorporated in an actual society. At the outset the prophets had thought of the nation as a whole; Isaiah saw that the "remnant" alone carried with it the future; Jeremiah, though still hoping for the "remnant," saw also the religious and social importance of the individual; Ezekiel, appreciating, as perhaps no other Hebrew, the value of the individual, began a new process of national reconstruction. No longer looking to the nation, or even the

⁹ MONTEFIORE, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 319.

¹⁰ Ezek. 11:14-20; 37:21-28.

¹¹ Isa. 52:13-53:12. The interpretation of this passage, so generally considered by Christians as applicable to Jesus, in Jewish literature is social; the sufferer is not the Christ, but Israel, either a nation or the pious scribes (Bab. *Siphre*, 48b; Bab. *Berach.*, 5a and 57b; *Sota*, 14a; Jer. *Shekualim*, 48c; Bereshith Rabba, 20, 1) in Israel. (Cf. JUSTIN, *Dial. Trypho.*, 122, 123; ORIGEN, *Ag. Celsus*, I, 55.) The reference of *San.*, 98b, according to Edersheim (*Jesus the Messiah*, Vol. II, p. 741), is to the Messiah as the "leprous one of the house of Rabbi." But this is from the second or third century, and represents the opinion of only a school of rabbis. See DALMAN, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias*, pp. 28 f. Cf. also BUDDÉ, "The So-Called 'Ebed-Yahweh Songs' and the Meaning of the Term 'Servant of Yahweh' in Isaiah, Chaps. XL-LV," *Amer. Journal of Theology*, Vol. III, pp. 499 f.; MONTEFIORE, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 278 f.; CHEYNE, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, Vol. II, Essays iii-v; WRIGHT, "Pre-Christian Jewish Interpretation of Isa. lii-liv," *Expositor*, June, 1888; NEUBAUER-DRIVER, *Catena of Jewish Interpretations of Isa. liii*. There is at present a considerable tendency toward an individualistic, or at least non-social, interpretation. The Servant is the typical good man whose sufferings are inexplicable from the point of view of nomism, unless they are vicarious.

remnant, as the unit, he attempted to bring all godly individuals into the godly remnant, and this, in turn, into a glorious nation under holy priests and a Davidic king. Thus the cycle of ideals was completed. Nothing remained except to bring these ideals of Ezekiel and the pious men of the exile into an actual commonwealth. And that it attempted this is, perhaps, the greatest significance of that event known as the return.

When, through the favor of the Persian Cyrus, Judea again took something like its old place in the world, it was with the determination on the part of its reconstructors to found a theocratic state in which a completed Torah was to regulate all matters of social life. But this was simply to embody the formulation of prophetic ideals; and this is only to say that the return was an attempt to institutionalize prophetic messianism. Such an attempt was, in fact, all but inevitable. The prophets had expected that the divine deliverance would consist in the establishment of a Hebrew nation as untranscendental as Assyria and Egypt, its confederates,²² and through the agency of no more miraculous intervention than would be involved in any political readjustment like the triumph of Assyria²³ or of Cyrus.²⁴

The righteousness that was to characterize this new Israel was that elaborated in the later code, and obviously was thought of as involving all social relations. How else can one estimate the appearance of the Levitical code, the covenant not only to maintain the temple and its worship, but also to avoid mixed marriages, not to trade with "the people of the land" on the sabbath or a holy day, to let the land lie fallow, to observe the sabbatical year, and not to exact payment of debts?²⁵

But we are not limited to such evidence of an attempt to institutionalize messianism. In the prophecies that may reasonably be assigned to this period the significance of the new commonwealth is described in messianic colors. In no other prophets is the certainty of national deliverance and prosperity through Jehovah's presence more emphasized. The one prerequisite is the observance of the Torah by the individual,

²² Isa. 19: 19-25.

²⁴ Isa. 44: 28; 45: 1.

²³ Isa. 10: 5.

²⁵ Neh. 10: 29-31.

and the maintenance of the temple by the nation.¹⁶ Then, too, appeared that hope which was to play so great a rôle in early Christianity, that in those days, so soon to dawn, Jehovah would send his spirit upon a pious Israel to inspire new prophetic zeal and visions.¹⁷ The coronation of Zerubbabel seemed to Haggai and Zechariah the fulfilment of the promise of a prince from the house of David,¹⁸ and thus one more feature in the messianic kingdom. The Judah of the return was to be the fulfilment of the prophets' promises. A state was to be founded in which all social life was to be regulated by the divine Thorah.

SECTION II. THE RISE OF APOCALYPTIC MESSIANISM.

With the establishment of the ineffectual messianic commonwealth, the prophetic messianism passed over into the messianism of Judaism. The transition resulted, not in the destruction of the social content of the older hope, but in the development of a supplementary messianic conception. The first stages of this new evolution it is hard to trace. In part the new element was the outcome of scribism, and, unfortunately, scribism during the Persian and Macedonian period has left few impressions upon Jewish literature. If Jews hoped for divine deliverance between Malachi and Judas Maccabæus, they have left all but no record of their hopes. Yet the years were critical in the development of Judaism. It is from them that we may trace the development, not only of nomism, but of the second great element of pharisaism—apocalyptic messianism.

As pharisaism on its legalistic side was the outgrowth of the codes, so on its idealistic side was it the outgrowth of prophetism. The forerunner of apocalyptic must be sought in what had been a regulative thought of prophetism, the Day of Jehovah—that time when the God of Israel would exercise his right and inflict terrible punishment upon all those who had not kept his law. What this day had been to Israel before Amos may be conjectured from the national belief in Jehovah as a God certain

¹⁶ Hag. 1:13; 2:6-9; Zech. 2:1-5, 12, 17; 8:1-8, 12, 20-23; and especially Isa. 60:1-22.

¹⁷ Joel 2:28, 29.

¹⁸ Hag. 2:23; Zech. 3:8, 12.

to defeat all rivals; it was to be a day of joy and peace for a conquering Hebrew nation.¹⁹ With Amos and the great prophets who succeeded him the Day became one in which Israel was to be punished by Jehovah for its sins. Instead of glory there was to be frightful suffering. The luxury of the nation, springing as it did from economic oppression, had grown hateful to the prophet and his God,²⁰ and the degenerate people was to be destroyed as a vindication of Jehovah's righteousness.

Ever after Amos the Day had the same religious coloring. Yet it was no longer to be a punishment merely of a wicked Israel, but of a wicked world. Zephaniah saw an all but universal judgment day, for Jews as well as heathen.²¹ Ezekiel conceived of it as a day of battle in which Jehovah would conquer all of Israel's foes.²² Later prophets, like Malachi, foretold the fearful punishment to be then meted out upon all wicked, Jew and gentile alike. Whatever hope of deliverance the Day might contain was for the pious remnant.

After the exile this thought of deliverance from their enemies naturally grew stronger among a people consciously striving to keep Jehovah's law, and thus the Day became assimilated with the new messianic hope. All its terrors were believed to be reserved for the enemies of the new Judah.²³ Religious faith lost itself in visions, and revenge found earthly warfare insufficient for its purposes. A new rhetoric was demanded, in which the extremes of pessimism as to the present and the wildest optimism for the future might be properly exhibited. And then arose the apocalypse.

One cannot be far from the truth if he considers the apocalypse the exposition of the Day of Jehovah in a literary form resulting from the Hellenistic influences under which the Jews

¹⁹ See the discussion by J. M. P. SMITH, "The Day of Yahweh," *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1901, pp. 505 f.

²⁰ Amos 2:6-8; 3:9-15; 5:10-13; 6:4-8. HARPER, "The Prophecies of Amos Strophically Arranged," *BIBLICAL WORLD*, 1898. Cf. MCCURDY, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, Vol. I, pp. 308 f.

²¹ Zeph. 3:8, 14-20, however, argue the exception of Judah. If this is late, 1:2-18; 2:4-15, present the Day with sufficient distinctness.

²² Ezek. 30:2 f.; 34:12; 39:8 f.

²³ Cf. Joel 2:18-27.

lived even from before the days of Alexander. This influence was both philosophical and æsthetic. Of philosophy was born Wisdom, and of æsthetics was born apocalyptic. Greek influence always prompted a people to some form of æsthetic expression, but the new art, in so far as it was not simply imitative, was determined by a people's past. As the Greek turned to marble and bronze and canvas as the media in which to perpetuate his anthropomorphic symbols of truth and hopes, the Jew, fearing to make to himself any graven image, used language for his statues and his paintings. Utterly lacking in a knowledge of technique,²⁴ hardly venturing to look at a Greek god or goddess, deficient in the very elements of art, he painted his word-pictures as he had seen the uncouth monsters of Egypt and Assyria. His symbols became strange creatures with eagles' wings and lions' bodies, legs of brass, and feet of clay. Unity was as lacking in the composition of his pictures as in their units. Bulls and buffaloes and sheep and goats and birds and shepherds jostled each other in his visions, and the fixed order of nature was unhesitatingly reversed. Yet in all these inartistic, confused symbols stands the one great thought of the prophetic Day of Jehovah. God will judge mankind, will gloriously deliver a righteous Israel from oppression, will indescribably punish the wicked and the heathen, and will establish a regenerate Judah as the head of the entire world.

It is not to our purpose to discuss how far these composite pictures of pessimism and extravagant hope were also influenced by the creation myths of Babylon. That there was such influence is clear, not alone from the characters and scheme of each apocalypse,²⁵ but from the fact of the appearance of this bastard prophetism among those who had been subjected to the influences of the exile. Yet the apocalypse really belongs to the Greek period of Jewish history. While visions were not unknown to genuine prophetism, it is not until the post-exilic second Zechariah²⁶ that a true apocalypse is met in Hebrew literature. As

²⁴ Cf., for instance, the bas-relief decoration in the castle of Hyrcanus, east of Jordan, in *'Arak el-Amir* (JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xii, 4 : 11).

²⁵ See GUNKEL, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 286-93, for summary.

²⁶ Zech., chaps. 9-14.

might have been expected, this first apocalypse deals, however interruptedly, with the Day of Jehovah, although "that day" is preferred to this precise term. There, as always, its chief content is that of punishment, but along with threats there are the promises of blessings. For Israel was to be repentant, and out from its sorrow was to come deliverance. But wild as are the figures with which these complementary thoughts are set forth, it would be untrue to the general spirit inspiring the early apocalyptic writing to think of its visions as in the strictest sense eschatological.⁷⁷ A complete eschatology was possible only when to other hopes there was joined some recognition of the resurrection of the dead. In a general sense, it is true, one might call these forecastings of the future eschatological, but only in the sense that the apocalypses looked across the culmination of one "age" into the events of another. Farther than this it is impossible to go. The synthesis of the nation's and the individual's future attempted by Ezekiel had been wholly within this mortal life. It would be impossible to deny that the Jews throughout this period, when the material of later messianism was developing, had some belief in immortality, but there is no evidence that this hope had become in any way connected with messianism. Yet after the return such a union could not long be postponed. The influence of Ezekiel's nationalism and of the later prophetic individualism was too strong. With Isa. 26: 1-19, that is, probably in the fourth century B. C.,⁷⁸ immortality appears with distinctness, but only as limited to pious Hebrews. By the time of Daniel⁷⁹ the belief in a resurrection has come to include others than Hebrews, and is joined with the messianic hope. Although this union concerns only the consummation of deliverance, like

⁷⁷ The limitation of the term "eschatological in the strict sense" to forecasts of the future involving a resurrection of the dead may appear somewhat arbitrary, but seems necessary for clear thinking. Some word like "neo-eschatological" might possibly be used to distinguish between the eschatology of prophetism and that of pharisaism.

⁷⁸ CHEYNE, *Introduction to Isaiah*, pp. 145 f., and art. "Isaiah" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; DRIVER, *Introduction* (6th ed.), favors a date early in the fifth century B. C.

⁷⁹ Dan. 12: 1 f. On this matter in general see CHARLES, *Eschatology*, and his articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* and HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*. Unfortunately, he has not fully treated this particular phase of the subject.

so much else in Daniel, it was the beginning of that which was to prove so potent a supplement of the social messianism of the prophets, the new eschatology of later apocalyptic.

The line of development of messianism for a considerable period, however, does not seem to have followed this innovation of Daniel, fruitful as it was later to become, but kept true to its uneschatological and mundane limitations. The passage from glowing visions of a triumphant, re-established Israel to a belief in the literal character of the apocalyptic drapery is long, if easy, and one must look beyond Daniel to find it accomplished. For the early apocalyptic movement extraordinary word-paintings were intended to portray actual political and social regeneration. The Day of Jehovah itself involved the re-establishment of Jerusalem and certain institutions modeled on the strong lines of the older prophetism.³⁰ Apocalyptic itself, in its first portrayal of the emergence of an exulting nation from bitterest anguish, had a social content. Its figures were truly figurative. The new Judah was not to be in the sky or composed of imaginary beings, but was to be geographical and political.³¹

The same perception of a concrete and, so to speak, historical character of the messianic community is to be seen clearly in the great parent of all later apocalyptic, Daniel. How thoroughly true to its historical spirit is this writing throughout its elaborate imagery and symbolism, has been apparent to all interpreters. The various beasts represent, not world-epochs, but kingdoms which had been all too real in the affairs of the Jews, while the human being³² pictured the coming and triumph of a no less real kingdom of the saints. From the point of view of this prophecy, in fact, the early Maccabean uprising must have appeared a part of the divine deliverance promised the oppressed Pious. Yet in the same proportion as it is thus judged

³⁰ Cf. Zech. 12: 5-9, and also the extraordinary readjustment of the topography of Judea in Zech., chap. 14.

³¹ Zech. 9: 9, 10.

³² Dan. 7: 13. It is impossible to see in **כְּבֵד אֱנוֹשׁ** any other meaning. The contrast is clearly between beast-like and human symbols.

messianic must it also be declared social and political. The bands of fanatics which ranged through the little state, "smiting sinners in their anger and lawless men in their wrath," pulling down heathen altars, circumcising neglected children, guaranteeing, as far as with them lay, safety in the observance of the Torah and the developing oral law,³³ certainly regarded themselves as appointed by Jehovah, both for deliverance and for the reconstruction of the state.³⁴ Nor did success, as so often, prove fatal to the belief of the scribes and their followers that God's kingdom was soon to appear. It is impossible to see in the divinely promised king of the Sibylline Oracles³⁵ any other than one of the Asmonean house, Simon or possibly John Hyrcanus. Under him all war was to cease, and God would send the customary blessings and punishments of apocalypses. Even in Hellenistic Judaism the Day of Jehovah still fills the future, and the blessings of the new reign were to be made possible only by bloody wars and convulsions in nature. But the outcome of all struggle was to be a peaceful state, bountifully supported by a miraculously fruitful earth.³⁶ The nations would come under the law of Jehovah, and all the world become an empire with Jerusalem as its capital. In the other literature of the time may be traced similar expectations. Even Wisdom, with all its disillusionings, could not quite disbelieve in a judgment of the heathen, a deliverance of God's people, and an everlasting Jewish empire under a Davidic dynasty.³⁷ The writer of the book of Tobit even ventures the hope that when the new Jewish empire is established all the heathen will be converted to God.³⁸ In other words, except in Dan. 12:1 f., messianism, in the Asmonean time, though expressed in terms of apocalyptic, had not become transcendental, but possessed still the social content of prophetism itself.

³³ 1 Macc. 2:42-70.

³⁴ 1 Macc. 5:55-62.

³⁵ III, 652-794.

³⁶ *Sibylline Oracles*, III, 652-794.

³⁷ Eccles. 32:18, 19; 33:1 f.; 37:25; 47:11; 50:24; with the first of these references cf. Judith 16:17.

³⁸ Tob. 13:11; 14:6, 7. How far this hope ran through the Dispersion can hardly be said because of lack of data. But cf. BERTHOLET, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, pp. 257-302, 337; and FRIEDLÄNDER, *Das Judentum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt*.

But evidently the new Judaism that rose when once the party of the Pharisees had differentiated itself from the Pious and the Sadducees, found ready to its hand all the elements of its late messianism. There were (1) the ineradicable belief that Jehovah would re-establish his people in indescribable glory, and (2) under a "legitimate" monarch, a son of David; (3) the equally fixed belief that He would judge the world and punish with indescribable sufferings the enemies of his chosen nation and, though this is less clear, the wicked generally, whether gentiles or Jews; (4) the belief in a resurrection of the dead indistinctly associated with the establishment of a regenerate Israel; (5) a literary form—apocalyptic—whose pictures were so vivid as readily to be mistaken for facts instead of symbols. During the period in which Christianity arose, *i. e.*, that of Roman suzerainty, these elements, each the outcome of prophetism, were combined into a completed messianism.

This development followed two lines; they were, *first*, the revolutionary messianism of the masses; *second*, the eschatological messianism of the literary classes, notably the Pharisees. Both were implicit in the messianism of the Maccabean age, but the former, following more closely the spirit of earlier prophetism, constituted a genuinely religio-social movement; while the latter, that of the Pharisees, following rather the later apocalyptic tendency, was scholastically religious, quite without social content.

[*To be continued.*]

THE GREAT DAY OF PENTECOST.

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CHRIST'S work on earth was intensive, not extensive. He took complete possession of a few lives, but did not win the multitude. The perversity, bigotry, and shallowness of the Jews defeated every effort for the nation as a whole. Their violent hatred cut short his public ministry. At his death his followers were not many hundred in number (Acts 1:15; 1 Cor. 15:6). This was the initial state, the implantation of Christianity; and this small company of disciples constituted the germ of the Christian church.

The second stage was introduced by the exaltation of their divine Master who, made perfect through suffering, and seated at the right hand of God, became head over all things to the church (Eph. 1:20-23). Now came the extensive work. The gospel had been planted deep; it was from this time to be spread abroad. To this end Christ had promised his disciples a special endowment of the Spirit, and for this they were waiting prayerfully in Jerusalem when the great day of Pentecost came.

Fifty days after the crucifixion of Christ, and ten days after his ascension, fell this promised Jewish festival. It was originally a harvest celebration, but had come later to be regarded as an anniversary of the Sinai law-giving. This feast of Pentecost, coming at a more favorable time of year than the Passover, attracted crowds of pilgrims to Jerusalem, especially Jews and proselytes from foreign countries. This was the occasion providentially chosen for the fulfilment of Jesus' promise. The holy city was filled with earnest, devout, and large-minded worshippers of God from many lands, the disciples were expectantly awaiting the outpouring of the Spirit, and the wide world was hungry for the gospel of righteousness, mercy, and peace.

Early in the morning of this great day the Christian brethren were assembled in the upper room of the house where for ten days past they had constantly met for worship and companionship. Nothing foretokened that this was to be the day when the special effusion of the Spirit should come, though the fitness of the occasion and the expectation that the promise would be soon fulfilled may have quickened the hope of the company. Then suddenly came the Spirit visitation, attested to the senses by a loud roaring as if a mighty wind blew through the house, and symbolic light marked the disciples severally. The noise seems also to have served as a providential summons, for the devout residents and pilgrims in Jerusalem assembled hurriedly at the house of the Christians. Here they looked and listened with amazement at the manner and utterances of the inspired company. With ecstatic, incoherent outbursts of feeling and expression they were manifesting their joy in their fuller possession of the Spirit.² The hearers were perplexed and sought anxiously the meaning of these peculiar phenomena. An explanation was necessary.

The time for witness-bearing had come. Standing as their representatives in the midst of the Christian company, the twelve apostles, through their spokesman, Peter, addressed the interested throng about them. We can scarcely suppose that we have all that was spoken by Peter on this occasion, nor that what we have is given in his exact words, but it is reasonable to hold that the substance and the spirit of what he said have been preserved to us. He was dealing with Jews, either by birth or by adoption, and he had but one point to make—that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah who fulfilled their Old Testament prophecies and expectations. First, then, he showed them the

²It is probable that one of the sources from which Luke made up his account of this incident regarded the tongue-speaking as an actual address in foreign languages. In that case one would judge that a slight misunderstanding of what actually took place had crept in in the course of transmission. For tongue-speaking, so called, was a common feature of the first Christian years (Acts 10:46; 19:6; 1 Cor. 12-14), and was always emotional and unintelligible. Nor was a gift of foreign languages at all necessary, as apostles and hearers all knew either Aramaic or Greek, or both. See particularly SCHAFF, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. I, pp. 234-43; CLEMEN, *Expository Times*, Vol. X (1899), pp. 344-52.

real nature of the startling occurrence which they were witnessing. It was nothing less than the realization of Joel's remarkable prophecy (Joel 2:28-32), that at the coming of the Messiah's kingdom God would pour out his Spirit so abundantly upon men that not only priest and prophet, but every willing person, old or young, would speak his truth and praise. But to the Jewish mind it was inconceivable that their Messiah should pass through humiliation, suffering, and outward defeat. Peter must therefore show how Jesus, meeting with this experience, could still be the Messiah. He called upon them to acknowledge the approved life of Jesus, and the testimony to his divine mission, which arose from his miraculous works. His betrayal and crucifixion, which might at first seem a stumbling-block in the way of accepting him as Messiah, were actually foreordained by God, and in them God's purpose was fulfilled, not thwarted. The Messiah by God's appointment was to be made perfect through suffering, and through a complete sacrifice of himself was to exhibit God's love, fatherhood, and salvation to men. His enemies accomplished his death, but the omnipotent Hand raised him to higher life, greater glory, and wider power. The incarnate God, giver of life, could not be subject to death. This truth, he argued, had already appeared in the psalm prophecy (Ps. 16:8-11), for the exemption from death there set forth was clearly not David's possession, and was therefore to be true of the Messiah. And that Jesus fulfilled this prophecy by actual resurrection Peter and all the Christians could testify, for had they not within the days just passed repeatedly seen him and communed with him? And by his ascension he had been exalted to the right hand of God, thence to conduct the future of his kingdom. Already a prophetic passage (Ps. 110:1) had foreshadowed this. And now this signal visitation of the Spirit gave additional evidence that Jesus lived and cared for his disciples. He was indeed Messiah and Lord of all.

The effect of this pointed presentation of the facts and explanation of what was just taking place was immediate and general. Convinced that Peter's view was the true one, many were ready to act in accordance with it. Peter told them what

to do—told them what Jesus himself had directed (Luke 24 : 47; Matt. 28 : 19). A great number—the Acts account says about three thousand—accepted Jesus as their Messiah and Master, and became associated with the original body of Christians. Many of these new disciples were presumably from the common people of Judea and Galilee, who had sometimes followed Jesus and were much attracted by him, but who had had wrong messianic conceptions, and on that account had not accepted him. Now, in the light of his resurrection and this Pentecostal manifestation, they were fully persuaded to believe in him. Probably also many of the pilgrims who had come up to the feast became, for the first time, acquainted with Jesus, and were glad to become his disciples. These would carry back to their homes in foreign lands an account of the life and teaching of Christ, from which there would, and doubtless did, grow up groups of Christians in far distant places.

These new members of the Christian community submitted at once to the instruction of the apostles, who taught them the facts of Christ's life, the gospel principles and teachings, the relation of Christianity to Judaism, the understanding of messianic prophecy, and such other things as were needful to fit them for service in the world-wide spread of Christianity. This day of Pentecost, therefore, while it was not properly the "birthday of the church," as it has frequently been called, since that church existed previously in the company of Christ's disciples, was nevertheless an occasion of great significance. It witnessed the special divine preparation of the Christians for the extension of the gospel, and the first numerical greatness of the body of disciples. It was the historical point at which the expansive power of Christianity signally asserted itself; and so it is rightly viewed as one of the supreme moments in the progress and experience of Christianity.

THE NATURAL LINE OF ADVANCE IN SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

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THE great body of the Sunday schools at the present time are on a uniform lesson basis, or one in which all classes, from the youngest to the oldest, study the same short portion of Scripture. This method of study was a vast improvement on the former indiscriminate study of all kinds of lessons. It gave great satisfaction for many years, but its limitations are now so keenly felt, and the present dissatisfaction with it is so deep and widespread, that the demand for something better cannot be long resisted. There was never before so much inquiry regarding better methods of study, nor so much determination to secure them. The main question is: What is the best possible method of Sunday-school Bible study, and how is it to be obtained?

All advanced thinkers on this subject are agreed that the ideal Sunday school is one which has a regularly graded course of study, with separate lessons for each year, so that a scholar beginning at any point in it can move steadily forward in his biblical and religious education as long as he remains in the school. The educational arguments in favor of such a system are overwhelming. To most of the enthusiasts whose eyes are opened to its advantages there seems to be no reason why it should not be introduced at once. The difficulty is that the change from the uniform to the class-graded basis involves such a complete revolution of ideas concerning the purpose of the Sunday school, and such radical changes in Sunday-school organization and methods of instruction, that but few schools are ready for it.

We must remember that the Sunday-school world includes a very large number of people and a great variety of interests;

that in this, as in other reforms, large bodies move slowly, and cannot be transferred at will from one position to another far in advance, but that they must move, if at all, one step at a time, and along the line of least resistance. Sudden and revolutionary changes in the Sunday-school world are impossible. If we wish, not merely to secure the transfer of an occasional school from the uniform to a class-graded basis, but to provide for an advance of the whole Sunday-school army in that direction, we must utilize the forces already existing and start from the ground now occupied. It becomes us therefore to note carefully the principal elements of strength in the present system, to see how far any of these can be used, temporarily at least, in connection with the advance desired, and to introduce new elements into that advance only so fast as they can be received and assimilated by the great body of the schools.

The chief pillar of strength in the International system is its unity of impression on those using it. That there is great value as well as convenience in this is beyond dispute, since otherwise it could never have become the basis of a world-wide system of study. Whether it is as valuable as that better training of the individual which results from a class-graded system is wholly another question; but the idea that this unity of impression is the thing of principal value in Sunday-school instruction has been so fostered by the uniform lessons, and has taken such deep hold on the schools, that it will be many years before any large number of them will be ready to give it up in favor of the better instruction of the individual. This, then, is the special element in the present system which we must conserve as far as possible, and use within reasonable limits, in making any advance which shall command the attention of the great body of the schools. On the other hand, as above stated, the goal of Sunday-school advance should be the class-graded system. The pressing question, therefore, is how to preserve unity of impression as long as it shall be needed, and at the same time to introduce a process of differentiation between the lessons used in different parts of the school which shall prepare the way for the class-graded system and move steadily toward it.

The gap between uniform lessons and class-graded lessons is so great that it must be filled temporarily, and probably for many years, by department-graded lessons, that is, lessons in which each of the three great departments of the school—primary, main school, and Bible classes—has lessons especially adapted to it. These in their natural subdivisions furnish an easy line of advance, beginning with lessons least removed from uniformity, and proceeding, as rapidly as the need of further advance is felt, to lessons farther and farther removed from it, until at last class-graded lessons are reached. There are three well-defined steps of progress in this department-graded advance, each of which must be taken in order to secure the best results. These may be called department-graded A, B, and C; or section-graded, book-graded, and miscellaneous-graded. I will speak of each in turn.

1. *Class A, or section-graded lessons.*—The important relation of this kind of lessons to the great forward movement in Sunday schools requires a somewhat full description of them. We must remember that, in order to carry many schools with it, any system of study which moves progressively away from the uniform lesson must move slowly and along the line of least resistance. This is the secret of the success of the Bible Study Union lessons. From the first they were planned in such a way that they could be used successfully, when desired, on a class-graded basis. They are now so used in many schools. But had they at first, or at any time since, been placed exclusively on the class-graded basis, they would never have had a corporal's guard of followers. The schools ready to adopt that idea are not numerous enough to support any system of lessons, nor will they be for a long time to come. Many, however, are ready for an advance step which shall combine unity of impression for the school with a steadily progressive course of study for the individual. Schools can use such a system without any serious disturbance of their old habits of thought, and yet with a delightful sense of progress in Bible study to which they were previously strangers.

This is accomplished as follows: The International uniform

lesson consists of ten or a dozen verses selected mainly for their homiletic value, with such study of connected passages as the lesson writer or teacher sees fit to make. The Bible Study Union, on the contrary, bases each lesson on an *entire Scripture section*, comprising all that the Bible has to say on that particular subject, or perhaps groups of more or less closely connected subjects. The difference is very great between studying a short passage as the lesson, with some desultory reference to connecting material, and studying the whole section as the lesson; and yet it is the shortest and most natural step away from the uniform lesson to something better.

It provides, to begin with, for a division of the material according to the needs of the different departments, which, through scantiness of material, is not possible with the International lesson. Thus each section is likely to have in it some story or great truth adapted to children. This is taken as the lesson for the primary grades, and is studied for its own sake, as an individual story or truth, rather than with reference to its connection with other parts of Scripture. This is in accordance with the educational principle that children care very little for connected biography or history, and very much for independent stories and truths.

But when we come to the classes in the main school, the case is wholly different. The time has now arrived in the mental development of the pupil when he should study connected biography or history; hence the entire section is made the lesson for the main school, and is studied more or less completely according to the grade. This method of presentation is so different in purpose and manner from that of the International uniform lesson as to awaken new interest, and to promote enthusiasm where there was none before; yet it is not so different as to repel by its strangeness or to discourage by its difficulty.

In the Bible-class lessons another idea becomes prominent. It is assumed that the pupils are now mature enough for a broader outlook on the spiritual contents of the section than is possible in earlier years. Attention is therefore concentrated upon the practical and doctrinal teachings of the lessons which

are presented in the form of topics for discussion, with such questions and notes as are necessary to open debate and guide thought.

We have thus one Scripture section covering an entire subject, or group of connected subjects, studied with a different lesson and for a different purpose in each of the three chief departments of the Sunday school. This, through the general unity of impression which results from the study of one Scripture section, preserves the most valuable characteristic of the uniform lesson; and at the same time, through the different courses and grades in the several departments, adds a real gradation of material and methods, thus uniting the best features of both uniform and graded systems. This makes the step of progress from the old to the new so easy that any school can take it with perfect success.

2. *Class B, or book-graded lessons.*—The next step of progress is to a system in which the lessons for all departments are taken from the same general portion of Scripture, though not necessarily from the same section. This may be called department-graded B, or book-graded, from the fact that the lessons for all departments are from the same book or books. This differs more widely from the A class than that does from the uniform lesson, since the lessons in the different departments have no relation to one another excepting that which comes from their being from the same books of Scripture, as, for instance, the gospels, and from their naturally following the same chronology.

This system is decidedly better educationally than that in which the lessons for all departments are taken from the same section, because some sections, which are indispensable to a complete biography or history, contain nothing of special value to children, while other sections have in them two or three stories, each of which would furnish an excellent lesson for children, yet on which older people ought not to be required to linger. But, as a matter of fact, schools generally do not appreciate this until they have had practical experience of it. Some series of the Bible Study Union system belong to the A class and some to the B class, and although the educational argument in favor of

the B class is vastly stronger than that for the A class, yet the A class has been decidedly the most popular with the Sunday schools. What I say on this subject, therefore, is not merely a matter of opinion, but of experience. The attempt to carry schools over from the uniform basis to the book-graded class will not ordinarily be a success until they have first learned the limitations of the section-graded class by using it. People have become so accustomed to getting something that could somehow be used in all departments of the Sunday school from the ten or twelve verses of the International lesson that they cannot believe but that there is something perfectly suited to all departments in any Scripture section of a chapter or two, until they have found out the contrary by the study of lessons arranged on that basis.

My opinion is that, if the great body of the Sunday schools could be—as I believe that with sufficient co-operation among those most interested they easily might be—transferred from the uniform lesson to the A class, as above described, within the next five years, they would not as a body become ready for a further advance to the B class for fifteen or twenty years at least. At all events, it would not be until the better adaptation to the needs of each department found in the A class, as compared with the uniform lesson, would presently educate them up to the need of the still better adaptation found in the B class. I am trying to look at things as they are, and not as I wish they might be. In the great Sunday-school world there are too many persons to be considered, and too many interests are involved, to secure rapid movement in any direction. Stagnation is the thing most to be feared; slow progress is the most that can be hoped for. If the schools ever advance to the B class, it will be a long time before they will, as a whole, make any further advance. For the material from any given book or set of books is so ample that suitable topics for children, young people, and adults could easily be found in it; and it would be only after much experience with this kind of lessons that the schools generally would become in turn wearied of its limitations, and be ready for the next step.

3. *Class C, or miscellaneous-graded lessons.*—We now come to

the highest form of department-graded lessons, which I have called department-graded C, or miscellaneous-graded, from the fact that the lessons from the different departments are from a great variety of sources. They consist of one set of lessons for the primary department, another for the main school, and another for Bible classes, no one of the three having any connection with the other two, except that they relate more or less directly to the religious education of the pupil. The object here is to secure for each department the lessons best adapted to it, without regard to the lessons in the other departments. Up to this point in the advance we have maintained a considerable degree of that unity of impression which is the main feature of the uniform lesson. In the section-graded class this unity is fully equal to that in the International system, perhaps even better, since it is based on a complete Scripture section instead of on a disconnected fragment of it. In the book-graded class this unity exists within certain limits, since the lessons for all departments are from the same general portion of Scripture, as, for instance, the gospels; but it is much less marked than in the A class, because the lessons in the different departments are often from different Scripture sections. But in the miscellaneous-graded class we part company with all unity of impression in the school at large, and in place of it substitute the better instruction of each department. For this class of lessons permits the different departments to have lessons on the widest possible range of subjects, whether from the Bible, from nature, from church history and biography, or concerning ethics, doctrines, missions, or anything else relating to the religious education of the pupils.

The mere statement of the ends sought and the means used in this method of study shows not only how far removed it is from the simple uniform lesson now in general use, but also how long a step it is in advance of the B class. Each successive step in this line of progress is, indeed, longer than the preceding one, but not difficult to take in its proper order. There is no doubt but that this is educationally the best kind of department-graded lessons, since the gradations for each department are unhampered by the requirements of any other department, and are made solely

with reference to the highest interests of the department for which they are designed. Whether the lessons for each department are selected annually, so as to be treated in the current religious papers, as the uniform lessons are now, and as all department-graded lessons easily could be, or whether they are selected in one or more of the departments for permanent use, as has been proposed by some, they afford a freedom of treatment and selection vastly better than either of the methods described as A and B.

The idea of such lessons is, indeed, so attractive that many are urging its immediate adoption. The trouble is that the step from the uniform lessons to lessons of this kind is so long that but few schools can be induced to take it. There is great danger in offering such courses at the present time, lest their failure through being too great an advance shall react to hinder any advance whatever for years to come, and to leave the schools in a worse condition than before this particular advance was attempted. Large bodies move slowly and cannot jump creeks. They must have roads and bridges. They cannot afford to abandon present good till something better takes its place.

However much we might wish that there were a shorter way for securing the desired result, it seems clear that, while a few schools can move more rapidly, the only line of advance along which the great body of the Sunday schools can march to the music of graded lessons will be substantially that above marked out, namely: A movement *first* to a graded system in which the lessons for all departments shall be from the same Scripture section. This preserves unity of impression throughout the school, and adds a gradation of material which, though not the best possible, is yet a great advance on simple uniformity. The *second* step will be to graded lessons in which the lessons for all departments are from the same books of Scripture, but not necessarily from the same Scripture section. This secures unity of impression in each department, and to some extent in the whole school, and gives a better gradation of material than is possible in the section-graded class. The *third* step is an advance to a system in which each department of the Sunday

school shall have lessons specially selected for it without regard to what is studied in the other departments. This does away entirely with unity of impression in the school as a whole, but retains it within each department and secures a better gradation of material than is possible in either of the other department-graded systems. The *fourth* and last step, in the remote future, is one in which, perhaps through the natural subdivision of miscellaneous-graded lessons within the several departments, and perhaps through the gradual introduction of special lessons designed for pupils of certain ages until all ages are covered, there shall be a system of lessons in which each class or year shall have a lesson specially adapted to it, without regard to what other classes are studying, excepting as each year's study is a link in a perfect chain. Here unity of impression wholly disappears, and in its place has come the best possible instruction for the individual class or scholar. Beyond this nothing remains except to perfect the courses offered and to improve each year's lessons to the utmost. This, it will be seen, provides for a steadily progressive movement away from the uniform lesson toward the class-graded lesson, each step of which follows the preceding one so naturally as to be taken easily in its proper order.

It is understood, of course, that in order to meet the needs of the schools in any part of this advance movement the lessons must be educationally sound; they must be interesting and instructive; they must be spiritually helpful, and must be adapted for use by ordinary teachers in ordinary Sunday schools. They must, in short, use the Sunday school as it now exists, with all its drawbacks and limitations, in such a way as to give young people a real familiarity with the Bible as a whole, and a good knowledge of all its principal contents. They must also be so well arranged, so comprehensive, so systematic, so progressive, that the very use of them for a term of years will solve the teacher problem by training up a generation of teachers who, through studying the Bible by correct methods, have not only become well acquainted with it, but have learned how to teach it. These phases of the subject, as well as the vast changes in

Sunday-school ideas, organization, and management that must gradually take place in the progress of such a movement, are worthy of long and careful consideration. We can, however, but mention them here.

There is, however, one further thought which must not be omitted. No general change from any one system of study to any other can be made at once. It must come gradually and can come in but one way. The new lessons must be placed beside the old ones and the schools left to choose between them. No matter how much better the new may be, the great majority of the schools will at first cling to the old. But if the two are given an equal chance, and the advantages of the new are persistently set forth in print and in speech, and if those who try the new find them better and recommend them to their friends and neighbors, the new will gradually supplant the old, and a revolution will be effected, which, though it be but the taking of a single one of the four great steps of progress above outlined, will be of surpassing importance to the Sunday schools of the country.

This is the work in which the Bible Study Union is engaged. Its lessons are now mainly of the A class, some are of the B class, and all are used more or less in class-graded schools. But this arrangement is not final. The lessons will be advanced into the B and C classes, and adapted better and better for class-graded work as rapidly as the schools are ready for the change. In carrying out this plan the Union invites the co-operation of all who are interested in improved methods of Sunday-school Bible study. It feels sure that by joining hands much more can be accomplished than by pulling apart; that along the way thus pointed out the transfer of the great body of the Sunday schools from a uniform to a section-graded basis can be easily effected within a few years; and that this movement, once begun, can, with reasonable foresight and unity of effort, be steadily though slowly carried forward from point to point, to the mutual advantage of all concerned and to a perfect mastery of Sunday-school Bible study in the future.

The following diagram illustrates the stages of advance as already described :

THE NATURAL LINE OF ADVANCE FROM UNIFORM LESSONS TO CLASS-GRADED LESSONS.

1. **UNIFORM LESSONS.** Lessons the same for all departments. The International system.
2. **SECTION-GRADED, OR DEPARTMENT-GRADED A.** A different lesson for each department, but all lessons based on the same Scripture section. Several of the Bible Study Union series are of this class.
3. **BOOK-GRADED, OR DEPARTMENT-GRADED B.** Lessons for all departments from the same books of Scripture, but not from the same section. Some of the Bible Study Union lessons are of this class.
4. **MISCELLANEOUS-GRADED, OR DEPARTMENT-GRADED C.** Separate lessons for each department without regard to what is studied in other departments.
5. **CLASS-GRADED—THE IDEAL SYSTEM.** A regular course of study. Different lessons for each year, all used simultaneously. Selections from the Bible Study Union lessons are used in this class.

The Council of Seventy.

FOUR COURSES OF STUDY IN THE BOOK OF ACTS.

It is not often that the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE can offer any special help to those who are studying the International Sunday-school lessons, since the subject-matter of the INSTITUTE'S four-years' course is fixed, while that of the Sunday-school lessons under the International system frequently changes. Beginning with January 1, however, there is an opportunity to make a happy combination. The International lessons take up the book of Acts at that time, and the INSTITUTE provides well-planned work covering the same material in courses varying in degrees of difficulty, from the simple outline course for general adult classes to the most technical work in the original Greek. The following is a statement of these opportunities in detail, beginning with the most elementary:

I. *An outline course for adult classes or for teachers.*

This course covers in outline the Acts, the epistles, and Revelation, in their historical connection. The work for each day is definitely assigned. The Bible only is used. The work is not done *for* the student, but he is so directed in it that the results of his own work may be relied upon.

The Monthly Bulletin for Study, by means of which the work is conducted, is sent to each student on the first of every month. Besides the directions for study, the bulletin contains full analytical outlines of the Acts and each of the epistles; a series of review questions is also furnished, and a special letter from the principal of the INSTITUTE giving some practical thoughts of interest to Bible students.

A certificate is awarded for the return of the nine duplicate question sheets which are provided to those who wish to study with a certificate in view. The questions need not be answered from memory, but are intended simply to summarize the work of the student.

If a club is formed for the study of the course, special suggested programs for club meetings are provided. The principal sends to all leaders of clubs a monthly letter giving further suggestions.

The enrolment fee for this work is 50 cents for the course. The time required for the work is from fifteen to twenty minutes daily.

This is an admirable course to be used in connection with family worship. Supplementary reading is recommended for those who desire it. This is the department in which last year ten thousand students were enrolled.

II. *A reading course for ministers, teachers, and others desiring more technical work.*

This course requires the reading of nine standard volumes of history and biography covering the period of the apostolic church. For each book a special review has been prepared by some member of the COUNCIL OF SEVENTY. The list of books, the reviews, and the BIBLICAL WORLD for one year are furnished for the fee of \$2, which is the regular subscription price to the BIBLICAL WORLD when taken independently. Special arrangements for loaning books on favorable terms are also made.

III. *A correspondence course on the Acts.*

This course will give a thorough grasp of the individual facts which make up the history, the accurate and complete understanding of these facts, their relations to each other in a comprehensive view of the history, and the vital lessons of belief and practice which the history contains for the individual Christian and for the organized Christian church today. The chief topics for investigation in this study will be: (1) The organization of the church, its source, development, officers, members, method of government, rites, services, etc. (2) The environment of the church, its relation to the ecclesiastical and civil powers, and to the common people. (3) The development of the church as it adapted itself to the new conditions of time, locality, and nationality, as well as to the circumstances of its own growth. (4) The belief and teaching of the church concerning the way of salvation, the resurrection, the person of Christ, the relation of Christianity to Judaism, the relation of Christianity to paganism, etc. (5) The practice of the church concerning the daily lives of the Christians as regarded their duties toward God, toward the world, toward each other, and of each toward himself. (6) God's providence sustaining and directing the church. (7) The records which have preserved to us a history of this primitive period of Christian church history.

The work will be conducted by means of regular fortnightly written recitations. These will receive the attention of a skilled instructor who will return the lessons with corrections and criticisms. Each student will receive the same individual attention as a student in school or college. An effort will also be made to adjust the work of the teacher so

that he may keep well ahead of his class. This can be done if enrolment is made sufficiently early. The course is equally valuable for the general Bible student who wishes a thorough practical study. *The tuition fee* for this course is \$5. The books required will be: study leaflets, \$0.40; Cambridge Bible *Commentary on Acts*, \$1.10 (The Macmillan Co., New York); and either Bartlet's *Apostolic Age*, \$2 (Scribner's, New York) or McGiffert's *Apostolic Age*, \$2.50 (Scribner's, New York).¹

IV. *A correspondence course on the Acts in Greek.*

This course will be a linguistic, exegetical, and historical study of the entire book of Acts. It will give a thorough study of the syntax of New Testament Greek as regards the verb. The books required will be Burton's *New Testament Moods and Tenses*, \$1.50; Westcott and Hort's *Greek Testament, with Lexicon*, \$1.90; and a first-class commentary on the book of Acts (such as Knowling in the Expositor's Greek Testament, Plummer in the Cambridge Bible, Hackett, Gloag, Meyer, or Wendt). The tuition for this course will be \$8. The work will be conducted by means of fortnightly written recitations under a specialist in New Testament Greek. A reading knowledge of Greek will be required.

Here, it will be observed, is an opportunity from the point of view of the pastor to devote some time to scholarly work for himself; or to read carefully chosen books, and, perhaps, to prepare to preach a series of sermons along the line of the Sunday-school lessons; or to conduct a successful teachers' meeting; or to do some systematic work with a class in the Sunday school; or to organize, from members of his church who do not attend Sunday school, a class for systematic study; or to urge upon the families of his church the use of the daily outline work in connection with family devotions or individual study.

Inquiries addressed to the office of the INSTITUTE at Hyde Park, Chicago, will receive careful attention.

¹ Other books of high value for this study, but not required, are: HACKETT, *Commentary on Acts*, \$2, American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia; SCHAFF, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. I, \$4, Scribner's, New York; WEIZSÄCKER, *Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*, 2 vols., \$7, Putnam, New York; LECHLER, *The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times*, 2 vols., \$5, Scribner's, New York; CONYBEARE AND HOWSON, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, \$3, Scribner's, New York; RAMSAY, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, \$3, Putnam, New York.

Work and Workers.

It is with profound sorrow that we record the death, on November 26, of Professor Joseph Henry Thayer, D.D., who for a long period has been recognized as the foremost New Testament scholar of America. He had been in failing health for some months, having reached the age of seventy-three years; but his death was a surprise to the religious world, which had come to feel that he was a permanent possession. Dr. Thayer was graduated from Harvard University in 1850, and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1857. After some years in the ministry he was called in 1864 to the professorship of sacred literature at Andover, and in this position he continued until 1882. In 1884 he accepted the chair of New Testament criticism and interpretation in the Harvard Divinity School. Recently he found it necessary to withdraw from active duties at Harvard, but he continued his arduous labors in the preparation of the American Standard edition of the Revised Bible, being chairman of the New Testament Committee, until it was published last August. By his instruction to seminary students through a period of thirty-five years, by his work as a member of the Revision Committee, by his translations of Winer's and Buttman's *New Testament Grammars*, and above all by his *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (1886), he has exerted an influence of magnitude and distinction upon American religion which has seldom been equaled, and which has entered into the fabric of our national life. A memorial to Professor Thayer will be published in a subsequent issue of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*.



PROFESSOR J. H. THAYER

THE COURSES FOR LAY WORKERS AT UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK.

The courses for lay workers which have been provided this year by Union Theological Seminary, of New York, in addition to the regular curriculum preparing for the ministry, constitute a most important advance in the religious world. Similar courses of study should be furnished in connection with every theological seminary, and in ten

thousand cities and towns of the United States besides. This is the great opportunity and the most effective means of fitting Bible teachers and religious workers for that higher usefulness which the present conditions demand.

The courses at Union Seminary are designed for the higher religious education of parents, Sunday-school superintendents, and Bible teachers of all classes, Young Men and Young Women's Christian Association secretaries, and mission workers. They are arranged to accommodate both the residents of New York, who can spare but little time for study and class-room attendance, and other persons who may arrange to attend classes daily during the winter. Each course of study is confined to one class-room exercise a week, and a student may enroll for either one or more classes at a time. Most of the classes are held in the evening. One class generally succeeds another, at the hour following, so that a person can pursue two courses of study at a time without devoting more than one afternoon or evening a week for class attendance. The classes are held at different points in the city. Most of the regular classes meet at the Seminary. One of them meets at Teachers College on the west side of New York. Extension classes are held at different churches. All of the classes are open to both sexes. The instruction is of an unsectarian character. The session is confined to six months, from November to April inclusive. No fees are charged beyond a matriculation fee of one dollar a term for each course.

The courses of study are arranged in three groups: those in the English Bible, Religious Instruction, and Christian Work.

The Bible courses are conducted in the English version. They are divided into Bible History courses, Prophecy courses, Psalmody courses, Wisdom courses, and courses in the Epistles. At least one course in each of these groups of courses is to be offered every year. The curriculum for the present session includes courses in the Characters of the Old Testament, the Life of Christ, Apostolic History, the Minor Prophets, the Psalms, the Book of Proverbs, and the Epistle to the Galatians. Two general courses also are provided, one in the Origin and General Character of the Books of the Bible and one in Selected Bible Masterpieces. Two instructors have been added to the teaching force of the Seminary to conduct the Bible courses.

The courses in Religious Instruction embrace Methods of Teaching and Sunday-School Administration. A course in Methods of Teaching and Sunday-School Practice is provided this year, which will be

conducted at the Seminary by a professor of Teachers College of Columbia University. A course is given also in the Methods of Teaching the International Sunday-School Lessons. For the more fundamental studies of psychology, the application of psychology to education, and the history of education, students are referred to the courses in these subjects offered by Teachers College.

The courses in Christian Work provided this year are one in Personal Work, conducted by the president of the Seminary, and one in Missions, Settlements, and Charities, conducted by the head worker of the Union Settlement and director of student Christian work at the Seminary.

Professor Richard G. Moulton, Ph.D., of the University of Chicago, will give two special public lectures during the winter on the Literary Study of the Bible.

The enrolment has been most gratifying. The session opened with an attendance of two hundred and sixty persons. One hundred and sixty are in the regular classes, and the average shows that approximately each one has enrolled in two classes. One hundred are in Extension classes. The students include Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Jews, Lutherans, members of the Ethical Culture Society, and members of the Society of Friends. The relative numbers from the different sects are indicated in the order given. One-fifth of the students are men. A large proportion are Sunday-school teachers. A few are resident pastors. Almost all are residents of New York city, Brooklyn, and suburban towns in New Jersey.

The requests for Extension classes in different churches have been too numerous to be entirely met. They have come from both greater New York and near-by cities. Four Extension classes have been organized for the first term. Two of them are for both terms. They are at a Presbyterian church on the Bowery, a Reformed church in upper Manhattan, a Reformed church in the Bronx, and a Congregational church in Brooklyn. The subjects chosen by the Extension classes are the Life of Christ, Bible Masterpieces, and the Origin and History of the Books of the Bible.

The success and effect of this most praiseworthy and interesting undertaking will be earnestly watched by the increasing multitude of those who wish to promote the religious education of all.

Book Reviews.

The Early History of Syria and Palestine. [The Semitic Series.]
By LEWIS BAYLES PATON, PH.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Criticism in Hartford Theological Seminary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. xxxvi + 302. \$1.25, *net*.

The author of this work has selected for himself a most attractive field of investigation, and one that has not been made hitherto the theme of a single volume. Events of national importance that have taken place on the east coast of the Mediterranean sea are found in every period of history from the most ancient times. Its plains, especially Hamath and Esdraelon, have seen battles that have determined the supremacy of world-powers. Across its territory nations large and small have marched, either in the ranks of an army or in the caravans of commerce, as far back as records or traditions carry us.

The territorial limit of the author is Syria, extending from the Taurus mountains on the north to Mount Hermon on the south, and Palestine, extending from Mount Hermon down the east coast of the Mediterranean sea to the wilderness of Paran.

One of the first questions asked by a reader of such a work is answered in the preface as follows: "For the chronology of Babylonian and Assyrian history I have followed the conclusions of Lehmann. . . . For the Egyptian kings from the XVIIIth dynasty onward I have adopted the dates of Lehmann and of Steindorf. . . . For the period before the Hyksos occupation I have followed Borchardt. . . . In the chronology of the Israelitish history I am most indebted to the investigations of Rühl."

These statements predetermine some of the questions touching the relations of the ancient peoples whose interests were found in Syria and Palestine. Lehmann's system of chronology is not as yet established by discovered facts. The difference of a thousand years between the dates of Sargon I., as made out by two "schools" of Babylonian chronology, is evidence in itself that the historian is not securely safe at present in following the new lead, especially when the results are obtained by the methods in vogue.

The time and material to be handled by the author are broken up into thirteen chapters, extending from "the earliest inhabitants" down

to "the new Babylonian supremacy." It was natural that a discussion of the first peoples of this region should include statements of wider significance. "The oldest Egyptian and Babylonian records do not reach back farther than 3500 B. C." (p. 3), and "A Semitic civilization was already in full bloom in Babylonia by 3500 B. C." (p. 6), are significant statements regarding the antiquity of the Semites in Babylonia. "At the earliest period disclosed to us by the Egyptian and the Babylonian records, Syria and Palestine were already inhabited by Semites" (p. 2). So that, whatever may be said of the so-called Sumerian civilization, it is pushed back by the author into a period anterior to the oldest Babylonian inscriptions. This is a result highly gratifying to those who maintain the Semitic origin of the Babylonian civilization.

The discussion of "The Old Babylonian Supremacy" (3200-2500 B. C.), as indicated above, drops the dates one thousand years, locating Naram-Sin, son of Sargon I., at 2750 B. C., and Gudea, king of Lagash, at about 2650 B. C.

Chap. iii, "The Amoritic Migration," assumes a second wave of Semitic migration which poured out of Arabia and overflowed Babylonia about 2500 B. C. At the same time, according to the Egyptian monuments, the valley of the Nile was overrun by Semites. Syria and Palestine were also invaded by the same migration (p. 28). "That the Ḫabiri are the same as the Hebrews in the wider sense of the name, that is, that they are the group of peoples to which Israel, Moab, Ammon, and Edom belonged, there is no reason to doubt" (p. 40). "The first emergence of the Hebrews upon the stage of history was not earlier than 1500 B. C." The author maintains that with our present knowledge of the ancient Orient "it must be pronounced incredible that an ancestor of Aramæan Israel should have dwelt in Canaan as early as the time of Hammurabi (Amraphel)" (p. 40). The terms "Abraham" and "Abram" "must have belonged originally to two different personages." "Abraham was the collective name of a group of Aramæan peoples, including not only the Hebraic clans, but also the Ishmaelites and a number of other desert tribes. Abram was a local hero of the region of Hebron" (p. 41). "When Ephraim and Manasseh are regarded as the sons of Joseph, this means that these tribes conquered the region formerly owned by Joseph" (p. 43). "Esau's name was changed to Edom, because Edom conquered the territory once occupied by Esau." "Lotan (Ruten), or Lot, was the old Egyptian name of the eastern portion of Palestine. Into this territory the Hebraic tribes, Moab and Ammon, migrated. They could

not be identified with Lot ; hence, as Ephraim and Manasseh had to become the sons of Joseph, so Moab and Ammon had to become sons of Lot" (p. 43) ; "and through unconscious puns on their names the story arose that they were born of incest" (p. 123). The argumentation in this chapter is quite as interesting as anything we have ever read. The method of reasoning sometimes adopted is not that which would be expected in dealing with the facts of any documents outside those of the Scriptures. At the close of some such statements as those quoted above, the mind of the reader asks for the evidence.

Chap. viii, "The Rise of the Aramæan Nations," deals with the period 1376-1160 B. C., while Israel was in Egypt, to their settlement in Canaan. In connection with this event we have some striking statements. "The Canaanitish tribe of Asher joined the Hebrew confederation ; and, together with Gad, was included in the later genealogical lists as a son of the concubine Zilpah. Dan and Naphtali also, the children of the concubine Bilhah, are doubtless Canaanite tribes that were adopted into the nation of Israel" (p. 151). "All went well until Levi and Simeon broke their treaty and treacherously slew the people of Shechem (Gen. 34), whereupon the Amorites rose *en masse* and almost exterminated them. Levi ceased to exist as a tribe. . . . Simeon also was reduced to a tiny clan that was driven to the extreme south of the land, where it dragged out a feeble existence as an appendage of the tribe of Judah" (p. 157). We thus have a reconstructed history of the tribes which deserves the most careful consideration. The handling of biblical statements here is quite as free as that in chap. iii noted above.

A discussion of the history of Palestine includes a treatment of the history of Israel, and we have here an admirable summary of that history. Chap. xi, "The Advance of Assyria," is a condensed account of Israel and Assyria, covering 885-745 B. C. A few statements only can be mentioned in a critique of this period. On p. 204 it is assumed that Jehoshaphat had been worsted in a battle with Israel, because "he appears as a vassal in the army of the king of Israel" (in 1 Kings 22 and 2 Kings 3) ; and, further, that the marriage of Jehoram to Athaliah "indicates a controlling influence of Israel in the politics of Judah." In the former case there is no indication whatever in the texts that Jehoshaphat's relation to Israel was that of a vassal. In both cases (1 Kings 22 : 4 and 2 Kings 3 : 6) he is treated as an ally, and is asked whether he would accompany the king of Israel on his projected campaign. In the latter case, the marriage between Jehoshaphat's son

and Ahab's daughter would rather strengthen or weld the relation of ally; note Ahab's marriage with Jezebel, or, earlier in history, that of the daughter of the king of the Hittites with Rameses II. of Egypt. There is slight evidence to support the statement that 2 Kings 6 : 24 — 7 : 20 is a duplicate account of 1 Kings 20 : 1-21 (p. 207). In fact, the difficulties of explaining the divergencies of such an account far outweigh the difficulties of taking the two texts as they stand as descriptive of two different sieges. The assumption (p. 208) that Ahab lost Ramoth-gilead in an earlier battle is quite unnecessary. It is probable that the treaty at Aphek in 856 B. C. included the return of Ramoth-gilead, but Benhadad had not fulfilled that part of the contract. After the battle of Karkar, the danger from Assyria being past, and after the three years' peace, it is more probable that Ahab resolved to enforce his claims, and asked Jehoshaphat to join with him in this fight (1 Kings 22). There is also no sufficient evidence that Judah was a vassal of Ahab and sent a contingent of troops with him to the battle of Karkar (p. 209) or to other battles (*cf.* also pp. 212, 214).

But lack of space limits our notice. Professor Paton has done an attractive piece of work. It covers one of the most fascinating sections of ancient oriental history. The work as a whole is very readable and creditable, though the authorities which he sometimes adopts, especially in his adjustments of the earliest chronology, are open to serious objections. In the periods dealing with the Hexateuch he handles rather more severely and critically the statements of the text of Scriptures than those of the records of the ancient monuments. As a pioneer work on the early history of Syria and Palestine, it deserves the most careful study and consideration. The chronological tables, especially from 931 B. C. down, are particularly valuable. The bibliography is also of especial worth to every student who would pursue farther his investigations into this interesting epoch of ancient oriental history. Maps and indices make it such a handbook on these lands as the student of the Orient wants within reach.

IRA M. PRICE.

Studies in the Teaching of Jesus and His Apostles. By PROFESSOR EDWARD I. BOSWORTH, Oberlin Theological Seminary. New York: International Committee of Young Men's Christian Association, 1901. Pp. 217. \$1.

This volume is one that has been called out by the present great demand for courses of Bible study which shall be constructed accord-

ing to the best scholarly knowledge and pedagogical wisdom. It comes near to attaining the ideal. Treating as it does the most difficult problems of New Testament teaching, Professor Bosworth has been remarkably successful in his choice, arrangement, and interpretation of the material. The religious and devotional aim is uppermost throughout the book, yet by its use one would become well instructed in that historical view of the New Testament without which there can be no correct understanding of its ideas. The teaching of Jesus and the teaching of the apostles are both presented upon the subjects of Jesus and his mission and the disciple and his mission; the unity of the New Testament teaching is clearly indicated. Yet there is no confusion of the several types of New Testament thought, and in other important respects also the author has been true to the principles of biblical theology.

It means a great deal for the mass of Bible students that such guides for their study are put within their reach. We are entering upon a period in which courses of Bible study will flow in a rapid stream from hosts of individuals and from numerous publishing houses. The manufacture of inductive study courses has become the effort of the hour. And the greatest difficulty for those who would adopt such literature is to choose the best from all which is offered. It may therefore be helpful to say that no popular course of study in the religious teaching of the New Testament is likely to appear which will exceed in truth or value that contained in the present volume by Professor Bosworth. For adult classes in the Bible school, for Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. classes, for Bible clubs, and for individual study, this course is sincerely recommended.

The book presents its material as thirty studies, designed to cover a year's work (from October to May). Each study is divided into seven portions, so that each day will have its specific duty. If this arrangement is artificial—as it undoubtedly is—yet it is justified by the fact that people need definite daily tasks assigned them; and the author has protected his material from serious harm in this process of division. Part I treats of "Jesus' Conception of Himself and His Mission," Part II treats of "The Apostolic Conception of Jesus and His Mission," Part III treats of "Jesus' Conception of the Disciple and His Mission," Part IV treats of "The Apostolic Conception of the Disciple and His Mission." The Bible text is the basis of the studies, and the student is simply assisted in the process of learning from the New Testament itself what its religious teaching is. The statements,

questions, references, and quotations are for no other purpose than to bring the student face to face with the Scriptures. And by this course he will find that he is becoming acquainted with the Bible, not only as a record of past religious experience, but as a divine guide to his present religious belief and practical life.

C. W. V.

The Miracles of Unbelief. By FRANK BALLARD, M.A. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. xi+362. \$2.25.

This book aims to show that "whatever be the difficulties of Christian belief, the difficulties of unbelief are greater." Attention is given almost wholly to various instances of this truth; for example, the supernatural in church history, in the origin of the New Testament, in the character of Jesus. Stated most baldly, the argument runs: Christian faith is *less irrational* than unbelief. The whole case rests on the alternative: either supernaturalism or agnosticism (naturalism). This absolute opposition seems strange, indeed, in the light of historical criticism, and in view of the organic conception of evolution and divine immanence. A challenge hardly ought to be expected. The assumption throughout seems to be that logical proof can compel belief—an assumption which has been tried historically and found wanting.

E. A. HANLEY.

CLEVELAND, O.

Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

OLD TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

- *GUNKEL, H. *The Legends of Genesis*. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1901. Pp. 164. \$1.
- URQUHART, J. *Die neueren Entdeckungen und die Bibel*. 2. Band: Von Abraham bis zum Auszug aus Aegypten. Uebersetzt von E. Spliedt. Stuttgart: Kielmann, 1901. Pp. 331. M. 5.
- SIEGFRIED, C. *Esra, Nehemia und Esther, übersetzt und erklärt*. [Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von W. Nowack.] Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. Pp. 175. M. 3.80.
- JAHN, G. *Das Buch Ester, nach der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kritisch erklärt*. Leiden: Brill, 1901. Pp. 67. M. 3.
- ROYER, J. *Die Eschatologie des Buches Job*. Freiburg: Herder, 1901. Pp. 156. M. 3.50.
- *PETERS, J. P. *The Old Testament and the New Scholarship*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. 328. \$1.50.

ARTICLES.

- STEUERNAGEL, C. *Hermann Gunkel's Kommentar über die Genesis*. *Theologische Rundschau*, November, 1901, pp. 437-58.
- STEVENSON, J. H. *Archæology and the Bible: With Especial Reference to the Flood Story, the Moabite Stone, and the Siloam Inscription*. *Methodist Review* (Nashville), September-October, 1901, pp. 672-83.
- LEWIS, MRS. A. S. *A Remarkable Palimpsest*. *Expository Times*, November, 1901, pp. 55-7.
- SKINNER, J. *Notes on a Newly Acquired Samaritan Manuscript*. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1901, pp. 26-36.

This new manuscript of the Pentateuch was purchased in Jerusalem in 1900 by Mrs. Lewis and her sister, Mrs. Gibson, who have presented it to Westminster College, Cambridge. It is a vellum manuscript of 308 leaves, each page presenting two columns; the right-hand column has the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch; the left-hand column has an Arabic translation, but in Samaritan characters. The manuscript comes from the beginning of the sixteenth century, and its chief value may be the light which it throws on the history of the principal Arabic translation current among the Samaritans.

CONDER, C. R. Light from Exploration on Canaanite Civilization. *Homiletic Review*, December, 1901, pp. 483-7.

SMITH, DAVID. The Songs of the Ascents. IV: Persecutions in the Desert. *Expository Times*, December, 1901, pp. 118-20.

HIRSCH, S. A. Isaiah 45: 18, 19. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1901, pp. 134, 135.

The conjectural emendations here proposed produce the following new translation of these verses: "For thus says the Lord that created the heavens, he is God; that formed the earth and made it, he established it. It is not the vain (idol) that created it, that formed it for habitation; it is I, God, and no one else."

LAMPE, J. J. Manners and Morals in Israel in the Times of Isaiah. *Bible Student*, November, 1901, pp. 259-67.

MOFFAT, R. M. The Servant of the Lord, II. *Expository Times*, November, 1901, pp. 67-9.

KÖNIG, ED. The Question of the Unity of Isaiah. *Expository Times*, November, December, 1901, pp. 90-94, 132-5.

This is a reply to an article by Dr. W. H. Cobb in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1901, pp. 77-100, where a defense was made of the hypothesis that the book of Isaiah is a unit. Dr. Cobb's arguments are considered seriatim, and are all of them pronounced inconclusive or untenable. Dr. König closes by saying: the verdict that Isa., chaps. 40-66, were not written by the prophet of the year 701 B. C. cannot be shattered even by the ironical remarks of Dr. Cobb concerning the rapid advance of critical theories. The false extremes of criticism cannot throw suspicion on its reasonable assumptions, which put forward nothing but what is based at once on material and formal indications.

MÜLLER, W. Emendationen zu Hezekiel. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 118-28.

The passages for which new readings are here suggested are Ezek. 7: 10, 11, 13b; 12: 10b; 16: 15b, 16b; 19: 5, 10a; 20: 9, 14; 21: 15b, 18, 20; 23: 42a, 43; 34: 12; 47: 10b.

HIRSCHFELD, H. Descriptive Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts of the Montefiore Library. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1901, pp. 159-96.

NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

*MENZIES, ALLAN. The Earliest Gospel. A Historical Study of the Gospel according to St. Mark. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. 318. \$2.75.

*PURCHAS, H. T. Johannine Problems and Modern Needs. London: Macmillan & Co., 1901. Pp. 126. 3s.

*D'ARCY, C. F. Ruling Ideas of Our Lord. [Christian Study Manuals.] New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1901. Pp. 139. \$0.60.

- WREDE, W. Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. M. 9.
- *BALLENTINE, F. S. The Modern American Bible: St. Luke—Gospel and Acts. St. Paul. St. John. With Notes and Introduction. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1901. Pp. 331, 339, 309. \$0.50 each.
- ROBERTSON, WILLIAM. Studies in the Acts of the Apostles. [Guild Text-Book series.] London: A. & C. Black, 1901. Pp. 154. 6d.
- *WEBER, V. Der Galaterbrief aus sich selbst geschichtlich erklärt. Ravensburg: Kitz, 1901. Pp. 163. M. 1.80.
- *BOSWORTH, E. I. Studies in the Teaching of Jesus and His Apostles. New York: International Committee of the Y. M. C. A., 1901. Pp. 217. \$1.
- GIBSON, J. M. Apocalyptic Sketches. London: Stockwell, 1901. Pp. 152. 2s. 6d.
- MAY, JOSEPH. The Miracles and Myths of the New Testament. Boston: George H. Ellis, 1901. Pp. 191. \$1.

ARTICLES.

- NESTLE, EB. Luke 1:3. *Expository Times*, December, 1901, pp. 139, 140.
- RAMSAY, W. M. Corroboration: The Census Lists of Quirinius and Augustus, and the Family and Rank of St. Paul. *Expositor*, November, 1901, pp. 321-35.

The theory that the census in connection with which Jesus was born in Bethlehem was the first periodic census of the fourteen-years' cycle (fourteen years after the accession of Augustus to the fully developed imperial power) has to face the difficulty that the proper year of the census was 8-7 B. C., while the birth of Jesus can hardly be carried back to a time earlier than 6 B. C. This difficulty is obviated, or at least greatly lessened, by an analogous case of imperial administration that occurred two or three years later in Asia Minor. A much simpler ceremony than taking a census was not carried out until about two years had elapsed after it should have been performed. The delay was due simply to the natural exigencies of administration. Professor Ramsay therefore thinks it a moderate and reasonable statement that a numbering of the people in Palestine in 6 B. C. is to be accepted as part of the census connected with the cyclic year 9-8 B. C. and properly falling in the year 8-7 B. C. The claim also previously made that the records of the census were preserved and could be consulted by persons authorized, and in fact were so consulted, has also received confirmation from a document recently published in which a woman asks that her son be exempted from the poll tax, the basis of the claim being that the ancestors of the boy were exempt, which was proved by a genealogy carried back five generations.

"The fact that Paul's father was a Roman is absolute proof . . . that he was a man of conspicuous position in the great city in which he was so honored." . . . Paul was probably "brought up in a family where the splendid opportunities that lay before a Roman Tarsian citizen were properly valued, and where therefore the children must have grown up familiar with those opportunities and have been educated accordingly."

TERRY MILTON S. The Miraculous Birth of Jesus Christ. *Methodist Review* (New York), November-December, 1901, pp. 891-902.

The historical trustworthiness of the infancy accounts in Matthew and Luke is accepted by the author. That which weighs most with him in arriving at this decision is the presumptive evidence created by the recognized unique character of Jesus and the extraordinary events of his later life which are, as the writer believes, clearly attested.

BLASS, F. Ueber Joh. 19:35. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 128-33.

BOYS-SMITH, E. P. St. John's Gospel and the Logos. *Expository Times*, December, 1901, pp. 140-44.

TURNER, C. H. *Adversaria Chronologica*. 1. Tatian's Chronology of the Ministry. 2. Epiphanius' Chronology of the Ministry. 3. Eusebius' Chronology of Felix and Festus. *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1901, pp. 110-23.

GLOUBOKOVSKY, N. The Gospel and the Gospels. *Expository Times*, December, 1901, pp. 101-4.

The Greek word *εὐαγγέλιον* is used in the Septuagint for rendering the Hebrew *besorah*, closely paralleling its classical Greek meaning. But preferentially and in its strict sense it was applied in the Old Testament to the messianic prophecies which announced the New Testament kingdom of inner peace and of release from the burden of sin (Isa. 40:9; 52:7; 60:6; 61:1, 2). When the Messiah came, in the person of Jesus Christ, this term *εὐαγγέλιον* ("good news") was employed to denote his historical work in the salvation of mankind. Jesus is therefore the author of the gospel, properly speaking; for the gospel is the "good news" which he brought into the world. But in the second century the term "gospel" came to be applied to the several books which contained accounts of Jesus' earthly life, and men spoke of the gospel according to Mark, the gospel according to Matthew, etc. By this use there were several "gospels" instead of but one. The purpose of the "gospels" is to record the "gospel," *i. e.*, they endeavor to describe to men the personality and work of Christ as Redeemer.

THOMAS, J. B. The Gospel Miracles and Modern Thought: The Latest Theory. *Homiletic Review*, December, 1901, pp. 494-500.

This is a defense of the view that Jesus worked his miracles in order by means of them to compel men to believe in himself as the Messiah and Son of God. They were thus "signs." But it was "signs" that the scribes and Pharisees demanded of Jesus, and it was exactly that which Jesus refused to give. "This generation is an evil generation: it seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah. . . . For they [the Ninevites] repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah is here" (Luke 11:29-32; *cf.* Matt. 12:38-42). The theory of the purpose of Jesus' miracles to which Dr. Thomas objects is that they were worked to reveal the love, sympathy, compassion, and beneficence of God toward suffering and struggling humanity. For this view see the article by Professor Marcus Dods, D.D., in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* for March, 1900.

PIEPENBRING, C. Les principes fondamentaux de l'enseignement de Jésus. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, July-August, 1901, pp. 62-107.

BRAITHWAITE, W. C. A New Uncial of the Gospels. *Expository Times*, December, 1901, pp. 114-17.

This manuscript of the four gospels in Greek was purchased a year ago by Mr. Braithwaite, and he proposes for it the name Codex Macedoniensis. A symbol for it has not yet been chosen. The writing is upon parchment in single columns, the words are not spaced, and punctuation is rare; the words regularly contracted in uncial manuscripts are contracted here. The document can be readily assigned, upon palæographical evidence, to the ninth century. An examination of the text of the manuscript soon shows that it is to be classed with the later uncials E F G H K M S U V Γ Δ X Π, containing a mixed "Syrian" text; but it occupies a high rank within this class, since it supports the Westcott-Hort text about four hundred times against the Textus Receptus. Mr. Braithwaite indicates in this article some of the most interesting readings of his manuscript.

KELMAN, JOHN. St. Paul the Roman. *Expository Times*, November, 1901, pp. 76-81.

Paul, better than any man of his time, understood the imperial policy of Rome. He conceived a "tremendous scheme for utilizing the Roman empire for Christ's purposes." This fact has three great illustrations: Paul's use of the Roman roads, the Roman citizenship, and the Roman imperialism. We are inclined to believe that the author has taken Professor Ramsay's conjectures rather too seriously. Paul certainly meant to evangelize the empire, but that he established any program such as this article describes is doubtful.

SCHULTZ, OSWALD. Τι οὐν ὁ νόμος; Verhältniss von Gesetz, Sünde und Evangelium nach Gal. 3. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1902, Heft 1, pp. 5-56.

The relation of the law, sin, and the gospel is briefly expressed as follows: God's original plan of salvation is through Christ to redeem men from their slavery to sin. Before he could open this way of salvation it was necessary for men to recognize their sin as sin — to see the difference between their goal and their actual condition. To this end God gave the law. This brought men full knowledge of their sinfulness, of their guilt, and of their complete impotence against the mastery of sin, and left in them only the feeling of an unsatisfied seeking after redemption, so that they were willing to renounce all self-righteousness, lay hold trustfully of God's hand in redemption, and gladly receive the free gift of righteousness. Thus man was prepared for the coming of Christ. The gospel could enter only with the gracious communication of the highest good and of the power of the Holy Ghost to overcome sin and to deliver men from their bondage, to restore the harmony between their willing and their doing, and so to make them free children of God, subject to him in free obedience.

HARRIS, J. RENDEL. A Further Note on the Use of Enoch in 1 Peter. *Expositor*, November, 1901, pp. 346-9.

The particular passage of the epistle with which the writer is concerned is the rather remarkable one 1 Peter 3:19. He thinks the evidence establishes a literary relation between this passage and Enoch 10:4, 5, 12, 13. The text-critical law of transcriptional probability applied here strongly suggests the first thesis which he proposes, that the name of Enoch has dropped out of the text in this passage. To

this he adds a second thesis, that many of the exegetical difficulties of the passage disappear when it is restored. Certainly no one who accepts the first thesis will be disposed to question the second.

CONYBEARE, F. C. Les sacrifices d'animaux dans les anciennes églises chrétiennes. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, July-August, 1901, pp. 108-14.

The author regards it as a mistake to suppose that animal sacrifices were not offered among the first generations of Christians. The church was, for a number of centuries, recruited from among those nations that were accustomed to such sacrifices, and they did not always immediately abandon the practice when they accepted Christianity. In corroboration of this statement he cites sacrificial prayers and other testimony which he has discovered in manuscripts whose dates range from the third to the eighth century A. D.

RELATED SUBJECTS.

BOOKS.

*BLACK, HUGH. Culture and Restraint. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1901. Pp. 350. \$1.50, net.

SPEER, ROBERT E. Christ and Life. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1901. Pp. 232. \$1.

PIGON, A. C. Robert Browning as a Religious Teacher. Cambridge: University Press, 1901. Pp. 144. 2s. 6d.

BANKS, L. A. The Great Saints of the Bible. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1901. Pp. 351. \$1.50.

*SAVAGE, M. J. The Passing and the Permanent in Religion. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901. Pp. 336. \$1.35.

FAIRBAIRN, A. M. Religion in History and Modern Life. Second edition. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1901. Pp. 261.

ARTICLES.

CONDER, C. R. The Site of Calvary. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October, 1901, pp. 409-12.

Colonel Conder replies to the arguments of Canon MacColl in the July *Quarterly Statement*, defending the traditional site of the crucifixion. He maintains that in all the patristic literature there is not one particle of evidence that the site of Calvary was known in the second and third centuries. Further, that there is no contemporary account of Helena's visiting Calvary, and Eusebius (whether an eyewitness or not) does not explain how the conclusion was reached that the site marked by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was the true one. With regard to Eusebius, his views as to Bible sites were as often wrong as right. Canon MacColl, he thinks, does not understand the topography of Jerusalem, nor has he mastered the literature of the subject on which he undertook to write. It is certain, from the rock levels of Jerusalem, that the present traditional site of Calvary was the summit of a rocky knoll rising high above the Tyropæon. The line of wall, as he draws it, would leave this knoll just outside the wall, in a way which no one acquainted with ancient fortified sites could for a moment think possible. But about 30 A. D. the city of Jerusalem extended

considerably beyond the second wall on this west side. The old difficulty remains that the site of Calvary which was fixed in the fourth century, and which thereupon became the traditional site, was so central in position as regards both the present and the ancient town that even in the fourth century itself some explanation was felt to be necessary to account for its not being outside the city. That which Jerome gives, and which most later Christians repeat, seems to me to have been apologetic; and it was certainly incorrect, as far as the evidence of Josephus and of the extant remains of the second wall are any indication.

GELL, FRANCIS. Excursus on the Resurrection on the Hypothesis that it took place from a Tomb similar in Construction to the Tombs of the Kings, and in that Vicinity. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October, 1901, pp. 413-19.

BROSE, E. Der Teich Bethesda. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 133-40.

SMITH, G. A. Notes of a Journey through Hauran, with Inscriptions Found by the Way. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October, 1901, pp. 340-61.

NIES, J. B. Notes on a Cross-Jordan Trip Made October 23 to November 7, 1899. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October, 1901, pp. 362-8.

GANNEAU, CLERMONT-. Archæological and Epigraphic Notes on Palestine. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October, 1901, pp. 369-89.

SCHICK, C. Hill of "Jeremiah's Grotto," called by General Gordon "Skull Hill." *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October, 1901, pp. 402-5.

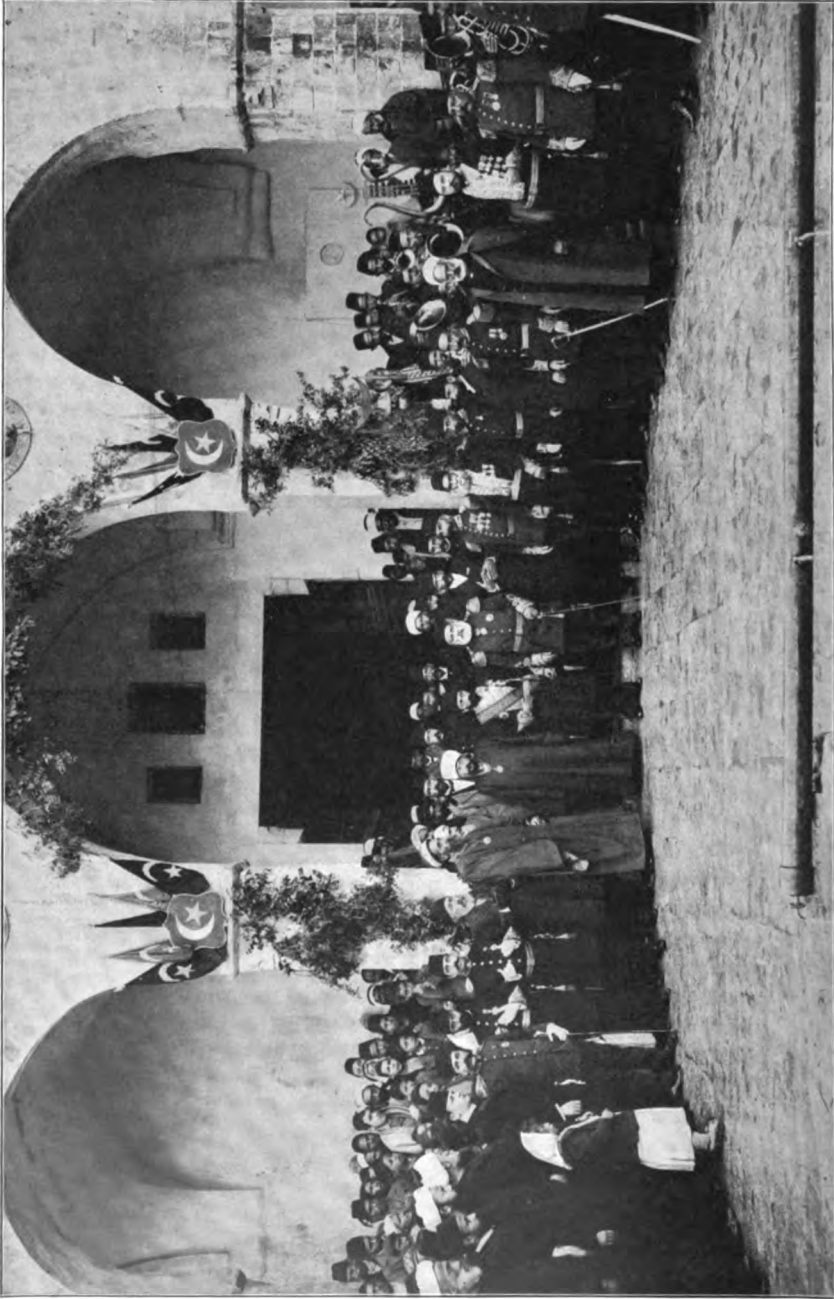
The appearance of the rock on both sides of the road along the north wall of Jerusalem justifies the general belief that this hill was originally connected with the hill Bezetha inside the wall north of the temple area, and that the broad cut-out which now separates them was produced by quarrying for stone, and that this removal of the stone took place at intervals over a long period. The original level which was thus destroyed probably presented a depression between the two heights rather than an elevation. This explanation is confirmed by Sir Charles Wilson, who will write upon the subject soon. And in the January number of the *Quarterly Statement* Dr. Schick will give a plan and description of "Jeremiah's Grotto."

SAYCE, A. H. Recent Biblical Archæology. *Expository Times*, November, 1901, pp. 64-6.

BENNETT, G. H. Inspiration Not Invalidated by Biblical Criticism. *Methodist Review* (New York), November-December, 1901, pp. 934-40.

SCHODDE, G. H. The Bible of the Old and the Bible of the New Theology. *Treasury*, December, 1901, pp. 607-10.

MONTEFIORE, C. G. The Desire for Immortality. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October, 1901, pp. 96-110.



THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW WATER SUPPLY IN THE TEMPLE AREA, JERUSALEM, ON NOVEMBER 27, 1901. The iron pipe in the foreground is discharging the water brought from the fountains at Solomon's Pools. The Pasha of Jerusalem is at the center of the group; at his left hand stands the Commandant of the Troops, and at his right the Head of the Mosque.

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WHAT IS THE FINAL SERVICE OF THE HISTORICAL METHOD?

IT is one of the difficulties of any historical religion that it must always be judged as a historical phenomenon rather than as a form of faith. In so far it will always be exposed to misinterpretation and give rise to unsatisfactory apologetics. The very facts that give it value and stability also endanger its universality. For to be historical is of necessity to be in some degree limited by the times and place and nation in which a religion came into being. A philosophy dealing with God and righteousness would be much freer from such elements, and, conceivably, would be more readily adapted to universal acceptance—if only men would accept it! Fortunately, however, humanity has preferred that religion which is not *a priori*, but born of experience; and in the face of the admitted difficulty of understanding every detail, and of choosing between essentials and purely historical forms, men have worshiped a Jewish Christ as the Son of the only God.

But this very fact raises a question as to the legitimate place to be allotted purely historical elements in today's Christianity. How far, for instance, are Christians under obligation to recognize the professedly divine legislation of the Hebrews, let us say, concerning circumcision and the distinction between animals? Or, in the case of the New Testament, how far is one under obligation to recognize, say, the Pauline dictum concerning women speaking in churches

or the directions of Jesus concerning feet-washing? In each of these cases the point at issue is distinct, and, with the exception of certain highly conscientious persons, doubtless easily answered to the effect that the circumstances in which these directions were given have quite passed away, and that, therefore, the modern Christian is under no obligation whatsoever to observe them. And with such an answer we should be in most hearty agreement. Only we would raise the larger question: How far is it necessary for the modern Christian to regard as essential any element of Christianity which is obviously peculiar to the historical situation in which Christianity took its rise?

The question, we think all will admit, is vital and pertinent. Historical study within the past twenty-five years has *THE RELATION OF ARCHÆOLOGY TO FAITH* been accumulating results the importance of which we are only now beginning to realize. In some quarters these results have been exploited as destroying the conclusions of criticism. Doubtless in some cases this is true. Pioneers are always likely to grow over-enthusiastic and in a strange land to mistake mirages for actual mountains and lakes. The earlier critics, being most certainly pioneers, undoubtedly shared in the enthusiasm of their class. But, after all is admitted, are the Tell-el-Amarna tablets essential to faith in Jesus Christ, and must we first learn whether certain inscriptions are to be read from right to left or from left to right before we seek the kingdom of heaven and God's righteousness? May it not even be that *archæological* pioneers have also shared in the enthusiasms of their class? For our part, recognizing most heartily and gratefully all the confirmation given the Bible by archæology, we believe that dynamic Christianity rests neither upon critical analysis nor upon Babylonian bricks, and that, when once the church erects either the critic or the excavator into the priest, the worse it will be for the church and for the world. The first sentence of a living creed is not, "I believe in J and P and E," or "in the fact that there was writing before Moses," but, "I believe in God the Father, maker of heaven and earth." The sign in which Christianity will conquer is not a cuneiform inscription or a polychrome Bible, but the Cross.

The sooner teachers of the Bible, both within and without theological seminaries, awake to this fact, the sooner will preaching grow scholarly instead of scholastic, and experiential instead of apologetic and alarmist.

Yet is this all that lies in the question? Is archæology merely a matter of excavation? On the contrary, it includes in its subject-matter the habits and forms of thought of an age quite as much as material survivals. In fact, it is in this region that the science, broadly considered, has rendered perhaps its greatest services: it has given us the means for historical interpretation. There is, for instance, the noble cult of the Hebrews. Has it not gained enormously in intelligibility through the comparative study of other Semitic religions? There is the Logos of the Johannine writings. How much more distinct is it since Philo and the Stoics are better understood! Most of all, there is the messianic hope, which, thanks to the painstaking study of old and newly discovered Jewish literature and of the rabbinic literature, is understood today as never before. In all these and countless other matters the exegete has at his disposal an altogether unparalleled body of interpretative material. The days when men made the tacit imposition of anachronistic theology a first step in the exegetical process are rapidly passing. We endeavor to think as the biblical writers themselves thought, for we have at hand information sufficient to enable us so to think. Just as a correctly informed historical imagination is able to reproduce biblical personages in their precise surroundings and dress, so are we increasingly enabled to recognize the intellectual dress in which they clothed their thoughts and experiences.

It is here that the historical method of studying the Scripture will render its greatest service. It will enable us to distinguish between the thought and its dress, the truth revealed and the medium of the revelation, that which is essential and that which is the word or concept in which the essential is displayed to people of the different biblical periods. In truth, it

is already doing this, only we have not as yet awakened to the measureless importance of the service. We know the message of the prophets as never before; we understand the *THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TRUTH AND ITS HISTORICAL FORM* sorrow or the joy that fills the Psalms; we read the Pauline letters in the light of the times that gave them birth. How far do these historical interpretations resolve difficulties and illuminate matters already judged clear! But the work is as yet incomplete. Some day we shall be able to distinguish readily and clearly between the temporal and the essential, and then we shall unhesitatingly restate the essential in terms that shall make it as effective in our age as did those of prophet and apostle in theirs.

And when that time comes, the gospel will not need dictionaries of archæology, nor will one who would be a Christian be compelled first of all to think and make confession as if he were a Jew of the times of Jesus and Paul. Christianity will have ceased even in vocabulary to be a form of Pharisaism.

THE WATER SUPPLY OF JERUSALEM, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

By DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN, F.R.C.S., F.R.G.S.,
Jerusalem, Syria.

SINCE Jerusalem took her place in history as a city no problem has more constantly troubled her successive generations of rulers than that of her water supply. Situated as Jerusalem is, on one of the highest points along the backbone of a country which has no rain for half the year, her natural conditions are not favorable for the support of a large population. Nevertheless, as religious and political grounds demanded the occupation of this site, the hand of man was early required to make up the deficiency. How much was done, century after century, is witnessed by the numberless remains of ancient aqueducts, tunnels, pools, and cisterns, on and beneath the surface at almost every spot in and close around the Holy City.

Of springs in the city, although there are obscure references to others, we today are sure of only one, that now known to the Christians as the Virgin's Fountain,¹ to the Moslems as the '*Ain Umm ed Deraj*' ("Mother of the Steps"), and to eastern Jews as Aaron's (or the priests') bath. Almost all villages in the land were built originally near a spring, though not infrequently the village has in successive ages ascended to higher ground for greater protection, leaving the '*Ain*' it may be a mile or more away. In the case of Jerusalem there is little doubt but that the first settlers planted their tents and then built their primitive houses on the northern slopes of the hill (in maps usually marked Ophel) above the spring. The villagers of *Silwân* (*i. e.*, Siloam), who now monopolize the '*Ain*', have drawn toward it from the opposite side of the valley. Probably the spring then rose into an open pool, natural or artificial, such as can be seen today in

¹ So called from a tradition that the Holy Mother there washed the infant Savior's clothes.

numerous villages in the country,² and thence flowed down the valley a considerable brook to water the gardens of what was later known as the King's Vale, now represented by the extensive, watered vegetable gardens assiduously cultivated by the women of *Silwán*. What remained of the water—and during much of the year there must have been a considerable surplus—probably



THE VIRGIN'S FOUNTAIN AT JERUSALEM.

passed into a pool lower down the valley—there is such a pool there today—and then, possibly augmented by the waters of another spring where *Bir Eyûb* now is, lost itself in the *Wady en Nâr*. It may be, too, though of this we have no clear evidence, that a perennial stream, the brook Kidron, ran down the Kidron valley,³ the ravine to the east of the city, now known as the valley of Jehoshaphat, and joined itself to the stream from the Virgin's Fountain. Whether this is so or not, probably the supply of water was considerably greater than at present,

² Cf. 2 Sam. 4 : 12 ; 1 Kings 22 : 38.

³ 2 Sam. 15 : 23 ; 1 Kings 2 : 37 ; 15 : 13 ; 2 Chron. 24 : 16.

when the fountain is intermittent,⁴ with quite long intervals of flow in the dry season; even apart from the possibility of a greater rainfall, and the probability of a more even distribution before the country was denuded of its forests, the absence of the many means now used to collect or divert all the rain falling on the mountains above must have allowed more water to sink into the ground and to find its way to the underground feeders of the spring.

The following identifications are probable: The pool at the 'Ain is that referred to as the "old pool"⁵ (Isa. 22:11); the pools and gardens, those of Eccles. 2:6; and "the brook," that of 2 Chron. 32:3, 4, and Neh. 2:15; the pool farther down the valley—represented today by a more modern construction—may be that of Neh. 3:16. That the 'Ain is the ancient Gihon is pretty generally admitted. It is also claimed to be the fountain known as En Rogel. If the present Virgin's Fountain was (as, to all appearance, it may be said to be now) the only 'Ain in Jerusalem, then it must also have been En Rogel—the "fullers' fountain." A further support to this view has been brought forward in the survival of the name Zoheleth (the stone of Zoheleth, 2 Chron. 20:16) in the name *Ez Zahweileh* now applied to a sloping surface of rock in the neighboring village of *Silwân*.

On the other hand, the older claim—one may say tradition—that *Bîr Eyyûb* is on the site of En Rogel has a good deal to be said for it. *Bîr Eyyûb* is at present a deep well (125 feet), from which an almost inexhaustible supply of water, of better quality than that at the Virgin's Fountain, can be drawn all the year round. In the height of a particularly dry summer I have known of a hundred and twenty animals—donkeys, mules, and horses—being employed night and day carrying goatskins of water (two or three to each animal) up to Jerusalem. On an average every animal made four or five journeys within the twenty-four hours. In addition, great quantities of water were taken locally—for *Silwân* and for the vegetable gardens near the well. In

⁴ There is no reference to its being an intermittent fountain before the time of Jerome; nor to its being brackish, until the Middle Ages.

⁵ Possibly, too, "Solomon's Pool" of JOSEPHUS, *Wars*, V, iv, 2.

the spring, after heavy rains, the water rises high in the well, and, overflowing below the mouth, bursts forth at a point a few yards farther down the valley as a little stream. Such an out-flow may last several days, and is a great source of attraction to the inhabitants. On word being passed, "The Kidron is flowing," hundreds hurry off to sit beside, or paddle in, the running waters,



THE WELL OF JOB (BÎR EYÛB).

and the banks are lined by sellers of sweets and provisions who hold a kind of fair.

It seems probable, therefore, that deep down in the well, at the original level before the enormous accumulation of rubbish which it now contains, is a true fountain, perhaps small, but enough for the fullers' needs. A suggestive confirmation of this identification has recently been made by Rev. J. E. Hanauer⁶ in the observation of several rows of ancient rock-cut fullers' vats in close proximity to the well. The fact that the present cliff

⁶See the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* for 1900.

Es Zahweileh is nearer the Virgin's Fountain than *Bir Eyûb* is not a very important one, in the light of the fact that the name is now evidently transferred, Zoheleth being the name for some stone which may originally have been near *Bir Eyûb*. Names frequently linger in localities and become transferred from one point to another; in this very neighborhood witness the names "Zion" and "Kidron." The present village of *Silwân* stretches the whole way⁷ from the Virgin's Fountain to *Bir Eyûb*—indeed, beyond both points. If we admit the identification of the *Wady er Rabâbeh* with the valley of Hinnom (which is supported by the majority of topographers), then the description given (Josh. 15:7) of the boundary between Judah and Benjamin fits much better with En Rogel as *Bir Eyûb*.

At an early period both fountains (allowing for the present that *Bir Eyûb* is such) underwent extensive artificial changes in order to prevent the enemies of the kingdom from getting access to them. Gihon (the Virgin's Fountain) was apparently covered in, and by the accumulation of rubbish around has come to lie deeper and deeper, until now it is reached only by a flight of thirty underground steps. At this time, too, a tunnel was run from the source for some distance due west; above the inner end of this is a shaft forty feet high, approached above by a rock-hewn passage with steps, so that the water could be obtained by buckets within the (ancient) city walls.

At probably a later period a greater work was made in the construction of the well-known "Siloam tunnel."⁸ This is seventeen hundred feet long, two feet wide, and from two to sixteen feet high; it passes through the heart of a limestone hill and conducts the water to a pool—the Pool of Siloam⁹ (*Birket Silwân*), which in those days lay either within the city walls, or so much surrounded by them that the water was both accessible and easily protected. Although the construction of such a tunnel at so early a time was undoubtedly a great engineering feat,

⁷ The name *Es Zahweileh* is given to a long line of rock running almost the whole length of the village of *Silwân*.

⁸ Probably the work of Hezekiah. 2 Kings 20:20; 2 Chron. 32:30; etc.

⁹ John 9:7.

yet it should be explained that the layers of rock in which this, as well as almost all the numerous cisterns, tombs, etc., were cut, are what are called *malaki*—a very soft rock, so soft that when first exposed to the air it can in many places be readily



THE POOL OF SILOAM AND THE NEW MOSQUE.

cut with a blunt pocket-knife. After exposure to the air it becomes hard, almost like the hard upper layers of rock used for building the *misseh*. That the completion of this tunnel was regarded as a marvelous work is shown, not only by the apparent references to it in the Old Testament, but also by the unique inscription which was cut at the western end when it was completed. This, the famous "Siloam inscription," describes how

the workmen approached each other from either end and finally met in the middle: "The excavators struck, each to meet the other, pick to pick; and there flowed the waters."¹⁰

The history of this most important discovery, as obtained at first hand, is one of interest. Like very many such "finds," it was made, one may say, accidentally. The writing was low down, often covered by water, close to the western end of the tunnel. Many an explorer must have passed within a few inches of it, but it was left to two truant schoolboys of the English Mission School to catch a glimpse of the letters while frolicking in the water. On returning to the school and being faced with the justifiable anger of their schoolmaster, one of them had the happy thought to mention hastily (it is said the cane was in mid-air!) what he had seen. Tradition says the blow never descended, but, dropping the instrument of discipline, Mr. Schick¹¹—it was no other—lost not a moment in proceeding to the spot, and was soon in a position to announce to the world one of the most important of Semitic discoveries. About ten years later some local miscreants deliberately, but clumsily, cut out the whole inscription and began to sell the pieces, claiming, of course, that each was a new inscription! Fortunately most of the fragments were recovered, and may be now seen in the museum at Constantinople.

The modern Pool of Siloam is a poor survival, indeed, of the fine arcaded and marble-lined pool that for many centuries stood there, the extensive remains of which were largely excavated in 1896 by Dr. Bliss on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund.¹² The original pool, cut out of solid rock, was proved to have been over seventy feet square; built up around this area was a four-sided arcade of Roman work, within which was the pool of our Lord's time. Being the only pool of the kind supplied with "living water," it must always have been a favorite resort. A long flight of steps to the west of the pool was unearthed.

¹⁰Part of the inscription, as translated by Professor Sayce.

¹¹Now Baurath Dr. Conrad Schick, one of the greatest living authorities on Jerusalem topography.

¹²See *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* for 1897.

This was found to be connected with a paved road coming down the Tyropœan valley from the north; the steps were of stone, but far beneath were discovered traces of an earlier series of steps cut in the natural rock.



PRESENT RUINS OF THE POOL OF SILOAM.

In the early Christian centuries this pool was much visited by pilgrims, especially by the sick, who believed in the miraculous properties of its waters. Probably the intermittent character of the flow had something to do with this superstition, for up till quite recently eastern Jews were accustomed to visit the Virgin's Fountain in the same way and for the same reason. Dr. Bliss laid bare the remains of a fine church above, *i. e.*, to the

north of, the pool, whose south wall originally rested on piers over part of the pool itself. The altar stood just over the point of exit of the water.¹³ The original church here was in all likelihood made by the empress Eudoxia in 450 A. D., but the present remains date from Justinian or later. The finding of these remains caused much excitement among the Greeks and Latins; a fierce competition took place for its possession; bribes were freely paid; legal proceedings were begun; when, in the midst of all, the Moslems hastily and at night ran up a minaret beside the ruins, declared the place was a mosque, and that because it had become Mohammedan religious property it could under no circumstances be sold for Christian use!

The ancient city walls were found encircling the Pool of Siloam to the west, north, and east. At one period, probably a work of the empress Eudoxia, an additional wall ran across the mouth of the valley south of the pool, either itself forming, or being built upon, a dam which by retaining the overflow waters of the pool formed a "Lower Pool of Siloam." This lower pool is considered by Sir Charles Wilson¹⁴ to be the "reservoir" made by Hezekiah (Isa. 22: 11, R. V.); whether it is really so old is very doubtful. At present it is a kind of cesspool,¹⁵ and a terror to all who would visit the real "Pool of Siloam." There is a rock-cut channel by which water passes from the true pool down the valley of the Kidron without traversing the lower pool. Within the last few years the Pool of Siloam has usually been empty, the flow along the aqueduct being scanty. There was a temporary improvement after Dr. Bliss's work there, and I saw Siloam boys enjoying the luxury of a swim in its waters; after that matters became worse, until the present year when the Fellahin of *Silwân* obtained some money to clear out the tunnel and investigate the cause of the deficiency. The former they did thoroughly, and while seeking for the latter they came across another "Siloam aqueduct," down which the waters of the Virgin's Fountain were running away in a continuous stream.

¹³ Probably the builders of this church, unaware of the ancient tunnel, thought this the actual 'Ain.

¹⁴ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1897, p. 248.

¹⁵ Later in the year vegetables are grown on the dried filth.

By invitation of the Fellahin, I had the opportunity of examining and crawling along this aqueduct for about two hundred feet.¹⁶ It is chiefly built of masonry and is very tortuous, but remains in an excellent state of preservation. The first part, which is rock-cut, had a direction down the valley, and I think may have been the original outlet of the 'Ain. The masonry aqueduct turns more westward, and may perhaps join on to some remains of another underground channel, traced some years ago by Dr. Schick, which opened on the face of a rock-scarp to the southeast of the Pool of Siloam.

Besides the Virgin's Fountain, and possibly *Bir Eyûb*, there are no other sources of "living water" known today within¹⁷ the Holy City. It is possible, though hardly probable, that there may be springs on the top of the hill. From the earliest times cisterns have been used to supplement the scanty supplies. The rainfall is abundant—an annual average of over twenty inches; and possibly the fall was still greater in Old Testament times; but it all falls in the cool half of the year. Water carefully collected from a clean area, *e. g.*, a well-kept flat roof, and stored in good cisterns, constitutes a better supply than that of the Jerusalem springs. Today, at any rate, the water of the Virgin's Fountain is decidedly brackish, probably by infiltration of the sewage so freely distributed all over the ground above; and that of *Bir Eyûb*, though better, is of inferior quality.

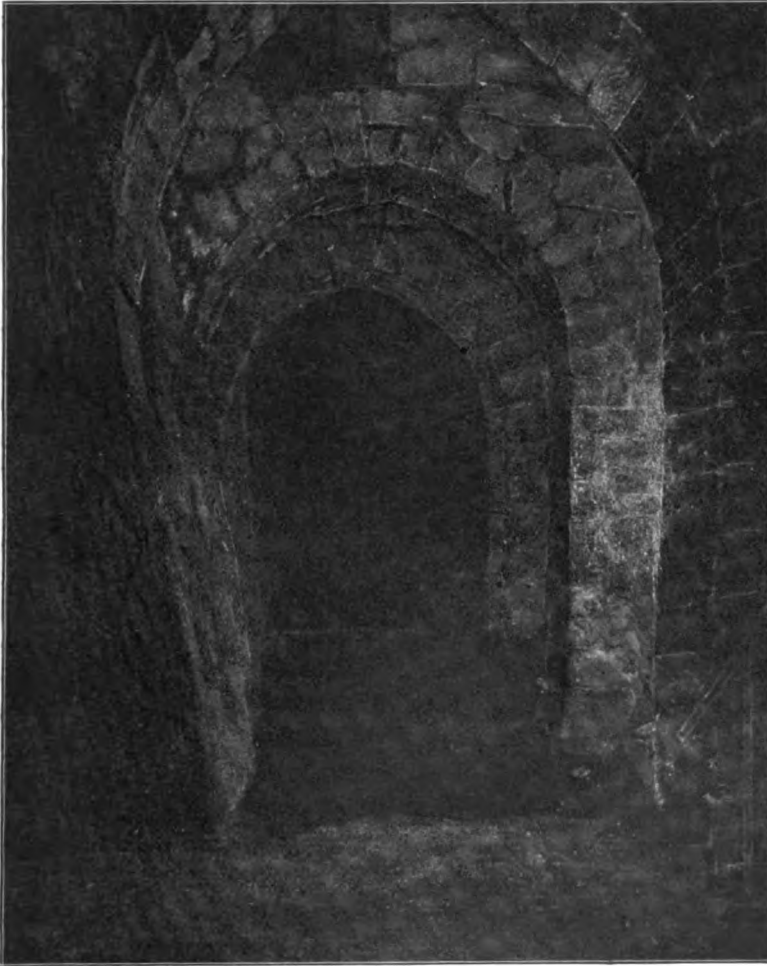
To enumerate all the ancient cisterns, either in repair or in ruins, known to lie in and around Jerusalem would be foreign to the purpose of this paper. But some notice of the more famous cisterns is necessary. By far the most important are the numerous and complicated underground cisterns in the *Harâm*, the ancient temple area, some of which are yet unexplored. One alone is estimated to hold 3,000,000 gallons.¹⁸ There is little doubt that

¹⁶ See an article by the present writer in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* for January, 1902.

¹⁷ Of course, strictly speaking, even these are not *within* the city, because the walls of the present city leave both the fountain and the pool outside.

¹⁸ Such a large excavation is seldom emptied; but when recently this cistern was cleaned out it was found to contain, among other things, the remains of two unfortunate men — a discovery exceedingly unpleasant to the many thousands who had drunk its waters.

some, if not most, of these excavated cisterns date from the time of the making of Solomon's temple, and that their construction was necessitated by the great quantities of water used



EXCAVATED POOL OF BETHESDA.

in the sacrificial ritual. At first they were probably supplied by surface drainage collected over a large area, and later by means of the great aqueducts to be described. The whole of underground Jerusalem is riddled with cisterns, and with ancient water

channels leading to and from them. The large cistern known by mediæval tradition, and probably correctly, as the "Pool of Bethesda" is one of the most interesting of all. For many years the *Birket Israel*, a huge deep fosse now rapidly being filled up with rubbish, which formed a moat for the castle of Antonia, was pointed out as the site of our Lord's miracle recorded in John 5:3; now another pool, a little to the north, close to the crusading church of St. Anne, has been largely cleared out and is found in every way to answer better to the descriptions of the Pool of Bethesda than the *Birket Israel*. The pool, on at least two of its sides,¹⁹ is cut out of solid rock, and, like most such pools, is provided with an elaborate sluice²⁰ for emptying its waters for cleaning. The history of the events recorded to have occurred there tempts one greatly to expect to find an intermittent spring at the bottom, but now, at any rate, there is nothing of the sort: the water that collects there today is all from rain. The pool is at present far underground, and the water is approached by a steep flight of steps. The southeastern part of the pool has been vaulted over, five arches being used to represent, it is supposed, the "five porches." Upon these five arches was built a Christian church, on the walls of which were depicted in fresco the scenes of the miracle. The outline of the church and some traces of this fresco may be seen even yet. At a later period, probably by the crusaders, another church was erected above the older one, which then became the crypt. The remains of these successive structures, one above the other, can be examined today, having been most carefully excavated by the "White Fathers" from the many feet of piled-up rubbish which through the centuries has gradually accumulated over the site.

The *Hammâm el Batrak* (*i. e.*, the "Patriarchs' Bath"), known traditionally as the Pool of Hezekiah, is a large open pool, rock-cut at its bottom, lying between the Tower of David and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. It is entirely surrounded by houses, and during a great part of the year it is quite empty. When not dry its stagnant waters are a great source of sickness

¹⁹ The remaining two sides cannot at present be satisfactorily explored.

²⁰ See the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 163.

to the city, breeding swarms of mosquitoes which fill the neighboring houses. The pool is connected by means of an aqueduct with another, rather smaller, pool outside the city. This, the *Birket Mamilla*,²¹ lies at the head of the traditional valley of Hinnom, to the northwest of the city. Until a few



THE POOL OF HEZEKIAH.

years ago this pool used to fill to overflowing with water in the rainy season. Now, however, a wall has been built around the cemetery in which it lies, and the water-courses from all the neighboring hills are so diverted to other channels that it is almost always dry, and it can no longer feed its sister-pool within the city walls. Practically speaking, both pools are now quite useless. It is probable that the "high-level aqueduct" ended in this pool, or at any rate was connected with it.

Lower down the same valley²² is a still larger inclosure —

²¹ This and the next pool are known by mediæval tradition as the Upper and Lower Pool of Gihon respectively.

²² The valley between the two pools is being steadily filled up. This year a great dam of rubbish has been thrown right across it a little above the lower pool.

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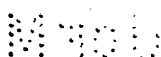
nearly six hundred feet in length — called the *Birket es Sultân*. It is a most conspicuous landmark to visitors as they arrive at Jerusalem, since the road from the railway station crosses on its southern wall and then leads along its whole eastern side. The other sides are bounded by the “low-level aqueduct.” The inclosed area probably never was a pool, but the greater part was a collecting ground for a large rock-cut cistern at the lower end. This cistern has just been cleared of earth, and is being covered in to form a store of water for municipal use. In the past summer of 1901 a cistern was hastily run up in the south-west corner of the *Birket es Sultân* to receive the water which was daily brought by railroad in six large tanks from 'Ain Hanniyeh, the traditional Philip's Fountain (Acts 8 : 36). The signs of a water famine impelled the municipality to arrange with the railway company for transporting this supply of excellent spring water. When the tank cars reached the railway station, the water was run into a receiver, whence it passed by an underground channel to the reservoir. Here it was pumped up by hand into carts or cans, and sold all over the city. Primitive though the method was, the arrangement proved a great benefit, especially to the poor, through the dry summer.

As regards the identity of these pools, the *Birket Mamilla* is supposed to be the Serpents' Pool ;²³ the *Birket et Batrak* (Pool of Hezekiah) is supposed to be the Pool Amydalon.²⁴ The *Birket es Sultân* was probably constructed by the German knights in 1170 A. D., but repaired by the sultan *Suleiman Ibn Selim* (1520–1566 A. D.), whose name occurs in an inscription on a wayside fountain at the southern end.

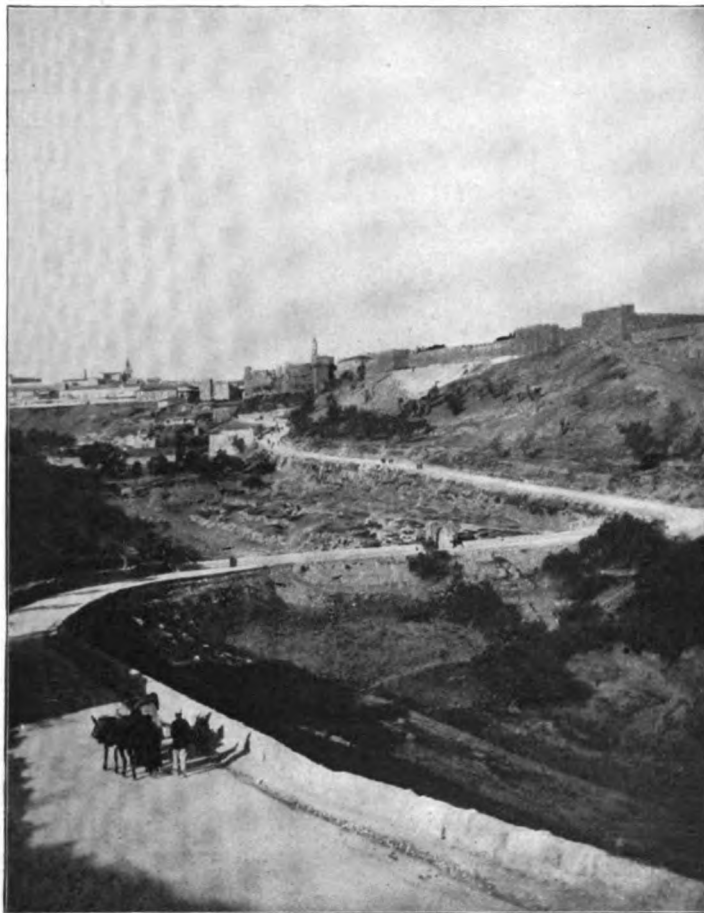
Leaving these great reservoirs, in addition to which there are countless smaller ones, we must next speak briefly of the aqueducts. As mentioned before, the branch water channels within the city are numerous and run in all directions ; they have been only partially explored, and necessarily their sources of supply must be largely a matter of speculation. It is possible that there was a great aqueduct bringing “living water” from

²³JOSEPHUS, *Wars*, V, iii, 2.

²⁴*Ibid.*, V, xi, 4.



the north, perhaps from the spring at *Bireh* ten miles distant,²⁵ but the remains are too scanty to prove the point.



BIRKET ES SULTAN.

The two famous aqueducts are those known to Europeans as the "high level" and the "low level" aqueducts.²⁶ The former,

²⁵ See the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* for January, 1901, p. 3.

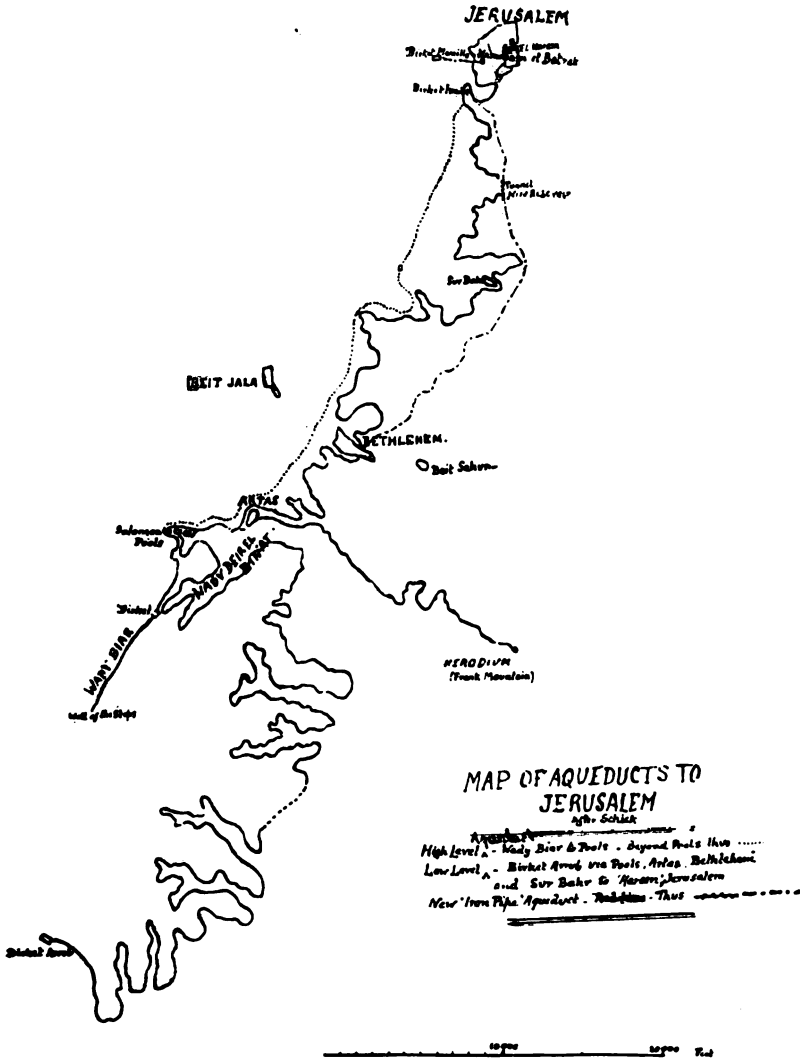
²⁶ For an exhaustive account of the aqueducts—indeed, of the water supply generally—the reader is referred to an article by DR. CONRAD SCHICK, entitled "Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem," in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1878, Heft I.

the high-level aqueduct, has been so thoroughly obliterated in portions that much of its course can only be conjectured. The first part, from the *Wady Bidr* (*i. e.*, the "Valley of Wells"), is fairly complete, and has been used till a comparatively recent time (indeed in part today) to carry water as far as the Pools. This *Wady Bidr* aqueduct is in many respects very different from the others. As far as one can judge today, it was not made in connection with any definite perennial spring, but gathers up in its course all the water running underground down the valley. In some respects it resembles the very ancient underground aqueducts found so plentifully in the plain of Damascus. These consist of a long row of wells cut through the porous soil and soft upper layers of rock, until an impervious stratum is reached, when they are connected together underground by a rock-cut channel. Such a chain of wells may continue underground for miles and finally give forth a fresh stream of pure water, so pure that some of the villages get their drinking water altogether from this source, leaving the surface rivulets for purposes of irrigation.

In the *Wady Bidr* we have a similar chain of wells, probably originally as many as fifty, now greatly out of repair and many quite blocked up, extending down the valley for upward of four miles. The aqueduct commences at a large well arched over with a Roman arch and reached by the descent of a number of steps. At the farther end of the large underground chamber is a natural cleft running back some distance into the mountain. There appears to be no perennial spring at this "Well of the Steps," for last autumn I found the chamber dry, but it is possible that there was such long ago; evidently in the winter a large quantity of water issues from the spring there.

From this spot the course of the channel, some twenty or thirty feet below the surface, may be traced by the open or ruined wells that run down the center of the valley. In November I found no water in them anywhere, but it is evident that always, except in the driest seasons, there must be an abundant supply. Probably today one or two artesian wells at the lower end of the aqueduct would tap the supply at once. At a point

where the valley suddenly narrows and makes a deep descent²⁷ a dam was at some time thrown across, which probably retained



a considerable pool—now silted up. Below the dam the aqueduct emerges in a way similar to that of the forty-one-mile “low-level aqueduct;” that is, it is built up of stone and cement

²⁷ Changing its name to the *Wady Deir el Bindt*.

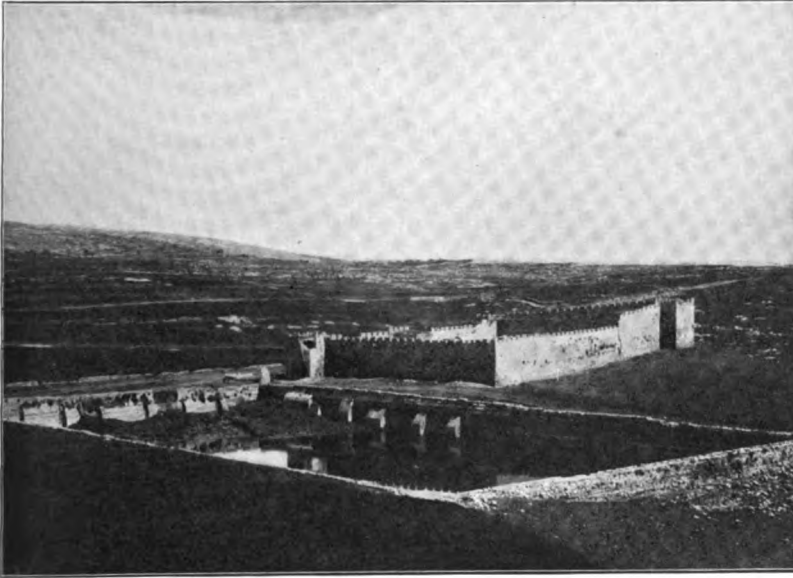
along the side of the hill. After about six hundred yards in the open it plunges through a high ridge of hard limestone, running seventeen hundred feet through the rock. This tunnel has as many as eleven shafts, and is over a hundred feet below the surface in places. Emerging again, the aqueduct winds around the head of a valley and enters the Valley of the Pools high up on the hillside; originally it must have passed around the head of the highest pool, but near this pool it today disappears, and for many years past its waters have descended a steep, uncedimented channel into the lowest pool. The original course can still be traced in a much-broken, rock-cut channel running along the hillside to a point at least equally distant with the highest pool. With the exception of the last part, the channel is probably in fair repair in almost all its length; the cement for great distances is perfect. It is blocked by stones at many of the openings, and is silted up in some of the underground parts, but nowhere really destroyed. The tunneled parts are described by Sir Charles Wilson, and I think all who have examined them will agree with him that this feature of the aqueduct constitutes "one of the most remarkable works in Palestine."

From near Solomon's Pools the "high-level aqueduct" is lost sight of,²⁸ until it reappears near Bethlehem, where remains of it can be seen today near the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road. These remains consist of parts of an enormous inverted siphon made of great perforated blocks of stone cemented together, which carried the water across the valley. Probably this siphon was at once the glory and the destruction of this aqueduct, so magnificent as a work of art. In practice it soon became useless through the silting up of the lower part of the curve and, as appears from the large sections uncovered, through the cracking of the unwieldy masses of stone. Many fragments of these have been carried to Jerusalem, where they are preserved as curiosities. The diameter of the tube is 15½ inches. Upon several of the stones Latin inscriptions have recently been found,²⁹ by

²⁸ There are remains probably belonging to it along the valley of Artâs above the "low-level aqueduct."

²⁹ See the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 119.

which the date of this part, and probably of the whole aqueduct, may be determined, viz., 195 A. D.—the reign of the emperor Septimus Severus, when the city was no longer Jerusalem, but *Ælia Capitolina*. Some traces of this aqueduct have been seen in the plain of Rephaim, and Mr. Hanauer has pointed out to me a rock-cut channel close to the railway station, which, it is



THE WESTERN POOL OF SOLOMON.

Showing the Fortress which Guarded the Three Pools.

likely, belonged to the same system. The water probably entered the city near the Jaffa Gate, and another conduit also connected the aqueduct with the *Birket Mamilla*.

The "low-level aqueduct" we know to be older than the one just described, and it has continued to be used, more or less, up to the present day. Whether any part of it goes back to Solomon's time, as is claimed, is more than doubtful. It is the custom in the East to associate any great work with the name "Solomon;" hence we get "Solomon's Pools," "Solomon's Quarries," "Solomon's Stables," etc.—he is the country's ideal of wisdom and greatness. The fact is, we know nothing of the

early history of this great work. Josephus³⁰ states that Pontius Pilate made a "current of water" to Jerusalem, for which, because perhaps the water was to come to the temple area, he took the temple funds, thereby causing riots among the Jews. This reference, however, is extraordinarily slight if it refers to the whole of this great work. Is it likely that such a work could have been conceived, planned, and executed in the ten years (26-36 A. D.) during which he was procurator?

The aqueduct begins at two main sources: the nearer at the *Buruk*, or Pools of Solomon, seven miles (direct) from Jerusalem; and the farther at *Wady 'Arrûb*, two-thirds of the way to Hebron, nearly thirteen miles (direct) from Jerusalem.

The *Wady 'Arrûb* is a wide open valley, crossed by the Jerusalem-Hebron road. Although not evident to a casual observer, there arise in this valley two springs, or perhaps one might say more correctly two collections of springs. These, late in the dry season, are all subterranean; but when the scheme was mooted, a few years ago, of again bringing water from this place to Jerusalem, the ground was opened up in many places, and I saw the water everywhere running freely along the ancient rock-cut channels underground. One of these sources takes its rise in a small pool, the *Birket Kûfin*; the other starts from the '*Ain Kueiziba*.³¹ The channels from these two sources converge and join their waters in the *Birket 'Arrûb*; at present this is quite a ruin, but it is evident that originally it was similar to the highest of the three Pools of Solomon. From this *Birket* the water passed to the long and extremely tortuous aqueduct which runs twenty-eight miles³² to the Pools. Originally this aqueduct entered the second pool, but now the water descends by a rough, steep channel to the lowest pool.

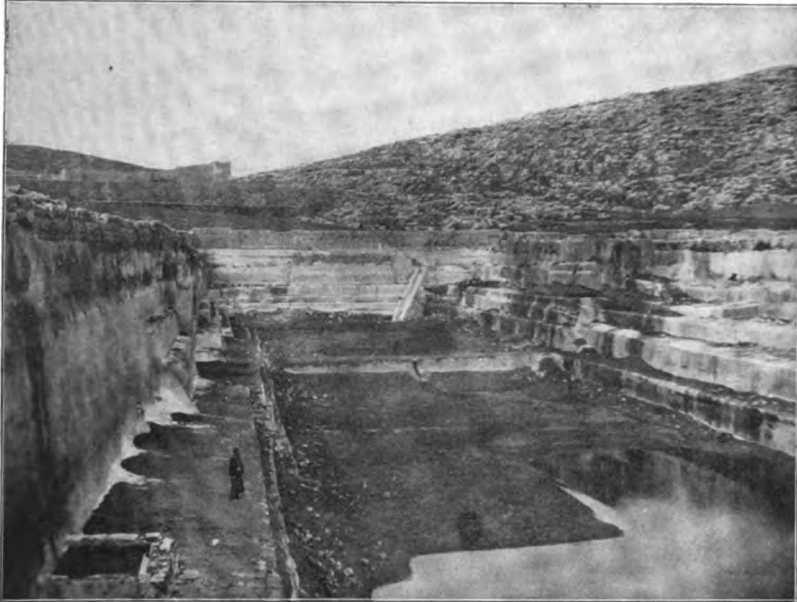
At Solomon's Pools four springs are described as arising, '*Ain 'Atân*, '*Ain Sâleh*, and two others of less importance, one of which comes up under the third pool itself, and the other within

³⁰ *Antiquities*, XVIII, iii, 2.

³¹ Dr. Schick gives the names as '*Ain Khashabeh* and *Ras el 'Ain* respectively.

³² JOSEPHUS (*loc. cit.*) gives the length of Pilate's aqueduct as twenty-five miles, which might well apply to *this* section.

the castle guarding the Pools. 'Ain 'Atân³³ is a small underground spring which arises in a valley just southeast of and a good deal below the level of the lowest of the Pools; there are a number of well-like shafts leading down to the rock channels by which the water is focused upon the mouth of the cemented aqueduct. 'Ain Sâleh is known to Europeans as the "Sealed



THE GREAT EASTERN POOL OF SOLOMON.

Fountain" (Cant. 4:12). It is an underground spring, connected by means of a tunnel with the highest pool, but in such a manner that only the surplus water flows that way, while the chief supply goes to the aqueduct itself, which, running from this point to the north of the Pools, rapidly descends the valley to join the other tributary from 'Ain 'Atân. The other two springs, 'Ain el Barâk and 'Ain el Faraje, also send contributions to it.

The three great pools called the Pools of Solomon are too well known to need much description here. They lie one below the other down the valley; their floors are made of the valley

³³ The Etam of 2 Chron. 11:6; 1 Chron. 4:3, was probably near here.

bed, and naturally they are deepest at their lowest, *i. e.*, eastern, ends; they increase in size from above downward. The highest pool, which is nearly 400 feet by 250 feet, passes its surplus water to the middle one, which is slightly larger, and that again to the great lowest pool, 582 feet by 177 feet, and at its lowest end 50 feet deep. This third pool receives water, not only from the springs and pools above, but in addition, at present, all which comes along the broken remains of the *Wady Biâr* and the *Wady 'Arrûb* aqueducts. In general appearance this pool strongly suggests that it was constructed, at any rate partly, with a view to its being used as a *naumachia*. The regulating sluices for emptying these Pools have long been out of order. The cement with which the Pools were faced up has become cracked, so that during the summer season they become quite dry, or at best contain a little stagnant water, full of weeds and water snakes.

From below the Pools, the aqueduct winds along the hill-sides for eleven and one-half miles. It is in perfect condition as far as Bethlehem, carrying a good stream of water; and even beyond Bethlehem this aqueduct was until quite lately in fairly good repair. So late as the German emperor's visit it carried water into 'El Kas, a fountain in the *Harâm*. At Bethlehem the aqueduct traverses a tunnel, and again near Jerusalem. Approaching the city, it crosses under the Bethlehem road, and keeps around to the north of the *Birket es Sultân*, crossing the valley on a series of pointed arches, which within the last fifty years have become buried in rubbish; again crossing the road, it winds underground along the slopes of the southwestern hill (traditional Zion) to the *Harâm*, where it terminates. In the sixteenth century it supplied several public fountains in the city with living water, among them one upon the dam to the south of the *Birket es Sultân*, which is of special interest just now, as the water of the new water supply has just been brought there.

On the aqueduct, where it crosses the valley of Hinnom, is a tablet which states that it was "built" by *el-Malek en-Nasr* Mahommed of Egypt; but this is an exaggeration, for it is evident that he only *repaired* it. Then, too, in the aqueduct itself,

we find at present that the water-course consists of earthenware pipes carefully jointed together and imbedded in hard cement; but it is clear that the original design was for the water to run along a cemented channel, independent of pipes, as still may be seen in the more distant aqueducts (*Wady Biâr* and '*Arrûb*'). The cemented channel is in good condition today, and the pipes



AN OLD FOUNTAIN IN JERUSALEM.

are fixed to one side only. Again, in some places, notably close to the present city confines, the course of the channel has been entirely changed at some former period, and an old rock-cut and more ancient channel, many hundred feet in length, exists beside the more modern one. On the low-level aqueduct no ancient inscription recording its beginnings has up to this time been found.

Recently the municipal authorities of Jerusalem have been much exercised over the water supply of the city, which has come to be entirely inadequate for the rapidly growing population. The very poor rainfall of the rainy season 1900-1901

brought things to a climax, and led the officials to provide at once for the bringing of water from the springs which supply the Pools of Solomon. Fortunately funds were at hand from a special endowment. The engineers were tired of constant tinkering at the old aqueduct; when repaired it was wilfully damaged by the Fellahin of Bethlehem, who strongly object to the diversion to Jerusalem of what they have come to consider their special water supply. Accordingly a four-inch iron-pipe aqueduct was decided on, which should have as direct a course as possible; for this reason, and because of its strength, it could be more readily protected. As the quantity of iron pipe was at the time insufficient, and doubtless also for other reasons, the aqueduct actually laid extends only from Bethlehem to Jerusalem. It is, as I write, just completed, still lying on the surface of the ground almost all the way. It passes quite directly over hill and valley, to the east of the old aqueduct.

Archæologically, the most interesting portion of its whole course is at a point about one mile from Jerusalem, where it coincides with the course of the old aqueduct in tunneling through a hillside for a distance of 430 meters. Here advantage has been taken of the ancient work to make a great reservoir tunnel; the original tortuous passage has been deepened three meters on its whole length and lined with impervious cement. The water will accumulate in this reservoir when the pipes between here and the city are closed, and this great body of water will furnish the necessary pressure to sustain a good steady stream at the delivery pipes in the city. The existence of this old tunnel was a most fortunate thing for the modern engineers.

While the construction of this great reservoir was in progress I visited the works and traversed the tunnel; I believe it has scarcely ever been examined before this year. The ancient aqueduct, now the highest part of the new tunnel, was large enough to allow a man to creep through; it was very winding; in parts it was cut through solid rock, in other parts the roof was sustained by slabs of stone either placed horizontally or arranged in a Λ -shaped manner. About the middle was a large

chamber some ten feet in diameter and of uncertain height—perhaps fifty feet—all cut out of solid rock; besides this—which was probably a shaft, although no opening above could be found—there were three other shafts from the top of the hill into the tunnel, all perfect, lined with slabs of stone, and just large enough to allow a man to be let down through them. The



THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW WATER SUPPLY AT THE FOUNTAIN ON THE JERUSALEM-BETHLEHEM ROAD.

The people are standing on the road, outside the city walls to the west. The Montefiore almshouses are on the hill in the background. To the right is the Birket es Sultân, to the left the valley of Hinnom (neither of them shown in the photograph). The officials are engaged in prayer.

ancient aqueduct has to a large extent been destroyed in making the tunnel; but now that the era of iron pipes has come, earthenware pipes will not again be needed.

From this reservoir the pipes cross one or two deep valleys, till they reach the traditional valley of Hinnom; here they make a sharp bend from northeast to northwest, close to the traditional Aceldama, and descend abruptly to the bottom of the

valley; thence they divide, one branch going northeast up the slopes of the hills and through the Dung Gate into the *Harâm* (the temple area), the other passing up the steep ascent of the valley of Hinnom until it reaches the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road, where it supplies the fountain before mentioned, and empties its surplus water into a reservoir in the *Birket es Sultân*. It is said that it is intended later to lead the water to the Jaffa Gate, and to supply the other Saracenic fountains in the city.

The new water supply was inaugurated amid much public rejoicing on November 27, 1901, the anniversary of the Sultan's birthday. The new work certainly brings credit to the pasha, to the municipality of Jerusalem, and to M. Franghia, the Greek engineer who carried it out so successfully. At the same time this new arrangement, while a great advance and a considerable boon to the city, is rather to be welcomed as a hopeful beginning than as the complete solution of the water-supply question. Though the water is thus brought to the city, it must still be carried from house to house in goatskins or tins, since there are none of the elaborate channels for the distribution of the water such as were in use in former ages. What is needed is the construction of an aqueduct—probably the *'Arrûb* springs would furnish the best source—of larger dimensions and at a higher level, so that reservoirs might be supplied on high ground above the city, from which distribution might be made to all the chief houses and institutions. It is to be feared that the Holy City will have to wait long for this, but the inauguration of this "low level" system is most encouraging, and fosters the hope that the greater and more beneficial scheme may yet be realized.

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF PAUL.

II. THE SOCIAL CONTENT OF MESSIANISM IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.

By SHAILER MATHEWS,
The University of Chicago.

SECTION I. THE POLITICO-SOCIAL PROGRAM OF REVOLUTIONARY MESSIANISM.

WHILE it is true that both transcendental and revolutionary messianism differentiated themselves simultaneously in Judaism, it is the latter that remained the more conservative. Development is limitless within the region of such speculation as went to constitute the pseudepigraphic literature of apocalyptic, but in social movements hopes are tempered by experience. Further, the thoughts and hopes of the masses are always difficult to trace, but doubly so when, as among the Jews, they are all but unexpressed in literature and must generally be inferred from references in an unfriendly historian like Josephus. None the less, popular messianism deserves more attention than has ever been accorded it; for throughout the entire period from Judas Macca-bæus to the fall of Jerusalem it was never suppressed, and at last became utterly uncontrollable. It is, indeed, no unstriking parallelism that might be drawn between the different effect produced by English philosophy upon the literary circles and the masses of France during the eighteenth century, and the two manifestations of the fixed social ideas of messianism among the scribes and the despised *'am haarets* of Judaism during New Testament times. In both pre-revolutionary epochs the radicalism of the literary circles was opposed to struggle, quite content with a policy of *laissez-faire*, while the discontent of the masses, when once it had appropriated the watchwords and philosophy of the literary world, undertook to bring into actual existence a future which the comfortable middle class was quite ready to

intrust to Providence. Only in Judea the Pharisees had no keen interest even in reform, and the masses had no need to wait for the slow infiltration of ideas which they, with their teachers, had received as a common inheritance from their past.

It is commonly held that the messianic hope is wanting in 1 Maccabees, and this is true if the only evidences of such a hope are to be sought in the prophet who was expected to come and solve riddles.³⁹ This prophet is certainly not the Messiah, but one like those of the old Hebrew days who was expected to appear and give the people infallible directions for conduct.⁴⁰ None the less, it appears likely that the author of 1 Maccabees, like the author of the approximately contemporary portions of the Sibylline Oracles, saw in the Asmonean house something more than a family of successful adventurers. In fact, he expressly makes their significance messianic in the general sense when⁴¹ he explains the defeat of certain emulators of Judas as due to the fact that they were "not of the seed of the men by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel." Doubtless the disappointment over the later Asmoneans felt by the pharisaic author of the Psalms of Solomon⁴² was due in no small degree to the striking contrast between hopes cherished by his party in its earlier stages and the actual history of the descendants of John Hyrcanus. In this experience, as may later appear, is one very probable explanation for the subsequent refusal of the Pharisees to place confidence in anything less than superhuman catastrophic messianism.

The reign of Herod I. was not conducive to even apocalyptic messianic hopes, much less to any attempt to establish a new kingdom, whether of man or God, in Judea. We are, indeed, quite without any distinct literary reference to messianism during his reign—a fact that argues, not only repression, but also

³⁹ For example, the disposition of the stones of the polluted altar of burnt-sacrifice, 1 Macc. 4:46; and the adjustment of the new Asmonean priestly dynasty with the claims of the house of Zadok, 1 Macc. 14:41. Cf. also 1 Macc. 9:27.

⁴⁰ Cf. Mark 6:15; 8:28.

⁴¹ 1 Macc. 5:62.

⁴² Cf., e. g., Pss. 1:5-9; 2:3, 5, 8; 4:5; 7:2; 8:9-14.

tolerable content on the part of the literary classes ;⁴³ yet, possibly, revolutionary messianism is to be seen in the robber bands which Herod was forced to reduce. Such scanty evidence as exists concerning these men makes it probable that they were akin to nationalists rather than to brigands.⁴⁴ The conspiracy of the ten men,⁴⁵ and the revolt of the people under the rabbis Judas and Mattathias,⁴⁶ were also an exhibition of a nationalism which, though not to be very clearly described, certainly had its origin in the religious sensibilities of the masses.⁴⁷

It was with the death of Herod that revolutionary messianism entered upon its uncontrollable career. From that time it is possible to trace its history in a series of more or less successful revolts, a succession of not always abortive popular movements, and the formation of sects. Indeed, the entire course of rebellion, which culminated in the triumph of the Zealots and the war of 66-70 A. D., is best understood as an ever-increasing revolutionary messianism—an attempt on the part of popular leaders to hasten that divine deliverance of their nation which the prophets had foretold, and which every Jew believed was sure to come. The words of Josephus⁴⁸ in describing the motive of the rebellion give us the only true point of view: "What most stirred them up to the war was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred writings, that about that time one from their country should become ruler of the world." To adopt this point of view is, however, not to say that all revolts

⁴³The plot of the Pharisees described in *Ant.*, xvii, 2 : 4, can hardly be messianic, since they are said to have promised the kingdom to Pheroras. Josephus's description of this party is doubtless taken from Nicholas of Damascus. It hardly reads like the opinion of one who was himself a Pharisee !

⁴⁴For example, Hezekiah and his band, JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xiv., 9 : 2 (though this case is less probable than the other) ; *Ant.*, xiv, 15 : 4, 5. The robbers he restrained in Trachonitis by settling colonists from Babylon (*Ant.*, xvi, 9 : 1, 2) were of quite another type.

⁴⁵*Ant.*, xv, 8 : 3, 4.

⁴⁶*Ant.*, xvii, 6 : 2-4.

⁴⁷JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xv, 10 : 4, explains Herod's remission of a third of the taxes as an effort to regain the good-will of an outraged people. Josephus also in this connection notes Herod's use of spies and his forbidding meetings of all sorts except those of the Essenes.

⁴⁸*War.* vi, 5 : 4.

were messianic. Several of them, as, for instance, those that followed the death of Herod, were clearly without any such significance.⁴⁹ Nor is the revolt of 66-70 to be unreservedly called messianic. Many men then, like Justus,⁵⁰ were doubtless nothing more than rebels of a purely political sort. Those disturbances alone are to be considered messianic which either possess the requisite characteristics of a peculiar sect, or are evidently connected with the great Zealot movement of the middle of the century.

The emergence of this revolutionary messianism as a distinct political factor was at the taxing which succeeded the erection of Judea into a procuratorial province at the banishment of Archelaus in 6 A. D. At that time Judas⁵¹ of Gamala in Gaulanitis and a Pharisee named Zadduk organized a fourth sect, especially influential among the younger Jews, co-ordinate with the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, and encouraged the people to revolt against the new foreign ruler.⁵² Its character is clearly set forth in the description of Josephus: "Its disciples agree in all other things with the pharisaic notions, but they have an inviolable attachment to liberty, and say that God is their only ruler and lord." The share of this sect, so clearly that of the Zealots, with its "kingdom of God," in the downfall of the Jewish state is emphatically declared by Josephus.⁵³ To trace the rise of the Jewish revolt is hardly anything else than to trace the growth of its messianic propaganda. Nor was its spirit wholly confined to Judea. For, though anything like complete information is wanting, it is difficult not to see something akin to Zealot fanaticism in the gathering of armed Samaritans near Gerizim in order to discover the sacred vessels buried in the mountains by Moses.⁵⁴ But

⁴⁹ For instance, that of the slave Simon and the shepherd Athrongæus (*War*, ii, 4 : 1, 2); and various other outbreaks, as those of *War*, ii, 5 : 1.

⁵⁰ JOSEPHUS, *Life*, 65. ⁵¹ A Galilean (*War*, ii, 8 : 1 ; *Ant.*, xviii, 1 : 1, 6).

⁵² *Ant.*, xviii, 8 : 1, 6. His sons, like those of Mattathias under Antiochus Epiphanes, apparently continued the movement begun by their father, for they were crucified by Alexander the procurator (*Ant.*, xx, 5 : 2).

⁵³ *Ant.*, xviii, 1 : 1, 6.

⁵⁴ *Ant.*, xviii, 4 : 1. If this should have been by any chance connected also with the work of John and Jesus in the vicinity, it would have been one element in a piece of poetic justice. For it was his dispersion of this gathering that brought Pilate into exile.

it was in Judea and Galilee that the leaven worked most effectively. The prophet Theudas, who, in 45 or 46 A. D., induced a great multitude to follow him toward Jordan, which, like another Moses, he promised to divide, evidently appealed to the messianic hopes of the masses. That his career produced no results was due to the promptness of the procurator Fadus.⁵⁵ Under Felix, Judea and Galilee were alive with robbers and impostors, some of whom, like Eleazar, who for twenty years had led a band of outlaws,⁵⁶ the procurator executed; and some of whom, like the newly appearing Sicarii, he seems to have used to further his own plans.⁵⁷ Along with the Sicarii were men like Theudas urging the masses to follow them into the wilderness, there to see miracles. One of these impostors — if it is fair to use quite so harsh a term — was an Egyptian who promised his followers from the 'am haarets to stand on the Mount of Olives and cause the walls of Jerusalem to fall.⁵⁸ More significant, however, are the obscure words of Josephus⁵⁹ in which he describes a body of "wicked men, cleaner in their hands, but more wicked in their intentions, who destroyed the peace of the city no less than did these murderers [the Sicarii]. For they were deceivers and deluders of the people, and under pretense of divine illumination were for innovations and changes." It is not difficult to see in these men a body of fanatics bound upon assisting God⁶⁰ to bring in the deliverance for which their nation was passionately hoping.⁶¹

⁵⁵ *Ant.*, xx, 5 : 1; cf. Mark 13 : 22; Matt. 24 : 11, 24. The disturbances under Cumanus (*Ant.*, xx, 5 : 3, 4; *War*, ii, 12 : 1, 2) were due to religious fanaticism, though hardly to messianic currents.

⁵⁶ *Ant.*, xx, 8 : 5; *War*, ii, 13 : 2, 3.

⁵⁷ These Sicarii were a group of fanatical Zealots, and hence messianists (cf. *Ant.*, xviii, 1 : 1), who turned to assassination as a means of hurrying in the kingdom of God. Their share in the revolt of 66-70 A. D. was not considerable, but they held Masada and perished there by their own hands. (*War*, ii, 17 : 6; iv, 7 : 2; 9 : 5; vii, 8 : 1 f.; 10 : 1; 11 : 1.)

⁵⁸ *Ant.*, xx, 8 : 6; *War*, ii, 13 : 5; cf. Acts 21 : 38. ⁵⁹ *War*, ii, 13 : 14.

⁶⁰ They believed that "God would show them signs of liberty" in the desert.

⁶¹ This hope of the Zealots has also been seen (e. g., SCHÜRER, Vol. III³, p. 219; MATHEWS, *New Testament Times in Palestine*, p. 168) in *Assumption of Moses*, 10 : 8 : "Thou shalt tread upon the neck and the wing of the eagle." The reference certainly suggests Rome.

Under Felix there began to appear in this seething messianism of the masses elements of social as well as political revolution. Several of the bodies of fanatics who were urging the masses to revolt were also plundering and burning the houses of the well-to-do people and killing their owners.⁶³ How far the "innovating party at Jerusalem," which, according to Josephus,⁶³ under Albinus became a combination of "arch-robbers" and their "satellites," is to be identified with these emulators of the early Maccabeans, it is impossible to say. The times were breeding anarchy quite as much as revolutionary idealism. Yet one cannot doubt that the messianism of the Zealots included some wild schemes for reorganizing the Jewish state. Peasant utopias are always hard to reconstruct, so completely is one at the mercy of hostile chroniclers and historians; but if one comes to the history of the Zealots from that of the German and English Peasant Wars, and especially from the strikingly analogous movements among the French peasantry and proletarians just before and during the Revolution of 1789, it will be easy to see, back of the violence Josephus delights in charging upon them, a determined effort on the part of men like John of Gischala and Eleazar to establish a new Jewish state in which there should be, not only liberty,⁶⁴ but also equality. This purpose it is that explains, at least partially, the cleavage between the wealthy, learned, and official classes and the masses which characterized the entire revolutionary period. It was, indeed, no new phenomenon, for the *'am haarets* had always been despised by the Pharisees and high-priests,⁶⁵ but with the first resistance to the

Probably, however, the translation of the evidently mutilated verse should be: "Thou shalt mount up on the necks and the wings of the eagle," *i. e.*, toward heaven, a thought immediately expressed in 10:9, 10. The entire fragment seems to express quietism and the non-resistance of the Chasidim as well as the unwarlike transcendentalism of early pharisaism. See especially 9:4-7, with which compare 1 Macc. 1:53; 2:31; 2 Macc. 6:11; 10:6; *Ant.*, xii, 6:2. That the author was a Pharisee is now held by CHARLES, *Assumption of Moses*; CLEMEN, in KAUTZSCH, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*, Vol. II, pp. 314 f. The fragment was probably written during the first quarter of the first Christian century.

⁶³ *War*, ii, 13:6.

⁶³ *War*, ii, 14:1.

⁶⁴ *Cf. War*, iv, 4:1, 5; 5:5.

⁶⁵ That this contempt should have grown under the later rabbis is very likely due in part to the events of the civil war, 66-70 A. D. For illustration of what this feeling

procurator Gessius Florus it became a source of civil war. From the outset the Pharisees and high-priests as a class opposed the revolt. Singularly enough, however, the radical who first proposed that the sacrifices for the emperor cease was Eleazar, the son of the high-priest Ananias, at that time governor of the temple, and, despite the opposition of the class to which he belonged, he was able to carry his plan into action.⁶⁶ The conservative element in Jerusalem was, indeed, with the greatest difficulty induced to abandon the non-political⁶⁷ attitude of apocalyptic messianism. It undertook the organization of the revolt only as the less of two evils, and doubtless with the purpose of making peace as soon as possible with Rome,⁶⁸ a fact that gives special significance to the labors of the enemy of dilettante revolutionists, John of Gischala.⁶⁹ But even such adjustment of the "classes" and "masses" was short-lived. The moment the Zealots and their sympathizers among the masses gained any advantage, their policy of economic as well as political revolution emerged. Thus in the first excitement of the attempt to establish the ideal state, they set fire to the public archives,⁷⁰ burned all records of indebtedness, and massacred the high-priest Ananias.⁷¹ This anti-aristocratic spirit developed rapidly after the collapse of the attempt of the *bourgeois* party to organize a successful revolt in Galilee, and, thanks to the enthusiasm of the younger Jews, throughout the fearful days of civil war it grew even more extreme. A band of fanatical Idumean patriots was introduced as the means of establishing a veritable reign of terror, in the midst of which many wealthy men were killed, including the noble high-priest Ananus.⁷² The effort to force the hand of

was, see quotations in SCHÜRER, *Jewish People, etc.*, Div. II, ii, 8(b), especially *Demai*, ii, 3. On some more shocking expressions (e. g., "a member of the 'am haarets may be slit up," *Pesachim*, 49b) see some very sensible words in LAZARUS, *Ethics of Judaism*, Vol. I, pp. 258 f.

⁶⁶ *War*, ii, 17 : 2.

⁶⁷ *Ant.*, xvii, 11 : 1.

⁶⁸ JOSEPHUS, *Life*, 7 ; *War*, ii, 17 : 4 ; iv, 5 : 2. See also *War*, ii, 20 : 1-3.

⁶⁹ *War*, ii, 21 : 1, 2 ; *Life*, 13.

⁷⁰ Yet, cf. *War*, vi, 6 : 3.

⁷¹ *War*, ii, 17 : 6, 9. That they were seeking after some ideal state is clear from Eleazar's execution of the would-be tyrant Menahem.

⁷² *War*, iv, 5 : 1-3.

Jehovah and to compel him to hasten the deliverance of an abortive messianic state had become, like so many a later revolution, a carnival of blood. Yet through all this struggle one can see the persistent, though ever-diminishing, idealism of the Zealots. They would have a peasant high-priest, a new state, a new people, and no king but God.⁷³ The ancient prophets in whose words they trusted could not be seen to foretell anything but triumph for such an ambition,⁷⁴ and during the miseries of the last days of the capital the later prophets were urging the people to await deliverance from God.⁷⁵

Their mad hope of deliverance included, as has already been said, a conqueror, whose appearance was assured by the "ambiguous oracle" (*χρησμός ἀμβίβολος*) of which Josephus speaks, and which can be no other than that of Daniel.⁷⁶ Here in this hope the *motif* of the entire Zealot movement may be seen: its members believed that, if once they could organize an independent republic, during its struggle with Rome the Messiah himself would come to its aid.⁷⁷ It is even possible to see in the desperate faith of the Jerusalem prophets⁷⁸ a faith born of Dan. 9:25, that the very destruction of Jerusalem would in God's own time—"seven weeks and three score and two weeks"—be followed by the appearance of the Messiah.⁷⁹

⁷³ Cf. *War*, iv, 3:6-8; 5:4, 5; 6:1.

⁷⁴ *War*, iv, 6:3.

⁷⁵ *War*, vi, 5:2. Many portents are described by JOSEPHUS, *War*, vi, 5:3.

⁷⁶ That Josephus himself regarded this prophecy as foretelling the destruction of Rome seems implied by his refusal to interpret the "stone" of Dan. 2:45 in *Ant.*, x, 10:4.

⁷⁷ The rôle played by the prophecies of Daniel throughout this period of the Jewish state is great. Chief reliance was undoubtedly laid upon the vision of the "stone cut without hands from the mountain" (Dan. 2:45) and the vision of the "Son of man" (7:13), the Messiah (9:25), and the apocalypse of chaps. 11 and 12. The "ambiguity" in these oracles can have been only whether the new prince was to be a native Jew of Palestine or a foreigner. Josephus interprets it in the latter sense (so GERLACH, *Die Weissagungen d. A. T. in den Schriften d. Fl. Jo.*, p. 73), apparently thereby giving up all further expectation of a coming Messiah—a conclusion, however, hard to accept in the light of *Ant.*, x, 10:4, and his treatment of the prophecy of Baalam, *Ant.*, iv, 6:5. It is perhaps worth noticing that this familiarity of the people at large with the prophecies of Daniel is an important element in judging the meaning Jesus conveyed by speaking of himself as *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*.

⁷⁸ *War*, vi, 5:2.

⁷⁹ GERLACH, p. 84.

In very truth, the Jews who had rejected Jesus as Messiah paid terribly for their rejection of "the things that pertained to peace" and their choice of another hope. The Jewish state fell, the victim of an ever-developing fanaticism, born of a faith in a coming Kingdom and King. In the attempt made by the Zealots to hasten God's time there is to be seen a hope for an actual commonwealth, which, however we may lament our lack of information, was clearly to embrace new social institutions. How vain was their dream is apparent, but it was no less dreamed. Nor did messianism of this type perish with the temple. A half century later it again blazed out, but with its champions no longer separated from the party of the Pharisees. In its new form revolutionary messianism was guided and inspired by no less a person than the great rabbi Akiba.

A Meditation.

John 16:12. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."

It requires an education to understand Jesus Christ; not an education in science and the classics, or even in theology, but none the less an education. It requires the education, not of the schools, but of the spirit; not for individuals alone, but for the Christian people; not a flashing of light, but an agelong training. Slowly it comes, but the living God loves to give it to the living soul. There is no understanding Jesus Christ well until the lesson of the spirituality of his work and meaning, which is the lesson of reality and simplicity, has been learned. No lesson requires more patience in the teacher than this, or more of the courage of faith in the learner.

WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE.

CONCEPTIONS OF GOD AMONG MODERN SEMITES.

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DR. W. L. THOMPSON, of the American Board,¹ says that "the Tongas have a hazy idea of God as the first cause, but the worship of spirits and ancestors is more of a power in their lives."² The same statement is true of those modern Semites who have not been affected by the teaching of Islam, or by that of ancient Christianity. These are to be found among ignorant peasants in Syria and Palestine, as well as among various tribes of Arabs.³

In conducting our investigations it is not easy to discover whether the conceptions of God which exist today among them, however shadowy, have come from the instruction of Moslem sheiks, who often teach the Bedouins, at least for a brief period,

¹Of Mount Silinda, East Central African Mission.

²Personal interview, *Journal*, X, spring of 1901.

³While the terms "Arab" and "Bedouin" are sometimes used interchangeably, there is properly a clear difference in usage, as indicated by Lane (see his *Arabic-English Lexicon*). Lane defines *El-'Arab* as: "Those who have alighted and made their abode in the cultivated regions, and have taken as their homes the Arabian cities and towns or villages, and others also that are related to them . . . an appellation of common application [to the whole nation] . . . [and in the lexicons . . . applied to the desert Arabs of pure speech]." Hence this term is frequently used, not only of those Arabs who have begun to cultivate the fields, but also of those who live in towns. It may be used of the inhabitants of the desert, of pure nomads, but not exclusively so. On the other hand *Bedawy*, according to the same eminent authority, signifies: "Of, or belonging to, or relating to, the *bedw*, or desert; and, used as a substantive, a man, and particularly an Arab, of the desert." The Bedouins never live in towns, never cultivate the soil, but gain their livelihood by raids, and regard with unspeakable disdain those who have forsaken the nomad life to live even in part by the tillage of the soil. The term *Fellahin*, which signifies "plowmen," is used of the peasant class. It is among the *Fellahin* and the Bedouins, as least affected by Islam, that we should expect the largest results in these investigations with respect to the survivals of ancient Semitic religion.

the tenets of Islam,⁴ or whether we have the same phenomenon among them as that which has been pointed out by Andrew Lang in his *Making of Religion*,⁵ where the worship of God and of inferior deities, without the influence of "positive religion,"⁶ exists side by side. Nor can we determine whether the conception of God now found among the Bedouins is an evolution from the conditions of tribal life, so that God is but a superhuman sheik. This is a domain in which further investigations are necessary. The opinions and reports of travelers are too fragmentary to supply adequate data for an induction.

It must be remembered that the modern Semite does not reason with respect to religious matters. By nature imaginative and impressionable, his ideas regarding the divine being are rather pictures left on his mind than the result of any philosophical reflection, since he does not philosophize. He is not at all disturbed by views which are inconsistent, hence mutually exclusive.⁷ He will admit that according to the tenets of Islam he should be a fatalist, whose life cannot by prayers, tears, or

⁴ It was the testimony of Habeeb Yadgi, of Mehardeh, who is remarkably familiar with the customs of the Arabs, from personal observation, that "there are scarcely any religious sheiks among the Bedouins. If they have no religious sheik, they send for one to attend a funeral. He has seen the Arabs come to Karyaten, in the Syrian desert, for such a sheik." On the other hand, the chief of the Rawaein, a small tribe that migrates past Palmyra, affirms that "every body of Arabs has a religious sheik" (*Journal*, XII, summer of 1901). This latter statement is improbable. LADY BLUNT, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (London, 1879), Vol. II, p. 217, testifies: "The Shammar, alone of all the noble tribes we visited, possessed a mollah; and his duties with them were in no way of a priestly character."

⁵ Pp. 178 ff.

⁶ W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York, 1889), p. 1: "Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are *positive* religions, that is, they did not grow up, like the systems of ancient heathenism, under the action of unconscious forces operating silently from age to age, but trace their origin to the teaching of great religious innovators, who spoke as the organs of a divine revelation, and deliberately departed from the traditions of the past."

⁷ PALGRAVE, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London, 1865), Vol. I, p. 68: "The Arabs are, generally speaking, rather a believing than a religious nation. . . . Men who readily grant an abstract belief to everything are not unlikely to reconcile, in a practical way, the many contradictions thus admitted into their theory by acting on nothing. Christian, Jewish, Mahometan, or pagan creeds and forms — the Arab, when left to himself, does not see why they should not all be equally true, equally estimable."

sacrifices be prolonged one day after the limit decreed has expired; he will confess his belief in fatalism, and then will justify a usage entirely inconsistent with such a belief by naïvely saying: "This is according to the simplicity of our minds."⁸ The simplicity of the Semitic mind accounts for the survival of ancient customs which have been handed down from the remotest antiquity, notwithstanding the teachings of Islam or Christianity.

To the Arab or Syrian, custom is mightier than right; indeed, custom is the only right he knows. Both morality and religion depend upon it. The heavens might sooner fall than custom be set aside. If we can get at the usage of the Semite, we shall know what his religion is.

Another principle which we must remember to be deeply ingrained in the divine, as well as in the human, economy, is the belief that might makes right. In the words of another: "God makes right by edict."⁹ In the same category belongs the conviction that God can be bought; that is, that he is bribable. This is the experience that every oriental has had of human government; he naturally has the same view of the divine.

From the foregoing it is easy to see that the modern Semite has no ethical conception of God as holy or as just; hence we shall find that his views of sin are entirely deficient and do not possess a moral quality. He is not afraid to take God's name in vain, or to swear falsely by him,¹⁰ or to use the name in the most shameful connections.¹¹ It is certain that such a conception of

⁸ The Servant of the Chair, after saying: "Every building must have its death, man, woman, child, or animal. God has appointed a redemption for every building through sacrifice. If God has accepted the sacrifice, he has redeemed the house," added: "This is according to the simplicity of our minds; of course, every man dies when his time comes" (*Journal*, X, summer of 1901). This expression recurred in different forms a number of times, showing that the Arab, or Syrian, was conscious of the contrast between ancient usage and the tenets of Islam.

⁹ "The oriental mind has not the same idea of abstract right and wrong as the occidental. He thinks God makes right and wrong by edict." (Interview with Rev. George E. Post, M.D., of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut (*Journal*, X, summer of 1900).)

¹⁰ Of this there are abundant examples, it is affirmed everywhere, and see DOUGHTY, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), Vol. I, p. 266.

¹¹ LANE, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1896), pp. 286, 287.

God has no power to affect the life of the Syrian or Bedouin. Nor need we find it at variance with the representations which have been given of him by most travelers.

It may well be that Palgrave is right when he claims that "a general belief in the Supreme Being, Author of all, and Ruler of all, has from time immemorial prevailed throughout Arabia."¹² Nor does such a belief serve to cloud their hopes of the future life, or to check a spirit of cheerful bravado when brought to think of appearing before a God who is neither just nor holy. This is well illustrated by another quotation from Palgrave :

"What will you do on coming into God's presence for judgment after so graceless a life?" said I one day to a spirited young Sherarat. . . . "What will we do?" was his unhesitating answer; "why, we will go up to God and salute him, and if he proves hospitable (gives us meat and tobacco), we will stay with him; if otherwise, we will mount our horses and ride off." This is a fair specimen of Bedouin ideas touching another world. . . . Nor did I ever meet, among the genuine nomad tribes, with any individual who took a more spiritual view, whether of the Deity, of the soul of man, or of any other disembodied being soever. God is for them a chief, residing mainly, it would seem, in the sun, with which, indeed, they in a manner identify him . . . somewhat more powerful, of course, than their own head man, . . . but in other respects of much the same style and character.¹³

Lady Blunt's characterization of the Bedouin's relation to God gives no disclosure of him as a just or holy being, but rather as one possessed of superior power :

A belief, then, in God certainly exists among the Bedouins, though the only active form of it is a submission to the divine will. It stands in singular correspondence with the religion of the ancient patriarchs. At the present day, no doubt, it is but a vague reflection of ancient faith, and depends as much upon custom as any other belief or prejudice of the Bedouin mind.¹⁴

Perhaps an exceptional consciousness of sin and a religion that is beautiful, and, it would almost seem, exceptional, among the sons of the desert, as observed among the Towarah in the Sinaitic peninsula, is indicated in some Bedouin prayers overheard and reported by Professor Palmer. The following is a specimen of one at sunset :

¹² PALGRAVE, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 249.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁴ LADY ANNE BLUNT, *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (London, 1879), Vol. III, p. 220.

O Lord, be gracious unto us! In all that we hear or see, in all that we say or do, be gracious unto us! Have mercy upon our friends who have passed away before us. I ask pardon of the great God. I ask pardon at the sunset, when every sinner turns to him. Now and forever, I ask pardon of God. O Lord, cover us from our sins, guard our children, and protect our weaker friends!

Again, at sunrise they pray :

I seek refuge with the great God from Satan accursed with stones. Deliver me from evil, provide for me and for my brethren the faithful O Lord, uncover not our inmost faults, protect our children and our weaker friends. O Lord, provide for me, thou who providest for the blind hyena!

These higher and better conceptions of God may well have been inspired by the teachings of Islam. This seems likely from the formula with which they preface every prayer: "I desire to pray and to seek guidance from God; for good and pure prayers come from God alone. Peace be upon our Lord Abraham and our Lord Mohammed."¹⁵ Besides, they are able to recite from memory certain sections of the Koran, as I was assured at one of their festivals.¹⁶

It is doubtless true that among the majority of the Fellahin and Arabs their conceptions of God have been modified by their habits and condition, if we may not affirm that they have been derived from them. Hence, to them God is the author of good and evil.¹⁷ No sheik with whom they have had to do, no emir or sultan of whom they have ever heard, is the author of good alone. This is an old Semitic conception which we find illustrated in the Old Testament. Job says, with respect to the appalling calamities which have befallen him in the loss of property and children: "What? shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?"¹⁸ So it is "an evil spirit from the Lord" that troubles Saul.¹⁹ Thus, "The anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, saying, Go, number Israel and Judah."²⁰ The same fear

¹⁵ *The Desert of the Exodus* (New York, 1872), pp. 86, 87.

¹⁶ *Journal*, IV, spring of 1899, in the Sinaitic peninsula.

¹⁷ LADY BLUNT, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 216, 217: "God is the fate to which all must bow, the cause of the good and of the evil in life . . . of the fertility of their flocks, and of the murrains which sometimes afflict them."

¹⁸ Job 2 : 10.

¹⁹ I Sam. 16 : 14-16, 23 ; 28 : 10.

²⁰ 2 Sam. 24 : 1.

of numbering the people among the modern Semites is partially chargeable for the absence of any correct statistics as to the population of oriental cities and towns. It is interesting to note that the theology of later Judaism has amended the passage to read: "And Satan stood up against Israel and moved David to number Israel."²¹ Amos speaks from the old point of view when he asks: "Shall evil befall a city, and the Lord hath not done it?"²²

Closely connected with this is the thought that God may lead astray. Thus Suleiman, a teacher in a school of the Irish Presbyterian Church in Nebk, who made the most careful investigations for me during more than two months, interviewing Moslems and Christians, Fellahin and Bedouin, at the suggestion of Rev. J. Stewart Crawford, said as the result of many interviews with many kinds of people: "Their view is that God is the Creator of heaven and earth, the Maker of all men, the Giver of good to all. He may also lead astray. The ignorant know up to this point."²³ This is evidently a survival of an ancient Semitic conception, which, we find, gives coloring to certain Old Testament passages, as, for example, when the Lord is represented as saying of Pharaoh: "I will harden his heart;"²⁴ and Isaiah represents God as bidding him: "Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and smear their eyes, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and perceive with their heart, and should convert, and be healed."²⁵ I do not, of course, believe that these passages teach that God leads man astray, but they are certainly colored by this idea. Another passage, read literally, expresses the view that God makes the enemies of his people guilty. I refer to Ps. 5:11, where the psalmist prays, according to the Hebrew idiom, "Make them guilty, O God;" which the Revisers well translate, "Hold them guilty, O God," or, perhaps better, "Declare them guilty, O God," that is, "Let them suffer the

²¹ 1 Chron. 21:1.

²² Amos 3:6.

²³ *Journal*, X, summer of 1901, Syrian desert.

²⁴ Exod. 4:21, cf. 9:12; 10:20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17.

²⁵ Isa. 6:9, 10 (Hebrew).

consequences of their guilt." We have an illustration of this meaning in passages parallel to God's hardening Pharaoh's heart, where it is said: "Pharaoh hardened his heart."²⁶ But the thought that God leads man astray is original in the Semitic mind. So ingrained is the ancient idea, through millenniums of oppression, that one in power is responsible for a man's failure that it sometimes appears today in a very amusing way. The following incident which illustrates this point came under my notice when I was spending five weeks at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut. A student failed to pass his examination in French. He therefore wrote a very indignant letter to the French professor, in which he asked the question in Arab-English: "Why did you fail me?" By this he did not mean, "Why did you declare that my examination was a failure?" but, "Why did you cause me to fail?" This was evidently his meaning from the tenor of his letter in which he claimed that he had done excellent work in French. The belief that God leads men astray has a very important bearing on their notion of sin.

The people, judging from experience, regard God as a jealous being, upon whose help they may rely at any given crisis of their lives, if they make him a satisfactory present. Rev. John Zeller, for more than forty years missionary in Palestine, and who knows much of the working of the native mind, said to me: "The sacrifice of a sheep may have a vicarious character in so far as it is thought to appease a jealous God who is not willing to have anyone too prosperous."²⁷ It seems as if one of the earliest representations of man's approach to God was through a gift, as that is the proper rendering of *minḥa*, the term used to describe the presents which Cain and Abel are represented as bringing to God.²⁸ This is the simplest conception of sacrifice. They bring a present to God as a man would bring a gift to an emir, and would consider it "singularly impertinent to go empty-handed."²⁹ Men, realizing too well their experiences with earthly potentates, and fearing their jealousy, bring their gifts.

²⁶ Exod. 8 : 15, 32.

²⁷ *Journal*, VIII, Jerusalem, summer of 1900.

²⁸ Gen. 4 : 3, 4 (Hebrew).

²⁹ Interview with Rev. G. M. Mackie, D.D., Beirut (*Journal*, X, summer of 1901).

It is this ancient idea which appears in an utterance of David, when he has a parley with Saul: "If it be the Lord that hath stirred thee up against me, let him smell an offering."³⁰ The account of the confusion of tongues seems almost to suggest the belief of the writer that God was jealous because of an achievement, which might indicate that in time men, if permitted to live together unchecked, might become "too prosperous" and endanger the supremacy of God himself.³¹ There are other illustrations of the same conception of God. There are numerous examples in the Old Testament which show that the ancient writers have been led in their choice of expressions and manner of representation by beliefs and modes of thought current in their times and which still exist among Syrians and Bedouins today.

There seems to be abundant evidence that ignorant people think of God as one of themselves,³² as having a human organism.³³ He and St. George, the most powerful of the saints, are considered by some as brothers. The implications of such a view are far-reaching.

We have Old Testament examples where the form of the narrative has been borrowed from old Semitic ideas, although the truth taught has not been dominated by them. Such is a class of passages which are not adequately explained by affirming that they are anthropomorphic; they are really more than that, for they betray conceptions of God at a stage when his omniscience and omnipresence were not apprehended, in any

³⁰ I Sam. 26:19 (R. V., margin).

³¹ Gen. 11:6.

³² Mr. Henry Harding, of the Church Missionary Society, for twelve years missionary in the East, now of Gaza, made the following statement: "Ordinary people would think of God as like themselves. They would expect God to deal with them as they would deal with one another. The idea of God is very vague. The welys and spirits are much nearer." (*Journal*, XIII, Brummana, summer of 1901.)

³³ Suleiman, the Protestant teacher at Nebk, asked a man, "Who is God?" Answer: "The existing one." "Has he eyes?" Answer: "Certainly." "Has he ears?" "Certainly." "There is an oath in Nebk, if a man is very tall, that he can reach to God's testicles." The women will even say, when vexed: "Get out for the sake of the back parts of our Lord." At the village of Dibbash, in the Nusairian mountains, occupied by the Greek Christians, we are told that the people "think of God as made in the image of man" (*Journal*, XI, summer of 1901).

such sense as other writers apprehend them. For example, God is represented in one of the oldest Old Testament documents as walking in the garden in the cool of a tropical day, the safest and most agreeable time for man to walk abroad, and so the safest time for God, here conceived of by the writer as needing to avoid the burning sun. He, too, like one of his creatures, needs to call the man who, with his wife, has hidden himself among the trees of the garden, else he might not find him.³⁴ Most antique is the representation of God smelling the sweet savor of Noah's sacrifice, and pleased as much as any man could be with a gift, and promising in his heart, because of this satisfaction, that he will not curse the ground again because of man.³⁵ We know that this is an ancient Semitic conception, inasmuch as we have a grotesque and polytheistic form in the ancient Babylonian tradition.³⁶ But it is also clear from this parallel account that, while the Yahwistic writer is so naïve in his descriptions, he has been kept by the divine Spirit from making unworthy representations of God, for these children's pictures of God acting like a man are not unworthy of the child age of the world; indeed, they are wonderfully adapted to the conceptions of that age. When Yahweh goes down to see the city and tower of Babel on a visit of inspection;³⁷ or when he proposes to make a personal examination of Sodom,³⁸ and permits Abraham to beat him down, as if they were on the same plane, just as is the custom in Syria at the present day; and when he suffers Jacob to wrestle with him all night until the breaking of the morning,³⁹ we are moving in the domain of ancient Semitic conceptions which are found today.

Some may be inclined to put the words of Jotham's parable

³⁴ Gen. 3 : 8-10.

³⁵ Gen. 8 : 21.

³⁶

PARALLEL ACCOUNTS OF NOAH'S SACRIFICE.

Babylonian (3 : 49, 50).

"The gods smelt the savor, the gods smelt the good savor; the gods like flies over the sacrificer gathered." (SAYCE-SMITH, *Chaldean Account of Genesis* (New York), pp. 286, 287.)

Yahwistic (Gen. 8 : 21).

"And Yahweh smelled the sweet savor."

³⁷ Gen. 11 : 5.

³⁸ Gen. 18 : 20, 21.

³⁹ Gen. 32 : 24-30.

in a different category: "Should I leave my wine which cheereth God and man?" as if it were less of the essence of Scripture than the passages cited. But this position cannot be well established, for many more illustrations which might be cited show how certain institutions go back to human conceptions of God, as, for example, "the shewbread that was taken from before the Lord, to put hot bread" in its place.⁴⁰ Such bread, according to the Priests' Code, was placed on a table, for God had a table, because the old notions of him were so human.⁴¹ The sixteenth psalm indicates that there were "drink-offerings of blood" which the heathen god was conceived of as drinking. With reference to these representations of God as a man with a man's appetites, the psalmist quotes him as saying in another place: "Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?"

We may be sure that in the thoughts of God which the ignorant Arab or Fellah entertains today we have men at the same stage as when God began to reveal himself in terms which the childhood of the ancient Semites could understand.

⁴⁰ 1 Sam. 21:6.

⁴¹ Exod. 25:30.

CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES IN THE LITERATURE OF WORSHIP IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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I. THE LEGAL LITERATURE—THE DEUTERONOMIC CODE OF LAWS.

§ 167. **The Literature of Worship** includes that portion of the Old Testament literature which concerns itself with the subject of worship in any of its forms, or was written by men imbued with the priestly spirit. Here belong:

1. The legal literature (*cf.* § 9), or codes of laws and regulations dealing with the various elements in worship; these codes include more than can properly be classified under the head of worship, but everything in them may be said to be priestly in its character.

2. The historical literature (§ 10), viz., Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the priestly history in the Hexateuch (=P).

3. The hymnal literature (§ 8), as found in the book of Psalms.

A marked spirit of unity characterizes all this literature, and distinguishes it from the prophetic and the wisdom literature (§ 2).

§ 168. **The Legal Literature** of the Old Testament is found in four groups or codes of legislation, viz.:

Exod. 20:23—
23:19; 34:10-26.

1. The covenant code (§ 20), the earliest form, ordinarily called the prophetic code, because it is incorporated in literature of a prophetic character.

Deut. 12:1—26:19.

2. The Deuteronomic code (§§ 25-28), so called because it forms the principal part of the book of Deuteronomy.

Ezek., chaps.
40-48.

3. Ezekiel's system of worship (§ 31), which is, strictly speaking, priestly and legalistic, although the work of a prophet.

4. The Levitical code (§§ 41-44), so called because it is found in the book of Leviticus (with portions of Exodus and Numbers).

§ 169. **The Covenant Code** (§ 20), or prophetic code, is the codification of law and usage in Israel down to

about 650 B. C. Concerning this code there may be noted:

1. Its prevalence is synchronous with the period in **Judg. 17:7 ff.** which the order of priests does not occupy the place of power in Israelitish thought. When the priests take a more influential place in the affairs of the nation, another code appears (the Deuteronomic), in which this higher position is recognized.

2. Its form, contents, and character are rather prophetic than priestly, since, although (1) the act of worship is recognized (§ 73, 1), (2) provision is made for feasts and offerings (§ 96), (3) reference is made to magic and sacrifice to other gods (§ 158, 1), all this is of the simplest character, and no tendency exists toward the development of a priestly system, there being no mention even of a priest or a priestly order (§ 59, 1). **Exod. 20:24 ff.**
Exod. 23:14-17.
Exod. 22:17.

3. It furnishes a formulation under prophetic influence of the old Semitic usage, and, at the same time, the basis on which the later codes are developed.

4. Its relation to these later codes has been shown in the comparative examination of various usages (§§ 59-166).

§ 170. **The Story of the Discovery of Deuteronomy** **2 Kings 22:3-23:25.**
(§ 25).¹

1. Consider the conditions of the times in which this event occurred, viz., the preceding reigns of Manasseh and Amon, their character, the forms of worship encouraged, the prophetic attitude (2 Kings 21:10-15), the particular royal acts regarded with disfavor (§ 24). **2 Kings 21:1-26.**

See KITTEL, *History of the Hebrews*, Vol. II, pp. 370-79; BUDDÉ, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, pp. 161-9; KENT, *A History of the Hebrew People*, Vol. II, pp. 159-64; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 485 ff.

¹ It is generally acknowledged by interpreters that the original story of the discovery of Deuteronomy has been edited from the point of view of later times. The account, as it now stands, comes from three sources: (1) the early narrative, (2) the pre-exilic redaction, (3) the post-exilic redaction. The parts that show the clearest evidence of the work of the post-exilic editor are 2 Kings 22:14-20; 23:8 ff., 16-18, 21-23, 25b-27; the work of the earlier editor appears in 23:3, 13, 24 f.; while 22:5b, 6, 8 ("the high-priest"); 23:4b, 5, 7b, 14, 16-20, seem to be minor glosses. The purpose of the additions and modifications was to furnish an explanation for the disaster that fell upon Judah so soon after this reform.

2. Study the principal details of the discovery, *e. g.*,
 2 Kings 22:4, 8, (1) the chief agent, the priest; (2) the phrase "the book
 14; 23:4. of the law;" (3) the strange effect of the reading upon
 2 Kings 22:8. the king; (4) the consultation with Huldah—her oracle,
 2 Kings 22:11. its original form and meaning; (5) the convocation of
 2 Kings 22:14-20. the nation and the public reading; (6) the covenant
 2 Kings 23:1 f. entered into; (7) the phrase "his commandments, and
 his testimonies, and his statutes;" (8) the phrase "with
 2 Kings 23:3. all his heart and all his soul;" (9) one by one, the
 2 Kings 23:4-20. various acts of reformation instituted by Josiah; (10)
 2 Kings 23:21-23. the observance of the passover; (11) the purpose of
 2 Kings 22:8; these acts, *viz.*, to confirm "the words of the law which
 23:3, 21, 24. were written in this book," etc.

3. Consider (§ 26) the immediate results of the find-
 2 Kings 23:4-24. ing of this book, and compare these results with the
 actual provisions of the book of Deuteronomy, and
 determine: (1) whether Deuteronomy commands any
 essential thing which Josiah did not try to do; (2)
 whether Josiah undertook any act of reformation for
 which Deuteronomy does not make provision.

4. Take up now three important questions: (1) Is there
 any reasonable doubt as to the identity of the book
 found by Hilkiyah with the book of Deuteronomy, or,
 2 Kings 23:8-13. at least, a portion of it? (2) Does the story in Kings of
 the finding of the book definitely indicate a belief, on
 the part of its writer, that the book discovered was one
 written by Moses, or of Mosaic origin? (3) If such
 Mosaic origin is implied in the narrative, what explana-
 tion of the narrative is possible from the point of view
 of those who deny the Mosaic origin of the book?

5. Take up, still further, these questions: (1) Do the
 2 Kings 23:4-24. facts of the reformation furnish evidence that the book
 which authorizes them is of ancient date, that is, Mosaic?
 (2) Could these facts be accounted for just as easily and
 naturally on the other supposition, that is, that the book
 of Deuteronomy was prepared during Manasseh's reign,
 lost, and found in Josiah's reign? (3) In this latter case,
 what motive, worthy of the situation, could be ascribed
 to those who took part in the transaction? Would it be
 sufficient to say that it was done to recommend certain

reforms and to establish more firmly the national religion?

§ 171. Representations in Deuteronomy Concerning its Authorship.

1. Read and interpret the passages in Deuteronomy which make reference to its authorship, noting the particular portions of the book which contain these references, and noting, further, that the strictly legal portion 12:1—26:19 contains nothing of this kind.

1:1-5; 4:1 f., 44 ff.; 5:1; 27:1, 9, 11; 29:1 f.; 31:1 f., 9 f., 24 f., 30; 32:44 ff.; 33:1 f.

2. Consider whether it was customary in ancient times to ascribe to great men writings whose authorship was unknown, and whether instances of this custom are found (in sacred writings) in the case of (1) Solomon,³ to whom are ascribed proverbs and psalms and books which are of a manifestly later age; (2) David,⁴ to whom psalms are ascribed which certainly date from a post-exilic time; (3) Isaiah,⁵ to whom prophetic discourses are ascribed which are now almost universally recognized as belonging to the exilic and post-exilic periods; and (in secular writings) (4) the letters and many of the dialogues assigned to Plato;⁶ (5) the "Shield of Hercules" and many other works ascribed to Hesiod.⁷

Prov. 10:1; 25:1.

Pss. 103; 122; 124; etc.

Isa., chaps. 40-66.

3. Consider also the ancient custom in accordance with which writers, for certain reasons, ascribed their own writings to great men, as in the case of (1) the writer of Ecclesiastes;⁸ (2) the writer of the Song of Solomon;⁹ (3) the authors of the "Wisdom of Solomon" and of the "Psalms of Solomon";¹⁰ (4) the author of the

Eccles. 1:1, 12.

Song of Solomon 1:1.

Dan. 8:1; 9:2; 10:2; etc.

² All Scripture references cited without name of book are from Deuteronomy.

³ See, e. g., DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (6th ed.), pp. 406 ff.

⁴ See, e. g., DRIVER, *op. cit.*, pp. 373 ff.

⁵ See, e. g., CHEYNE, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*.

⁶ See JEVONS, *History of Greek Literature*, pp. 482 f.

⁷ See JEVONS, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁸ See articles on "Ecclesiastes" in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible* and in *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

⁹ See DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (6th ed.), pp. 437 ff.

¹⁰ See articles "Apocrypha" in *Encyclopædia Biblica* and in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*.

book of Daniel;¹¹ (5) Plato putting his words into the mouth of Socrates;¹² (6) the alleged correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca, consisting of fourteen letters.¹³

Cf. 31:26.

4. Consider the Egyptian custom of placing in connection with religious works the statement "found in the temple," this being understood to be, not a statement that a book had been lost and found, but a conventional fiction of the priestly class to affirm its sacred and authoritative character.¹⁴

5. Consider, however, whether, after all, it is not quite certain that the leaders of the time, as well as the people, supposed the "found" book to have been (1) lost for many years, (2) actually discovered, and (3) of Mosaic origin.

§ 172. The Point of View and Coloring of the Book.

1. Consider, as bearing upon the Mosaic origin, (1) the situation—border of the wilderness—outside the Holy Land; (2) the lack of any reference to Jerusalem or the temple; (3) the frequent representation that the land is not yet occupied; (4) the constant reference to the Canaanites as Israel's enemies; (5) the references to Egypt as a recent place of dwelling; (6) the references to events which those addressed had themselves seen; (7) the many Egyptian reminiscences, *e. g.*, of methods of irrigation, bastinado, writing of law on plastered stones, wearing of law as amulet, deliverance from Egypt, Egyptian diseases, motives of kindness to servants.

1:1 f.

1:8; 4:1; 6:10 f.;
7:1.
7:1-5, 17-24;
9:1 ff.
6:21; 7:8, 18;
11:3.
4:3, 4.

11:10; 25:2, 3;
27:3; 6:8;
11:18; 11:10;
7:15; 28:60;
28:27, 35; 5:15;
15:15; 16:12.

2. Consider, on the other hand, whether all these points are not capable of other explanation. (1) Is it inconceivable that the writer planned to give his book a Mosaic setting—in other words, that all this material is merely to be regarded as a part of the dramatic representation? Is the book not thoroughly dramatic in its

¹¹ See DRIVER, *The Book of Daniel* (Cambridge Bible), pp. xlvi-lxxvi.

¹² See the "Charmides," "Lysis," "Protagoras," etc.; and compare JOWETT, *Dialogues of Plato* (Macmillan Co., New York, 5 vols.).

¹³ See LIGHTFOOT, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 260.

¹⁴ See CHEYNE, *Jeremiah, His Life and Times*, p. 85; MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient* (1st ed.), pp. 57, 73; BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Aegyptens* (1st ed.), pp. 60, 84.

whole presentation?¹⁵ (2) Is it not to be expected that the writer, if a late one, would include material of the earlier times? Is there anywhere a claim that he includes only late material? (3) Is the author of the book really as hostile to the Egyptians as a writer would be expected to be, if he lived in the generation following the exodus? If so, how explain the permission to admit an Egyptian to religious privileges in the third generation, when this privilege is denied other nations until the tenth generation? (4) Is not the writer living in a time when the upper classes have an attachment to Egypt, which he must oppose, for how otherwise explain Deut. 17: 14-20? (5) Is it not true that there was constant communication with Egypt between 750 B. C. and 600 B. C., and may not these Egyptian references be explained on the ground of this intimacy?

5: 6-21; cf. Exod. 20: 2-17.
14: 21b; cf. Exod. 23: 19b.
16: 4b; cf. Exod. 23: 18b.
23: 7, 8; cf. 23: 3.

17: 14-20.

Isa., chaps. 30, 31;
36: 6; 2 Kings
18: 21; cf. 25: 26.

3. Are there not allusions which furnish direct evidence that the writer is living at a distance from the period of which he treats; *e. g.*, (1) are the phrases "at that time," "unto this day," appropriate in the mouth of Moses, when the events described occurred during the preceding six months (*cf.* 1: 3 with Numb. 33: 38, thus fixing the date of Numb. 20: 22-28)? (2) How explain 2: 12 as Mosaic? (3) Could Moses have used appropriately the phrase "when ye came forth out of Egypt"? (4) Must the writer not have lived in western Palestine in view of his use of the phrase *beyond the Jordan* of eastern Palestine?

2: 34; 3: 4, 8, etc.;
3: 14.

24: 9; 25: 17; 23: 5;
cf. 4: 45b, 46b.

1: 1, 5; 3: 8; etc.

§ 173. The Language and Style of the Book.

1. Examine a list of special words and phrases¹⁶ frequently occurring in the book of Deuteronomy, and consider (1) the bearing of the fact of such a list upon the question of authorship; does it argue for or against identity of authorship with the other books of the Pentateuch? (2) the general character of these expressions as indicating early or later authorship.

¹⁵ Cf. the same element in the book of Job, viz., a dramatic representation of antiquity in connection with the presentation of a (comparatively) modern thought.

¹⁶ See, *e. g.*, DRIVER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, pp. lxxvii-lxxxiv.

2. Examine a list of the linguistic peculiarities appearing in the book,⁷⁷ *i. e.*, the peculiar forms, idioms, etc., and consider whether these exhibit evidence (1) of antiquity of date, or (2) of late date. With what writer in the Old Testament does the book of Deuteronomy show the largest number of similarities?

Cf. Jer. 7: 1-26;
11: 1-8; 16: 1-13;
21: 9-10.

Cf. 2: 28 with
Numb. 20: 19;
1: 28 with
Numb. 19: 28;
1: 35, 36, 39, 41
with Numb.
14: 23, 24, 31,
40b.

3. Consider (1) the general style of Deuteronomy, viz., classical, pure, broad, copious, idiomatic; (2) the striking points of style which distinguish this book from the other Pentateuchal books, and, indeed, from other Old Testament books, viz., (a) individual, affecting even quotations; (b) the hortatory element, based upon (c) the oratorical.

§ 174. **The Material of the Book.**—Make an examination of the material of the book with a view to finding evidence for and against the Mosaic authorship, as follows:

7: 1.

4: 3, 4; 7: 1; 8: 1;
9: 1.

17: 14.

19: 1-10.

25: 17-19.

27: 11-16.

1. Note (1) the prohibition of intercourse with the Canaanites; (2) references to Israel's condition in the wilderness; (3) the directions for appointing a king; (4) the law for the cities of refuge, possible only at the time of the entrance; (5) the order to recall what Amalek did to them; (6) directions for the blessing and cursing on Mount Ebal; and consider whether material of this kind could possibly have had its origin at any other than a very early time, viz., the time of Moses.

4: 19; 19: 3.

18: 10-12.

2. Consider, on the other hand, (1) whether the presence of this material has not already been accounted for in the statement (see § 172, 2) that the book is conceded to contain much very old material which has been handed down and incorporated side by side with the newer material; and (2) whether the presence of the newer material can be possibly explained in a book of Mosaic origin, *e. g.*, (a) the prohibition of star-worship, which is late; (b) warnings against lower forms of prophecy, which could not have antedated Amos and Hosea;

⁷⁷ See, *e. g.*, DRIVER, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxiv; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, pp. 282-91; STEUERNAGEL, *Deuteronomium* ("Handkommentar zum Alten Testament"), pp. xxxii-xli.

(*e*) the law centralizing worship at one place ; (*d*) laws like those concerning contracts and inheritance, which mark an advanced state of social development.

3. Consider from the point of view of the material the truth or falsity of the following statements : " The Israel of Deuteronomy is separated from the Israel of the exodus by a complete social revolution ; " " The nomadic tribes have grown into a settled and wealthy community whose organization no longer needs to be constituted, but only to be reformed. "

4. Consider in their bearing on this question the following : (1) certain passages which manifestly cannot be ascribed to Moses, *e. g.*, the account of his death ; (2) the fact that the first reference in the prophets to a Mosaic code occurs in post-exilic times ; (3) the lack of consistency which appears in so many cases in comparison with the other parts of the Pentateuch, *e. g.*, the difference in the representations concerning the appointment of assistants to Moses in his work as judge ; the different accounts of the sending out of the twelve spies ; the different causes assigned for Jehovah's anger against Moses ; the many differences between the last chapters of Numbers and the book of Deuteronomy, though both are assigned to the same year ; (4) the repetitions of laws which occur also in other books, *e. g.*, the law against seething a kid in its mother's milk ; the law concerning feasts ; the decalogue ; the law of clean and unclean.

5. Consider the cases in which Israel's leaders in the early period show utter disregard of Deuteronomic laws, without any indication that what they do is regarded as illegal ; *e. g.*, Samuel sacrifices at other places than Jerusalem ; Elijah sacrifices on Mount Carmel ; David also offers sacrifice.

6. Consider the bearing upon this question of the more important teachings (see § 178).

§ 175. The Book of Deuteronomy as Related to Other Old Testament Literature.

1. Examine the strong Deuteronomic character of certain passages in Joshua, Judges, and Kings, and consider whether these are to be explained (1) as themselves

12: 1-7.
Chaps. 15: 21; 23;
24.

31: 9; 33: 1, 4;
4: 44-49; chap.
34.

Mal. 4: 4.

1: 9-13; *cf.* Exod.
18: 13-26.

1: 22 f.; *cf.* Numb.
13: 1-3.

1: 37 f.; *cf.* Numb.
20: 12.

19: 1-13; *cf.*
Numb. 35: 9-34.

14: 21; *cf.* Exod.
23: 19; 34, 26.

Chap. 16; *cf.*
Exod. 23: 14;
Lev., chap. 23.
Chap. 5; *cf.* Exod.,
chap. 20; chap.
14; *cf.* Lev.,
chap. 11.

1 Sam. 9: 12-14;
16: 2; 10: 3, 5, 8;
1 Kings 18: 30
ff.; 2 Sam. 6: 13,
17 f.

Josh. 1: 22, 23;
2: 10 11; 3: 7;
10: 28-43;
11: 10-15;
Judg. 2: 11-23;

3: 4-6; 4: 1-3;
6: 1; 10: 6-16;
1 Kings 2: 3, 4;
3: 2, 3; 9: 1-9;
11: 1-13;
2 Kings 9: 7-
10a; 17: 7-23;
etc.

4: 20; cf. Jer.
11: 4; 5: 30;
cf. Jer. 7: 23.
8: 19; cf. Jer.
25: 6.
18: 20; cf. Jer.
29: 23.
28: 26; cf. Jer.
7: 33.
28: 36; cf. Jer.
16: 13.
28: 49; cf. Jer.
5: 15.
29: 23; cf. Jer.
22: 8.
12: 31; cf. Jer.
7: 31.
13: 18; cf. Jer.
42: 12.

Neh. 1: 5-11;
9: 6 ff.;
Dan. 9: 4-19;
1 Chron. 29: 19;
22: 13; 28: 8, 20;
2 Chron. 32: 7.

Mark 1: 44; 12: 26;
Matt. 8: 4; Luke
5: 14; 16: 29, 31;
24: 27, 44; John
5: 46 f.; 8: 5;
1: 17; 7: 19; Acts
15: 21; 28: 23;
2 Cor. 3: 15.
Matt. 19: 7 f.;
22: 24; Mark
10: 3 f.; 12: 19;
Luke 20: 28;
Acts 3: 22; 7: 37;
Rom. 10: 19.

early, and indicating the existence of the book of Deuteronomy at an early date; or (2) as later interpolations and expansions by Deuteronomic editors after the publication of Deuteronomy in 621 B. C. (see § 180).

2. Examine the remarkable cases of similarity (in thought and form) between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy;¹⁸ cf. the sixty-six passages from Deuteronomy of which there are echoes in not less than eighty-six of Jeremiah, and consider whether this is to be explained by supposing (1) that Jeremiah was particularly fond of, and familiar with, the ancient Deuteronomy; or (2) that Deuteronomy and Jeremiah are the product of nearly the same times, the latter being strongly influenced by the former; or (3) that Jeremiah was himself the author of Deuteronomy.¹⁹

3. Consider the significance of the fact that in the genuine portions of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah none of these Deuteronomic phrases are to be found.

4. Consider, still further, the cases in later literature in which the Deuteronomic phrases still maintain themselves, *e. g.*, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Daniel.

§ 176. The Book of Deuteronomy and the New Testament.

1. Examine the allusions in the New Testament to the "law of Moses," and consider the bearing of these statements on the authorship of the Pentateuch in general.

2. Examine the quotations in the New Testament taken from the book of Deuteronomy, and consider the bearing of the statements made in connection with them on the authorship of Deuteronomy in particular.

3. Consider the three interpretations which have been made of these and similar passages: (1) that the statements are literally true and are to be accepted as final;²⁰

¹⁸ ZUNZ, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1873, pp. 671-3; DRIVER, *Deuteronomy*, pp. xciii ff.

¹⁹ But see DRIVER, *Deuteronomy*, pp. xciii f.; CHEYNE, *Jeremiah, His Life and Times*, pp. 81 f.; J. L. KÖNIG, *Alttestamentlichen Studien*, II; KLEINERT, *Das Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker*. pp. 185-90, 235.

²⁰ See ALVAH HOVEY, "The New Testament as a Guide to the Interpretation of the Old Testament," *Old Testament Student*, Vol. VIII, pp. 207-13.

(2) that Jesus and the New Testament writers, though knowing the real facts, accommodated themselves to the point of view of their times and accepted the traditional interpretation, not wishing to arouse opposition over a matter of comparatively slight importance and thereby detract attention from the great truths they wished to teach;²¹ (3) that Jesus and the New Testament writers were not sent to teach historical and biblical criticism, hence were not given any more knowledge concerning such questions than what was possessed by their contemporaries.²²

§ 177. Is Not the Book a Forgery and a Fraud, if Not Written by Moses?

1. Consider (1) whether, in view of its own assertions and the general belief, this book is not a fraudulent imposture, if Moses did not write it; (2) whether, if a forgery, it could under any circumstances be counted among the sacred writings; (3) how, if a forgery, it could possibly have gained acceptance in the Jewish nation; (4) whether the writer, whoever he was, did not secure its acceptance on the pretense that it was the work of Moses.

2. Consider, on the other hand, (1) whether, in those days, there was anything in existence like the literary usages and laws of the modern world, *e. g.*, any literary proprietorship, any literary copyright; and, if these were not in existence, can the modern conception of forgery or plagiarism have existed? (2) the suggestions made above (§ 171, 2, 3) concerning ancient customs in connection with writings; (3) whether there are not books of excellent morality whose authorship is a forgery;²³ (4) whether there have not been cases in which a modern lawbook has been palmed off as ancient;²⁴ (5) whether the proposition of forgery is possible in view of the fact that the supposed forgers, the priests of Zadok, include laws **Chap. 18.**

²¹ See G. B. STEVENS, "The Bearing of New Testament Statements upon the Authorship of Old Testament Books," *Old Testament Student*, Vol. VIII, pp. 164-70.

²² See C. H. TOY, "The New Testament as Interpreter of the Old Testament," *Old Testament Student*, Vol. VIII, pp. 124-33.

²³ Cf. the Sibylline oracles.

²⁴ Cf. SIR HENRY MAINE, in *Ancient Law*, p. 82.

5:1; 31:1, 9.

touching the interests of the country-Levites which are in direct conflict with the interests of the Zadokites;²⁵ (6) whether the mass of the people who heard the reading of the law was in any proper position to consider critically the question of authorship; (7) whether Hilkiab in permitting the belief in the Mosaic authorship was really guilty of *delusion*; was it not rather *illusion*? (8) whether the principle of illusion is not (a) necessary in all educational work; ²⁶ (b) practiced in the Old and New Testaments; ²⁷ (c) one of the greatest elements in the teaching of Jesus himself; ²⁸ (9) whether, after all, the writer of this book was not properly using the word *Moses*, inasmuch as (a) this work was only a continuation of the work of Moses, along the same lines and for the same ends; (b) this work was but the fuller growth of the seed planted by Moses; (c) even where the older usage is changed, as in the case of the place of worship, the principle underlying the change is one enunciated by Moses; (d) the writer is only doing what Moses himself under the changed circumstances would have done; (e) the writer has done just what modern writers do, as in the case of the name of Webster's *Dictionary*, the original author having long been dead, and the dictionary, although greatly modified and enlarged, still bearing his name; or the name of Gesenius's *Hebrew Grammar*, many editions having appeared since the death of the author, with very significant changes in system and matter.

§ 178. **The Religious Teachings of the Book.**— Consider (1) the general religious teachings and their significance (see § 28); (2) the teachings of Deuteronomy upon the special subjects compared in §§ 52–166.

§ 179. **The Structure and General Character of the Book of Deuteronomy.**

1. Consider the various sections which constitute the

²⁵ Cf. CHEYNE, *Jeremiah, His Life and Times*, pp. 76 f.

²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 77 f.

²⁷ Cf. Jer. 20:7, in which the prophet utters his disappointment in his discovery that he had been illuded (not deluded); also Heb. 4:8, 9.

²⁸ Cf. John 16:12.

book of Deuteronomy as it now stands, and note their specific contents :

(1) Introduction.	1 : 1-5.
(2) The <i>first</i> discourse of Moses, introductory.	1 : 6-4 : 40.
(3) Appointment of three cities of refuge.	4 : 41-43.
(4) Superscription to the second discourse of Moses.	4 : 44-49.
(5) The <i>second</i> discourse—the law.	5 : 1-26 : 19; chap. 28.
(a) Hortatory introduction.	Chaps. 5-11.
(b) Code of laws.	Chaps. 12-26, 28.
(6) The acceptance of the code.	Chap. 27.
(7) The <i>third</i> discourse, supplementary.	29 : 1-30 : 20.
(8) Moses's last words of encouragement.	31 : 1-8.
(9) Delivery of the law to the priests.	31 : 9-13.
(10) Commission of Joshua.	31 : 14, 15, 23.
(11) Song of Moses.	31 : 16-22, 24-30; 32 : 1-43, 44.
(12) Final commendation of the law to Israel.	32 : 45-47.
(13) Moses's blessing and death.	32 : 48-34 : 12.

2. Consider the literary structure of this material upon the modern hypothesis: ⁹⁹ (1) To P are assigned the few touches found in 1 : 3; 32 : 48-52; 34 : 1a, 5b, 7-9; consider these passages in connection with the commonly accepted idea of P, and note that by means of them, at a late date, Deuteronomy was brought into the Hexateuch. (2) To JE are assigned the earlier parts of the book, viz., the blessing (chap. 33) incorporated; 27 : 5-7a; 31 : 14, 15; 31 : 23; 34 : 1a, 1b-5a, 6, 10; this being taken from JE in its original form. (3) To D, the first Deuteronomic writer, and to D^a, a second Deuteronomic writer, is assigned the remainder, divided as follows (D^a being in black type): 1 : 1 f.; 1 : 4-3 : 13; 3 : 14-17; 3 : 18-4 : 28; 4 : 29-31; 4 : 32-40; 4 : 41-49; 5 : 1-26 : 19; 27 : 1-4; 27 : 7b-8; 27 : 9 f.; 27 : 11-26; 28 : 1-29 : 8; 29 : 9-28; 30 : 1-10; 30 : 11-20; 31 : 1-13; 31 : 16-22; 31 : 24-27; 31 : 28-30; 32 : 45-47; 34 : 11 f. D^a followed some time after D, and, besides making the additions, incorporated the JE portion and the song 32 : 1-43.

⁹⁹ So DRIVER, *Deuteronomy*; for variations consult BERTHOLET, *Deuteronomium* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar"); STEURNAGEL, *Deuteronomium* ("Hand-Kommentar"); G. F. MOORE, "Deuteronomy," *Encyclopædia Biblica*; STAERK, *Das Deuteronomium, sein Inhalt und seine literarische Form*.

3. Consider the general character of the material in Deuteronomy, consisting as it does of (1) historical, (2) legal, (3) hortatory elements. Which of these elements is the controlling one? Is the history narrated simply for the sake of imparting a knowledge of historical events, or is it used rather for the purpose of illustrating and enforcing great truths? Notice also that the laws are imbedded in a didactic setting, and that their general tone is not imperative, but argumentative and persuasive; reasons are assigned for yielding obedience to them and rewards promised to the obedient. Consider also the way in which the prophetic and priestly elements are combined in Deuteronomy, how the great ideas of the book are of a prophetic character, and how the priestly laws are calculated to give concrete expression to these prophetic ideas and secure their lodgment in the life and thought of the people.

§ 180. Other Work of the Deuteronomic Writers.—

Josh. 1:3-9, 12-18; 4:21-5:1; 5:4-8; 10:28-43; etc.

1 Kings 2:10-12; 3:2 f., 14 f.; 8:14-66; 9:1-9; 15:1-5; etc.

Judg. 2:7, 11-23; 3:4-15^a; 4:1-3; 6:1, 7-10; etc.

1 Sam. 1:7 f., 12.

Gen. 26:1-5;
Exod. 15:26.

After the book of Deuteronomy was accepted as the law-book of Israel, there seems to have arisen a school of writers controlled by the spirit of Deuteronomy whose activity may be clearly traced in the Old Testament literature during the years immediately preceding the exile and onward for a century or more. Their work may be seen most clearly in the books of Judges and Kings, which they edited from the Deuteronomic point of view, inserting interpretations of the history of Israel based wholly on the teachings of Deuteronomy. Much of their work is found also in Joshua, and some traces of it appear in Samuel and in the preceding books of the Hexateuch (§ 175).³⁰

§ 181. Literature to be Consulted.

HAVERNICK, *Introduction to the Pentateuch* (1836, transl. 1850), pp. 410 f.; HENGSTENBERG, *Genuineness of the Pentateuch* (1839, transl. 1847); KEIL, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1853, 3d ed. 1873, transl. 1869); KUENEN, *The Hexateuch* (1861, 2d ed. 1885, transl. 1886); KEIL, *Deuteronomy* (1862, 2d ed. 1870, transl. 1867); SCHROEDER, *Deuteronomy* (LANGE'S "Commentary," 1866, transl. 1879); ESPIN, *Deuteronomy* ("Speaker's Commentary," 1871); KUENEN, *Religion of Israel*, Vol. II, pp. 7-44 (1869 f., transl. 1874 f.); WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 402 ff. (1st ed. 1878, 2d ed. 1883, 4th ed. 1895, transl. 1885); W. R. SMITH,

³⁰ Cf. ADDIS, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. II, pp. 29 ff.

Old Testament in the Jewish Church (1st ed. 1881, 2d ed. 1892); BISSELL, *The Pentateuch, Its Origin and Structure* (1885); G. VOS, *The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes* (1886); CHEYNE, *Jeremiah, His Life and Times* (1888, chaps. v-vii); DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1891, 6th ed. 1897), pp. 69-103; KITTEL, *History of the Hebrews*, Vol. II, pp. 7-44 (1892, transl. 1896); H. E. RYLE, *Canon of the Old Testament* (1892, 2d ed. 1895), see *Index*; MONTEFIORE, *Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* ("Hibbert Lectures," 1892), pp. 161-221; S. R. DRIVER, article "Deuteronomy," SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible* (2d ed. 1893); B. W. BACON, *The Triple Tradition of the Exodus* (1894); CORNILL, *The Prophets of Israel* (1895), pp. 80-92; W. H. GREEN, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (1895), see *Index*; DRIVER, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (1895), pp. i-xcv; A. HARPER, *Deuteronomy (Expositor's Bible, 1895)*; C. J. BALL, "The Blessing of Moses," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1896, pp. 118-37; L. W. BATTEN, "The Origin and Character of Deuteronomy," *BIBLICAL WORLD*, April, 1898, pp. 246-54; ED. KÖNIG, "The Unity of Deuteronomy," *Expository Times*, Oct. and Dec., 1898, pp. 16-19, 124-7; Feb., 1899, pp. 227-30; G. L. ROBINSON, "The Genesis of Deuteronomy," *Expositor*, Oct. and Nov., 1898, pp. 241-61, 351-69; Feb., Apr., and May, 1899, pp. 151-60, 271-95, 356-71; H. E. RYLE, article "Deuteronomy," HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I (1898); TH. TYLER, "Notes on Deut. 32:42," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1898, pp. 379 f.; ADDIS, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. II (1898), pp. 2-30; W. P. MCKEE, "Transient and Permanent Elements in Deuteronomy," *BIBLICAL WORLD*, April, 1899, pp. 249 ff.; H. G. MITCHELL, "The Use of the Second Person in Deuteronomy," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1899, pp. 61-109; BUDDÉ, *Religion of Israel to the Exile* (1899), pp. 170-80; F. H. WOODS, article "Hexateuch," HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, (1899); G. F. MOORE, article "Deuteronomy," *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I (1899); MARTIN, *The Tora of Moses* (1900); STIBITZ, "The Centralization of Jehovah Worship in Israel," *Reformed Church Review*, Jan., 1900; DUFF, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II (1900); J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I (1900); HAYMAN, "The Blessing of Moses," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XVII (1901), pp. 96-106; WELLHAUSEN AND CHEYNE, article "Hexateuch," *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II (1901).

KUEPER, *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres et vindex* (1838), pp. 4-45; J. L. KÖNIG, "Das Deuteronomium und der Prophet Jeremiah," *Alttestamentliche Studien*, Vol. II (1839); RIEHM, *Die Gesetzgebung Mosis im Lande Moab* (1854); K. H. GRAF, *Der Segen Mose's* (1857); F. W. SCHULTZ, *Das Deuteronomium* (1859); KNOBEL, *Das Deuteronomium* ("Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament," 1861); KAMPHAUSEN, *Das Lied Moses* (1862); KOSTERS, *De Historie-Beschouwing van den Deuteronomist met de Berichten in Gen.—Num. vergeleken* (1868); KLOSTERMANN, "Das Lied Mose's und das Deuteronomium," *Studien und Kritiken*, 1871 f.; KLEINERT, *Das Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker* (1872); REINKE, "Ueber das unter dem Könige Josia aufgefundenene Gesetzbuch," *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Alten Testaments*, 8 (1872), pp. 131-80; RIEHM, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1873, pp. 165-200; ZUNZ, *Zeitschrift der morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXVIII (1873), pp. 669-76; KAYSER, *Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israel und seine Erweiterungen* (1874); HOLLENBERG, "Die deuteronomischen Bestandtheile des Buches Josua," *Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, pp. 462-506; HAVET, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, Vol. III (1878), pp. 32 ff.; REUSS, *L'histoire sainte et la loi*, Vol. I (1879), pp. 154 ff.,

J. J. P. VALETON, "Deuteronomium," *Theologische Studien*, Vol. V (1879), pp. 169–206, 291–313; VI (1880), pp. 133–74, 303–20; VII (1881), pp. 39–56, 205–28; STEINTHAL, "Das fünfte Buch Mose," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 1879, pp. 1–28; IDEM, "Die erzählenden Stücke im fünften Buche Mose," *ibid.*, 1880, pp. 253–89; DELITZSCH, "Pentateuch-kritische Studien," *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, Vol. I (1880), pp. 445 ff., 503 ff., 559 ff.; STADE, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. V (1885), pp. 292–300; D'EICHTHAL, *Mélanges de critique biblique* (1886); STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. I (1887), pp. 148–73, 649–71; MARTIN, *Introduction à la critique générale de l'Ancien Testament*, Vol. I (1887), pp. 295 ff.; VERNES, *Une nouvelle hypothèse sur la composition du Deut.*; *examen des vues de M. d'Eichthal* (1887); KUENEN, "De Jongste Phasen der Critiek van den Hexateuch," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1888, pp. 35 ff.; HORST, "Études sur le Deut.," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol. XVI (1888), pp. 28–65; XVII (1889), pp. 1–22; XVIII (1890), pp. 320–34; XXIII (1895), 184–200; XXVII (1899), pp. 119–76; WELLHAUSEN, *Die Composition des Hexateuch und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1889, 3d ed. 1899); BAUDISSION, *Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Priesterthums* (1889); VAN HOONACKER, *L'origine des 4 premiers chapitres du Deut.* (1889); A. ZAHN, *Das Deuteronomium* (1890); KLOSTERMANN, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuch," *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1890–92; MONTET, *Le Deutéronome* (1891); CORNILL, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1891, 2d ed. 1892), pp. 29–45; WESTPHAL, *Les sources du Pentateuch*, Vol. II (1892), pp. 32 ff.; OETTLI, *Das Deuteronomium* (1893); H. PREISS, *Zum Deuteronomium — ein Beitrag zur Kritik des Pentateuchs* (1892); MARTI, "Das erste officielle Bekenntnis," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 1892, pp. 29–73; REUSS, *Die heilige Geschichte und das Gesetz* (1893), pp. 106 ff.; SMEND, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1st ed. 1893, 2d ed. 1899), § 16; KÖNIG, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1893), pp. 209–25; WILDEBOER, *Die Litteratur des Alten Testament* (1893, tr. 1894), § 11; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893), pp. 255–331; STEURNAGEL, *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomium* (1894); WILLY STAERK, *Das Deuteronomium, sein Inhalt und seine literarische Form* (1894); PIEPENBRING, "La réforme et le code de Josias," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol. XXIX (1894), pp. 123 ff.; STEURNAGEL, *Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes* (1896); NAUMANN, *Das Deuteronomium* (1897); D. CASTELLI, "Una congettura sopra Deuteronomio 32 : 5," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XVII (1897), pp. 337 f.; M. LAMBERT, "Le cantique de Moïse, Deut. XXXII," *Revue des études juives*, Vol. XXXVI (1898), pp. 47–52; VON GALL, "Deuteronomium und Deuteronomius," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. XIX (1899), pp. 173–7; J. HALÉVY, "Le Deutéronome," *Revue sémitique*, Vol. VII (1899), pp. 313–32; BERTHOLET, *Deuteronomium erklärt* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," 1899), pp. ix–xxix; FINKE, *Wer hat die 5 Bücher Moses verfasst?* (1900); KLOSTERMANN, *Deuteronomium und Grágás* (1900); STEURNAGEL, *Uebersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua, und allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch* ("Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament," 1900); BAUDISSION, *Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testamentes* (1901), pp. 103–22.

Exploration and Discovery.

AN American exploring party has recently penetrated certain parts of Syria and the Hauran which have not been thoroughly explored, and has secured a mass of valuable topographical and epigraphical material which will soon appear in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH, on a journey made last May through the Hauran from Tiberias to Damascus, found at Tell esh-Shihâb a monument of Seti I. which proves to be the second Egyptian memorial known to be in the Hauran, the first being the "Job's stone" with the figure of Rameses II., near el-Merkez.

IT is reported that in view of the finds still being made by natives at Sidon, the Imperial Ottoman Museum has decided to resume excavations there. The magnificent sarcophagi now at Constantinople, among them the famous "Sarcophagus of the Satrap" often called Alexander's, came, it will be remembered, from that vicinity.

WHILE the manuscript witnesses for the texts of the Apostolic Fathers are in general lamentably meager, for the Shepherd of Hermas they have been positively deficient, the last tenth of the Greek text having disappeared and being supplied in the editions from the Latin version. This deficiency is to be, in part at least, supplied, for Drs. Grenfell and Hunt report that among the Amherst Papyri upon which they have been engaged they have found a number of fragments of the Greek text of the Shepherd, one of them from the lost conclusion :

[πιστευσ]αντες κα[ι § 3
[.] πιστευει[ν
[εκ του]αυτου γαρ γεν[ους
[εισιν] μακαριον το [γενος
[τουτ]ο οτι ακακον [εστι
[ακου]ε νυν και περ[ι των § 4
[λιθω]ν των στογ[γυλων
[και λαμ]πρων και αυ[τοι
[παντες εκ τ]ου ο[ρους

In the seventh line of this the emendation *στρογγυλων* at once suggests itself, and this reading the facsimile of the papyrus seems clearly to confirm. The papyrus comes from the sixth century after Christ. The same editors, though their second volume of Amherst Papyri has just reached America, seem likely to have their first volume of Ptolemaic Papyri from Tebtunis in print by the end of the year. This will contain some five hundred pages, and promises to be of great importance.

MRS. LEWIS, who in 1892 found in the Mount Sinai convent the now famous Syriac palimpsest of the gospels, has made another interesting, though comparatively small, discovery. She has had in her possession for six years a palimpsest book of 162 leaves, which was purchased at Suez in 1895. The upper-script is a collection of extracts from the writings of the Christian Fathers, in an Arabic translation of the ninth or tenth century. But here, as always, the under-script is the more valuable. It is chiefly Syriac, written in double-column style. The Protevangelium Jacobi and the Transitus Mariæ are given in a fifth- or sixth-century Syriac text. There are four leaves from two manuscripts of fifth-century Peshito Syriac gospels. Three leaves contain a double palimpsest, Syriac texts from Exodus and Isaiah crossing each other beneath the later Arabic.

But most interesting of all, there is one leaf—just one—of a sixth-century Septuagint text. It contains on the obverse Gen. 40 : 3, 4, and on the reverse Gen. 40 : 7, in a beautiful uncial hand similar to that of the Codex Sinaiticus, as well as to that of the Codex Bezae. The value of this is great, since the book of Genesis is almost wanting in the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS. (N and B). In Gen. 40 : 3 there is a striking variant: we read *παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ* (instead of *παρὰ τῷ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακι*), which seems to be a closer rendering of the Hebrew text in this passage. And then on the margin of the pages we have variants from Origen's Hexapla, eight of them for these three verses. It is easy to see that if we could get the entire manuscript of which this is a single leaf, we should have by far the best and most useful Septuagint text known to us, containing as it would so many of the Hexaplaric readings. It is not likely, indeed, that the entire manuscript will be recovered; but we may come into possession of many more of its scattered leaves.

Work and Workers.

A COMPLETE index to the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, for the entire twenty volumes since its foundation, is published with Part II of the *Journal* for 1901. The series contains much material of permanent value, almost exclusively from American scholars.

A PAMPHLET capable of removing much of the fog which for many people surrounds the Bible at the present time is that by Professor A. W. Anthony, of the Cobb Divinity School, Lewiston, Me., entitled "The Higher Criticism in the New Testament." Briefly, simply, and pointedly he indicates the nature and the mission of the historical method of the study of the Bible.

REV. T. WITTON DAVIES, B.A., PH.D., principal and professor of theology at the Midland Baptist College, Nottingham, Eng., has accepted the dual positions of professor of Semitic languages at the University of Wales, Bangor, N. Wales, and of professor of Old Testament literature at the Baptist College in the same city. Previous to taking up his new work, Dr. Davies spent a semester in study at Strassburg.

A NEW course of lessons in the Bible Study Union series is entitled "Foundation Truths," and is the work of Rev. W. C. Bitting, D.D., of New York city. Gospel material in general chronological order is drawn upon for "practical and doctrinal lessons," and the pupil is guided in a manner to train him in correct processes of interpretation. Certainly we have here an attractive and useful course of study for Bible classes.

PROFESSOR GEORGE F. MOORE, D.D., who had occupied the chair of Hebrew at Andover Theological Seminary since 1883, entered upon his new professorship of comparative religion in Harvard University last autumn. His brother, Rev. E. C. Moore, D.D., pastor of the Central Congregational Church, Providence, R. I., has now been elected to a chair of theology in the same institution, and will begin his work next September.

AN event of large significance in the history of American Judaism is the acceptance of the presidency of the New York Theological Seminary by Dr. Solomon Schechter, who comes to this country from

Cambridge University, where he was reader in Rabbinics. In this former position he had made a reputation for conservative but solid scholarship, and his coming to the United States is felt by the Jewish scholars of America to be an important addition to the forces which make for the advancement of Judaism here. The seminary with which he is to be connected now enters upon a new career with \$200,000 of new funds and with a new board of trustees, of which Dr. Cyrus Adler is to be the president. Formerly the seminary was narrowly orthodox; it will remain conservative under the new management, but larger ideas, better scholarship, and more practical aims are expected to characterize its work.

THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

The thirty-seventh meeting of the society was held in Columbia University, New York, on December 27 and 28. By the courteous invitation of Professor John Williams White, of Cambridge, president of the Archaeological Institute of America, the two societies met in joint session on Friday afternoon, the 27th. It was noticeable that every one of the nine papers at that session appeared to be of equal interest to the members of each society—a proof, if any were needed, of the increasing fraternity between biblical and secular sciences. Professor E. Y. Hincks, of Andover, president of the Exegetical Society (to use the familiar condensation of its long name), opened with a stimulating paper on “Some Tendencies and Results of Recent New Testament Study.” Among the other papers at that session two might be specified: “The Tell Sandahannah Figurines,” by Professor T. F. Wright, of Cambridge, and “New Observations on Architectural Refinements in Italian Churches,” by Professor W. H. Goodyear, of Brooklyn. Both these were illustrated by the stereopticon.

The youngest child of the Exegetical Society, a witness to the persistent zeal of the lamented Professor Thayer, is the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine, whose first report was presented at this meeting. Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University, was director of the school during the year 1900–1901, and made a good beginning in securing a foothold in Jerusalem, with the nucleus of a library, and with some promising openings for research, which Professor H. G. Mitchell, the present director, is following up.

At Friday evening's session, after the routine business, five papers were read. Hon. S. J. Barrows spoke from personal observation on “The Translation of the New Testament into Modern Greek, with

Reference to the Recent Disturbance at Athens." Of the other papers, that by Professor Bacon, entitled "What Was the Sign of Jonah?" showed a marked departure from current views; when published it is sure to attract attention and discussion. And but for the lack of time Professor Kent's paper, "The Story of Cain and Abel," would hardly have passed unchallenged. The truth is that the advantage of a joint session was partly neutralized by the diminished time for that friendly comparison of views which has always been prominent in the meetings of the society. Accordingly, when the question of its future policy in similar cases was informally mooted outside the sessions, opinions were divided, one extreme being humorously expressed thus by one of our best-known scholars: "I hold that since the invention of printing the reading of papers is an anachronism. What we meet for is discussion."

At Saturday's session opportunity was made for discussion, for when business had been dispatched, the time from 10 to 1:20 was given solidly to the reading of papers and to comment upon them. Eleven papers were presented, among them one by Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr College, on "The Jewish-Christian Doctrine of the Pre-Existence of the Messiah," which traversed at some points the conclusions of Professor Bacon's paper of the previous evening, and naturally called out the varying views of the New Testament critics present. But perhaps the most animated discussion was upon a paper by Professor Torrey, "An Important Series of Interpolations in Deutero-Isaiah." These interpolations, he held, include the passages relating to Cyrus and Babylon, which being removed, Isaiah, chaps. 40-66, becomes a magnificent unity, the product of a single master-mind, who probably flourished in the fifth century B. C. "Important, if true," all will admit; and the truth of something very like this is fully believed by the present reporter.

WILLIAM H. COBB.

BOSTON, MASS.

Book Reviews.

The Ethnic Trinities and Their Relation to the Christian Trinity.

A Chapter in the Comparative History of Religions. By LEVI LEONARD PAINE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. viii + 378. \$1.75, net.

PROFESSOR PAINE'S previous work, entitled *A Critical History of the Evolution of Trinitarianism*, was noticed in the BIBLICAL WORLD in April, 1901. The book before us is in some sense a sequel to it, and builds upon it. In another sense it is an entirely independent investigation. The former study was concerned entirely with the materials drawn from Christian history and literature. The present work is largely outside of this sphere. It divides into two parts: first, an exposition of the "ethnic trinities;" second, a discussion of their relation to Christianity. Any estimate of the book, therefore, must involve a judgment as to the author's success in dealing with these two lines of investigation.

As for the first, we are not impressed with the accuracy of the exposition of ethnic "trinitarian" ideas. The concept of a "trinity" is most loosely used to mean almost any collocation of three deities, and such collocations, rising out of widely different bases, are compared, combined, and organized into a kind of general doctrine of ethical "trinitarianism." It may be too strong a statement, but we are convinced that such loose generalizations are as severe blows as can be inflicted upon the claim of the new science of comparative religion to scientific validity. Instead of vindicating for it the high place which he has accorded to it—"destined to revolutionize theology and philosophy in many points," etc. (p. 5)—his method, professing to be that of comparative religion, painfully uncritical and invalid at crucial points, will, we fear, prejudice unbiased students against the science in general. Nor will some of the details of his exposition bear scrutiny. The following may be cited as two examples: "The family is the original foundation of human society" (p. 22)—a view not by any means universally accepted—and hence the whole theory of the generation idea in trinitarianism as natural to man falls to the ground; Zoroaster's "reform was directed mainly against polytheism, especially in the form of the

worship of evil spirits"—a position, again, quite one-sided and contestable, and hence his view of Zoroastrian "trinitarianism" as rising out of monotheism loses its foundation. The entire exposition of the "mediator" doctrine as an element in the "ethnic trinity" is vitiated by a confusion as to the office performed by the mediator—whether mediating between gods or between man and God. In one case the trinity is God, mediator, man; and the argument proves nothing. Yet the examples of both sorts are used interchangeably to prove the point. There is almost complete ignoring, also—we may except the statements on pp. 21 and 33 which are quite contrary to the facts—of the ascertained results of historical investigation that the "ethnic trinities" are chiefly, if not altogether, late in the history of their several religions and the work of priestly circles. This fact makes havoc of no little of the groundwork laid by Professor Paine in the first part of his volume.

On the other hand, a large amount of valuable material is presented. The attempt made to organize it is praiseworthy. Somebody must blaze pathways through these thickets. Mistakes will be made in the process. Later workers will rectify the wrong turns, widen the paths, make better connections. The best work Professor Paine has done is in the field of later Greek speculation, where the relation to concrete historical movements of religious life is least traceable. The truth is that, with all his interest in historical science, his writings present him as a daring speculator, a fertile and fearless generalizer on historical bases not always solidly laid. A striking instance of this is given in the quite characteristic statement on p. 361: "The *Zeitgeist* has worked too hard to get rid of the metaphysical cobwebs of past millenniums, and to set its house in order for the new facts of science and history, to listen credulously or patiently to any metaphysical siren song."

The second part of the discussion, barring the weakness lying in the defects of the former part, is much more satisfactory. The thesis laid down for proof is a rather sweeping one, viz.: "The Christian trinity . . . is not only historically connected with the ethnic trinities, but has also an intimate logical and internal relationship." To our mind the author has shown points of resemblance, historical analogies, some connecting links—nothing more. The discussion is suggestive, but not convincing.

On the basis of the two lines of discussion the author has proceeded in his last chapters to discuss more general topics which are a

kind of expression of opinion as to much larger questions, like the essential character of Christianity, its present condition, its perils, and the problems of the future in theology. While it is not clear why such discussions are altogether relevant to the subject which gives the title to the book, one cannot help admiring the courage and hopefulness of the author in the face of what he must needs regard as the dark aspects of the present, which in their turn seem to rise out of the essence of the faith as hitherto believed and lived. Much that is beloved must go before the new dawn can arise, which will consist, however, after all, in "a revival of Christ's own religion, simple, spiritual, filled with a sense of God's presence and reflecting his gracious spirit of love."

It is most unfortunate that a book covering so wide a range of religious history and dealing so largely in details contains almost no references to pertinent literature. The author could have doubled the value of his work in this way. Surely historical writers ought to be most conscientious on this score. In the case of a recognized scholar like Professor Paine no one would have dreamed of suspecting him of attempting to make a show with lists of authorities. His modesty—if we may ascribe the defect to this cause—has done him grievous wrong, and of it his readers may justly complain.

G. S. G.

Musical Ministries in the Church. Studies in the History, Theory, and Administration of Sacred Music. By PROFESSOR WALDO S. PRATT, MUS.D., Hartford Theological Seminary. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1901. Pp. 181. \$1, net.

Church music, whether vocal or instrumental, choral or congregational, has but one legitimate function, namely, to promote the spiritual life of the worshipers. When the religious character and aim are obscured, music is harmful rather than helpful to the church service. Theoretically this is recognized by all, and there can be no question that a rapid and steady improvement in this feature of public worship has been in progress for a generation. The difficulty, however, is great of getting organists, soloists, and choir leaders who appreciate the difference between sacred and secular music, and who keep in mind the true purpose which music in worship is to serve. It is necessary that someone hold up constantly the ideal of religious music in every church; and inasmuch as it is the minister who is primarily responsible for the public services of the church, and the realization of their true

religious influence in the community, so it devolves upon him first of all to provide suitable sacred music for the worship of his people.

This duty of the minister has become so clear, and the opportunities in this direction have become so important, that chairs of instruction are being established in the theological seminaries for the purpose of training the future ministers in the proper function and management of church music. Professor Pratt, who occupies the chair of music and hymnology in Hartford Theological Seminary, has won a national reputation in this field by his large experience, his superior musical ability, and his wise instruction as to how to promote the usefulness of the musical ministries in the church. There is no one in America who so much deserves to be heard upon this subject.

Consequently this volume of five lectures by Professor Pratt is receiving enthusiastic attention in every quarter. The lectures are entitled: (1) "Religion and the Art of Music," (2) "Hymns and Hymn-Singing," (3) "The Choir," (4) "The Organ and the Organist," (5) "The Minister's Responsibility." They were first given as a short series of lectures before the faculty and students of McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago; so that they were directly prepared to place the subject before ministers in the right light. Appendices to the volume contain bibliographies of works on the history of church music, on hymns and hymn-writers, and on the American church hymnals of the past twenty years. The book is therefore a manual of great merit and importance; it is eminently practical, sane, and helpful. No minister has done his full duty for his church who has not made a faithful, prolonged effort to perfect the quality, character, and influence of the music in his services of public worship.

C. W. V.

Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

OLD TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

- *GIGOT, F. E. Special Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. Part I: The Historical Books. New York: Benziger Bros., 1901. Pp. 387.
- BAUDISSIN, W. W. Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1901. Pp. 824. M. 16.

ARTICLES.

- MONTET, EDOUARD. De la notion de divinité contenue dans les mots Elohim, Eloah, El et Jahewéh. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, September-October, 1901, pp. 189-202.
- WRIGHT, G. F. Plenty and Famine in Egypt. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1902, pp. 169-74.

A knowledge of the geographical and topographical conditions of Egypt renders the account of seven years of plenty and seven years of famine during the vice-regency of Joseph easily credible.

- WILSON, R. D. The Passover. *Bible Student*, December, 1901, pp. 323-9.
- BUMSTEAD, ARTHUR. The Hebrew Sanctuary—Was it One or Manifold? *Methodist Review* (New York), January-February, 1902, pp. 108-11.
- STADE, B. König Joram von Juda und der Text von 2 Kön. 8: 21-24. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 2, 1901, pp. 337-40.
- LEY, JULIUS. Zur Erklärung von Pss. 45: 13; 10: 9, 10. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 2, 1901, pp. 343-7.
- KÖNIG, ED. Mené, mené, tekél upharsin. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Heft 12, 1901, pp. 949-57.

- BRAITHWAITE, E. E. Why Did Amos Predict the Captivity? *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1902, pp. 192-7.

Amos could prophesy as he did simply because God spoke to him in that far-distant day so plainly and gave the prophet such a wondrously clear conception of himself. The prediction of the captivity was the logical result of applying the conception of the prophet regarding Jehovah and his relation to Israel, to the general condition and need of the time.

- CARR, ARTHUR. Cyrus, the Lord's Anointed. 2. The Testimony of the Greek Historians. *Expositor*, December, 1901, pp. 414-21.

The mission of Cyrus as liberator of the Jews requires no comment. It is a well-understood step in the divine development of history which opened out for the Hebrew

race a fresh beginning of national life. His wider mission of conquest and empire is less generally recognized as equally important for the religious future of the world and the spread of Christianity. His empire was the precursor of the great world-powers which successively and in different ways promoted the advance of the kingdom of Christ.

COUARD, LUDWIG. Die messianische Erwartung in den alttestamentlichen Apokryphen. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Heft 12, 1901, pp. 958-73.

CARRIER, A. S. The Day of Jehovah. *Bible Student*, January, 1902, pp. 46-51.

Common to all the prophets are three prominent features of the Day of Jehovah: (1) the Day is to be one of Jehovah's self-manifestation; the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day (Isa. 2:11); (2) it is to be a day of ethical revelation and spiritual rehabilitation (Isa. 2:11; Zeph. 3:9); (3) it is to be a day of national crisis; the triumph of Jehovah and Israel are indissolubly connected.

SMITH, CHARLES E. Witchcraft and the Old Testament. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1902, pp. 26-35.

KYLE, M. G. Biblical Gains from Egyptian Explorations, II. *Bible Student*, January, 1902, pp. 29-40.

MECKLIN, JOHN M. The Calendar of the Hebrews. *Bible Student*, December, 1901, pp. 329-36.

NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

FORREST, D. W. The Christ of History and of Experience. Third edition. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. 489. \$2, net.

GRILL, JULIUS. Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums. Erster Teil. Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. Pp. 408.

*RACKHAM, R. B. The Acts of the Apostles. [Oxford Commentary series.] London: Methuen, 1901. Pp. cxvi, 524. 12s. 6d.

*ORR, JAMES. The Early Church. [Christian Study Manuals.] New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1901. Pp. 146. \$0.60.

*The Twentieth Century New Testament. Part III. The Pastoral, Personal, and General Letters; and the Revelation. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1901. Pp. 513. \$0.50.

*CONE, ORELO. The Epistles to the Hebrews, Colossians, Ephesians and Philemon, the Pastoral Epistles, the Epistles of James, Peter and Jude. Together with a Sketch of the History of the Canon of the New Testament. [International Handbooks to the New Testament.] New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901. Pp. 396. \$2.

CREMER, H. Das Wesen des Christentums. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901. Pp. 234. M. 3.

PUSEY, P. E. AND GWILLIAM, G. H. Tetraeuangelium, juxta simplicem Syrorum Versionem. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1901. Pp. 608. £2 2s., net.

ARTICLES.

ROBERTSON, A. T. The Significance of the Ascension. *Bible Student*, January, 1902, pp. 26-8.

SHELDON, C. M. Will the Golden Rule Work in Daily Life? *Homiletic Review*, January, 1902, pp. 17-22.

The Golden Rule will work in daily life. All that is necessary to prove it is that we put it to work without waiting for anyone else, without waiting for the millennium to come first. There must be a spirit of "social adventure," as it has been called, which shall make men heroic in the face of possible loss in the business world. A readjustment would be involved, but the outcome would be for the good of humanity.

CRANE, AARON M. The Cleansing of the Temple. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1902, pp. 36-57.

According to the writer's judgment, the story of the cleansing of the temple, at whatever time in the ministry of Jesus it properly comes, presents a great difficulty of an ethical character. For, in connection with this, Jesus is virtually said to contradict his entire ethical message of forbearance, non-resistance, and avoidance of anger. Mr. Smith would remove this difficulty by the following suggestion: As Jesus saw the money-changers and dealers in sacrificial animals in the temple premises, it was a temptation to him to engage in the same business for the money it would bring him. So that the occasion is really one of temptation. Jesus casts the temptation from him, *i. e.*, in the symbolic language of the evangelist, he cleanses the temple. The article presents a curiosity in the field of interpretation.

LAKE, K. The Text of the Gospels in Alexandria. *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1902, pp. 79-89.

The importance of the change of view suggested by the line which progress in textual criticism seems to be taking is obvious. It comes to this, that we shall have to make up our minds to regard Westcott and Hort's edition a failure (though a failure without which we should be poor indeed), in so far that it has not succeeded in reconstructing, as it claims to do, "the original Greek" of the gospels, but has instead reconstructed the text which was dominant in Alexandria, not in the first, but in the second stage of the history of the text in that city. We shall have, in fact, to regard it and the manuscripts on which it is based as secondary rather than primary authorities for the text of the New Testament. Furthermore, we shall have to admit that for the earliest period of textual history there are no pure authorities extant in Greek manuscripts. For the reconstruction of the earliest type of text we are dependent upon hints, some of them in Greek manuscripts, some of them in versions, some of them in the quotations of early Fathers. We have to collect them and examine them, and to study the collections and examinations which have been made already, without any prejudgment that (as was once said to the writer) "Westcott and Hort have given us the true text; all that remains for us to do is to classify the deviations from it." At present no one knows quite what may prove to be the primitive form of the text. On the whole, it perhaps seems as though it was of the type which we call "Western." But it also seems certain that the "Western" text is no more a single homogeneous text than it is western geographically. Each of the great regions of the Christian world seems to have had it in a different form, so that we get sometimes Latin and Syriac branches agreeing against Alexandrian, sometimes other combinations.

WARFIELD, B. B. Some Characteristics of the Book of Acts, I. *Bible Student*, January, 1902, pp. 13-21.

SHERWOOD, EDWIN. St. Paul as a Rhetorician. *Methodist Review* (New York), January-February, 1902, pp. 36-46.

SMITH, W. B. Unto Romans: Chaps. 15 and 16. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Part II, 1901, pp. 129-57.

VOS, GEERHARDUS. The Pauline Conception of Redemption. *Bible Student*, January, 1902, pp. 51-8.

DENNEY, JAMES. The New Life and the Spirit. *Expositor*, December, 1901, pp. 422-36.

The conception of the Spirit is by far the most difficult thing to master in the theology of Paul. It here represents what we mean by the supernatural, standing not only for what God is as a presence in man, but also for what God is as a power transcending all that man's experience has yet disclosed. The Spirit is as completely supernatural as the Lord of Glory from whom it comes, and the issue of its indwelling is not only victory for sin, but conformity to the image of his Son.

RAMSAY, W. M. The Cities of the Pauline Churches. *Expositor*, December, 1901, pp. 401-14.

SCHMIEDEL, W. Review of Recent Literature on the Pauline Epistles, I. *Theologische Rundschau*, December, 1901, pp. 498-522.

AZAM, M. La doctrine de la foi dans Saint Paul. *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, July-October, 1901, pp. 231-9.

MILLIGAN, GEORGE. The Roman Destination of the Epistle to the Hebrews. *Expositor*, December, 1901, pp. 437-48.

The writer finds himself in general accord with the opinion of Zahn and Harnack that the epistle to the Hebrews was written to a small Jewish Christian community at Rome which had continued to maintain an independent existence, and thinks that the arguments of the German scholars have gone far to establish this hypothesis. He considers that no convincing objection has ever been brought against the Roman destination of the epistle, and that this theory is certainly illuminative in a high degree of the various problems which the epistle presents.

STORMS, A. B. The Heart of the Apocalypse. *Methodist Review* (New York), January-February, 1902, pp. 97-107.

Rejecting all visionary "vagaries and theological hobgoblins that are woven out of this book," the writer holds its essential idea to be the victory of faith in Jesus Christ as the world-conquering King. This faith asserted itself in a time of conflict, persecution, and distress, and the book had particular reference to the condition out of which it arose.

SCOMP, HENRY A. The Case Absolute in the New Testament. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1902, pp. 76-84.

WINTERBOTHAM, R. The Ambiguous in the New Testament. *Expositor*, December, 1901, pp. 449-61.

RELATED SUBJECTS.

BOOKS.

- *JASTROW, MORRIS. *The Study of Religion*. [Contemporary Science series.] New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. 451. \$1.50.
- BEET, J. A. *The Immortality of the Soul*. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1901. Pp. 115. \$0.75.
- *PALMER, G. H. *The Field of Ethics*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 213. \$1.10, *net*.
- *PRATT, W. S. *Musical Ministries in the Church*. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1901. Pp. 181. \$1.

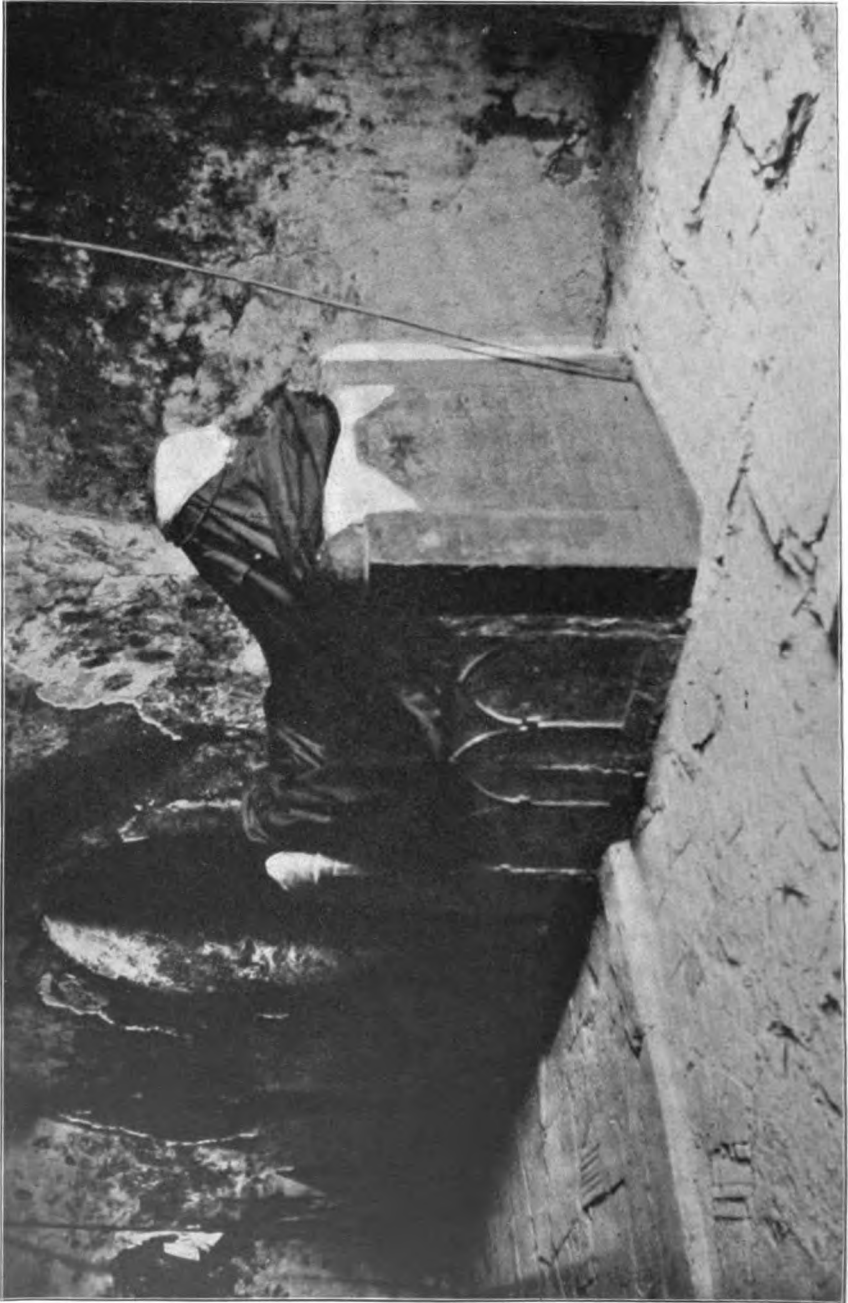
ARTICLES.

- MCPHEETERS, W. M. *Apocalypse as an Element of Scripture*. *Bible Student*, January, 1902, pp. 7-12.
- SCHODDE, G. H. *Christian Theology versus Church Theology*. *Homiletic Review*, January, 1902, pp. 22-6.
- GRANT, GEO. M. *The Outlook of the Twentieth Century in Theology*. *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1902, pp. 1-16.

It takes time to weave new principles into the warp and woof of humanity. The Reformation has been doing its work all through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, along the multitudinous lines in which the free spirit seeks to realize itself; in physical, chemical, and biological science; in speculation, history, and criticism; in politics, economics, and ethics; in comparative religion, in art, and in every department in which man seeks for the true, the good, or the beautiful. Much has been done. The materials have been gathered for a far wider theological synthesis than any that has ever yet been attempted—a synthesis in which no spiritual treasure which has been garnered by the toil of precious generations will be lost, but in which a wider and grander view of the universe and the purpose of God will be given to the delighted vision of the lovers of truth. The Reformation has not yet done its work, either in Europe or America. It was arrested by violent opposition from without and a consequent reaction from within, needed, probably, to conserve the advance which had been made. But the opposing forces seem to be now well-nigh exhausted, and the churches of the Reformation, if only they have the courage of faith which has too often been lacking, are at length free to carry out the principles of the Reformation, and to regenerate society with the spiritual force which always flows from a new appreciation of Christ and the Bible.

- STEVENS, GEO. B. *Horace Bushnell and Albrecht Ritschl: A Comparison*. *American Journal of Theology*, January, 1902, pp. 35-56.
- PARKER, JOSEPH. *The Preacher's Place as a Leader*. *Homiletic Review*, January, 1902, pp. 2-8.
- MATHESON, G. "Should Science Dim the Hope of Immortality?" *Expositor*, December, 1901, pp. 461-72.

The lamp of individuality has not been put out by science. Science has rather burnished the lamp anew. It has shown that the aspiration of religious faith is no unscientific dream. There is a scientific hope for man—that he may possess an individual principle which the cleavage called death may leave unaffected.



THE TRADITIONAL TOMB OF AARON ON MOUNT HOR.

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WAS ISRAEL REALLY A SEPARATE NATION?

It is quite common, in our representation of the different dealings with Israel, to speak of the nation as "apart" and "separate." The idea generally sought to be conveyed, and the prevailing conception concerning the matter, is that Israel was selected and actually separated from all the world; put to one side, as it were, in order that, being out of and away from the world at large, she might receive the divine message, which, in turn, should be conveyed by her to this same world. The principles involved in this conception are:

*THE COMMON
IMPRESSION*

1. The necessity of being removed from contact with the world in order to receive the divine message, and
2. The possibility of being able to give a message to the world while in a state of separation from it.

Is either of these principles a sound one, and is it a historical fact that Israel was actually separated from her sister-nations? The question is one of not merely local or archæological interest. It has to do with the fundamental principles of teaching and life.

We may pass over the fact that the Abrahamic tribes, when they entered Palestine, entered into the inheritance of all that Palestine had been gathering up for many centuries, and, in so far as a nomadic people could do so, appropriated this rich inheritance. We may also, for a moment, forget the relationship sustained by the Israelitish tribes to Egypt during two or three or four centuries of Israel's

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sojourn in Egypt, although it is ordinarily understood and taught that Israel was thus brought into contact with Egypt in order, as a younger nation, to learn from the older nation something of its civilization. How was it with the Canaanitish people and their civilization? Was Israel kept apart from it? Is it not rather true that Israel was led to adopt the very language of the nation with which she was to come into such bitter conflict, the Canaanitish and Hebrew languages being practically the same? Was she not permitted to mingle freely with the Canaanitish people, sometimes in control, at other times in subjection, at all times side by side with them? And did not this intimate relationship exist through centuries?

But it may be asked: What purpose was gained by this intimacy? The answer is, education. Israel was being educated. The Canaanitish civilization was far in advance of the Israelitish. It contained very much which would prove only injurious to Israel. It contained much, however, which Israel must have in order to fulfil her destiny. The good and the bad came together. There were periods when the bad element was in the supremacy; but, in spite of the fact that there was much evil influence in the relationship, it was a part of the divine plan that Israel should sustain this relationship to Canaan. An analogy might be found in the removal of a countryman today to a large city. Such a removal is attended with advantage and disadvantage. In some cases it means ruin, in other cases prosperity. It is impossible to secure the higher advantages of life without taking at the same time the risk of obtaining only lower possibilities.

If we follow the Israelitish nation into the next great epoch of its history, we find a close relationship with Assyria, and a little later with Babylon, these two powers being in effect one, and dominating the same portion of the world at different times. For two centuries or more Israel was under the tutelage of this empire. The prophets recognized the fact that the land of Palestine was full of Assyrian notions. The people of all classes were strongly

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affected by this Assyrian influence. The Assyrian army again and again made its way into the very heart of Palestine, right up to the gates of Jerusalem, and the climax of this historical period was the transportation of Israel into the heart of Babylonia. There they lived nearly a century under the direct tutorship of this foreign power. Can any closer relationship be imagined? Was Israel in any sense kept apart from Assyria and Babylon? Was she not brought into contact so close that even a large portion of her own people ceased to be Israelites and remained Babylonians to the very end? And did she not receive an impress during these centuries, both for good and for bad, which is to be seen on every page of the Old Testament literature? At the cost of many disasters to temple, city, and state, this educational process was conducted. Did ever a nation pay such a price for its education? A careful study of Israel's latest history shows how cheap this education was, even at the great price paid.

For fifteen hundred years Israel was guided from one place to another among the nations, and in these centuries was brought into contact with the most advanced civilization of the times. One by one the nations from which she received instruction died away, but the pupil continued to live and to transmit the good in each of these great civilizations which it was the divine will to propagate.

In the next great period of Israel's history something different meets us. It is at this period that the method of instruction in vogue for fifteen centuries suffers modification.

A PERIOD OF SEPARATION FOR A SPECIAL PURPOSE New circumstances demand new treatment. Israel, from contact with the world's civilizations, and from the teaching of her own great teachers, has come into the possession of truth concerning God and man, and the relationship of God and man, which must be preserved. The doctrine of monotheism and the doctrine of the heinousness of sin, the doctrine of spiritual communion between man and his Creator—these, and other fundamental teachings, are to come in conflict with still another civilization, the most powerful which

Israel has yet been called to meet. The Hellenic culture had conquered the entire world. Rome, in spite of her armies, was held in subjection. Nothing in the world's history had yet shown itself to be so strong as the pen of the Greek. Was Greek culture to be permitted to pervade and destroy the results of these long centuries of Hebrew teaching? The conflict was the most critical that the world has ever seen. It came, and Jewish truth, though somewhat modified, remained substantially unchanged. This was made possible, in accordance with the divine plan, because in this last period Israel had actually been set apart by the working of the Levitical ceremonial. There had grown up a national exclusiveness for which history produces no analogy. Israel incased herself in a rough prickly covering, which, for the time being, enabled her to avoid the risk of too close a contact with the power of the Greek. It was in this period that there grew up so many practices which, even to this day, separate the Jew from the gentile. It was a demand of the times. But it was exceptional, and by this very fact disputes the truth of the proposition that this was the regular method.

There was a time, therefore, in Israel's history, when it became necessary that she be set apart and separated from the world. But this time did not come until the great truths which the world was to receive through her had been revealed. It was for the purpose of preservation rather than that of instruction that this plan was adopted. The work of education had, in a sense, been finished.

Two or three points suggest themselves in this connection as worthy of our consideration:

1. One has a very faulty conception of Israelitish and Jewish history who supposes that during the twenty centuries before Christ, and during the period of the nation's education, it was separated from the other nations of the earth. Exactly the opposite is true. Israel was led to mingle with other nations as perhaps no other nation before or since has mingled with the world at large, and it may not be inappropriate to suggest that this fact, with those which

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SEPARATED*

accompany it, explains, as nothing else can explain, Israel's peculiar place in the world today.

2. The divine method in dealing with the nation and the individual is after all a common-sense method, and exemplifies *THE DIVINE METHOD THE ORDINARY ONE* the very principles in accordance with which the mind of humanity itself has been constituted. To educate the child one does not separate him from his fellow-beings or from the world. Education consists in bringing him into contact with his fellow-beings and the world. This is all.

3. At certain times, in certain exigencies, new methods are demanded. Those for a given period may seem to be, and indeed may be, entirely contradictory as compared with old methods; but it will always be found that *SEPARATION ONLY TEMPORARY* the methods demanded by a certain situation are those which accord with great principles, and that, while the methods may be contradictory, the underlying principles imply no such contradiction. There are times in the history of an individual or a nation when, for the purpose of reflection, for the purpose of gathering together strength in order to perform some great deed, concentration is required. This may mean temporary isolation, temporary separation from everything that distracts, but this is only an incident in the history of the individual or the nation. And the very purpose of this temporary separation will prove to be larger and more comprehensive contact with the very world from which, for a time, separation has taken place. Israel's separation from the world was only an incident in twenty centuries of history. The method of education employed by Jehovah throughout these centuries was that which all experience shows to have been and to be based upon fundamental principles.

THE LOCAL DIVINITIES OF THE MODERN SEMITES.

By PROFESSOR SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, PH.D., D.D.,
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AMONG most sects of Moslems and Christians, including Bedouins as well as Syrians, the worship of saints exists. In the popular imagination they exercise a power far above that of God; men fear lightly to break oaths made at their shrines, or to use obscene language (so prevalent in the East) when going into their presence.¹

It is true that orthodox Moslems insist that the saints are only mediators, that the worshiper asks his weli to intercede for him with God;² but this is not the type of religion as it is found among the ignorant, whose usage corresponds most closely to that of antiquity. The antinomy between doctrine and practice came out in a conversation with a religious sheik, an orthodox Moslem at Nebk, in the Syrian desert, about vows, concerning which he said: "If a vow is made, it is made to God, not to the saint, but it is made by the grave of the saint, to honor him, and to please God. . . . However, a simple person would say that the vow was given to the weli, thus making him a lord, which is an error. As I am an educated person, I give you the right account."³

The general designation used among the Christians for these beings, who are practically treated as divine, is the Aramaic word *Mar*, "lord" or "saint," while that used among Moslems is *weli*, which signifies "protector," "patron," "nearest of kin." In the Arabic version (of the American Press at

¹"They are very particular on the road [to the shrine] not to speak foul language" (*Journal*, XI, Behammra among the Nusairiyeh, summer of 1901).

²*Cf.* my article, "Ancient Shrines in Northern Syria," in the *Independent*, Vol. L, p. 1448: "God is almighty. . . . I ask the weli, and the weli asks God." The same idea was brought out in other interviews with the Moslems.

³*Journal*, X, Nebk, summer of 1901.

Beirût) Job appeals to God, as his *weli*, to be his avenger,⁴ and Ruth confides in Boaz as her *weli* or nearest of kin, who is under obligations by that relationship to marry her.⁵

In the Koran the term *weli* is used many times, both in the singular and plural. It is almost always translated by Professor Palmer as "patron." The singular is mostly applied to God. Thus we read: "God is the patron of those who believe,"⁶ or "of the believers."⁷ The taking of other patrons besides God is condemned in the strongest terms. There is no place in all this teaching for the worship of the *welis*, and there is good reason for the opposition of the Wahabites, the most orthodox sect of Islam, to their worship, who sought as resolutely to crush out the sacred shrines⁸ as King Josiah attempted to stamp out the worship on the high places.⁹ In the call to prayer we were told that *ulia*, the plural of *weli*, is used,¹⁰ but this seems most unlikely, certainly in the sense of "patrons."

The term *Mar* is used among the Christians as a title; thus St. George is known in Syria as *Mar Jurjis*. But the Moslems designate their saints by the special term of *nebi*, "prophet," if they may be considered biblical characters, or as *sheik*, if they belong to post-biblical times. The term *weli* is general, and applies both to the saint and to his tomb.

These saints are really departed spirits, connected with some

⁴ Job 19:25.

⁵ Ruth 3:12. In both these passages *weli* is used in the Arabic version as the rendering of the Hebrew *go'el*.

⁶ 2:258. ⁷ 3:61.

⁸ BURCKHARDT, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* (London, 1830), pp. 280, 281: "The Wahabys declared that all men were equal in the eyes of God; that even the most virtuous could not intercede with him; and that it was consequently sinful to invoke departed saints, and to honor their mortal remains more than those of any other persons. Wherever the Wahabys carried their arms they destroyed all the domes and ornamented tombs; a circumstance which serves to inflame the fanaticism of their disciples, and to form a marked distinction between them and their opponents. . . . The destruction of cupolas and tombs of saints became the favorite taste of the Wahabys."

⁹ 2 Kings 23:8-13.

¹⁰ "In the regular call to prayer there is a mention of all the *ulia*—first the prophet, then all the other prophets, then the *ulia*" (*Journal*, XI, Mehardeh, summer of 1901).

particular shrines. These shrines have been chosen because the saints revealed themselves there in times past, and are now wont to reveal themselves there to those who seek their favor.

While our previous examination shows that the Semitic conception of God today degrades him,¹¹ that which we are about to make concerning the saint will prove that the saint is exalted to the place of deity, at least among the ignorant.

We must recognize a close connection between the ordinary spirit of the departed and that of the saint, who is supposed to possess superior sanctity and power. Indeed, we shall find that conceptions which might be held with respect to the disembodied spirit are held of the saint, and may be held of God.

Fraser has well said :

The notion of a man-god, or of a human being endowed with divine or supernatural powers, belongs essentially to that earlier period of religious history in which gods and men are still viewed as beings of much the same order, and before they are divided by the impassable gulf which to later thought opens out between them.¹²

Such a notion still exists among the most ignorant of the modern Semites, and the impassable gulf has not yet been fixed between them.

It is evident from an examination of the numerous passages in the Koran where the term *weli* is used as applicable to God that the praise of the *weli*, as saint, is contrary to the Koran¹³ and to Moslem law.¹⁴ But even good Moslems affirm that a man who does not believe in a *weli* does not believe in God.¹⁵ There are also said to be ascriptions of praise rendered to the *welis* among the Nusairiyeh, a heretical sect, far beyond those rendered to God.¹⁶

¹¹ Cf. BIBLICAL WORLD, Vol. XIX, pp. 124, 125.

¹² *Golden Bough* (London, 1900), Vol. I, p. 130.

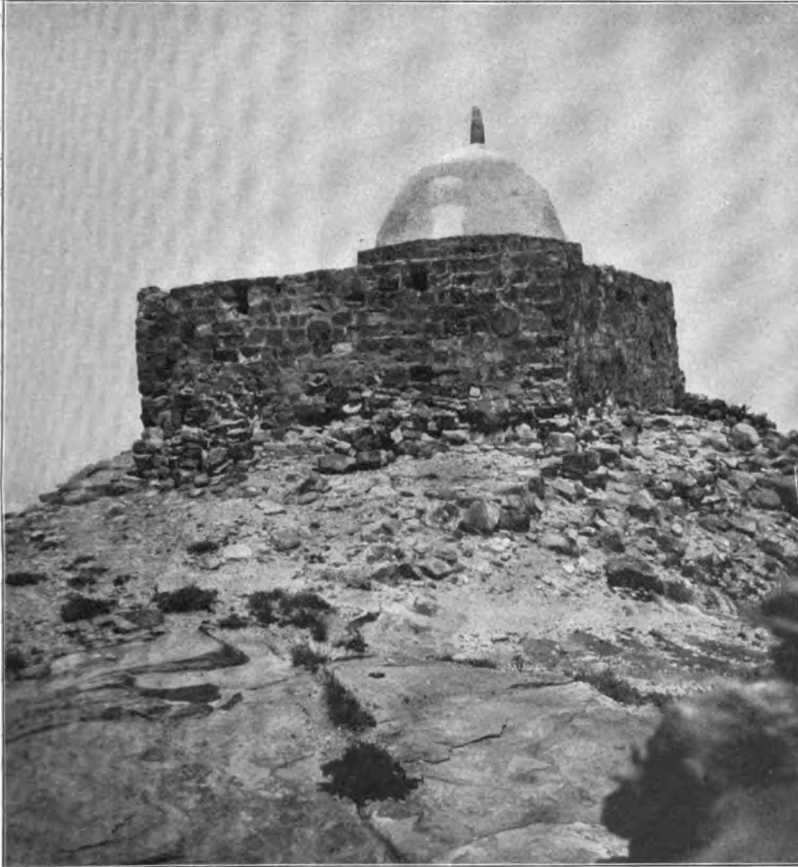
¹³ See FLÜGEL, *Concordantiae Corani Arabicae* (Lipsiae, 1842), *sub voce*.

¹⁴ *Journal*, Hama, summer of 1901 : "There rises before the company, when they arrive at the shrine, one who recites a poem. The subject of the poem is praise to God, or the prophet, or the *weli*. The praise of the *weli* is a very prominent part of it. But this is all contrary to Mohammedan law." Cf. BURCKHARDT, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

¹⁵ Declaration of a Moslem peasant (*Journal*, XI, Nebk).

¹⁶ Rev. James S. Stewart, of Ladikiyeh, testifies : "I have read in their books [of the Nusairiyeh ?] ascriptions of glory and praise greater than any they ascribe to God."

Every shrine, of whatever sort, theoretically presupposes a weli. Such a saint may have lived within the memory of the generation that does him honor. There may be many tales which have been preserved in regard to him, or he may be



SHRINE OF AARON ON MOUNT HOR.

a mythical character, about whom a profusion of folklore has sprung up. It may be that he has little objective existence in the thought of the people beyond his name and shrine. They can tell but little regarding his life and his achievements. Indeed, there is sometimes a clear indication of skepticism

on the part of the people with respect to the origin of such shrines.¹⁷

To the heated imaginations of some of their servants the saints appear in bodily form.¹⁸ Theoretically they are worshiped in connection with the God of all the world; practically many people know no other god. In this respect the worship of the saints is like that of the ancient Baalim. They are the deities whom the people fear, love, serve, and adore.

Remembering that the saints are spirits who once lived on earth, we shall find it of interest to consider some of the ways in which they reveal themselves. One of the most famous shrines is that of Aaron on Mount Hor. Whether his body was ever buried on that height which tradition assigns to him is of no moment in this investigation. As will be seen from the following dialogue with Musa, an Arab guide at Petra, it will be evident that Aaron is thought of as having existence, and as coming to his shrine during two days of the week:

Quest. "Is there a yearly festival?"

Ans. "No."

Quest. "Why do the people visit the prophet's tomb?"

Ans. "Because he is a great prophet; out of honor to him."

Quest. "What benefits do they expect to receive from such a visit?"

Ans. "If anyone has a son or friend ill, he goes and asks the prophet to intercede for him [with God], and promises in case of recovery to visit the tomb once a year."

Quest. "Do they vow that they will give the prophet anything in case of recovery?"

Ans. "Yes. It is not necessary that they should go to the top of the mountain to make a vow. They may pile up a heap of stones anywhere in sight

¹⁷See *The Women of the Arabs*, by REV. H. H. JESSUP, D.D. (London, 1874), pp. 269-72.

¹⁸Sheik Yusef el-hagg, of Nebk, said with respect to the saint who has charge of the stream at Nebk, and whose name is Mohammed el-Ghuffary, that he appears in various forms, "sometimes as an old man, sometimes as a young man in white, but always in human form; some see him at night, others see him by day; some see him in dreams; only those who have the light in their hearts see him." Another Moslem, by the name of Abu Ali, from the same village, who at times works himself into a frenzy, and sometimes makes a frightful noise when engaged in prayer, testified: "I have seen his spirit, because I love the saint and he loves me. He appears to me by day and by night, like a middle-aged man, wearing a green robe. I speak to him and we converse together." (*Journal*, X; Nebk, summer of 1901.)



PLATFORM OF UMM SHAKAKIF.

of the mountain as a witness (*meshhad*).¹⁹ They may kill the animal they have vowed anywhere."

Quest. "Do they consider the animals they have vowed, and which they eat, sacrifices?"

Ans. "Yes."

¹⁹ These heaps of witness (*cf.* Gen. 31:48) are very common in sight of shrines which are difficult of access.

Quest. "How can they be sacrifices when they eat them? Does the prophet partake of them?"²⁰

Ans. "The prophet is dead, how could he eat of them? We would not throw them away after we had killed them."²¹

Quest. "Is the prophet dead?"

Ans. "Prophets never die. The prophet [Aaron] is alive today. We ask him to intercede for us."

Quest. "Do the people ever make any use of the blood of the sacrifice?"

Ans. "No, they throw it away."

Quest. "Why do the people put *semn* [butter] in the lower room?"

Ans. "It is customary to have a lamp burning Thursdays and Fridays, so they use *semn* for this purpose."

Quest. "Why is the light burning only on Thursdays and Fridays?"

Ans. "Our books²² say that the prophet comes only on Thursdays and Fridays. The rest of the time he is with his brother Moses, and with their friend [God]. He comes down only on these two days."²³

The alleged birth-place of Abraham at Berzeh, near Damascus, affords Moslems a reason for seeking the patriarch, by vows and prayers, at this place of his revelation, since his mother is said to have given him birth in a hole of the rock. She was with him three days, and then, putting his finger in his mouth, left him. There he abode, according to the legend, seven years. The shrine, which affords a dwelling for the minister on the same court, is especially interesting because on a sheet of paper, posted on the wall, all visitors who are in trouble are invited to make known their sorrows to the weli: "Advice to people who visit this place, where is Abraham, father of Isaac, the sacrificed, the grandfather of the prophets: 'Come, tell him all your adversities and hardships, and he will help you.'"²⁴ It will be

²⁰ This question was asked to see whether there was any trace of the critical theory that God is the host at sacrificial meals. Musa did not seem to conceive of the prophet Aaron in any such capacity.

²¹ This is certainly a very important statement in connection with the use made of the flesh in sacrifices, and would seem to indicate that the sacrifice does not consist in eating it.

²² Unlettered Moslems frequently refer to their books for statements which they make. As they cannot read, the allusion to such books must be taken with a great deal of allowance. Friday is the Moslem Sunday, hence a favorite day for saints to visit their shrines.

²³ *Journal*, VIII, Petra, summer of 1901.

²⁴ This was translated by Rev. Anise Nasif Sellum, of Damascus, into Arab-English, which I have retained (*Journal*, XII, Berzeh, summer of 1901).

noticed that nothing is suggested as to his intercession with God for them. The people are bidden to come to him as the sole source of their comfort.

Of quite another sort is the weli at an ancient platform, surrounded by several acres of oak trees, known as the "Mother



SACRED TREES OF UMM SHAKAKIF.

of Pieces" (*Umm Shakakif*). It was my good fortune to learn the story of this shrine for the first time and in two forms: one in poetry, from the servant of another shrine²⁵ about an hour and a quarter south; the other in prose, from the servant of the shrine itself. Both are interesting specimens of folklore. I give the former here because briefer.

²⁵*Journal*, X, Kursi el-Aqtāb, summer of 1901.

The story goes that there were four maidens, each of whom was under the protection of a particular saint. The heroine of the shrine was known according to one story as 'Arja, or "the lame one;" according to the other, as Fatima. She was lame, blind of an eye, bald, poor, and almost naked. Accompanied by



GIRLS WITH WATER JARS.

her three friends she went to the fountain to draw water, where the four saints, the respective patrons of these girls, were seated. Each of 'Arja's companions let down her water jar, in turn, and it came up full of water, and each set out on her way home. When 'Arja had lowered her jar, instead of coming up brimming, she drew up only the handles. Her patron, whom she had served faithfully, had shattered it. Urged to desert him and choose another, she affirmed her unalterable fidelity to him.

Touched by her devotion, he bade her give him the handles. In a few moments she drew up her jar more beautiful than ever, full of water. On this the following dialogue took place :

Saint to 'Arja : "Go, join your companions."

'Arja : "I am your servant, you see I am lame." He healed her.

Saint : "Go, join your companions."

'Arja : "I am your servant, you see I am blind." He cured her.

Saint : "Go, join your companions."

'Arja : "I am your servant, you see I am bald." He gave her long hair.

Saint : "Go, join your companions."

'Arja : "I am your servant, you see I am naked." He clothed her.

Saint : "Go, join your companions."

'Arja : "I am your servant, you see I am poor."

Saint : "Raise up the carpet, and you will find silver and gold." She did so.

Thus through her faith and obedience a poor, blind, bald, and lame girl became the object of worship, and the place where she is reputed to be buried is still a place of blessing. Vows are made of jars of pottery which are broken on the ancient platform.

In direct contrast with the legends which have grown up around the "Mother of Pieces" is a Druse shrine, about two and a half hours west of Rasheya, known as Nebi Safa. While they say that the saint of this shrine is descended from Jacob, and that his people lived in the direction of Jerusalem and Hebron, they do not know how he came to be there, or to die there. "The honorable body is there, and the spirit is always to be found there. Any day that a man seeks him he will find him. It depends on his faith." The people charged with the care of the shrine could tell wonderful stories, indicating the exercise of supernatural powers, but could give no information shedding any real light on the history of the one exercising these powers.²⁶

²⁶ *Journal*, XIII, Nebi Safa, summer of 1901.

[To be completed in the next number.]

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF PAUL.

III. THE APOCALYPTIC MESSIANISM OF THE PHARISEES.

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WHILE thus the messianism of the masses, following blindly in the path of the older prophetic nationalism, was seeking to establish a regenerate Israel as the precursor of the kingdom of God, that of the literary classes, and of the Pharisees in particular, advanced in the line of apocalyptic. This fact was a natural outcome of the difference between the comfortable and the distressed elements in the Jewish state. The masses wished for a new kingdom in which an end should be made of the actually felt misery born of poverty and social inequality quite as certainly as of the national dishonor of subjection to a heathen power. The Pharisees, enjoying personal comfort and respect, were naturally concerned rather with the more impersonal, if not paradoxical, matter of the establishment of a new Jewish state without revolution or social regeneration. Their hope was in consequence more joined with patience. God, and not man, would bring in the new age. Throughout the three centuries in which the apocalyptic suggestions of Daniel were developed into new doctrines pharisaic messianism became increasingly transcendental. A literary *bourgeoisie* could well afford to discountenance revolution and await the fulfilment of academic dreams.

Yet the Pharisees, in their early days, were by no means indifferent to politics. The great scribal movement from which they sprang had crystallized first in the party of the Chasidim, and the society of Pharisees had differentiated itself from the older party largely because it saw in national affairs the need of applying its principle of separation. The break between John Hyrcanus and those who had been his family's truest supporters doubtless came from the refusal of the Pharisees to have further

share in the traditional Asmonean policy of immersing Judea in international politics. The bitter war which the Pharisees had waged with Alexander Jannæus was due to their opposition to the growing monarchy. Under Alexandra, Simon ben Shetach and the Pharisees had been with the government, and had brought great prosperity to the nation. Later they had taken sides in the unhappy struggles between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus II., and had thus been involved in the new political life resulting from the conquest of Judea by Pompey.

But with the rise of the house of Antipater the political interests of pharisaism had weakened. The awakening from a dream of an ideal Israel administered by a Sanhedrin devoted to the oral law, to the rough and ready government of a foreigner supported by a heathen power, was too rude even for their political idealism, and they attempted to reduce Jewish political life to the minimum. Confronted with the alternative of revolt or of submission to such rulers, at first they chose neither. Twice at least did they endeavor to induce the Romans to govern Judea through a provincial official and local Jewish councils rather than through a *rex socius*,¹ and then, when these requests had been repeatedly refused, the leaders of the society advised submission to rulers, whoever they might be.² Yet even then many of them refused to take a formal oath of allegiance to Herod.³

With political hopes thus destroyed, the Pharisees turned with an ever-increasing faith to Jehovah and his law. In his good time deliverance would come to his people. Throughout the period in which revolutionary messianism was developing, the Pharisees, as well as the Sadducees, constituted a party of law and order. Revolution was farthest possible from their plans, and it is their spirit that breathes in the unceasing denunciation of the Zealots in Josephus. That body, though agreeing

¹ Thus in the appeal to Pompey (though the Pharisees are not mentioned), *Ant.*, xiv, 3:2; and at the probating of Herod's will, *Ant.*, xvii, 11:1, 2. Cf. also the desires of the high-priest for peace, *War*, iv, 5:2.

² Thus Pollio and Sameas counseled submission to Herod, *Ant.*, xiv, 9:4; xv, 1:1.

³ With the Essenes, they were excused by that monarch (*Ant.*, xv, 10:4; xvii, 2:4), though fined.

with the Pharisees in matters of general belief,⁴ differed from them radically in all matters pertaining to the kingdom of God. The one attempted to hasten, the other awaited, God's deliverance.⁵

Yet with the Pharisees as with the Zealots messianism was grounded in a sense of misery so abject as to be hopeless except for Jehovah, but this misery was given a purely religious explanation. The world seemed too miserable and wicked for Jehovah's immediate presence, and pharisaism became half deistic and thoroughly dualistic. God had abandoned the evil world, and it was his *Memra*, his Word, that was present,⁶ and his law rather than the Shekinah was the sign of his regard for men. The misery which the righteous suffered was a punishment for the sins of Israel,⁷ though in no way interpreted as evidence of an approaching deliverance. On the contrary, misfortunes were evidence of the existence of a "Prince of the World," or of an Antichrist, the great opponent of God and the future Christ, who was allowed for a time to torment Jehovah's people. Even when not conceived of as transcendent, this opposing personality was ever present in the mind of the pious Pharisee. Antiochus Epiphanes, the dread figure of Daniel; the kings of the Medes and Parthians;⁸ the world of demons with its prince Beelzebub—all seemed to explain Israel's misfortunes and to stimulate new faith.⁹ The very indefiniteness of this present evil ruler must have made the Pharisee discountenance revolution and look the more eagerly for the interference of Jehovah. The arm of flesh

⁴ *Ant.*, xviii, 1 : 1, 6 ; *War*, ii, 8 : 1.

⁵ So far from correct is the indiscriminating statement of EATON, art. "Pharisees," HASTINGS's *Dict. of the Bible*, that the Zealots "simply carried out the pharisaic principles to their logical conclusion." The logical conclusions of pharisaic messianism were precisely those exemplified in pharisaism itself—a peaceful awaiting of the coming of the eschatological kingdom of God and the Messiah. For the relations of the two parties see, for instance, *War*, iv, 3 : 9 ff.

⁶ *Assumption of Moses*, 10 : 1 ; *Enoch*, 40 : 7. See, for a somewhat extreme presentation of this entire matter, BALDENSPERGER, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, chaps. 1, 2.

⁷ *Enoch*, 89 f. See also the *Psalms of Solomon*, *passim*.

⁸ *Enoch*, 53 : 1 f. ; 56 : 1 f. ; 90 : 1 f.

⁹ On Antichrist see BOUSSET, *Der Antichrist*; PREUSCHEN, "Paulus als Antichrist," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1901, pp. 169-201.

would have been weak indeed against the Prince of the power of the air. Thus there grew up the dualistic belief in two opposing kingdoms, that of God and that of Satan; the one peopled with good angels, the other with demons and evil angels. Humanity itself was the prize for which they strove. Yet God's kingdom would certainly come. If for the present Satan seemed supreme, his triumph was but temporary. Righteousness, not sin, was the eternal element in the universe.

The passage from the religio-political messianism of the earlier Asmonean days to that of the passive resistance of the first Christian century was due to the increasing influence of this magnificent moral optimism, and is easily to be traced in the literature of pharisaism. In its early writings patriotism is still of this world. Only gradually did the images of the apocalypse cease to be political symbols and become literal figures. None the less, from the first the certainty of the triumph of God's kingdom and the establishment of the long-expected world-judgment forbade appeal to arms. Even before the fully developed apocalyptic of the Enoch literature, Elijah was to come as the forerunner¹⁰ of the glorious, though still hardly individualized, Son of David¹¹ and the eternal kingdom of Israel,¹² and immortality is predicated of those alone who were to share in this messianic kingdom.¹³ The *Sibylline Oracles*, it is true, show even in their most elevated passages that political hopes had not been entirely abandoned by those who most readily adopted the apocalypse as a literary form. The misery suffered under the Seleucidæ was quite too recent to be forgotten even by one who may have been a Jew of the dispersion. The judgment day was still political rather than individual, and the messianic age the day of a Jewish empire.¹⁴ The earthly representatives of Satan's kingdom, the enemies of Israel, were to

¹⁰ Mal. 3: 23, 24; Eccclus. 48: 10.

¹¹ Eccclus. 47: 11; 1 Macc. 2: 57. ¹² Eccclus. 37: 25; 44: 13; 2 Macc. 14: 15.

¹³ 2 Macc. 6: 26; 7: 9, 11, 14, 20, 23, 29, 33, 36; 12: 42-45. As to the fate of the wicked, see especially 7: 14. There is, of course, a fair critical question as to whether these passages belong to the early Asmonean time. See NIESE, *Die Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*.

¹⁴ *Sib. Or.*, iii, 652-97, and especially 710-42, 755-60, 766-72.

perish, the righteous Jews were to be eternally blessed. But national as this may be, it is just as distinctly non-revolutionary and eschatological.

It was, therefore, an easy step from the *Sibylline Oracles* to the original sections of *Enoch* (chaps. 72-105; 1-36), for it was one of form rather than of content. The apocalypse was still symbolical, and in the unfaithful shepherds, the wild animals, the suffering and then militant sheep, it is not difficult to see the priests, the Syrians, and the Pious.¹⁵ Yet judgment is to fall upon the shepherds and the blind sheep, and the new Jerusalem is the new Israelitish state,¹⁶ in which the Pious were to reign as the representatives of God. But in this new apocalyptic, as in the old, there is no call to revolution. Even the figure of the Messiah,¹⁷ though more distinct than in any previous literature, is far from central. No work is ascribed to him, and the author of the vision is content to say that when he takes up his kingdom all his subjects are to be like him, but rather as a gift of God than as the result of their own or his struggles.¹⁸

In the little "Weeks" apocalypse (91:12-17; 93), however, one discovers the transition to a more transcendental hope. A period of peace and joy follows the overthrow of the enemies of Israel, the angels alone are judged, all men repent, and a new heaven appears in which goodness and happiness are eternal. There is no mention of a Messiah, and this fact, and the general character of its portrayal of the future, lead one to refer this section to another source than its context. This, however, in the light of *Enoch*, chaps. 1-36, does not necessitate any radical change in date, but rather argues that even in its early years pharisaism was combining its hopes for the appearance of the eschatological kingdom with its political forecasts.

Transcendentalism becomes supreme in *Enoch*, chaps. 1-36. In them the thought of an Israel triumphing without cataclysms or miracles is overshadowed by the picturing of the great judgment day. God appears, surrounded by myriads of angels,

¹⁵ *Enoch*, 90:16-27. ¹⁶ *Enoch*, 90:28-33. ¹⁷ Pictured as a white bull.

¹⁸ *Enoch*, 90:37, 38. The sheep and other animals typifying the true Jews become white.

mountains and hills meeting before him. The righteous dead, who have been living in paradise, are given still greater joys, while the wicked are sent to eternal suffering.²⁹

From such a picture as this the transition was easy to the next group of Enoch visions (chaps. 37-71), in which the literalizing of the apocalypse is all but complete. The Messiah is now distinctly individualized with a variety of names — Son of man,³⁰ the Elect, the Anointed, the Righteous One. He is pre-existent³¹ and a judge³² conjointly with God himself. In this judgment all, both good and evil, even though dead,³³ share. Kings and nobles suffer punishment³⁴ with the evil angels.³⁵ No sin goes unpunished, though, except in the case of the kings,³⁶ repentance seems always possible through the mercy of God.³⁷ The Jews of the dispersion return to Palestine,³⁸ and the Messiah reigns³⁹ over a righteous nation happy in the enjoyment of peace and equality.³⁰ Heaven joins the earth, and immortal men dwell together with angels in a world forever free from sin.³¹

In these visions it is difficult to see anything but the dreams of a glowing faith. Barring the vague hope for equality and the subjugation of oppressing kings, they contain nothing political or social. Symbolism itself has ceased to be symbolic and has become literal. Political rulers and parties are not to be seen in the chief actors of the new apocalypse, and the reader is

²⁹ *Enoch*, 1: 4-9; 5: 4-9; 22: 5-13.

³⁰ Unless the sections in which this term is used be held to be post-Christian (see a good summary of arguments for this position in STALKER, *Christology of Jesus*, App.), a view with which it is difficult to agree. According to some texts, in 62: 5 and 69: 29 the title "that Son of the woman" appears; this reading is rejected, however, by CHARLES, *Book of Enoch*, p. 164.

³¹ 46: 1, 2; 48: 3, 6; 62: 7.

³² 45: 3; 47: 3; 50: 4; 62: 2. Cf. CHARLES, *Enoch*, *in loco*.

³³ 51: 1. ³⁵ 54: 5, 6; chap. 64.

³⁴ Chaps. 62 and 63. ³⁶ 63: 6.

³⁷ The position given men in the heavenly kingdom is apparently determined by the time of their repentance. Cf. chap. 50.

³⁸ Chap. 57. ³⁹ 45: 3, 4. ³⁰ 53: 6, 7.

³¹ 39: 5-12; 58: 3; 71: 16.

introduced into a germinant eschatology in which pharisaic dualism reaches a transcendental solution.³²

The uncertainty as to the precise date when these visions of Enoch were composed makes it the easier to appreciate the influence of the new transcendentalism in the partial renaissance during the last half-century before Christ of the older and more concrete messianic hope in the *Psalms of Solomon*. That these songs are of pharisaic origin can hardly be questioned. According to the belief of their author, misfortune never came to a nation except as a punishment for sin. That Judea was suffering, therefore, argued long-continued secret wrong-doing on the part of its rulers. The Romans, though their leader had experienced God's wrath,³³ were but God's agents of punishment;³⁴ the real offenders were the degenerate Asmonean high-priests. The precise faults of this house seem to have been (*a*) their change of the kingless theocracy to a monarchy; (*b*) in case a monarchy was inevitable, their presumption in usurping the throne of the divinely appointed Davidic family; (*c*) their misuse of their priestly office; (*d*) their surrender to Rome.

It should be remembered that the Pharisees had (in their Chasidim days) cheerfully submitted to the highpriesthood of the Asmonean house. It was not the displacement of the house of Zadok which displeased them, for the Asmoneans were priests, and any technical difficulties the Pharisees, with the people, were content to waive until some prophet should appear to solve them finally. It was the monarchy as such that the Pharisees opposed. The ideal Judea, composed of those who were righteous, was impossible as long as "sinners" controlled the state.³⁵ A righteous king was therefore the first condition of that righteous and glorious state for which all Jews longed.³⁶

From this point of view the messianic portrait of Pss. 17 and 18 is quite intelligible. In them the apocalyptic element is reduced to a minimum. The pious are indeed to rise from

³² It may be objected that 56:5-8 presents political affairs. Undoubtedly this is true, but probably only as picturing the circumstances that called for apocalyptic comfort given in the visions as a whole. The section is in too distinctly a historical spirit to belong to visions themselves.

³³ *Pss. Sol.*, 2:30, 31. ³⁴ *Cf.* 2:7, 8, 17. ³⁵ *Cf.* 6:2. ³⁶ 7:9; 9:19.

the dead,³⁷ but there is no clear correlation of this eschatology with the messianic hope. Indeed, the thought of a kingdom is in marked subordination to that of the Messiah. No picture could be more clearly drawn than his. Neither a sufferer nor a teacher, pre-existent nor miraculously born, a priest like the Asmoneans nor an eschatological wonder like the Son of man of Enoch, he is the mighty king, the vice-gerent of God. In character he is to be sinless,³⁸ obtaining wisdom from God,³⁹ and strong through the Holy Spirit.⁴⁰ His capital is to be Jerusalem, which is first to be purged of all heathen,⁴¹ and his kingdom is to be composed of sanctified Jews,⁴² sons of God, among whom there will never be pride or oppression or unrighteousness of any sort. He is to conquer the entire heathen world, and even the sinners—by whom the Asmonean house may be meant—will be “convicted in the thoughts of their hearts” (vs. 27). The entire earth shall serve him, and he will have mercy only upon those who fear him.

Yet, strangely enough, this mighty king is not to be a man of war. He is to put no trust in horses or cavalry or bows or armies. His conquests are to be wrought “with the word of his mouth.”⁴³ The expression is a true echo of pharisaism. The king is certainly not to be a teacher or a preacher or a philosopher, but the author of the psalm does not wish to be understood as counseling war, and therefore falls back on miracle. The Christ is to be so mighty that he does not need to fight.

The *laissez-faire* spirit of pharisaism as regards political evils could hardly be better joined with limitless hope. The world is to be subjected to a pharisaized Israel (*λαὸς ἅγιος*, 17:28), over whom a great king is to reign as the representative of God; but the messianic ideal of these psalms is farther from that of the Zealots than from that of the apocalypses. One sees in it an attempt to re-express the spirit of apocalyptic without the assistance of visions. As the nearest approach

³⁷ 3:16; 14:1-3, 7. For the wicked there is no such hope (3:13-15; 13:10; 14:6; 15:11).

³⁸ *Ps. Sol.*, 17:35, 36.

³⁹ 17:37, 42.

⁴⁰ Vss. 26, 32, 33, 36.

³⁹ 17:31.

⁴¹ 17:25, 30, 31.

⁴³ 17:36-39.

made by pharisaism to picturing a literal Jewish state, it demonstrates how utterly unworldly even its non-apocalyptic messianism had grown. God's Messiah must come and miraculously establish the new and untranscendental kingdom. In the meantime pious Jews must wait in patience.

With the final establishment of the Roman suzerainty, the hope of pharisaism lost even the shadowy concreteness of these psalms, and turned unreservedly to apocalypses in which the judgment is, as might be expected, all-important. In the *Assumption of Moses* suffering is made the incentive, not only to religious faith, but also to confidence in the ultimate establishment of the kingdom of God, condemnation of all heathen,⁴⁴ and the end of Satan. The kingdom and not the Messiah is central, and God is a great judge, granting salvation only to the kingdom's members. Even more central is the final judgment of both angels and men in the *Secrets of Enoch*.⁴⁵ After it, there begins for the righteous who have entered the kingdom a new age, endless and blessed, without illness or sorrow of any sort.⁴⁶ Of the Messiah or resurrection there is no mention. So, too, in the *Book of Jubilees* the judgment is the dominating element in the future,⁴⁷ though, as always, the Jews are to be the gainers and the final world-rulers in an age of indescribable happiness. Again, neither resurrection nor Messiah is mentioned, but it is not difficult to correlate them with the predicted triumph of the kingdom of God over that of Satan.

The completion of this transcendentalism is to be seen in literature like the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and *4 Esdras* occasioned by the destruction of Jerusalem. Like the authors of the earlier apocalypses, the new seers looked to a messianic kingdom upon earth whose capital should be a new Jerusalem which had come down from heaven.⁴⁸ Over this kingdom the Messiah should reign until the earth itself should pass away⁴⁹ and all enemies of Israel should have been punished. During these days the right-

⁴⁴ 10 : 1-10.

⁴⁵ 46 : 4, 5 ; 19 : 1-5 ; 65 : 6, 7. Cf. also 9 : 11 ff. ; 10 : 3 ; 18 : 1-6.

⁴⁶ 61 : 2 f. ; 65 : 11, 12.

⁴⁸ *Apoc. Baruch*, 4 : 2-6 ; 32 : 4.

⁴⁷ Chap. 23.

⁴⁹ *Apoc. Baruch*, 40 : 3.

eous would live in the utmost happiness, the earth yielding prodigious harvests⁵⁰ and wild beasts losing all their ferocity.⁵¹ Unlike the earlier writers (unless we except *Sibylline Oracles*, iii, 97-807), the *Apocalypse of Baruch* regards the messianic kingdom as but temporary. It is followed by a general resurrection, after which comes the final judgment.⁵² When each man has been given his deserts, then begins the everlasting age in which time ceases, the righteous like angels dwell in heaven and not on the earth, and the wicked agonize in fire.⁵³ In *4 Esdras* the picture is more elaborated, but, with one exception, hardly different in essentials. The pre-existent Christ⁵⁴ rises from the sea in company with Enoch, Moses, and Elijah.⁵⁵ He destroys the united enemies of Israel⁵⁶ without war, but with fire that proceeds from his mouth.⁵⁷ The ten tribes of Israel return to dwell with their brethren in a new Jerusalem not made with hands, but which had come down from heaven.⁵⁸ At this point, however, appears a new element which one cannot help believing is in some measure due to Christian influences. The Messiah and all mankind die, the world being for an entire week locked in death.⁵⁹ Then comes the general resurrection, and God establishes the judgment⁶⁰ in which the endless destiny of every man is fixed. The rewards and punishments of life have already been experienced in some degree,⁶¹ but now the righteous go to an eternal paradise and the wicked to eternal hunger and pain.⁶² Thereafter God is supreme.

It is not necessary to trace the development farther into

⁵⁰ *Apoc. Baruch*, 29 : 5. The same prophecy is said by Papias, on the authority of the elders who had heard John (IRENÆUS, *Ag. Heresies*, v, 33 : 3, 4), to have been made by Jesus himself—a highly improbable statement.

⁵¹ Chap. 73.

⁵³ *Apoc. Baruch*, 51 : 1-12.

⁵² *Apoc. Baruch*, chap. 30.

⁵⁴ 12 : 32 ; 13 : 26, 52 ; 14 : 9.

⁵⁵ *4 Esdras*, 6 : 26 ("they shall see the men who have been taken up, who have not tasted death from their birth," *i. e.*, Enoch, Moses, Elijah) ; 13 : 2, 3, 5, 25, 52.

⁵⁶ 12 : 31-34.

⁵⁷ 13 : 37, 38, an echo of *Ps. Sol.*, 17 : 39, perhaps in its turn derived from Isa. 11 : 4.

⁵⁸ 13 : 39-47 ; 7 : 26 ; 10 : 55 ; 13 : 36.

⁵⁹ 7 : 29, 30.

⁶⁰ 7 : 31-35.

⁶¹ 6 : 5-74, though these verses are not beyond question.

⁶² 8 : 52-59.

the rabbinical literature.⁶³ Enough has been said to show how utterly lacking in all social content was pharisaic messianism in the time of Jesus and the early church. Later, it is true, the rabbis were for a few years swept away from this non-revolutionary attitude and under Akiba and Bar Cochba attempted to establish a new Jewish state; but in the days of Paul such a program was clearly foreign to the program of the entire pharisaic group.⁶⁴ For if we review the development seen in literary remains, the following elements of the messianism of pharisaism will appear essential:

1. The increasing emphasis upon the transcendental kingdom and the utter absence of any call to prepare for its coming, except as such a call may be involved in the general insistence upon righteousness.

2. The coming of the messianic period as determined wholly by God, and as not made dependent upon any human effort, whether it be repentance or revolution or social reform. With practical unanimity the Pharisees held that the new Jerusalem, the type of the kingdom, was already prepared in heaven, from which it was to descend to the earth. Its coming, therefore, was not the product of a social evolution, but cataclysmic, miraculous. Men must await its coming in patience.

3. The increasing prominence and individualizing of the Messiah, as the one who brings in the kingdom. His appearance is the chronological precursor of its coming.

4. The central position of the judgment as that by which the futures of all men are determined. No messianic hope omits it; all messianism revolves about it. To be acquitted is to be admitted to paradise; to be condemned is to be sent to eternal suffering. It is the introduction to the eschatological element in pharisaic messianism. The righteous will be acquitted by God in this judgment, will pass through a resurrection, will be permitted to share in the endless bliss of the kingdom of heaven;

⁶³ For instance, in *Shemoneh Esreh*, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17.

⁶⁴ Josephus, though flattering the Flavian family (*War*, vi, 5:4), evidently believed that the Jewish race would yet beat down all peoples, for he refused to give the one interpretation to Dan., chaps. 11 and 12, which his context makes plain. Cf. *Ant.*, x, 11:7; *War*, iv, 6:3.

the wicked will be condemned by God in the same judgment to everlasting misery, and—though pharisaism at this point wavered—will not share in the resurrection of the body.

It follows from these facts that righteousness is the one prerequisite to justification, and the consequent participation in the messianic reign and eternal bliss.

5. The messianic reign established on earth, but—though this is not universal—succeeded by a new age in which the Messiah is of no importance and God is supreme. In this new age the redeemed are to live in heaven.

In other words, pharisaic messianism may be summed up as : a hope for membership in an already existent heavenly kingdom to be brought from heaven by a suddenly appearing Messiah ; for general judgment in which the righteous should be acquitted and the wicked condemned ; for resurrection of the body and a life everlasting for the righteous ; for an endless age in which God and happiness should be supreme and enjoyed forever by those whom he had justified.

In such a hope there is a call to individual righteousness during one's earthly life, but no call to social reform. The virtues to be cultivated are quiet submission to misfortune, patience, faith, hope, an observance of all of God's requirements, among which is love. Pride, the oppression of the righteous, and the disregard of the law of God will be the chief sins to be condemned.

Christianity took its rise in the period when these two forms of messianism, the revolutionary and the apocalyptic, were reaching their completion. We have now to see in what respects it was conditioned by each, and how much of each it may have perpetuated.

NEW LIGHTS ON BIBLICAL GREEK.

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SOMETHING very much like a revolution has been coming over the study of the Greek in which the New Testament was written. All who have studied the subject know how widely the successive generations of scholars have differed in their view of the most important dialect in the literary history of the world. One age had a craze for defending the classical correctness of the New Testament writers; another, for recognizing Hebraisms everywhere. Winer brought in an era of common-sense, and gradually the true aspect of the sacred writers' language has been emerging from the clouds of artificial theories which formerly enveloped it. One exceedingly important discovery has been fruitful of results—the intimate relation between the New Testament Greek and the Greek spoken today. It was almost a novel idea when Dr. Moulton used it in the notes to his English "Winer" thirty years ago, and it is far from being worked out now. But a great step has been taken when we have realized that the Greek of Aristophanes and the Greek of the modern folk-song are connected by a steady development; and that the Greek of Paul, though so much nearer the other end of the development in time, stands in its essential characteristics not far from the middle of the line joining the two. But before we can examine this question we must determine where the Greek of Paul stands in relation to the Greek of his contemporaries. Is his language (1) "biblical" Greek, or (2) "Judean" Greek, or (3) "common" Greek? In other words, did he (1) write in a kind of sacred dialect, based mostly on Greek created by the translators of the Old Testament? or (2), was his the ordinary speech of a Jew who had learned Greek, while still generally thinking in Hebrew? or (3) do we find in his epistles, and in other New Testament writings where direct

translation from the Aramaic or Hebrew is not in question, merely the normal everyday language spoken throughout the Greek world in the fourth century after the close of the golden age of Attic literature?

What we may fairly regard as a final answer to this question has been made possible within the last decade by the immense finds of Greek papyri in Egypt. There were papyrus collections before, but they were scanty by comparison with those which are pouring from English and German workshops in our own time. Those who have read the three huge volumes of Berlin papyri, the *Corpus* of the Archduke Rainer's collection, the small but early and important set of documents named after Dr. Flinders Petrie, the two goodly volumes of *British Museum Papyri* as re-edited by Dr. Kenyon, and the six superbly edited volumes of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, will feel that they have been moving in a new world. It is a world which must be viewed from many sides. Scholars have been busy with its antiquities and its historical problems, and not infrequently their results have had deep interest for the biblical student—witness, for example, Ramsay's *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?*

But beyond comparison the most important result of these finds for us has been one entirely independent of subject-matter—the grammar and vocabulary of the documents, which teach us for the first time what was the ordinary speech of the people during the centuries covered by the papyri. To a certain extent we knew this before. We had a plentiful literature from the periods most important for the student of the Greek Bible. But how were we to know where an author was deliberately artificial, copying accurately or inaccurately those Athenian models which were always supposed to exhaust all the possibilities of a perfect literary style? We had inscriptions, great masses of them. The student's resources in this direction are still growing, and so is the consciousness of their value. But even inscriptions are not by any means perfect representatives of the popular speech; a more or less stilted style is likely to invade monuments whose very material proclaims that they were meant to last. The papyri have the immense advantage of letting us catch the people in undress uniform. Many of them are,

of course, formal. There are wills, official reports, census returns, receipts, etc., in which we have a large supply of standing formulæ. But there are also letters, petitions, and other entirely informal documents, in which we may feel quite certain that we are reading the words and phrases which the writers used in daily life. Here is the colloquial dialect unmistakably, and nothing could be better suited for comparison with literary documents when we want to find out how far they are written in the unadorned style of ordinary speech.

The great opportunity of pioneering in this field of research was seized by Dr. G. Adolf Deissmann, now professor of theology at Heidelberg. In his *Bibelstudien* (1895) and *Neue Bibelstudien* (1897) he examined the phraseology of the papyri and some of the inscriptions of the Hellenistic period with great acuteness and decisive results. The material has been growing fast even in the last four years, so that in not a few details Deissmann's case needs restating already. But the evidence of the fresh material points steadily in the same direction, and all we have been able to glean from the papyri published since Deissmann wrote seems to us only to show that there is a strong presumption in favor of his theory even in places where it has not yet received confirmation. The English edition, just published, promises us a third series of "Bible Studies," and we cannot doubt that many other workers will enter this field, assured of finding something which will throw light on New Testament Greek.

Let us try to indicate the general character of this new material. No attempt will be made to outline Deissmann's book, for few will be content to leave it unread now that it has appeared in English. To begin with, there is the general result that New Testament Greek is proved to be essentially the normal Greek current in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece proper during the first century A. D. The idea of a "biblical" Greek, or a "Judean" Greek, is finally exploded.² Expressions which

² *A priori*, we should expect to find dialectic differences in the Κοινή, and Judean Greek might well have been a separate variety. As a matter of fact, the differences prove almost imperceptible. See chap. v in THUMB'S important work, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (1901).

the soberest scholars regarded as Hebraisms have been found in Greek documents which proceed from quarters entirely untouched by Semitic influence. Practically the "Hebraism" must all but disappear from our grammars and commentaries except where direct translation comes in, and even there it may often happen that it was ignorance of Hebrew, not ignorance of Greek, which was responsible for renderings hopelessly foreign to Greek idiom. Take an extreme example, the well-known blunder of Aquila by which the Hebrew *'eth*, the sign of the accusative, is confused with *'eth*, "with," and translated *σύν*. Does not "every schoolboy" do the like in his early days at Latin? and do we not rightly set it down to his defective Latin, taking refuge in what he believes to be literal rendering, rather than (say) to a slang-perverted English? Genuine Hebraisms in translated Hebrew may therefore be explained in two very different ways. But when we find in Paul's Greek, for instance, usages which the papyri forbid us any longer to regard as Hebraisms, and a practically complete absence of anything suggesting that the writer wrote Greek as a foreigner, we are forced to some far-reaching deductions. That Paul learned Greek as a child, perhaps even earlier than he learned Hebrew, does not surprise us; but what about Palestinian Jews? Did they learn Greek in childhood, too? If they did, we have accepted the bilingual theory. If they did not, how did they contrive to write so perfectly the current Greek of the day?

Many consequences follow from this view of the language in which the apostles wrote. It is clear that we must base our grammatical and lexical investigations more and more upon the literary and popular monuments of the "common" Greek which have come down to us. Only in the last resort are we at liberty to assume the use of a locution which would not have been intelligible to those who had not Hebrew at the back of their minds; and some fresh papyrus may any day sweep that away. It is not without deep significance that we thus find Providence preparing a language practically without dialectic differences, understood throughout the civilized world, and ready for the preaching of a religion which claimed universal dominion over the sons of men.

A large part of Deissmann's book is occupied with direct illustration of biblical phrases from the papyri. In very many cases this only means that words and phrases once supposed exclusively "biblical" are now shown to belong to the ordinary vernacular. To find in inscriptions or in Egyptian papers such phrases as τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, συνᾶραι λόγον,² εἰ μὴν, ἐξιλάσασθαι ἁμαρτίαν, εἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄνομα, ἐνώπιόν τινος, οὐχ ὁ τυχών, ἐκ συμφώνου, αἶρειν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, κατ' ἐπιταγήν,² etc., is interesting mainly because it brings out the identity of New Testament and ordinary Hellenistic Greek. But often the coincidence is a valuable illustration. Thus υἱὸς θεοῦ as a title of the emperors is very suggestive when we look at the centurion's exclamation in Matt. 27: 54. Καταντᾶν εἰς τινα, of property "descending to" an heir,² materially helps the exegesis of 1 Cor. 10: 11. The formula ἀπέχω, normal in receipts, brings out the meaning of ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθόν in the Sermon on the Mount. The perpetual recurrence of the form 'A. ὁ καὶ B., especially in the case of Egyptians who used a native and a Greek name, settles finally—if it needs settling—the meaning of Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος. The meaning of χάραγμα in Rev. 13: 16 is immensely helped by the imperial seal of Augustus, given in facsimile by Deissmann, which "contains the name of the emperor and the year of his reign, was necessary upon documents relating to buying, selling, etc., and was technically known as χάραγμα." Ἀρετή = δόξα in 2 Pet. 1: 3 is made extremely probable by evidence culled from inscriptions and literary sources. In connection with this may be mentioned the remarkable coincidences which Deissmann exhibits between the language of 2 Peter and an inscription of Stratonicea in Caria, of the early imperial period, which apparently contains a number of phrases belonging to the official liturgical language of Asia Minor: it is, however, at least plausible to find direct dependence of the author of 2 Peter upon this decree, which "the mosaic-like character of the writer's work, specially evident in his relation to the epistle of Jude," makes less strange than it would be in the case of other writers.

² See the present writer in the *Expositor* for April, 1901, pp. 271 ff.

It is tempting to quote more examples of words and phrases which have been made clearer for us by the parallels brought from these new sources, but these specimens will suffice. The papyri supply other kinds of material which we must mention before closing this sketch. The extent to which epistolary formulæ are found in the New Testament was never conjectured until the Egyptian explorations gave us whole collections of ancient letters, all the better for our purpose in that they were most obviously written with no eye to publication. It gives us a curious sensation to find in letters from heathens to heathens Pauline or Johannine phrases in which we should never have imagined that the apostle was merely galvanizing into life an old formula. "I salute all the friends by name." "I make my prayer for you (*τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ*) daily before the Lord Sarapis"—"making mention of you before the gods"—"day and night I make supplication to the god on your behalf"—"before all things I pray that you may be in health"—these and other phrases in papyrus letters give a curious new light when we look into the epistles of the New Testament and find their analogues there.

Sundry reflections occur to one after reading such a book as Deissmann's, or studying at first hand the medley of documents out of which this acute and diligent scholar has taken his spoil. We have seen that the language of the earliest Christian teachers was the "common" Greek which formed the medium of communication over nearly the whole of the civilized world, without any appreciable admixture of that which was peculiar to the Jew. We have seen how sacred writers were not afraid to use phrases and formulæ hitherto associated with pagan life and even pagan religion. It makes us understand as never before the marvel of that universalism which, as it were, sprang full-grown from the head of the most particularist religion the world has ever seen. The men who preached were Galileans, but from the day of their baptism with the Holy Spirit they began to speak to all the world in the dialect which all the world knew, and the sacred language in which the venerated Scriptures had been written passes out of sight forever as the language of God's voice to

men. "In the Hebrew tongue" the Savior speaks from heaven to Saul of Tarsus, that the converted persecutor may fling aside his Hebrew name, and with his Roman name and Roman citizenship go out to preach in Greek a gospel which has forever burst the bonds of language and nationality. The rigid and exclusive Jew has—marvel of marvels!—learned henceforth to call no one common or unclean. The proud "I am a Jew" has given place to "I am a man, and nothing human is foreign to me."

The results of this new departure for the New Testament student and exegete have been more or less indicated as we have gone along. It is hardly too much to say that every department of sacred study must feel the influence of the new methods. The theologian will have to re-examine his technical terms in the light of their occurrence in what we may no longer call "profane" Greek. The grammarian must strive toward a systematic and historical view of the "common" Greek as a whole, and bring New Testament phenomena into line with those observable in trivial scraps rescued from Egyptian rubbish-heaps. The historian must be constantly on the lookout for sidelights on the history and the antiquities of the first Christian century such as these contemporary documents can often furnish. And even the preacher, if he understands his function to be that of eagerly gathering up the apparent trifles of Holy Writ and bringing out their message for the present day, will find in this new material many a subject not too recondite for a sermon. A new Cremer, a new Thayer-Grimm, a new Winer will give the twentieth century plenty of editing to keep its scholars busy. New Meyers and Alfords will have fresh matter from which to interpret the text, and new Spurgeons and Moodys will, we may hope, be ready to pass the new teaching on to the people. And once again behind new methods and new theories will be seen standing unchanged the old book, to which every generation supplies fresh keys, without unlocking more than a few of its treasure-chambers that remain for ages of the future to spoil for the ceaselessly changing needs of men.

DEBORAH'S CONCEPTION OF YAHWEH.

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NOTICE first the similarity of Deborah to the prophets and prophetesses of other ancient peoples. She "used to sit under the palm tree of Deborah," doubtless the same sacred tree that is mentioned in Gen. 35:8. Presumably she drew her responses from the rustling of its leaves, as other Semitic seers were accustomed to do. The children of Israel came to her for "decision," no doubt on such trivial matters as later were referred to Samuel (1 Sam. 9:6). Her wide influence she used to stir up hostility against the Canaanites, and she marched at the head of the army like an ancient German prophetess.

Can we speak of Deborah as inspired? What is she more than a clever fortune-teller and sagacious strategist?

The problem here is the same that we meet in the case of all the prophets. How can we recognize the natural historical basis of their teaching, and at the same time hold fast belief in their inspiration? The solution is found in a deeper conception of the nature of inspiration. Its true test is not the way in which a message comes, but its *intrinsic character*.

1. The idea of God which the song of Deborah discloses is one that bears in itself evidence of its truth. Yahweh is not a nature-god like the gods of Canaan. Unlike the Baalim, he is not confined to a particular tree, or spring, or sacred cave. He can manifest his presence and his power in the most distant places. Not only at Sinai, but also in the hill-country of Ephraim and in the hearts of the warriors of Israel, he reveals himself. He is not confused with any or all the powers of nature. He is not the sun, or the sky, or the storm-cloud, but the Lord who rules over them. The storm-cloud is his chariot, the wind that rustles in Deborah's sacred palm is his angel, bidding her to summon Israel to battle and to curse the people of

Meroz who basely refuse to come to the help of Yahweh. The earthquake, the tempest, and the rain are the weapons that he uses to overwhelm his enemies. Even the stars are only his servants, who at his bidding fight against Sisera.

Yahweh's pre-eminence above nature lies in his *moral* character. He has chosen Israel in love to be his people. With singular frequency in the song we meet the expressions "God of Israel" for Yahweh and "people of Yahweh" for Israel. There is a community of interest between the divine and the human. The wrongs of Israel are the wrongs of Yahweh, and its victories are his victories.

2. The idea of duty which the song of Deborah presents is one that bears its own evidence of inspiration. The first of all duties is not the bringing of offerings, but the surrender of one's self to the will of God. Loyalty to him shows itself in the unity and in the unselfishness of his worshipers.

3. The hope of the song of Deborah is one to whose inspiration the moral consciousness bears testimony: "So shall perish all thy enemies, Yahweh; but thy friends shall be as the sun when he rises in his power." If Yahweh is a righteous God, he will not only demand righteousness, but he will ultimately realize it in the world.

It was this quality of her message that gave Deborah herself the certitude of its truth, so that she was able fearlessly to summon the warriors of Israel in the name of Yahweh, and to say to Barak: "Up, for this is the day in which Yahweh hath delivered Sisera into thy hand." It was this that caused the message to find such a quick response in the hearts of the true men of Israel to whom it first came, and it is this which still convinces us, as we read it, that Deborah was more than a mere soothsayer.

CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES IN THE LITERATURE OF WORSHIP IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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II. THE LEGAL LITERATURE—EZEKIEL'S CONTRIBUTION.

§ 182. The Historical Situation of which Ezekiel and his work formed a part deserves careful study (§§ 30 ff.).¹

1. Gather together the principal facts (1) of the *first* 2 Kings 24: 1-7. deportation as narrated in Kings, viz., the reign of Jehoiakim, its character; the reign of Jehoiachin, the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, the carrying away of the princes, etc. (vs. 14); the date of this being 597 B. C.; (2) of the *second* deportation, including the reign of 2 Kings 25: 1-21;
Jer., chap. 52. Zedekiah, the siege of Jerusalem, its destruction, the carrying away of the residue (vs. 11).

2. Note (1) the situation after the destruction of the 2 Kings 25: 22-26. city under Gedaliah, and the story of Gedaliah's murder; (2) the prophet's estimate of those taken away captive Jer., chap. 24;
29: 15-20. and those allowed to remain (the good and the bad figs), and consider (a) whether it was the captives or those left behind who were adjudged the more important; also (b) which of these two classes was supposed to be suffering the more keenly; still further (c), how the lower Ezek. 11: 14-21;
Jer., chaps. 43-44.
Ezek. 33: 24 f. classes left behind regarded these matters.

3. Study Jeremiah's letter^a to the captives in Babylon Jer., chap. 29.

¹ See McCURDY, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, Vol. III, pp. 227-431; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 488-98; STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. I, pp. 675-703; II, 1-67; GUTHE, art. "Israel," §§ 40-47, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II.

^a It is very probable that Jer., chap. 29, at least in its present form, is from a later writer, for: (1) Jeremiah is spoken of in the third person and described "as the prophet;" (2) the nature of the advice given suggests that it comes from one looking back upon the conditions he is dealing with, rather than one living in the midst of movements the outcome of which was still uncertain; (3) the booklet, chaps. 26-29, bears marks of late workmanship, linguistic and otherwise. See, e. g., SCHMIDT, art. "Jeremiah," *Encyclopædia Biblica*; DUHM, *Jeremias* ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A. T.').

and formulate the policy therein advocated in respect to business, marriage, etc.

Ezek. 33: 21 f.

4. Consider the general effect which the news of the fall of Jerusalem must have had when it reached the ears of those who were already in captivity, among whom was Ezekiel.

See GUTHE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 239 ff.

5. Note (1) that the period was one of transition, or, perhaps more truly, of revolution; one in which monolatry was to be supplanted by monotheism, idolatry by the sole worship of Jéhovah; (2) that the principal scene of action was no longer Palestine, but Babylon; (3) that Israel was now scattered, the nationality broken; (4) that the work of the prophetic order was giving place to that of the priestly order; for Jeremiah and Ezekiel were priests, and the books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, which follow, are far more priestly than prophetic (*cf.* § 34).

Jer. 1: 1; Ezek. 1: 3.

§ 183. The Preparation of Ezekiel.

1: 3, 3

1. Consider (1) the significance of the fact that he was a priest, and the great influence, at this time, of the priestly position, second only to that of the king; (2) the character of the training which he would receive; (3) the influence which must have been exercised over him by the book of Deuteronomy and by Jeremiah's sermons (see § 184).

22: 25, 26; 4: 14.

33: 21; cf. 26: 1 f.

1: 2.

29: 17.

2. Note (1) the fact that Ezekiel had been in captivity already eleven years⁴ when news of the fall of Jerusalem was received; (2) the fact that the call came to him after five years' experience in captivity (592 B. C.); (3) the latest date in the book (570 B. C.).

³ All Scripture references cited without name of book are from Ezekiel.

⁴ 33: 21 states that the tidings came in the twelfth year of the captivity; but we learn from 26: 1 f. that Ezekiel already knew of the fall of Jerusalem in the eleventh year of the captivity. The Syriac version has *eleventh* year in 33: 21 also, and this is probably correct. Jerusalem fell on the ninth day of the fourth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign (2 Kings 25: 2 f.; Jer. 39: 2), which was also the eleventh year of the captivity, since Zedekiah was placed on the throne when Jehoiachin was removed to Babylon (2 Kings 24: 15 ff.); and it is not reasonable to suppose that the captives in Babylon did not hear of the fall of their city until a year and a half after the event.

3. Study (1) the strange and wonderful character of the visions which constituted the call, including (a) the vision of God — what conceptions of God are implied in the four living creatures (vss. 5-14), the four wheels (vss. 15-21), the throne and glory (vss. 22-28)? (b) the prophet's introduction to his work by the God seen in the vision — the people a rebellious one, the inspiration accorded him, the special strength given him, his particular mission to the captives of Tel-abib, the precise character of his function, viz., to be a watchman; (2) his later feeling of responsibility as a watchman.

1:4-28.
2:1 ff.
2:3-7.
2:8-3:3.
3:4-9.
3:10-15.
3:16-21.
33:1-9.

4. Examine, for the purpose of gaining a better point of view for an appreciation of his work, certain references to his life and activity in exile: (1) the character of the people with whom he was called to work; (2) his own character as Jehovah's spokesman; (3) the fact that he was frequently consulted in his own house by the elders of Israel; (4) his use of the death of his wife as an occasion for a public message; (5) the threatening character of his early sermons; (6) the consolatory character of his later sermons; (7) his place and standing among the exiles.

3:4-11, 26; 14:1-5.
11:25.
20:1; 8:1; 14:1-5.
24:15-18, 19-27.
33:30-33.

§184. **Ezekiel's Prophetic Work.** — For the better understanding of Ezekiel's work as a priest, and the priestly structure of which he was the author, it is important that his work as prophet should be appreciated. This is perhaps most easily considered in connection with that of Jeremiah.

1. Consider the degree of dependence which Ezekiel exhibits in relation to Jeremiah as seen in the following passages: 3:3, *cf.* Jer. 15:16; 3:17, *cf.* Jer. 6:17; 7:14, 27, *cf.* Jer. 4:5-9; chap. 13, *cf.* Jer. 14:13-16; 13:10, *cf.* Jer. 6:14; 16:51, *cf.* Jer. 3:11; chap. 18, *cf.* Jer. 31:29 f.; chap. 20, *cf.* Jer. 11:3-8; 24:16-23, *cf.* Jer. 16:3-9; chaps. 29-31, *cf.* Jer., chap. 46; chap. 34, *cf.* Jer. 23:1-4; 36:26, *cf.* Jer. 24:7; 37:24, *cf.* Jer. 30:9; 38:15, *cf.* Jer. 6:22.

See especially SMEND, *Der Prophet Ezechiel* ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch," 1880), pp. xxiv f.; C. H. TOY, art. "Ezekiel," *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II, col. 1462.

Chap. 18; *cf.*
Deut. 24: 16;
Jer. 31: 29 f.

33: 1-17.

17: 11-21; *cf.* Jer.
28: 12-17;
38: 14-23.

Chaps. 18, 22.

Chaps. 25-32.

2. Study (1) the place occupied in his preaching by the teaching of *individual responsibility* — does he elaborate the teaching of Jeremiah on this subject? does he give it any special application to the exiles? (2) his counsels concerning submission to Babylon and his predictions concerning Jerusalem's fall, as compared with those of Jeremiah.

3. Consider (1) his ethical and social teachings as enunciated, *e. g.*, in chaps. 18 and 22, and note their high character so far as concerns relations between Israelites; (2) his attitude toward the outside nations, to which no obligations are due, there being as yet no international code.

4. Consider, also, if possible, Ezekiel's conceptions concerning (1) *God* — how far does he sympathize with the older ideas, how far with the new? Is he a monotheist? or does he accept the existence of other deities? Is the conception of Jehovah as a universal God associated with the older idea of the tribal God? (2) *Man* — his inward life, his outward life, reward and punishment, the hereafter — *sheol*, transformation of the heart (regeneration); *cf.* Jer. 31: 33.

1: 26, 28; 10: 19;
34: 30; 37: 26 f.;
43: 7.

18: 28; 18: 5-8.

26: 20; 31: 14-17;
32: 17-32.
36: 26 f.

See TOY, art. "Ezekiel," *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II, cols. 1467 ff.

§ 185. **Ezekiel's Own Representations Concerning Chaps. 40-48.** — Frequent references are made by the prophet to the origin of the material contained in these chapters. Consider the various statements: (1) the man with an appearance like brass and a line of flax in his hand, and a measuring reed — what or whom did this man symbolize? what was his function? what the purpose of his work? (2) the various steps in his guidance of the prophet; (3) the messages delivered from time to time in the progress of the journey; (4) the visions of divine glory revealed; (5) the use of the phrase, "thus saith the Lord God."

40: 1-4.

40: 17, 24, 28, 32,
48, *etc.*; 47: 1-5.
42: 13; 43: 6-12.

44: 5-8; 47: 6 ff.

43: 1-5; 44: 4.
42: 18; 44: 9; 45: 9;
46: 1, 16; 47: 13.

Formulate, upon the basis of this material, a statement covering the author's point of view on this question.

§ 186. The Structure and General Character of Ezek.,
Chaps. 40-48.

1. Note the contents of the section: (1) plans and specifications for the future temple; (2) the ordinances for the erection and dedication of the altar; (3) the law concerning the priesthood; (4) the sacred territory located and defined; (5) regulations in reference to sacrifices; (6) the function of "the prince," with special reference to his religious obligations; (7) the law providing special places for the cooking of the sacrifices offered by the people; (8) description of the living waters issuing from the temple; (9) a statement of the boundaries of the land and its allotment among the tribes, with especial provision for proselytes (47: 22 f.); (10) the dimensions of the Holy City and the location of its twelve gates.

2. Consider (1) that this material comes from a date twelve years later than any portion of the book⁵ except 29: 17, 18; (2) that there is in this section no "teaching" on any subject; (3) that there is given here a *picture* in which a people is represented as living in an ideal condition; (4) "that it does not describe how salvation is to be attained, for the salvation is realized and enjoyed; it describes the people and their condition and their life now that redemption has come;"⁶ (5) that, with the temple occupying the central place, there are taken up questions relating to the priests, the sacrifices, the land including the Dead Sea, the division of territory, the laying out of the city; (6) that, in addition, there are the regulations regarding the functions of the "prince;" (7) that, in other words, it is an ideal state

⁵ Attention may be called here to the fact that the genuineness of the book or of certain parts of it has been called in question by some scholars; e. g., ZUNZ, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden* (2d ed.), pp. 165 ff., and in *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 676 ff., places the whole book in the Persian period; SEINECKE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. II (1884), pp. 1 ff., assigns it to the Maccabæan period; VOLZ, *Die vor-exilische Jahweprophete und der Messias* (1897), p. 84, note, regards the last nine chapters as the work of a disciple of Ezekiel. These views, however, have not met with any general acceptance.

⁶ A. B. DAVIDSON, *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (Camb. Bible, 1893), p. 288.

which is thus presented, a conception which constitutes the germ of the doctrine of the *kingdom of God*.

40:2; 43:3.

45:1 ff.; 46:1 ff.;
47:21.

39:25-29.

3. Consider, still further, (1) its form, namely *vision*, in contrast with the form of Deuteronomy, which was the *sermonic*; (2) how, not infrequently, it lapses into the form of sermon or address to the people; (3) whether in *spirit* it more nearly resembles Deuteronomy or Leviticus; (4) the strange and confusing mingling of the natural and supernatural elements, and show the origin of this in the prophetic conception of life; (5) the relation of this picture to the preceding context, in which Israel is represented as having now received the outpouring of the divine spirit—is it not the climax of the book?

§ 187. The **Principal Ideas** of the section deserve classification and formulation:

1. Note the statement, made above, to the effect that there were no “teachings” in the section; this does not mean, however, that the picture does not rest upon certain conceptions, or *imply* the truth of certain great ideas.

2. For a general statement of the ideas of Ezekiel in this section, see § 31. For the material on the priest, see §§ 65, 66; on the place of worship, §§ 77, 78; on sacrifice, §§ 89, 90; on feasts, § 102; on the sabbath, §§ 114, 115; on clean and unclean, §§ 128, 129.

45:1-8.

44:4-28.

3. Consider some of the more important of the great ideas that underlie the form of presentation employed in these closing chapters, keeping in mind constantly the necessity in many cases of basing our conclusions largely upon the general tone and character of the material rather than upon specific statements and texts. (1) The idea of God—what is the bearing upon this idea of (a) the fact that the temple, Jehovah’s house, is placed in the middle of the Holy Land and surrounded on all sides by the land of the priests, Jehovah’s ministers, thus being kept from contact with everything profane and polluting? (b) the stringent regulations concerning those who may approach Jehovah to offer sacrifice, and concerning their apparel, etc.? (c) the exclusion of foreigners from

the temple and of the laity from the inner court of the temple? Does not the whole representation in chaps. 40-48 give the impression of the great exaltation and holiness of Jehovah in comparison with everything human? (2) Jehovah's relation to Israel—note that Jehovah is represented as having restored his people to favor, and as requiring of them holiness in order that they may enjoy his favor forever. Note also the feeling of superiority over all foreigners that appears in the restrictions placed upon the latter, though provision is made for proselytes. Does not the spirit of particularism appear here very clearly? (3) The subordination of political to *religious* ideals—note (a) the fact that the "prince's" functions are almost wholly religious; (b) the exceedingly few non-religious matters that are dealt with; (c) the complete silence on all matters relating to national ambition or development; (d) the fact that the nation is represented rather as a community existing only for religious purposes; (e) the emphasis laid on the *ceremonial* as compared with the ethical side of the religious life. (4) The great emphasis laid upon the idea of atonement as an evidence of an increasing sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin. Is this not a correlative of the exalted idea of Jehovah's holiness?

43:1-5.
43:6-9; 48:35.
44:7, 9.
45:8-12; 46:16 ff.
43:21 ff.; 44:27;
45:17.

§ 188. The General Relation of Ezek., Chaps. 40-48, to Deuteronomy.

1. Consider the place of the priests in both sections, noting that Deuteronomy makes no distinction between priests and Levites, while Ezekiel degrades the Levites, gives the reasons for so doing, and restricts the priesthood to the sons of Zadok.

44:10-15; cf. Deut. 18:1-8.

2. Consider the comparative fulness in the treatment of (1) the duties of priests, (2) the provision made for the priests; does not this indicate a great advance in the conception of the place and dignity of the priesthood?

44:17-27; cf. Deut. 17:9.
44:29 f.; chaps. 45, 48; cf. Deut. 18:1-4.

3. Consider the absence in Ezek., chaps. 40-48, as compared with Deuteronomy, of warnings against idolatry.

4. Consider the feasts as enumerated in Deuteronomy, the sacrificial details being absent; while in

Deut., chap. 16.

Ezek. 45:21-25. Ezekiel⁷ the details of the material are given, and a special ceremony of purification of the sanctuary on the first day of the first and seventh months.

Deut. 7:6. 5. Consider the apparent failure of the Deuteronomic scheme in the catastrophe of the exile; for was not this scheme intended for a "holy" people, and to serve as the expression of a people closely united with a "holy" God? Was it not intended to bring the people into a life which should be worthy of Jehovah, their Lord, and was not the destruction of Jerusalem understood to separate them from him?

36:24-28. 6. Is not Ezekiel's scheme clearly prepared for a people restored from captivity, and not only restored, but actually purified and regenerated? "It opens with an elaborate account of a new temple set on the sacred hill. The 'law of the house' is expounded with much detail, and the prophet then announces the ordinances of the altar. These are followed in turn by regulations for the priesthood and the appropriate sacrifices, and a scheme of cultus is thus displayed by which the people, once more consecrated, shall be preserved from further temptation to unfaithfulness, and shall secure the presence of Jehovah in their midst forever."⁸

40:1-43:12.

The relationship of Ezekiel's cultus to that of P will be considered in the next study.

§ 189. Literature to be Consulted.

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⁷ Probably from oversight the Feast of Weeks is omitted.

⁸ J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, p. 127.

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Exploration and Discovery.

The Unearthing of the Throne-Room of Nebuchadnezzar.—The German Society for Excavation in the Far East reports the recent discovery by excavation of the throne-room of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia. The chamber is eighteen meters broad and fifty-two meters long, with the entrance opposite the niche in which the throne was placed. On the wall at both sides of the throne, and on the north wall of the room, there appear beautifully colored decorations which are still in a good state of preservation, and which are considered to be a significant addition to the history of ancient art. A facsimile reproduction of the decorations will be published in the *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*. In addition to this discovery at Kasr, the society has also undertaken excavations in the neighborhood of the modern village of Dschumdschuma, and in the short time that work has been going on there a considerable number of clay tablets have already been found, which Dr. Weissbach, the Assyriologist of the expedition, describes as containing letters, psalms, contracts, vocabularies—documents which will awaken the widest interest, and which promise to advance the understanding of the facts and of the language of the Old Testament. The excavations at the hill Amran-ibn-Ali will be resumed soon, and give promise of disclosing many and various finds in connection with this deeply buried pantheon of the Babylonian metropolis, so that valuable reports may be expected frequently from the field of work. The society also is preparing to excavate two other hills by the name of Fara and Abu Hatab, which seem to belong to the pre-Sargonic period, that is, to a time preceding 4000 B. C.; and it is expected that there will be important discoveries made here also for the history of art, and for the earliest history of mankind. These two hills are not far distant from Nippur, the site of the excavations of the American Society, which is also having great success in its work.

Notes and Opinions.

Origin of the Western Readings.—The most interesting and the most important problem concerning the text of the New Testament pertains to the history of those numerous and peculiar readings, found mainly in Acts, which are designated as the Western, or perhaps better as the Syro-Latin, text. Rev. K. Lake, of Oxford, in his recent choice little handbook on the *Text of the New Testament*, gives an excellent account of the discussion at its present stage. This type of text, which is characterized chiefly by additions, omissions, and paraphrase, can be traced back to the earliest times of which we have knowledge, and in every part of Christendom—with the possible, but not probable, exception of Alexandria and the Nile valley. Further, we can trace at least two strata in the Western text, separated not by characteristics but by attestation, one represented by the Latin texts, the other by the Syriac. There is a common residuum of readings which do not differ in internal characteristics from those which are peculiar to either branch.

Two explanations are at present offered for these peculiar readings: one regards them as a series of corruptions which arose in the second century (so Westcott-Hort, Gregory, von Gebhardt, B. Weiss, Harnack, Sanday, *et al.*); the other regards them as primitive readings, originating with the New Testament authors themselves (Hilgenfeld, Blass, Zahn, Zöckler, Nestle, Harris, *et al.*). Mr. Lake adopts neither view, but holds that the solution of the origin of these peculiar readings is somehow connected with the sources of the New Testament rather than with its text. He cites it as a remarkable fact that the prominent features of the Western text exist in the gospels and Acts, which are based on documents of an earlier date, but are to a large extent absent from the epistles, which are free compositions unconnected with other writings. It is, therefore, well to keep in mind the possibility that we have cases in the text of the gospels and Acts of readings which are authentic in so far as they are part of the "source-document," but unauthentic in the sense that the compiler did not use them, and which owe their presence in any text of the New Testament to the reaction of the sources on the text of the compilation. This is the latest theory; it was suggested first, perhaps, by

Professor Salmon in his *Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (1897). While it is not to be understood as an entire substitute for the theory of second-century textual modification, it may nevertheless prove to be the best explanation of many of the most important Western variations.

Bousset, in a review of recent discussions of this problem in the *Theologische Rundschau*, September, 1901, although he insists upon a higher consideration for the Western readings than they have received from the modern text editors, still asserts that the originality of this type of text has not been established by the arguments of Blass and his followers.

Mr. F. G. Kenyon, assistant keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum, has just published an excellent work, entitled a *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, in which the problem of the Western text is discussed. He holds that the great diversity of readings in the different witnesses of the Western type of text argue strongly against attributing these Western readings to the New Testament authors themselves. Rather, this type of text was produced in many places by the operation of the same causes, and with intricate interrelations existing among its surviving representatives, and it will need the patient labor of generations to unravel their history. Kenyon therefore reaches a conclusion which is substantially that of Hort: the early history of the New Testament text presents itself to us as an irregular diffusion of the various books among the individuals and communities which embraced Christianity, with few safeguards against alteration whether deliberate or unintentional. To this stage, which follows very soon on the production of the original autographs, belong the various readings, early in their attestation, yet comparatively rarely convincing in themselves, which constitute the Western type of text. But it is probable that in these readings, among much that is supposititious, some original element also may exist. The tendency of recent criticism has certainly been to rehabilitate to some extent the Western text, and to demand a more respectful consideration of it in the future.

1 Cor. 13:3, *καυθήσωμαι* or *καυχήσωμαι*?—The difference in form between these two readings is only that of a single letter. The difference in sense, however, is great. Every interpreter of 1 Corinthians has had to choose between them. Shall we read, "And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing"? This is the wording of the Textus Receptus (*καυθήσωμαι*), which is retained in the Revised Version

(and even in the American Standard Edition of the Revised Version). It (or the similar *καυθήσομαι*) is the reading preferred also by Tischendorf, Nestle, Blass, Weiss, Heinrici, Godet, Edwards, Ellicott, Meyer, Beet, and many others. The latter reading (*καυχῆσωμαι*) gives another sense: "And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body (*i. e.*, even my life itself), in order that I may boast (of my generosity), it profiteth me nothing." This is the text in the three greatest Greek manuscripts extant, \aleph A B; it is found also in cursive 17, in the Bohairic and Sahidic versions, and in Jerome. Lachmann adopted *καυχῆσωμαι*, on the strength of this evidence, and the Revisers admitted it to their margin.

It remained, however, for Westcott and Hort to make the first vigorous defense of this reading. They adopted it in their text, and argued for it in their Appendix (pp. 116 f.). This reading, they say, "gives an excellent sense, for, as vs. 2 refers to a faith toward God which is unaccompanied by love, so vs. 3 refers to acts which seem by their very nature to be acts of love to men, but are really done only in ostentation. First the dissolving of the goods in almsgiving is mentioned, then as a climax the yielding up of the very body; both alike being done for the sake of glorying, and unaccompanied by love." They then suggest three causes for the substitution of the *καυθήσομαι* (or *καυθήσομαι*) in some texts of the second century: (1) Familiarity with Christian martyrdoms, which led even writers who retained the true text (Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Jerome, but not Clement of Rome) to interpret in this manner the "yielding up" of the body, would soon suggest martyrdom by fire. (2) The words of this text might easily have been modified under the influence of Dan. 3:28, where the LXX has a similar phrase (*παρέδωκαν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς ἔμπυρισμόν*) regarding the three Hebrew captives, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. (3) The unfamiliar absolute use of *παράδωμι* (*cf.* John 19:30) might seem difficult to the scribes who transmitted *καυχῆσωμαι*, more especially as *ἵνα* might seem to introduce a description of some special mode of surrender. This absolute use of *παράδωμι* is seen in Plutarch, *Demet.*, 49 f. (*τὸ σῶμα παραδόναι, τὴν παράδοσιν τοῦ σώματος*). Westcott and Hort therefore made out a very strong case for the reading of the great uncials, *καυθήσομαι*. It is interesting to note that Professor G. G. Findlay, the most recent commentator on 1 Corinthians (in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, Vol. II), also adopts this reading. So interpreted it reminds one strongly of Jesus' teaching in Matt. 6:1-18. The text of \aleph A B at this point deserves more consideration than it has hitherto received.

The Church and Religious Education.—In the preface to the recent important work entitled *The Principles of Religious Education*, consisting of a series of lectures by different men upon various phases of religious instruction of the young, Bishop H. C. Potter, of New York, says: "It must be owned that the modern church has not adequately recognized its responsibilities, nor improved its opportunities, as a teacher of the young. There have been ages when that office belonged almost exclusively to it, and when its failures were due, not perhaps to its want of zeal, but to its want of wisdom. Today the conditions are quite different. Under republican institutions, and with us in the United States, the functions of the state as a religious teacher through an established religion have, as most of us, I presume, believe, wisely ceased. That fact ought undoubtedly to have awakened and stimulated the church to increased endeavors to supply what a Christian man must hold to be fundamental to a right education, and which now the church or the family alone can give. Our American situation, in other words, has lifted the Sunday school into a position of pre-eminent importance, which we must acknowledge has been but feebly and imperfectly recognized."

It is one of the most hopeful signs of our time that this idea is becoming widespread. The need has made itself felt in every denomination, and thousands of the most capable Christian workers are devoting their thought and energy to supplying this vital lack in the education of children and young people. No longer do we ignore the essential relation of religion to all other kinds of knowledge and experience; rather, we recognize that there is no true education in the case of any person who has not been rightly instructed and developed in the sphere of religion. The welfare of the church and of society, as well as of the individual, requires us to devote ourselves earnestly to meeting the condition which has been brought upon us by the secularization of the public schools. Whether they should always remain secularized is a difficult problem, which only time can solve; at any rate, the immediate work to be done for the young is mainly in the Sunday school, which should be made as efficient as possible.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH, 1881-1902.

By JOHN HENRY BARROWS, D.D.,
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IN speaking of the work of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE the writer suffers no embarrassment from his close association with it, since his connection with the INSTITUTE is limited to the past six years, and his residence at a distance from the central office in Chicago has rendered personal participation in the details of the work impossible. If, therefore, too great appreciation is apparent, it must be attributed to other causes than self-appreciation.

In these days of rival publications, and of generous striving for the best things among religious denominations, it is well to state clearly at the start that the INSTITUTE is an organization, not an enterprise; an educational medium, not a publishing house. To follow the history of the organization from its first conception in the mind of its founder, whose life has been given to educational work in a great variety of forms, will lead to a true appreciation of this fact.

As early as 1879 the sense of inadequate opportunities for biblical instruction became apparent to educators. At first this was recognized only in the field of the original Hebrew and Greek of the Old and New Testaments. About that time Mr. William R. Harper, then professor of Hebrew in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Morgan Park, Ill., began to emphasize the teaching of Hebrew by modern methods. In order to extend more rapidly these methods, as applied to Hebrew, text-books were prepared by him, and in February, 1881, a correspondence school of Hebrew was fairly launched with twenty students. This organization was called the Institute of Hebrew, and counted among its supporters about seventy of the teachers of Hebrew and the Old Testament in educational institutions throughout the country. This list was certainly cosmopolitan. The names of Professor C. A. Briggs and Professor William Henry Green, men who long stood for opposite extremes in biblical criticism, both appeared among the number. Many others who have since been widely separated by conflicting views then joined hands in this common

movement toward a better understanding and teaching of the biblical languages. The student body of the new organization grew rapidly, and in its first year represented forty-four states and eight foreign countries.

Such a movement could not long confine itself to the Old Testament field, nor even to the ancient languages. The English Bible was the people's Bible, and this revival of exploration into the Hebrew and Greek brought new understanding and fresh conceptions which it became necessary to give to the people on the basis of the English Bible. Consequently it was felt that the school should embrace a much wider field, and the gentlemen composing the board of the Institute of Hebrew withdrew in order to effect a reorganization. In October, 1889, the organization in New York city of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE was perfected. The aim of this new organization was comprehensive, as a quotation from the first prospectus will show: "To promote the philological, literary, historical, and exegetical study of the Scriptures by means of such instrumentalities as may be found practicable." Through all changes of location, organization, and environment, this purpose has remained unchanged. In itself it accounts for the introduction of, or modification in, many of the special lines of work undertaken by the INSTITUTE, since the need of today is not the need of yesterday.

With the new organization the following representative men were associated as directors: Rev. E. Benjamin Andrews, D.D., LL.D., president of Brown University; Rev. Willis J. Beecher, D.D., professor in Auburn Theological Seminary; Rev. J. Henry Thayer, D.D., professor in Harvard University; Rev. John H. Vincent, D.D., LL.D., bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church; Rev. Charles Rufus Brown, Ph.D., professor in Newton Theological Institution; Rev. George S. Burroughs, Ph.D., D.D., professor in Amherst College; Rev. Edward L. Curtis, Ph.D., professor in McCormick Theological Seminary; Rev. Milton S. Terry, D.D., professor in Garrett Biblical Institute; Rev. Edward T. Bartlett, D.D., dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School; Rev. Francis Brown, Ph.D., D.D., professor in Union Theological Seminary; Rev. Marcus D. Buell, D.D., professor in Boston University; William R. Harper, Ph.D., professor in Yale University; Rev. George B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., professor in Yale Divinity School. About two hundred names of other prominent teachers, preachers, and educators appear in a list of associate members.

For some years this organization seemed adequate; but when the principal of the INSTITUTE became the president of the University of

Chicago,¹ and the headquarters of the INSTITUTE were removed to that city, changes were involved. On account of the rapidly growing demand for biblical work adapted for more popular use, other modifications were also demanded. It was felt that a larger body of active teachers should have an opportunity to come into touch with the public through the constituency of the INSTITUTE. Out of this situation grew the present body entitled the COUNCIL OF SEVENTY,² which

¹After several years at Yale University as professor of Hebrew and biblical literature.

²*Old Testament Chamber.*—Professors W. J. Beecher, Auburn Theological Seminary; W. R. Betteridge, Rochester Theological Seminary; C. R. Brown, Newton Theological Institution; Sylvester Burnham, Colgate University; A. S. Carrier, McCormick Theological Seminary; Dr. C. E. Crandall, Milton, Wis.; Professors Samuel Ives Curtiss, Chicago Theological Seminary; Edward L. Curtis, Yale University; T. F. Day, San Francisco Theological Seminary; F. B. Denio, Bangor Theological Seminary; O. H. Gates, Dorset, Vt.; Edward T. Harper, Chicago Theological Seminary; President William R. Harper, the University of Chicago (principal of the INSTITUTE); Professors Charles Horswell, Garrett Biblical Institute; Lincoln Hulley, Bucknell University; Charles F. Kent, Yale University; D. A. McClenahan, United Presbyterian Theological Seminary; L. B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary; Ira M. Price, the University of Chicago; G. L. Robinson, McCormick Theological Seminary; Frank K. Sanders, Yale University; Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University; Herbert L. Willett, the University of Chicago.

New Testament Chamber.—Professors Alfred W. Anthony, Cobb Divinity School; Benjamin W. Bacon, Yale University; E. I. Bosworth, Oberlin Theological Seminary; Dr. Charles F. Bradley, Evanston, Ill.; Professors Marcus D. Buell, Boston University; Ernest D. Burton, the University of Chicago; Dr. G. H. Gilbert, Dorset, Vt.; Dr. F. J. Goodspeed, the University of Chicago; Professors D. A. Hayes, Garrett Biblical Institute; M. W. Jacobus, Hartford Theological Seminary; J. H. Kerr, San Francisco Theological Seminary; R. R. Lloyd, Pacific Theological Seminary; Shailer Mathews, the University of Chicago; President Rush Rhees, Rochester University; Professors James S. Riggs, Auburn Theological Seminary; C. J. H. Ropes, Bangor Theological Seminary; J. H. Ropes, Harvard University; W. H. Ryder, Andover Theological Seminary; William A. Stevens, Rochester Theological Seminary; Clyde W. Votaw, the University of Chicago (recorder of the COUNCIL).

General Chamber.—President John H. Barrows, Oberlin College (president of the COUNCIL); Professors James H. Breasted, the University of Chicago; George B. Foster, the University of Chicago; Kemper Fullerton, Lane Theological Seminary; G. W. Gilmore, Meadville Theological School; G. S. Goodspeed, the University of Chicago; Dr. William Eliot Griffis, Ithaca, N. Y.; Professors Thomas C. Hall, Union Theological Seminary; Henry C. King, Oberlin Theological Seminary; President Charles J. Little, Garrett Biblical Institute; Professors W. D. Mackenzie, Chicago Theological Seminary; D. B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary; E. K. Mitchell, Hartford Theological Seminary; Frank C. Porter, Yale University; Henry P. Smith, Amherst College; Chancellor O. C. S. Wallace, McMaster University; Professors Irving F. Wood, Smith College; A. C. Zenos, McCormick Theological Seminary.

for six years has conducted the work. The COUNCIL now consists of sixty (to be increased to seventy) biblical scholars, who are leading, active teachers of the Bible in America, banded together for the common purpose which has already been stated in the quotation from the prospectus of 1889.

In addition to directing the work of the INSTITUTE, however, the COUNCIL aims to encourage its own members to go outside their regular field of college and seminary class-room for the purpose of engaging in more popular work for laymen, and still further to train men in the class-room for this specific field. The increasing amount of popular literature upon biblical subjects is in some measure to be attributed to the growth of this spirit.

Each year the COUNCIL takes up through a special committee some line of investigation which increases its knowledge of conditions in the field of religious education. In 1899 the *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education* contained the COUNCIL's report upon "Bible Study in Colleges," compiled from data gathered in 1897-98. This report has thus been widely circulated, and has doubtless influenced many educators to consider more seriously the necessity for elevating the standard of biblical teaching and study in the institutions under their direction. The following year a report upon the Sunday-school lesson material issued by various publishing houses was presented at the annual meeting of the COUNCIL. A committee is now at work upon the investigation of ministers' libraries throughout the country. It would not be wise to publish the results of all the investigations undertaken by the COUNCIL—to give publicity to defects in our methods of religious education is not always the end desired; but to become acquainted with them enables the COUNCIL to originate plans which will more surely correct such deficiencies, both by stimulating desire for their correction and by providing the means for its accomplishment.

In all their labors the members of the COUNCIL have nothing to gain, either of denominational prestige (since the COUNCIL is composed of representatives of all denominations) or of financial compensation. It has been asked, "Does not the COUNCIL represent the school of the higher critics?" and "Is not the work put forth by it misleading and dangerous?" In this respect the list of names must speak for itself. An examination of this list will bring different conclusions, according to the personal acquaintance of the reader with the scholars in his denomination, and his conception of the term "higher criticism."

Perhaps the "Declaration of Principles" of the COUNCIL, as formulated in 1896, will best state its position, one which is surely unassailable from either a conservative or a liberal point of view :

The COUNCIL does not stand for any theory of interpretation or school of criticism or denomination ; but for a definite endeavor to promote the knowledge of the Word of God as interpreted in the best light of today. From this point of view also the contributions of other religious literatures are sought by the COUNCIL, that through the study of these literatures the teachings of the Scriptures may be more clearly understood. The COUNCIL is organized on the belief that the Bible is a unique revelation from God, and strives in a constructive spirit to investigate its teachings and to extend its influence among the people. While, therefore, a large liberty is allowed to the individual teacher, the position occupied by the COUNCIL is altogether evangelical.

But let us pass from the COUNCIL as a body to the work of the INSTITUTE, which may be called the mouthpiece of the COUNCIL, since through it the ideas of the COUNCIL are given popular expression. In making any study of the sphere of the INSTITUTE it is necessary to note three or four distinct points.

First, as to the geographical area touched by its influence. Where Chautauqua has numbered its students of general literature in every quarter of the globe, there the INSTITUTE has followed with its biblical work. At times it has been even in advance of Chautauqua, as in Australia, where two thousand students were at work at one time. Every country in Europe has furnished its share of representatives ; and in Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea, wherever missionaries have found entrance, the biblical courses have been carried. Of course, in these foreign lands it is chiefly the English-speaking people who have been reached, but in Japan and in Syria groups of those speaking only the native tongue have carried on the work, aided by a translator. But the number of students in our own country gives just cause for satisfaction. An annual enrolment of ten thousand different persons, not merely buying lesson helps, as from a publishing house, but placing themselves in the attitude of students, and entering into correspondence concerning their work with a body of instructors such as the INSTITUTE represents, means a great force in the increase of biblical knowledge.

The social distribution of the members of the organization is no less striking. Ministers and Sunday-school teachers in abundance there are, taking such work as is suited to them. But in addition will be found the solitary ranchman, the soldiers in a Bermudan camp,

business-men under the leadership of a lawyer, busy women in home and society, the prisoner serving his term in the penitentiary, and even his old comrade left behind in a city mission. Of course, these are the picturesque elements. The best and most lasting work is undoubtedly that which is carried on week after week in the hundreds of church classes all over the country, a large proportion of which are under the leadership of the respective pastors.

To require the reader to examine in detail a statement of the departments and courses of the INSTITUTE work just here is unnecessary. Should anyone desire to do so, I may refer him to the advertising pages of this issue of the BIBLICAL WORLD, where a full prospectus will be found. One series of courses aims to arouse the general layman to a conception of his duty in relation to Bible study, and to give him an opportunity to do his work in the best possible way. Another department makes an appeal to the minister, to keep up his reading along professional lines, to know the newest and best books in his favorite subjects, and to keep fresh and alert on the professional questions of his day. A still higher department offers, to those who are willing to undertake the necessary study, correspondence work in the languages, history, and teaching of the Bible under competent instructors in college or seminary. To those students resident in a college where biblical courses are offered, a special incentive is furnished by an annual examination under the direction of the INSTITUTE, for superior excellence in which prizes are awarded.

Some figures may be of value here in estimating the amount of work carried on. The number, ten thousand, engaged in the study of the popular outline courses has already been mentioned. In carrying on these courses alone more than one million printed pages of instruction are required each year. Over one thousand ministers have entered upon the professional reading courses for ministers. Five hundred of these, in addition to studying for self-education, are leading church classes for the systematic study of the Bible. Since the organization of the thorough correspondence work more than two thousand ministers and laymen have studied under the direction of the INSTITUTE from one to three or more years. Nor can we omit from this résumé the work in from ten to twenty summer schools where members of the COUNCIL are engaged in instruction. Through these schools a further annual quota of surely five thousand people is reached. It is, therefore, no exaggeration of facts to say that, counting the many who avail themselves of the privileges of the INSTITUTE in families or through friends,

not less than twenty thousand people are annually guided in their work by this organization for the study of the Bible.

But enough has been said to show that the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE is the expression in practical form of a desire on the part of the biblical scholars of the day to put their knowledge and experience at the service of the people; and to make clear the fact that the aims of the INSTITUTE, its founder, and its promoters are essentially educational. It is not seeking to reform, but to inform, those coming within the sphere of its influence. On the other hand, its numerical success is a manifestation of honest welcome on the part of the public.

Perhaps one of the most interesting, because one of the most recent and public, phases of the INSTITUTE work is the success which has attended the inauguration of an annual "Bible-study Sunday" to be observed in such churches as are in harmony with the idea. In September, 1900, one thousand churches set apart a day for the special presentation of the claims of "Bible study in relation to the life and work of the church and the individual." In 1901 this number was increased to twenty-five hundred. A few have raised the objection that the "special days" were already too many; others have criticised the distribution of the sermon outlines which were prepared by celebrated ministers, as suggestive material for those observing the day; but, as a class, the ministry has been most cordial in its co-operation. The results have varied; some ministers found that they were only giving opportunity for the expression of a desire already existing in the minds of their people, while others spoke to irresponsive faces. Even in these two first years the movement has greatly stimulated the study of the Bible in the churches.

It is desirable to make one point very clear—that is, that the INSTITUTE seeks in every respect to be the strong ally of the minister, in any honest endeavor to lead his people along lines of religious progress. It is the growing belief of biblical teachers that, in these days of controversy and disturbance, the Bible cannot safely be left to the amateur teacher. The pastor needs to hold in his own hands the lever which moves the teachers in his church and community. He is likely to be the only man able to reconstruct where the foundations of faith are loosened by floating skepticism, and too much depends upon the issue for him to leave the labor to others. The INSTITUTE comes to the minister and says: "Let us help you; we will assist you to plan your work; give you material for your class; furnish suggestions for its conduct;

name books for your own study, and give you the freedom of correspondence whenever you desire it. We are wholly with you in your effort to instruct your people." The minister, therefore, who does not put himself in touch with the INSTITUTE is keeping outside of an organization which seeks only to aid him in his legitimate educational work. If personally he needs no such assistance, still, by lending his co-operation to the movement, he is assisting those of his profession less fortunate than himself.

Any just estimate of the work that has been accomplished by the INSTITUTE, in the twenty years since its inception, is impossible, unless one could trace to its original source every step—denominational or independent—which has been made in America during these twenty years toward better methods of studying the Bible. No one knows what might have been accomplished without its work, or even without its stimulating effect upon other agencies. Certain it is, however, that the period of the lifetime of this organization marks unprecedented progress in the field of religious education wherever the INSTITUTE has exerted its energies. At the time of the organization of the INSTITUTE in 1881 a working knowledge of Hebrew was limited to an infinitesimal portion of the ministry. Now every seminary aims to have attractive work in the original tongues, and the knowledge gained is sufficiently valued to insure on the part of the student an effort to retain the power to use the Hebrew and the Greek Bible. At that time the International System of Sunday-School Lessons was just taking hold upon the public. For years the lack of any competitors in the field tended to laxity in that system. Now a dozen rival systems have compelled the publishers of lesson helps to league themselves together in an effort to produce the best material which can be prepared. Then, Bible study was purely a Sunday-school matter; thirty minutes a week was considered sufficient for instruction, and the method was chiefly homiletical. Now, Bible study belongs to the pastoral work, in the church, the Young People's Society, the Missionary Society, and the community at large, as well as to the curriculum of the best schools and colleges throughout the country. While losing nothing of its power as a book of religion, the Bible has come to be a book of history, a book of sociology, a book of literature. To bring about such changes some great influences and agencies have been at work. To assign to each its due share of credit is impossible; but to go forward quietly and courageously, projecting into the next twenty years as rapid an advancement as that already realized, is the duty of any organization conscious of having helped

to better educational conditions in so important a field. The same spirit of readjustment to existing needs which has animated the work of the INSTITUTE in the past will insure its usefulness in the future.

It would be inappropriate to close this statement without an acknowledgment of the kindness shown the INSTITUTE by those many patrons who have from time to time subscribed generously to its support. As has been stated, this is an educational institution. The INSTITUTE spends annually in its work a much larger sum of money than accrues to it from the small fees charged for its study courses. Like other educational institutions, it is not conducted for financial returns, and it should no more be expected to pay than the theological seminary, to which it is akin. It is, indeed, the *people's* seminary, in which every dollar received goes directly or indirectly to benefit the student, and large amounts are added by beneficent friends to enable the INSTITUTE to carry on its great work. It is the belief of those engaged in this undertaking that a permanent endowment is needed to bring about the best results. With means at its disposal the INSTITUTE might easily double and triple its influence, bringing such power to bear on public opinion that in a very few years no church would be without an adult Bible school, and graded courses of instruction in the Sunday school; no well-equipped preparatory school or college would be without its Bible classes in various grades, and no town without its local board for the extension of Bible study. It is not to be desired that the INSTITUTE should control all this work; but, by occupying as much of the field as will come under its influence, it will stimulate into being other agencies for other fields, until the Bible—its facts, its teachings, its ideal of life—shall permeate the thought of nation and individual as never before in the history of the world. It is to such work as this that the COUNCIL OF SEVENTY is pledged, and in this service it invites all who love our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ to participate, as students, co-workers, and friends.

Work and Workers.

REV. JULIUS A. BEWER, PH.D., has accepted the chair of Old Testament literature and theology in the Oberlin Theological Seminary, the position left vacant by the death last October of Professor George S. Burroughs, Ph.D., D.D. Professor Bewer is a graduate of the Gymnasium of Düsseldorf, Germany, and of Union Theological Seminary, New York. From the latter institution he received a fellowship in 1898, and studied in Europe.

A MEMORIAL to Professor Thayer, speaking of the character of the man, the thoroughness of his scholarship, and the great influence which he exerted upon New Testament study, was contributed to the *Sunday School Times* of January 18, by Professor M. B. Riddle, D.D., LL.D., of Western Theological Seminary. These two men, with ex-President Timothy Dwight, D.D., LL.D., of Yale University, were the three surviving members of the American Revision Committee for the New Testament; and it was they who carried to completion the American Standard Edition of the Revised Version which was issued last August by the New York publishing house of Thomas Nelson & Sons.

WE desire to make two slight corrections in the article entitled "Grinding in Palestine," which was published in the January number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*. On p. 10, l. 11, where it is said that "small braces are fitted in[to the millstone] from the peg to the sides of the central hole," Dr. Dalman states that only one narrow piece of wood is used, with a small opening for the peg. He adds that the hole of the upper millstone never is of a conical shape, such as shown in the article "Mill" in the Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible*; instead, the hole is always rudely cylindrical. Also on p. 10, l. 7 from the bottom, instead of *Qera'in* and *Māṭḥa* should be read *Qer'in* and *Mālḥa*.

THE removal is announced of the Bible Teachers College from Montclair, N. J., to New York city. The lectures for the winter given in connection with this school began January 7, in the chapel of the Broadway Tabernacle. The time of the lectures is in the afternoons of the middle days of the week. Courses are given in the study of New Testament books, in the teachings of Christ, in the prophets and

institutions of the Old Testament, and in the new religious pedagogy. The lecturers are Dr. W. W. White, Mr. Robert E. Speer, Dr. D. W. Rogers, Dr. Stibitz, Dr. Huizinga, Dr. S. P. Cadman, Dr. J. Balcom Shaw, Dr. F. S. Schneck, Dr. A. H. Bradford, and Mr. L. D. Wishart. The official address of the college is 45 West Thirty-fourth street, New York.

AFTER a long and exceptionally useful life, Dr. Conrad Schick died in Jerusalem on December 23 last, at the age of eighty-six years. He went to Palestine when a young man, as teacher in one of the mission schools; and for more than half a century he studied the historical and archæological problems connected with the Holy Land. He was a constant contributor to the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and to the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, besides being the author of an important book on Jerusalem. No single scholar has obtained a wider reputation or influence in questions connected with ancient Jerusalem. He was buried in the Holy City on Christmas day, amid the sorrow of all residents of every nationality, whether native or European. We hope to give a more complete account of his labors in a subsequent issue.

A SERIES of volumes under the general title of "The Ancient East" is arranged for by the publisher David Nutt, of London. These volumes are the translations of works published originally in Germany, and the translations will be revised by the authors. The volumes are to be very small, consisting of sixty-four to eighty pages, but are intended to be scientific at the same time that they are popular. The authors of the series are leading scholars of Germany, who will set forth the recent discoveries and investigations in Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian history, religion, and archæology, especially as they bear upon the traditional views of the early Christian church. The volumes to be issued in the series during the present year are as follows: *The Realms of the Egyptian Dead*, by Professor Alfred Wiedemann; *The Tell-el-Amarna Period*, by Dr. C. Niebuhr; *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*, by Professor H. Zimmern; *The Babylonian Conception of Heaven and Hell*, by Dr. Alfred Jeremias; *The Political Development of Babylonia and Assyria*, by Professor H. Winckler.

PROFESSOR A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., one of the most distinguished Old Testament scholars of the present day, died suddenly in Edinburgh on January 26, of heart failure. He was sixty-two years of age, but in apparently good health, having conducted his classes on

Friday as usual. He received his education in the University of Aberdeen and in the New College, Edinburgh, the latter being the theological seminary of the (now United) Free Church of Scotland. In 1863 he was appointed to the professorship of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis, and this position he held till the day of his death, his whole life-work having been performed in connection with this institution. In 1870 he was chosen a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee. He is well known in Europe and America by the important books which he wrote, and by the frequent articles which he contributed to theological journals. His *Introductory Hebrew Grammar* (1874) has been the standard work on the subject in Great Britain; his *Commentary on Job*, in two forms (1862 and 1884), his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (1882), and his *Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (1892) have had wide circulation and use. These works of the great scholar remain as his legacy to succeeding generations, continuing the influencé of his noble life and service.

IT is with much satisfaction that we repeat here some sentences contained in an editorial in the Chicago *Interior* (Presbyterian) of January 23. That several of our best religious newspapers have taken a positive stand for the general use of the Revised Version, as against that of 1611 A. D., indicates clear, progressive thought and action among us. "Do we dare allow another generation, who might now be set free, to grow up in bondage to the errors of the Authorized Version which so constantly require explaining away? Is it not, in fact, an undeniable duty before God to bring his inspired revelation to the children in home and Sunday school by the most perfect vehicle accessible? The *Interior* commends this inquiry to the sober thought of the church. For ourselves we deem it nothing less than obligatory henceforth for parents and teachers to make the American [edition of the] Revised Version the standard of Bible instruction for the young. After much consideration we are prepared to urge that the new translation be formally adopted as the text-book of all Presbyterian Sunday schools. We believe that the coming General Assembly ought so to declare it, and should direct the Board of Publication to use the revised text, and no other, in all Sunday-school helps. . . . It is palpable inconsistency to receive the Bible as God's Word, and yet by explicit or tacit sanction put a higher value on a version not accurately representing what he said, than upon a version where his message is repeated with precision, in language easy to be understood by even the

unlearned." The truth of these statements cannot be denied, nor can they be evaded for any length of time. What should be done in this matter must be done and will be done.

THE April number of the BIBLICAL WORLD will contain an extended account of the life and work of the late Professor Thayer, with a recent photograph of him, and a list of books and articles which he published. This memorial article is being prepared by Professor C. J. H. Ropes, of Bangor Theological Seminary, who was a close personal friend of Dr. Thayer, and who has been able to secure full information for this biographical sketch of his life. We are glad also to print at this time a tribute to the great New Testament scholar by one of his recent pupils, Mr. Wallace N. Stearns, of Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.:

PROFESSOR THAYER: A STUDENT'S APPRECIATION.

The death of a great man is always a calamity. We lament the loss of leadership, even though we do not experience the feeling of personal sorrow. We realize that another name has been added to the long list of illustrious dead. But new leaders appear and life bears on. Greatness is too often bought with a price—the distorting of self to gain a specific end. The tendency of investigation is to lead the scholar away from human interests and to convert him into a machine. Men pour out life in their work, and what is left is dry dust or empty shell. This may be a noble sacrifice, but it is a terrible price.

The scholar who has escaped the perils of pedantry is well-nigh a unique phenomenon. Such was Professor Thayer. To scholarly attainments, rare insight, and marvelous accuracy of method he added a striking personality. Students admired his learning; they loved the man. "A strong mind, or a cultivated mind, may challenge respect; but there is needed a noble one to win affection." His mind was both noble and strong. His scholarship was universally recognized; it long since became known across the seas, and won for him the fellowship of the choicest spirits. Few, however, really comprehended his entire worth. One met him in this field, another in that. All acknowledged his genius. Now that he is gone, we realize what one of his colleagues has appropriately said: "We never knew until now how much and in how many places he would be missed."

He was a man of rare refinement and purity. No objectionable word was heard from his lips. He never stooped to meanness or pettiness. His soul shrank instinctively from what was coarse or dishonorable. In manner, as in fact, Professor Thayer was a Christian

gentleman. Energetic, he was never brusque ; courageous, he was never bold ; gentle, he was never weak ; self-respecting, he was never haughty or overbearing. His life was squared by his rule : "Follow truth if it takes you over Niagara." But prudence never lost her sway. "There is great danger," he would say, "from half-knowledge recently acquired." What was well founded he championed fearlessly, but only after it had stood the test of searching investigation. Little things did not disturb him, but when aroused he was eloquent. The lives of the martyrs were to him stirring themes, as were the deeds of those who perhaps amid persecution and misunderstanding had labored in the interest of biblical science.

He lived much in the lives of his students. Nothing pleased him so much as to see a pupil discover a problem and work it through. He would visit a student's room to listen to a reading of a first copy, and this not as a superior, but as a friend. Absence from his classroom elicited inquiry : in the midst of arduous labors he would visit the sick-room and offer his services. His own troubles were kept hidden ; he had a kindly word and a beaming smile for all. There was a magnetism about the man that drew others to him, a frankness that forbade deception, a sympathy that compelled love, an atmosphere of enterprise that rebuked sluggishness.

Professor Thayer was a rigid disciplinarian. He exacted the very best from himself, and he sought to bring his students to the same high plane. Carelessness ever met with stern rebuke ; yet, even as he spoke, tears filled his eyes and revealed the kindly heart. He has called men to him after a conference that he might say : "I think more of you and of your work than perhaps you think." His parting words as we left him were : "So do your work that whenever you are called you can meet your Judge and say : 'This, Lord, is the best I could do.'" "The tendency of life," he once remarked, "is downward. Only by heroic and unceasing effort can we hope to excel." In such a spirit he toiled for more than a quarter-century to make his *Lexicon* what he felt such a book ought to be. Beauty marks all his work, because he toiled and strove so faithfully.

The master is not dead. His life is a fact ; his influence still lives ; his example is before us ; the fruits of his labor are our inheritance. His soul has entered upon that life of which he believed the present to be only a foreshadowing.

WALLACE N. STEARNS.

DELAWARE, O.

Book Reviews.

The Book of the Dead. An English Translation of the Chapters, etc., of the Theban Recension. With Introduction, Notes, etc. By E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. With 420 Vignettes. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1901. 3 vols. Pp. xcvi + 702 (consecutive paging).

One of the great problems confronting the modern Egyptologist is the "Book of the Dead." As far back as we have any considerable literary remains, the ancient Egyptian was accustomed to equip the dead with certain writings supposed to be of great efficacy in carrying him through the dangers which should unavoidably confront him in the hereafter. The efficacy of these writings chiefly consisted in their magical potency, in which the Egyptian had implicit faith. As a result of the fact that these writings (now comprehended under the general title "Book of the Dead") were regularly deposited in the tomb with the deceased person, whom they were intended to serve, the scribes and copyists who produced the manuscripts soon grew very careless and inaccurate. They were not troubled with any fear of complaint on the part of the unfortunates who were trying to make use of the bad copies in the next world. Add to this the further fact that some of these texts are very old, and were not understood by the scribal copyists themselves, and we shall see that corruption of the texts ran riot. It became so bad, indeed, that in all probability we shall never possess a good text, or even a usable text, of the "Book of the Dead," for no collation of duplicates carries us far enough back behind the sources of corruption. Dr. Budge at the very beginning minimizes this difficulty (p. v); but in the writer's opinion it is one which will become more and more evident as the study of these texts proceeds. Dr. Budge's book, therefore, directs little attention toward the attainment of a better text. But it is nevertheless a very useful book; and, in spite of the difficulties attending any translation of the "Book of the Dead," Dr. Budge's volumes may be highly recommended to the layman. This three-volume edition is the outgrowth of the author's larger edition containing also the original text and a dictionary, which was published in 1897. The translation is preceded by an introduction, containing a useful account of the "Book of the

Dead," together with the ideas and motives which gave rise to this class of literature. It would be impossible in the space at the writer's command to discuss the treatment in this introduction. In one or two instances the reviewer is unable to reconcile the author with himself. For example he says: "There is little doubt that many of the formulæ found in the Heliopolitan Recension of the 'Book of the Dead,' which was in use during the IVth and Vth Dynasties, date from a very early pre-dynastic period." It is difficult to make this statement agree with the following: "Of the history of the 'Book of the Dead' during the IIId, IIIId, and IVth Dynasties we know nothing, and *no copy of the Recension* of it then in use has come down to us." It is surprising to find the author, in this introduction, deriving the origin of certain customs from their occurrence in the myth (*e. g.*, p. lxxv). It is, of course, exactly the reverse which is true: the Egyptians do not embalm because Osiris was embalmed; but, on the contrary, Osiris was embalmed because the Egyptians were accustomed to embalm. It is the customs of a people which go into a myth; not the myth which makes the customs of the people.

The writer is in hearty sympathy with the author's remark: "The more the 'Book of the Dead' is read and examined, the better chance there is of its difficult allusions being explained, and its dark passages made clear" (pp. vi, vii); and it is to be hoped that a frank recognition of the unusual difficulties involved in the problem may aid in its solution.

J. H. B.

The Teaching of Jesus. By GEORGE B. STEVENS, PH.D., D.D.,
Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. New
York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. 190. \$0.75, *net*.

This generation has been fertile in scholarly works dealing with the teaching of the Scriptures. Among them are the *Johannine Theology*, the *Theology of Paul*, and the *Theology of the New Testament*, by Professor Stevens. But in this small volume of less than two hundred pages the same author gives—not merely for special students, but for all thoughtful readers as well—an exposition of what must be considered the marrow of the Scriptures. The work is one of a series of eleven or more, called "New Testament Handbooks," issued under the editorial supervision of Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago. The series should be notable, if judged by the subjects and the authors; for the subjects are those of greatest

interest at the present time, and the authors represent eight of the foremost universities and divinity schools in our country. A careful study of this volume by Professor Stevens, as a sample of the series, confirms the judgment.

The first chapter sets forth the Jewish religious beliefs in the time of Christ, as a background against which the teaching of Christ must be viewed. The second chapter briefly, yet as clearly as the data permit, explains how the records of our Savior's teaching were preserved in the four gospels. A chapter is devoted to Jesus' unique method of teaching, and the way in which it is to be understood. Next is shown his attitude toward the Old Testament, and how, laying no stress on sacrificial rites, he revived the teaching of the prophets; and how he fulfilled the law by purifying and completing it. While ignoring the fasts, the sacrifices, the sabbath traditions, and the ceremonial purifications, he realized, in his own teaching and life, those changeless spiritual truths and laws of which only glimpses appear in the Mosaic legislation. Then follow eleven chapters, which treat the specific topics on which the teaching of Jesus is preserved in the gospels. With each chapter are given references to various larger works whose conclusions are happily epitomized in this.

Many a pastor, by using this book, and verifying its conclusions through a careful study of the gospels, and making the teaching of Jesus the basis and substance of his doctrine, might become more edifying in his preaching, and on several subjects he would discover that certain traditional commonplaces, often heard from the pulpit, are nothing less than unconscious attempts to be "wise above what is written," and that some of them contradict the Master.

The book is unsurpassed in its adaptation to enlighten a studious Sunday-school teacher or an adult Bible class, or anyone who wishes to know how Christ's conception of the kingdom of God differed from that of the Jews; what was his thought of the Father in heaven; of himself as Son of man, and Son of God; of the value, the depravity, and the destiny of man; of the sin against the Holy Spirit; of the natural and spiritual worlds; of what constitutes a Christian; of how Jesus saves; what he understood by the "church," and by "binding and loosing;" what he teaches respecting his "coming again," and respecting the resurrection and the general judgment. The treatment of these last topics will be found peculiarly helpful. Especially valuable are the examination and comparison of all the reports of our Savior's words touching his parousia. In these a

principle of interpretation is illustrated that applies equally well to passages in the Acts referring to the same subject. Its general acceptance may be confidently anticipated, though not as coming at once. Such acceptance will remove grave difficulties that have perplexed many candid students of the gospels, and will safeguard the church against the recurrence of some of the most mischievous fanaticisms that have darkened her history.

B. F. HAYES.

COBB DIVINITY SCHOOL,
Lewiston, Me.

Typical New Testament Conversions. By FREDERICK A. NOBLE, D.D., LL.D., Pastor Union Park Congregational Church, Chicago. Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1901. Pp. 326. \$1, net.

This is a book of sermons preached by one of the most honored pastors of Chicago. They are not intended for a critical audience. The author tries to avoid "the extremes to which men will go with their nice, technical scholarship and their captious criticisms" (p. 43). He tells us in one of the discourses that "the commentators and critics have almost all of them broken their necks in trying to vault over the difficulties with which they have hedged this passage about" (p. 71). He gives evidence of a reasonably wide range of reading, and of careful preparation for his public utterances; but he addresses himself to the rank and file of the church membership, and if the average man in the pew is not helped by these sermons, they have missed their aim. The average layman ought to be helped by them. And any pastor who is holding revival meetings or is interested in direct evangelistic appeals will find the sermons in this book very suggestive.

They treat of the conversions of Matthew, Bartimæus, Lydia, Zachæus, Timothy, Sergius Paulus, Cornelius, Nicodemus, Saul, the woman at the well, the Philippian jailor, the man born blind, the Ethiopian treasurer, the woman who was a sinner, the malefactor on the cross, and the multitude at Pentecost. They aim to show that these typical cases of conversion in the New Testament times prove an almost infinite variety in the method of the divine operation upon the human soul. All do not begin the Christian life in the same way. It is a message of warning to those leaders who would have everyone's experience conform to their own, and of comfort to those whose personal experience seems to them so peculiar as possibly to be open to

some question. "The real question is whether one has had an experience which has taken him out of sin and the love of sin into the faith and fellowship of the Son of God" (p. 11).

The book is marred by an unusual number of oversights in proof-reading, such as: "The Wise Men brought their *treasurers* of gold and frankincense and myrrh" (p. 24); "Elisha with his *cruise* of salt" (p. 31); the title "*Lady* of Thyatira" (p. 51); "the *crowing* triumph of patience" (p. 106); "a career of *wordliness*" (p. 132); "the dismal *straightnesses* and agonies" (p. 184); "*hailing* men and women to prison" (p. 278). Other examples almost as bad may be noticed on pp. 25, 81, 136, 199, 222, 223, 245, 268, and 315. Twice on p. 217 Cornelius instead of Peter is located at Joppa.

Those interested in practical sermonic literature will find here a volume calculated both to please and to instruct. It will be useful as long as revivals are being held and human hearts are asking for help to find their way to God.

D. A. HAYES.

GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE,
Evanston, Ill.

New Wine Skins. Present Day Problems. [Lectures delivered before the Maine Ministers' Institute, at Cobb Divinity School.] Edited by PROFESSOR A. W. ANTHONY. Boston: Morning Star Publishing House, 1901. Pp. 302. \$1.50.

In the ten lectures which this volume contains we have an interesting and able exposition of biblical Christianity as applied to the problems of modern life. Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg furnishes three of the lectures, upon "The Meaning and Scope of Sociology," "The Nature of Society," and "The Social Forces." A fourth lecture is by Professor F. C. Robinson, of Bowdoin College, upon "Science and Religion." The fifth is by Rev. C. S. Patton, upon "Herbert Spencer and the Christian Faith." Then follow two lectures upon "Biblical Interpretation," the first by Rev. A. T. Salley, D.D., who discusses "The Advantages of the Historical Method of Studying the Old Testament;" the second, by Professor A. W. Anthony, upon "The Framework of the New Testament Evangel." The remaining three lectures deal with practical Christian work, and are contributed by Rev. C. S. Patton, on "The Minister's Personality and Methods;" by Professor B. F. Hayes, D.D., on "Modern Methods of Evangelization;" and by Rev. C. M. Sheldon, on "Opportunities before the Church Today."

The treatment of these subjects is throughout scholarly and thoughtful. The style of them is lucid and vigorous. It is manifest on every page that the lecturers are speaking with knowledge, with the wisdom of experience, and with the strong conviction as to what can and ought to be accomplished by the present generation in the field of Christian activity. Although the addresses were first delivered before a body of ministers, they cannot fail to be of interest to everyone who is concerned with the problems of religion. Many persons who still oppose the newer thought and methods will find in this volume much that will help them to a clearer and larger idea of progressive Christianity.

J. W. BAILEY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Ecclesiastes and Omar Khayyám: A Note for the Spiritual Temper of Our Time. By JOHN FRANKLIN GENUNG. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1901. Pp. 32. \$0.35.

A real service is performed for the Bible-reading public when some neglected aspect of Scripture-teaching is brought forth from the quarry and held up to the light. In the present instance the all too brief treatment of a suggestive theme only serves to awaken the reader's desire for larger gems of the same cutting. The "spiritual temper of our time," to which the author addresses himself, is not the "yearning uneasy mood of *In Memoriam*," but "the epicurean sentiment of Omar Khayyám." The changed temper he regards as the fruit of modern skepticism, and as rather wholesome than otherwise. At any rate, it is a phenomenon to be reckoned with, and one which signifies a popular reaction from the delusive notions of heaven as a place for rectifying the mistakes of earth. Omar and the Hebrew sage are in striking agreement here when they insist that today is ours to make the most of, while tomorrow is a veil through which we may not see. To be sure, Omar stands upon a lower plane than Ecclesiastes; his paradise consists in today's enjoyment and the sensuous dreams of the lotus-eaters. The preacher, on the other hand, has learned that these things are vanity, and that life's God-given happiness is to be found, not in play or pay, but in the actual performance of the daily round and the common task. But this one-sided message of the two old sages is supplemented and made complete by the vitalizing ideals of the gospel.

The monograph will be chiefly valuable in suggesting other comparative studies of a similar character.

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Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

OLD TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

*TERRY, M. S. *Moses and the Prophets*. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1901. Pp. 198. \$1.

GIESEBRECHT, F. *Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens und ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage*. Königsberg: Beyer, 1901. Pp. 144. M. 4.

*BIBLICAL AND SEMITIC STUDIES. *Critical and Historical Essays by the Members of the Semitic and Biblical Faculty of Yale University*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. 330. \$2.50, net.

The volume contains the following treatises: (1) *The Tribes of Israel*, by Professor E. L. Curtis; (2) *The Growth of Israelitish Law*, by Professors C. F. Kent and F. K. Sanders; (3) *The Yeşer Hara, A Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin*, by Professor F. C. Porter; (4) *The Significance of the Transfiguration*, by Dr. W. J. Moulton; (5) *Stephen's Speech—Its Argument and Doctrinal Relationship*, by Professor B. W. Bacon; (6) *The Mohammedan Conquest of Egypt and North Africa*, by Professor C. C. Torrey.

ARTICLES.

WARREN, W. F. *The Beginnings of Hebrew Monotheism—The Ineffable Name*. *Methodist Review* (New York), January–February, 1902, pp. 24–35.

Jah, one of the most archaic forms of Yahweh, is in reality only the West Semitic form of the East Semitic or Proto-Semitic Ea, the name applied by the Sumerians and East Semites to a god to whom they ascribed the lordship of all waters, of the earth as well, the creation and care of the human race, wisdom beyond that of all the other gods, and a character that called out all the hostility of the demons. In support of this position the author offers twelve original suggestions based on the biblical data.

KLOSTERMANN, D. *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs*. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1902, Heft 1, pp. 23–53.

PETERS, J. P. *The Religion of Moses*. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Part II, 1901, pp. 101–28.

Moses was the founder of the religion of Israel in very much the same sense that Jesus Christ was the founder of Christianity, and Mohammed of Mohammedanism, Zoroaster of Zoroastrianism, and Gautama Siddhartha, the Buddha, of Buddhism. He was a unique man, towering above his time, anticipating future ages, reaching out beyond

his own. We do not ordinarily call the religion of Israel Mosaism; and yet it would perhaps be as correct to do so as it is to use the names Christianity, Mohammedanism, and the like. The reformers and thinkers of all succeeding ages in Israel refer their reforms and their interpretations of the nature and commands of God back to Moses for their justification; and the more advanced the development of the religion of Israel, the greater was the inclination to hark back to Moses as the first source and the standard for comparison, precisely as in Christianity today men hark back to Jesus as the founder. Perhaps, however, the failure to designate in common parlance the religion of Israel by the title Mosaism may be justified and explained by the fact that our actual information with regard to his work and teaching is less than in the case of any of the other great religion-founders mentioned. He lived in a more remote age and under conditions less civilized and less adapted to the exact transmission of tradition than any of the others.

Of all religion-founders Moses may probably best be compared with Jesus and Mohammed; but the differences are almost as striking as are the resemblances. Jesus left no writings of any description, no code of law, no form of theology; but he impressed himself upon a band of disciples, who later endeavored to record both his sayings and his life for the benefit of posterity. Moses had no such disciples, and the actual tradition of his life and teaching which has come down to us is from a much later period, and is strongly mixed with legendary and traditional elements; it is connected also with a great mass of legislation which is clearly of a later growth, however much it may be founded upon his teachings. His work was to impress himself upon a people; to make of a number of tribes a nation united by the bond of religion. In this national aspect of his work he resembles Mohammed. Like the latter, he established cohesion among independent tribes by means of a religious bond. Like him also he gave to his people, if not a theoretical, at least a practical, monotheism; and like him he raised the religion of his compatriots to an ethical level, or introduced into it ethical elements previously wanting. It is universally recognized that with Moses begins the ethical content of the religion of Israel, and that it is impossible to understand the later religious development without accounting in some way for the ethical element which was introduced into it at the time of Moses. To him we must ascribe a rôle of very great importance, and an ethical conception in advance of his surroundings.

HOWERTH, HENRY H. Some Unconventional Views of the Bible. II: The Chronology and Order of Events in Esdras A, Compared with and Preferred to Those in the Canonical Ezra. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXIII, Part 7, 1901, pp. 305-30.

The "unconventional view" which the writer supports is that the Greek Ezra preserves, not only an earlier, but also a more authentic, text than does the canonical Hebrew Ezra. The latter book in its present form represents an edition sophisticated and altered in order to meet the prejudices and the historical standpoint of the Jewish doctors at Jamnia. The Greek Ezra not only preserves the Septuagint text of the book, but also gives the book in its original form. On the basis of this better authority, the history of the rebuilding of the temple, the coming of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the time of the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah must be rewritten. Haggai and Zechariah will be dated about 420 B. C., and the temple be found to have been completed 413. Ezra came 397 B. C.; Nehemiah, 384 B. C.

MOFFATT, R. M. The Servant of the Lord. *Expository Times*, January, 1902, pp. 174-8.

DAY, EDWARD AND CHAPIN, WALTER H. Is the Book of Amos Post-Exilic? *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January, 1902, pp. 65-93.

Contrary to most modern scholars, the writers of this paper regard the book of Amos as substantially a unity, there being only a few editorial notes and glosses. The portions that are customarily regarded as not a part of the original prophecy are rejected mainly on the ground of their post-exilic tone. But they hold that the book, when read candidly as it now stands, reveals also the general post-exilic tone of the passages of the supposedly original parts of Amos, and their correspondence with acknowledged post-exilic insertions. Amos is, like Jonah, a late prophetic book, written with a motive that is easily discernible in its main outlines. After the return from the exile, partial as that return was, there was for a long time a disposition on the part of the reformers in Jerusalem to look upon north Israel, or Ephraim, with disfavor, because of the state of affairs there, in both civics and religion. The Assyrian captivity, or dispersion, had been but partial. Against north Israel, then, this post-exilic writer thundered, albeit not by any means to the neglect of Judah and neighboring peoples, but he did, for reasons known only to himself, put his words in the mouth of one whom he supposed to have lived in the days of Jeroboam II.

ARNOLD, W. R. The Composition of Nahum 1-2:3. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 2, 1901, pp. 225-65.

The greater portion of the text of Nahum, chap. 1, is the work of a late redactor. He was making a copy of the prophet, and as an introduction to the book he attempted to prefix a poem, quoting it from memory. However, he had forgotten, not only parts of the poem, but also the original order of what he retained; and even the fact that the poem was alphabetical slipped his mind. Having written part of the poem, he was unable to finish it; so he began to copy the text of the prophet, into which he occasionally inserted phrases or clauses of the poem as they occurred to him. This sort of work he concluded with 2:3.

KELLY, FRED T. The Strophic Structure of Habakkuk. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January, 1902, pp. 94-119.

TAYLOR, R. BRUCE. Prophetic Ecstasy. *Expository Times*, January, 1902, pp. 150-56.

KAHLE, P. Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen Punktation. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 2, 1901, pp. 273-317.

COBB, W. H. Primary Hebrew Rhythm. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Part II, 1901, pp. 158-74.

NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

BURKITT, F. C. St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels. [Texts and Studies, Vol. VII, No. 2.] Cambridge: University Press, 1901. Pp. 91. 3s.

- DAVIES, D. C. *The Atonement and Intercession of Christ.* New York: Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. 237. \$1.25, *net.*
- STOKOE, T. H. *Manual of the Four Gospels.* Part I, The Gospel Narrative, Part II, The Gospel Teaching. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901. Pp. 200, 175. 2s. each.
- HORTON, R. F. *The Pastoral Epistles.* [Century Bible series.] London: Jack, 1901. Pp. 196. 2s.
- ZAHN, THEODOR. *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons. Eine Ergänzung zu der Einleitung in das Neue Testament.* Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. Pp. 84. M. 2.80.
- *KENYON, F. G. *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. 321. \$3.25, *net.*
- BUSS, SEPTIMUS. *Roman Law and History in the New Testament.* London: Rivingtons, 1901. Pp. 480. 6s, *net.*

ARTICLES.

- CONYBEARE, F. C. *The Eusebian Form of the Text of Matthew 28:19.* *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 4, 1901, pp. 275-88.

The writer adduces evidence from Eusebius and from Justin Martyr to support a briefer wording of the great commission in Matt. 28: 19, from which were omitted the injunction to baptize and the trinitarian formula, thus: "Go ye and make disciples of all the peoples [in my name?], and teach ye them everything which I have commanded you." The earliest writer who cites Matt. 28: 19 in a form approximating to the text established in the manuscripts of the gospels is the Gnostic Theodotus, whose literary activity cannot be precisely dated, but must have been as early as 160 A. D. Mr. Conybeare therefore raises four questions: (1) Is the Eusebian and Justin reading of Matt. 28: 19 original? (2) If so, was not the *textus receptus* created about 130-40 A. D.? (3) Was it not due to a reaction on the text of Matthew of liturgical and especially of baptismal usage? (4) Did it not arise, like the text of the three witnesses, in the African Old Latin texts first of all, thence creep into the Greek texts at Rome, and finally establish itself in the East during the Nicene epoch, in time to figure in all surviving codices?

- BERNARD, J. H. *The Baptismal Formula.* *Expositor*, January, 1902, pp. 43-52.

This is a discussion of the much-mooted passage, Matt. 28: 19, which the writer sums up as follows: The words "baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost" do not necessarily enjoin the use of a formula for recital. They set forth the purpose and effect of Christian baptism, whereby converts were baptized into the Trinity, *i. e.*, taken into close covenant relation with God, revealed in Christ as "three in one." It was inevitable that the words should come in time to be used as a formula expressive of the intention of the church in administering baptism; but there is no evidence that they were so used when Luke wrote the Acts. On the other hand, Luke's phrases "baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus," and the like, are in no way inconsistent with his knowledge of the words in

Matt. 28:19. This latter statement is based on the supposition that the phrases spoken of do not indicate the formula used in baptizing, but only that such persons were baptized as acknowledged Jesus to be the Lord and Christ.

STEINMETZ, RUDOLF. Zusammenhang von Taufe und Wiedergeburt. *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 65-80.

BOWMAN, JOHN C. The Teaching of Jesus. *Reformed Church Review*, January, 1902, pp. 89-99.

GARVIE, ALFRED E. Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus. 1. Introductory. *Expositor*, January, 1902, pp. 34-42.

MILLIGAN, G. The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus. *Expositor*, January, 1902, pp. 72-80.

PATON, W. R. Die Kreuzigung Jesu. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 4, 1901, pp. 339-41.

The crucifixion of Jesus with kingly honors was not a mere jest of the rude soldiery, but was decreed in the judgment and condemnation of Jesus. The circumstances of his crucifixion present so many similarities to the rite of Sacaea (a sort of Bacchic rite of Asia Minor) that it certainly had some such significance — at least to the soldiers who carried out the execution. The soldiers were probably native Syrians who had entered the service of the procurator at the time of the deposition of Archelaus.

HOLTZMANN, O. Der Messiasglaube Jesu. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 4, 1901, pp. 265-74.

KLEIN, H. M. J. The Teaching of Jesus Concerning Reward. *Reformed Church Review*, January, 1902, pp. 33-46.

Jesus used the term "reward," but put into it an entirely new meaning. He changed it from the original wage idea to one far above it, substituting for the contract idea the Father's gracious bestowal of his own life of love to his children on the simple condition of their willingness to live that life. (1) All the blessings of God to man are gifts, not earnings. (2) The *modus recipiendi* by which those gifts become ours is righteousness as seated in the heart. (3) The content of the reward or gift is the kingdom in its twofold sense of God-like character and blessed fellowship with God and the God-like here and hereafter.

KLEIN, G. Miscellen: (1) Predigt des Johannes; (2) Hillel; (3) Hosanna in der Höhe; (4) "Kinder" oder "Werke," Matt. 11:19; Luke 7:35. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 4, 1901, pp. 343-7.

WARFIELD, B. B. The Speeches in Acts. *Bible Student*, January, 1902, pp. 1-7.

To attribute the speeches in the book of Acts to the author as "free compositions" is difficult, because they are not such as he could have composed. They do bear, to be sure, such traces of the author's hand as inevitably accompanies their adjustment to his use; they owe no doubt much of their condensation, for example, to him. But their prime characteristic is not this; it is rather their redolence of the personalities to which they are attributed in the narrative. They are true general

reports of what their reputed authors actually said. However the accounts of the speeches may have been preserved, they are recorded substantially as they were delivered—some of the addresses were probably taken down in short-hand at the time they were spoken, for example, Paul's speech before Felix and that before Festus and Agrippa. When we remember what the apostles and prophets were to the early church, it does not seem impossible that many of their speeches were taken down from their lips in short-hand.

And as for the other speeches which were not so recorded, we must consider that those were days of prodigious and prodigiously cultivated memories. The teaching of the rabbis was oral. Many hearers of the early apostolic proclamation had been trained in this school of quick and retentive memory; so that they were capable of receiving and retaining a speech on its delivery, to be afterward delivered up again on demand. Nor were these speeches listened to languidly. There is not merely the enthusiasm begotten by the fresh proclamation of the glad tidings to be reckoned with, but the authority claimed by the speakers. At such times even an indifferent memory exhibits unwonted power; a well-trained memory might be trusted to give a good report of itself. As Mr. Headlam well says: "The speeches of the leading apostles would impress themselves on the growing community and would be remembered, as the words of the Lord were remembered."

BARTLETT, J. VERNON. The Twofold Use of Jerusalem in the Lucan Writings. *Expository Times*, January, 1902, pp. 157, 158.

CORSSEN, P. Die Töchter des Philippus. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 4, 1901, pp. 289-99.

DEISSMANN, A. Anathema. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 4, 1901, p. 342.

Attention is here called to the pagan use of the term *ἀνάθεμα* in a votive tablet from Megara dating from the first or second century A. D., to express an imprecation. This New Testament term is therefore no longer to be regarded as peculiarly biblical or ecclesiastical, but as belonging to the common dialect of the empire.

RELATED SUBJECTS.

BOOKS.

*LOWRIE, WALTER. Monuments of the Early Church. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. 432. \$1.75, net.

*FAIRWEATHER, WILLIAM. Origen and Greek Patristic Theology. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. 261. \$1.25.

FISKE, JOHN. Life Everlasting. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. 87. \$1, net.

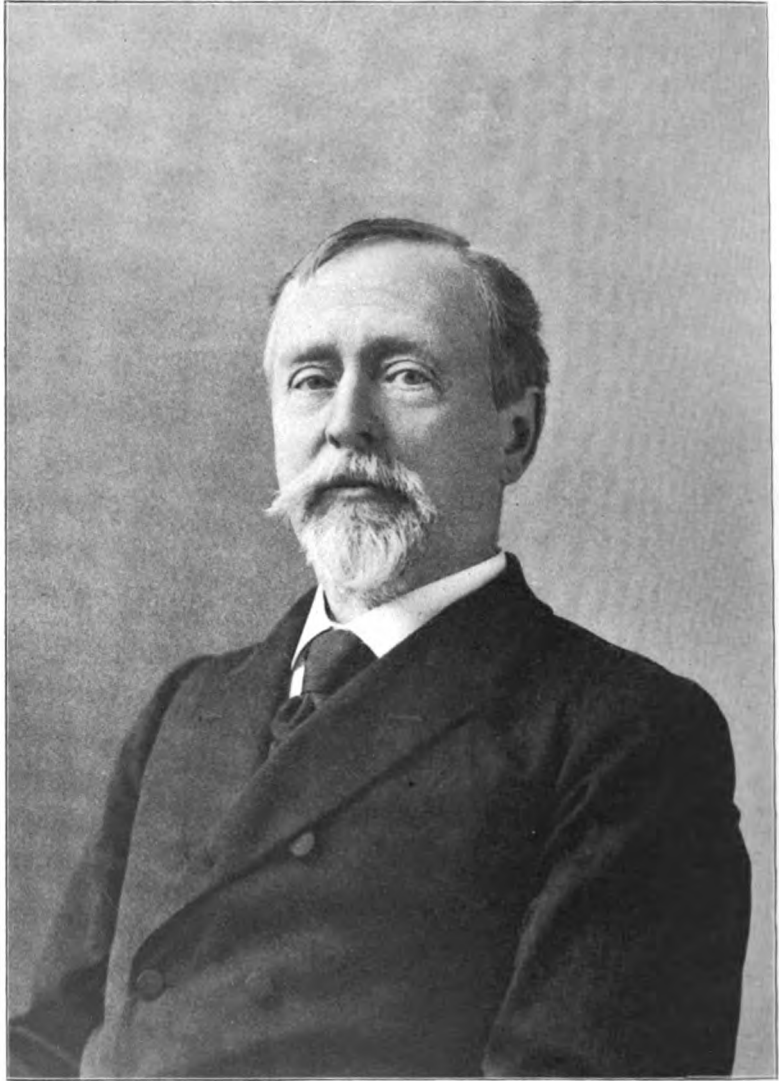
CARUS, PAUL. The Crown of Thorns. A Story of the Time of Christ. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1901. Pp. 74.

ROYCE, J. The World and the Individual. Gifford Lectures, Second Series: Nature, Man, and the Moral Order. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. 480. \$2.25.

ARTICLES.

- RAMSAY, W. M. The Jews in the Græco-Asiatic Cities. *Expositor*, January, 1902, pp. 19-33.
- BENNETT, W. H. The New Testament and Jewish Literature. *Expositor*, January, 1902, pp. 52-65.
- GAUTIER, LUCIEN. Am Toten Meere und im Lande Moab. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1901, Hefte 2 und 3, pp. 113-26.
- CRAMER, J. A. Die Logosstellen in Justins Apologien kritisch untersucht. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 4, 1901, pp. 300-338.
- OFFORD, J. AND HIGHTON, E. G. The *De Duabus Viis*: A New Latin Version of the First Six Chapters of the *Didache*. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1901, pp. 132-7.

The *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, a most valuable second-century (ca. 150 A. D., Harnack, Krüger, *et al.*) writing, being of the nature of a guide to Christian practice and church life, has been preserved to us in the Jerusalem Codex of 1056 A. D. This Greek text was first printed in 1883, in the edition of Bryennios and aroused the greatest interest. The work consists of sixteen chapters. The first portion (chaps. 1-6) contains, under the figure of the Two Ways—that of life and that of death—the ethical instruction given the catechumen before he was baptized into the church. The remainder of the work contains instruction for those who have received baptism concerning baptism, fasting, and the eucharist (chaps. 7-10), and the offices of the church—apostles, teachers, bishops, and deacons—(chaps. 11-16). In 1895 an Arabic version of chaps. 1-6 was discovered (see Iselin and Heusler, "Eine bisher unbekannte Version des ersten Teiles der 'Apostellehre,'" *Texte u. Unters.*, XIII, 1). Now a Latin version of these same chapters, bearing the title *De Doctrina Apostolorum; una cum antiqua versione latina prioris partis de Duabus Viis* (Fribourg, 1900). It is of great value for the study of this portion of the *Didache*. In the article of Messrs. Offord and Highton here cited, some of the variant readings of this Latin version are discussed. They say: "It would seem that codices containing the portion only of the *Teaching of the Apostles* were at some period current; also that whenever quotations from the 'Two Ways' are found in patristic writers, if the author does not allude to or quote from the subsequent matter of the *Didache*, we can never be certain that at his epoch more than the 'Two Ways' part of the *Didache* was current; and even should he speak of a work entitled *De Doctrina Apostolorum*, his evidence as to its existence in his time in its *complete* form, as in the Bryennios manuscript, is considerably minimized."



THE LATE REV. PROFESSOR JOSEPH HENRY THAYER, D.D.

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THE DISTINCTIVE BELIEFS OF THE FIRST CHRISTIANS.

WHEN one considers how dependent upon him Jesus' followers were, how imperfectly they apprehended his teaching, and how hostile were the forces of opposition, it does not seem surprising that consternation fell upon the disciple group when Jesus was put to death. The Pharisees and Sadducees expected that his ignominious execution would put an end to the movement. But Jesus fully guarded against such a result. He did not place himself in the hands of his enemies until he saw that the disciples were firmly grounded in faith in him, and adequately instructed, as well as sufficiently inspired, for continuing his work. He repeatedly spoke to them of "his departure which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem;" and although at first they were thrown into despair by the awful event, they quickly regained their assurance, and went about the work which now rested upon them alone.

The gospels record how the confidence and courage of the disciples were restored by visions of their risen Lord, who explained to them the necessity of his death, gave them grounds for a firm belief that he lived again, told them that from heaven he would conduct his cause, and sent them forth to preach the gospel to all mankind. They seem never to have doubted that Jesus in spirit actually attended them through the subsequent years of trial and labor.

The Spirit (through which he worked) comforted, guided, protected, instructed them. They felt themselves to be co-workers with Christ in a cause whose triumph was assured, and in every stage of which God's wisdom and power were manifest, working out his eternal purposes.

Acting on this certain knowledge that their Master was still with them, now in the spirit as formerly in the flesh, they bent themselves with full energy to the task set before them, to convince men of his messiahship, to bring them into obedience to his teaching, and to prepare as many as possible for the coming of their Lord.

For this strenuous duty he had on the memorable day of Pentecost empowered them; a special outpouring of the Spirit had given them the necessary equipment of wisdom and power. They did not hesitate to obey God rather than men; they were unshaken in their faith and unfaltering in their devotion to their Master's cause. As he had commanded them to be his witnesses "in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth," they set about the performance of the great commission with a singleness of purpose and a courage which have never been equaled. The book of Acts is designed to show how this world-mission was accomplished; stage by stage it is narrated how the disciples of Jesus carried the gospel from Jerusalem through Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy; until, when Rome—the great capital of the empire—was reached, the writer felt that the command of Jesus had been fully obeyed, and he brought his book to an end.

Further, the first disciples were profoundly impressed with the thought that they must personally and socially achieve the ideal of life which Jesus had taught them. Had not Jesus devoted his public ministry to teaching the fundamental religious truths and moral principles according to which men must live? Not that they completely understood his ideal of life, not that they could quickly realize that ideal; but that it was their absorbing aim to love God and their fellow-men, to become good according

to Jesus' standard, and to render a Christ-like service to the world. The words of Jesus' teaching had become fixed in the minds of his disciples, and the disciples passed them on to new converts as the number of Christians increased. We read that the three thousand who were persuaded of Jesus' messiahship on the day of Pentecost "continued in the apostles' teaching," by which in all probability is meant the setting forth to them of the words, deeds, and events of Jesus' ministry. Particularly the words, for there is specific testimony to the fact that the sayings of Jesus were cherished most of all. It was in his teaching that they found their guide to right belief and right conduct, as well as their stimulus and inspiration to the ideal life. The foundation of their Christianity was the facts of the gospel history, and these facts—of which Jesus' personality and teaching were the primary element—constituted the norm of all their belief and practice. Our present gospels are the outcome of the faithful adherence of the first Christians to the gospel story.

In their effort to achieve the ideal life which Jesus taught and exemplified, there grew up among the Christians a close and loving fellowship, a true sympathy and unity of action, and a mutual helpfulness which extended to the voluntary sharing of their earthly goods with those brethren who were in need. With the sincere striving to fulfil their Master's injunction to "seek first the kingdom of God," there came joy, peace, and blessing. The community feeling was strong and true, for had they not a common Lord, a common work, a common hope?

It is clear that all the Christians of the first generation expected the speedy return of Christ. He had set up the kingdom on earth, but he had gone before its consummation; therefore he certainly would soon return to complete his work. Surely, they thought, he could not long delay his second coming to claim his own, and to establish truth and righteousness in the world where holiness met persecution and wickedness seemed triumphant. The disciples felt that the leavening of the

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whole lump by the gospel already implanted was too slow a process; before that could take place Christ would come again, the divine judgment would be pronounced and executed against the sinful, and almighty power would perfect the kingdom of the saints.

It was not that Jesus had assured them of a speedy return, for this he seems not to have done. He is reported to have said distinctly that he did not know when his second coming would be (Mark 13:32). But the very uncertainty in which he left them as to the time, gave them room to hope that his return would be soon, and this hope kindled into a burning expectation. They were mistaken—the consummation was not to be so soon as they thought, for Jesus had plainly implied in his teaching that the kingdom of God must gradually grow into perfection rather than be perfected by a catastrophic intervention of God. But the illusion served a good purpose, since the belief in the imminent return of Christ cheered the hearts of the faithful disciples, increased their devotion to the cause, stimulated them to arduous labors for their fellow-men, and filled them with zeal to be wholly ready for his coming.

Beneath this new superstructure of Christian belief and practice which grew out of their discipleship to Jesus, there stood the foundation of Judaism. The first Christians were loyal Jews, and in the earlier years they did not consider themselves as cut off from the nation to which by birth they belonged. At a later time the trend of events and the outworking of the gospel truths and principles were to make of the Christians a separate people. But in the first years they were in all respects faithful adherents to the religion and worship of their fathers. Their Christianity they regarded as supplemental to their Judaism; that it was in fact a rival religion they had not yet believed. Jesus certainly showed that the gospel was to be the successor of Judaism, and Stephen at an early date saw this truth. Yet the first Christians held to both. It was Paul first of all who, following the teaching of Jesus, brought men to

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AND THEIR
SCRIPTURES**

recognize that the universality and the pure spirituality of the gospel constituted it an independent and superior religion.

But neither in the earlier nor in the later stage was it necessary for the Christians to abandon the Hebrew Scriptures. They continued to use the Old Testament, and they delighted to find that so many of its aspirations and predictions were fulfilled in the gospel history. Jesus had shown his disciples how the Old Testament was to be rightly used and interpreted; and the Christians followed him (the best they could) in this truer reading of the book. The Old Testament continued to be the Scriptures of the Christian movement; and even when at a later time Christian writings arose, and there came into existence an added group of Christian Scriptures, the Old Testament still retained its place among the disciples of Jesus.

The primitive Christians were, indeed, a remarkable company. To their intelligence, spirituality, and labors we owe the permanence of Jesus' work; through them we have received the narratives which present Jesus to us and narrate his ministry; it was they who in large measure achieved the ideal of life which Jesus taught and exemplified, setting it forth on its transforming mission in the world. Their zeal for Christ, their loyalty to the new revelation of truth and goodness, their faithfulness in the supremely difficult task of preaching the gospel to a great and hostile world, their joyful courage in perplexity and persecution, their steadfast vision of a new era when the kingdom shall be fully established—all these facts and qualities bid us recognize in them a company of believers high above the plane of ordinary Christians, worthy in many respects of our highest emulation, and deserving of our fullest love and praise.

*THE EMINENCE
OF THE FIRST
CHRISTIANS*

JOSEPH HENRY THAYER: THE MAN AND HIS WORK.

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THE principal facts of Professor Thayer's life¹ are soon stated. He was born in Boston, November 7, 1828, fitted for college in the Boston Latin School, and graduated at Harvard in 1850. He was usher in the Boston Latin School, 1850-51; private tutor to J. P. Cushing's sons, 1851-53; and during 1853-54 he traveled in Europe. Then he studied theology one year in the Harvard Divinity School and two at Andover Seminary, where he graduated in 1857. After preaching for a year at Quincy, Mass., he became pastor of the Crombie Street Congregational Church in Salem, Mass. Here he remained five years, with the exception of parts of the years 1862-63, when he served as chaplain of the Fortieth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers. In 1864 he was called to the professorship of sacred literature in Andover Seminary, and continued there until his resignation in 1882. He then moved to Cambridge, and in 1883-84 gave some lectures in the Harvard Divinity School. In 1884, after the death of Dr. Ezra Abbot, he succeeded to the Bussey professorship of New Testament criticism. He resigned this chair in the summer of 1901, after which he went to Europe for needed rest and with plans for future activities. There he was seized with the illness which terminated fatally November 26, 1901, about six weeks after his return home.

Among the honors he received, the following degrees may be mentioned: D.D., Yale, 1873; Harvard, 1884, and Princeton, 1896 (at its sesquicentennial); Litt.D., Trinity College, Dublin, 1892 (at its tercentenary).

¹Some of Professor Thayer's friends and several of his former pupils have sent me valuable material and lent me letters of his; kindnesses which I am permitted to acknowledge only in this general way.

As a boy he was docile, quiet, and dutiful. Since he was an only son, it is perhaps not surprising that in early life he evinced less taste for books and less aptitude in learning than did any one of his five sisters. In the Latin school and again at Harvard he was much influenced by the late Professor Henry Warren Torrey, who was his teacher in both institutions. For a year at Harvard the tutor engaged this student as his reader in the evenings to supplement his own defective eyesight. "Contact with a teacher of such stimulating power, a scholar of such indefatigable enthusiasm and such unerring accuracy, a man of such absolute devotion to truth, such supreme allegiance to duty, such profound and pervasive Christian purpose, could not fail to inspire his pupil with lofty impulses," and to hold up high ideals before him. Though always diligent, a fly-leaf of his Latin lexicon illustrates the progress of his spirit. It is inscribed: "Boston Latin School, '*Labor omnia vincit*,'" and later: "Harvard College, '*Labor ipse voluptas*.'" His unremitting industry for fifty-five years after entering college attests his fidelity to these mottoes.

He was brought up under strong religious influences from both parents, but his mother especially devoted herself to her children on Sunday with Bible lessons, reading and singing of hymns, making the day—as her children still testify—"one of the shortest and happiest in the week." Professor Thayer seems to have been a religious boy. It is remembered that he used to attend a boys' prayer-meeting, but it was not until 1853 that he joined the Old South Church. It is interesting to note that, while as a young man he usually attended Dr. Gannett's church (Unitarian) with his father, yet his own views followed those of his mother, and led him into the Congregational church. His experience thus resembled that of Phillips Brooks, and resulted in a large charity and understanding for those of differing beliefs, together with a firm and discriminating hold upon his own.

His decision to study for the ministry seems to have been made during the year of travel which succeeded his uniting with the church. His theological student life was marked by two pronounced characteristics: his perpetual efforts for self-improvement in every direction, including what most deem

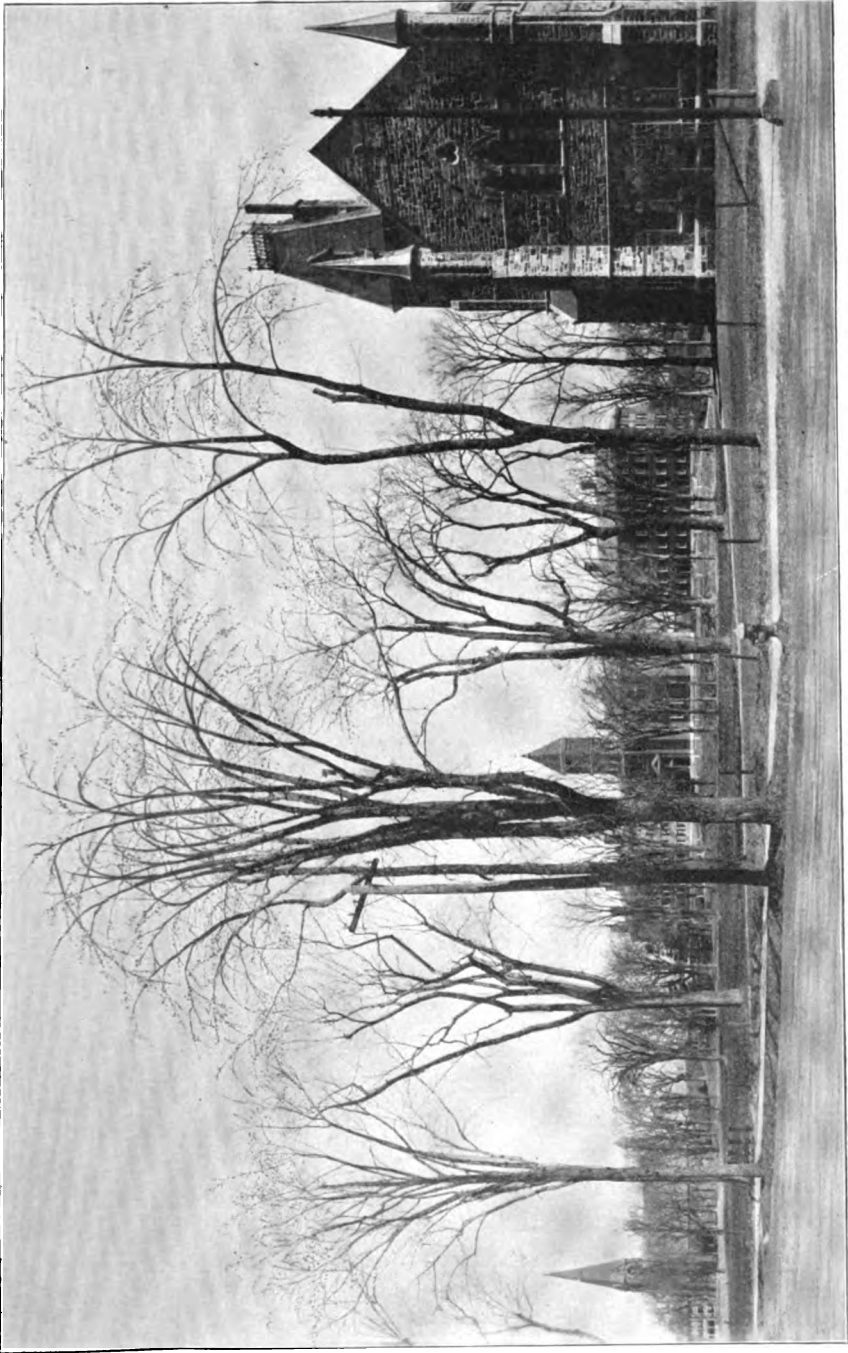
trifling matters; and, allied to this, a passion for research, a desire for both fulness and accuracy, which led him to ask, in letters to relatives and friends, for hints, illustrations, criticisms, suggestions, and facts from books accessible to his correspondents, but not to himself. His earliest sermons were criticised in family conclave at his request, and all suggestions written down and carefully weighed. Composition was always difficult, but research was the very breath of his life. Perhaps this accounts in part for the fact that almost all we have from his pen is the result of research.

His year's work in Quincy was very valuable to the church and earned the lasting gratitude of the community. But his five-years' pastorate in Salem brought greater scope to his powers and larger results. His difficulty in preparing for public utterance was met with such industry that his people never realized how hard it was for him to get time to pour himself out as he did in pastoral visitation and social helpfulness. All his life long, whether in parish or camp or seminary, he was a very successful visitor to the sick. To a womanly sympathy, tact, and tenderness he added a most manly and infectious courage and cheerfulness. His interest in that church never waned, as may be seen in a touching letter he sent to its present pastor in 1893, lamenting the impossibility of attending the funeral of one of the deacons. He said:

It ought rather to be a triumphal procession—like those with which the early Christians often interred their departed. Surely he has fought a good fight and won the crown. No man in my day was more constant in attendance at all church services, Sundays and week days; no man more faithful, generous, and judicious in upholding and extending "Crombie Street's" influence for good. He was exceptionally broad and sympathetic in his religious views and feelings; and at a time when denominational jealousies and antagonisms had an intensity which seems strange to us in these more favored days, he did much to command respect for orthodoxy in circles where otherwise it would have been held in slight esteem.

One interruption of his pastorate by the Civil War is described in a memorial sermon:²

² Delivered on December 8, 1901, in Crombie Street Church, Salem, by the pastor, REV. J. W. BUCKHAM (Salem *Saturday Evening Observer*, December 14, 1901). The three anecdotes are from other sources.



THE BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS OF ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

Hardly had the young pastor become thoroughly established in his work when the outbreak of the rebellion stirred his patriotism to its depths, and in September, 1862, he asked and obtained leave of absence for nine months to serve the Fortieth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry as chaplain. The patriotic ardor of the pastor aroused a corresponding devotion in the church, and, in addition to several thousands of dollars freely given for the support of the Union, the church, although far from being a large one, gave lavishly of her choicest sons. Thirty-two of her young men volunteered for service in the army and navy, and of this number five never returned. Mr. Thayer made an ideal chaplain, manly, hopeful, warm-hearted, trusted, beloved. When he started for the front, he was presented by friends in the church with a large gray horse, and it is remembered of him by his fellow-soldiers that he used to ride up beside some weary-looking comrade on foot and invite him to change places for a time for the sake of a rest. He was chiefly instrumental in securing the erection of a temporary house of worship and hospital in camp in Virginia, and is described as exceedingly attentive and kind to the sick of the regiment. A friend who called upon him one cold evening in his tent found that he was without a fire, and upon inquiry learned that Mr. Thayer had taken his stove to the tent of a sick soldier to make him more comfortable.

Some months before this, in the spring of 1862, a small party of civilians—of which he was one—was permitted to ride on flat cars laden with lumber from Alexandria to Manassas Junction, which had just been occupied by Union troops. These civilians plowed through the mud from the station to the camp, and while there a soldier asked if anyone would help out a foot-sore comrade with a pair of rubbers. Mr. Thayer at once took off his own and gave them; though there, if anywhere, they were indispensable.

Soon after his return to his pastorate came the call to Andover, and there his literary life began.

Three factors are evident in the literary activity of Professor Thayer: first, his natural aptitude for minute and exact research; second, his keen perception of the pressing needs of English-speaking students of the New Testament; third, the unselfishness which led him to do nearly all his work in the humble character of "translator and editor."

Even before he returned from Europe in 1864, to assume the duties of his chair, he had arranged with the author and the publisher to translate Grimm's *New Testament Lexicon*.

The work was immediately begun, but suffered from several interruptions. These were of such a nature, however, as substantially to advance the work. Professor Thayer undertook the translation and editing of Lünemann's edition of Winer's *New Testament Grammar*, and afterward that of Buttmann. Meanwhile the American Revision Committee had been organized, and Professor Thayer became a prominent member, and the recording secretary of the New Testament company. In August, 1873, he announced the translation completed, and the work of verifying the references drawing toward a close. There remained "the editorial labor requisite to adapt it to the needs of English-speaking students." In 1879 a new edition of Grimm's lexicon was issued, to which Professor Thayer contributed over four thousand corrections in references. Finally, on Christmas day, 1885, twenty-one years after the first announcement of the lexicon in this form, the American editor signed the preface of his completed work.³

His contributions to Grimm's work were these: to verify all references; to note extra-biblical usages of words; to give etymologies; to enumerate all representative New Testament verbal forms; to give with every verb its New Testament compounds; to supply passages omitted in words marked with an asterisk (a symbol indicating that every New Testament passage is noticed which contains the word thus distinguished); to note fully variations of text; to discuss synonyms; to give noteworthy renderings of A. V. and R. V.; to multiply cross-references; and to furnish references to grammars, commentaries, and Bible dictionaries, articles, etc. In addition, the appendix gives lists of words, post-Aristotelian, borrowed, biblical, and those peculiar to each New Testament author, with a complete table of forms of verbs.⁴

To judge of the value of this work it is worth while to recall a few of the words of appreciation which its appearance elicited:

The more than doubly exercised *nonum prematur in annum* has in this case been richly vindicated: it is the ripe fruit of many years of toilsome and exceedingly conscientious work by one thoroughly versed in his subject.⁵

The fact is that we have a monumental work here, the best lexicon to the Greek Testament that has ever been framed, the most valuable aid to

³ From an article by PROFESSOR C. F. BRADLEY, D.D., *Methodist Review*, 1887, p. 253.

⁴ Condensed from preface to the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, p. vi.

⁵ PROFESSOR E. SCHÜRER, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, November 27, 1886.

the study of the Greek Testament which America has given to the English-speaking world in our generation.⁵

Moses Stuart quoted with approval the saying of Scaliger that "a part of the daily prayer of every literary man should be thanksgiving to God that he had been pleased to make lexicographers and grammarians." I think we may in this case devoutly offer this thanksgiving, and express our gratitude to the gifted and learned scholar who through more than twenty years of life-exhausting labor has prepared for our use this combined product of centuries of research. . . . We have then in it, during its "meantime" of supremacy of which the editor modestly and almost pathetically speaks, the most complete lexicon of the New Testament existing in any language, and the one most accurate in all the details of forms, citations, references, and lists. . . . We do not hesitate to pronounce it the first of helps to the understanding of the Greek Testament.⁶

Professor Thayer's three printed lectures—"Criticism Confirmatory of the Gospels" (1871), "The Change of Attitude towards the Bible" (1891), and "Books and Their Use" (1893), to the last of which was appended a New Testament bibliography published in 1890—must not be entirely passed over. The first of the three is a long and elaborate article in the volume of *Boston Lectures* for 1871, giving a learned yet lucid and complete review of New Testament criticism from 1835. I quote a specimen of its brilliancy:

These framers of hypotheses take to themselves the light work; the task is to prove or to believe their theories. And yet such a storm of evidence concentrates itself upon them sometimes that they fly to the nearest shelter, even though, to get out of the rain, they get under the eaves. One of them has been driven to say that the doctrine of John was borrowed from Justin. Sydney Smith, you remember, had a rural neighbor who was persuaded that the hundred and fourth psalm was a plagiarism upon a devotional composition of his own.⁷

The third of the lectures is full of wise advice to theologians on reading, incidentally showing encyclopædic knowledge of the literature. But "The Change of Attitude towards the Bible" is the most characteristic work he has left in print. It combines his well-known courage and freedom with that tenacious hold on the essentials of Christianity which was equally his. Rebuking radical and traditionalist alike, it is a noble utterance.

⁵ PROFESSOR B. B. WARFIELD, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1887, p. 154.

⁶ PROFESSOR BRADLEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 267 f. ⁷ P. 368.

If exception might be taken to some of his illustrations, yet his conclusions will stand. The lecture is a masterpiece.

Professor Peabody's words furnish an admirable estimate of Professor Thayer's literary work :

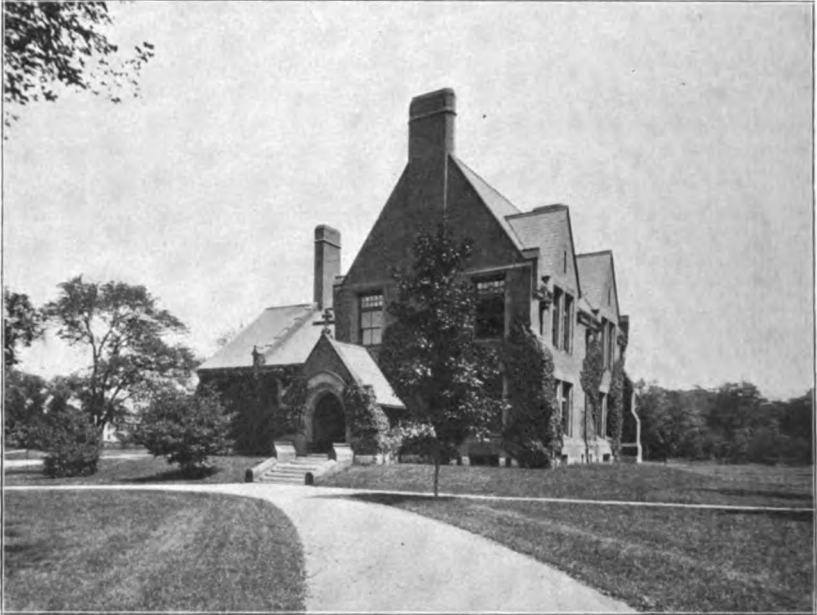
He was one of that very limited circle of Americans whom the learned world in all countries recognizes as great scholars. Wherever the New Testament is seriously studied his work is essential to its just interpretation. I have had the privilege of witnessing the greeting offered to him in many lands by Catholic dignitaries, by German exegetes, by ecclesiastics of the Eastern Church, and everywhere as an authoritative guide, a member of the peerage of the learned world. "The task of life," he used to say, "should be the doing of one thing so that it need not be done again." That was his happy opportunity. Among the achievements of scholarship, which are so soon displaced by new results, he has bequeathed a possession which has, beyond most human works, the quality of permanence.⁸

Though it yielded little independent fruitage, Professor Thayer's work on the "Revision" cannot, in connection with his literary activity, be passed over. His services in preparing the Revised New Testament, both in its Anglo-American form of 1881 and in the American edition of 1901, probably surpassed in laboriousness those of any other member of the New Testament company. But it would be unjust to speak of any part of the work as his, since the preparation throughout to the final proof-reading was made co-operatively by all surviving members. Although the initiative of work and the burden of labor in specific tasks fell on different men, Professor Thayer carried all through the responsibility of the recording secretary.

In fulfilment of the duties of this office he kept very minute records of all suggestions, votes, etc., and did this with such accuracy that we always depended on him when questions were raised as to what had been proposed or done. He had a remarkable memory for details, and I think his recollections were generally about as definite and free from error as the written records of most men. In all questions which presented themselves in the course of the work he showed himself always to be an able and learned scholar; one whose investigations were most thorough and impartial; one whose knowledge was broad and large; one whose honesty and love of truth were most conspicuous. He was a genuine New Testament exegete; full of love for the book; full of earnest desire to discover its exact meaning; fair-minded in his consideration of the views of others; large-minded in his

⁸ Quoted from the funeral address, published in the *Congregationalist*, December 21, 1901.

Christian thought. His knowledge of words and their uses was remarkable, both as related to the Greek and to the English New Testaments. In this respect, as well as in others, he was eminently fitted for the duty to which he was called. His New Testament lexicon . . . carries in itself the evidences and the characteristics of his accurate and fair-minded scholarship. These evidences and characteristics were very manifest to all of us who were associated with him during the long period of our service as "Revisers."⁹



THE DIVINITY SCHOOL OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

From 1889 to 1897 the regular work of the New Testament company was intermitted, though some preparation was made for the American edition. From 1897 to 1901 the survivors labored continuously, the work of each being revised in full committee. Professor Thayer's principal work was the preparation of the headings and references, which added so much of value to the edition of 1881. During his "sabbatical year" (1898-99) he wrote from Germany of beginning his day's work at six and spending eight hours a day continuously for months

⁹ A portion of a letter from an associate of Professor Thayer in the "Revision."

on this arduous task. The laboring oar in carrying the New Testament through the press was also his, though proofs were read by each Reviser and sent to him. We cannot praise too highly the great and gratuitous labor of all the Revisers. And this is their reward: in the American Revised Version the meaning of the Bible is more accessible to all who read English than it has ever been to any people, except those to whom its original languages were living speech.

We turn now to Professor Thayer's life-work as a teacher:

His literary activity was, however, only incidental to his regular duties as a professor of New Testament exegesis. For eighteen years at Andover Seminary, and for seventeen more at the Divinity School of Harvard University, he patiently, earnestly, and successfully taught the true methods of Scripture interpretation. He was at the time of his resignation (June, 1901) probably the senior in term of service among New Testament teachers in the United States. Certainly his colleagues recognized him as at the head; and such long and faithful service, though little appreciated by the world at large, writes itself into the minds and hearts of grateful pupils.¹⁰

Professor Thayer possessed in large measure the fundamental qualifications of an interpreter of the New Testament. First and chief of these is a consecrated devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. This alone brings a man into sympathy with the authors of the New Testament, and enables him to read it in the light in which it was written, under the guidance of the same Spirit. Christ is the heart of the New Testament, and his life pulsates through it everywhere; for, as Professor Thayer used to say, "not only were men converted, but also words. New Testament Greek is current Greek born again." In a man of such a scientific mind, and so utterly free from religious sentimentality, this characteristic seldom came to the surface; but one felt it underneath, as the tourist on Vesuvius is conscious of the hidden fires within. It showed in the prayers with which his Andover classes began. His were never hackneyed or perfunctory, but always fervent with a deep sense of the solemnity of the study, and a humble petition for divine help in it.

It appeared also as the background of his scholarship. In a

¹⁰ PROFESSOR RIDDLE, *Sunday School Times*, January 18, 1902.

letter written in 1878 to a pastor who had asked help in dealing with the subject of the deity of Christ he says :

And then show that theological nescience does not abate practical assurance, such as is felt by every redeemed soul ; such as was expressed by the candidate in the story, who, having in examination crossed his track again and again, and at last been met by the remark, "You can't give any reason, then, for believing in the deity of Christ?" burst out with the exclamation : "Why, bless you, man, he saved my soul!"

He ends the letter thus: "But may He who is the truth help you in the things concerning himself!" And he closes his lecture on "The Change of Attitude towards the Bible" with this "palmary argument" in favor of the change :

The blessing and promise of the new view of Scripture lies in the circumstance that it remands externalities, whether books or systems, to their proper secondary place, and brings to the front the central and all-conquering truth of Christianity, viz., personal loyalty to a personal Master—the crucified, risen, reigning Christ. That age, that church, that man cannot go far astray who strives after a life hidden with Christ in God.

His second great qualification for his work was his fervent and perennial enthusiasm for the study of the New Testament. If the first principle of oratory is action, that of teaching is enthusiasm. "Commend me," said Professor Thayer, "to the man of one book, especially if that be the Book of books." Of the New Testament he was the ardent interpreter and prophet. No labor was too great that could further its study. All through his life a burning zeal drove him almost mercilessly along the path of his chosen work, to open that book to others. Enthusiasm has value above scholarship, though they are rarely separated, since that which inspires a pupil must first have possessed his teacher. What a man can teach his pupils will always be much less than he may inspire them to teach themselves, and no impartation of his views to others is equal to leading them to hew out their own. Here are some testimonies from Professor Thayer's pupils :

He made the driest details luminous and was my inspiration for theological study.

A permanent impression which he left upon me, and I think upon most of us, was the necessity that as ministers we should keep up scholarly habits ;

"Memorial of Ezra Abbot, p. 31.

and it is due to him more than to anyone else that I have tried to continue my acquaintance with the Bible in the original tongues, and to keep abreast of theological study.

Not many instructions from any teacher have been of more practical value to me than his *obiter dictum* one day, that a man ought to read at least one chapter of the Greek Testament every day that he lives.

One felt in Professor Thayer's lecture-room that the one thing worth caring for was thorough scholarship; the one thing to be ashamed of was any shirking of that day's task. That feeling of shame was a frequent one with me—and salutary, I trust. More than once he said things that made my ears tingle, and would have made me very angry, except that I could not help liking him the better for saying them.

I should like to pay my tribute to that glorious and infectious enthusiasm for truest scholarship, which made every pupil try for something like it in his own work.

It seems to me that I never take up my Greek Testament without being distinctly conscious of his influence as an interpreter.

Third among Professor Thayer's qualifications was his single-eyed and unswerving devotion to truth, in loyalty to Him who said, "I am the truth." Truth was his passion. All his scholarship was enlisted in the search for it. His was the scientific mind described by the lamented Professor Rowland in his Johns Hopkins decennial address :

But for myself I value in a scientific mind most of all that love of truth, that care in its pursuit, and that humility of mind which make the possibility of error always present more than any other quality. . . . It is the only mind that values the truth as it should be valued, and ignores all personal feeling in its pursuit.²³

Reverence for truth and mental humility were eminently characteristic of Professor Thayer. His very speech, in its careful definitions, nice discriminations, and painstaking search for the exact word, showed his striving after the truth. All he wrote, letters as well as books and articles, manifested the same characteristic. His devotion to accuracy was seen even in his dress; without a trace of finery, he was always the pink of neatness; so well dressed that you never noticed his clothes except as befitting—which is much more than fitting—the man.

His characterization of Dr. Ezra Abbot equally applies to himself:

²³ Quoted in the *Outlook*, April 27, 1901.

He is a man of positive opinions, which he does not mean to disguise. But, in the advocacy of them, he evidently studies to be scrupulously fair. He is not engaged in making out a case. He does not write like a man who has made up his mind in advance what conclusion he will reach, and is merely engaged in looking up facts to support it. History to him is not dogmatics in disguise. Nor does he so far play the partisan as to leave the mention of counter-evidence to the advocates of the other side. . . . He makes it a matter of religion to avoid everything like approximation to that suppression of the truth which is only falsehood in disguise.¹³

Professor Thayer shows the same spirit when in a letter he denounces a certain theological controversialist thus:

The supercilious flouting of facts, the perverse marshaling of miscellaneous evidence to prop up foregone conclusions, above all the mean appeals to popular prejudice, make every righteous scholar eager to "pitch in."

One of his former pupils writes: "In his passion to be strictly fair and honest, he often leaned away from orthodoxy." That may have been due to his desire to see the arguments for the other side stated as strongly as possible. In the class-room he was never (like some other teachers) content with a dialectic victory. If a student stated an objection weakly, Professor Thayer would give that objection its full scope and strength before proceeding to demolish it. So he writes to a pastor desirous of reading up on the deity of Christ:

But in preparing to present from the pulpit any doctrine of the truth of which I was *thoroughly convinced* (like the present doctrine), I have usually found myself most helped by reading the ablest books on the other side. By doing this, one not only best discovers what the actual difficulties of an unbeliever are, but has suggested to him (often) the best methods of meeting them.

Here are some testimonies from his pupils:

I never sat under one who, in spite of very definite principles of his own, made it so clear that his search was first and last for the truth; that the goal of his final definition was whatever that search led to. This quality in Professor Thayer escaped none of his students.

He was the first theological teacher to show me that the supreme motive of the student of theology is the discovery of the truth. I came out of Professor Thayer's room with the feeling that he had a bit of truth to reveal, and that the only defense which he cared to make was for the truth; also that,

¹³ *Memorial*, p. 38.

if there was anything brought forth in the study of the New Testament which did not tally with this, that, or the other theological system, it was the system that would have to go, in the faith that in the search for truth the true theological system would be upbuilt.

Professor Thayer made a deep impression upon me by his great candor and fairness as a scholar. While this often seemed to rob him of a certain positiveness, and leave too many question points as to the correct exegesis, it yet gave us the impression of a man absolutely fearless in his inquiry, seeking only the exactest meaning. He could not be dogmatic, and in his desire to avoid the impression of speaking with absolute finality and *ex cathedra*, he helped us by stimulating our scholarship, rather than by imposing his own. The latter method would have been easier for us, but would not have made scholars. His main purpose seemed to be to train men to use their own weapons. He had a fine scorn for the crutches of a commentary in the class-room, and repudiated the quotation of an opinion. He even repudiated his own opinion in the class-room, formerly expressed, but in the meantime revised. He was homiletically very suggestive, without making this a manifest intention. Some of the most germinant thoughts for our sermons came from his class-room.

Fourth among Professor Thayer's prominent qualifications was his untiring industry. It was his rule never to spend less time in special preparation for each class than he expected of its members. This, of course, was in addition to his years of study previously given to the subject, and the accumulated knowledge thus gathered. This rule was perhaps too exacting, but it ministered greatly to the freshness and fulness of his teaching, since his natural enthusiasm never lacked fuel. He left nothing to the inspiration of the moment that could be prepared beforehand. "In the lecture-room he stuck closely to business; would willingly permit questions and discussion, but there were no long digressions." His industry is evident in a letter to another theological teacher, where he says: "I congratulate you that your year's end is in sight. As for me, I am swimming for life!" The value he set upon industry appears in these words to his students: "Do you wish to become great? Remember it means more hours at your desk. The greater you desire to become, the more hours you must work."

Fifth, and the last here to be mentioned, among Professor Thayer's qualifications as a teacher, was his perspective of duty, which put his students and class work first. Many teachers

in various departments seem to consider it their first duty to enlighten the world, of which their classes naturally form a small and subordinate part. Professor Thayer, except during five years when he was almost entirely relieved of teaching, always regarded his seminary duties as his life-work, and gave them precedence. This was saliently evident in his cheerful willingness to give his time to any students, even to any man, who asked his help. If one of his pupils had prepared a paper on which he desired advice, Professor Thayer would go to the student's room and spend hours in hearing, discussing, and suggesting. He was always ready to take extra burdens. His labors in this direction were appreciated by his students: "When some of us desired to take special work, Professor Thayer spent an hour and a half, or even more, every Friday evening after prayers, helping us." "His patience was incredible. When I think of the outrageous things I did—mistakes, blunders—I am more and more amazed. I know that I caused him hours of extra work, but he never complained; only wilful carelessness evoked rebuke." In a word, he was always ready to "put his time against" that of any student or students who desired his aid. And he did this, not of mere kindness and good nature, but deliberately and of set purpose, judging his opportunities to influence these men individually the most valuable things his days brought to him. This is evident in such words of his as these: "It is left for me to find in you, young men, the comfort that I might have taken in my own son, who has gone from me." "You who are young must go to the front. We must stay behind and scrape lint." "You will be here when I am gone." "We have made an investment in you; now show us some returns!"

Other characteristics of the man, less closely connected with his chosen work, attract our notice. He was very generous. When a student was sick, Professor Thayer's cheery presence would soon gladden the sick-room, and he would bring a gift of fruit, if the case permitted. He often showed his appreciation of earnest students by gifts of books. To one who expressed his gratitude to him for a considerable outlay of time and money

in his behalf he said: "Don't think of it again, but just pass it on to someone else." A student seeking to enter the seminary found it wiser to go elsewhere. Professor Thayer gave him fifty dollars to make the transfer, so the student said. In last year's report of the faculty of the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge we read:

During the absence of Professor Nash from October to May, the work of the New Testament department was carried on by Professor Joseph Henry Thayer, of Harvard University. The school is deeply indebted to Professor Thayer for the valuable instruction given by him, and for his great courtesies in consenting to give it. Upon being tendered payment for his services, he divided the sum into two parts, and gave half to the American School of Oriental Studies in Jerusalem, and the other half to the New Testament department of the school, for the purchase of books.

He was equally generous of his time. He wrote long and elaborate letters full of references for the benefit of those who asked his aid. As Professor Peabody said: "He gave away more learning to casual inquirers than would equip many a scholar's mind."⁴ This prodigal giving seemed to him a privilege and a duty.

Another side of this same unselfishness is seen in his lowly estimate of himself. Thus he writes to a former pupil (in 1880): "Your depreciatory view of yourself I well understand. But we teachers have this one abiding consolation, 'among the blind the one-eyed man is king.'" Of a younger colleague he writes: "Glad I am that he has given so much attention to that subject, and will (as in so many other respects) supply my lack of knowledge." To a younger teacher in the same department he writes from London: "If in these parts, I should be exceedingly glad to have a walk and talk with you, for I feel quite out of relations with my professional work and the new books relating to the New Testament, and shall be glad to be brought down to date."

A characteristic instance of his modesty is found in his *List of Books for Students of the New Testament*. Under "Grammars" he mentions his own editions of Winer and Buttman without a hint of himself as editor, and adds: "More valuable [than his

⁴Funeral address, *Congregationalist*, December 21, 1901.

own edition of Winer] is Moulton's edition, by reason of the editor's copious additions." But, as a matter of fact, for nine out of ten students this is not true, as Thayer's index is about five times as extensive as Moulton's.

His well-known sensitiveness is well described by a member of the class of '77 at Andover :

He was an impulsive man, quickly showing approbation or dissent as to the scholarship and fidelity of his pupils. He was himself so intense and devoted to his high calling that he could not easily disguise his attitude toward a similar spirit or its reverse in his pupils. Sometimes he felt that he had been unjust, and then all the fine sincerity of the man came out in the frankest and humblest requital of apology. I have recollections of how he suffered in his own conscience over what he thought had been hasty judgment. It was this strong, intense, ever impetuous, but candid and broad, personality that made us love him. The very presence of the man was a training in catholicity; and, much as we admired the scholar, it was the man that left an imprint.

He always seemed not only to kindle and quicken the best selves of his students, but also to have those best selves so constantly in mind that he was indignant with them for their own sakes, "appealing from Philip drunk to Philip sober," when they fell below their best. He was patient with real dulness, but not with laziness in disguise. He would naturally be sharpest with his best pupils, just because he thought so much of them and held so high an estimate of their possibilities. In the study of the New Testament, work was worship, and hence must be worthily rendered. The glow of his enthusiasm was a holy fire, and slackness of preparation seemed almost sacrilege; indifference was irreverence.

Finally, a word as to the impression of his personality. I have said nothing of his personal appearance, because the influence of that, attractive though it was, was soon superseded. He was a handsome man in face and figure, well-proportioned, erect, athletic. But his friends, I fancy, rarely thought of this, because his beautiful soul shone through its fitting embodiment and drew them to him.

Again and again, to those who were wrestling with the problems of criticism, has it been an inspiration to hear from him, as

one who in wide erudition and advanced scholarship "knew it all," and yet held fast to every vital point of the old faith. Three passages from his letters will illustrate my meaning:

The really strong argument in support of Christ's pre-existence has always seemed to me to be the concurrent, yet (at least as respects its form) independent, representations of the biblical writers, not even excepting the synoptists; for, although the first three gospels contain no explicit assertion of the doctrine, the personage they portray forbids his classification with ordinary men, and leaves so unique and exalted a conception of his relation to the Father that the explicit declarations of the fourth gospel awaken no surprise in the ordinary reader. In fact, the old assertion of the critics, that the fourth gospel presents a very different personage from the Messiah of the first three, is now, I believe, generally abandoned.

Indeed, how anyone who admits the exceptional character of Jesus, above all recognizes in him the embodiment of the self-manifesting power of God, can be stumbled by the statement that he (congruously enough) came into the world in an exceptional way, I never have been able to understand.

On the genuineness of John my opinion remains unchanged. Many of the embarrassments I think due to (or greatly aggravated by) misconception as to the nature of the gospels in general, and of that one in particular, and the consequent application to it of false historical requirements which it was not intended to meet.

So we admire the man of learning, but we cling to the man of faith. Above and beyond the scholar and the teacher, our hearts go out to the humble Christian believer.

Thus we find him in his answer to a former pupil, now teaching in a similar line, who wrote to him upon his resignation last spring. In these few words which follow we see the man himself: how his life is bound up with the work he lays down, how humbly he thinks of himself, how warmly he responds to affection, and above all how simply he trusts in the mercy of the Lord:

When your turn comes—may it be distant—you will know how comforting such expressions of affection and approval as you have sent me are to a veteran. For in truth the *end* is sad. It gives one a little suggestion of what it will be to die. It starts all those (self-deluded?) thoughts of how much more earnest and enterprising and noble one would make his life, if he only had the chance to live it over again. But such compassionate judgments as fellow-workers for truth can find it in their hearts to give stir the hope in the condescending kindness of Him who accepts the weakest and most desultory endeavors as though they were achievements. So from my heart I thank you.

I append a list of the more important books and articles of which Professor Thayer was the author :

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THE CHARACTER AND COMPOSITION OF ACTS.

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TO THE historian of Christianity the book now entitled *The Acts of (the) Apostles* is of unique interest. It is the one approximation to history proper, as distinct from biography, not only in the New Testament itself, but, strangely enough, in early Christian literature. Indeed, it is only with the beginning of the fourth century that we get a second to place alongside it, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea. Even this latter seems largely inspired by its predecessor in its leading idea, the orderly tracing of the growth and extension of the Christian church as the predestined religion of the Roman world. Acts is therefore more deserving of our attentive study than at first sight appears. Think of it: It is Acts and nothing else that gives coherence and unity to the picture of the apostolic age as it rises to the eye of any of us. Apart from it, even the epistles of Paul, priceless as they are, not only religiously, but also as materials for history, have little more than a potential value for the historian. How are they related to each other in time and in the history of their author? For the answer to such a question our one resource is Acts; he who takes from Acts its good name leaves us, as students of the apostolic age, poor indeed.

And yet about Acts there has been more controversy than about almost any book in the New Testament; even today the most varied opinions are held by scholars touching its authorship, date, and historical worth. Of course, we must not judge the book according to our wishes, but on its own merits as ascertained through candid study, by like standards of criticism to those recognized in the study of other historical documents. Yet it is well to sober ourselves by the reflection of

how much our power of framing a constructive account of the apostolic age, which shall be valid for all and not largely subjective, depends upon our findings in relation to Acts.

I have called it the first and fundamental history of the church. But is it a history at all in the strict sense? That is, was it so in its author's mind and intention? By history in the strict sense we mean a narrative of facts set forth so objectively that the writer has no ulterior object in view, but only knowledge of fact as fact. But history in this sense is, probably, purely modern, an outcome of the scientific spirit, the spirit of detachment from human interests in a practical sense. Of "scientific history," in this sense, there is no specimen in ancient literature, not even in Thucydides, who, in all likelihood, makes the nearest approach to it. Certainly the last place in which we have a right to look for it is among the early Christians, whose spirit and outlook were intensely practical, since they were absorbed with the interests of the soul and its salvation. Indeed, there is one valuable law of early Christian literature to be kept ever in view and constantly applied: that every Christian writing had its origin in the desire and duty of edification, of practically promoting the well-being of the Christian society, individually or collectively. To this Acts is, and can be, no exception. But edification need not mean sacrifice of truth, in the sense of conscious paltering with facts. It may and must give them a certain color by placing them in certain relations and perspectives meant to bring out their latent meaning for man and his destiny; and this element of interpretation may be faulty, while yet the historian is quite veracious and reverent of facts as God's truth.

Further, this element of interpretation is not something alien to history, though it cannot but be inadequate to the fulness of meaning in the facts as they occurred. The chronicle is not the type and climax of history; it is raw material. All history, however scientific, really involves an interpretative element; only it must not be allowed to warp the facts or lead to the suppression of other facts, or aspects of facts, known to the writer, but which he feels would invalidate his interpretation were they

disclosed (*suppressio veri*). The facts should be so stated that the materials are furnished for forming a fresh judgment, even of a different complexion from the writer's own. One simply claims for a historical interpretation involved in the arrangement of facts that it is true as far as it goes; and the historian's rank is measured by the distance which his interpretation will go, compared with other possible interpretations latent in those concrete deposits of the human soul which we call facts of history. For we make a serious mistake in talking of these as "hard" and "simple," when they are really compact human thoughts, emotions, and ideals.

Up to a certain point, then, all agree that Acts is not the naïve narrative which we are apt at first to suppose, but a highly artistic or interpretative work. *Ars est celare artem*. And Acts proceeds from a historical imagination of the first order, one in which the facts have been "lived through" afresh with rare sympathy. May we add, with real intelligence and insight? Here scholars divide. Some hold that the author's thought, and especially the wish that is often father to the thought, has proved a distorting medium, through which the original facts can hardly be discerned. Others, on the contrary, believe that the interpretation is essentially true, or, at least, was the truest then possible.² Personally I agree with the latter class, believing that many have simply criticised Acts through figments of their own imagination, which they have fathered upon its author as his "standpoint" or interpretation. With all due reserve, therefore, the following is put forward as an interpretation of his interpretation—for that is really how we have to put the matter, if we do not wish to deceive ourselves or others.

Premising that the final test of any theory of the scope of Acts is its continuity with that underlying the gospel to which its opening verses point back, we may describe its emphasis and movement of thought somewhat thus:

The church is the continuation of the life of its founder.

²We must remember that the experience of the ages since then, especially the subsequent history of the same society, the Christian church, must give us some advantages over our author in relation to completeness of vision—once we really master what he also shows us.

As his life was divine in its origin and actuating power, so is its issue in the society called into being of God, through him, and by the energy of the Holy Spirit. It is the prime object of the narrative to make this evident by the simple logic of facts. For consider the divine initiative and superintendence manifest, first, in the birth of the church as a society enjoying a new and superhuman consciousness of joyous sonship and brotherhood, associated with superhuman powers; and, then, in the story of its expansion, in spite of all resistance from human prejudice and self-interest of every kind, into virtual world-wide supremacy. It sprang from the soil of ancient and indeed primæval revelation, the religion of Israel, of which, in the truest sense, it was the consummate flower. But from the first it was sharply distinguished from the narrow particularism with which current Judaism, as known to the Roman empire, was synonymous. Of this distinction in spirit Judaism, by its own hostile attitude to constant advances, afforded speaking testimony, while the Jewish Scriptures were the very witness to which the true issue of Israel's religion appealed against its spurious national outcome. If Jerusalem, the hearth of messianic faith, was the church's birth-place, its destiny was indicated by its spread within less than a generation throughout the empire; so that its leading missionary fulfilled the desire of his heart in preaching the one imperial religion for mankind in Rome, the heart of the world, and that "unmolested." Yet not in the way of earthly triumph, but through human weakness and suffering (as with his Master), upheld and led on in triumph by divine power, the sovereign grace of God.

Here three ideas stand out in strong relief: (1) divine initiative and blessing; (2) universality of scope, which is gradually wrought out by God through the slow-moving thoughts of even his faithful servants, until one signal "vessel of election" is led, with full recognition of his Lord's purpose, to bear his name abroad in unexampled fashion and with heroic devotion, and is left in bonds, but with the Word of God free and triumphing in imperial Rome itself; (3) the baffled hostility of Judaism, shown by very contrast of wilful aloofness to be but the moribund

sheath from which the living blossom had emerged, free, glad-some and gladdening, and obviously divine.

To these grand outlines the Pauline epistles present no contradiction, only underlying harmony; yet a harmony lying so deep as to present no trace of literary dependence on the part of Acts, which rather in some matters of detail creates problems for the formal harmonist. Whence this identity in difference? Only through the fact that the two men had mingled their thoughts as friends, the author of Acts as disciple of the apostle of the gentiles. The Lucan authorship is the only natural and unforced explanation of the broad features of the situation, in keeping with the uniform witness of antiquity, where there was nothing but truth to start the belief. Nor will any theory of partial Lucan origin satisfy the facts of unity in standpoint as here set forth (as marked in chaps. 1-12, as in chaps. 13-28, and as integral to the one as to the other), any more than it can deal honestly and honorably with the virtual claim to eyewitness by the author of the whole, involved in the use of "we" in certain sections.

This phenomenon has often been treated in too formal and mechanical a fashion, as if it meant that the author were present only where he revealed his presence in this way. It is high time to handle the matter in a more vital and psychological manner, and to recognize that there were other and subtler causes behind this breaking forth of the narrator's personality at certain points of his narrative, in spite of his inherent modesty and preoccupation with the great central figure in whose company he remained so steadfastly. I have elsewhere* gone into these matters at sufficient length, and will here only express a conviction that Luke was in Paul's company in the early days in Antioch (the Bezan text of Acts 11:27, "when *we* were assembled together," though a mere gloss, contains an early and true tradition to this effect); nay, more, that he had perhaps come with Paul from Tarsus, as a convert won by his early witness to the Jews and the proselytes of both degrees who

* *Commentary on Acts*, in the "Century Bible" (Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack), 1901.

congregated in the synagogue of his native city.³ Be this as it may, there is as good reason, judging by the vivid quality of the narrative, to assume Luke's presence as an eyewitness of the first missionary journey as of any later one (*cf.* 13:13, "Paul and his company," for more than Mark as accompanying Paul and Barnabas, and 13:42-52 for a picture second to none in first-hand "impressionism"). Nor is there any sufficient ground to assume that Paul's beloved medical attendant and friend left his side thereafter for more than short intervals until the close of Acts, which was probably also the close of the great apostle's earthly life. There is no need to assume the contrary even of the visit to Jerusalem in Acts, chap. 15, while there is much that seems rather to demand Luke's presence as an eyewitness, unless one adheres doggedly to the identification of this visit with that described in Gal. 2:1-10⁴ as one for private conference.

Acts is full of indirect evidence touching the character of the man whose selective affinities explain its special features and emphasis. These have indeed a significance relative to the needs and dangers of the church amid which its author lived and moved; and as such they deserve careful pondering by the historian of the later apostolic age. But here we shall treat them primarily as revelations of the writer's own spirit and ideals, utilizing some of the felicitous language of the scholar referred to in our last note but one. Luke was an artist by nature, as well as a physician by training. The result is a wonderful faculty for close observation and vivid depiction. "His Greek nature is seen in the versatility which makes him at home in such varied scenes and situations," and in such different psychological atmospheres as those of the intensely Jewish primitive community, the rude Lycaonians and anon the simple natives of Melita, the cultured Athenians, the variegated life of

³ See Acts 9:30; 11:25; Gal. 1:21, 23. This view is put with great force by R. B. RACKHAM in his recent *Commentary on Acts* in the Oxford series.

⁴ The present writer sees no reason to identify this visit to secure a personal understanding with the "pillar" apostles with that recorded either in Acts 11:30; 12:25, or in chap. 15. He would rather place it during the year alluded to in Acts 11:26.

Ephesus, the procurator's court at Cæsarea, and the company on board an Alexandrian grain ship. As for his more personal qualities, we see in him the spirit of the genuine Christian disciple. Love was the basis of his character, the love of a gentle and affectionate nature. He was "the beloved physician."

The first attribute of such affection is self-forgetfulness, and this is shown in Luke's modesty or entire self-effacement. Though he could say of this history "*cujus pars magna fui*," yet there is not a word about his own work, his services to Paul, not even a hint of Paul's affection for him. . . . The gentleness comes out in his interest in women. The position of women varied then as now. At Jerusalem of course they were kept very much in the background. In Macedonia, and still more in Asia Minor, women moved about in society, even in public life, very much as they do now. . . . But everywhere alike Luke is mindful of the part played by women.⁵ . . . And we have a number of names and characters of all classes.

Luke's "disciple" spirit showed itself in his relations with his fellow-disciples. He had in Paul an earthly master who evoked his whole-hearted enthusiasm; witness the enthusiasm which Luke's account of him has stirred in countless readers in all ages; also the last testimony of the apostle himself—"only Luke is with me."

Similarly the characteristic of church life which attracted him and which he delights to portray is "brotherly love." . . . He notes the joy and strength which comes from the common fellowship and from the assembling together of the brethren.⁶ . . . The brotherly spirit of the church found its chief outward manifestation in hospitality⁷—as in the refreshment of Paul and his friends at Sidon, the hospitality at Puteoli, and the courtesy of the Roman Christians in coming forty miles to meet him.

The ideal of the Christian life is to renounce, in spirit at least, all separate interests, even in things material; to feel nothing "one's very own," but all things as "common" in the household of faith, with a corresponding simplicity of desire and life. On the other hand, covetousness and the love of display lie at the

⁵See 1:14; 8:3, 12; 9:2; 12:12-15; 13:50; 16:1-3, 13 ff.; 17:4, 12, 34; 21:5, 9; 22:4.

⁶1:14; 2:1; 4:23; 6:2; 9:26-30; 11:26; 12:5, 12; cf. 15:3 f.; 20:37 f.; 21:5 f., 12, 14; 27:3; 28:14 f.

⁷See 11:26, translating "were hospitably entertained in the church" (cf. Matt. 25:35 for the word used).

very root of practical infidelity, as virtual negations of the unity among brethren and of the Holy Spirit, which is the true good of the kingdom, its sacred trust. Hence we have the story of Ananias and his wife, the hint that even in the earliest days the divisive class spirit of self-love was at work (6:1), and the case of Simon Magus—all probably given, partly at least, as lessons for Luke's own contemporaries.

Again, Luke had the eye to see that all things "work together for good to them that love God." "Hence throughout Acts we breathe an atmosphere of thankful and even joyful optimism. All ended well." This can be illustrated from many parts of Acts, but notably by the way in which Luke treats Paul's imprisonment, which is described at such strange length (as it seems to us, until we get his point of view). Here Luke's last word is a cheerful picture of the apostle in his divine "self-sufficiency" (*αὐτάρκεια*, Phil. 4:11), exercising his ministry even under the limitations of confinement to his lodgings in military custody. Some, like Mr. Rackham, have inferred that Luke's serene tone is due to ignorance of the martyr-death awaiting Paul. But this is to misunderstand Luke's attitude altogether. As regards Paul's death in itself, it was to him a worthy end for his hero, a victory like that of their common Master whose own earthly work ended in like fashion, as he had recorded in his gospel—in both cases bringing out clearly the fact that the death was voluntarily accepted long before it arrived. Then, as regards his failure to record it, that was due to the fact that he, and all conversant with Nero's character as "a human portent," viewed Paul's execution by the Roman sword as a hideous exception to the regular attitude of the empire thus far. To include it in Acts would be unfair to the principles and spirit of Roman rule, and therefore shocking to the feelings of "Theophilus," if not misleading to less well-informed readers. Nor was it needful. What was notorious to all, though a source of shame to many, could constitute no case of culpable silence. But the fact that Luke can have thought the tragedy so much of an exception as to pass it over, notorious as it was, without attempting any explanation, surely proves that he wrote Acts at

a date early even in Vespasian's reign; since we gather that the Roman state began under that emperor legally to repress Christianity, though not with a rigor equal to that of the reigns of Domitian or Trajan.

Perhaps we can go one step farther, and infer the exact situation when Luke wrote to have been one in which the cases where Roman tribunals had recently visited Christians with penalties were traceable to Jewish hostility or to the self-interest of individuals, such as Demetrius and his fellows. If we suppose that such persons had in some instances stirred up the mob against their strange Christian neighbors, then we have all the types of persecution to which Acts supplies analogies. And it is most natural to suppose that one main occasion of Acts was to show how in the past the Roman courts had not suffered themselves to be set in motion in such ways against a religion which, in the person of its typical representative, they had repeatedly treated as within the law. To such a situation Acts is altogether relevant, but hardly to any other stage in the development of Roman policy in regard to the Christians. For it was only as long as there could be any misunderstanding on the part of intelligent Christians touching the meaning of the new Roman practice under a normal ruler (in contrast to a Nero), that a Christian like our author could have thought it worth while writing a narrative introducing such an explanatory and apologetic precedent. Once the attitude of the state became unambiguous, apart altogether from the malice of those who usually appeared as accusers or informers, then such a plea became a mere anachronism, useless even for the comfort of Christian readers. Further, it is usually on the first appearance of a new policy that protest in one way or another is wont to find utterance.

We conclude, then, that Acts reflects relations, as regards both Judaism and the empire, most suitable to a year or two after 70 A. D. At that date Judaism was smarting with an intense bitterness, ready to relieve itself on the sect which had shown its "apostasy" from its mother by aloofness during her recent agony; while this same event had proved to the empire,

far more clearly than even the circumstances of the Neronian persecution of 64 A. D., that the Christians were no true subdivision of Judaism, which, despised or hated as it was, yet enjoyed protection as a *religio licita*. Hence, with a conscientious ruler like Vespasian, the law against persons suspected of being dangerous to public safety and good order would soon be put into effect,⁸ under the local stimulus of those—Jews or others—who had private ends to serve. It is persecution of this sort—not for the name as such, but rather for the crimes of which a strange and ill-understood sect was easily suspected (especially after the bad name for anti-social spirit, *odium generis humani*, acquired or enhanced through Nero's action; cf. 1 Peter), the *flagitia nomini cohaerentia* of Tacitus—that is implied in Acts as the treatment to which alone Christians were thought liable. There is no hint that the controversy as to worship of the deities of the Roman state, including the *genius* of the emperor, had as yet arisen (as it probably did under Vespasian)⁹ to embitter their lot, and to make the empire appear the ungodly thing it is to the seer of the Apocalypse.¹⁰

Consequently I would date Acts about 72 A. D., earlier or later according as Luke's gospel fell within or later than the *annus mirabilis*, 70 A. D., which impressed on its author the need of defining beyond mistake the real relation of Christianity to Judaism, now so fearfully discredited by events. That Paul suffered at the end of the "two years" of Acts 28 : 30 I see no reason to doubt, not even in the epistle of Clement when rightly interpreted.

It has been impossible, in this brief study of a many-sided subject, to do more than indicate a point of view, without

⁸So RAMSAY, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 256 ff., though he dates this development "some years" after 70 A. D.—without giving any sufficient reason for such delay.

⁹This is the best explanation of the mutilated passage in Suetonius, excellently explained by Ramsay (*op. cit.*, p. 257), which records that Vespasian "even wept and groaned" over certain penalties he felt forced to carry out.

¹⁰The present writer doubts whether even this writing reflects a date later than the early years of Domitian, if as late (see his *Apostolic Age*, pp. 404 f., 408, note). For the tendency to deify the emperor took effect in the province of Asia long before it was countenanced in Rome.

attempting to anticipate all objections. I would simply ask my readers to peruse Acts with this as a working hypothesis in mind, to see whether it does not fit into and explain the presence of most at least of the phenomena. If this shall result in the discovery of some insuperable difficulty to the theory, the present writer will be sincerely grateful to have it pointed out to him, publicly or by private communication; for it will be certain to help him one stage nearer to the true solution, which is the common interest of all students of this priceless record of the earliest age of the faith that is our life.

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF PAUL.

IV. THE MESSIANISM OF PAUL.

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SECTION I. THE SOCIAL AND APOCALYPTIC ELEMENTS IN THE MESSIANISM OF JESUS.

PAUL, like all the early Christian teachers, inherited his Christianity. Whatever new interpretation or supplement he may have given the facts and teaching of his Master, it was Jesus and not he who founded the new faith. Like his disciples, however, Jesus lived in the messianic atmosphere. It would indeed be interesting to speculate as to just the form in which he would have expressed his religious and ethical teachings had he been a Greek rather than a Jew. Possibly, like Plato, he might have described an ideal city-state, or, like the Stoics, have spoken of Nature or Logoi. Our sources, however, make such speculation futile, and we are thrown back upon the fact that Jesus was a Jew, and as one born under the Law was inextricably and to no small degree genetically united with the thoughts and life and hopes of Judaism. That he gave new content to his people's language and thought-forms is true, but to understand him completely one must first of all understand his times.

Yet, as one discovers in Jesus something quite other than a mere restatement of the better element of pharisaism in general, even more does one discover in his entire career the mingled rejection and acceptance of elements in current messianism. From one point of view Jesus seems utterly to reject both the popular and pharisaic messianic hopes. While he undoubtedly considered himself the Christ in the earlier as well as in the later months of his ministry,¹ he was unwilling to be announced

¹This position must be taken wholly apart from the statements of the fourth gospel. Cf. Luke 4:16-30 with Luke 7:18-35 and Matt. 11:2-19. The increasing tendency to regard the Cæsarea Philippi confession of Peter as the first expression on

as such,² and during the last week of his life he distinctly rejected the belief common to both messianic hopes that the Christ was to be the son of David.³

These facts, coupled with his rejection of pharisaism as a system, can be interpreted only as indicating an independent messianic ideal of his own. In this the archæological elements of the current hopes were rejected, and emphasis was laid upon the essentially religious hope of deliverance through God's help, of which Jewish messianism was a historical and ethnic expression. In other words, from this point of view Jesus may be said to have de-Judaized messianism, preserving only its generically human, ethical, and religious elements. He wished to be recognized as the founder of a society the members of which, whether Jews or gentiles, should resemble him, their Teacher and type, in their faith in a loving heavenly Father, in their love of other men, and in such a willingness to count this faith and love the highest goods in life as to be ready to sacrifice all else rather than them. The group of men thus devoted to a religious and moral life—the kingdom of God—he believed would ultimately transform society into a great brotherhood of love and service and trust in God.⁴

the part of the disciples of a messianic interpretation of Jesus totally neglects what is perhaps the most patent element of the apostolic messianic faith: *Jesus was the Christ, but he had yet to take up his messianic work.* The disciples believed this during the life of their Master quite as certainly as after his death.

² Mark 8:30 and parallels.

³ Mark 12:35-37 and parallels.

⁴ There is no other possible explanation for such sayings as those of Luke 17:20 (however one translates the preposition); Matt. 13:24-30, 36-43, 47-50. To say, with J. Weiss, that the idea of a present kingdom of Christ, as distinct from the coming kingdom of God, has here been read back into Jesus' teaching by primitive Christianity, is precisely to reverse the facts at our disposal. Early Christianity, as represented both by the apostles and the Fathers, thought of the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of God as eschatological. The use of 1 Cor. 15:24 ff. (J. WEISS, *Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, p. 9) to prove the contrary is unfortunate in the light of 1 Cor. 15:22, 23. So also is the use of Col. 1:13 ff., when compared with Eph., chap. 1. That the apostles believed that the Christ would some day deliver over the kingdom to the Father is undeniable, but this is very different from saying that his kingdom is present. There is no one to be mentioned to whom the idea of a present kingdom can be attributed except Jesus himself. I wish to acknowledge assistance received at this point from an as yet unpublished doctor's thesis by REV. H. M. HERRICK, Ph.D., *The Kingdom of God in the Patristic Literature.*

Evidently in such a conception Jesus has made the kingdom into a family, thereby utterly destroying its formal messianic content. It is a regenerate humanity, not a conquering Jewish nation, he inaugurates. Yet just as evidently he has preserved the truth that lay in revolutionary messianism. If God is to deliver men from misery or sin, social results are inevitable. To postpone all effects of divine assistance to an indefinite future is to ostracize God and to threaten the very foundations of religion. That Jesus discountenanced revolution⁵ by no means argues against this position. He rejected violence as the mistaken idea of the Zealots, just as he agreed with them and the prophets in his forecast of social regeneration.

Yet, if this were the only form taken by Jesus' teaching as to the kingdom of God, apostolic teaching would be inexplicable. In this form of Jesus' teaching the idea of an eschatological kingdom of God is lacking, while with the apostles it is invariably present. That the apostles should have left unnoticed or even have overlooked certain elements of the teaching of Jesus, and in consequence should have made over-prominent other elements, is easy to believe. But that they and the early church should have so utterly misunderstood his words as always to see eschatology where he intended a divinely directed social evolution is quite inconceivable. At least they must have dropped some hint of such an evolution.

As a matter of fact, however, we are not dependent upon such *a priori* considerations, or even upon 1 Thess. 4:15, for concluding that, as Jesus incorporated in his teachings certain elements of Zealotism, so he also appropriated elements of the apocalyptic messianism of the Pharisees. In fact, apocalyptic in many ways gives form to his thought. Not only did he teach that the kingdom of God was already among men, growing like the mustard seed in the garden or the good seed in the field; leavening all society, as yeast its three measures of meal; members already known, its founder already appeared. But he also spoke quite as distinctly of a kingdom yet to come; of a Son of man to reappear in the clouds to separate the sheep from the

⁵ Matt. 4:8-10; 5:17, 18; 23:1-3; John 6:14, 15; Matt. 26:52; John 18:36.

goats, to welcome his faithful servants, and to punish his enemies. To harmonize the two presentations finally is difficult, and, until criticism has distinguished the thought of the early church from that of Jesus himself, impossible. Yet neither conception can be used as a critical standard by which to annihilate the other.⁶ Both social regeneration and appeal to apocalyptic hopes must be recognized as equally authentic elements in Jesus' teaching.

Possibly the relation of the two is that of seed and husk, apocalyptic being the literary form in which Jesus' universal teachings were cast because of his theological and intellectual environment—something which, like all literary forms, must vanish when interpreted. Or possibly the two elements existed side by side in his thought, the one the expression of his own experience, the other an unquestioned religious heritage shared by him and his fellow-Jews. But whether form or substance, apocalyptic messianism is never quite absent from the mind of Jesus. That it does not condition his entire thought, that (as is all but universally admitted) it does not form the great contribution made by him to religious and moral teaching, is an evidence of his universal rather than Jewish significance, and an unmistakable indication of what in his own estimation constituted his real mission. In his opposition to current messianism we see the founder of Christianity as a new dynamic in society, in his use of his vocabulary and concepts we see the limitations under which he both consciously and unconsciously labored. But it is not an unimportant fact that in him the two streams of messianism were in some degree combined.

SECTION II. THE ESCHATOLOGICAL ELEMENTS IN THE MESSIANISM OF PAUL.

As has already been intimated, it was the eschatological, apocalyptic element of the teaching of Jesus as to the kingdom of God that the early church developed. The idea of a religious and ethical group gradually transforming society dropped out

⁶ As is done to a considerable degree, on the one side, by J. WEISS, *op. cit.*, and O. HOLTZMANN, *Leben Jesu*, and, on the other side, by STEVENS, *Teaching of Jesus, Theology of the New Testament*.

of sight or was replaced by that of the church. Jesus was assuredly the Christ, for he had fulfilled newly discovered messianic prophecies by his death and resurrection; but he is never spoken of as having performed a truly messianic act. His kingdom was to appear only when he himself reappeared.

It is possibly on account of this change in presentation that many have urged that the kingdom of God plays no important rôle in apostolic Christianity; that all matters eschatological were no more to the primitive church and Paul and the first Fathers than they are to a modern treatise upon systematic theology. But such a view both lacks historical perspective and is at variance with the entire thought of the literature of apostolic Christianity. The very name of the new movement, *Christianity*, would suggest the contrary opinion. So far from the eschatological kingdom of God being a secondary element in the early church, it is its great conditioning belief.

Thus, in pre-Pauline Christianity, whatever one may hold as to the precise historical value of the first chapters of the book of Acts, there can be no question that they correctly represent the opinions held by the primitive church as regards the significance of Jesus, and its expectations as to what his messianic work was to be. Once confronted with the proof that Jesus was the Christ, the early Christian felt the inevitable question suggested by pharisaism: What shall one do to avoid the coming judgment? So it was in the days of John the Baptist; so it was at Pentecost. And the steady reply of the apostles was: Repent of your sins, accept Jesus as the Christ, be baptized. Nor was this quite all; the coming kingdom was to be a triumphant Jewish state. The words,⁷ "Lord, wilt thou now restore the kingdom to Israel?" certainly formulate a question that was in every disciple's mind as he came into the full realization of the messiahship of Jesus. And to this question there was but the one answer given by pre-Pauline Christianity: The kingdom will assuredly be restored to an Israel composed of none but Jews and proselytes. "Except ye be circumcised," said Christians from

⁷ Acts 1:6.

the Jerusalem church to the gentile church of Antioch, "ye cannot be saved."⁸

The same importance was given the eschatological kingdom by Paul. It is not necessary to discuss fully the various and not always easily reconcilable statements of the apostle concerning the life to come, and not at all those that have to do with the details of the nature and time of the resurrection of the body. Yet, both by his experience and his antecedents, Paul could hardly have made anything but messianism his co-ordinating thought. On the point of experience, his acceptance of Jesus as the Christ was the turning-point of his life, and evidently the content of the predicate "Christ" was the vital element of his new faith. Jesus he had known at least by reputation; the character and office of a Christ he had derived from Judaism. To be convinced that the Nazarene was the Christ was not only the beginning of the apostle's Christian experience, it was the interpretation of Jesus from the point of view of apocalyptic messianism. The initial act of faith with Paul, as with all the first Christians, was the same: the acceptance of Jesus as the expected Christ. The salvation that followed was then intelligible as an act of God's grace. When Paul came to extend this experience into a system of thought, his writings make it evident that his early training had been too complete to be abandoned. In his anthropology, his hamartology, and his views of a forensic acquittal of the sinner, he follows—though always independently—in the broad track of pharisaism. Equally true is it of his messianism. The resurrection of Jesus is not treated by him as an event of first importance in itself, but as evidence that Jesus is the Christ,⁹ and therefore sure to undertake the postponed messianic work of judgment and of founding the kingdom.

The Thessalonian letters do not represent a passing or local interest in the matter. Eschatology always conditioned Paul's formal theological thought. All his converts, not merely those

⁸ Acts 15: 1. Here a truly historical criticism, whatever it may hold as to the authorship of Acts, will not deny the historicity of the spirit at least of these words.

⁹ Rom. 1: 4.

at Thessalonica, had been taught concerning the new king Jesus,¹⁰ and had left their former gods or cult to wait for the appearance of God's Son from heaven.¹¹ To this event, as not only the supreme moment of human history, but also as a supreme motive for right living, Paul repeatedly returns.¹² For that day¹³ of the revelation of Jesus Christ¹⁴ with his angels¹⁵ he and all his converts looked, waiting for the adoption, viz., the resurrection of the body.¹⁶ Then was to come the judgment for all men.¹⁷ Then were all things to be tried by fire.¹⁸ Then were to be assigned the two great awards: "vengeance to those who know not God, and to those that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus, who shall suffer punishment, even eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his might"¹⁹—"wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish;"²⁰ but eternal life with all the blessings of the resurrection to those "who by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honor and incorruption."²¹ To be worthy of the new kingdom then to be established is Paul's repeated prayer for himself and his converts.²² While in it alone, through the possession of a "spiritual body,"²³ was to be ended that struggle between the *σάρξ* and the *πνεῦμα* which was the tragedy of the unbeliever, and the cause of continuous discipline and struggle on the part of the believer. Paul's entire teaching concerning justification by faith is conditioned by this eschatological judgment.

In fact, take from Pauline Christianity its belief in the speedy return of Jesus to establish his kingdom; its conviction of the approaching judgment; its assurance of a divine acquittal from deserved punishment to be granted those who accept Jesus as

¹⁰ Acts 17:7; cf. 1 Tim. 1:1. ¹¹ 1 Thess. 1:10; 2:20; 3:13, cf. Phil. 1:6, 10.

¹² Rom. 8:23-25; 1 Cor. 6:9, 10; 15:23.

¹³ 1 Cor. 1:8; 3:13; 2 Cor. 1:14.

¹⁴ 1 Cor. 1:7, 8; Phil. 1:6, 10. ¹⁵ 2 Thess. 1:7. ¹⁶ Rom. 8:18-25.

¹⁷ Acts 17:30, 31; Rom. 2:6, 16; 1 Cor. 4:5. Cf. Rom. 2:16; 14:10 f.; 2 Cor. 5:10.

¹⁸ 1 Cor. 3:11-15. ¹⁹ 2 Thess. 1:8, 9. ²⁰ Rom. 2:8. ²¹ Rom. 2:7.

²² 1 Thess. 2:12 (cf. 10); 2 Thess. 1:5; Gal. 6:7-9; 1 Cor. 15:58.

²³ Rom. 8:23-25; 1 Cor. 15:44.

Christ; its equally strong conviction of the assured punishment of all those who do not accept him; its sustaining hope that the righteous dead are to be raised from the grave, given sinless bodies, and introduced into the glorious kingdom awaiting in heaven and to be manifested by their Lord — take away these elements, which are so similar to the messianic hopes of the pharisaism of his day, and the peculiar form of Christianity preached by Paul will disappear. There will, indeed, be left the permanent and universal elements of Christianity: God's love for sinful men, his revelation in Jesus, the new life of the believer due to divine influences, the magnificent imperative of Pauline ethics; in a word, something nobly simple and evangelical, but not the Pauline Christianity of history.²⁴

The central position assigned the messianic concept by Paul finds its counterpart throughout the entire range of early Christian literature, canonical as well as extra-canonical, the kingdom of God being all but invariably conceived of as eschatological. According to the unknown writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, the Christians are to "inherit salvation;"²⁵ after death is to come the judgment, "when Christ shall appear a second time, to them that wait for him, unto salvation;"²⁶ they see the day drawing nigh,²⁷ and the Christian, having here no abiding city,²⁸ is

²⁴ Were we considering the entire scope of Paulinism, we should at this point be compelled to consider his doctrine of justification by faith, which from the point of view of the kingdom of God is clear. In some way one must succeed in winning a verdict of acquittal at the messianic judgment. The Pharisee had thought to accomplish this by his keeping of the law. This might possibly avail; certainly it was a noble effort. But Paul saw another and more certain way. The Christ himself had appeared. To accept him as such — that is, to have faith — was to make him one's king; and this, in God's gracious plan of salvation, was regarded as equivalent to actual membership in his kingdom — and that, too, in advance of the judgment day. As evidence that the believer was thus already acquitted (*δικαιούμενος*) and an assured member of the future kingdom, he was given the Holy Spirit, which could be given only to those whom God had forgiven. The mere acceptance of Jesus as Christ, therefore, would through God's grace suffice to do that which the law had failed to do — gain justification and membership in the kingdom of God. From the same point of view, the Pauline theory of atonement becomes simple. The king suffered as the representative of those who had chosen him as their king.

²⁵ Heb. 1 : 14.

²⁷ Heb. 10 : 26, cf. 36-39 ; 12 : 22-29.

²⁶ Heb. 9 : 28.

²⁸ Heb. 13 : 14.

journeying toward "the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem."²⁹ The Revelation of John is a continued appeal to eschatological hopes. 1 Clement³⁰ proves to the Corinthian church the certainty of the resurrection, and declares that Christ will come suddenly. Similar hopes lie back of the letter of Barnabas, the Martyrdom of Polycarp, and the letters of Ignatius. Papias was a recognized chiliast. While perhaps the most beautiful sentence in the *Didaché* is that in which, at the celebration of the eucharist, one is bidden to ask of God that "as the broken bread was scattered over the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom" (*Did.* 9:4).

This concept of the eschatological kingdom of God as the supreme good of the Christian is one of the two approaches to the teachings of Paul upon matters of social ethics. If it should appear that from its point of view social reform is but secondary with the apostle, it would be nothing more than might be expected in the case of a hope in so many other respects reproducing the non-social apocalyptic messianism of the Pharisee.

²⁹ Heb. 12 : 22.

³⁰ Chap. 23, cf. 50.

THE LOCAL DIVINITIES OF THE MODERN SEMITES. II.

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THE most famous saint in the Christian calendar is St. George, or *Mar Jurjis*, who killed the dragon at Beirût, of which the bay bears his name. The monastery is said to be placed on the spot where St. George used to reveal himself. He is known among the various sects of Islam as *Khuddr*. While his most famous shrine is near Kalat el Hosn, west of Homs and near Safita,²⁷ in northern Syria, he is associated with more places than any other saint. His shrines are found in all parts of the country, in buildings originally erected for him as well as in ancient Greek churches in the Druse mountains,²⁸ which during their occupation by Christians may have been sacred to the worship of St. George. At each of these shrines there is a tomb, or the representation of one, and at all these he is thought to reveal himself.

Such a self-revelation of a saint also takes place in connection with sacred stones.²⁹ But these stones are not of the sort with which one troubled by any ailment may rub his back or head,³⁰ where the question is whether the stones are used as charms and are supposed to belong to some saint, as at Berzeh. Nor are they like that at the shrine of St. Rih, which is revered by all sects, where there is a round stone like a heavy

²⁷ *Journal*, I, Safita, autumn of 1898.

²⁸ *Journal*, VI, Negran, Tell Sha'f, Smed, summer of 1900.

²⁹ Among the Tongas there is a "natural stone about nine feet high, called 'the stone that is not to be pointed at;' people would not point at it on any account." (*Journal*, X, W. L. Thompson, M.D., spring of 1901.)

³⁰ *Journal*, XI, Hama, summer of 1901: "At Sheik Mustafa, in the center of the Maqâm, is a stone made smooth by rubbing. The sick man uses it for his back. He does not vow to it, but to the weli. The stone belongs to the weli, he is not in it. God blesses it."

ring, weighing five or six pounds, large enough to go over the wrist. The saint by means of this stone manifests his power. There are stones between which a bastard cannot pass,³¹ as at a well in northern Syria; there are upright stones between which a bridal couple must walk, as at a village in the Druse mountains;³²



SHRINE OF KHUDDR SMED, CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE.

and there are stones which receive the sacrificial blood, as in the Sinaitic peninsula³³

The stones used in healing are evidently not regarded as the places where the saints reveal themselves, but there are others which are more or less clearly considered as being the place of divine revelation.

³¹ *Journal*, XIII, Mr. Faris L. Khuri, Damascus, summer of 1901.

³² Private letter from Mr. Henry G. Harding, Kerak, winter of 1901.

³³ PALMER, *The Desert of the Exodus* (New York, 1872), p. 218.

At Sphene there is a Maronite shrine of *Mar Yehanna*, which consists only of an ancient stone, about three feet high by fourteen inches wide, in the shape of a panel, standing on a hill under a grove, near a modern church. The other sides are triangular [it is probably a part of the lid of a sarcophagus]. A man said of the remains of incense which were in front of the stone



MAR RISHA AT KARYATEN.

that the incense had been offered to the weli. His expressions seemed to indicate that he regarded the weli as residing in the stone.

[At] Karyaten, the last outpost for travelers making the journey to Palmyra, . . . in the vineyard, at the rear of the house of the governor of the town, known as Feiyad, is a prostrate pillar, by the side of which, about midway and close against it, is a structure of mud, about the size and shape of a straw beehive; in the side of this is a small hole, where the vessel is placed in which the oil that has been vowed is burned when a vow is paid. The shrine, consisting in this pillar, is called by the Moslems Abu Risha, and by the Christians Mar Risha. It is in honor of a saint of the sect of the Jacobites. The pillar is thought by the Syrian priest to mark the site of an

ancient church. It is surrounded by a low wall, leaving an inclosure about twenty feet square. The practices in making a vow and in payment of it among Moslems and Christians are the same. They come to the shrine and make their request; they also tie red and blue silk around the weeds in the inclosure as a sign to the saint that they want help. Payment, as has been intimated, is made in oil, which is burned at the altar.

Here, then, is a sacred stone, part of the ruin of an ancient church, which is revered by ignorant Moslems and Christians as a weli.³⁴

At Sheik Sa'd, near El-Merkez, the capital of the Hauran, is a Moslem place of prayer; within this, just in front of the prayer niche, is the "Weli Sakhret Ayyub," or "Shrine of the Rock of Job," seven feet high and about four feet wide.³⁵ It is a monument of Rameses II., having a representation of his head in the right-hand upper corner, and an inscription in hieroglyphics. It is significant that the stone is in front of the prayer niche. Here is undoubtedly a case of syncretism, of Moslem and ancient Semitic worship combined. Unfortunately this is only a theory, which did not occur to me at the time when I visited Sheik Sa'd, hence there was no opportunity to put the theory to the test; but I have no question that the natives regard it as a sacred stone. There can be no doubt that such a stone, in such a position, would be considered by the ignorant Moslem as the dwelling-place of the weli. Indeed, this supposition is all but proved by the name "Weli Sakhret Ayyub."

The most conspicuous example of the existence of the ancient worship of rocks or stones, as the abodes of spirits, is found in the popular belief of ignorant Moslems that a weli resides in the "Rock Chair" (*Kalat el-Kursi*), or "Chair of the Companions" (*Kursi el-Aqṭab*). While those who are more orthodox say that the companions of the prophet Mohammed come on Fridays, and find their abode in a room which the

³⁴See my article, "Ancient Shrines in Northern Syria," in the *Independent*, Vol. L, pp. 1448, 1449.

³⁵*Journal*, V, El-Merkez, summer of 1899. Cf. G. A. SMITH, "Notes of a Journey through Hauran, with Inscriptions Found by the Way," in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 349. The inscription has been read by Erman.

servant of the shrine has never seen, the ignorant believe that they are to be found in the rock itself.³⁶

There are quite a number of passages in the Old Testament, notably, though not exclusively, in Deuteronomy, chap. 32,³⁷ where "Rock" is as much a term for God as El or Elohim. These two last terms belonged to other branches of the Semitic family as well as to the Israelites. In the same way it seems likely that the term "Rock" was used by other Semitic stems for the divine being, as well as by Israel. There are various Old Testament passages where the term "rock" is predicated of God as "fortress" or "stronghold" would be predicated,³⁸ but there are others where it is as truly a designation of God as El or Elohim. May it not be that this name for God among the Semites goes back to a time when a rock was looked upon as a medium of divine revelation? It seems pretty clear that, while rock is used in some passages as fortress is used in others, there are passages where "Rock" is as spiritual a designation for God as Elohim, and where it is used with reference to its original Semitic signification.

It seems quite clear that when Jacob took the stone which he had put under his head as a pillow and raised it up as a pillar, poured oil upon it, and called it "house of God" (Beth Elohim),³⁹ he was on the same plane as the ignorant Moslems today, when they conceive of the weli—who is practically their God—as dwelling in a rock.

The most remarkable use of stones that I have seen is in connection with the shrine of the prophet Job (*Nebi Eyyub*) at Busan in the Druse mountains. In front of this shrine are three

³⁶ *Journal*, X, Kursi el-Aqtab, summer of 1901. "The common people believe that the spirits dwell in the rock." "Any day you can summon them by prayer; Friday is better, and the day of sacrifice (*dahiyeh*, the tenth of the pilgrim month) is the best of all. There is a room where ten companions meet; only those to whom God has revealed it know where it is." "While, then, the common people think that the ten leaders (*aqtab*, that is poles, leaders) are in the stone, the representative Moslems present what they think is a higher idea, namely, that they meet in a room."

³⁷ Deut. 32 : 4 : "Ascribe ye greatness unto our God. The Rock, his work is perfect." Cf. vss. 15, 18, 30, 31; also 2 Sam. 23 : 3; Isa. 30 : 29 (Rev. Ver.).

³⁸ Ps. 62 : 2.

³⁹ Gen. 28 : 18, 19, 22; 35 : 7.

broken pillars, three and a half feet high. They are the only examples I have seen of the pillars (*mazzeboth*) of which we read so often in the Old Testament, which seem to have been regarded as legitimate at one period of Israel's history—for instance, at the conclusion of the covenant at Mount Sinai, when Moses set up twelve pillars in connection with the altar.⁴⁰ This use of pillars, which appears to have passed without reproof in the earlier history of worship,⁴¹ was condemned in the Deuteronomic code⁴² and the Deuteronomic history.⁴³

There are conspicuous instances among modern Semites in which saints reveal themselves in the neighborhood of sacred waters. Sometimes the saint seems to be considered merely the proprietor of such a stream as at Nebk, in the Syrian desert. The stream is regarded as belonging to the saint, rather than as the means of revelation. But it may be a question whether the distinction between the saint and the spirit of the stream is always clearly drawn in the minds of the people, since the defilement of the stream is regarded as equivalent to the defilement of the saint himself, as is evident from the language used.⁴⁴

The Sabbatic fountain, in northern Syria (*Ain Fowar*), is considered as belonging to St. George; and yet sacrifices are brought to the fountain rather than to the shrine itself.⁴⁵

The hot springs of Callirhoë (*Zerka Main*) are regarded as being under the control of a saint (*weli*) or spirit (*jinn*) who makes up the fire and keeps it burning. The natives, who go to be healed of their rheumatism, invoke the spirit to keep up the fire, so that the water may be hot, and to this end they offer sacrifices.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ Exod. 24:4. ⁴¹ Gen. 31:13; 35:14; Hos. 3:4; Isa. 19:19.

⁴² Deut. 7:5; 12:3; 16:22; cf. Exod. 34:13.

⁴³ 2 Kings 3:2; 17:10; 18:4; 23:14.

⁴⁴ *Journal*, X, Damascus, interview with Rev. J. Stewart Crawford: "One section of the village attributed the saint's displeasure to the fact that another section had performed certain religious ablutions in the courtyard of the shrine, and that the dirt had come on the saint to his disgust."

⁴⁵ *The Independent* (personal visit, autumn of 1898), Vol. L, p. 1447, note 3.

⁴⁶ *Journal*, VIII, interview with Mr. Henry G. Harding, at Kerak, summer of 1900: "The same custom obtains when they visit the hot springs (*Zerka Main*). They

At Hama, in the court of a lunatic asylum (which is simply a place where the insane may be kept securely by putting the most violent in irons), there is a small pool or fountain which is called a weli, and which is visited by Moslem women.⁴⁷

Such sacred waters, and many more which might be mentioned, are of the same sort as those described in some manuscripts of John 5: 3b, 4, containing additions which are excluded by modern textual scholars as not belonging to the original text. In 5: 2, 3a we read:

Now there is in Jerusalem by the sheep gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches. In these lay a multitude of them that were sick, blind, halt, withered.

The additional matter in vss. 3b, 4 is evidently an outgrowth of the old Semitic belief in sacred waters under the control of a spirit:

waiting for the moving of the water: for an angel went down at a certain season into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.

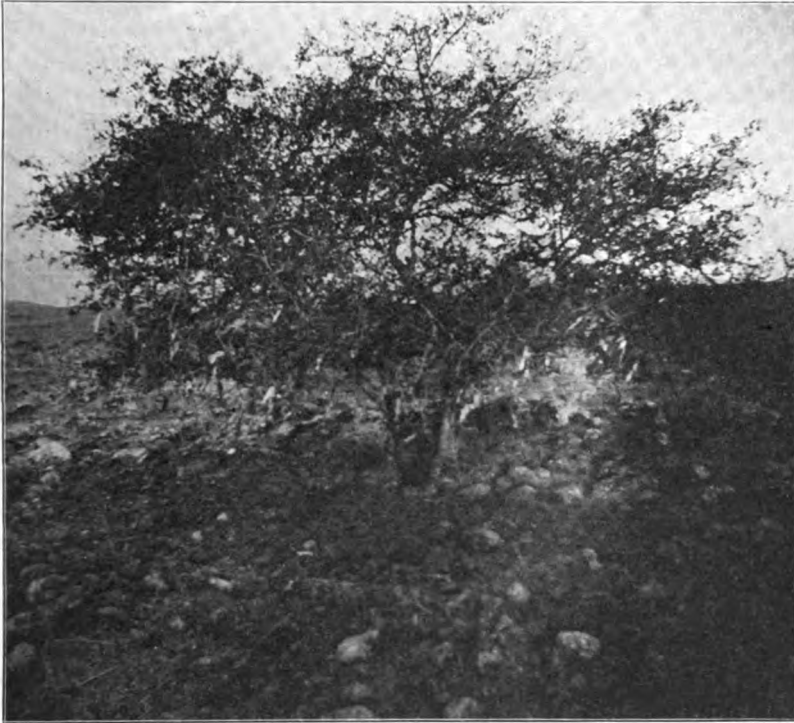
There are numerous examples of sacred trees, among Syrians and Bedouins, from one end of the country to another. Some of these are at shrines and are sacred merely as the property of the saint. They are as inviolable as anything else that belongs to him, or that has been put under his protection. At the same time they may be conceived of as sacred from the general

believe that the furnace is in charge of a jinn, who must be invoked before he will make up the fire to heat the water." Mr. Harding heard a man all the time he was in the bath invoking the spirit. Cf. *Journal*, VI, Zerka Main, summer of 1900: "After lunch Mr. Forder and I went to the source of two of the springs bursting out of the mountain. Over them were sticks on which the Arabs sit wrapped up in their abbas, and thus they get vapor baths. Mr. Forder says they offer sheep, taking them by their legs and dipping them in." *Ibid.*, Arab camp, nearly two hours from Zerka Main: "The Arabs say that they consider the hot spring at Zerka Main a weli; so whenever anything is the matter with their flocks they offer a sacrifice."

⁴⁷ *Journal*, XI, Hama, summer of 1901: "At the insane asylum of Hama there is a pool to which they take the robe of a troublesome child, and wash it. . . . The reason for the virtue is that in the pool is a certain weli. . . . He is the patron saint of all insane people. He appears at night and blesses the insane by touching them." At this so-called asylum I saw a stalwart madman with a heavy chain about his neck. The only modern asylum in Syria and Palestine is at Asfuriyeh, near Beirût, founded recently by Mr. Theophilus Waldmeier.

notion that the saint reveals himself through the medium of trees.

There are many such which are apart from shrines, which are believed to be possessed by spirits, to whom vows and sacrifices are made. Such trees are often hung with rags or bits of cloth.



A SACRED TREE HUNG WITH RAGS.

It is not easy to determine the significance of the rags. Some say they are designed to be a constant reminder to the saint of the petition of the worshiper, like a string tied around the finger;⁴⁸ others say that the rag taken from the ailing body of the suppliant, and tied to one of the branches, is designed to transfer the illness of the person represented by the rags to

⁴⁸*Journal*, I, Karyaten, vineyard of Feiyad, interview with Rev. J. Stewart Crawford, autumn of 1898: "They also tie red and blue silk around the weeds in the inclosure (of *Mar Risha*) as a sign to the saint that they want his help."

the saint, who thus takes it away from the sufferer and bears it vicariously himself.⁴⁹ Sometimes the man who is ill takes a rag from the tree, as one tears off a bit of the pall from the cenotaph of the shrine, and carries it about on his person, and so enjoys the advantage of virtue from the saint.⁵⁰ It may be that in this use of rags we have the same idea as that found in Acts 19:11, 12:

And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: insomuch that unto the sick were carried away from his body handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them and the evil spirits went out.

There is no doubt that in the minds of the people sacred trees are places where spirits reveal themselves. Near 'Ain Fijeh, one of the sources of the Barada, thought to be the ancient Abana of Scripture,⁵¹ is a weli, called Sheik Riḥan, decorated with flags. A peasant woman said that it was customary for the people to make a vow to give such flags to the weli if their petitions were fulfilled; she spoke as if the spirit were in the tree.⁵²

Doughty mentions angels, or "the power of the air," who come to a sacred grove, under whose leafy canopy one who is ill lies down and finds recovery, while one who is well and who takes the same liberty receives only a curse for his presumption. Flesh is hung upon such trees as if it were the food of the spirits residing in them.⁵³ There is a similar custom of hanging meat in the branches of the trees among the Tongas, though my informant was not certain what was the intent of the natives in this act.⁵⁴

⁴⁹*Journal*, X, Beirut, William Van Dyck, M.D.: "The suppliant who approaches a sacred tree tears off a piece of his garment and ties it to the tree, by which he commits to the weli his sickness; he then takes a bit of a rag from the tree, which he carries about with him, and by which he receives healing from the tree."

⁵⁰ See the *Independent*, journey of 1898, *loc. cit.*, p. 1449. Similarly the teacher at Mehardeh in northern Syria told of a sheik among the Ismailiyeh who carried about some of the hair of the sacred virgin in his keffiyeh.

⁵¹ 2 Kings 5:12.

⁵² *Journal*, X, 'Ain Fijeh. The woman "spoke as if the spirit were in the tree, and only said that she asked God when Mrs. John Crawford, of Damascus, who was my interpreter, reminded her that it was wrong to pray to a tree."

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 449.

⁵⁴ *Journal*, X, interview with W. L. Thompson, M.D., spring of 1901.

It has been pointed out that we have two clear traces of sacred trees in the Old Testament: one instance is the burning bush, upon which Moses looked, wondering that it was not consumed, and out of which God spoke⁵⁵—an obvious adaptation of a divine revelation to the idea of ancient tree-worship, though distinctly differing from the superstitious notions connected with such worship. A similar vision was lately seen at a well; a holy man at Nebk reported that he saw a sacred walnut tree in flames, which was by the shrine of the saint.⁵⁶ The other instance is the sound of the going in the mulberry trees for which David was to wait; ⁵⁷ this was nothing less than the divine voice speaking to the sweet singer of Israel, in accordance with ancient conceptions.

Trees under which saints rested are considered holy.⁵⁸ Here there is the same notion as with respect to sacred places among the ancient Israelites. The seat of a theophany was ever afterward regarded as sacred, for where God had revealed himself once he was likely to reveal himself again. This is clearly indicated with respect to the Mount of Yahweh, which must have been understood to indicate the site of the temple, for we read: "And Abraham called the name of that place 'Yahweh sees;' as it is said today in the Mount of Yahweh, 'he is wont to be seen.'" ⁵⁹ Indeed, *all* the ancient shrines of Israel had been consecrated by some theophany, and men went there in the expectation of its repetition.

Trees are also objects of worship. The term *weli* is applied to them; hence a saint is conceived of as residing in them. In a certain Turkish village in northern Syria there is a large and very old oak tree which is regarded as sacred. People burn incense to it and bring their offerings to it precisely in the same

⁵⁵ Exod. 3: 2-4. ⁵⁶ *Journal*, X, Nebk. ⁵⁷ 2 Sam. 5: 24.

⁵⁸ *Journal*, X, Beirut, interview with Dr. Van Dyck: "There is a wild myrtle in the valley below . . . which is referred to a man known as the Lord, who is believed in by the Druses, and who passed through the country working wonders; as he journeyed he rested under trees, which from that time on assumed miraculous powers."

⁵⁹ Gen. 22: 14. This was most likely written in the belief that Abraham received a revelation from God on the site of the temple.

way as to some shrine. There is no tomb of any saint near it, but the people worship the tree itself.⁶⁰

The discussion of caves as the dwelling-places of spirits is germane in this connection, if we consider that there is a point in Semitic thinking where there is no essential difference between deity, saint, and spirit; although there is undoubtedly a tendency to differentiate these beings, to give God the highest place as the author of good and evil, the saints the next place with much the same functions as God, and to distinguish between beneficial and harmful spirits. But it is quite likely that the original Semitic conception was much simpler—that the primitive idea of a divine being was that of spirits who might be friendly or hostile to men. When we remember that the sacrifices to spirits are precisely of the same sort as those to saints, and that sometimes the distinction between the spirit and the weli does not seem to be clearly drawn—as at Zerka Main he may be considered a weli, or may be regarded as one of the jinn—it is evident that the notion of divinity is not sharply defined among the ignorant, whose minds furnish the most perfect mirror of ancient views about divine beings.

There are doubtless many caves to be found in Syria, some of which are conceived of as being under the control of a weli, and some as inhabited by jinn. One of the former class is resorted to by mothers who have an insufficient supply of milk for their children;⁶¹ a second is a place visited by married couples who are childless and who desire offspring.⁶²

It is common, in the district of Kerak, for those who occupy caves, while engaged in harvest, to present sacrifices to the spirits to whom the caves belong, so that they may be favorably inclined to those who seek to be their tenants for a time.

Near the foot of Mount Carmel, above the sea, is a cave which is said to have been tenanted by the prophet Elijah; it is

⁶⁰ *The Independent, loc. cit.*, p. 1446.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1447.

⁶² *Journal*, X, summer of 1901. An American physician, living in Syria, who is childless, said "he was recommended by a native to visit a cave near Juneh, where barren women go attended by their husbands. There is a pool in the cave. They first bathe together in the cave, and then expect their marriage will be fruitful."

visited by all the sects, and is known by the Moslems as *Khuddr*. I visited the cave last summer and had an interview with the Moslem minister, or custodian, who said, when speaking of the income which came to him through the well: "*Khuddr* is my God and my father's God; he has supported us for years."⁶³ Thus there was put into concrete form a confession which expresses the belief of many an Arab and Fellah as to the being upon whom he depends in the hour of his distress, and who exerts the greatest restraint upon his life.

A Meditation.

Mark 8: 34. "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself."

When Jesus spoke these crucial words to his disciples and to the multitude, he was but uttering his own experience. He was denying himself. He asks no more of us than he asked of himself. What, then, is this deepest test of discipleship? Not denying ourselves certain things that we should like to have or to do. Not stoicism over again. It is renunciation of self, as Christ renounced himself. We are no longer our own, but Christ's, as he was his Father's. No longer self-centered, but Christ-centered. Is not this the dreariest, hardest sort of self-denial, the dwarfing of personal independence, the very destruction of personality itself? By no means. It is the truest coming to oneself. It is the divine contradiction, saving life by losing it. For self-renunciation is fruitage of the highest of motives, for the sake of Christ and the gospel. It links us with him, the Prince of life, and with the universal spread of his kingdom. It redeems us from a sordid selfishness to a life of largest liberty, of fullest purpose, of deepest satisfaction, of loftiest achievement. What more could we ask? Christ is a good Lord.

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⁶³ *Journal*, XIII, Haifa, summer of 1901.

CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES IN THE LITERATURE OF
WORSHIP IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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III. THE LEGAL LITERATURE — THE PRIESTLY CODE.

§ 190. The Story of the Adoption of the Law in Ezra's
Times (§§ 40-44).¹

1. Consider the conditions of the times in which this event occurred: (1) the date of the event;² (2) the character of Ezra and his constituency; (3) the duration of Ezra's journey, March to August; (4) the gifts and letters; (5) the work of Nehemiah (§ 40); (6) the work of Ezra (§ 41).
2. Study the account of the formal adoption, including (1) the place of the assembly; (2) the duration of the reading; (3) the circumstances attending the reading; (4) the reception given the law by the people; (5) the method of interpretation; (6) the occasion of their weeping; (7) the reading on the second day in reference to the Feast of Booths, and the compliance of the people; (8) the various things which they covenanted to do (§ 43); (9) the fact that the priests are *clearly distinguished* from the Levites (§§ 43, 68).
3. Compare the general circumstances of the acceptance of the book of Deuteronomy (§ 25) with those of
- Ezra 7:1, 7-9;
8:31.
Neh. 7:73; 9:1.
Ezra 7:1-9;
8:21 ff.; 9:5 ff.
Ezra 7:11-26;
8:24-30.
- Neh., chaps. 8-10.
- Neh. 8:3.
Neh. 8:8.
Neh. 8:9.
Neh. 8:13 ff.
- Neh. 9:39; 10:29-
39.
Neh. 10:37-39.
- 2 Kings 22:1-
22:25.

¹ Ezra's work is probably to be placed *after* that of Nehemiah; for the arguments in support of this position see KOSTERS, *Het Herstel van Israël* (1894; transl. into German, 1895); KENT, *A History of the Jewish People during the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek Periods*, pp. 196 ff.; CHEYNE, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, pp. 36-81; C. C. TORREY, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, pp. 51-65; GUTHE, art. "Israel," §§ 55 ff., *Encyc. Biblica*; A. VAN HOONACKER, *Nouvelles études sur la restauration juive après l'exile de Babylone* (1896).

² The arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem is placed shortly after 433 B. C. by KOSTERS and CHEYNE, *Encyc. Biblica*, Vol. II, p. 1487, and others. PROFESSOR VAN HOONACKER, however, places it in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II., viz., 398-7; while KUENEN *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur biblischen Wissenschaft* (1894), ED. MEYER, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896), and others retain the date 458 B. C.

the acceptance of this book, noting points of similarity and difference, *e. g.*, (1) the national assembly; (2) the celebration of a feast, in one case the Passover, in the other the Feast of Booths, in a manner which had not before been observed in Canaan.

4. Consider, now, whether the law adopted thus by the people in Ezra's time was (1) the entire Hexateuch as we now possess it; or (2) the so-called Holiness Code, that is, Lev., chaps. 17-26; or (3) the whole Levitical code known as P³ (§ 43).

5. Consider why, if Ezra brought the law with him in 458 B. C., he took no steps to make it known to the people until twelve years later, after Nehemiah had come (446 or 445 B. C.). Is it enough to answer that this was delayed by (1) the troublous character of the times which followed the expulsion of the foreign wives; (2) the necessity of Ezra's taking time to acquaint himself with the conditions of the country and the adjustment of the details of the law to those conditions; (3) the need of such a character as Nehemiah to rouse the enthusiasm of the people?

Ezra 7: 14.

Ezra 10: 7.

§ 191. Representations in P Concerning its Authorship (*cf.* closely § 171).

1. Read and compare some of the various passages in P which refer to its authorship, noting particularly the phraseology employed, *e. g.*, (1) "And Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying;" (2) "And he gave unto Moses the two tables of the testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God;" (3) "And Moses assembled all the congregation of the children of Israel, and said unto them;" (4) "And it came to pass on the eighth day, that Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of Israel; and he said unto Aaron;" (5) "And

Exod. 25: 1.

Exod. 31: 18.

Exod. 35: 1, 4.

Lev. 9: 1.

Lev. 10: 8, 12.

³ This point may well be omitted, except by those who desire to go into the critical questions involved; see J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, pp. 138 ff.; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, § 57; STEUERNAGEL, *Deuteronomium und Josua* ("Handkommentar z. A. T."), pp. 277 ff.; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, pp. 405 ff.; the articles on the Hexateuch in the various Bible dictionaries; and the discussions in the many introductions to the Old Testament,

Lev. 11:1; 14:33; Jehovah spake unto Aaron, saying;" (6) "And Jehovah spake unto Moses and to Aaron, saying;" (7) "These are the statutes and ordinances and laws, which Jehovah made between him and the children of Israel in Mount Sinai by Moses."

Numb. 33:2. 2. Consider the interesting passage in which *writing* is ascribed to Moses, and whether the contents are consistent with an assignment to the times of Moses.

3. Take up now, one by one, the suggestions which have been offered in explanation of a non-Mosaic authorship, as indicated in § 171 under 2, 3, 4, 5.

§ 192. Point of View and Coloring of the Priestly Code (cf. § 172).

1. Consider, as bearing upon the Mosaic origin, (1) the representation concerning the plains of Moab as the scene of certain legislation concerning Levitical cities; (2) the situation of Sinai as the scene of certain events and legislation; (3) the situation of Egypt as the place of the initiation of the Passover; (4) the exact statement of the date of departure from Sinai; (5) the date of the ordinances of the tabernacle and of its erection, together with the statement that it accompanied Israel through all the wanderings; (6) the fact that it looks forward to entrance into Canaan, and introduces legislation applicable only to settled life in Canaan; (7) the warnings uttered against practices of Egypt which they had known and practices of Canaan which they are to know; (8) the allusions to Egypt and Jehovah's deliverance of Israel from bondage there; (9) the absence of any mention of Jerusalem and the temple.

2. Consider, as bearing further upon this question, (1) the regulations against Molech worship; (2) the agricultural character of the feasts; (3) the experiences of the exile as depicted in Lev., chap. 26; (4) the phrase "beyond the Jordan," used of the east side of Jordan; (5) the constant reference to Moses in the third person; (6) the apparent distance of Moses and Aaron in the narrative Exod. 6:26 f., and of the eating of manna in the description of the same; (7) passages in which Israel seems to be represented as in possession of the land;

Lev. 11:1; 14:33;
15:1.
Lev. 26:46; cf.
27:34.

Numb. 35:1;
36:13.

Numb. 1:1; 3:14;
9:5; Exod.
24:18—25:1.

Exod. 12:1.

Numb. 10:11.

Exod. 29:46.
Exod., chaps.
25 ff., 35—40.
Exod. 40:17—38.

Lev. 14:34; 18:3;
19:23; Numb.
15:2, 18; 33:51;
34:2.
Lev. 18:3, 27 f.;
20:22 ff.

Lev. 19:34, 36;
25:2, 54;
Numb. 8:17;
14:2.

Lev. 20:1—5.

Lev., chap. 23;
Numb., chaps.
28, 29.

Numb. 34:15;
35:14.

Lev. 7:28; 8:1;
9:1, 5 f.; 23:1.

Exod. 16:55.

Lev. 18:24 ff.;
20:23.

(8) the significance of the great periods passed over in silence (is it not against the supposition that the author was a contemporary?), *e. g.*, (*a*) between Exod. 1:5-7 and 1:13, a period of two or four hundred years;⁴ (*b*) between Numb. 20:1 and 20:22*b*, a period of thirty-eight years (*cf.* 10:11 and 33:37);⁵ (*c*) the representation that Dan's descendants in the fourth generation number 62,700.

Numb. 1:38;
2:26.

§ 193. The Language and Style of the Priestly Code.

1. Examine a list of special words and phrases frequently occurring in this code,⁶ and consider (1) the bearing of the fact of such a list upon the question of authorship; does it argue for or against identity of authorship with the other books of the Pentateuch? (2) the general character of these expressions as indicating early or late authorship. Note especially that the months are numbered rather than named, and that the New Year comes in the spring, not in the autumn. When did this method of enumeration prevail?

Exod. 40:2, 17;
Lev. 16:29;
chap. 23.

2. Examine a list of the linguistic peculiarities appearing in the book, *i. e.*, peculiar forms, idioms, etc., and consider whether these exhibit evidence of antiquity of date, or of late date. With what writer in the Old Testament does the Priestly Code show the largest number of similarities?

Cf., e. g., Lev.
18:26 with
Ezek. 20:5, 7,
19; Lev. 18:25
with Ezek.
42:20.

3. Consider (1) the general style of the Priestly Code, *viz.*, stereotyped, repetitious, statistical, rigid, prosaic, precise, systematic; (2) the striking points of style which distinguish this code from other portions of the Penta-

⁴For an analysis of the text here see J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. II, pp. 80 f., or the commentaries of Dillmann and Baentsch. On the historical events see the histories of Kittel, Stade, Wellhausen, Kent.

⁵See CARPENTER AND HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, p. 28.

⁶Extensive lists of the various linguistic phenomena of the Priestly Code are to be found in J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, pp. 208-21; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, §§ 43, 44, 51, 58; ADDIS, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. II, pp. 170-73; BRIGGS, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, pp. 172-80; RYSEL, *De Elohistae Pentateuchi Sermones* (1878); GIESEBRECHT, "Der Sprachgebrauch des hexateuchischen Elohisten," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. I (1881), pp. 177-276; DRIVER, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XI, pp. 201-36.

teuch and, indeed, from other Old Testament writings, viz., (a) legal, (b) imperative, (c) idealistic.⁷

§ 194. **The Material of the Priestly Code as Bearing on the Date and Authorship.**

1. Examine the great number of *repetitions* of laws in other portions of the Pentateuch and in P (*e. g.*, Exod., chaps. 25-28 and 35-40; Lev. 3:5-4:35 and chap. 18; Lev. 19:3b, 30, and 26:2; 19:9 and 23:22; 19:26a and 17:10-14; 24:21 and 24:17; 18:6-23 and 20:10-21; Lev., chap. 8; Exod. 30:1-31:11, and Numb., chap. 8), and consider (1) how these repetitions may be accounted for upon the supposition that all portions of the Pentateuch had their origin within one man's lifetime and as one man's work; (2) how these repetitions may be explained upon the supposition of three or more distinct codes of law, which originated as codifications of teachings and usages that had grown up through many centuries.

2. Examine passages which seem to furnish instances of *discrepancy and variation* between P and other legislation (*e. g.*, the differences in the lists of "clean and unclean" as given in Lev., chap. 11, and Deut., chap. 14; the variations in the details of the structure of the ark of the covenant as described in Exod. 25:10; 37:1; 40:20, and Deut., chap. 9; 10:1, 3, 5; the representation of the tabernacle as located *within* the camp in Exod., chaps. 25-29, but *without* the camp in Exod. 33:7; Numb. 11:24-30; 12:4; 10:33—all E passages; the law of the altar as given in Exod. 20:24 (E) and the totally different altar provided for in Exod., chaps. 25-29; the law of slaves, Lev. 25:39-42, *cf.* Exod. 21:1-6 (E) and Deut. 15:12; the regulations concerning the priest as found in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly Code—see §§ 62, 63, and 68, 69), and consider (1) how these discrepancies may be accounted for upon the supposition that all portions of the Pentateuch had their origin within one man's lifetime and as one man's work; (2) how they may be explained upon the supposition of three or more distinct codes of law, which originated as

⁷ On literary style of P see the articles by W. R. HARPER in *Hebraica*, Vols. V, VI.

codifications of teachings and usages that had grown up through many centuries.

3. Examine the narratives relating to the tabernacle, viz., (a) the directions for its erection and decoration; Exod., chaps. 25-29. (b) the record of its erection and decoration; and in the study of these narratives consider the following questions: (1) are the representations concerning the tabernacle in the wilderness consistent with each other? ⁸ What is the significance of the fact that the first statement made represents the tent in actual use before it was constructed? ⁹ (3) What were the various names by which the tent was designated in the several documents? ¹⁰ (4) To what extent do the various codes describe a different service in connection with it? ¹¹ (5) Is it possible to understand this representation as an ideal one, and as corresponding to the prophetic pictures of the future? Exod. 33:7.

§ 195. Structure and Contents of the Priestly Code.

1. Consider the extent to which the P history and legislation constitute the basis on which the entire Hexateuch rests, or the framework into which the rest of the material is fitted.

2. Compare the relation of the P legislation to the P history with that of the Deuteronomic legislation to the Deuteronomic historical setting.

3. Consider (1) whether there are not to be found formulæ which mark the end of small codes and, consequently, (2) whether the P legislation is not made up of several separate collections of laws, *e. g.*: (a) Lev., chaps. 17-26; (b) Lev., chaps. 1-7; (c) Exod., chaps. 25-28; (d) Exod., chaps. 35-40; (e) Lev., chap. 11; (f) Lev., chaps. 13, 14; (g) Lev., chap. 15; (h) Numb., chaps. 28-36. Lev. 7:37 f.; 11:46 f.; 13:59; 16:34; etc.

⁸ See CARPENTER AND HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, pp. 52, 129.

⁹ The account of the construction of the tabernacle is given by P (= Exod., chaps. 35-40) as having taken place after the arrival at Sinai; while E in Exod. 33:7 speaks of "the tent of meeting" as a familiar institution of the camp.

¹⁰ See Exod. 33:7 (E); Exod. 25:8 (P); Exod. 25:9 (P); Numb. 11:24b (E); 9:15 (P); Exod. 39:32 (P); 35:11 (P); the name does not occur in J or Deuteronomy.

¹¹ See CARPENTER AND HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 55.

4. Examine the contents and character of P^a, so called because it forms the historical groundwork of the entire P legislation, considering (1) its central theme, viz., Jehovah's purpose from the creation of the world to develop and train Israel as his peculiar people, and the means and institutions employed by him to accomplish his purpose; (2) the extent of the ground covered, viz., from the creation to the establishment of the nation; (3) the logical presentation, viz., (a) the *toledhoth*' sections leading up to the Sinaitic revelation; (b) the work of Moses in the deliverance from Egypt; (c) the special covenant between Jehovah and Israel; (d) the settlement of Abraham's descendants in Palestine; (4) the character of all this as compared with the similar narrative of J, especially the differences which characterize it, such as the emphasis placed upon religious institutions, the lack of the personal element.

Gen. 1: 1; Josh.,
chaps. 14 ff.

Gen. 2: 4; 5: 1;
10: 1; 25: 19;
etc.

Exod. 6: 2.

Gen., chap. 17.

Josh., chaps. 14 ff.

5. Consider now the great passage which stands apart and constitutes P^b, that is, the Holiness Code, taking up (1) certain peculiar exhortations, which are intended to emphasize the idea of *holiness*, and the deity of Jehovah who led Israel out of Egypt; (2) certain laws which do not seem to be consistent with other parts of P; (3) other peculiarities of the form and contents;¹² (4) the probability of the independence of this section, and in this connection (a) the question as to the origin of this material, (b) its self-consistency, (c) the amount of editorial work which has been connected with it; (5) other passages which seem to show the same peculiarities;¹³ (6) the question of date, distinguishing (a) the regulations of which it is composed, (b) the hortatory framework, and examining in detail the forms of the various laws with reference to their sociological setting.

Lev. 26: 3-45; 18:
2-5, 24-30; 19:
2-4, 10, 12, 14,
16, 18, 36; 20:
22-26; 22: 31-33.

¹²*E. g.*, a different style and phraseology (see DRIVER, *Introduction*, pp. 49 ff.); a parenthetic framework unknown to other parts of P; repetitions of laws found elsewhere in P; commands addressed to the people, not to the priest as in P.

¹³Scholars differ somewhat as to the limits of the Holiness Code; *e. g.*, DRIVER (*Introduction*, p. 151) assigns to P^b: Lev., chaps. 17-26; Exod. 6: 6-8; 12: 12; 31: 13-14a; Lev. 10: 9a, 10; 11: 44; Numb. 15: 37-41; ADDIS (*Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. II, p. 178): Lev., chaps. 17-26; 11: 43-45; Numb. 15: 37-41; CARPENTER AND HARFORD-BATTERSBY (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 145): Lev., chaps. 17-26; Exod. 31: 13, 14a; Numb. 10: 9; 15: 38b-41.

6. Consider in the same general manner the portions assigned to P^t, that is, priestly teaching (*torah*), which treat especially of sacrifice, clean and unclean, and similar topics.¹⁴

Numb. 5: 5—
6: 21; etc.

7. Consider, likewise, the portions assigned to P^a, that is, certain secondary expansions along many lines, tending toward "the heightening of ritual and the elaboration of detail."

Exod. 35: 4—
40: 38; etc.

§ 196. **The Relation of Ezek., Chaps. 40-48, to the Priestly Code.**—The question as to the relation of the scheme of legislation contained in Ezek., chaps. 40-48, to that of the Priestly Code, and especially the Holiness Code, is one of especial interest, and has been the occasion of much discussion. Nothing more can be attempted here than to indicate the nature of the problem and the various lines of investigation.

1. Examine lists¹⁵ of the phraseological and linguistic affinities between P and Ezek., chaps. 40-48, and consider whether they are to be accounted for on the supposition (1) that Ezekiel was especially fond of, and thoroughly familiar with, the P legislation, and drew up his scheme on the basis of it; or (2) that Ezek., chaps. 40-48, served as a model for the authors of P and was largely drawn upon by them; or (3) that Ezekiel was the author of the Holiness Code; or (4) that Ezek., chaps. 40-48, and the earlier parts of P originated at about the same time, were both influenced largely by the earlier existing legislation, and were both actuated by a similar spirit and motive.

2. Consider from the same point of view the similar regulations found in Ezek., chaps. 40-48, and in P; *e. g.*, (1) the distinction between priests and Levites; (2) the emphasis laid upon the necessity of ceremonial "cleanness;" (3) the close similarity of the laws concerning the priests; (4) the large ritualistic element common to both; (5) the special sanctity of the sabbath;

Ezek. 44: 10-15; *cf.*
Numb., chaps.
1-4.
Ezek. 43: 7-9; *cf.*
Lev., chaps. 15,
21, etc.
Ezek. 44: 17-27;
cf. Lev. 21: 1-
22: 16.
Lev. 19: 30; *cf.*
Ezek. 20: 12.

¹⁴ For a statement of the limits and character of P^t see CARPENTER AND HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 152 f.; and for a similar statement concerning P^a see the same work, Vol. I, pp. 153-5.

¹⁵ See, *e. g.*, DRIVER, *Introduction*, pp. 130-35, 145-9; SMEND, *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (1880), pp. xxv-xxviii.

(6) the predominance in both of the *religious* element, almost to the exclusion of secular matters; (7) the great emphasis laid by both upon the sanctuary.

3. Consider, further, the points of difference between the two schemes of legislation, *e. g.*, (1) in P the priests are sons of Aaron, in Ezekiel sons of Zadok; (2) the high-priest occupies a large place in P, but is not mentioned in Ezekiel; (3) the function of "the prince" is peculiar to Ezekiel; (4) the legislation for the Day of Atonement is unknown to Ezekiel; (5) the assignment of property to the priests is radically different, the scheme of Ezekiel having no parallel in this respect; (6) the legislation concerning feasts differs in many details; (7) Ezekiel knows nothing of a sabbatical year, or Year of Jubilee, upon which P lays great emphasis; (8) in general, the legislation of P is much more detailed and elaborate than that of Ezekiel. What is the bearing of these and other differences upon the answer to the questions suggested above?

§ 197. The Principal Ideas of the Priestly Code.

1. Consider that, for the most part, the Priestly Code is not *didactic*, as is Deuteronomy, but is rather a manual of religious customs and practices. To what extent, however, does it give concrete expression to certain great conceptions which lie at the basis of all its regulations, and were deeply impressed upon the minds and hearts of the worshipers as they participated in the ceremonies prescribed by it?

2. For a general statement concerning the ideas of P, see § 49. For the P material on the priest, see §§ 68, 69; on the place of worship, see §§ 79, 80; on sacrifice, see §§ 91, 92; on feasts, see §§ 103, 104; on the sabbath, see §§ 117, 118; on clean and unclean, see §§ 131, 132.

3. In an effort to discover the chief ideas of the Priestly Code consideration must be paid, not only to specific statements that may be found in the text, but also to the general tone and character of the material as a whole and to the amount of attention given to the various features of the system of worship: (1) The idea of God here reaches the highest plane attained in the

Ezek. 40:5-43:12;
cf. Exod., chaps.
25-29 and 35-40.

Ezek. 44:15; cf.
Lev. 21:1.
Lev. 21:10.

Ezek. 46:2 ff.

Lev., chap. 16; cf.
Ezek. 45:18 ff.
Ezek., chaps. 45,
48; cf. Numb.
35:1-8; Josh.
21:4.
Ezek. 45:21-25;
cf. Lev., chap.
23; Numb.,
chaps. 28, 29.
Lev., chap. 25;
26:34 f.; 27:17-
24; cf. Ezek.
46:17.

Old Testament. He is a Being so great, so holy, so awful, that access to him is permitted only under the most stringent conditions and always through the mediation of a specially consecrated priest; into his inmost presence only one man in the entire nation, viz., the holiest man—the high-priest—may come, and that but once a year. (2) In the light of this unapproachable holiness, the blackness of sin is immeasurably intensified; he cannot look upon sin with the least degree of allowance; his holiness, pervading everything, is in constant danger of violation; hence the possibilities of sin are greatly multiplied. Sin was the cause of all of Israel's calamities in the past; hence, in order to insure Jehovah's favor and blessing for the future, every precaution must be taken to avoid sin, and to make propitiation to him when it is unavoidable or for any reason has been committed. (3) The holy God demands a correspondingly holy people who shall honor him with a holy worship. It is the purpose of the P legislation to secure this end. This explains the great emphasis laid upon (4) ritual and ceremony. Everything is carefully prescribed and intrusted to the execution of the priests whose especial function it is to guide and lead the people in the presentation of an acceptable worship unto Jehovah. (5) Religion has become the great business of life; it has stepped in and occupied the place formerly held by national politics and ambitions. (6) The exalted conception of Jehovah and the necessity of constant propitiatory rites have completely done away with the joyous abandon of the worship of early days, and the spirit of confidence and fellowship has been largely replaced by that of reverence and godly fear.

Lev., chap. 16;
Exod. 25: 16 f.
Lev., chaps. 21,
22.

Lev. 4: 1-6: 7;
6: 24-7: 10.

Lev. 26: 3-45.

Lev. 11: 44 f.;
19: 2; 20: 7, 26;
21: 7 f.; 22: 32.

Lev., chaps. 8,
12, 13, etc.

Lev., chap. 23.

Ps. 1.

§ 198. Literature to be Consulted.

COLENSO, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (7 parts; 1862-69); WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1878, 4th ed. 1895; transl. from German 1885), pp. 374-91, 404-10; DRIVER, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XI (1882), pp. 201-36; KUENEN, *An Historico-Critical Enquiry into the Origin of the Hexateuch* (1885, transl. 1886); BISSELL, *The Pentateuch, Its Origin and Structure: An Examination of Recent Theories* (1885); KITTEL, *History of the Hebrews* (1888, transl. 1895), Vol. I, pp. 96-132; W. R. HARPER and W. H. GREEN, *Hebraica*, Vols. V-VIII (1888-91); W. R. SMITH, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1889, 2d ed. 1892); BRIGGS, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch* (1892, 2d ed. 1897), pp. 108 f., 172-80, 233 ff.; PATON, "The Relation of Lev. XX to Lev. XVII-XIX,"

Hebraica, Vol. X (1893), pp. 111-21; DRIVER AND WHITE, *Leviticus* ("Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments;" Hebrew text 1894, English transl. 1898); W. H. GREEN, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (1895); PATON, "The Holiness Code and Ezekiel," *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1896, pp. 98-115; KÖNIG, *Expositor*, August, 1896, p. 97; PATON, "The Original Form of Lev. 17-19," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1897, pp. 31-7; ADDIS, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. II (1898), pp. 170-91; F. H. WOODS, art. "Hexateuch," HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II (1899), pp. 368-71; L. B. PATON, "The Original Form of Leviticus, Chaps. 21 and 22," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVII (1899), pp. 149-75; L. B. PATON, "The Original Form of Leviticus, Chaps. 23, 25," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XVIII (1899), pp. 35-60; J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch* (1900), Vol. I, pp. 121-57; WELLHAUSEN, art. "Hexateuch," §§ 29 f., *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II (1901); H. G. MITCHELL, *The World before Abraham* (1901), pp. 17 ff., 29 ff., 58 ff.; KENT AND SANDERS, "The Growth of Israelitish Law," in *Biblical and Semitic Studies* by Members of the Semitic and Biblical Faculty of Yale University (1901), pp. 41-90.

J. POPPER, *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte* (1862); MERX, "Kritische Untersuchungen über die Opfersetze, Lev. I-VII," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. VI (1863), pp. 41 ff., 164 ff.; GRAF, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1866); STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. I (1887), pp. 62 ff.; NÖLDEKE, *Die alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868); NÖLDEKE, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (1869), pp. 1-144; KUENEN, "De priesterlijke Bestanddeelen van Pentateuch en Josua," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Vol. IV (1870), pp. 391-426, 492-500; HOFMANN, "Einheit und Integrität der Opfersetze Lev. 1-7," *Magasin für Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1877; KLOSTERMANN, "Ezechiel und das Heiligkeits-Gesetz," *Zeitschrift für luth. Theologie und Kirche*, 1877, pp. 406-44 (republished in *Der Pentateuch*, 1893, pp. 368-418); BLEEK-WELLHAUSEN, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1878); VON RYSSSEL, *De Elohistae Pentateuchi Sermones* (1878); FRANZ DELITZSCH, *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, Vol. I (1881), pp. 617-26; HORST, *Leviticus XVII-XXVI und Hesekiel* (1881); GIESEBRECHT, "Der Sprachgebrauch des hexateuchischen Elohisten," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. I (1881), pp. 177-276; P. WURSTER, "Zur Charakteristik und Geschichte des Priestercodex und Heiligkeitsgesetz," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. IV (1884), pp. 112-33; DILLMANN, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua* ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament," 2d ed. 1886), pp. 593-690; WESTPHAL, *Les sources du Pentateuque* (1888, 1892); RIEHM, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1889); STEINTHAL, *Zeitschrift für Völker-Psychologie*, Vol. XX (1890), pp. 54 ff.; CORNILL, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1891, 3d ed. 1896), pp. 56-86; KÖNIG, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1893, pp. 464-8, 478; WILDEBOER, *De Letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds naar de Tijdsorde, van haar Ontstaan* (1893, German transl. 1895), § 20; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893), pp. 332-475; KÖNIG, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1893), § 48; BAENTSCH, *Das Heiligkeits-Gesetz* (1893); MEYER, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896), pp. 208-15; WELLHAUSEN, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (3d ed. 1899); GUTHE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1899), pp. 259 f.; STEURNAGEL, *Uebersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua und allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch* ("Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," 1900), pp. 271-8; HALÉVY, "Influence du code sacerdotal sur les prophètes," *Revue sémitique*, January, 1901; BAUDISSIN, *Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1901), §§ 31, 41-4, 50-55. See also the commentaries on Leviticus by KALISCH (1867), KEIL (2d ed. 1870), LANGE (1874), STRACK (1894), DILLMANN-RYSSSEL (1897), BAENTSCH (1900), BERTHOLET (1901).

Work and Workers.

NEWS has been received of the death of Professor C. P. Thiele, D.D., of the University of Leiden, Holland. He was born at Leiden in 1830, and was appointed to the professorship of the history of religions in 1877. For many years he has been one of the foremost scholars in Europe in the new field of historical research known as comparative religion, and to him as much as to any other is due the rapid advance in this important branch of religious study. His greatest works have been translated into English, under the titles *History of the Egyptian Religion* (1882), and *Outlines of the History of Religion to the Spread of the Universal Religions* (1878, 4th ed., 1888). Since 1867, when the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* was founded, Professor Thiele had been one of the editors, and had contributed extensively to this famous Dutch periodical.

DRS. GRENFELL AND HUNT, the indefatigable excavators of Greek papyri, are again in Egypt conducting excavations in the Fayûm. In a letter dated Sela, February 10, and just received at Chicago, Mr. Grenfell writes: "We have been digging for just three weeks now, principally in the Roman cemetery of a place called Manaslim shâreh (Tanis), about six miles south of Rubayyat. We have obtained some good portraits and glass, besides numerous small articles; but for papyri we have been dependent on about half a dozen papyrus cartonnage mummies of the early Ptolemaic period. The bulk of the Ptolemaic cemetery was dug by us last year. We are now just moving to Talit in the south of the Fayûm to look for its Ptolemaic tombs, and anticipate winding up with a short dig at Mahûn, where Petrie found a cemetery of crocodiles, but left it undug. It is just possible that some of them may have papyrus inside of them like the Tebtemis ones. We hope to get back to England early in April." Mr. Grenfell further reports that the Frenchman Jouguet is excavating for papyri at Medinet Madi; and a German, Rubensohn, at Harit.

ONE feature of the present widespread and earnest movement for better Bible study is the fact that many large churches, acting individually, have attempted to work out their own salvation in this respect by the preparation and printing for their own use of Sunday-school

lessons on the new lines, thus bringing about the comprehensive historical study of the Scriptures. The *BIBLICAL WORLD* receives from time to time sample copies of these local publications, which have varying characteristics and different degrees of excellence. The series of "Bible Studies" prepared for the Bible school of the First Congregational Church, Elyria, O., by Mrs. F. N. Smith and Mrs. W. E. Cadmus, has many good qualities, and carries out the idea of connected historical Bible study. The method adopted is to go through the entire Bible every three years, and in nine years the cycle will be complete, since each of the three times through, the Scripture material will be studied from a different point of view. Two of the series are already issued: one on the "Life and Times of Christ and the Apostles," the other on the "History of Israel."

ACCORDING to the plan for removal previously announced, the Bible Normal College of Springfield, Mass., has now secured property in the immediate neighborhood of Hartford Theological Seminary, upon which already stand buildings that will be used for the housing of the institution. The relation of the Bible Normal College to Hartford Seminary is to be one of affiliation, not of union. Each institution will retain its separate existence, but each will grant to the other such courtesies and privileges in the matter of instruction as shall appear to be for the mutual benefit of both. With this change of location the Bible Normal College establishes at the same time a fixed standard for its curriculum. A regular three-year course is provided, the admission to which shall be on condition of graduation from a college, or the equivalent of such graduation. But the school also offers a special course of one year for lay workers in the churches who can give but a brief time to preparation. In this one-year course instruction is given in the English Bible, in psychology, in pedagogy, in sociology, and in other practical subjects which will be useful to such workers. Rev. David Allen Reed continues to be the president of the college, and gives instruction in Bible doctrines. Professor F. J. Coffin, Ph.D., has charge of the work in Old Testament and missions; Professor S. B. Hazlett, Ph.D., in psychology and the science of education; Professor Frank Russell, D.D., in sociology; Professor E. H. Knight, A.M., in New Testament; Professor George W. Pease, in Bible-school pedagogy. We wish for the institution in its new location and environment an increase of students and of influence. Certainly the work here undertaken is one of the most important for the immediate uplift of the religious life and thought of our time.

Book Reviews.

The Church's One Foundation. Christ and Recent Criticism.
By REV. W. R. NICOLL, LL.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1901. Pp. 227. \$1.25.

The editor of the *British Weekly* has here brought together some articles which were first published in that journal, directed against the more radical New Testament criticism of the present day. We believe with him that the church's one foundation is Christ, and that the results of a certain type of modern criticism involve serious consequences. A book which exalts Christ and Christianity, as this one does, is well meant, and will do good somewhere.

Nevertheless, these essays by Dr. Nicoll have certain characteristics which greatly hamper their general usefulness. They aim to furnish a modern apologetic for traditional conceptions of the four gospels against the findings of certain recent scholars, of whom he particularly names Schmiedel, Cheyne, Moffatt, Alexander Robinson, and Bruce. It becomes evident in his discussion, however, that he has an entire distrust of all historical investigation of the New Testament, and is unable to distinguish processes from results, or to recognize differences between the several stages of historical criticism. He falsely assumes at the outset that these scholars just named are simply reviving the views set forth sixty years ago by Strauss and Baur; and, although he rightly says that Strauss and Baur were long since completely refuted, he performs the superfluous task of threshing over the old straw of that antiquated controversy. In so doing he fails to meet the situation; his apologetic is ineffective because it misconceives the fundamental ideas of the more radical New Testament criticism of the present time. Dr. Nicoll seems to take small account of the vital changes in thought which have recently come about through the advance in psychology, philosophy, ethics, and natural science; he seems not to recognize that a competent historical method has only arisen within the last two generations, and that a trustworthy historical research into the origin of Christianity is now for the first time being made. This does not mean, of course, that the results obtained by Schmiedel, Cheyne, and others are correct; but the author seems to proceed upon the supposition that historical criticism is unnecessary and unsafe.

Accordingly he says (pp. 88 f.): "It must be remembered that the argument concerning Jesus Christ cannot and must not be left to experts. Everyone is called upon to judge: the materials are accessible to all. What the experts possess in addition to what the people possess is comparatively of small account." By "experts" he means those who are trained and experienced in the historical investigation of the biblical facts and literature. But he had already said (p. 1) with truth that "the controversy about Christ is essentially a controversy about facts. Christianity is not a sentiment, nor a philosophy, not even a theological system, but a historical religion." That is, Christianity is founded upon certain historical facts which took place in the first century A. D. Now, all historical facts are subject to historical investigation. If we wish to form an individual judgment as to whether certain alleged events actually occurred in the first century, we can do so only upon the basis of a thorough investigation of that period according to the true principles of historical research. Who is instructed in the principles of historical research, who is trained for and experienced in such investigation of the past, who is mentally and spiritually qualified for such study? Dr. Nicoll replies: Everyone, equally. The expert in historical investigation is no better able, and has no better right, to form opinions or to be heard about these historical facts than the "man in the street." The plain man of business, whose life has been spent in the store or counting-house, who knows next to nothing about history, literature, philosophy, or science, is as competent to pronounce upon questions of fact concerning the origin of Christianity in the first century A. D. as the scholar who has devoted his life to historical research in this period.

If Dr. Nicoll really thinks so, he will find few to agree with him. And as this notion pervades his discussion, few will be influenced by his book. One fears that the author does not understand the difficulties which now confront thinking people in the matter of the New Testament history. His apology is addressed to a condition of thought which existed in the earlier rather than in the later half of the nineteenth century.

And finally, regret will be felt, even by Dr. Nicoll's close friends, that he has considered it necessary to leave argument and resort to denunciation. He charges that Schmiedel and Cheyne are wilfully and in full knowledge doing their best to destroy Christianity, for he says (p. 30): "It would not be too much to say that there is a deliberate attempt in this book [the *Encyclopædia Biblica*] to obliterate

Christ." If accusation of this sort can be condoned as a feature of religious newspaper controversy, it must be completely condemned when appearing on the pages of a book. No doubt Dr. Nicoll sincerely believes that the triumph of such critical views of the New Testament history as Schmiedel, Cheyne, Moffatt, Robinson, and Bruce advocate would obliterate Christ, and he may be right. But is he equally certain that he is justified in charging the two scholars first named with working deliberately for that obliteration? He does not claim or give evidence that he has actual information as to the real motives of Professors Schmiedel and Cheyne in their work; until they themselves define their motives, Christian trust and forbearance bid us to judge them and to speak of them more charitably.

C. W. V.

The First Book of Moses, Called Genesis. Edited by PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D. [The Temple Bible.] Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1901. Pp. 170. \$0.40, net.

This is another attempt to arrange the literature of the Bible in a popular literary form. The book of Genesis is dismantled of all chapter and verse markings, and is paragraphed according to the requirements of the sense. But why should the Authorized Version be used for this purpose? We are certainly far enough in advance of the archaic and obsolete expressions and words of that version to require, if not a new translation, at least the Revised Version.

But the characteristics of this volume are its literary features. Professor Sayce has prepared an introduction of eighteen pages, which discusses the origin, development, and literary features of Genesis. He introduces the reader to the early civilizations of the ancient oriental world, which form the background of Genesis. Babylonian culture permeated the peoples of western Asia in the times to which the Tel el-Amarna tablets belong.

Regarding the authorship of Genesis, he says (pp. xii, xvi):

Recent archæological research has thus shown that there is no reason why the Pentateuch should not be substantially a work of the age to which tradition assigns it. Still less reason is there for holding that the narratives it contains are not historically true. . . . More and more it is forcing the conviction upon us that the age in which the Pentateuch first took shape was the age of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty.

The materials out of which the book was compiled belonged to various nationalities. We find Babylonian elements in the early

chapters of Genesis; Egyptian elements especially in all the Genesis narrative pertaining to Egypt; an Edomite element in Gen., chap. 36; and Babylonian and Canaanite elements combined in Gen., chap. 14. Professor Sayce apparently finds little to accept in the current documentary theory of the origin of Genesis. While his view in some cases seems extreme, he is doubtless nearer the right track than the extreme dissection theorists.

The volume concludes with twenty-five pages of notes, tables of weights and measures, genealogies, synchronism of ancient history, a map, and biblical references in English literature. IRA M. PRICE.

Monuments of the Early Church. A Handbook of Christian Archæology. [Handbooks of Archæology and Antiquities.] By WALTER LOWRIE. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. xxii+432. \$1.75.

This American contribution to Macmillan's series of archæological handbooks constitutes almost an ideal introduction to the delightful studies of Christian archæology. More than this has not been attempted, and could not have been attempted within the limits of this volume. But while the effort has been to state results only, and critical processes have nowhere been introduced, behind all that is said the reader feels a sound critical sense and method. The book is singularly successful in striking a happy medium between pedantic technicality, on the one hand, and the diffuseness so often attaching to popular treatments, on the other. In scope it is surprisingly comprehensive. The cemeteries, architecture, painting, sculpture, mosaics, tapestries, and dress of the early Christians are successively treated, and so systematically that reference to every detail under these divisions is easy. The book is further made useful and attractive by profuse illustration. There are nearly two hundred plans, half-tone plates and cuts, which greatly enhance the value of the work, by way of demonstration; and a selected bibliography points the way to further studies.

From another point of view, the book is interesting as representing, in part at least, the fruit of the author's work at Rome while a fellow of the American School of Classical Studies there, and as such offers fresh evidence of the great possibilities of our archæological schools in Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem. E. J. GOODSPEED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

OLD TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

- DOUGLAS, G. C. M. *Samuel and His Age: A Study in the Constitutional History of Israel.* London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1901. Pp. 276. 6s.
- MCNAUGHTON, G. D. *Two Hebrew Idylls: The Book of Ruth, and the Book of Jonah.* London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901. Pp. 186. 2s. 6d.
- *KIRKPATRICK, A. F. *The Book of Psalms, Books IV and V. (Psalms XC-CL.) [The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.]* Cambridge: University Press, 1902. Pp. 399. \$0.80, *net.*
- *BARTON, G. A. *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 342. \$3, *net.*

ARTICLES.

- HARPER, ANDREW. Review of Gunkel's "Genesis übersetzt und erklärt." *Critical Review*, January, 1902, pp. 1-9.

This new commentary on Genesis gives an account of the character, growth, and significance of the book which is a radical departure in some respects from the view now dominant, and will—in the mind of the reviewer—be subversive of the current reconstructions of the religion of Israel. The character of the Hebrew religion before the time of Amos, in the middle of the eighth century B. C., is restored; monotheism is held to have been then prevalent, and the moral principles were operative in religion.

- QUARLES, JAMES A. *Sociology of Joseph's Day.* *Bible Student*, February, 1902, pp. 97-108.
- BROOKE, A. E. *The Bohairic Version of the Pentateuch.* *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1902, pp. 258-78.
- LAGRANGE, R. P. *Introduction au livre des Juges.* *Revue biblique*, January, 1902, pp. 5-30.
- RICE, J. W. *Notes on the Septuagint Text of II Samuel 7:22 and Isaiah 42:21.* *American Journal of Philology*, July-September, 1901, pp. 318-20.
- WEIR, D. H. *Notes on the Text of the Psalms.* *Expositor*, February, 1902, pp. 156-60.
- FARRAR, F. W. *The Minor Prophets.* *Expositor*, February, 1902, pp. 81-92.

In two articles, of which this is the first, Dr. Farrar aims to give a brief introduction to the twelve books known as the "Minor Prophets," a title which he regards

as obscuring the real importance of these writings. He presents them in their chronological order, assigning to the Assyrian epoch Amos, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah; to the Chaldean epoch, Habakkuk; and to the Persian period, Obadiah, Zechariah, Joel, Haggai, Malachi, and Jonah.

PATTON, WALTER M. The Home of the Semites. *Methodist Review* (Nashville), January-February, 1902, pp. 34-47.

The Semites belonged originally to the Hamito-Semitic race in Africa. Later they became specialized as Semites in southwestern Arabia, which is therefore to be regarded as the home of the Semites.

CALDECOTT, W. A. The Biblical Cubit—A New Suggestion. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, January, 1902, pp. 79-82.

Investigation undertaken in the course of the construction of a model of the tabernacle has resulted—the writer thinks—in establishing the existence of three biblical cubits, measuring 0.9, 1.2, and 1.5 of an English foot respectively. The first was used exclusively for gold and silver work, the second for building purposes, and the third for measuring areas only.

NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

DAWSON, W. J. The Man Christ Jesus: A Life of Christ. London: Richards, 1901. Pp. 470. 10s. 6d.

ROSE, V. Études sur les évangiles. Paris: Welter, 1902. Pp. 336.

SPITTA, F. Untersuchungen über den Brief des Paulus an die Römer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. Pp. 193. M. 5.

GARDNER, PERCY. A Historic View of the New Testament. London: A. & C. Black, 1901. Pp. 286. 6s.

ARTICLES.

GARVIE, ALFRED E. Studies in the Life of Jesus. 2. The Virgin Birth. *Expositor*, February, 1902, pp. 126-35.

The virgin birth of Jesus is the fundamental element in the explanation of his sinlessness. By the term "virgin birth," however, more is meant than the merely physical miracle; spiritual elements are assumed for spiritual effects. We must recognize that the mother of Jesus was, in her maternal function, by God's spirit dwelling and working in her, so isolated from the sin of the race, and so elevated by faith in and surrender to God, that Jesus, as true man as well as very God, did not need to be totally exempted from heredity, but inherited from his mother, not sin, but faith in and surrender to God as the dominant tendency of his life. This sinless beginning of life does not destroy the reality of Jesus' moral development, unless sin be affirmed to be a necessity of moral development.

JOHNSTONE, A. O. Review of Menzies's "The Earliest Gospel." *Critical Review*, January, 1902, pp. 24-31.

BEBBER, VAN. Der Teich Bethesda und die Gottheit Jesu. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 1-73.

NICOL, THOMAS. Review of Conrady's "Die Quellen der canonischen Kindheitsgeschichte Jesus'." *Critical Review*, January, 1902, pp. 32-5.

When this author insists that the first evangelist, in recording the incidents of the infancy of Jesus, simply epitomized the *Protevangelium of James* and that the third evangelist was equally dependent for his facts in chaps. 1, 2 upon the same work, he separates himself from the great mass of modern critical opinion, and completely inverts the relations between the canonical and the apocryphal gospels.

HILGENFELD, A. Die Verwerfung Jesu in Nazaret. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 127-44.

MOFFATT, JAMES. The Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees. *Expository Times*, February, 1902, pp. 201-6.

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RELATED SUBJECTS.

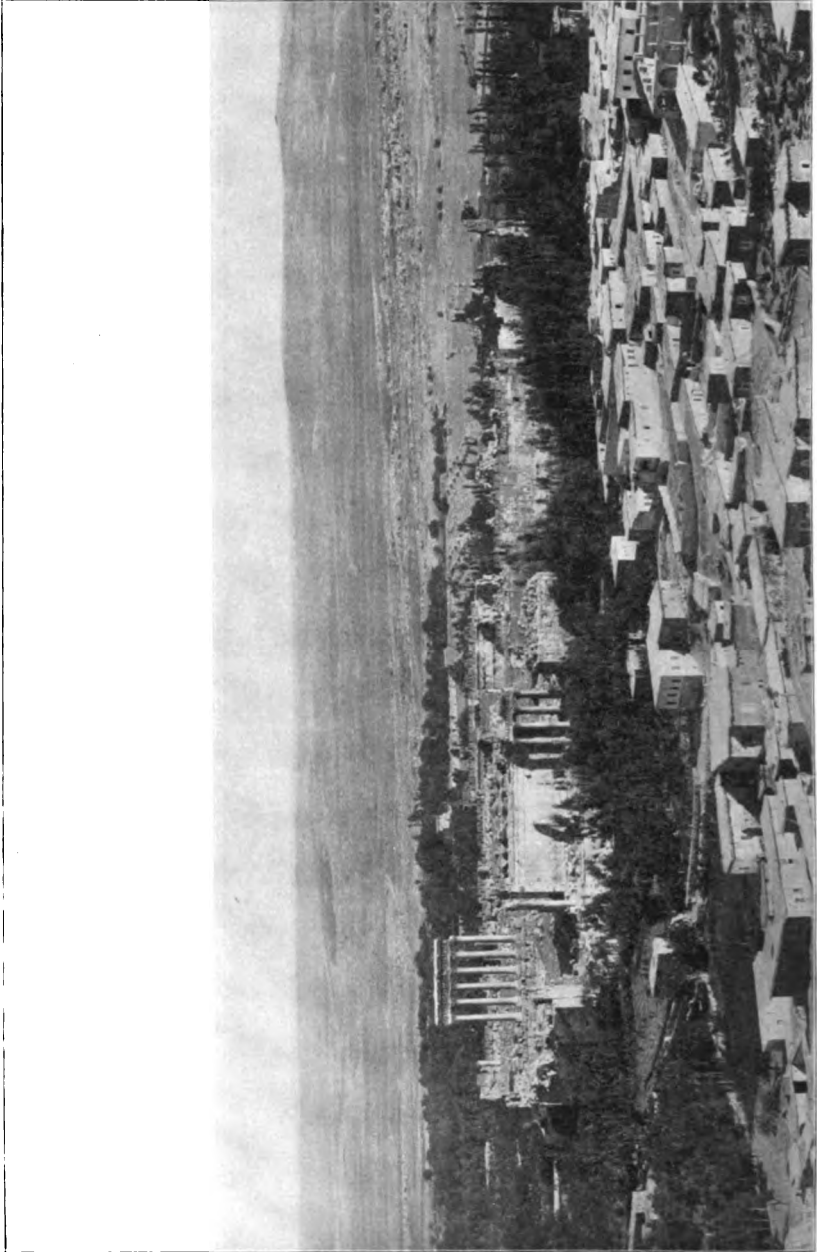
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BAALBEK, WITH LEBANON IN THE BACKGROUND: ANCIENT SITE OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

THE Bible rightly holds the highest place in the world's literature. It has gained this pre-eminence by the sound judgment of successive generations of men for many centuries. Nor need we apprehend a reversal of this verdict of history. The modern increase of learning, the development of the physical, mental, and moral sciences, and the growth of human experience, have created a keener appreciation of the Bible, and have compelled us to acquire a fuller knowledge of its contents. As a consequence the century just closed was marked by what may be called a *historical* study of the Bible. There had been little of *that* kind of study before; although the Bible had held the supreme attention of the Western world since the early Christian centuries, and had been studied by countless hosts of Christians from that time to our own, yet there was not much, if any, historical study of the Bible. In fact, the conditions scarcely admitted of this. It was not that men failed to do what they might have done, but that those scientific methods which make a thorough study of the Bible possible had not yet been worked out.

The historical study of the Bible really began about one hundred years ago. Historical science is no older than that in any field. There have been three generations of Bible scholars—in the modern sense of that term. The thorough study of the Bible has been their work. They have investigated the facts of history recorded in

the Bible, the rise of the biblical books and their collection into the Old and New Testament canons, and the origin, development, and relation of the religious and ethical ideas contained in the Bible. And it must be acknowledged that the work has been done with an energy, devotion, ability, and success which will make the nineteenth century famous as the first period of the scientific study of the Bible. Of course, we are to recognize that biblical science has still a long road to travel; no competent scholar would deny this. But the science is clearly started in the right direction, and has got well forward on its journey. The scientific method has been in general determined, some fundamental problems have been solved, and a thorough study of the Bible is fully begun.

That this kind of study has corrected many traditional ideas of the biblical history and teaching, has brought to light many *THE BENEFICIAL* new facts and truths, and has awakened a *RESULTS WHICH* founder interest in the Bible as a whole than ever *HAVE FOLLOWED* before existed, was inevitable. In wisdom God has so made his universe, and has so controlled events, that humanity grows in knowledge, experience, and spiritual stature with the passing years. It is clearly a feature of his Providence that men must study the Scriptures with all the resources at their command in order to understand and appreciate them fully. Religion, morality, and human well-being move forward in proportion to the measure of men's real grasp of the Bible. For in a real sense Christian people live according to the Bible as they understand it; they seek to realize its ideal of life; they draw from it their religious beliefs, their ethical principles, their conception of individual and social duty, and their view of the world. Therefore a better understanding of the facts, truths, and demands of the Bible means a higher type of Christian thought and practice. No other influence is so strong or so capable as the Bible in the advance of civilization toward a perfected humanity. And it is for this reason that the host of agencies exist for the spread of Christianity, all of them using the Bible as their foundation and text-book.

It is important, then, that the best possible understanding of the Bible become the possession of all. How many thousands of people today are eagerly, often desperately, striving for this better understanding of the Bible, cannot be told. The statement commonly made that more people are today studying the Bible than ever before is certainly true, but it does not adequately describe the situation. We have among us not only a surpassing quantity, but also a *higher quality*, of Bible study. The mere reading of the Bible in disconnected portions, and with no distinction between the Testaments, or the different books in each, no longer satisfies the thoughtful Christian. He finds it difficult to get at the real teaching of the Bible on many matters. And the historical events which are recorded seem often to need fuller explanation than a mere reading of the narratives gives one. He comes to realize acutely several things: (1) that a true understanding of the Bible can be obtained only by a thorough study of the facts of Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian history; (2) that it is necessary for one to gain all possible knowledge of the origin and growth of the Hebrew religion, of Judaism, and of Christianity; (3) that Jesus made a new stage, or "dispensation," in the history of mankind, and that therefore the relation of the Old Testament to the New Testament must be carefully determined; (4) that the Bible consists of many books which grew up at various times over a long period, and were the work of different authors; (5) that therefore one must search out diligently the circumstances, standpoint, and characteristics of the several biblical writers, as well as investigate fully the rise of the biblical books and the relation which they sustain to one another; and (6) that the crowning work of this elaborate historical investigation must be as far as possible to determine the origin, and to trace out the development, of the religious and ethical conceptions which are contained in the Bible.

And this thoughtful Christian further finds that in order to understand the history, literature, and ideas of the people who lived in Palestine he must also learn thoroughly the history,



literature, and ideas of the other nations contemporaneous with them, who surrounded and influenced them. It becomes plain to him that the Bible contains the literature of one of the great nations of antiquity, drawn from many centuries of their history; and that to understand it fully will require a prolonged, scientific study of ancient history, for which even a lifetime would not be sufficient.

**THE NECESSITY
OF BIBLICAL
SCHOLARS AND
THEIR WORK**

He concludes with good reason that all this necessary knowledge for the full understanding of the Bible can be worked out only by the life-labors of successive generations of biblical scholars who are qualified and trained for such historical research. And he grows appreciative of the work of the past and present scholars. He sees why there have to be myriads of books written about the Bible; and why the writings of one generation are superseded by the writings of another. He loses his former idea that one man is as competent as another to explain and to teach the Scriptures. He becomes humble as to his own views and interpretations of the Bible, and assumes the attitude of a learner—he seeks guidance and information from those who have had a larger experience in Bible study.

Whither shall he go for such assistance? To the universities, colleges, or theological seminaries, if possible, which are the repositories of learning, where historical scholars teach the facts of the past, pursue their investigations, and train others for like work. Or if these institutions are beyond his reach, he may pursue his studies privately by the use of the right books upon these subjects, under the direction and counsel of his minister, or of any one of the many scholars who would willingly advise him. The Sunday schools are not yet teaching the Bible historically (with the exception of a few here and there which have advanced into this new field). The need for such biblical study is a great one, but it has not yet found an adequate place in our Sunday-school curriculum. It is not meant that the Sunday school has failed of its mission. It certainly has *not* failed; on the contrary, the Sunday school constitutes one of the most successful and influential

movements of the nineteenth century. Its primary purpose is not to give instruction in biblical history and literature, but to give religious and ethical instruction, to develop the spiritual and moral individuality of the pupils. The Bible is the chief instrument for this instruction and development. Now, the practical knowledge of the Bible is here the primary thing, and this has been splendidly achieved and used in the Sunday school.

But the historical study which is here described constitutes a new element which the Sunday schools should undertake (as a secondary feature, although one of great importance), because there exists at present no other means of giving to the people at large this highly useful knowledge of the history of the Christian religion and the Scriptures. The first step toward this is the recognition on the part of our church officials of what is actually demanded by the present situation. The second step is the arrangement of suitable courses of study for senior and adult classes in the Sunday school, which will give the pupils historical knowledge of the Bible. The third step is to secure competent teachers who are themselves sufficiently taught and trained in the historical study of the Bible. With the exception of the minister, who should always be prepared and willing to do this work until others can take it, such teachers are not always to be had. But there are not many churches or communities where such a teacher or teachers cannot be *developed*—sensible, large-minded, earnest students of the Bible, with teaching ability, who will equip themselves to do the right kind of work if they are shown what it is and how to accomplish it. Further, our universities and colleges are every year sending out a stream of graduates, whose general education eminently qualifies them to study and to teach the Bible; often they have already begun this study in the Bible courses which are now being offered in a great number of our institutions. These college-trained men and women should be claimed by our Sunday schools and turned to the best account. The fourth step, that of making up classes in the senior and adult departments to pursue these courses of study,

will be found the easiest step of all, for many will at once take up such work, and the numbers will increase as the opportunity comes to be understood and appreciated.

Good judgment will be necessary in the arrangement of these courses of historical instruction for the Sunday school. The *PROCESSES AND RESULTS OF HISTORICAL BIBLE STUDY* *processes* of "biblical criticism" (as the historical investigation of the Bible is popularly called) can be studied only by those who are ready for such study. Some such instruction may be practicable in the senior department, but the greater part of it belongs in the adult department. Nor is such work to be undertaken in either department until teachers and pupils are adequately prepared for it. Where this preparation does not exist, it should be attempted without unnecessary delay.

On the other hand, the *results* of the historical study of the Bible should not be, and cannot be, kept out of the Sunday school. Even the children are entitled to the best understanding of the Bible which their parents can provide for them. Hypotheses which are still under discussion among biblical scholars are not suitable material for popular instruction. But as rapidly as results are reached, by the consensus of judgment of the whole body of competent scholars, these results should be adopted into Sunday-school literature. And just this process is going on. The improvement, within the last two decades, of the character and content of first-class "Sunday-school lesson helps" has been positively marvelous, and the present advance is a matter of the greatest rejoicing to those who are zealous for the Bible and its influence. The whole situation today as regards Sunday-school instruction is most gratifying, and the outlook for the immediate future is most hopeful. The historical study of the Bible is actually in process of accomplishment with tens of thousands of people. And its beneficial effects are already manifesting themselves in a better understanding and appreciation of the Bible, in a more wholesome Christian belief, and in a higher type of Christian life.

THE PLACE OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.

A SYMPOSIUM.

A WIDENING chasm divides the teaching of the Bible in schools and colleges from its teaching in many Sunday schools. The accepted principles of the development of life and of the growth of literature, as taught in public schools, are being contradicted in Sunday schools, in the effort to defend theories of the creation of the universe and of the composition of the Bible which are contrary to known laws of the evolution of nature and of literature. The consequences of such opposing teachings are not difficult to predict.

The main conclusions of biblical criticism are now accepted with practical unanimity by all scholars who have given attention to them. They have been reached by patient investigation, and have displaced traditional theories among educated people, just as the truths of geology and astronomy have supplanted the age-long imaginations of men concerning the structure of the earth and the laws of the universe, that the sun, moon, and stars revolved around the earth. These conclusions have entered into modern biblical literature as an essential part of it. They are assumed in nearly all teachers' Bibles and recent commentaries, and in the majority of lesson helps. The last step, their acceptance in the popular mind, can be hindered only temporarily by unreasoning conservatism, ignorance, or prejudice.

The Sunday school is not the place to follow or to work out the processes by which these conclusions have been reached; still less the place to controvert them. But the results of criticism, so far as they correct false theories of the Bible and illumine its revealed truth, should be known and used by the teacher to increase the power of his teaching. It is established beyond reasonable doubt that the Bible as we have it was not written before the people existed for whom it was prepared, or

apart from their experience. Its songs expressed their aspirations; its laws were made by their legislators to meet their requirements as their nation developed; its ritual grew out of their experience of communion with God, and changed as that experience expanded; its history was written by patriots who sought to set forth the life and deeds of the Israelites according to their ideal; its philosophy is the reflection of men who saw the working of God in the world as the God of their nation for its triumph over other nations and for his glory. Its unity is evidenced according as its purpose is fully revealed in the life of Christ and the planting of the kingdom of God and of his church by his disciples. That unity, and the controlling purpose manifested throughout the whole Bible, are convincing proof that it brings to men the supreme revelation, giving them the knowledge of God's will concerning their character and destiny.

The teacher who applies these principles to his study of the Bible, with the use of literature upon it which is now abundant—of which the *BIBLICAL WORLD* is an example—will be prepared to guide his pupils to find Christ in the Bible, and to find in Christ the eternal truth by which he must live in order to fulfil his destiny. Such a teacher will not find himself in conflict with modern knowledge or the moral ideals of his pupils; and he will do his part effectively to keep the Christian faith of this generation from eclipse, and the Sunday school from falling into neglect.

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There are Sunday schools and Sunday schools, and there is biblical criticism and biblical criticism. No one doubts that some biblical criticism should be taught in some Sunday schools, and no one would affirm that all sorts of biblical criticism should be taught in all Sunday schools. The question of the place of biblical criticism in the Sunday school is not simple, but complex.

Properly speaking, the Sunday school, as it exists, is not a

school. The best thing about it is that it is not a school. It is an institution which under the name of a school has formed itself by natural growth, adjusting itself to the needs that it has had to meet. It is an arrangement for bringing persons into contact for purposes of religious and ethical interinfluence. The studying of the Bible together serves as a common pursuit, without which the interplay of influence would be less easy of accomplishment. No other common pursuit, probably, would answer the purpose so well. But the results of the study are far less important than the results of the mutual exertion of influence. The founders of the Sunday school did not intend this. Nobody ever planned to have it so. Providentially here was a certain impulse in a certain environment, and the forces at work upon it wrought the product into this form.

This is generally true, though there are Sunday schools which have a genuine pedagogic character, and in that character are doing good work.

Of course, it is true that biblical criticism cannot be kept out of our Sunday-school studies. It will keep coming in, and by many different avenues. In the Sunday school that has been transformed into a school there may be, somewhere among the grades, a table and a row of seats devoted specifically to biblical criticism. And in every Sunday school the helps that are used will, in one way or another, echo one view or another of some of the problems of biblical criticism.

I have a profound conviction, however, that the true path of progress, in the Sunday school as in many other educational institutions, lies in the direction of doing fewer things and doing them better, rather than in the direction of doing more things. It is especially true that a class which devotes one half-hour in the week to class study is not a favorable place for settling problems that are either intricate or disputed. The perplexing questions and the questions concerning which we differ are the very best things for us to study—somewhere, but not everywhere; and not, I think, in the Sunday school.

Most of us who are in such a way interested in the Bible that we study it in the Sunday school will agree, I suppose, in thinking

that the Bible is full of passages bearing on human character and conduct, for the present life and for the life to come; passages that are so intensely vital and true as to be to us a veritable revelation of the mind of God. I fear that our theories of biblical criticism would lead us into disputes if we attempted to formulate a basis of agreement much more specific than this. In my judgment, the most profitable study of the Bible, for most Sunday schools, is that which mainly confines itself to the contents and the practical bearings of those parts of the Scriptures which directly illustrate the problems of life and duty. Of all things, a Sunday school should avoid neglecting the work which it can do well for the sake of attempting work that is beyond its reach.

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It may seem easy wittily to dispose of the whole matter by saying, "The place of biblical criticism in Sunday school is on the outside;" but is it so certain, then, that the truth in regard to the Bible ought not to be taught there? That biblical criticism has brought to light a wealth of formerly unknown truth concerning the history of Israel and the character and meaning of the Hebrew literature no one can doubt. That the viewpoint of present-day evangelical scholarship with regard to most biblical questions is different from that occupied twenty-five years ago is also evident, not only to ministers, but to most of the intelligent laymen connected with our Sunday schools. Even those who are not academically trained, or well read theologically, are sure that something has happened. Many of these are eagerly inquisitive to know whether there is a new "orthodoxy" which, while it takes account of all the valid results of modern criticism, yet finds itself able to hold to the great fundamental faiths of Christianity.

Notwithstanding, then, the acknowledged delicacy of the situation, and admitting that it is better even yet to do or say nothing rather than to do or say the wrong thing, or the right thing in the wrong way, I am beginning to feel that there is a

present need in Sunday-school work of a greater utilization of the results of modern biblical criticism.

1. Use should be made of biblical criticism in normal and Bible classes and in advanced courses of study.

George Adam Smith, when he was once asked at Chautauqua what place biblical criticism had in the pulpit, replied: "I want to go into the pulpit with a clean face, but I prefer not to leave any soapsuds in my hair." The Sunday school is not the place for a discussion of processes nor for the statement of negations, nor for the presentation of merely technical scientific results, however well assured. It is a school, not merely or chiefly for the acquirement of technical knowledge, but for the building of character and the development of holy impulses to right living.

Most thinking people, however old-fashioned, would admit that all the new knowledge which "tends to edification" may be used in the advanced Bible and normal classes of the Sunday school. But it certainly does not tend to edification to teach as certainties theories which modern evangelical scholarship has outgrown, or to deny or ignore what such teachers have almost unanimously come to accept. I hold that the main affirmative results of critical study should be frankly stated, and that the new light which has been thrown upon ancient oriental life and its literary habits, whether obtained from travel, archæological discovery, or through textual and other criticism, ought certainly to be utilized by those having in charge the preparation of advanced courses of study. If the proper course of study cannot be given us through the ordinary channels from which our present inadequate courses of study have been received, there should be a combined effort on the part of well-trained scholars from the various denominations to originate and publish at least supplemental courses which shall meet the demands of advanced knowledge and pedagogy.

Very much depends upon obtaining the right kind of teachers for such normal and Bible classes. They should be devoted Christians, full of uncommon "common-sense." A great Bible scholar may make a very poor Sunday-school teacher, although,

other things being equal, it will hardly be affirmed that knowledge is a necessary hindrance to success.

2. The use of biblical criticism in the younger classes of the Sunday school, and in preparing courses of study for such classes.

After all, the main function of biblical criticism in the Sunday school is to safeguard the scholars from false teaching, so that they will not have to unlearn in later years what they learned in Sunday school, or else drift off into infidelity. My judgment would be that 90 per cent. of the prevailing intellectual skepticism has arisen because of childhood misconceptions as to what truths were fundamental to Christianity. These men have discovered the unreliability of certain things which they were taught to believe, and, supposing these beliefs to be essential to Christianity, they have given up all faith in the Christian system.

The chief use of critical knowledge in the Sunday school is protective. It preserves the child from the impression that Christianity is founded on the backbone of Jonah's whale, and that the value of the Bible as God's Book of Salvation hinges upon the quality of Hebrew spoken by Balaam's ass, or upon the absolute inerrancy of the chirography or of the memory of the Bible writers, or their miraculous knowledge of universal history or twentieth-century science.

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Some years since a New York publisher found himself at a loss how to teach the Bible to his children. He could not teach it to them as he had learned it in his childhood; he did not know how to present the so-called critical view in a constructive manner, nor did he know any work which would so present it to children. Finding others in the same predicament, he concluded that a book was needed. The result was *Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian*, named more felicitously perhaps in the English edition *The Bible for Home and School*, in the preparation of

which I co-operated. Our object was to let the Bible speak for itself, free from the conventional and traditional ideas represented in its ordinary form, its peculiar phraseology, the arrangement and titles of its books. Stories were told as stories, songs and poems written as songs and poems, laws as laws. Contents, chapter headings, and running synopses were introduced, and the book was in general printed and gotten up like an ordinary everyday book. The book proved to be interesting to intelligent children, fond of reading; a book which they would take and read for pleasure without compulsion and without urgency.

With my own children, as they have grown up, my plan, or rather my wife's plan, has been to start them with Foster's *Story of the Bible*, which they always find extremely interesting; next we give them the work of which I have just spoken; and, last of all, the Bible (generally in the Revised Version). At family prayers we read from all sorts of versions and translations, of late using frequently Ballentine's *Modern American Bible*. The result has been an interest in, and affection and reverence for, the Bible, with a freedom from traditionalism and literalism.

Now, such a course as this is not practicable with my Sunday school, which is composed largely of children from very plain and not highly educated families, who do little or no reading outside of sensational papers, occasional cheap magazines, and a few novels. I have, of course, some children of more cultivated and reading people. I try to reach the parents of such children and my teachers by talks and lectures from time to time. I recommend to them, or place in their hands, good plain books embodying some of the best constructive results of modern Bible study—in addition to those already mentioned, Moulton's, Kent's, and Sander's books, *The Bible as Literature*, Cornill and Robertson Smith on the prophets, etc., etc. I am ready and eager to answer questions, and willing to guide anyone in further and more critical courses of reading; but I am very far from urging them into such a course of study. Criticism and the critical attitude I carefully avoid. I never say, "This is not what you have been taught to believe, or the traditional view is not correct;" but, "This means so and so, this is so and so."

At times I meet classes of teachers or scholars, or both, in the chart room, where we have casts, relief maps, models, maps, and pictures; at times in the children's service I address the school as a whole on some Bible theme. If at such times I have occasion to use an Old Testament story, I tell it as a story as effectively as I know how. If by any chance there is some teaching of ethics un-Christian in character, as in the story of Jael and Sisera, I bring that out and correct it by a reference to the teaching of Jesus, believing that the comparison is wholesome for them.

In our teaching we commence in the infant class with simple stories of Jesus, Bible verses, hymns, cards, etc., together with the Lord's Prayer. In the lower primary it is the stories of the Old Testament, those which children understand and love, with the Creed and the Ten Commandments. In the upper primary it is an outline of the life of Christ, very simple, chiefly by oral teaching and recitation. In the grammar grades it is a preparation for confirmation and communion, with the Prayer Book as the text. This gives the scholars a good deal of Bible, but arranged for purposes of moral and doctrinal instruction, not historical or critical study. After confirmation they go into Bible classes, where they may take up almost anything—the prophets, the Acts, the gospels, the life of Jesus, the life of Paul, Old Testament heroes. Here my teachers are diverse—some very conservative, not knowing or not liking modern, critical views; some progressive, and intelligently interested in the new scholarship. To some extent I suppose that their different views affect their teaching and influence the minds of their scholars. But there is less difference of result than might at first sight be expected, because in general all are concerned with the problems of life, and the application to those problems of the teaching of the Bible; so that critical or historical or archæological matters are very minor issues.

To sum up: Biblical criticism, as such, does not enter our Sunday school. We try to give a certain amount of definite, distinct teaching, which shall put the children in possession of the essential facts and doctrines of the Christian religion; then

we encourage and instruct them, so far as we can, to read and study the Bible intelligently. We give opportunities to teachers and older scholars to learn the best results of modern scholarship; but we never consciously present the negative or critical side. Our object is to make the Bible a real book to them, intelligible, interesting, dealing with vital problems; and to make them read and study it in a common-sense, broad-minded, and modern spirit, but withal reverently. We banish the critical processes; but we seek quietly and without any spirit of antagonism to introduce the best constructive or reconstructive results of modern scholarship.

JOHN P. PETERS.

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What is the function of the Sunday school? It seems to me to vary with different places. Sometimes it will be a "children's church," and sometimes primarily or entirely a school.

When it is the children's church, as it is in most mission districts, the object is not so much to teach large interpretations of truth as to impress and make operative so much of truth as is needed to complete life. But in other places, where the children attend worship in the church, Sunday school is primarily a place for studying God's Word.

In one sense, I cannot see that the higher criticism has anything to do with either kind of Sunday school. If it is the children's church, the object should be to impress the truth needed to perfect life; not any theory about the Bible, but its contents and their relation to conduct.

On the other hand, where the children attend Sunday school for study, and not for worship, it seems to me that the object should still be to gain a knowledge of the contents of the Scriptures, and not of the time or method of their composition. Very few Sunday schools, for many years to come, will have teachers who will be competent to teach even the rudiments, or the simplest results, of criticism. In my opinion, the Book should be studied for what it contains, in order that its contents

may impress their messages in their own way on the youthful minds.

Gradually, as a generation of teachers is raised up who know what a boon has come to the world with criticism, they will learn how to adjust their knowledge to the needs of those whom they teach. But it should always be done in a constructive, and never in a destructive, way. It is possible to state the results of criticism without disturbing anyone's faith or arousing antagonism; indeed, so as to strengthen faith and disarm suspicion. It is easy to interpret the story of Eden as an allegory, and the story of Jonah as the record of a great evangelistic mission, without railing at other interpretations; and there is no reason why that should not be done as fast as competent teachers are found.

But, usually, the work of interpreting the principles of criticism had better be left to the pulpit, and the Sunday school confine itself to teaching the contents of the Bible, and to impressing such truths as may be essential to daily living. By this I do not mean that the new knowledge should be excluded, but only that for many years to come it will be impossible to secure persons able properly to teach or to apply it, simply because most teachers are themselves ignorant.

As fast as those better trained are found, they ought, if they are reverent and constructive, to be allowed to give to the children so much of the truth as they may be able easily to grasp. We little appreciate, I fear, how much even children seek the fullest light, and how much their loyalty to the church in the future depends on their being given rational answers to their questions now. They will not be able to follow such teaching in detail, but its results, so far as related to life, they should have as soon as persons competent to instruct are raised up—but, I must add with great earnestness, not before.

AMORY H. BRADFORD.

MONTCLAIR, N. J.

That it is desirable to make a place in every well-regulated Sunday school for some measure of biblical criticism is, I think,

beyond controversy. Every such school is supposed to be primarily for the study of the Holy Scriptures, and why should they ignore or seek to avoid important questions about the original texts, the authorship and composition of the different books of the canon, and their probable chronological order? Much information on all these subjects may be acquired without a knowledge of the original languages of the Bible. A competent teacher could easily conduct a series of most helpful lessons in textual criticism, with a class of boys and girls twelve to fifteen years old, by means of the Authorized Version and the Revised Version of the New Testament, simply comparing a selection of passages (*e. g.*, Matt. 6:13; 17:21; Mark 9:29; 11:26; Luke 9:55; John 5:4; Acts 8:37; 1 Tim. 3:16; 1 John 5:7), and explaining why such changes have been made.

It would seem equally easy to make the young people of our schools familiar with the nature and the methods of higher criticism. Take, for example, the book of Isaiah. Why should not any class of adults, under proper leadership, examine the facts and reasons now so widely accepted as proofs of its composite character? Persons old enough to perceive distinctive style, thought, purpose, and plan, as usually obvious in different writers, ought to find it both interesting and profitable to study and judge for themselves the question whether the sixty-six chapters of Isaiah are more naturally explained as a compilation of the writings of several prophets than as the work of one man. It certainly requires no advanced age nor superior intelligence to make a list of reasons for and against each of these views, and to form some reasonable judgment as to their relative weight. Perhaps a still more simple illustration of the practical nature of such study may be presented in the book of Proverbs, in which some eight or nine distinct collections of proverbs are easily traceable, but all put together into one book and headed with the title of "Proverbs of Solomon, Son of David, King of Israel."

Such critical study of the biblical writings would enliven the practical exposition of each separate part, and result in a far more intelligent conception of the oracles of God. But for such biblical study in the Sunday school a competent body of teachers

is absolutely necessary. Scores and hundreds of our people, young and old and middle-aged, are even anxious to be instructed in these analytical and inductive methods of searching the Scriptures; but only here and there, as something quite exceptional, do we find Sunday-school classes engaged in this kind of biblical research. We cannot doubt, however, that there is a place for such work in most of our churches and schools. The one conspicuous and lamentable fact is that competent and willing teachers for these places are very, very few. And for this reason, mainly, we fear that it will be a long time before our Sunday schools generally find it practicable to make a place for the more critical study of the Bible.

MILTON S. TERRY.

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In considering the place of biblical criticism in the Sunday school, we need to understand and agree as to what we mean by the Sunday school, and what by biblical criticism. Without such understanding and agreement, we may be using the same words while we are talking about very different matters having little in common.

I speak of the Sunday school as a gathering of children and youth in classes under teachers, with some older persons in separate classes, for common Bible study; all the classes, younger and older, being brought together at the close for impressing by the superintendent as to the main lesson of the day. Its members are to be treated as undergraduate pupils, and not as post-graduate students. Many gatherings on Sunday or on another day, of another character or for other purposes, may be *called* the Sunday school; but this substantially is what is generally, and for a third of a century has been, known as the Sunday school. To have in mind something else, while speaking of the Sunday school, is to be the means of confusing or misleading those addressed, and of failing to accomplish the desired and announced purpose.

When Robert Dale Owen wrote a series of letters to Horace

Greeley, in favor of a modification of the ordinarily accepted marriage bond and customs, Mr. Greeley replied in substance: "Your proposed arrangement may be a great improvement on marriage union, and you are entitled to advocate it as such. But please don't call it marriage. Leave us our old-fashioned institution with all its flaws and gains; and call your new arrangement by another name."

As to biblical criticism, there is obviously a place for it in the Sunday school—as commonly understood. Both "higher criticism" and "lower criticism" should be used aright in the right place. Making clear the claims and evidence of the character and nature of the book or writing considered, and then showing the force and true meaning of the Bible passage under consideration for the day, is the duty of a teacher, within the limits and needs of the particular pupils taught.

But "destructive criticism," which is so common among a certain class nowadays, has no place in the Sunday school, even if it has in some other places. Seeking to show that truths which have been held precious for ages, and which are worthy of being studied and profited by, have no basis for acceptance or belief, is not to be tolerated in the Sunday school.

The true purpose, object, and sphere of criticism of the Bible, or of any other book, are the discerning and disclosing of the treasures and beauties of what is examined. Thus it has been from the days of Aristotle to this day. It requires marked ability, and a commendable spirit, to be a real Bible critic. A man of inferior ability and of an unworthy spirit can do a destructive work with reference to the Bible as a university professor, or as a Bible commentator. It is so in other spheres. A boy with a piece of smoked glass can see spots on the sun at noon-day; but it requires the ability of a scientist with the aid of a spectrum to show the beauty and separate colors of the sun's rays. Thus in every sphere of life.

The main question which a wise and competent scholar of a right spirit will consider as a Bible teacher, in addressing by voice or pen those in the Sunday school (and the question that he should weigh well before he speaks or writes), is this: How

can I so use my knowledge of the Bible and its truths as to enable the pupils I address to receive the greatest good from the reading and study of the portion of the Bible now under consideration? With this question properly considered and answered, one is likely to do well as to biblical criticism in the Sunday school.

H. CLAY TRUMBULL.

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The mere statement of the topic awakens antagonism in many persons. This is due to many causes, among which may be named sheer ignorance of what biblical criticism is, objection to the word "criticism" as applied to the Scriptures, prejudice because of denunciations of it by recognized spiritual leaders, fear of its effect upon faith, the destructive temper of some biblical critics, natural conservatism that clings to old methods of study, and the avowed desire to divorce scholastic matters from an institution that is considered to be wholly evangelistic in aim. Such persons believe that it is safer to endure limitations more or less clearly felt than to remove them by introducing a Trojan horse.

There are two questions involved in the topic, the first as prefatory to the second: What is biblical criticism? What is its place in the Bible school? Says Professor Bissell:

It is the aim of criticism to use all means at its command, such as grammar and lexicon, literary analysis, archæological discoveries, doctrinal teachings, logical and chronological adjustments, to find out whether current opinions concerning the origin of the books of the Bible are true or false; whether such books have been preserved to us in their integrity or have suffered losses in their transmission; whether their text as it now appears is original or derived, pure or composite.

As all this seems to be study about the Bible, rather than of the Bible, its place in the Bible school would, with many, be instantly settled. But the idea of the Bible school has been enlarged to include such studies, and they are essential for the knowledge of the contents of the Scriptures.

In so far as biblical criticism is the philological, literary, and

archæological study of the Bible, it may have a place in a few schools with a few persons. Otherwise it is barred by the intellectual and spiritual immaturity of teachers and pupils to whom it would be mentally and morally fruitless. We avoid the introduction of calculus into kindergartens.

In so far as biblical criticism is a body of affirmations concerning dates, authorship, and integrity of documents, the same remarks as above apply. It must also be remembered that many so-called results are still questionable, and that their nature is such as to shock the reverence of many for the Bible.

In so far as biblical criticism is a method of study, historical research, scientific investigation, rigidly loyal to facts and relentless in rejecting fancies, the sincere effort to treat the Bible honestly, there is need for it in every school, and it should hold the supreme place. There is no remedy for the foolish religious fads that have sprung out of false methods of Bible study except such a process. For such grotesque distortions and caricatures of Christianity there is no preventive comparable to it. The wild "isms" which leach our churches thrive because of the very methods of study which biblical criticism corrects.

Two considerations must control in the introduction of biblical criticism into any Bible school, both of which are to preserve the reverence of the student for the Scriptures and their supreme value for his spiritual life. These are:

The constructive spirit. It is wicked to destroy faith, even in the effort to enlarge it by a deeper confidence. The fresh intellectual elements must be so introduced as to preserve, and if possible strengthen, the confidence of the student in the Scriptures. Let the improved method of study add to the moral attitude that is buttressed by the faulty processes whose displacement is desirable.

The method of adaptation. Our Lord himself practiced this when he spoke to men "as they were able to hear" (Mark 4: 33). He knew how to refrain from saying high things to immaturity (John 16: 12). There is no danger to faith if this principle of instruction be intelligently followed. The words of Jacob to Esau are good advice to enthusiastic reformers anywhere, particularly

in this matter : " My lord knoweth that the children are tender, and that the flocks and herds with me have their young : and if they overdrive them one day, all the flocks will die. Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his servant : and I will lead on gently, according to the pace of the cattle that are before me and according to the pace of the children, until I come unto my lord at Seir " (Gen. 33 : 13, 14).

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"CHRIST THE CONSOLER."

From painting by Carl Bloch.

DEIFIED MEN.

By PROFESSOR SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, PH.D., D.D.,
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INASMUCH as the teaching of the Moslem creed insists there is no god but God, it is easy to see that wherever Islam has sway it excludes anything like the deification of men. Nevertheless we have seen in the preceding article¹ that saints, once men, are treated as divine. They are addressed directly in vows and prayers. Blasphemy against Mohammed is a state offense,² and ignorant Moslems sometimes offer prayers directly to him.³

Wherever heresy exists, and the working of the native mind is untrammelled by the fear of being unorthodox, we may observe two phenomena, which are none the less significant, although they are found among people who may be descended from a Canaanitish stock. I refer to the Nusairiyeh, in northern Syria, who are commonly reckoned among the Shiites, of whom the Ismailiyeh,⁴ a closely related sect, the Druses,⁵ and the Babites⁶ are conspicuous examples. Indeed, the Turkish government, in order to remove the Nusairiyeh from the influence of Protestant missions, classifies them as Moslems today; but with no good reason, as must appear to anyone who has the opportunity to

¹ BIBLICAL WORLD, Vol. XIX, p. 168.

² *Journal*, X, Damascus, summer of 1901.

³ *Journal*, XIII, Brummana, summer of 1901.

⁴ *Journal*, XII, summer of 1901.

⁵ For a brief account see SELL's *Essays on Islam* (London, 1901), pp. 147-84. The classic authority on the Druses is DE SACY, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, I, II (Paris, 1888).

⁶ BROWNE, *A Traveller's Narrative Written to Illustrate the Episode of the Báb* (Cambridge, 1891); IDEM, *The Tārīkh-I-Jadīd; or, New History of Mirzá 'Ali Muḥammad the Báb* (Cambridge, 1893); SELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-98; ANDREAS, *Die Babis in Persien: ihre Geschichte und Lehre quellenmässig und nach eigener Anschauung dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1896). The titles of numerous books and articles on this sect may be found in BROWNE, *op. cit.*

look into any of their sacred books.⁷ They are divided into the initiated and the uninitiated. For one of the initiated to disclose the secrets of the sect means death.⁸ These were made known years ago, through the medium of the famous Dr. Van Dyck, by Suleiman of Adana, who became a Jew, then a Greek, then a Protestant, then an infidel. While at Beirût, he wrote his treatise in the house of Rev. Henry H. Jessup, D.D. Lulled into security by the promises, fair speeches, and abounding hospitality of his former co-religionists, he was lured to Mersina, where he was buried alive.⁹

There is every reason for believing that this book, which was issued about 1863, and which was translated in part by Professor Salisbury, of Yale College, and published with the text in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* in 1866, contains a true account of the ceremony of initiation, as well as of the tenets of the initiated. A sheik of the Nusairiyeh, who was very intimate with a Protestant pastor, confessed as much to him two years ago.¹⁰ They went over the book in detail, and the sheik uttered no dissent, except with respect to prayers consisting in curses,¹¹ in which other sects are mentioned. The existence of such curses in the ritual of the Nusairiyeh he denied. But his denial did not persuade his Protestant friend. He soon came under suspicion of those of like faith, as having revealed the secrets of the initiated to an outsider. Nothing but the declaration that he had not held any such interview saved him from immediate death.

⁷A good idea of these may be had from Salisbury's translation of the book by SULEIMAN of Adana, supplemented by LYDE, *The Asian Mystery* (London, 1860); cf. DUSSAUD, *Histoire et religion des Nosairis* (Paris, 1900).

⁸It is customary to appoint twelve sponsors for each one who is to be initiated. The Imam inquires: "In case he discloses this mystery, will ye bring him to me, that we may cut him in pieces and drink his blood?" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VIII, p. 232.)

⁹*Journal*, XII, Ladikiyeh.

¹⁰The name is not given for obvious reasons.

¹¹"Whoever desires salvation from the glow of infernal fires, let him say 'Curse thou those who play with apes together with all Christians and Jews. . . . Moreover, lay thou thy curse upon John Marûn the patriarch and upon all those who feed upon thy bounties, while they worship thee not.'" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, *loc. cit.*, p. 273.)

The information contained in this article is not derived mainly from the book of Suleiman of Adana, or from books about the Babites. I made a journey into the mountains of the Nusairiyeh, visited 'Ain Kurûm, a village where lawlessness is rife, where there are no marriage rites, boys of



NUSAIRIYEH SHRINE, ABOUT FOUR MILES SOUTH OF MUSYAF.

fifteen and girls of ten meeting and pairing in the romantic and dark recesses of the beautiful woods, leaving the matter of dowry to be decided by angry parents after the consummation of marriage. It was against 'Ain Kurûm that, two years before, a neighboring village advanced, several hundred strong, and attacked the villagers, only to leave ninety of their own men dead, thus lighting the flames of blood-revenge which will not be extinguished for generations.¹²

It was to the same village that sixty Turkish horsemen

¹²Blood-revenge is still the most binding institution of ancient Semitic life in Syria, Palestine, and Arabia.

came in order to collect the taxes, and had such a bellicose reception that they begged for their lives. It was during our visit that the night was made wakeful and anxious by clamor and frequent shots. It was by reason of their blood-feud with a village an hour and a half distant that we were unable to take the usual way into the country of the Nusairiyeh, beyond their mountains, and on to the seacoast. Instead, we were compelled to make a steep and very difficult ascent, under the guidance of one of their religious sheiks. We saw one of our mules roll over and over for more than a thousand feet down an incline that seemed almost perpendicular. We heard the despairing cry of the muleteer, and the appeal of our sheik to Khuddr. Wonder of wonders! thanks to our baggage, which broke the force of his fall, we saw the mule rise to his feet. Overcome by thirst and their exertions through this fall, and others much less serious which followed, our muleteers, after seven hours' climbing, when they reached one of the most beautiful forests¹³ in Syria, were ready to lie down and die. It was then that the greed of the religious sheik came to the surface. In one of the shadiest nooks of that beautiful forest, as we sat down, and our muleteers seemed in the last stages of collapse, he told us of a spring of ice-cold water, which beasts of prey frequented that they might slake their thirst, and which he promised to show us if we would give him bakhshish. We declined, and made him lead us to the spring. Refreshed, we went through mountain fastnesses which no Turkish soldier could attempt,

¹³ There are perhaps three really fine forests in Syria and Palestine; some might say four, and perhaps even more. The cedars, *par excellence*, in the valley of the Kadisha; the one over the Nusairiyeh mountains, on the way from 'Ain Kurûm to Matwar, is "a primeval forest of oaks, perhaps the finest in all Syria" (*Journal*, XI); the one from 'Ain Jenneh to Irbid: "For the first four hours one could hardly see in any country a more delightful region. . . . Here are old forests" (MERRILL, *East of the Jordan*, New York, 1887, p. 181). "The ride was delightful for about three hours. There is no other like it that I have seen in eastern or western Palestine. . . . The trees are not more than twenty or twenty-five feet high, but the tops are handsome. One has the delightful experience of riding a long distance in the shade." (*Journal*, V, summer of 1899.) Another forest may be seen on the way from 'Arâk el-Emir to Wâdi es-Sir. There are pine forests that have been planted and fostered at various points, but the finest natural forests are those just mentioned.



THE SACRED GROVE OF CEDARS IN LEBANON.

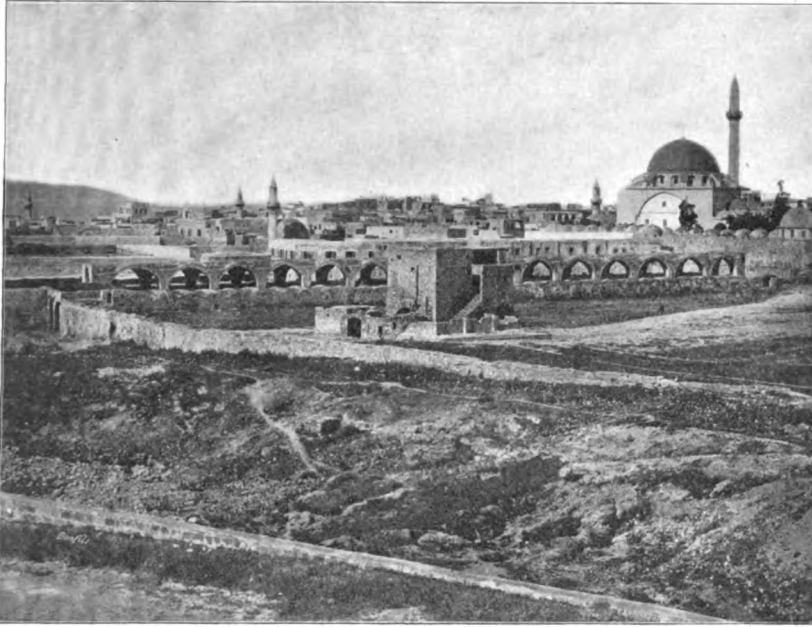
passed a high place—a conical hill, towering in solitary grandeur, crowned with one of the most beautiful, awe-inspiring groves imaginable. At last we reached an entirely different kind of life among the foot-hills of the mountains. We sought protection from a sheik, a noble-looking man, surrounded by fine-looking clansmen. We caught glimpses of comely women, who were in sharpest contrast to their degraded sisters at 'Ain Kurûm, for theirs was the happier lot of a life comparatively free from violence and mere animalism. In due time we arrived at Ladikiyeh. The following day, accompanied by Rev. James S. Stewart, of the Reformed Presbyterian Mission, I visited Protestant Christians in a village of the Nusairiyeh, from whom I received most interesting information. In some of their notions I found these Protestants still under the dominion of ancient Semitic ideas, in spite of their evangelical training.

We visited Behammra, where Lyde, the first English missionary, labored and built mission premises; these, with one exception, are in ruins. In Lyde's own home we gathered, and heard there of the indignities which he suffered in being yoked with an ass to a plow by the barbarians to whom he was attempting to preach the gospel. It required some finesse to keep off spies who came to listen, and who might have caused the death of our informant had they heard all that was told us. They were emboldened by a Turkish governor disputing the claim of the mission of the American Reformed Presbyterian Church to the property. Through the courage of our American consul, Mr. Ravndal, of Beirût, this property was saved to the mission, and the official who had made himself so offensive was removed.

It is not a reassuring sight in such a region to see a band of armed men watching by the highway over which you are passing, or to have them follow you, however friendly their subsequent professions may be. This was to me at the time an alarming experience, though my missionary companion, accustomed from childhood to tales of murderous raids by the Bedouins, showed no sign of fear; to him it was merely an incident of travel.

We spent a night in Musyaf, a lonely walled town of the

Ismailiyeh, after traveling through their country, with two mounted guardsmen who had been sent as an escort from the picturesque and romantic town of Kadmûs. Musyaf is the place where Rashîd ed-Din, the chief of the Assassins in Syria, once had his seat. With him Saladin was compelled to come to



ACRE, THE HOME OF ABBAS EFFENDI.

terms, though he had repeatedly attempted Saladin's life through his minions. These were so completely under his control that, at a given signal, two of them threw themselves down from a high tower to a violent death, in order to demonstrate to a visitor, Henry, count of Champagne, their implicit obedience, and to strike terror into his heart.¹⁴ Here I was once under arrest, because I did not have a passport (*tezekereh*). We were guarded by four soldiers at night on my second sojourn, by command of the governor, who marveled at our visit. It would not have been allowed if it could have been foreseen; but in the eyes of

¹⁴PORTER, "The Order of the Assassins," *Bibliotheca Sacra* (Oberlin, O., 1895), p. 129.

the government "might makes right," and an act questionable before its performance is condoned if it is accomplished.

In the same way my journey to Abbas Effendi, the head of the Babites, was not accomplished under easy circumstances. Quarantine had shut off all regular communication of Beirut with Haifa, except by the steamer "Prince George," derisively known as the "Jolly Boat," which can furnish as great a complement of human misery as any craft afloat. The Moslem, the inmate of his harem, and the Chicago professor, had the touch of nature that makes all the world kin. The day after my arrival I spent about four hours with the head of the great Persian sect, who is really a prisoner at Acre, and who is recognized by Frenchmen, Russians, and Americans, notably by some American ladies of fortune, as an incarnation of God himself. I had the honor of dining with Abbas Effendi and of taking afternoon tea with him. He seemed to throw off all reserve, was eager to welcome me as a possible disciple, and, when I left, "the Master" (as he is invariably called) expressed the hope, evidently adapting a New Testament expression, that we might drink tea together in the heavenly kingdom. Besides this interview, and reading all the works that were at hand¹⁵ regarding the Babites, by Abbas Effendi's special permission I had an interview with his private secretary.

While it is true that neither the Nusairiyeh, nor the Druses, whose heaven is in China,¹⁶ nor the Babites (who are a Persian sect of comparatively recent origin, and have been strongly affected by New Testament and Christian teaching) are Semites, I do not feel that I can drop them wholly out of this investigation, as they furnish some good illustrations of the deification of men; though in all these Shiite sects this idea has been modified by their gnostic notions, by their hospitality to neo-Platonism, and by a pantheistic philosophy; all of which elements appear in Sufism.¹⁷

¹⁵ See note 6, except the *New History . . . of the Báb*.

¹⁶ At the funeral of religious sheiks women are said to sing:

"O man, who hast been a chief in two centuries,

We congratulate the people of China on receiving your soul."

(*Journal*, XIII, Rasheyeh.)

¹⁷ ELLIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-45.

While in public the Nusairiyeh, like the Druses, assume the mien of Islam, which they wear on occasion like a "garment,"¹⁸ we have the contrast between the survival of ancient heathenism, in the worship of the sun and moon,¹⁹ which they identify with Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, and a monotheistic conception of him as the god of all the earth. The ancient worship of the heavenly bodies comes to the surface because the heretical sect of the Nusairiyeh does not exercise any such restraining influence as Islam, and because the uninitiated, at least among the Nusairiyeh, have never been purged by a purer faith from the popular worship of the sun and moon.

It is not difficult to trace the process by which Ali has come to receive ascriptions of praise as a divine being, such as are not found in the orthodox literature of Islam.²⁰ The sect of the Shiites, of which the Nusairiyeh are a subdivision, view with indignation the treatment that Ali received with respect to the succession in the caliphate. Instead of becoming the immediate successor of the Prophet, he did not become the recognized head of the Moslem world until Abu Bekr, Umr, and Uthman had preceded him. As indicating how lasting is the feeling of the Shiites, the Nusairy bride, when she is washing herself preparatory to her nuptials,²¹ curses the first three caliphs who succeeded Mohammed. But the most influential cause in bringing this indignation to white heat was the assassination of Ali; the supposed assassination of his elder son Hasan by an inmate of his own harem who, as the Aliites claim, was bribed to do the deed by the caliph; and the assassination of the younger son of Ali, Hosein, by a cruel emissary. The lips that had fondly kissed those of Mohammed became cold in death. The cruel tale was repeated by bereaved wives and children, and the horror has grown from age to age,

¹⁸ "They simulate all sects. . . . The simulation of sects is set forth by them allegorically, as follows: 'We, say they, are the body, and all the other sects are clothing; but whatever sort of clothing a man may put on, it injures him not.'" (SALISBURY, "Sulaiman on the Nusairian-Religion," *loc. cit.*, p. 296.)

¹⁹ "They hold that God is the sun and moon. . . . God is called Ali, the highest. They are divided into two sects; some believe he is in the sun, others that he is in the moon." (*Journal*, XI, country of the Nusairiyeh; *cf.* SALISBURY, *op. cit.*, pp. 300, 301.)

²⁰ SALISBURY, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

²¹ *Journal*, XI, Behammra.

and the pathos of his ending has never been forgotten. Passion plays are annually celebrated at Kerbela, where he met his death. All the bloody details of the deaths of Ali, Hasan, and Hosein are repeated before the horrified populace, who still utter loud lamentations, as if their taking off had just occurred, and who with pale and quivering lips call out these names, "Hasan" and "Hosein," as of beloved first-born.²² The fact that Hasan was a weak character, and won the title of "the divorcer" on account of his numerous matrimonial ventures, makes no difference in the popular esteem.

There can be no doubt that the poignant sense of the injustice done to Ali has contributed largely to his deification. On the one hand, he is regarded by the heirs of the ancient heathen worship of the heavenly bodies as being in the sun; others think of him as in the moon, while the angels are the stars, and the true believers are identified with the milky way.²³ There are, indeed, faint traces of such a worship of the heavenly bodies among ignorant Moslems. A missionary was trying to teach a Moslem woman that Adam and Eve were the progenitors of her children. "No," said the woman; "the moon is our father and the sun our mother."²⁴ Here, then, ignorance and heresy have joined hands to transmit the worship of the heavenly bodies, mentioned so often and with so much reprobation in the Old Testament.²⁵ Even today many ruins of ancient sun temples remain. Rev. Franklin E. Hoskins, of Beirût, of the American Presbyterian Mission, has made important investigations with respect to these temples, which have never been published.²⁶ The outlook is toward the east. The situation is most beautiful, whether on some mountain summit, as on Mount Hermon,²⁷ or on the Anti-

²² Testimony of an eyewitness, *Journal*, XII; cf. MUIR, *Annals of the Early Caliphate* (London, 1883), p. 442.

²³ NOFEL EFFENDI NOFEL, *History of Religion*, in Arabic.

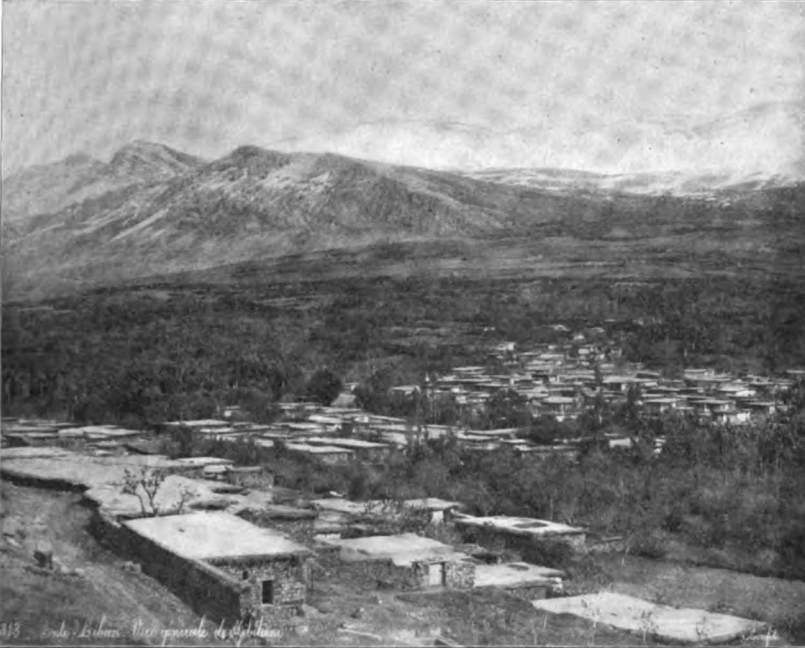
²⁴ Miss M. T. Maxwell Ford, of Safed.

²⁵ Deut. 4: 19; 2 Kings 23: 11; Ezek. 8: 16.

²⁶ It is to be hoped that Mr. Hoskins will find the time to complete his researches, and to give them to the learned world.

²⁷ It seems to me there can be no question, whatever may be determined as to the ruins as they exist today, which I examined in the summer of 1901 with some care, that there was a time when the sun was worshiped from the summit of Hermon. A platform can be traced which faces toward the east.

Lebanon, opposite some notch in the mountain where the worshiper could catch the first rays of the rising sun (see frontispiece). Mr. Hoskins has found more than twenty-five such temples. Some of them exist in pairs, one being in the village, and the other on the mountain.



THE ANTI-LEBANON MOUNTAINS, WITH VIEW OF ZEBULUN.

There are rites among the Nusairiyeh in other parts of the country which indicate a worship of the heavenly bodies, such as the turning of silver coins to the moon, as a presentation of the coin, indicating the worship of that body.²⁸ There can be no question that the ignorant and uninitiated among the Nusairiyeh worship

²⁸ Mr. Jabûr, of Nebk, a very intelligent Syrian, thinks the real religion of the Ismailiyeh and the Nusairiyeh is an ancient heathenism. He says that the sun, moon, and stars are worshiped in the northern portion of the country. He maintains that under the pretense of worshipping Ali they worship the heavenly bodies. I consider this merely a conjecture which is not supported by facts. (*Journal*, XII.) For signs of this worship cf. SALISBURY, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 255.

the heavenly bodies, and it is certain that the initiated are not free from that worship.²⁹

The deification of Ali by the Nusairiyeh has become complete. It rests on the principle that "spiritual things appear in physical forms;" thus "the angel Gabriel was incarnate and came in the form of a Bedouin, and Satan may appear in human form; so too the *jinn*; and God himself may appear in human form. As there is no prophet higher than Ali, and after him his sons, because they are the best of the creation, God revealed himself through them, and therefore they call them gods. . . . They apply a saying of Mohammed to Ali: 'I judge by externals; God knows the secrets.' They believe that Ali had charge of all the secrets of God. . . . They maintain, judging from Mohammed's statement, that he considered Ali equal to Christ, that Ali existed before the heavens and earth. He was on the right hand of the divine throne before his incarnation."³⁰ He is not only regarded as the incarnation of God,³¹ as having ascended to heaven without dying,³² but he is considered as God, as the first cause, as the Creator of the heavens and the earth, and as the only God. When this point has been reached, it is easy to see how it comes into conflict with the facts of history. Hence there are those of the Nusairiyeh who deny *a priori* that Ali had children. As they affirm that women were created from "the sins of devils," they could not well conceive of a divine being having connection with a daughter of the devil; indeed, they deny that their religious sheiks have any such connection, and claim that their children are begotten through passes which these leaders make with their hands over the bodies of their wives.³³

Among the Druses, who are classed as a Moslem sect, but only wear the Moslem or any other faith as a cloak, or defense

²⁹ LYDE, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 139.

³⁰ Quoted from an unpublished manuscript. ³¹ *Journal*, XI.

³² *Ibid.* Cf. LYDE, *The Asian Mystery*, p. 116: "The Ansaireeh do not suppose Ali to have been flesh and blood, but rather a luminous appearance. They speak of his acts as *sahir*, apparent only. For instance, says the Ansairee lad, they say he was not really married; for how, say they, could he be, being God?" (Cf. SALISBURY, *op. cit.*, p. 253.)

³³ SALISBURY, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

in time of danger,³⁴ and who hold esoteric teaching, which one reveals at the peril of his life, there is the deification of a man Hakim, whose wickedness and cruelties were the terror of his time, and which constitute one of the marvels of history.³⁵ And yet this monster of wickedness has been deified by the Druses, and they confidently look for his second coming.³⁶

In treating of the Babites, we have to deal with a sect which began in the year 1844, when Mirza Ali Muhammad appeared as the Bab.³⁷ Babiism is an outgrowth of Shiism through the Sheikhis,³⁸ and has some points of similarity with the Nusairiyeh and the Druses. Though a heretical sect of Islam, and a hybrid of the teachings of Islam and the Bible, especially of Islam and the gospels, and with an ancestry extending back to the Sufis, it is, in its aims, its ideals, and in the men and women that it has produced, by far the noblest sect born of Islam. Its founder, those who suffered martyrdom with him, and many more who have endured a like fate, have won the sympathy and largely the approval of those who have studied their system and portrayed their lives.

So far as Babiism is founded on the philosophical system of Sufism, it does not belong in our discussion; but so far as it

³⁴ SELL, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

³⁷ BROWNE, *op. cit.*, p. 226: "Kazem-Beg says . . . that one day, falling into an ecstasy, Mirza Ali Muhammad 'discovered that he was the *Bab*, the gate of truth.'" *Bab* is the Arabic for gate. It is interesting to note that the related sect of the Nusairiyeh use the same term of Bab. LYDE, *op. cit.*, p. 110, writes: "The Ansaireeh believe in one God, self-existent and eternal. This God manifested himself in the world seven times in human *form*, from Abel to Ali son of Abu-Taleb, which last manifestation was the most perfect, that to which the others pointed, and in which the mystery of the divine appearances found their chief end and completion. At each of these manifestations the Deity made use of two other persons: the first created out of the light of his essence, and by himself; and the second created by the first. These, with the Deity, form an inseparable trinity, called Maana, Ism, Bab. The first, the Maana, *meaning*, is the designation of the Deity as the meaning, sense, or reality of all things. The second, the Ism, *name*, is also called the Hedjah, or *veil*, because under it the Maana conceals its glory, while by it it reveals itself to men. The third, the Bab, *door*, is so called because through it is the entrance to the knowledge of the two former. . . . The third person in the trinity is the Bab . . . who in the time of Adam was Gabriel, and in the time of Ali, Salman-il-Farisee, the Persian."

³⁸ SELL, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

deifies certain men, and is closely connected with the sects already mentioned, it cannot be passed by.

Sell, in his able essay on *The Mystics of Islam*, has shown how Sufism has furnished the philosophical basis for Babiism: God is the primal element. In creation he came forth from internal to external manifestation. He is being, while man and all created things are not-being. Not-being is the mirror in which being is seen. Indeed, the infinite includes all being, evil as well as good; but as evil is inconsistent with the goodness of God, as set forth in the Koran, evil is said to proceed from not-being. All that exists is God, and nothing exists apart from him.³⁹

It is not difficult to see how, on the basis of such a philosophical system, the Babites hold that certain men are as truly mirrors of Deity as Jesus Christ was. Indeed, Abbas Effendi pressed this illustration upon me as explaining the incarnation. Holiness of character is not necessary to the idea of such an incarnation. "To the man of God right and wrong are alike." Sinlessness, then, is not indispensable to any of these incarnations. Indeed, it is not claimed for Ali, or Hakim, or the Bab, or Beha, or Abbas Effendi.

If we turn to the Old Testament, we shall find a practical tendency of the Semitic mind to deify man. This may be a survival of a time when the distinction between gods and men was not sharply drawn, to which allusion has already been made.⁴⁰ At any rate, men have the term "god" applied to them in the Old Testament. Jesus Christ himself alludes to this when he says: "If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came."⁴¹ This refers to certain passages where judges and rulers are termed Elohim.⁴² We find a similar usage in the Tell el-Amarna tablets. Various small kings, including those of Beirût, Sidon, Tyre, Hazor, Joppa, Lachish, and others, in writing to the king of Egypt, address him as "my gods" (*ilani-ja*). Thus Abi-milki, of Tyre, writes: "To my lord, the king, my sun, my gods."⁴³

³⁹ SELL, *ibid.*, pp. 3 ff.

⁴⁰ See note 1.

⁴¹ John 10:35.

⁴² Exod. 21:6; 22:7-9; 1 Sam. 2:25; Ps. 82:1.

⁴³ WINCKLER, *The Tell-el-Amarna Letters* (New York, 1896), *in loc.*

Following the same analogy, we seem to have in Ps. 45 a conspicuous example of the deification of a messianic king. The psalm, according to modern interpreters, celebrates the nuptials of a prince and princess. There is good reason to believe that the prince was of the house of David, perhaps Joram, and the princess of the northern kingdom, Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. This is a theory which was held by Delitzsch, which I rejected when he stated it to me in the first critical work that he assigned me. But it seems to me far more probable than any other theory which has been proposed. All the historical allusions seem to point this way. In a single verse which, as an epitaph, sums up the achievements of Ahab's reign, only two are mentioned: "The ivory house which he built, and all the cities that he built."⁴⁴ Hence the erection of an ivory house is made exceedingly conspicuous, as it could not well have been if such a palace had been built before. It is also said that the Tyrians (*bath Zur*) would be at the wedding with a gift, which would surely be the case when the daughter of Jezebel was to be married. Nor can there be any doubt that this is an earthly king, for not only his queen, but also, according to the customs of the times, his harem, is mentioned. There is also the hope expressed of a numerous posterity: "Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou shalt make princes in all the earth."⁴⁵ These are to take the place of their ancestors. When, therefore, this king is addressed:

Thy throne, Elohim,⁴⁶ is forever and ever:

A scepter of equity is the scepter of thy kingdom:

Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated wickedness:

Therefore Elohim, thy Elohim, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows,⁴⁷

⁴⁴ 1 Kings 22 : 39.

⁴⁵ Ps. 45 : 12, 16.

⁴⁶ WELLHAUSEN rejects the reading "Elohim" and conjectures that "YHYH (*yihyēh*) stood in the text, which a subsequent editor mistook for YHVH, *i. e.*, JHVH (Heb. *Yahvēh* . . .) and accordingly substituted ELOHĪM=God." But this seems like a conspicuous example of subjective criticism, for which none of the versions furnish any support.

⁴⁷ The reading "his companion" is supported by the Kethibh and the majority of the Massoretic MSS., but the reading "his companions," or "fellows," is sustained by the versions, the Qeri, and some excellent Hebrew MSS.; *cf.* KENNICOTT, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, in loc.*

we have the same term applied here to the messianic king as to the theocratic judge, who was each regarded in his place as a representative of God. The fact that the historical Joram fell so far below the ideal of the messianic king who was to wage war in behalf of truth and of the lowly but righteous ones, could not affect the hopes of the psalmist, who was inspired by the union of a prince of the southern kingdom with a princess of the northern, to paint an ideal of messianic hopes and expectations, colored by the conceptions of the time, but which the Spirit of God did not find an unworthy medium under New Testament conditions, setting aside the purely local features, for expressing the divine sonship of Jesus Christ.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Heb. 1:8, 9.

THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF TEXTUAL VARIATION.
ILLUSTRATED FROM THE BOOK OF ACTS.

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THE textual critic has two distinct tasks. He has to reconstruct the true text, and he has to explain the variations which he finds.

At the present moment we are a long way from being able to do either the one or the other in anything at all like a final manner. But progress is being made. It is being widely recognized that the text of Acts, to take one case, is full of complexities; and that the Greek text underlying the Revised Version is not the text which was used by the church of any known locality in the last decades of the second century—the earliest period of which we have any textual knowledge. The recognition of this fact is in itself a sign of progress, and may be the first step toward a greater measure of success in reconstructing the New Testament text.

Even more important is the increased attention to what used to be somewhat contemptuously called “glosses” or “interpolations.” We are beginning to feel generally, what a few great scholars always felt, that to recognize a sentence as a “gloss” is only the beginning. We have to explain our “glosses.”

When we try to do this, we find that a new field of investigation and a new mine of information are opened to us. The “glosses” and other variants take us back to almost forgotten passages of church history, which they illustrate and by which they are explained. Very often it is impossible to say which of two variants is the true text, and in such cases we have to try to put each variant into its proper environment, and make it tell its story.

In the present article I propose to draw attention to a few

passages in which this has been done or may be done. I do not claim absolute certainty for any one of the results, but it has seemed that it might be worth while to remind those who are not primarily textual critics that the variations in the text are not merely a matter of palæographical or literary interest, but often throw, as it were, a sidelight on history and the growth of doctrine.

I shall not say much about the question of what is the original text in the passages dealt with, partly because in most cases I have no certain opinion, partly because I want to emphasize the fact that the right way to study the Acts is not to select the text which has been made by some editor, however eminent, and treat it as representing the original text; but to take the text as it stands, and to use the textual variants in it to illustrate the difficulties found by early scribes, and the varying ideas and customs of the early church.

The passages which I have selected are not intended to be an exhaustive list, but examples of a method which might be applied to many other variants, and which I hope my readers will so apply for themselves.

1. *The text of Acts and the early calendar.*—In the first few sentences of the Acts there is a great confusion of text. The ordinary text, which is to be found in the Revised Version, is as follows:

The first treatise I made, O Theophilus, concerning all that Jesus began both to do and to teach until the day in which he was received up after that he had given commandment through the Holy Spirit unto the apostles whom he had chosen: to whom he also showed himself alive after his passion by many proofs, appearing unto them by the space of forty days and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God.

The points to be noticed here are (1) the reference to the ascension as mentioned in the "first treatise," *i. e.*, the third gospel; (2) the reference to forty days as the period which elapsed between the passion and the ascension. Now, if we turn to the writings of Vigilius of Tapsa, we find that in his quotation of the passage these two features are missing. His text, which, as may be seen by looking at Dr. Blass's edition of the Acts, is

supported by several other early authorities, seems to have been as follows :

The first treatise I made concerning all, O Theophilus, that Jesus began both to do and to teach, on the day on which he chose the apostles by the Holy Spirit to preach the gospel, to whom he also showed himself alive after his passion, being seen of them and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God.

Here, then, the writer describes his first treatise as ending with the commission to preach, and by the omission of any reference to the forty days he leaves it quite uncertain at what time the ascension took place ; whether, indeed, it was not delayed until Pentecost.

It is quite clear that these are points which are not to be explained by palæographical or transcriptional arguments. They are related to the history of thought far more than to the history of manuscripts. Therefore, what we want to do is to discover some facts in church history or doctrine which throw light on the problem.

It is not very difficult to do this in the case of the omission of the ascension in the second verse, because, according to Westcott and Hort, the mention of the ascension in Luke 24 : 51 is a Western non-interpolation, that is, omitted in just that type of text to which Vigilius's New Testament belonged. Therefore we may safely say that the two omissions go together, that at one time the third gospel did possess this reference, and the text of Acts corresponded. Which stage is the earlier no one can say ; but it is surely illogical to do as Westcott and Hort did, namely, select a text of the gospel which does not mention the ascension, and a text of Acts which says that the gospel did mention it.

The real difficulty is to find anything to explain the omission or insertion of the forty days, but probably it is connected with the growth of the calendar of the church. The principle of the church was, so far as possible, to repeat every year in proper sequence the great events in Christ's life, though the system was complicated by having a fixed calendar for some days and a movable calendar for others.

The calendar which we use is practically the same in principle; and so it is that we always observe Ascension Day forty days after Easter, and Whitsunday fifty days after Easter, *i. e.*, "when Pentecost is fully come." In the matter of the calendar this seems to be the traditional usage of the Roman church and her offshoots, the Protestant churches. It implies a text which mentions the forty days, and that is the text which is accordingly almost universal in later times.

On the other hand, the Syriac church used originally¹ to keep the Ascension and Whitsunday together on the fiftieth day. We do not know what was the Old Syriac text of Acts, but the evidence of the calendar suggests that it was the same as the text of Vigilius. Similarly we do not know (or at least I do not) the calendar of the earliest African church, but the text which survives in Vigilius suggests that it was the same as that which is found in the Old Syriac canons.

That, then, is the real importance of this variation in the text of the Acts. It takes us back to a time when the churches had not quite settled the day of the ascension; and we see how inextricably the text of the New Testament and the history of early Christianity are connected. It is quite impossible to understand one, or even to study it, without taking the other into account.

2. *The text of Acts and different interpretations of history.*—There are in Acts 12:25 two distinct texts connected with the account of the action of Barnabas and Saul. One text says that "Barnabas and Saul returned *to* Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their ministration." The other, with which we are more familiar, says: "Barnabas and Saul returned *from* Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their ministration." The words "from Jerusalem" in the second text is found in two forms, which can scarcely be distinguished in English: ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ and ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ. The latter is found in the T. R., but it is almost certainly wrong, as it is not supported by any of the earliest authorities, and is a unique construction after ἵπέστρεψαν.

Therefore the problem before us is to account for two early

¹ See CURETON, *Monumenta Syriaca*, Canon 9.

variants, one saying that Saul and Barnabas returned *to* Jerusalem, the other saying that they returned *from* Jerusalem (*i. e.*, to Antioch); and for a third variant, not quite so early, which confirms the second, though using a different word for "from."

First, then, how was it that early readers hesitated, and, when they came to be writers, sometimes put "from Jerusalem," sometimes "to Jerusalem"? It was not from any palæographical reason: no one ever confused *ἀπὸ* and *εἰς*. It is just possible that they were influenced by the knowledge that in nearly every case when Luke says "returned" he gives the place to which, and not from which, the return was made. But it is far more likely that the real cause of the variation in the text is that early students were doubtful as to the real sequence of events in this section of Acts. This is important: it takes us right back to the studies, as it were, of early scholars, who were just as prone to publish their own conjectural emendations as their successors are.

What, then, is the theory of the sequence of events which leads up to the "*from* Jerusalem" text? It is something like this: (1) a prophecy by Agabus that there will be a famine in Judea; (2) the mission from Antioch of Barnabas and Saul to relieve the distress in Judea, by taking funds, or perhaps even food, to the elders; (3) a parenthetical account of events in Jerusalem; (4) the return of Barnabas and Saul from Jerusalem to Antioch. The important part about this theory is that it assumes that Antioch is the center of the narrative, that the mission to Judea was necessarily a mission to Jerusalem, and was the "ministration" referred to in Acts 12:25.

The theory which leads up to the "*to* Jerusalem" text is different. It makes Jerusalem, and not Antioch, the center of the narrative. It starts, therefore, at an earlier point, and is something like this: (1) The Christians who went to Antioch after the persecution which followed the death of Stephen attracted the attention of the church at Jerusalem, which sent Barnabas to inspect and help them. (2) Barnabas brought down Saul from Tarsus to help him, and continued for a time to work in Antioch.

(3) Agabus prophesied the famine. (4) The famine relief fund is sent to Judea by Barnabas and Saul. (5) An account of the events at Jerusalem. (6) The return of Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem at the end of the ministration which included the famine relief, and also the visit of inspection to Antioch.

In this way, then, the two variants "to Jerusalem" and "from (ἀπὸ) Jerusalem" represent two different ways of regarding the sequence of Luke's narrative, the former regarding Jerusalem as the center of the story up to 12:25, the latter giving this position to Antioch after 11:19.

The third variation of text "from (ἐξ) Jerusalem" probably represents an emendation made a little later, perhaps in Alexandria, by some reader who believed in the theory requiring "from Jerusalem," but whose text read "to Jerusalem." He therefore altered εἰς into ἐξ, not knowing that when Luke wished to say "returned from" he always said ἀπὸ. His emendation was generally accepted, and so is found now in the T. R.

Which is the true text? No one knows. It really depends on the literary problem of the determination of the exact time at which the center of Luke's narrative ceases to be Jerusalem. For my own part, I am in the same frame of mind as was the scribe of Codex B, who began to write ἀπὸ and ended by writing εἰς. As an eminent scholar once said: "One is hardly ever wrong in following B!" I should, however, like to draw attention to the suggestion made on this point by Mr. Vernon Bartlet in his *Commentary on Acts* in the "Century Bible." He is inclined to suggest that the true text simply had "returned," without any statement of whence or whither. I believe that I owe the genesis of the idea which I have sketched above to Mr. Bartlet's suggestion.

It is obvious that the same line of criticism might be applied to several other variants. I will only suggest one such passage, without attempting to work it out even to the extent which I have done above. In Acts 11:20 the text varies between Hellenists, *i. e.*, Greek-speaking Jews, and Greeks, *i. e.*, non-Jews. Is this not due to early difficulties as to the exact point in the history of Acts at which preaching to the gentiles began? Space forbids

me to work out the suggestion, but I think that it might easily be done on much the same lines as those followed above.

3. *An early baptismal confession.*—If you look at chap. 8 of the Acts in the R. V., you will find that vs. 37 is missing; it has been relegated to the margin. The reason is that this verse is not found in several of the best authorities for the text. Probably the Revisers were right, and the passage is an early interpolation. It runs as follows:

And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest; and he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.

The insertion or omission of this verse is almost certainly to be traced to the influence of the ritual of baptism. It is possible that it was omitted originally by some scribe who could not imagine that so meager a confession of faith was ever regarded as sufficient; but that is exceedingly improbable. It is far more likely that it was inserted in order to define more clearly the conditions on which baptism would be administered, and to represent those conditions as obtaining in the time of the apostles. This is certainly the theory which commends itself to me. If it is true, it is important as giving us an early and perhaps the simplest form of creed that is known to us. It may therefore serve to remind us—

1. That all the existing creeds go back to somewhat the same kind of origin.

2. That the existence of some formulated creed has been found necessary in every age.

3. That the process of development which at the end of a long period has produced the Thirty-nine Articles, or the Westminster Confession, shows no signs of being at an end, but is probably accelerated rather than retarded by modern science and criticism. This generation probably needs more restatement and emendation than any preceding one.

4. That the salt which keeps creeds fresh and wholesome, and prevents them from degenerating into mere "foreign bodies" in the church, is the charitable conviction first voiced by Paul that there is at least some degree of inspiration in all who



recognize that Jesus is their Lord. "No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit."

4. *The desire to make the narrative full and consistent.*—This is an exceedingly common cause of textual variation. I will give three instances—two simple and certain, the third less certain, but more interesting: (1) In Acts 7:24, in Stephen's speech, allusion is made to Moses' interference between the Egyptian and the Israelite, and his murder of the oppressor. Probably the true text simply had "smote the Egyptian;" but an early scribe or commentator wished to complete the story and so added "and hid him in the sand," an addition which survives in Codex Bezae and the Ethiopic version. (2) In 9:4, in the account of the conversion of Saul, the earliest text probably did not have the words, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad," but the addition was made at a very early time in order to fill out the narrative and make it correspond with the parallel passages. The importance of these two passages (and a long list of similar ones might easily be prepared) is that in their case the evidence is quite clear, and there is no room for doubting that the early scribes made additions or alterations in order to round off the narrative and bring it into correspondence with parallel passages.

Therefore (3) we must be prepared to use the knowledge of this tendency of the scribes in other places, where the evidence is not so good and the question more doubtful. Dr. Rendel Harris has lately done this in connection with the death of Judas. He has shown that at an early period in the history of the Acts the text said that Judas "swelled up" instead of saying that he "fell headlong." He thinks that this is the original reading, and probably he is right. But the important thing for the student of Acts is to notice the light which this reading will throw on the tradition of the early church.

First, then, let us suppose that the reading is right, and that "fell headlong" is a later alteration. In this case it is clear that the writer of Acts was completely ignorant of the account given in the first gospel, and that his story, though not quite the same as that of Papias, belongs to the same tradition. It is, therefore, evidence against the story found in the first gospel;

and this suggests that the passage in the latter document does not belong to any source known to Luke, such as the so-called *Logia*, and may even belong to that redactor who put in the allusions to prophecy at the beginning of the gospel. The reading "fell headlong" is difficult to explain, but probably it is a half-hearted attempt to harmonize the Acts story with that of the first gospel, just as the reading of some Latin MSS. which read "*suspensus*" is a thoroughgoing effort in the same direction.

On the other hand, let us suppose that the reading "fell headlong" is original. In that case "swelled up" must be due to the influence of the story told by Papias, and the restoration of the original text at a later period must be traced to the cause mentioned above.

Taking together these two variants, and the story found in the first gospel, they show: (1) That in one locality the first gospel was used in its present shape, before the tradition which is found in Acts became known. This must be so, for there is no sign in the first gospel of any attempt at an early period to amend the account of the death of Judas. (2) That in another locality the Papias story was known before the first gospel came into use, at least in its present form. (3) That later the tradition of the gospel became the dominant one, and attempts were made to make the text of the Acts correspond to it.

In this way, then, we can make use of the variants in the text of the New Testament. Such a method ought to appeal to the Anglo-Saxon mind, for it is really only a humble attempt to follow the commercial method by making a profit even out of the "waste products" which an earlier generation threw on the rubbish heap. In these days we turn even rubbish heaps to good account.

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF PAUL.

IV. THE MESSIANISM OF PAUL.

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SECTION III. THE NEW LIFE IN CHRIST, OR THE DYNAMIC MESSIANISM OF PAUL.

YET social ethics are by no means neglected by the apostle. Had Pauline messianism been more affected by the hopes of the masses, there might have been involved some social elements in its concept of the kingdom of God. But as it was, Paulinism derived certain of its social teaching from quite another element of its messianic hope. The kingdom had, indeed, not appeared; but eternal life had already begun. And as the hope of an eschatological kingdom awakened a predilection for pharisaic *laissez-faire* in social matters, in this second element (as will appear) was the dynamic of a new morality both individual and social.

It must be borne in mind that the first Christian community was made up almost exclusively of those who had been associated with Jesus during his work in Galilee. Therefore, however heartily they accepted him as the one who was in the future to fulfil their hopes of the Messiah, they must also have been affected to a considerable extent by his religious instruction. To think of them in any other way would be contrary to every probability. It would be a most extraordinary contradiction if those who preserved the tradition of the life and words of Jesus should have been utterly unaffected by his teaching. In accepting Jesus as Messiah they had passed through a moral crisis, in the midst of which they had dedicated themselves unreservedly to the service of their brotherhood, their Master, and their heavenly Father.

During the life of Jesus this dedication on the part of the

group of men and women who constituted the nucleus of the Jerusalem community had taken the form of an abandonment of daily occupation, if not of wealth, and some attempt was made at rectification of wrongs done in earlier days.³¹ In any case, none would think of denying that the acceptance of Jesus as Christ was accompanied by a moral renewal. It was the very antipodes of cold, intellectual assent. Indeed, Jesus was eager to rid himself of men who were without this moral renewal.³²

Subsequently faith in Jesus was uniformly followed by spiritual ecstasy and other striking experiences, concerning which many questions naturally arise. If we waive them for the present, the mere fact itself grows in significance. The initial experience of this sort is represented in Acts as having occurred seven weeks after the resurrection which finally fixed the apostolic faith in Jesus as Messiah. But it is to be remembered that, according to the same authority, Jesus was occasionally with the disciples during forty days of this interval. Their complete possession by the conviction of his final disappearance into heaven, that is, of his complete messiahship, was therefore practically the same as the beginning of their new experiences. In the case of those who subsequently believed, these spiritual phenomena followed immediately either the beginning of faith itself or the act of baptism and the first laying on of hands.

Thus from the beginning of Christian history Christian experience was the accompaniment and result of Christian faith. The two were mutually supporting, and both were elements of messianism as it appeared in apostolic Christianity.³³

It was characteristic of the new community that their new experiences should have been given a messianic explanation. It

³¹ Thus in the case of Zacchæus (Luke 19:8), though he never became one of the intimate friends of Jesus.

³² Compare the remarkable instance in the sixth chapter of the fourth gospel, as well as Jesus' explanation of his use of parables in Mark 4:12.

³³ How generally a revival of prophetism was expected in the messianic period may be seen possibly by the general hope of Elijah's coming, by the expectation of some prophet (1 Macc. 4:46), and quite as plainly by the fact that the various popular leaders of the first century presented themselves as prophets, e. g., Theudas (JOSEPHUS, *Ant.*, xx, 5:1) and the Egyptian (*Ant.*, xx, 8:6); cf. GUNKEL, *Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, pp. 53-6.

was not enough simply to recognize the new impulses born of a new and confident approach to God. As a corollary of their acceptance of Jesus as the Christ who had temporarily returned to the right hand of God, whence he was presently to come to judge the living and the dead, the early Christians believed that they lived in "the last days." Centuries before, the prophets had foretold that then God would pour out his spirit upon all men. This prophecy Peter and the other disciples saw fulfilled in their new enthusiasm and ecstasy.³⁴ The Christ was, indeed, absent, but they had not been left comfortless. During these days in which they awaited the return of their Lord they had been given the Spirit, the first instalment of their future inheritance.³⁵ From Pentecost the reception of the Spirit was an integral part of the new messianic hope. To possess Him was the one indubitable evidence of one's justification by God, and of one's certain membership in the coming kingdom.³⁶ As a consequence of this experience, the believer was judged fit to be admitted through the initiatory rite of baptism into membership in the community of those who were preparing and hoping for the new messianic period.

In Pauline teaching and practice the elements of this messianism of the primitive Christians are clearly evident: the absent Christ, the approaching judgment, the future heavenly kingdom, the period of waiting under the direction of the Spirit. In both alike there are, therefore, two elements: the one formal and interpretative, derived from current messianism; the other experiential, the result of the religious trust and consequent divine renewal induced by the acceptance of Jesus as the fulfiller of messianic hopes. The distinction is fundamental in Paul, for with him the appeal to spiritual experience is final. In his own case this experience had been revolutionary. He had been "apprehended" by the Christ, and in the change from his old to his new life lay the subject-matter for much of his teaching. His conversion had consisted in the substitution, not of one theology for another, but of one life for another. Reduce this

³⁴ Acts 2: 14-36; 3: 21.

³⁵ Cf. Eph. 1: 14 and Acts 20: 32.

³⁶ Acts 10: 44-47; 11: 17, 18; cf. 15: 8, 9; Gal. 3: 2.

experience and its implications to words, and there is obtained one of the two great foci of Paulinism: the new life of the believer, due to the influence of a revealed God.

It would be a grievous misinterpretation of the apostle's thought if one should at this point identify the regenerate life itself with the so-called "gifts of the Spirit." We are too far removed from the first generation of Christians, and the data at our disposal are too vague, to warrant a very confident constructive statement as to what these "gifts" may have been, but we may confidently infer from the apostle's words what they were not. When one sees the final editor of Acts himself somewhat at a loss to understand "tongues," if one were to judge from his description of the phenomena of Pentecost, caution grows all the more imperative in explaining the gifts of tongues, interpretations, miracles, and prophesying so familiarly discussed by Paul in his correspondence with the church at Corinth. Yet, however one may confess his ignorance in the matter, however one may speculate as to their precise symptoms, as to whether they were pathological, as to whether they are properly to be considered as permanent elements of Christian experience, one thing stands out with perfect distinctness: Paul regards them only as secondary and inferior evidences of the new life. The least valuable of them all—"tongues"—was unfitted for "edification;" while the most desirable—"prophesying"—was itself far inferior to the "more excellent way" of love.³⁷ In other words, Paul regarded the work of the Spirit in human life as essentially moral. God's life in those who had chosen Jesus as Christ, and who were seeking to live according to his teaching, was destined to produce moral change and growth; not sensational actions. It was a source of character, not of eccentricities.

Paul treats this new life from two points of view: (1) It is the earthly counterpart of the ideal proposed by his messianic hopes. In the resurrection of Jesus Paul saw something that was to be enjoyed by all believers. The Christ had but anticipated his kingdom, and the time was soon to come when all

³⁷ 1 Cor. 12: 1—14: 39.

those who had accepted him were to put on immortality and enter upon an eternity of righteousness made possible by the end of the tyranny of the body.³⁸ During the brief period³⁹ of waiting for this deliverance, the Christian was to endeavor to live the sort of life which was to be his in the new kingdom. Here is evidently a formal ethical ideal which, though somewhat indistinct, has yet an appreciable content for the believer in the risen Jesus. Paul constantly uses it as a basis of ethical appeal. "If ye are risen with Christ," he urges the Colossians,⁴⁰ "think the thoughts that pertain to things above where Christ sits." He tells the Romans to subordinate physical pleasures, on the ground that the kingdom of God is not to be characterized by eating and drinking, but by love, joy, and peace in the Holy Spirit.⁴¹ And, perhaps as striking as anything, he repeatedly urges that, as the Christian is a citizen of the new kingdom, he is to live as if he already possessed the privileges of that kingdom. His citizenship is in heaven.⁴² For the one who does so live, beating down his grosser nature, living according to his future, reward is certain.

Thus the Pauline eschatology is essential to the Pauline ethics.⁴³ To divorce the two is to destroy the Pauline system. The conception as to what life in the new kingdom is to be determines what life upon earth should be.

But (2) the new life is also morally dynamic, and the basis of the Christian's ethical imperative. He is not wholly dependent upon the presentation of a heavenly ideal. Incomplete though it was, the life to be lived in the full presence of God had already begun in the believer. Due as it was to divine influence, it was to be supreme in all his conduct. Paul here carries to its legitimate ethical conclusions the doctrine of the Spirit's presence. His approach is, as always, through his eschatology; the Spirit is the first instalment of the inheritance

³⁸ See Phil. 3:21 and the entire argument in 1 Cor., chap. 15.

³⁹ Rom. 13:11-14; cf. 1 Thess. 4:15-17; 1 Cor. 15:51.

⁴⁰ Col. 3:1.

⁴¹ Rom. 14:17.

⁴² Phil. 3:20.

⁴³ See 1 Thess. 2:12 (cf. 1:10); Gal. 6:7-9; 1 Cor. 15:58.

awaiting the members of the coming kingdom.⁴⁴ He it was that gave "gifts" to men, that directed the church, that reinforced the believer's spirit in its desperate struggle with the "flesh," that pleaded with God for erring men, that helped men's infirmities, that would later quicken their mortal bodies into likeness with that of Jesus.

But, however Paul may approach the new life, and however much his expressions may sound contradictory, his ethics is neither archæological nor heteronomous. On the contrary, once strip off his peculiarly Jewish terminology, and he is the very Coryphæus of ethical autonomists. How otherwise could one designate the man who declared law had no more control over the Christian, and whose letter to the Galatians is a veritable declaration of moral independence? It is one of the curiosities of today's ethical thought that he who even more distinctly than Plato magnified the necessity of "walking in the spirit" should have been utterly overlooked or relegated to the mercies of dogmatic theology. The neglect is, of course, due in large measure to the modern sensitiveness over appeals to rewards and punishments; but even more, one cannot help believing, to the unwillingness of ethical thinkers to accord religion any determining place in morality. To such philosophers Paul, with his insistence upon the active presence of God in a man's life, can hardly fail to be of little importance. Yet we venture to believe that Paul is near the heart of things when he insists upon the moral results of the interpenetration of the divine and the human personalities. If there be a personal God, it is hard to see how he can be excluded from personal relations; and why from such relations should there not result, as Jesus and Paul taught, a new moral life due to the effect of God's spirit upon man's spirit?

The danger here clearly is that one who looks thus to God for moral assistance should become morally inert. Paul, however, avoids this danger by his recognition of the distinction between influence and compulsion. Impulses the religious soul must receive from God, but as the plant is influenced by its environing sunshine. To make these impulses of moral worth,

⁴⁴ 2 Cor. 1 : 22; 5 : 5; Eph. 1 : 14.

they must be followed and thus incorporated through volition into one's own personality. The non-moral "charismata," like tongues and miracles, are of value only when morally practiced.⁴⁵ By following the impulses received from one's approach to God through faith, the believer becomes ethically a new man; old things pass away, all things become new.⁴⁶ As Paul said so strikingly, the new life he lived by faith was Christ living in him. The ethical imperative becomes therefore clear: from one point of view it may be expressed, "Grieve not the Spirit;" from another, "Walk in the Spirit;" from still another, "Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has set you free." Or, in un-Pauline words: Realize the new self made possible by the new life with God. Such a self might be described in non-messianic language as characterized by faith in a loving God, free from fear of future ill, self-sacrificing like Jesus, masterful over the animal instincts, brotherly and serviceable, full of love and joy and peace.

It is here that one sees distinctly the difference between Pauline and pharisaic messianism. The one is undoubtedly derived from the other; but that which was the essence of the older has become the interpretative medium of the newer hope. It was the regenerate life, the new moral earnestness born of the religious experience induced by the acceptance of Jesus as Christ, that distinguished Christianity from pharisaism, and which has given it historical vigor and pre-eminence. Paulinism as a fulfilled pharisaic messianism might have had vast influence among the Jews, proselytes, and "devout" gentiles of Palestine and the empire at large; but Paulinism as the exposition of the meaning, the blessings, and the ethical possibilities of a life of trust in a loving heavenly Father is bounded by no age or place or archæological knowledge. It is the veritable Christianity of Jesus himself.

As a teacher of such a life, dynamic because dependent upon God, Paul has yet to come to his own. The historic theologies have, it is true, never neglected it; but they have made it secondary to an exposition of the other elements in the apostle's thought. Historical exegesis will increasingly reverse the process, and see, not in the survivals of pharisaism, but in the new

⁴⁵ 1 Cor., chap. 13.

⁴⁶ 2 Cor. 5: 17.

life—the eternal life of Jesus and John—the permanent and all-inclusive element in Pauline teaching. To trace the apostolic exposition of the ethical and social implications of this new life is, therefore, to set forth essential Paulinism. But it is also to do something far more important: it is to make easy the process by which apostolic Christianity may be accurately re-expressed in our own day. Paulinism seen through the historical medium of its messianism becomes at once intelligible and, so far as its ethics is concerned, one had almost said, simple.

A Meditation.

Romans 8:37. “Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us.”

Not conquerors merely, but more than conquerors. Victory over the bitterest trials of life, and over the mightiest forces of evil that would separate us from Christ's love, and victory to spare. What is the secret of this surplus of conquest? It is a strong confidence, a victorious temper that nothing can overcome, but that can overcome everything. What is the source of this conquering mood? It is nothing else than the reproduction in his disciples of Christ's personal disposition of his own overcoming temper, as when he says: “In the world ye have tribulation; but be of good cheer. I have overcome the world.” Or as when Paul declares: “I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me.” Christ's choicest gift to us is not an external good, but a spirit of triumph over evil, a deep persuasion, a firm expectation that nothing can separate his true followers from his love. For this gift we are encouraged to ask; for Christ who loves us loves best of all to give us himself.

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THE THEOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF JONAH.

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THAT the book of Jonah has a theology cannot be doubted. One is clearly reflected on the surface, and in the depths, of the story. It is not, indeed, likely that we shall find a full *system* of theology in these short chapters. But if we can find three cardinal points, we can determine the circle. These three points may be most briefly indicated by three words: God, sin, salvation. What has our book to say on these subjects?

Subsidiary to these three points, we may ask two other questions of a practical sort: What is taught here concerning man's task? and what of his hope?

I. What does the book of Jonah teach of God? He is a person: knowing, feeling, willing, acting. He speaks, reasons, repents. He is holy: loving righteousness, hating wickedness, showing mercy to penitents. He has terrible power: sending a strong wind to stir the great sea into a furious condition, which strikes fear and terror even into the mariners' hearts. He will not be defeated in his purpose. He does what he pleases, and the resources of the world which he has made, including the mysterious depths of the sea, are at his command and under his control. He governs the world *directly*; no natural laws hinder the free play of his omnipotent will. The storm is the expression of his wrath, which sinks into a great calm when the wrath is overpast. His *creative* energy is limited only by his good pleasure. He prepares a great fish for an emergency. He causes a plant sufficient to cover a booth to grow in a night. He prepares a worm for its destruction. His *dominion* is vast, including the far-away city of Nineveh. Jonah, in his naïve way, will flee from his presence, but soon realizes that his effort is vain. The wings of the morning and the uttermost part of the sea are no help to

him. The right hand held him; and the hold of the ship could not conceal him. Not only is this God able to find Jonah on the sea, but Jonah finds God there, and finds him as deliverer from his own cowardice and selfishness. The fleeing Jonah becomes ready to lay down his life to save a heathen crew and their passengers. To sum up: the God of the book of Jonah is, on the side of his power, very near to our conception of God. It will be shown later, too, that morally he is most wonderfully kind, and that there is a wideness in his mercy like the wideness of the sea. But now we think especially of his power. Whether he is the only God or not, he is at least the only one worth mentioning. The gods of the mariners cannot help them. The gods of the Assyrians are, at least, ignored. The God who looses the winds from his fists to lash the great sea into a fury, and who controls growth and decay in Assyria, and reads the doom of great Nineveh, can be nothing less than *the* God.

The thought of providence and miracles, stripped of its oriental dress, is in close correspondence with the faith of many scholars today who are scientific as well as devout. Faith knows no second causes, but refers everything immediately to God. It knows God can do all his holy will, and believes the goal of that will is the redemptive purpose for man. Nothing is too small to be included within this divine plan. "There is scarcely a believer who does not know how to tell of God's miraculous guidance in his poor life." Of course, the believer now has, what was unknown in Jonah's day, a conception of the orderliness of nature—of second causes. He grants this intellectual construction of the actual world to the scientific investigator, but his faith refers everything that actually is, natural law and all, immediately to God.

II. What does our book teach of sin? First of all, sin is a tremendous fact. There is no list of sins, or catalogue of broken laws; but sin stands forth as dreadful in God's sight, and in its dire consequences. Sin rouses the anger and stirs the wrath of God; at the same time becoming the occasion for the manifestation of his profoundest and tenderest love. Sin moves the

mind that rules the world. It literally shocks the universe. Amos had already suggested that for sin the land would tremble, heave and sink like the Nile, pastures would mourn, and Carmel would wither. It is sin which calls out the mission to Nineveh. No special sins are mentioned. Sin is not in acts, but attitude. The children have lost the child-spirit. They have gone away like prodigal sons from the Father's heart—their wickedness wounds him, but his love abides. The great city lies in rebellion. God's banner is being trailed in the dust. Without amendment there can be but one result—destruction. Sin must be punished; even Nineveh, with innocent children, and poor dumb brutes toiling out their dull lives in service of man, even great Nineveh, with its pride and pomp, must perish if sin is not given up.

But sin in its darkest hues can be seen only in one who stands in brightest light, nearest the throne; in the elder brother, not in the prodigal; in Jonah, not in Nineveh.

"A man said to his son, 'Go work in my vineyard.' He said, 'I will not.'" "The Lord said to Jonah, 'Arise, go to Nineveh.' He arose . . . to flee into Tarshish." He will flee the very presence of the Lord. He will not have this One rule over him. Out of His presence, he says: "Now I can have time to swallow down my spittle; now I shall sleep." But he has not really escaped the Sin-Avenger. "The lot is cast in the lap, but the whole decision thereof is of the Lord." There could be no doubt God had found the sinner. His path was searched out, even in the sea; distance could not save him, darkness could not hide him. The *irrationality* of sin (in Jonah's case) is appreciated by the heathen sailors, who, knowing Jonah's flight, ask in astonishment: "Why hast thou done this?" Their fear of the Lord, their conscientious effort to save human life, their earnest prayer, put Jonah to shame. Jonah's mouth is stopped. His own sin lies at its door. It is not opened till he has answered the "great refusal" with a great surrender. When he loses his life he finds it, and bursts into exultant prayer. He faces God, truth, and duty, and is ready to be offered up to save the lives he has endangered.

But there yet remains the saddest feature of the sin of Jonah. It is true the man who said, "I will not," afterward repented and went. It is true his conviction seemed profound, his conversion genuine, his obedience new and generous—but love, which fulfils all; love, which alone can utterly cover sins, was wanting. The world judges this sin—the sin of not loving—lightly, compared with the sins of the publican and prodigal. It is a matter of deep spiritual interest that we have set before us, the sulking prophet longing for the destruction of the penitent along with his own. We have here the picture of the elder brother. Professor A. B. Bruce calls this sin of not loving the unpardonable sin.

In a word, we find again that our book is wonderfully modern. Its view of sin as dreadful in God's sight, dreadful in its consequences, dreadful in its subtle working, even within God's servant, is worthy of most serious consideration.

III. What does our book teach of salvation? It is a crowning virtue of the book of Jonah that it values man as man. Jonah is first passed through a preliminary discipline in the democracy of the sea. He finds himself reduced to a common denominator with these heathen watermen. They exhibit, not only fear of the gods, but tender regard for men. They have both religion and morals. They are susceptible, too, to new truth, ready to worship the God who made the sea and the dry land. It is impossible for Jonah not to respect the men who row hard to save his life, when he has nearly caused the death of all on board. It cannot be that such men are made only for destruction. If these men can be won to fear the true God, it may be that the great world that lies in wicked rebellion to God may yet be won for him. That Jonah appreciated the full force of his lesson cannot be asserted, but still it must have made a deep impression. That the lesson of equality of men and the universality of the love of God was not learned by the nation is clear. Even in New Testament times Peter requires a new vision for the old lesson that God is no respecter of persons. There were, indeed, in other prophets hopes for the heathen, but the fulfilment of those hopes lay in the future. Then the

gentiles will say : "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob" (Isa. 2 : 2), and "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (Hab. 2 : 4). But here we have the proud Assyrians actually hearing the word of God from a humble prophet, and falling on their knees in forms of greatest self-humiliation and crying to God for pardon.

There is no machinery here, but simplicity and spirituality. As sin is in attitude rather than in act, so is salvation. The Assyrians need not come to the mountain of the house ; they could find God where they were. God was there in Nineveh. Salvation is not of works ; not even is it of worship, ceremonial works in the temple. No temple, no priest, is needed. The only sacrifice needed is the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart. "The eternal is merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin."

Repentance is the gateway to God and to all that is good. The forms of sackcloth and ashes, and fasting for man and beast, may be appropriate symbols for an inner and spiritual grace, but the essential thing is the turning of the soul from the "evil way" to God.

Two other points remain :

1. Man's task. When Isaiah received his call in the form of a vision of God, there immediately followed a voice, saying : "Whom shall I send ?" This idea of the redeemed life as a life of service reached its fulness in the conception of the Servant of the Lord wrought out in such detail by the great prophet of the exile. Have we not here in the book of Jonah the same idea ? The whole wide world is for God, but now it lies in wickedness. How can it be saved without a preacher ? Is not the election of God, which is the glory of Israel, an election to service as well as to salvation ? Indeed, can it be an election to salvation if it is not at the same time an election to service ? Will not the stagnant water become vile ? If it be granted that God's purpose toward the whole world is salvation, and that the world is susceptible to faith, then man, in so far as

he thinks God's thoughts after him, must see man's salvation as the goal of his purpose also.

2. Man's hope. We may say the book has little that is definite in the way of hope—for it has no eschatology. But it contains two sure foundations of hope. They are the universal love of God and the universal susceptibility of man. Nothing but sin can separate from God. Repentance is return to God. Salvation is not arbitrary, but ethical; no ascent, nor descent, nor pilgrimage, nor exploit—then would salvation be limited externally. But if it only means turning of the heart to a God who is loving far beyond all our thought of him, then man's hope is sure. And God's love does shine through the whole book. Even his wrath is but the obverse side of his love. The wrath is not an end in itself; it is only a means for manifesting love. He, amid the furious storm, is watching over heathen sailors, and his fleeing prophet; in Nineveh, "keeping watch above his own," the king and the slave, the little child and "much cattle." It is true the book breaks off abruptly, not even telling us of the future of Jonah or of Nineveh. But, as Professor George Adam Smith says, "God has vindicated his love to the jealousy of those who thought it was theirs alone. And we are left with this grand vague vision of the immeasurable city, with its multitude of innocent children and cattle, and God's compassion brooding over all." May we not say that the book of Jonah does not end, but breaks off, as it were, in the great scheme of progressive revelation, in the middle of the sentence, "God so loved the world . . ." (John 3: 16).

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Notes and Opinions.

EGYPTIAN IDEAS OF THE FUTURE LIFE.¹

Most peoples of antiquity have myths explaining the creation of the world, but few have any definite ideas of the end of things. In the Egyptian texts we find no myth concerning the final destruction of the world; only some references to futile attempts on the part of the gods to destroy mankind. There is a hymn, dating from 1200 B. C., telling of a great flood:

Thy flood rises to the heavens,
And the roaring water of thy mouth is in the clouds.
Thy jackals are in the mountains,
The water of the god Horus covers the great spaces of all lands,
The flood of waters covers all quarters of the heaven and the sea.
The lands would be the dominion of the flood,
Were they not under thy sway.
The waters move now upon the way that thou appointest,
They cannot pass over what thou ordainest,
The path that thou openest before them.

This deluge is represented as coming, like the Nile, from beneath, and driving the sun-god toward the mountains.

Another myth is found in the inscriptions in the graves of Seti I. and Rameses III., thus dating from about 1400 to 1200 B. C., in which the sun-god Ra is pictured as growing old and unable to command the respect of men. Mockingly they say: "Lo, the god Ra is grown old, his bones have changed into silver, his limbs into gold, and his hair into *lapis lazuli*." The sun-god hearing these words becomes angry and holds a council with the other gods as to what ought to be done with mankind, and it is determined to send out the goddess Hathor-Sekhmet to destroy mankind by means of a great conflagration. She proceeds on her journey of destruction, but the entire human race does not perish, because the god repents of his command and sends messengers to Elephantine to fetch fruits, the juice of which, being mixed with beer and poured upon the earth, has the effect of stopping the conflagration.

¹ As interpreted by WIEDEMANN, in his recent work entitled *The Realms of the Egyptian Dead, According to the Belief of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1901).

These are the only references to an attempt at the destruction of the whole human race. In regard to the death of individuals and their life hereafter we find abundant references in the inscriptions as well as much monumental evidence. To the Egyptians death had no particular terror; it was simply an interruption in their existence. The body of man was the battlefield for good and evil spirits, and, according as the man had good health or sickness, the good and the evil spirit respectively had the mastery over him. By magic the evil spirit could be expelled, and then the sickness ended. These struggles continue until the hour of death comes, but they do not cease then. Death is simply an incident; the fight goes on in the life hereafter. The hostile spirits would seek to cause a second death, and it was against this the Egyptians sought to guard by means of magic and spells. Formulas of such spells were therefore cut on the walls of the tomb or on the sides of the sarcophagus.

In regard to the realm of the dead there is a confusion of ideas and many inconsistencies, but there are three possibilities as to place: under the earth, in the sky, and on the earth; and we find inscriptional material referring to each as the abode of the dead. The rising and setting sun was a constant marvel to the Egyptians, and the phenomenon gave rise to the many solar myths. The sun-god is supposed to travel in a boat on the celestial Nile by day, and returns through the kingdom of darkness by night. In the middle of the boat there is a cabin, in which the god, surrounded by his crew, keeps the heavenly court. Some myths represent him as having two boats, changing his place from one to the other at noon; others regard him as making such a change every hour. The day journey ended in the west, and then the boat floated back to the east. The journey of the sun-god was the symbol of man's life. The sun-god was born in the morning, grew old on his course, and died in the evening, rising on the morrow to new life again. Descriptions of the sun-god's travels are found in the Book of Am-Duat and in the Book of the Gates, in the tombs of the kings of the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasties. These pictorial representations show the sunboat sailing through the underworld. On the banks of the river stand or lie demons of various kinds, and also the dead who have followed the sun from the western horizon. They are left by the god in different parts of the underworld, where they must till the fields and do hard labor. This is the fate of the dead, irrespective of their moral character and their deeds in this life. The consciousness of the injustice of such a fate gave rise to an inter-

polation of a judgment scene in both the Book of the Dead and the Book of the Gates.

How melancholy the conception of the future life was can easily be judged from the inscription on a stele, dating from 2000 B. C., in which a dead wife is said to be adjuring her living husband in the following way:

Oh, my comrade, my husband! Cease not to eat and drink, to be drunken, to enjoy the love of women, to hold festival. Follow thy longings by day and night. Give care no room in thy heart. For the west land is a land of sleep and darkness, a dwelling-place wherein those who are there remain. They sleep in their mummy forms, they wake no more to see their comrades, they see neither father nor mother, their hearts do not yearn for wife and children. On earth each drinks the water of life, but I suffer with thirst. Water comes to him that sojourns on earth, but I pine for the water that is by me. I long for the breeze on the bank of the river to soothe my heart in its woe. For the name of the god who rules here is Total Death. At his call all men come unto him, trembling with fear. He makes no difference between gods and men; in his eyes high and low are equal. He shows no favor to him who loves him; he carries away the child from his mother and the gray-haired man alike. None comes to worship him, for he is not gracious to his worshippers, and he pays no heed to him who brings gifts to him.

Another series of pictures represents the realm of the dead in the sky. How the dead could get there the Egyptians did not trouble themselves to explain. They may have climbed into the sun-god's boat when it sank on the western horizon, and then followed the sun on his journey till he rose in the eastern sky. A more prevalent idea was the one according to which the deceased person flew thither in the shape of a human-headed ba-bird. In heaven the souls partook of the joys of the gods, and, strangely enough, proceeded to devour the gods, in order to acquire their excellencies.

The third realm of the dead was on earth, the realm of their resurrection life. Man lived again in the life of plants and trees. A drop of blood from the wound of a dying man causes a tree to spring up, and in that tree he lives again. The doctrine of such immortality is closely connected with the myth of Osiris. Osiris, the son of the god of earth and the goddess of heaven, ruled as a human king in Egypt and gained the love of all, except his brother Set, who plotted against him, murdered him, placed his body in a chest, and set it floating on the Nile. His body was found by his wife and sister Isis, who sang a song of lament over him. Anubis buried him. Horus, the son of Osiris, avenged his father by slaying Set, and seized the throne of

Egypt. Because of this zeal of Horus, Osiris was allowed to live in the next world as the king of the dead. According to other myths, Osiris, having been murdered by Set, was cut into pieces, and the parts were scattered in all directions. Isis was wandering, until she had found all the parts, put them together, and buried them. Still other myths state that she buried each part when she found it, which gave rise to the numerous claims as to the burial place of Osiris. The idea of the cutting to pieces probably arose from the custom of dismembering the body after death.

The Osiris myth also underlies the custom of embalming. The hope of the future life depends on the successful preservation of the body, and hence embalming was resorted to. The body was treated with natron to deprive it of moisture, then with bitumen to destroy the germs of decay. Before embalming the vital organs of the body, the lungs, the heart, the stomach, the intestines, and the brain were removed. Thus the body was fearfully mutilated.

There was a time in ancient Egypt when the thought prevailed that the immortal part of man was always connected with the body; hence it was essential to preserve the body. The embalming served that purpose, but further precautions must be taken. Thus the corpse was placed in a coffin, which in its turn was set in a sarcophagus. The latter then became the "everlasting home" of the deceased, from which, however, he could rise and go about in the tomb. Hence the mastebah was made as pleasant as possible for him, that he might enjoy the same pleasure in the life to come as he had in this life. The ka-belief and magic lay at the basis of this custom, for it was only through magic he could enjoy the gifts placed in the tomb. The custom of bringing offerings is well treated in this little volume, though one would have expected to find more explicitly set forth the relation of it to the ka-belief.

Having dealt with the myth as to the journey of Osiris, and the hope of every Egyptian of receiving a dwelling in the future life in the realm of the just in the blessed fields of Aalû, the author concludes with the doctrine of the threefold nature of man: the body, the ka or the double, and the ba or the soul.

EMANUEL SCHMIDT.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Work and Workers.

THE next series of Cunningham Lectures, to be given in England in the spring of 1904, will be by Rev. H. A. A. Kennedy, M.A., of the United Free Church, Callander, Scotland. The subject of the lectures is to be "The Eschatology of St. Paul."

THE death of the lamented Professor A. B. Davidson came before he had completed his work on *Old Testament Theology*. But the executors hope to publish the material so far as it had been prepared by Dr. Davidson, and at an early date; it cannot now be learned how nearly complete the work will be. It is to be edited by Dr. Davidson's colleague, Professor J. A. Paterson, who succeeds to his chair at the New College, Edinburgh.

THE long-expected text-critical work of which Professor von Soden, of the University of Berlin, is the editor, will begin to appear this summer. It is to be comprised in two volumes, and will be issued by Duncker, Berlin. The title of the whole work is: *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*. Vol. I will contain introductory material concerning the witnesses of the text, the forms of the text, textual history, description of the oldest text. Vol. II will contain the text itself, with an elaborate text-critical apparatus. The price for the complete work is announced as 40 marks (about \$10), if subscription is made by October of this year; later subscribers will pay 50 marks.

WE mention with hearty approval the program which has been sent to us of the Bible school conducted by the Bedford branch of the Brooklyn Young Men's Christian Association. The amount of Bible instruction and general religious training which is given in many cities by the Young Men's Christian Association is surprising to one who is not familiar with the kind of work which the Y. M. C. A. provides. We cannot here give a full account of the classes which are organized and the subjects which are studied, but we commend this program to all those who are endeavoring to establish a high grade of Bible study and general religious work at local centers. We think that the Bedford branch, whose address is at 420 Gates avenue, Brooklyn, will be willing to send a copy of their program to any who are interested in this kind of work.

Book Reviews.

Die Geschichtlichkeit des Sinaibundes, untersucht von DR. FRIEDRICH GIESEBRECHT. Königsberg: Thomas & Oppermann, 1900. Pp. 65. M. 1.20.

Professor Giesebrecht, well known through his *Beiträge zur Jesaia-kritik* (1890) and his excellent commentary on Jeremiah,¹ furnishes in this study an admirable treatment of an important question. The objections to the historicity of the narrative concerning the making of a covenant at Sinai are stated fully and fairly. They may be summarized as (1) those relating to the narrative itself, *e. g.*, (a) its mythical elements, (b) lack of reference to the event in the earliest literature, (c) discrepancies in the three forms of the narrative, *viz.*, Exod., chaps. 20-24, 34; and Deut., chap. 5; (2) those relating to the historico-religious significance of the event, *e. g.*, (a) the contention that the relation between Yahweh and Israel was a *natural* one, just like that between Chemosh and Moab, or Milcom and Ammon, there being no trace of a covenant between them; (b) the lofty ideals of Amos remained the property of a few choice spirits, as they could not have done had they been based upon a well-known covenant made at Sinai; (c) the covenant idea was the *result* of the prophetic teaching, not its cause.

In reply to the first class of objections Giesebrecht urges (1) that the presence of mythical elements in a narrative does not necessarily discredit the central event which it describes, as, *e. g.*, the account of the crossing of the Red Sea; (2) that even the most thoroughgoing analysts admit the presence of a covenant narrative in the pre-prophetic basis of Exod., chaps. 24 and 34; (3) that the slight mention of this important event in the early literature is due to (a) the fact that the historians had little occasion to refer to this distant event, (b) the absence of any literature from the older prophets, (c) the constant efforts made by priests and prophets to adapt the Torah to the ever-changing conditions and needs of the nation which led the people to look to the living Torah rather than to a revelation from the dead past; (4) that, while there are inconsistencies as to details in the

¹ NOWACK, *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, III. Abth., 2. Band, 1894.

accounts of the covenant, yet the fact of the covenant itself remains untouched.

In meeting the second class of objections especial attention is called to the impossibility of explaining the origin of the ethical monotheism of Amos on the basis of the supposition that the relation between Yahweh and Israel was merely a natural one. If Yahweh was just like the gods of the surrounding nations, it would have been more natural for his people either to have regarded him as inferior to the gods of the Assyrians, by whom he was beaten, or to have thought of him as having temporarily returned in wrath to Sinai, his original home. But instead of this they made him a world-ruler; this is to be explained by the fact that (1) there were forerunners of Amos; he was not an isolated phenomenon, but found starting-points for his great ideas in the teachings of his predecessors, viz., Elijah, Micah ben Imlah, the primitive history found in J and E, and the work of Moses; (2) Yahweh's deliverance of Israel from Egypt had given Israel an extremely high conception of his power and greatness, which had been strengthened by the events connected with the conquest of Canaan, and by the victories and glories of the reigns of David and Solomon. It was in the enthusiasm of this new conception of their God that came to them at the time of the exodus that they pledged themselves anew to his service in the covenant at Sinai. In this exalted idea of Yahweh lay the germ of all the later development. The religion of Israel was thus in two important respects different from that of its neighbors: (1) it went back to a positive basis, not a natural one; (2) in the most ancient times it had a conception of God as a being of unlimited power.

It is in this presentation of the antecedents of the monotheistic tendencies of Amos that Professor Giesebrecht does his best work. He rightly lays much emphasis upon facts of Israel's religion that have been neglected for the most part by modern writers, and furnishes us the best reply yet made to the extreme views of Wellhausen, Kraetzschmar, Marti, and others who entirely repudiate the account of the transaction at Sinai. In one point the position of the author is not clear, namely, the relation of Yahweh to Israel before the exodus; had it been a natural relation, and was it made an ethical one by the great deliverance? Or had it always been of an ethical character?

JOHN M. P. SMITH.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Ruling Ideas of Our Lord. By C. F. D'ARCY, D.D. [Christian Study Manuals.] New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1901. Pp. 158. \$0.60.

This manual accomplishes its purpose. It seeks to show what receives the emphasis in the four gospels. The author makes no critical investigation of the sources of Christ's teaching. To him "the words of our Lord shine by their own light, they carry with them their own credentials;" and the fourth gospel is received as of equal authority with the synoptics, the differences between them being regarded as due to differences in the people addressed, since Jesus adapted himself to different classes of hearers.

The ethical teachings of Jesus, gathered chiefly from the Sermon on the Mount, are found to center around four ideas: the kingdom, the pure heart, the great example, and life and growth. The kingdom is a social blessing, whose laws are not precepts, but principles, the most comprehensive of which is love. In the pure heart love must be the motive. God is the great example: "all realization of good character in human creatures is, so far as it goes, an imitation of God, a reproduction of the divine." Hence the incarnate Christ is a manifestation of the ideal as a concrete reality. Morality, actuated by love, is the principle of cohesion in society.

The religious ideas of Jesus, treated in the second part of the book, and found chiefly in the fourth gospel, center around the three persons of the Trinity. Jesus was intensely conscious of God's presence, and the fatherhood of God is characteristic of his teaching. Salvation means the recognition of the Father's love and compliance with it. Jesus' humility and self-assertion are the paradox which necessitates the doctrine of his deity. The soul can recognize what he was, for his was a perfect brotherhood with man. The incarnation, by which Christ brings God and man into one and unites them in himself, is the essence of the atonement.

The chief defects of the book are: (1) its disregard of the results of the historical and literary criticism of the gospels; (2) the author's occasional bondage to theological terms which have lost their meaning, or have attained so many meanings as to indicate no distinct idea; "ransom" and "atonement" are terms freely used, and yet not one of his many definitions defines (p. 115). But the book is written with a large spirit and a true insight; and the style also is good. It might serve as an introduction to a larger study of the teaching of Jesus, and would be adapted for use with Bible classes in the Sunday school.

For such a purpose, however, it is by no means the equal of Professor Stevens's *Teaching of Jesus*, which was recently published (see BIBLICAL WORLD, March, 1902, pp. 229-31).

ALFRED WILLIAMS ANTHONY.

COBB DIVINITY SCHOOL,
Lewiston, Me.

The Early Church. Its History and Literature. By PROFESSOR JAMES ORR, M.A., D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow. [Christian Study Manuals.] New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1901. Pp. 146. \$0.60.

This book, though small, contains a large amount of information. It reflects everywhere the solid learning of the author and his large acquaintance with the ante-Nicene period of Christian history. It is not a compilation from the larger works, but is based upon the sources. The matter is condensed, the treatment is original, and the style is for the most part clear; all of which are essential features of any useful manual.

Yet it can hardly be said that Professor Orr has done an ideal piece of work. The book presupposes on the part of its intended readers a larger knowledge of the facts of early church history than they can be expected to possess. The information which a beginner should derive from a manual is here so largely taken for granted that such a one would find himself often at a loss; while those who are prepared to use the work easily would desire a larger and more detailed study. This is true, not only for the reason suggested, but also because of the technical language which is frequently used, and the general theological atmosphere of the book. That Professor Orr is a theologian rather than a historian is easily seen.

The history not infrequently receives inadequate treatment. In chap. 3, on "Gentile Christianity: Nero to Domitian, 64-96 A. D.," about one-fourth of the space is given to a discussion of the catacombs. The *life* of the churches during the time of "the Apostolic Fathers" is scarcely mentioned. In chap. 2, on "The Apostolic Age and Later Jewish Christianity," the *Didache* is treated as a source for the apostolic age, though dated by the writer about 100 A. D. This can hardly be called a discriminating use of sources, since it is employed for a period some years previous to its date. He mixes up references to the *Didache* with references from Acts, Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Timothy, but without any desire to deviate from the traditional opinion concerning their date.

Too large a proportion of the discussion is devoted to the literature. With some points of detail the individual critic may disagree. For example, the *Diatessaron* is dated about 150 A. D. (p. 65), and the Essenes are declared to be of more importance for the history of the church than either the Sadducees or Pharisees (p. 4).

J. W. BAILEY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The Old Testament and the New Scholarship. By JOHN P. PETERS, PH.D., D.D., Rector of St. Michael's Church, New York. London: Methuen & Co., 1901. Pp. 328. \$1.50.

This volume deserves a wide circulation and repeated reading. It supplies a large amount of information greatly needed among the people, who hear much confusing talk about modern scholarship and higher criticism, but who take no pains to inform themselves upon the facts and the real issues of the modern critical study of the Bible. The author is well known among biblical scholars, was for a time professor in the University of Pennsylvania, and was in charge of the expedition sent out by that university in 1888 to conduct explorations in Babylonia. This volume forms one of an extensive series known as "The Churchman's Library." It is a compilation of sundry papers on a variety of biblical topics, some of which have already appeared in other forms. The fifteen chapters are arranged in four parts, headed: (1) "The Fundamental Doctrine of the Bible;" (2) "Evolution and the Bible;" (3) "The Book of Psalms;" (4) "Archæology and the Bible." The contents cover a wide range of matters of sterling interest, and yet, as a whole, give the impression of a miscellaneous collection of essays rather than that of a work of noticeable unity of purpose. But this feature does not detract from the real value of the book. Every chapter is filled with helpful presentations of various problems of Old Testament study, as they are handled by the most distinguished biblical scholars of our time. In the first chapter, after describing the arrangement of the Old Testament writings as they stand in the Jewish canon and in the Hebrew Bibles, the author points out how these same writings were rearranged in great part by the authors of the Greek and Latin versions, how they were given new names, and how they were set in what these old translators believed to be a more scientific form. He shows how this arrangement has been followed in our English Bible, and how "the higher criticism of the ancient

Alexandrian schools has actually been incorporated in the text of the Bible of English-speaking Christians. It is a curious illustration of the manner in which the liberalism and even the free-thinking of one age become the stiffest orthodoxy of some succeeding age."

The chapter on "The Bible, the Church and Reason" may be profitably read in connection with Professor C. A. Briggs's treatise of the same title. The chapter on the "Modern Study of the Bible" seems rather incomplete in failing to record the more notable achievements of biblical scholarship during the last half-century. During this period more definite and positive results have been reached in all departments of biblical study than in all the time from Richard Simon down to the appearance of Ewald's epoch-making *History of the People Israel*. Dr. Peters gives relatively large space and more especial consideration to the Psalms and the book of Daniel.

The entire work is written in a lucid and readable style, and is adapted to interest and profit the specialist in such studies, as well as every reader of ordinary intelligence.

M. S. TERRY.

Public Worship. A Study in the Psychology of Religion. By JOHN P. HYLAN. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1901. Pp. 94. \$0.25.

We add this interesting study to those of Starbuck, Coe, and kindred workers, and regard it as significant and hopeful. In the facts of religious life lie their meaning and their justification. The questions proposed for solution are: Why are not our churches more efficient? What is the significance and value of this modern type of worship? What is the meaning of changes in religious conceptions? What is the psychology of public worship?

The materials are found in the answers to a list of questions and in the phenomena of religious history. While the data are too scanty for a strictly scientific conclusion, the speculations and generalizations are very suggestive, and the method deserves further employment by a multitude of observers in contact with many persons of various races and forms of culture.

The author would render a better service by revising his vague and unsatisfactory definition of religion (p. 91): "A feeling of personal responsibility toward the conditions of the environment."

C. R. HENDERSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

OLD TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

MCSWINEY, J. Translation of the Psalms and Canticles, with Commentary. St. Louis: Herder, 1901. Pp. 659. \$3.

GAUTIER, LUCIEN. Vocations de prophètes. Lausanne: Georges Bridel & Cie, 1901. Pp. 93.

This is a very sane, practical treatment of the prophets Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Amos, with their writings. The author pictures the prophet's own conception of his work, the preparation and zeal with which he executed it, and some of the choicest teachings of each book. The chapters were first given as addresses to the Christian Association of Swiss Students in 1899, and are now published in response to a general demand in Switzerland. They will be especially helpful to preachers and students of the Bible such as were found in the body addressed.

OETTLI, S. Amos und Hosea. RIGGENBACH, E. Versuch einer neuen Deutung des Namens Barkochba. [Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie, Heft 4.] Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901. Pp. 107. M. 2.80.

WADE, G. W. Old Testament History. London: Methuen, 1901. Pp. 544. 6s.

ARTICLES.

ZÖCKLER, O. Die biblische Urgeschichte und ihre babylonischen Parallelen. *Beweis des Glaubens*, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 107-11.

GRAY, G. The Lists of the Twelve Tribes. *Expositor*, March, 1902, pp. 225-40.

The twelve "sons" of Jacob, or the twelve tribes of Israel, are mentioned together and by name some twenty times in the Old Testament, and once in the New Testament. The contents of these lists vary slightly. Professor Gray here examines these variations, endeavoring to show the historical reasons for them.

DAVIDSON, A. B. Jacob at Peniel. *Expositor*, March, 1902, pp. 176-88.

MATTHES, J. C. Die Psalmen und der Tempeldienst. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 65-82.

LIEBMANN, ERNST. Der Text zu Jesaja 24-27. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 1-56.

KERSWILL, W. D. The Old Testament Savior. *Bible Student*, March, 1902, pp. 165-71.

HALÉVY, J. Le livre d'Osée. *Revue sémitique*, January, 1902, pp. 1-12.

BOEHMER, J. Die Grundgedanken der Predigt Hosea's. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 1-24.

- MEINHOLD, J. Geschichte Israels (review of recent works upon the history of Israel). *Theologische Rundschau*, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 50-58.
- MELTZER, HERRMANN. Die messianischen Weissagungen. *Protestantische Monatshefte*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 15-33.
- ABRAHAMS, I. Recent Criticism of the Letter of Aristeas. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January, 1902, pp. 321-42.
- RYSSEL, V. Die neuen hebräischen Fragmente des Buches Jesus Sirach und ihre Herkunft. (Fortsetzung.) *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 205-61.
- BOUSSET, W. Die Beziehungen der ältesten jüdischen Sibylle zur chaldäischen Sibylle und einige weitere Beobachtungen über den synkretistischen Charakter der spätjüdischen Litteratur. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 23-49.
- WILDEBOER, G. Die älteste Bedeutung des Stammes קְטֵי . *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 167-9.

NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

- The Life and Work of the Redeemer. Twelve Essays by English and American Clergymen. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1902. Pp. 340. \$2, net.
- PEARSON, C. W. The Carpenter Prophet. Chicago: H. S. Stone & Co., 1902. Pp. 288.
- *ALEXANDER, W. M. Demonic Possession in the New Testament. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. \$1.50, net.
- RIGG, J. H. Scenes and Studies in the Ministry of Our Lord, with Thoughts on Preaching. London: C. H. Kelly, 1901. Pp. 261.
- *BROWN, W. B. The Gospel of the Kingdom and the Gospel of the Church. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1902. Pp. 218. \$1.
- BERNING, W. Die Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie in ihrer ursprünglichen Form, nach den Berichten des Neuen Testaments kritisch untersucht. Münster: Aschendorff, 1902. Pp. 260. M. 5.

ARTICLES.

- DIETERICH, ALBRECHT. Die Weisen aus dem Morgenlande. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 1-14.
- LEGGE, J. R. Christ's Treatment of Indignation. *Expository Times*, March, 1902, pp. 266-8.
- CARR, A. The Twelve Legions of Angels in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Matt. 26: 53). *Expositor*, March, 1902, pp. 215-17.
- HARRIS, J. RENDEL. 'Our Lord' in the Lewis Palimpsest. *Expository Times*, March, 1902, pp. 283 f.

WHITEFOORD, B. The Christian "Nil Desperandum": A Study of Luke 6:35. *Expositor*, March, 1902, pp. 218-24.

HOLTZMANN, H. Unordnungen und Umordnungen im vierten Evangelium. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 50-60.

An adverse criticism is here offered of the recent hypotheses concerning the disarrangement of the material of the fourth gospel. The article is particularly valuable for its review of the literature of the subject. Holtzmann's conception of the gospel as a philosophical-religious free composition, in which the historical element is an artificial veneer, precludes all theories of the reworking of traditional material.

KREYENBÜHL, J. Der Ort der Verurteilung Jesu. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 15-22.

The procurators of the province of Judea when in Jerusalem lived in the palace of Herod, in front of which there was a broad court. The palace was itself called the Prætorium, as we know from similar usage of the term in Josephus and other sources. Jesus was tried and condemned by Pilate in the palace of Herod, and from here was led away to his death. Kreyenbühl argues this view (with Spiess, Grimm, and Guthe) against the more common one that the condemnation of Jesus by Pilate took place at the castle of Antonia.

ABBOTT, LYMAN. Who Is He? *Outlook*, February 15, 1902, pp. 411-13.

In this editorial article Dr. Abbott writes to help an inquirer who cannot "feel sure that Christ was more than man." After reviewing briefly the facts concerning Christ, he says: I will not and I cannot enter into polemical discussions about him; I will not and I cannot enter into metaphysical analysis of him. I have no capacity to define with fine phrases his relation to the Infinite and the Eternal God, and I have no wish to do so. I rejoice in the mysteries of his being which I cannot solve. But to be like Jesus Christ is my deepest and sincerest desire, to have some share in the work he is doing is my supreme ambition; in his teaching I find the sum of all spiritual truth; in his spirit the secret of all life; and in himself an object of love and reverence such that all I have is too little to give to him. If I try to put this experience into a form of words, I can find no better phrase than to say that I believe that the Eternal Presence, whom no one can see or comprehend, manifested himself in this one human life that all might see and comprehend him, and that through him all might come to be sharers of his life and conformed to his image. That such a one as he was should have manifested power transcending the understanding of his times seems to me as probable, on the one hand, as that his disciples should have sometimes misinterpreted these deeds of power, on the other. But I firmly believe that, in the words of François Coppée, quoted in the *Outlook* of January 11, "Jesus did give sight to the blind and life to the dead. As he passed on his brief journey through this world he scattered these blessings by the way to show that he was indeed the Son of God. Thus did he found the religion which during nineteen centuries has given peace to all men of good will."

HARRIS, J. RENDEL. A Curious Bezan Reading Vindicated. *Expositor*, March, 1902, pp. 189-95.

The name of the magian of Acts 13:8 is commonly read Ἐλδμας, but on the ground of certain Western witnesses Blass and Ramsay would give the name as

Ἐρωμᾶς. Harris accepts this form, and proceeds to identify this magian of Acts with the magian described in Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx, 7 : 2, where the true text is not *Σίμων*, but *Ἄτρομος* (see Niese, *in loc.*). It results that this magian whom Paul withstood and defeated at Paphos on his first missionary journey was the same whom Felix secured as his friend to win for him Drusilla (the wife of Azizus, king of Emesa); and that, when Felix had married Drusilla, it was by her influence that Paul was left in prison at Cæsarea when Felix was recalled (Acts 24 : 27, Western text). Was this the magian's revenge on Paul?

DICKEY, SAMUEL. The Resurrection of Jesus in Acts. *Bible Student*, March, 1902, pp. 137-48.

WARFIELD, B. B. Some Characteristics of the Book of Acts, III. *Bible Student*, March, 1902, pp. 130-36.

CAMPBELL, R. F. The Function of Persecution in Church Extension. *Bible Student*, March, 1902, pp. 148-55.

HARNACK, A. Zu Röm. 1 : 7. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft, 1, 1902, pp. 83-6.

In a recent article in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1901, pp. 1-21) W. B. Smith argued against the Roman destination of Paul's epistle to the Romans, on the ground of textual uncertainty concerning the reading of *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* in Rom. 1 : 7, 15. The above article is a reply in defense of the Roman destination of the letter; for while Harnack admits that the *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* is not original in 1 : 7, he is not willing to grant that in 1 : 15 also these words are an interpolation, since the textual attestation there is very strong. Further, Harnack is sure that on other grounds it can be conclusively shown that Paul addressed this epistle to the Christians at Rome.

CLEMEN, CARL. Die Auffassung des Alten Testaments bei Paulus. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 2, 1902, pp. 173-87.

FRIEDLÄNDER, M. The Pauline Emancipation from the Law a Product of the Pre-Christian Jewish Diaspora. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January, 1902, pp. 265-301.

The Diaspora was in pre-Christian times divided into two well-defined parties: one of them stood for the literal interpretation and fulfilment of the law of Moses; the other, on the ground of allegorical interpretation, repudiated all ceremonialism and rejected circumcision, sabbaths, festivals, and other institutions. Philo himself bears abundant witness to the existence of just such a wing of Judaism as the latter must have been. Even Eusebius and Hegesippus can be quoted to the same effect. Certain gnostic sects of the second and third centuries, such as Ophites, Sethites, Cainites, and Melchizedekites, which have hitherto been supposed to be of Christian origin, are clearly of pre-Christian Jewish origin. Investigation certainly renders it unquestionable that previous to the origin of Christianity there existed a large Jewish sect which had emancipated itself from the law. Sooner or later New Testament criticism will cease to speak of a Jewish Christianity and a "gentile Christianity founded by Paul," but will speak of a conservative Jewish Christianity and a radical Jewish Christianity, and the credit heretofore given to Paul will be properly assigned.

HOENNICKE, G. Die sittlichen Anschauungen des Hebräerbriefes. *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 24-40.

RELATED SUBJECTS.

BOOKS.

CALDECOTT, ALFRED. *The Philosophy of Religion in England and America.* London: Methuen, 1901. Pp. 450. 10s. 6d.

SLOANE, W. M. *The French Revolution and Religious Reform.* New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1901. Pp. 333. \$2. net.

JOWETT, J. H. *Apostolic Optimism, and Other Sermons.* New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1901. Pp. 277. \$1.75.

A volume of twenty sermons, containing the interpretation of certain important texts and applying their truth to present-day conditions. There is a directness in the style and a warmth, vigor, and spiritual insight in the tone and content of these discourses which make them instructive and inspiring.

*ROBERTSON, ARCHIBALD. *Regnum Dei. Eight Lectures on the Kingdom of God in the History of Christian Thought.* [Bampton Lectures, 1901.] New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. 420. \$2.50.

ARTICLES.

SANDAY, W. *An Eirenicon from Culture.* *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1902, pp. 212-32.

We have here a most interesting review of Dr. Percy Gardner's new volume, *A Historic View of the New Testament.* Professor Sanday, of Oxford University, is the recognized defender in England of a moderate conservatism in New Testament criticism, so that what he says concerning this important radical work has much significance. He finds much in the volume with which he can agree, and which will be helpful toward a more intelligent conception of the Christian faith. Dr. Gardner writes to reconcile religion with the newer views of criticism and science, and his reviewer thinks that he has succeeded in producing a book which will be of real value as an *eirenicon*. Much that the book says concerning the relation of doctrine to life, of revelation and inspiration, of the canon, and of the social content of Christianity, is approved. It is only when Dr. Gardner comes to speak of the results of the criticism of the gospels, taking a position of almost entire distrust of the recorded facts, and finding no trustworthy knowledge of Christ, that Dr. Sanday dissents sharply. Here he thinks that the author is not only adopting a false set of critical results, but is inconsistent with his own former principles and conclusions. The value of the book is said to consist, not in its criticism, but in the warmth and seriousness with which it is written, in the interest which it shows in religious experience, and most of all in the sincerity of its acceptance of a continuous divine purpose running through the whole history of the human race.

HACKSPILL, L. *Études sur le milieu religieux et intellectuel contemporain du Nouveau Testament.* *Revue biblique*, January, 1902, pp. 58-73.

WILSON, C. W. *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher.* *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, January, 1902, pp. 66-77.

This is apparently the first of a series of articles which promises to be of exceptional importance in the discussion of this much-contested problem. The present contribution investigates the origin and significance of the name Golgotha, and the Hebrew legend that Adam was buried there. The burial of Adam and Christ on the

same spot was considered by the patristic writers to be a fact of deep theological significance, as illustrated by seven pages of quotations from patristic literature. In its most developed form the idea was that Christ was crucified directly over Adam's tomb (as one finds the arrangement in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher today), in order that the shed blood of the second Adam might wash away the guilt of the first Adam (*cf.* Rom. 5 : 14-21).

SCHICK, CONRAD. The Muristan, or the Site of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, January, 1902, pp. 42-56.

We are here provided with a comprehensive treatment of one of the interesting historical sites in Jerusalem, lying contiguous, as it does, to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. It was within this square of ground that there were unearthed some years ago certain remains of masonry which Dr. Schick and others came to regard as portions of the second wall. If so, the second wall (existing in Jesus' day) excluded the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher by a distance of 235 feet. Dr. Schick was convinced of this identification, but admitted that absolute proof was unattainable. But even if this became established as a fact—and there are many things to make it improbable—the authenticity of the traditional site would still be in question, as there are important arguments for the site to the north of the city which have not been met. These will be brought out, probably, by the series of articles on the subject begun in this number of the *Quarterly Statement* by Sir C. W. Wilson.

SMEND, RUDOLF. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie des Ostjordanlandes. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 129-58.

JACOB, B. Das Hebräische Sprachgut im Christlich-Palästinischen. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 83-113.

BERNARD, E. R. Prayer in Early Christendom. *Expository Times*, March, 1902, pp. 251-4.

This is an abstract of Goltz's valuable new work, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (1901).

CORSSEN, PETER. Das Todesjahr Polykarps. *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 61-82.

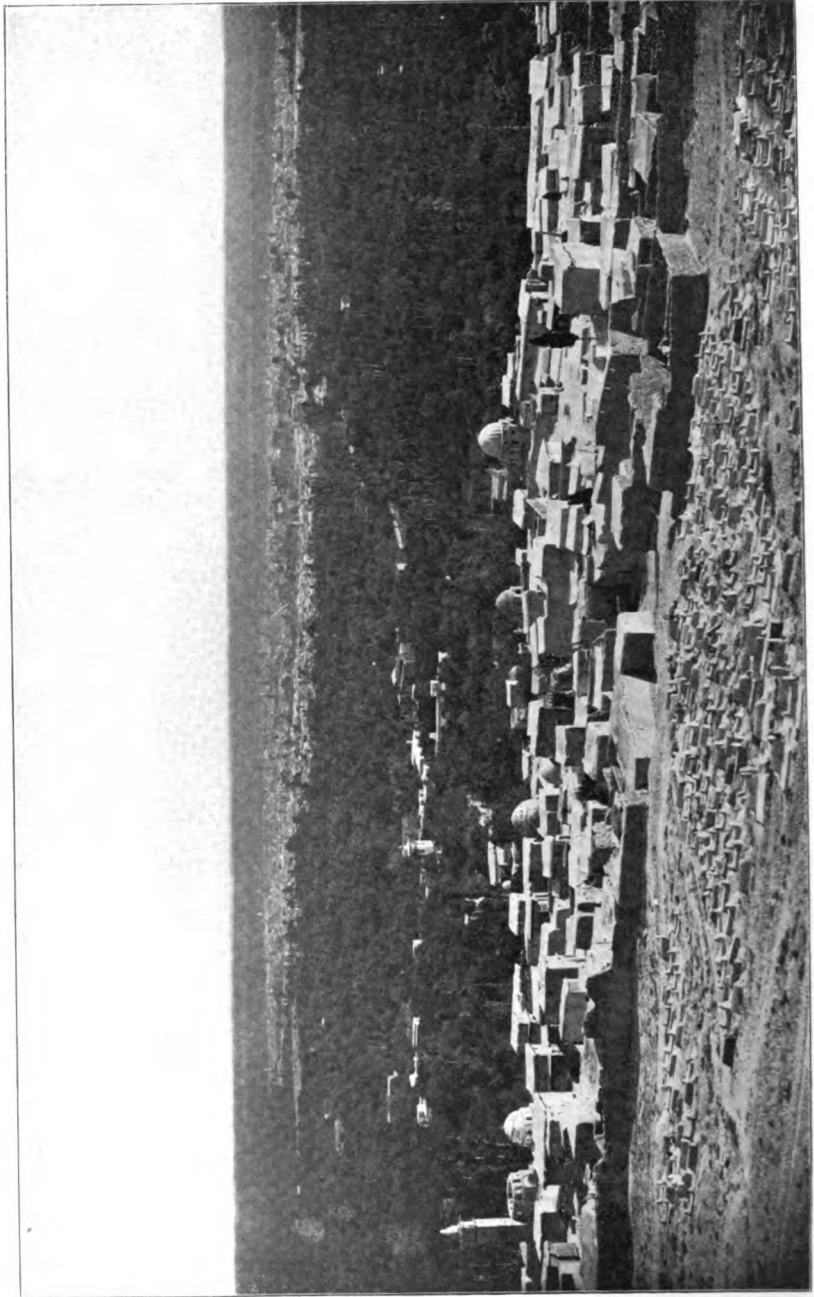
An elaborate argument is here made in support of Waddington's view that the martyrdom of Polycarp took place on February 23, 155 A. D.

FUNK, F. X. Zur Didache, der Frage nach der Grundschrift und ihren Recensionen. *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Heft 1, 1902, pp. 73-88.

SWETE, H. B. Eucharistic Belief in the Second and Third Centuries. *Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1902, pp. 161-77.

WARFIELD, B. B. Christianity and Revelation. *Bible Student*, March, 1902, pp. 123-7.

SIMPSON, J. Y. Professor A. B. Davidson. *Expositor*, March, 1902, pp. 161-75. Also, SKINNER, J., in *Expository Times*, March, 1902, pp. 248-51.



THE MODERN CITY OF DAMASCUS.

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THE NEW APOLOGETIC—A FORECAST.

APOLOGETIC seeks to present Christianity in such a way as to insure its reception by open-minded inquirers, and also to meet objections that may be urged against its claims. *THE FUNCTION AND CONDITIONS OF APOLOGETIC* It considers, therefore, not merely the truth it presents, but the difficulties and concessions of those with whom it is concerned. It must first of all discover a common ground or method upon which to argue with the doubter. A final apologetic, therefore, is an impossibility. Each epoch has its own difficulties which the arguments of another epoch will not meet, and each epoch will have its own common ground upon which the Christian apologist may meet his opponent. In our day the difficulty besetting apologetic is peculiarly great because this common ground is not yet completely delimited. For this reason, if for no other, the man has not yet appeared who can formulate an apologetic altogether sufficient for the need of the hour. On the side of Christianity itself, further, there is momentary delay. There are innumerable questions connected with the authorship and historical value of the different books of the Old and New Testament which are as yet in debate. To attempt the defense of Christianity before one knows precisely the questions which demand an answer, or the material from which to form answers, would be futile. Ten years from now the situation may be quite altered. Today a satisfactory apologetic must await the results of investigation as yet but incomplete.

Yet we share in the desire for a constructive statement. In our opinion investigation has gone far enough to show the line along which the defensive presentation of Christianity to modern thinkers is to follow. For, while the problems which confront Christianity today spring from nearly every department of investigation — notably from comparative religion, philosophy, science, biblical criticism, and sociology — they may all be more or less completely classified as those which spring from uncertainty as to God, as to the sincerity of organized Christianity, and as to the historicity of revelation.

**THE PRESENT
NEED**

1. While it would lead us too far afield to consider fully the proper defense of our faith in the existence of a personal God, we believe the new apologetic can move upon lines which are altogether stronger than ever before. The assumption of all scientific investigation is that phenomena of matter and society may be in some way expressed by rational formulæ, and it is to such a conviction that the remarkable advances which have been made in all branches of science, social as well as physical and biological, have been due. Such an exclusion of the idea that anything in the universe *happens*, in itself argues the existence and presence of a supreme Reason; and, since all change seems beneficently teleological, of a supreme Love. It may be that our definition of God will yet be more precisely elaborated; but, from the point of view of evolution, a rational theism today is capable of a philosophical presentation, vastly stronger than the old argument from design ever permitted. Even the present monistic phase through which philosophy is passing does not, to our mind, argue a permanent obscuration of theistic belief; but rather, on the one side, a weakening of the agnostic tendencies of the last generation, and, on the other, the recognition of the primary necessity of faith in all acts of cognition. Only, present tendencies, both in science and philosophy, prescribe that the new apologetic must conceive of God as immanent rather than as transcendent.

**THE FUTURE
THEISTIC
ARGUMENT**

2. As regards the sincerity of the church in its claims to represent the spirit of Jesus, the objection brought by the socialist is rather one of fact than of philosophy. In a word, it is that the modern church is not true to the teaching and example of Jesus, in that it is a champion of the wealthier class and is unfriendly to the poor.

*THE ARGUMENT
FROM THE SOCIAL
SIGNIFICANCE OF
CHRISTIANITY*

In meeting this serious objection to the genuineness of modern Christianity, the new apologetic may very well reply that it is by no means clear that Jesus was the champion of any class in revolt against another, and that, even if he were, the objection is not so much against Christianity itself as against modern Christians. But even if he meet the objection as it is so commonly advanced, the Christian apologist has a clear line of defense. He must, it is true, admit that the charge is not without some justification. The workingman has some basis for thinking himself neglected by organized Christianity. Some, we do not believe many, churches have become societies for the development of the spiritual interests of particular social classes, and some Christians have defended social wrongs. Yet, even in the face of these admissions, we believe that the new apologetic can abundantly show that the church as a whole is genuinely alive to evils arising from social and economic inequalities. It must, however, insist frankly that, according to the Christian conception, social regeneration is not to be primarily economic. It will deny that the socialist has any monopoly of interest in the welfare of the poorer classes; or that, however much one may approve of certain of its economic proposals, socialism, as a final system for society, is the only possible expression of a genuinely Christian spirit. The church may not be helping the masses in the fashion the socialist deems best; but there is room here for an honest difference of opinion. The church is certainly taking up social service in a way that not only promises much for the future, but already has given sufficient results to arouse renewed confidence in the persistence of the spirit of Jesus among its members. The new apologetic will neither denounce socialism nor misrepresent its purposes. It will recognize rather that, while the church as a

religious institution can favor no particular economic program, the spirit of Jesus in its members cannot and will not stop short of fraternity in economic as well as in other spheres of life. When any particular program has shown itself to be a helpful and practicable expression of such a spirit, Christian men and women have always been and always will be among its most earnest champions. Only in these matters the new apologetic will not confound enthusiasm with wisdom, programs with accomplished reforms, or creature comforts with character.

3. As regards doubt concerning a historical revelation, it is our opinion that much of it can be obviated by a proper statement of what essential Christianity really is. Thus stated it will be its own best evidence. For a substantiation of such essentials, in so far as they are not met by the new theistic and ethical arguments, the new apologetic will first make sure by historical methods of the religious development of the Hebrew people. Once this is established, it will be in order to show that in the development of the Hebrew faith in Jehovah there is a progressive revelation of God's character. The apologetic value of such a method, in which the vital matter of trustworthiness is not confused with the secondary question of plenary inerrancy, will appear at once. Its conclusions may not be as sweeping as those sometimes stated, but they rest upon data, and not upon authority, sentiment, or rhetoric. Apologetic is never stronger than its assumptions, and the new apologetic, simply because it is apologetic, must not assume more than those with whom it contends can in fairness be asked to admit. The common ground on which both apologist and objector must meet is this: the trustworthiness of the Bible as historical material must be established by precisely the same methods as those accredited by historical science generally. There are thousands of earnest men and women to whom any argument drawn from the dogmatic assumption of an absolute and miraculously inerrant Scripture can bring no conviction. Many persons are kept from accepting Christianity as a system of truth because they are told

**APOLOGETIC
AND HISTORICAL
REVELATION.
1. THE TRUST-
WORTHINESS OF
THE BIBLE**

to choose between propositions concerning inspiration brought into a false antithesis. We believe that the new apologetic will not commit this mistake. Antitheses are bad weapons for either defense or offense. Indeed, if we were to distinguish between the old and new apologetic, we should say that it would be precisely at this point. The old apologetic has attempted to prove the truth of Christianity by assuming and then defending inerrancy as an element demanded by the inspiration of the Scriptures; the new apologetic, while not denying the fact of inspiration, will formulate the correlative doctrine as a conclusion and not as a premise of investigation. In other words, it will proceed at once to the inductive proof of the trustworthiness of the Bible and the supremacy of Jesus.

Naturally this brings us to the matter of criticism. Is it the ally or the enemy of a new apologetic? The answer must be discriminating. There is criticism and criticism, **2. APOLOGETIC AND CRITICISM** but we believe that any person who does not confuse the dogma of an inerrant Scripture with a personal faith in Jesus Christ will find in the method and in the results of historical criticism most valuable allies. In our opinion, further, the new apologetic will presuppose many of the results of criticism in both the Old and New Testaments. We do not wish to be misunderstood here, however. The results of a criticism dominated by a philosophical bias against the supernatural (or, better, superhuman) will not be so incorporated. They will as a whole be opposed, rejected, and, we thoroughly believe, disproved. But the strongest opponent of a philosophically biased criticism is a philosophically unbiased criticism. If we except a few tangential Hollanders, who doubts today the authenticity of the great Pauline epistles? Even the most radical critic endeavors to arouse new confidence in a historical, though but a sadly limited, Jesus. Radical and conservative historians have rendered the apologist invaluable service by determining, in part at least, the criteria for distinguishing between the permanent and the Jewish elements of primitive Christianity. Such results, so far as they are demonstrable, the new apologetic

will certainly incorporate in itself. Indeed, the New Testament criticism, as a whole, furnishes capital material for the historical defense of Christianity. It is true the synoptic and Johannine problems are not solved, but one may already foresee the limits within which the solutions must fall. And these limits, though probably not precisely those of conservative introduction, will certainly not be too narrow to support a rationally evangelical theology.

Undoubtedly the crucial theological question of the next few years will be the personality of Jesus. The Master and not the Book is the supreme revelation, and the new biblical apologetic in ceasing to be bibliocentric will become Christo-centric. It is of first importance, therefore, that we have confidence in the historical trustworthiness of the New Testament in general, and a rational understanding of Jesus himself. As to just what precise form the Christology of the middle of the new century will take, no man acquainted with the rapidly growing literature of the subject will venture to predict. In such matters detailed prophecy is very largely the prerogative of ignorance. We must argue constructively from facts, not merely attack objections to inherited dogmas. Yet here again we believe we can already see the lines the new apologetic must follow. The new Christology will result from the historical study of the New Testament itself. Beyond doubt its apologetic presentation will be influenced by philosophical currents, but, whatever may be its ontological conclusions, they will be deductions from a psychological interpretation of well-attested historical facts. In our opinion, therefore, if for no other reason than that of efficiency, the christological apologetic will be based upon the resurrection rather than upon the birth of Jesus. In other words, the new apologetic will recur to that of the New Testament itself. The strategic advantages of such a method are manifold. Historical criticism, in our judgment, has not shaken, and never can shake, the elements of the gospel narrative that are presupposed by the records disclosing the faith of Paul and the apostolic church. To discover

8. CHRISTOLOGICAL APOLOGETIC

that faith and to distinguish it from that of later periods; to restate in positive terms, intelligible to our day, the significance of the historical person who was heralded by his friends as Christ; this will be the mission and the achievement of the new apologetic. It will go even farther. The final apologetic cannot rest content until, with the first disciples, it accepts Jesus as Lord, upon the evidence of his own personality and the testimony of his own self-consciousness.

For our part, we have no fear as to the future. Theological reconstruction always presupposes a certain destructive process, and this must be recognized by apologetic. *THE PROSPECT* The present is a time of universally acknowledged transition, and transition may mean change in the content as well as in the form of faith. Probably the new apologetic will not attempt to substantiate as many doctrines as the old, but we cannot see any good ground for panic, or even alarm. The general current of New Testament criticism is not setting toward Van Manen and Schmiedel. There is no reason for well-informed men to fear a general loss of confidence in the historicity of the New Testament narratives as a whole; in Jesus himself as a historical person; in the properly interpreted estimate placed upon him by the apostolic writers; and, best of all, in the Heavenly Father, described in the words and incarnate in the life of the Savior, and accredited to all men through the experiences of the regenerate life. What should be feared is an impatience that may create suspicion and hostility between men who, from different points of view, in equal loyalty to the Master they serve, are searching painfully and prayerfully for new evidences of their faith. In spite of the protestations of people who persist in closing their eyes, a new day of faith has dawned, and we are better able than ever in the history of Christianity to give a reason for a rational faith in a Heavenly Father and an eternal life.

NOTES AND COMMENTS ON SOME EARLIER PORTIONS OF ACTS.

By REV. PROFESSOR R. J. KNOWLING, D.D.,
King's College, London, England.

1. *The ascension and the return.*—In their *Notes on Select Readings* (p. 73) Westcott and Hort maintain that the ascension is rightly placed at the commencement of Acts, as the preparation for the day of Pentecost, and thus as the opening page in the history of the Christian church. The same thought is emphasized by the German writer Steinmeyer, and it has been made familiar to American and English readers by the similar remarks of Dr. S. J. Andrews, in his *Life of Our Lord* (2d ed., 1891), p. 633.

If this view accounts for the prominence assigned by Luke to the ascension in Acts, it is also in accordance with what we might expect from Luke as a follower of Paul. In one of the epistles of his first captivity, the epistle to the Ephesians, written while Luke may have been with him, Paul dwells upon the thought of Christ as filling the whole universe with his glory, and the church with the gifts which he had received on his ascension. And just as in this epistle, called sometimes the Epistle of the Ascension, Paul connects the thought of the ascension with the Pentecostal gift (Eph. 4:7 ff.), so Luke in the Acts naturally commences his account of the early doings and triumphs of the church with a record of the event so closely associated with the promise of the Pentecostal power, and of the bestowal of that power, when the day of Pentecost was fully come. In his recent article "Jesus Christus" in Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*, 3d ed., Vol. IX, a distinguished German writer, Dr. Zöckler, gives additional interest to the whole subject. He points out (p. 43) that the narrative in Acts not only removes the false impression which Luke's earlier narrative (Luke 24:50)

might convey, viz., that Jesus ascended on the day of the resurrection, but he also cites one or two parallel instances of a writer giving a twofold account of the same event. Josephus, *e. g.*, at the close of *Antiquities*, Book XVII, makes a brief reference (chap. 13, 5) to the sending of Quirinius to Syria and Palestine, and then commences Book XVIII with a longer and more circumstantial record of the same incident (see chaps. 1 and 2). Zöckler, after duly weighing objections, keeps fast hold (p. 37) of the historical trustworthiness of Luke in relation to the fact of the ascension, and he concludes that without the fact of a final solemn parting of the Risen One from his disciples, as is recorded more fully by Luke, and more briefly in Mark 16: 16-20, two things would be unintelligible: (1) the course of events which followed upon the Easter morning; and (2) the experience and doings of the apostles, both before and after the outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost (see also B. Weiss, *Life of Christ*, Eng. Tr., Vol. III, pp. 408 f.).

Holtzmann, in his *Apostelgeschichte* (3d ed., 1901), p. 26, comments adversely on the worth of Luke's account of the ascension, because of the silence as to that event in such writers as Clement of Rome and Ignatius. But language is used by both writers which may be fairly held to imply a belief in the ascension; *cf.* Clem. Rom., *ad Cor.*, chap. 36 (esp. § 5), and Ignatius, *in Magn.*, 7, 2 (see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*); while from the nature of the objects in view in their writings there was no reason why either should definitely refer to the event of the ascension: "Clement is almost exclusively concerned with the maintenance of discipline. Ignatius, as the opponent of docetism, is chiefly interested in the birth, the passion, and the resurrection of the Lord," says Swete (*The Apostles' Creed*, p. 66).

There is another promise closely connected with the ascension, viz., the promise of the return, Acts 1: 11. It has been pointed out with great force that no real analogy exists between our Lord's expected return and that of a King Arthur or a Barbarossa; for in these latter instances the expectation was based upon a denial of death, while in the case of our Lord the expectation followed

upon an indisputable fact, the crucifixion. But a parallel has sometimes been sought in the expectation which widely prevailed in the Roman empire of the return of a Nero. Here, too, the expectation was based upon the belief that Nero was not dead, but that he would return from the East at the head of a great host to defeat his enemies. There is, however, a further fact in relation to this anticipation of the return of Nero which is especially instructive. The belief in his return arose within a very short time of his death, and one might be tempted to point to this early rise of the story as proving how easily and quickly any similar story could gain currency and credence.

But the crucial question in this case is not how soon the belief arose, but how long it endured. Nero died in 68 A. D., and within a decade the belief in his return was widely established among the common people of the gentile world—whom alone it ever really influenced. But the year 88 A. D., only two decades later, saw the coming forward of the latest pretender to the part of the dreaded emperor, and a fair inference from this is that from that date the belief that a living, conquering Nero would return began to lose its hold, and apparently by the close of the century that belief had been abandoned (see Dr. Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah*, introduction).

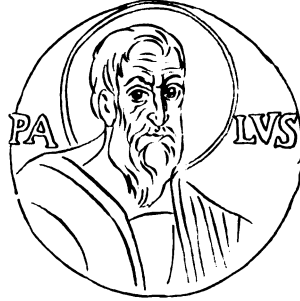
It would seem, therefore, that in little more than twenty years all force in the belief was exhausted, while the expectation of the return of Christ in glory lives today in millions of hearts as their hope and joy.

2. *The conversion of Paul.*—Behind the witness and the work of Paul there stands one great historical fact, upon which both witness and work depend, viz., his conversion. No recent criticism has explained away the significance of that event, or the New Testament references to it. The remarks of Professor Ramsay are not a whit too strong: "The slight variations in the three accounts of Paul's conversion do not seem to be of any consequence, . . . the spirit and tone and the essential facts are the same" (*St. Paul*, p. 379). And in dealing with the narratives in Acts no one has helped more than Dr. Blass, in his famous *Acta Apostolorum*, or than Sabatier, in his *L'Apôtre Paul*

(3d ed., 1896), Book I, chap. 3, to explain their relative fitness and essential agreement. So also, more recently, Findlay, art. "Paul" in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, p. 702.

On the other hand, attempts are still made to minimize Paul's own references to the event of his conversion. Thus

Dr. Orello Cone (*Paul, the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher* (1898), p. 59), quotes 1 Cor. 9:1, and says that there is no cogent reason for applying this passage to the conversion; the apostle may have "seen" the Lord in one of "the visions and revelations" mentioned in 2 Cor. 12:1. But, as a matter of fact, the passage in 2 Corinthians helps us to draw a hard and fast line of demarcation between the



PAUL, IN A MOSAIC FROM
RAVENNA, 547 A. D.

heavenly visions and revelations vouchsafed to the apostle from time to time, and the "seeing" the Lord to which he refers in 1 Cor. 9:1 and 15:8. The opening words of 2 Cor., chap. 12, reveal to us the fact that Paul is speaking reservedly and reluctantly, and as he proceeds it is not too much to say that his reluctance becomes a positive aversion, that not even the insolence of his adversaries shall tear away the veil which hides the depths of his spiritual life; no longer will he boast or parade himself, lest no longer should there be any ground of equality between himself and his converts. But if the apostle was thus so reserved in disclosing the experience of his inner life, if he was actually in danger of becoming "foolish" in doing so, how can we account for the different tone in 1 Cor. 9:1 and 15:8? If the "seeing" of the Lord to which reference is there made differed in no respect from "the visions and revelations" of 2 Cor. 12:1, there remains a strange paradox in the fact that Paul should have made it his loudest boast, that he should have regarded it as the basis of his claim to the apostolic office, and that he should have placed it in the forefront of his preaching: "Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus Christ, our Lord?" Or if, again, this

"seeing" were of the same nature and kind as the later spiritual and apocalyptic visions of Christ, why does the apostle affirm, "Last of all he was seen of me also" (1 Cor. 15:8)? The sole justification for the words is surely to be found in the belief that he drew a hard and fast line between those appearances, of which the series was closed, and all subsequent visions and revelations, such as those referred to in 2 Cor., chap. 12 (see Paret, *Paulus und Jesus*, and Sabatier, pp. 45 ff.). And in this connection it may be noticed that the apostle does not say ἐσχάτῳ ἐμοί, "to me as the last," but ἔσχατον ἐμοί, "for the last time to me," a mode of expression which seems to bar any further similar appearances.

It is quite true that Dr. Cone does not hesitate to identify Paul's "thorn in the flesh" with epilepsy, and to affirm that his "visions and revelations" were the result of abnormal physical conditions. Professor Ramsay (*Galatians*, p. 427) admits the seductiveness of this theory of Paul's disease, and that appearances are, at first sight, in its favor, especially with the examples of Julius Cæsar, Napoleon, and Cromwell as subject to epilepsy. "But," he adds, "if we take epilepsy as Paul's trial, then we must accept the medical inferences from it. It follows inexorably that his visions were epileptic symptoms, no more real than the dreams of epileptic insanity." "The theory," he continues, "is seductive." "But," he asks, "are we prepared to accept the consequences? Paul's visions have revolutionized the world. Has the modern world, with all that is best and truest in it, been built upon the dreams of epileptic insanity? Is reason the result of unreason, truth of falsehood?" *A propos* of the particular subject with which we are dealing, it is at least significant that Dr. B. Weiss has added this remark to the latest edition of his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1897), that Paul places the appearance of Christ vouchsafed to him, and to which he appeals as the ground of his apostolate, not on a level with the visions and revelations of which he unwillingly boasts in 2 Cor., chap. 12, but he considers it as the last in the series of the appearances vouchsafed to the older disciples of the Risen One (p. 112).

If, on the other hand, Paul was a mere visionary, what a constant temptation must have been present to him to support, by appeal to the words of a vision, his own view, *e. g.*, of the admission of the gentiles to the church of Christ! He never makes any such appeal, and in that restraint there lies no small proof of his soberness and candor. One of the most reverent



THE GATE OF "STRAIGHT STREET," DAMASCUS.

of German negative critics, Theodor Keim, has emphasized this argument in its bearing on Paul's soberness of discrimination (*Geschichte Jesu*, Vol. III, p. 583); and with his remarks we are tempted to compare those made long ago by Paley, "Paul's letters furnish evidence of the soundness and sobriety of his judgment. His caution in distinguishing between the occasional suggestions of inspiration and the ordinary exercise of his natural understanding is without example in the history of human enthusiasm" (*Horae Paulinae*, chap. xvi, 5, 5).

But if the testimony of Paul is that of a man sane in mind and

character, it is also the testimony of a man acquainted with the whole case of the Pharisees, as well as with that maintained by Christian believers. Without entering upon the vexed questions connected with the chronology of Paul's life, there is much in the recent discussion of it which inclines us to place his conversion very shortly after the crucifixion of Christ, so that Paul may well have been in Jerusalem and in full possession of the claims of the Nazarene, and the grounds upon which his followers based them, while the teaching of Jesus and the tragedy of his death were still uppermost in men's minds. With regard to the data to which Christians appealed in support of the facts connected with Christ's passion and resurrection, anyone who reads O. Holtzmann's recent *Leben Jesu* (1901) will be surprised to find how many of these facts were, in his opinion, known to Paul, and in more than one passage he refers to Peter as the probable source of Paul's information (*cf.* Gal. 1: 18).¹

3. *The apostle Paul and miraculous powers.*—Paley (*Horae Paulinae*, chap. xvi) lays stress upon the undoubted claim which Paul makes to have worked miracles. He quotes three passages in which the apostle asserts this claim: Rom. 15: 18 f.; 2 Cor. 12: 12; Gal. 3: 5 (and three other passages in which he sees indirect allusions to the possession of the same power: 1 Cor. 2: 4-6; Eph. 3: 7; Gal. 2: 8; but allusions which, conjoined with the more direct passages, can scarcely be interpreted in a different sense).

One of these passages, Gal. 3: 5, receives some striking illustrations if on the South-Galatian theory we connect it with Paul's first missionary journey. Paul not only possesses these miraculous powers himself, but he is also well aware that they were communicated to others, and he asks his Galatian converts: "He therefore that supplieth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among (or, in) you, *doeth he it* by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?" (R. V.), as if the apostle would remind them that their miraculous powers were bestowed before

¹ For a full discussion of the historical fact of Paul's conversion see FINDLAY, *u. s.*, while it will always repay one to turn to BEYSSCHLAG's articles in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1869-70, and to his *Leben Jesu*, Vol. I (1887).

they had allowed themselves to be beguiled by the Judaizers, and when they had been content with the apostle's own earlier preaching of the gospel of faith. "I do not need," he seems to say, "to supply the answer" (Ramsay, *Galatians*, p. 327); "you yourselves know the facts, and you can answer the question. You remember the lame man at Lystra (Acts 14:9) who had the faith of salvation, the disciples at Antioch filled with joy and the Holy Spirit (13:52), the signs and wonders at Iconium (14:3), and among the gentiles in general (15:12); and you know that Barnabas and I could do such works only when there was in you 'the faith of being saved.'" This interpretation would almost seem to combine, as it were, the two renderings, "worketh miracles *among* you" and "worketh miracles *in* you" (Gal. 3:5), and the word for "miracles" or "powers" (*δυνάμεις*) also seems to have reference to wonders wrought in the spiritual as well as in the physical world. This combination of meanings is quite possible, but Lightfoot's note on the passage should also be consulted (*Galatians*, p. 136).

In Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Miracles," Dr. Bernard has lately cited the same passages as those noted by Paley, in proof that Paul actually claimed to work miracles, and that this claim goes a long way to account for the fact that the apostle makes no allusion to any specific miracle of our Lord, except, of course, the resurrection. But Paul distinctly asserts that his miraculous working was derived from Christ, and we therefore cannot suppose that he regarded our Lord as himself destitute of the power which he could bestow upon others. Moreover, the passages, Rom. 15:17 ff.; 2 Cor. 12:12; Gal. 3:5, suggest to us: (1) that Paul regarded the miraculous power of Jesus as still at work in his church, and that there was therefore no need, especially in letters, to give a detailed account of any one miracle wrought by Jesus in his earthly life; (2) that the apostle would have put himself entirely in the hands of his opponents if he had made a baseless appeal to the possession of miraculous powers either by himself or by his converts.

In considering the other miracles of healing which are mentioned in the earlier portion of Acts, it is not without interest to

note that the same medical phraseology is to be found as in the miracles of healing of the first missionary journey — a phraseology which also characterizes the most vivid portion of the later "we"-sections, as, *e. g.*, Acts 28:1 ff. For instances *cf.* Acts 3:1; 4:16; 9:33, 38.

4. *Some points of interest in the earlier addresses.*—Testimony may fairly be cited from various quarters as to the primitive tone and character of Peter's addresses. Thus even Dr. Schmiedel admits that the Christology of these early speeches is not only important in the highest degree, but that "it is hardly possible not to believe that this Christology must have come from a primitive source" (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, col. 48). Writing from a very different standpoint, Mr. Headlam (art. "Acts" in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I, p. 33) points out, not only the primitive Christology, but also the primitive eschatology of these same addresses; and still more recently Dr. Chase (art. "Peter" in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, p. 766) emphasizes, not only the primitive and archaic character of Peter's words, but also the fact that many of his expressions had already found a place in the devotional and liturgical languages of the messianic hope, citing, *e. g.*, *Psalms of Solomon*, 17:23, 47; *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 39:7; 40:3; *Shemoneh Esreh*, 11. The same writer, in commenting on the speeches in Acts, makes the suggestive remark that it is quite possible that Peter and Luke met at Rome—an important point for the criticism of Luke's writings (*u. s.*, p. 762). At the same time, it must not be forgotten that Peter regards the Christ as his Savior, his Lord, his Judge, as the Prince of life, and that in his name, as in the name of the Jehovah of the Old Testament, salvation is given for body and soul alike. Jesus is associated, as none other is ever associated, with Jehovah in his majesty in the work of salvation; the salvation which was for all who called upon the name of Jehovah was also for all in the name and in the power of Jesus Christ; the Spirit which the prophets foretold would be poured forth by Jehovah had been poured forth by Jesus raised to the right hand of God.

In this connection it may be observed that Mr. Rackham has lately shown how the various articles of the Apostles' Creed

may be gathered from Acts (*Acts of the Apostles* (1901), p. lxix), and the passages which he enumerates are contained to a great extent in Acts, chaps. 1-15. But this is seen to be true in a special degree with regard to the events connected with our Lord. O. Holtzmann admits that Acts often presupposes the narratives and the facts of the gospels, and this may be clearly



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marked in the statements made by Peter; *cf.* 1:16, 22; 2:22, 32 f.; 3:13 f.; 4:11, 27; 5:30 ff.; 10:36-41; 11:16.

5. *The historical trustworthiness of Luke.*— Even where it is given in a very grudging spirit, testimony is borne to the trustworthiness of Luke. Thus Professor Schmiedel writes: "After every deduction has been made, Acts certainly contains many data that are correct, as, *e. g.*, especially in the matter of proper names, such as Jason, Titius Justus, Crispus, Sosthenes; or in little touches, such as the title *πολιτάρχαι* (17:6), which is verified by inscriptions for Thessalonica, as in the title *πρῶτος* for Malta (28:7), and probably the name of Sergius Paulus as

proconsul for Cyprus" (13:7) (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, col. 47). At the conclusion of these remarks Schmiedel adds: "Only unfortunately we do not possess the means of recognizing such data as these with certainty when corroboration from other sources is wanting." It is difficult to understand what this means. If it means that no facts are to be recognized as certain unless they are confirmed by other facts, we can only say that it is extraordinary that Luke's statements should be so frequently and increasingly confirmed by inscriptions and other data, and that, if such confirmation is forthcoming in the instances adduced above, we may fairly anticipate a similar verification in other instances. The facts allowed by Schmiedel are quite sufficient to show that we are dealing with a careful and painstaking writer, who was not at all likely to make rash assertions or unprovable statements. Take, *e. g.*, the reference made to the Italic cohort (Acts 10:1); in spite of what Schmiedel says elsewhere, it is difficult to see why Ramsay's inference should not be entertained. There was undoubtedly an Italic cohort in Syria in 69 A. D.; and although the discovery by which this statement is supported does not prove that the Italic cohort stationed in Syria before 69 A. D. was there as early as about 40 A. D., yet Ramsay justly throws the burden of proof upon those who maintain the contrary, especially in face of Marquardt's statement that in Syria "the same legions remained for centuries in the province." Moreover, even if our data are insufficient to justify the inference as to the presence of an Italic cohort in Cæsarea at the earlier date, it is a perfectly reasonable conjecture that a centurion belonging to that cohort may well have been stationed there on detached service (see especially Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* pp. 260 ff.).

With regard to Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus (Acts 13:7 ff.), Mommsen in a recent article² is inclined to admit that the mention of a certain L. Sergius Paullus on an inscription in Rome of a date fairly corresponding to the narrative in Acts, as one of the curators of the Tiber, a man of pretorian rank, refers to the Sergius Paulus of Acts; while the many

² In the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1901, pp. 81-96.

points which favor the identification have been recently summarized by Zahn (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1899), Vol. II, p. 632). Pliny, *e. g.*, in his *Natural History*, mentions a certain Sergius Paulus (according to the reading preferred by Lightfoot) as a chief authority for Books II and XVIII, and each of these two books does contain special information about Cyprus. The connection of the *gens Sergia* with the island is strikingly confirmed by a recently discovered inscription in Cyprus; while Hogarth deciphered with greater accuracy another inscription, already partly made public, containing apparently the words ἐπὶ Παύλου (ἀνθ)υπάτου (see also McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 175). The mention of Cyprus may also remind us of the accurate distinction which Luke draws between the government exercised in an imperial as compared with a senatorial province—a distinction very difficult to observe amidst the frequent changes in provincial classification, but which is again accurately marked at Corinth (Acts, chap. 18).

In matters of social life the historian's trustworthiness is no less plainly marked. The influence, to take a single instance, assigned to women in the Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:50) is strictly in accordance with what we know of their influence in Phrygia and Asia Minor in general; and the same may be said of the influential part which they play in Macedonia (Acts, chaps. 16, 17).³

An excellent summary of the various notes of Luke's accuracy will be found in Mr. Rackham's *Acts of the Apostles*, p. xlv. No doubt, as Rackham remarks, Acts is at first sight very disappointing as a church history because of its gaps; not a word, for instance, about the church in Egypt or in the farther East, or even about the founding of the church in Rome (p. 1). But this feeling of disappointment, he thinks, results from a want of appreciation of the historical method of Luke: "As he knew that the secret of history lies in personality, so he knew that the true way of writing history is not to compile bare records, but to draw living pictures." This personal factor may, no doubt, have

³See LIGHTFOOT, *Philippians*, p. 56; RAMSAY, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 67, 161; and the art. "Antioch" in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*.

often influenced the choice of Luke, the companion of Paul, who must so frequently have marked how the great apostle chose out, not only important centers of commerce and political organization for the furtherance of his work, but also living souls to edify and build up the church.

There is, however, another point of view from which this feeling of disappointment may be somewhat lessened. We may admit that Luke says nothing of the way in which the church spread toward the south or east, although there is much that points to the teaching and preaching of the new faith far and wide; but it may well be that "Luke has not made it his object to write the history of the whole expansion of the church, but selected the facts that bore on a narrower theme, viz., the steps by which the church of Jerusalem grew into the church of the empire, and the position of the church in the empire. Egypt, Ethiopia, and the East and South are therefore excluded from his narrative" (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 378).

A passing reference may be permitted to the alleged dependence of Luke upon Josephus, although it cannot be said that the attempts still frequently made to prove this dependence are calculated to carry conviction; and if anyone wishes to see how recklessly such attempts may be repeated, he could not do better than study Krenkel's *Lucas und Josephus*, a work to which Schmiedel can still refer in terms of approval. "For an instance of this dependence," says Schmiedel, "see Theudas." But quite apart from the very probable hypothesis that both historians, Luke and Josephus, may be right in mentioning Theudas, inasmuch as they may be referring to two different pretenders of the same or a similar name—a view which might well account for the evident variations in the two stories⁴—is it possible that Luke could have been guilty of the huge blunder which is sometimes attributed to him, viz., that he was so ignorant of the history of Judea as to place an event which Josephus dates under Fadus (44 A. D.) earlier than Gamaliel's speech, earlier too than the great enrolment? "The most wretched old chronicler, in

⁴See, e. g., LIGHTFOOT, art. "Acts" in SMITH'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, 2d ed., Vol. I, p. 40; EDERSHEIM, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 66; RACKHAM, *u. s.*, p. 74.

the worst and most ignorant Byzantine time, has not succeeded in doing anything so bad as that" (Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* p. 255). Is this blunder credible in a writer whose historical accuracy is so remarkable as we have seen above? in a writer who could clearly distinguish between the first enrolment under Herod and that taken in 7 A. D. under Quirinius (Ramsay, *u. s.*, p. 246)?⁵ But even if it is admitted that no entirely satisfactory explanation has yet been reached about Theudas, this is very different from concluding that Josephus must be right and Luke wrong. "Our knowledge," writes Mr. Vernon Bartlet (*Apostolic Age*, p. 26), "of the many false Messiahs is so imperfect that we must leave the difficulty unsolved," "judging it meantime," he well adds, "in the light of our general estimate of Luke as a careful historian."

6. *Recent literature*.—Reference has already been made to some recent and important contributions to the study of the book of Acts, but all students owe a special debt to the article "Peter," by Dr. Chase, and the article "Paul," by Dr. Findlay, in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III. In the same *Dictionary* few features are more valuable than the descriptive articles by Professor Ramsay of Pisidian Antioch, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Illyricum, Ephesus. For a commentary on the text Mr. Rackham's volume in Methuen's "Oxford Commentaries" is full of interest and information, more especially for English readers.

In connection with the South-Galatian theory, Professor Weber's book, *Die Abfassung des Galaterbriefs vor dem Apostelkonzil* (1900) (part of which was published in a separate form last year), should certainly be studied by those who can read German, as it contains the fullest statement by any German professor of the theory in question, which the writer strongly advocates; and it is full of suggestiveness and interest even for those who are not at all prepared to accept all its conclusions. Belser, in his recent *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1901), p. 170, pronounces himself a convert to Weber's views. Reference has

⁵It may be noted that ZÖCKLER in his article "Jesus Christus" in the HAUCK *Realencyklopädie*, 3d ed., regards Ramsay's as the best solution of the standing difficulty of Luke's reference to Quirinius.

already been made to Professor Mommsen's important article. In a short note he rejects the South-Galatian theory, and denies that the inhabitants of Iconium and Lystra could in common speech be called "Galatians." But if Paul is speaking of Galatia in its provincial sense, it is difficult to see by what other term than "Galatians" he would be likely to address the members of the churches of Antioch in Pisidia, of Derbe, of Lystra, of Iconium—men belonging to Roman colonies and semi-Roman towns. Such men would be proud of the provincial title "Galatians;" the Roman historian Tacitus, *Annals*, XV, 6, speaks of "*Galatarum auxilia*," and the Roman citizen Paul might well have adopted the same term (see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II, col. 1593). It is important to note that in the article referred to Mommsen regards Acts as containing on the whole a trustworthy and contemporary account of Paul's missionary journeys.

For illustrations of the language of Luke and Paul, chiefly from the papyri and inscriptions, Deissmann's *Bible Studies* (Eng. Tr., 1901) have become indispensable. Take, *e. g.*, the familiar word τὸ πλῆθος used for the Christian church in Antioch (Acts 15:30), which, as the papyri show, was technically employed to designate the totality of the members of a religious association; or the word μαρτυροῦμαι, commonly used, especially in the participle, in Acts and other early Christian writings, as a title of honor, "to be well reported of," and used also in the same sense in inscriptions of Rhodes, Palmyra, Naples (*cf.* Acts 6:3; 10:22; 16:2; 22:12); or Deissmann's comments on the change of name, "Saul who is also called Paul" (Acts 13:9); or his account of the word σύντροφος (Acts 13:1), which he renders "the intimate friend of Herod," in support of which he refers to an inscription of Delos, first half of the second century B. C., from which it appears that the title was in use in the above sense in Syria, a fact which makes this inscription most instructive in connection with Acts.

If we turn for a moment to the bearing of the New Testament upon the great social questions of our own day, it may not be out of place to mention two books closely connected with America: Professor Peabody's *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*

(1901), and Dr. Orr's *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity* (1901). In the former of these volumes the writer refers to a line of cleavage in the New Testament books which is somewhat different from that usually marked; and while he would associate Luke's gospel with the early chapters of Acts and the epistle of James in its bearing upon social conditions and rights of property, he would associate with the epistles of Paul the gospels of Matthew and Mark in relation to the same problems. The whole question is discussed in an admirable spirit in Professor Peabody's book. From Dr. Orr's pages we may see how unfair it is, with Acts and Paul's epistles in our hands, to allege that the new Christian sect won its way only among the dregs of the populace, even if we cannot say, with Ramsay, that Christianity "spread at first among the educated more rapidly than among the uneducated."

In conclusion, we may note that the highest praise is accorded to Acts as a deeply religious and instructive book, even in quarters where we might not altogether expect it. Thus, among recent critics, Jülicher describes it as an ideal church history (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 3d ed., 1901, p. 357), while Schmiedel writes that "the value of Acts as a devout and edifying work cannot be impaired by criticism" (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. I, col. 56).

ELEMENTS OF PEACE DOCTRINE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.¹

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WITH reference to the relation which the Old Testament bears to the doctrine of international peace there are four possible attitudes of mind:

1. We may take the ground that the Old Testament is a record of a divine revelation, that it exhibits war as a part of the divine plan, and that, therefore, it justifies warfare among Christians. This attitude has been generally taken by Christians in many different centuries. It has its advocates yet. It has served to flood the Christian world with wave upon wave of barbarism. Although it is still advocated by some Christian teachers,² it is too superficial to merit refutation in a company like this.

2. The second possible position is in part identical with the preceding and in part the antithesis of it. It holds that the Old Testament reeks with un-Christian barbarism, that it is a millstone about the neck of the church, and that no advance can be made in the realization of the Christian ideal of peace until this unwieldy impediment is cast aside. This attitude of mind is as superficial as the preceding. It is produced naturally by reaction from the extravagant claims of those who advocate the first position.

3. A third attitude is sometimes taken. It is said that the victories gained by Israel, which were of real advantage to the nation, were not the result of war, but of divine interposition, and that large military establishments were not only contrary

¹ A paper read at the Peace Conference of the Society of Friends in Philadelphia, December 21, 1901.

² See F. W. FARRAR in *North American Review*, September, 1900, p. 294.

to the commands of God, but disastrous to the political prosperity of the nation.

This position would be comforting if true; but unfortunately it rests upon a method of Old Testament study which can no longer be regarded as thorough. Our Old Testament historical books were compiled and edited by men who lived just at the period when the Hebrews were passing from a nation to a church. These narratives were collected, not so much for the sake of the history as for the religious lesson which they might be made to enforce. Without doubt, too, the nation had suffered from the military ambitions of its greatest leaders. Equally undoubted is the fact that there was a large providential element in the military victories won by their ancestors; but in retelling the stories of these to enforce a religious point of view the providential element was heightened, the warlike element, which in the early time was very real, fell into the background, and the whole perspective was innocently and unconsciously changed.

Let me give an illustration. In the sixth chapter of Joshua two different accounts of the taking of Jericho are woven together. In the older of these we are told how the Hebrews captured the city by a ruse. They quietly marched about the city for seven days, in such a manner as to appear unable to attack it, thus throwing the inhabitants off their guard, and when the garrison least expected it raised a great shout, and, rushing upon it, captured the city. The deed was really a military stratagem, but the victory was, like all victories, ascribed to Jehovah, the God of battles. The victory was won so easily, however, that it was ascribed in an especial manner to the interposition of God, and it was only natural that in later times it should give rise to traditions in which the providential element overshadowed the other entirely. Indeed, it is not impossible for such a point of view to be taken in modern times about modern events. I have heard of a Friend who regards the signal victories of the American fleets over the Spaniards in the war of 1898, accomplished as they were with almost no loss of life, as evidence that America was as much the chosen instru-

ment for the overthrow of Spanish despotism as Israel was for the extermination of the Canaanites, and that God fought for the American fleets as he did for Israel of old. If this were not an age of books and of critical historical study, there might easily grow up in America a very unreal tradition about that war—a tradition in which the actual military element, which we so much regretted, would sink out of sight altogether, and an impression prevail that it was determined wholly by providential interpositions. Obviously, then, if we would find in Israel's history valid principles which may be applied to real international life in this world, we must adopt a less superficial method of study.

4. A fourth attitude is possible. We may recognize that the religion of Israel was the providential preparation for Christianity, that in the beginning the Hebrews differed little from their neighbors and kinsmen either in religion or in the arts of life, but that as time advanced they saw more clearly the nature of God and their proper relation to their neighbors. If we proceed thus, we shall expect their religion and morals to be crude in the early period, but we shall expect, as we approach the time of the coming of the Prince of peace, to discover a clearer apprehension of those great principles which should make war forever impossible.

This last is the point of view which this essay is an endeavor to set forth, though obviously in the space at my disposal the proper treatment of the subject can only be hinted at.

In the animal world warfare and struggle seem to be perfectly natural. Biologists teach us that it is by means of these that animal life has been pushed forward to its present degree of perfection. Man is from one standpoint a member of the animal kingdom. In the earlier stages of his development he has necessarily been pushed forward by the same processes which have molded all animal life. He cannot be led forward by the lofty ideals which inspire by their brightness and purity until he can appreciate something of their beauty and sublimity. Until then, like his fellows in the animal realm, he must be pushed forward by the blind forces of struggle and

survival. To discover the elements of a peace doctrine in the Old Testament, we must discover the power to appreciate the great religious truths on which it rests. Those truths are the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Until men have clearly understood that God is the God of all men, and that it is as wrong to injure a stranger as a brother, because both are the children of the same Father, no peace doctrine is possible to them.

Now, in the early days of Israel's national life the necessary religious foundation for this truth had not been laid. Each tribe, or, at the most, each nation, had its god. Each nation thought it must worship its own god, but it in no wise denied the reality of the gods of other nations. These gods were conceived as larger men, ready to fight with one another, or to overreach one another in all the ways which men would do. This applies to the early history of Israel as truly as to that of other ancient peoples. When David was temporarily driven from his native land, and had to take refuge in Moab, we hear him complaining: "They have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of Jehovah, saying, Go serve other gods" (1 Sam. 26: 19). Jehovah's power was, he seemed to think, limited to Palestine, and, when on foreign soil, David naturally supposed he must worship a foreign god. This accounts for the fact that David practiced such barbarities upon conquered enemies (2 Sam. 12: 31). From his religious point of view these enemies had no rights. Obviously in such an age the peace doctrine could find no root.

In Amos, the first of the literary prophets, we find a broader outlook, both as regards the extent of God's rule over the nations and as regards the barbarities of war. He perceived that Jehovah controlled all nations; Jehovah brought the Philistines from Caphtor and the Aramæans from Kir, as well as Israel from Egypt (Amos 9: 7). It was Amos, too, the possessor of this breadth of religious vision, who condemned that violation of treaties, that barbarity to women, and that disregard of the sacredness of death which are so characteristic of war (see Amos 1: 9, 13; 2: 1).

It takes, in any age, a long time for a higher ideal to win its way, and that was true of Israel as well as of others. Isaiah sang of the birth of the "Prince of peace," in language which is much obscured in our common versions of the Bible, but which is so enshrined in the affections of the Christian world that one hesitates to disturb it, even in the interest of truth. When Isaiah's language is really understood, however, it differs but little from the hard standards of the age of war. That Prince, as Isaiah conceived him, was to be a "wonderful plotter, a very god of a warrior, and a father of booty" before he was "prince of peace." In other words, Isaiah's conception is still the conception of a conqueror; the peace which this passage pictures was such as Kitchener is making in South Africa.

Many years later Isaiah had a more attractive vision. In the eleventh chapter of his prophecy, when describing the messianic kingdom, he sang of a time when—

The wolf will lodge with the lamb,
The leopard lie down with the kid,
The calf and the young lion will graze together,
And a little child will lead them.

This language is no doubt figurative. The prophet pictured under these animal forms the way in which human passion was to become harmless. It is not clear, however, whether his thought embraced the world in this utopia of peace, or whether he confined it to the kingdom of Israel. The words which immediately follow favor the latter view.

Such religious conceptions as those of Amos were, nevertheless, bound to bear fruit. Under the influence of the prophets the old laws were recast, and King Josiah instituted a reform on their basis. We now possess this work in our book of Deuteronomy. It is characterized by a large humanitarian element. It sought to soften the rugged features of the hard life of ancient times. It instituted laws in behalf of the poor, in behalf of slaves, who were usually the captives taken in war, and even in behalf of animals.³ In its treatment of war itself there is a

³ See KENT, "Humanitarian Element in the Old Testament Legislation," *BIBLICAL WORLD*, October, 1901.

milder, more human and reasonable note than one is accustomed to find in antiquity (see Deut., chap. 20, and *cf.* Goldwin Smith in *Independent* of August 22, 1901, pp. 1959 ff.). Of the Levitical code, which came into its present form even later, though many of its laws are old, the same may also be said.⁴ If that code seems to limit the sympathies of Israel at times by enforcing kindness toward members of that race particularly, it also commanded the Hebrew to love the resident alien as himself (Lev. 19: 17, 18). When we remember that the resident alien was usually a captive of war, we can see how beneficently the teaching of prophets like Amos was taking effect. The idea that there was but one God, and he the God of all men, was producing a new conception of humanity, fatal to the spirit of war.

In no book of the Old Testament does this leavening doctrine, that God cares for all men, and its corollary, that mercy is due to all, shine out more clearly than in the book of Jonah; but we have been so occupied in quarreling about Jonah's whale that the significance of the message of the book has escaped us. The book was written to enforce the great truths that God's care extends to all men, that he chose Israel, not for her own sake merely, but to bear his message of warning, of righteousness, and of mercy to all men, and that even the worst of Israel's enemies may find mercy with God and become his people. The book of Jonah is a missionary tract. The kindness of God extends to all nations; the spirit of helpful sympathy should prevail toward them in the hearts of his worshipers—this is the message of this unique book, and it is a message calculated to extirpate the spirit of selfishness and narrowness from which all war springs.

The climax of Old Testament thought in this respect is reached in that little prophecy, found both in the second chapter of Isaiah and in the fourth chapter of Micah, the origin of which is a puzzle. Was it composed by Isaiah, by Micah, or by some unknown prophet? Perhaps the last view is the correct one. From this unknown seer it may have been introduced by editors into the positions in the books of Isaiah and Micah where it

⁴ See KENT, in *BIBLICAL WORLD*, November, 1901.

now stands. Be that as it may, in its inspired utterance we have for the first time an adequate expression of what a real monotheism means for the world. "The mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountain and exalted above the hills. Many nations shall give him their allegiance; his word shall rule them; he shall judge between many peoples and decide concerning strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." One God for all nations, hence one brotherhood among men, and a universal peace on earth—this is the only logical view for a monotheist, and is the inevitable result of a belief in one God. Such is the strength of old custom, especially of custom consecrated by religious sanction and rooted in human passion, that this prophetic vision did not make a deep impression on the prophets' contemporaries; but nevertheless the beautiful picture of international amity, clearly drawn against the dark background of a savage antiquity, anticipated by two millenniums the visions of our Whittier, who sang:

Evil shall cease and violence pass away,
And the tired world breathe free through a long sabbath day.

Viewed in the manner here indicated, the Old Testament neither sanctions war nor is a millstone about the neck of Christianity; nor is it the record of a people who lived in a world so unreal that it can teach us no practical lesson. It affords a basis for the peace doctrine, both because it exhibits the fact that war springs from the animal side of human nature, and is fostered only by a conception of God so limited as to be but little removed from heathenism; and also because it reveals the fact that the doctrine of monotheism cannot be really held without creating in men's minds an abhorrence of the barbarities of war, and without inspiring visions of a universal peace. The former element, though painfully apparent, is a waning or diminishing element; the latter, as revelation in its progress nears the central figure in human history, clearly appears as the increasing and triumphant element.

THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF PAUL.

V. THE SOCIAL CONTENT OF APOSTOLIC CHRISTIANITY IN GENERAL.

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SECTION I. THE OPPOSITION OF APOSTOLIC CHRISTIANITY TO SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

THE kingdom of God, as portrayed by Jesus, involved inevitable social and political changes. However great its apocalyptic and eschatological element, one cannot fail to discover in the teaching of Jesus a distinct recognition of the ethical significance of the family, of wealth, and even of the conventionalities of life. It is special pleading to claim that his words upon such social matters were but incidental to a persistent and predominating eschatology. Throughout the Christian centuries it has been all but universally felt both in church and state that Jesus never recognized two ideal ethical codes—the one for the members of the kingdom, and the other for those who were not members. However different might have been his expectation of righteous living on the part of the one group rather than of the other, his words present social ideals for society as a whole, and not for certain of its members. The ideal may be Christian, but the moral obligation is human.⁴⁷

Yet, while thus sympathizing with the Zealots in their recognition of the regenerating effects of God's presence in human society, Jesus was quite as sensitive as any Pharisee to the dangers of social revolution. As far as possible he kept himself independent of all political agitation; the things of Cæsar were to be rendered to Cæsar; the law and the prophets were to abide until all things came to pass; the very scribes whose narrowness and pride he denounced sat in Moses' seat, and their teachings

⁴⁷ I have attempted to indicate this social content of the kingdom of God in *The Social Teaching of Jesus*.

were to be heeded. If it were not for his clear rejection of some of the very fundamentals of pharisaism—its ceremonial cleansings, its specifications concerning the sabbath, the practice of fasting, the Davidic Messiah—such conservatism might almost argue the chauvinism of the rabbis themselves. In such a case, however, neither priest nor scribe would have sought his downfall.

Yet, innovator and revolutionist as he was in the estimation of both himself and his contemporaries, he was no iconoclast. Measureless social and political results have flowed from his teachings, not because he urged the destruction of institutions, but because his principles, when once in control of social groups, by their own inherent strength have led to the recognition of rights and duties. It is no mere accident that the highest civilization is Christian. As he foretold, the fraternity Jesus inaugurated has become the leaven of society. Love has, in some degree at least, replaced violence.

It is, therefore, only what might have been expected both from the temper of Jesus and from their own insistence upon the eschatological kingdom of God, when we find the apostles possessed of a conservatism in social matters amounting almost to indifference. The early church was not a society for ethical culture, much less a society for social reform. It was a body of religionists devoted to their faith in a revealed plan of God for their salvation, who were endeavoring in an evil age to live as if citizens of heaven. As such its members at times ran dangerously near to antinomianism, and at other times to legalism, but always because of their devotion to their religious convictions. Throughout the apostolic age Christian morality was the outgrowth of religious faith, and social duties were therefore derivative rather than primary.

But morality was by no means secondary. A bad man could not be a Christian, and a Christian ought to be a good man. The prophecies had been fulfilled; the law had been superseded; the new life begotten of faith in God's love was now to be lived. Therein lay the supreme duty of the Christian while he waited for the appearance of the kingdom.

As has already appeared, Paul's position at this point is clear. Having abandoned his earlier hope of winning an acquittal at the messianic judgment by conscientious observance of the law, he would be the last man to replace the Thorah with a new series of rules, either of his own devising or derived from the words of Jesus. That would be to discredit faith, and by faith, as he told the Corinthians in one of his most strenuous passages, the Christian stood.⁴⁸ As long as one was true to the faith he had professed in Jesus as the Messiah of the future kingdom, he was beyond the reach of even apostolic authority. At the same time, however, Paul gave his judgments as one who had obtained mercy of the Lord to be worthy of trust,⁴⁹ and these "judgments" may very well have been understood as authoritative advice regarding the form and direction in which the new life of the Christian should be given expression. Paul further magnified his official position in matters in which the religious element was at a minimum, and did not hesitate to deliver over to Satan an evil-doer for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.⁵⁰ None the less, however, even to the recalcitrant Corinthians he protests that he was but a master-builder who laid foundations, and that he and Apollos and Peter were but the stewards of the Christ to whom all believers belonged.⁵¹ The gospel was not a new law, and the life of faith was not to yield to a new legalism.

From this point of view one appreciates both the genetic and the fragmentary character of the apostle's teachings upon matters of conduct and social convention. They are not a new legal code, or speculations upon the social bearings of the new faith; they are solutions of definite problems with which early Christianity was confronted. As in the case of the churches of Thessalonica, Galatia, and Rome circumstances forced Paul to develop the theological content of the new messianic faith, so in the case of these and every other church to whom he addressed a letter, the necessity of actually living in accordance with such a

⁴⁸ 2 Cor. 1:24.

⁴⁹ 1 Cor. 7:25.

⁵⁰ 1 Cor. 5:1-5.

⁵¹ 1 Cor. 3:5, 8, 23; 4:1. The entire argument as to the apostolic prerogative in 1 Corinthians is well worth consideration upon this point.

faith led him to point out the ethical and social principles it involved. Throughout his correspondence his instructions constitute less a system or program than the advice of a practical man based upon the teaching of Jesus and his own spiritual illumination.⁵² His temper of mind is the farthest possible from that of a social doctrinaire. He was not endeavoring to reform society, to legislate for all time, or to champion a paper utopia. He was simply endeavoring to make plain to men and women who had but recently shared in the practices of the heathen society of which they were still members, the lines of conduct consonant with their new life and their faith in a rapidly approaching kingdom. One may, indeed, be even more specific: his social ethics consists in directions as to how a member of a Christian church could live in the various cities of the Roman empire during the first century of our era that life which he expected to live in the coming kingdom. To understand such teaching one must understand the actual historical conditions it was intended to meet.

The problem before the student, therefore, is quite as much historical as exegetical; or, rather, just because it is exegetical it is historical, and any complete presentation of the apostolic thought must rest, not upon a collection of detached teachings, but upon a careful estimate of such teachings in the light both of the apostolic messianism and of the social environment of those to whom they were addressed.

As soon as one takes this historical point of view, one characteristic of the apostolic teaching becomes apparent. So far from resembling the efforts of many others who have attempted to induce men to adopt the same standards of life, it favored no eccentricity, it proposed no revolution. The kingdom of God, with its regenerate institutions, was in heaven and not on earth. The Pauline ethics, in so far as it concerns social relations, is always formulated with the intent of preserving Græco-Roman society as far as possible. If we except the church itself, neither Paul nor any other apostle introduced a new social institution. The early Christians, so far as we know, were born,

⁵² Cf. I Cor. 7:10 with 12, and see also I Cor. 7:25, 40.

married, toiled, and were buried as were their fellow-citizens of the empire. Thus, like his master, Paul was constantly on his guard lest his converts should mistake enthusiasm to reform other people for Christian character. Such an attitude of mind was not only the outcome of that indifference to existing evils born of his belief in the speedy coming of Christ. It was undoubtedly that in large part, but it also involved an appreciation of the actual situation in which the Christian communities found themselves. The Roman empire looked with increasing suspicion upon fraternities of all sorts—barring perhaps burial fraternities—and Paul knew only too well the danger which lay in any social extravagances. He would not even consent to destroying such conventionalities as the length of a Christian's hair, or a woman's wearing of a veil.⁵³ Above all, he tried to keep his converts free from even an appearance of social unrest. "Let each man abide in that calling wherein he was called," he told the restless Corinthians. "Wast thou called being a slave? Care not for it. Was any man called being circumcised? Let him not become uncircumcised. Hath any been called in uncircumcision? Let him not be circumcised. Art thou bound unto a wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife. The time is shortened, that henceforth both those that have wives may be as though they had none; and those that weep, as though they wept not; and those that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and those that buy, as though they possessed not; and those that use the world, as though they used it to the full; for the fashion of this world passeth away."⁵⁴ And all apostolic teaching was to the same effect. "Let no man suffer as a meddler in other men's affairs"⁵⁵ is hardly the word of an agitator. Even when an outraged heart breaks forth in apocalyptic visions foretelling the doom of the

⁵³ I Cor. 11:14-16.

⁵⁴ I Cor. 7:18-24, 27-31. And yet PAULSEN (*Ethics*, Eng. trans., p. 66) declares that "true Christianity may always be recognized by the fact that it seems strange and dangerous to the world." See also the even more exaggerated statement of LESLIE STEPHEN, *Social Rights and Duties*, Vol. I, p. 22.

⁵⁵ I Peter 4:16.

beast whose number is 666—the Roman empire itself⁵⁶—there is no call for revolt, but rather a eulogium of the martyrs who cry to God from beneath the altar.⁵⁷

It would be a misinterpretation of early Christianity, however, if at this point we should declare with Paulsen⁵⁸ that the early Christians belittled courage and opposed aggressive struggle with enemies. Such a position has, it is true, a superficial justification in the maxims of Jesus against contests, and in the well-known willingness of the Christians to suffer martyrdom. But courage, or, better, virility, is something other than militarism, and in its moral sense is the constant watchword of the New Testament writers. "Quit yourselves like men,"⁵⁹ "fight without beating the air,"⁶⁰ "put on the whole panoply of God"⁶¹—these are certainly not the words of a man who could suffer and submit, but nothing more. The difference between the Greek and the Christian courage is not so much in the attitude of mind as in the enemies one must withstand. The Greek or Roman found his enemies in the enemies of his state; the enemies of the Christian were just as real, but they were not flesh and blood, but angels and devils and evil passions.⁶² It was against these, and not against an existing society in any of its phases, that the early Christians struggled. They could die for their faith, but they would not draw the sword for its defense. The Lord with his kingdom was at hand.

SECTION II. APOSTOLIC CHRISTIANITY DEVOTED NEITHER TO ASCETICISM NOR TO REFORM.

It was wholly consonant with this anti-revolutionary attitude toward society, the invariable accompaniment of apocalyptic messianism, that one chief aim of the apostolic ethics was to preserve as pure as possible the new life which had been awakened in the Christian. As may well be imagined, innumerable

⁵⁶CLEMEN, "Die Zahl des Tieres, Apc. 13:18," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1901, pp. 109-14. For a curious error in this article, which, however, hardly affects its main position, see BIBLICAL WORLD, Vol. XVIII (1901), p. 76.

⁵⁷ Rev. 6:9; 13:18.

⁵⁹ 1 Cor. 16:13.

⁶¹ Eph. 6:11 f.

⁵⁸ *Ethics*, Eng. trans., pp. 69 f.

⁶⁰ 1 Cor. 9:26.

⁶² Eph. 6:12.

dangers threatened Christian morality from its social environment. Græco-Roman civilization in Paul's day had not, it is true, reached its period of decadence, nor were its morals quite as dark as Seneca and the satirists would have one believe; yet it was by no means calculated to help one live the life of the spirit. Animalism was either magnified or treated as morally neutral by men not at all vicious, and in every city the masses almost inevitably grew debased. Today's society threatens strikingly similar dangers to Christian idealism, but never were programs more opposed than that of the twentieth-century reformer and that of the apostles. The modern reformer endeavors to make honesty, purity, and other Christian virtues more easily realizable by changing the social environment in which men struggle. As Jesus might have said, he seeks to increase the harvest by improving the earth in which the seed of the kingdom is planted. But this recourse to a regenerated society as an aid to the individual Christian, Paul and the other apostles never made. No one of them ever proposed to make Christian morality more practicable through the destruction of the evils to which it was exposed. There was to be no compromise with the world, but neither was the world to be converted.

Yet asceticism, the last resource of pessimistic righteousness, was never urged upon the struggling Christian communities. It is, indeed, rather common to find the opposite asserted,⁶³ but at the expense either of a definition of asceticism or of a true exposition of Pauline thought. The point of view of the apostles was not that of those who regard misery as the royal road to holiness, or of those who would have men leave social life in order to live to God; but rather that of those who have adopted a new standard of values. For them that alone in life is of importance which was to extend over into the heavenly kingdom. The application of such a standard will give results which superficially resemble asceticism, but which are really nothing of the sort. For instance, it is not an injunction to asceticism to tell a person who knows the moral impulses that come from religious

⁶³So, for instance, by PAULSEN, *Ethics*, Eng. trans., pp. 91 f., and THILLY, *Introduction to Ethics*, p. 190, note.

experiences and whose highest ethical imperative is "whereunto you have already attained by that same standard walk," that there are distractions in marriage, and that, since the Lord is soon to appear and to end the marriage relation, one had better choose a life in which he can more completely and easily devote himself to moral endeavor.⁶⁴ Asceticism would say that marriage is contaminating, or that there is merit in celibacy, and such opinions neither Paul nor any apostle to our knowledge ever held.⁶⁵ The insistence of Jesus upon the necessity of his disciples remaining in the world rather than becoming recluses or monks is echoed repeatedly in Paul. In fact, as will appear in our discussion of the apostolic teaching as to social life, he is insistently opposed to anything that would detract from neighborliness or the legitimate enjoyments of those whose Master both in words and practice had rejected asceticism.

It is the same standard of values that explains the indifference of the earlier interpreters of Jesus to social evils like slavery and prostitution. Jesus had indeed said nothing directly against either evil, but it is clear that the man who would love his neighbor as himself could not long endure to see his neighbor either a slave or a prostitute, and, as Christian history shows abundantly, must endeavor to end both institutions by law. We should have expected that an apostle would have been as eager for such reforms as a modern philanthropist, and, as will presently appear, within the limits of the Christian community itself equality and social purity were unceasingly, passionately urged; but in all the apostolic literature both slavery and prostitution are accepted as abiding elements in a wicked world. They would perish only with the age. There is no more striking picture of a radical submitting to a social evil he saw was incompatible with his own ideals than that furnished in the little letter of Paul to Philemon in which the apostle recounts how, as one result of having converted his friend's runaway

⁶⁴1 Cor. 7: 29, 31, 32.

⁶⁵While we cannot deny that Paul regards the unmarried state as superior to the married, the entire discussion contained in 1 Cor., chap. 7, will dispossess a fair mind of any predisposition to discover within it genuine asceticism.

slave Onesimus, he was sending him back to a slavery from which he had safely escaped. Paul has, indeed, many words of counsel and exhortation for both master and slaves. The master is not to threaten his slaves, since they both have one Master with whom there is no respect of persons,⁶⁶ and he is to treat them with justice and equality.⁶⁷ Directions for the conduct of slaves are also numerous, as one might expect, but all to the same effect. Slaves are to be⁶⁸ obedient, as servants of Christ. A position in which a man was both a slave and a brother was certainly anomalous, and, had it not been for the hope that the new age with its readjustments was close at hand, unendurable. Some slaves must have seen this, as possibly the runaway Onesimus; but more certainly those Christian slaves who, as we know from 1 Tim. 6:1, were tempted to look with contempt upon a Christian master who did not emancipate them.

That, notwithstanding his refusal even to hint at emancipation, Paul could also write that "*in Christ* there is neither bond nor free"⁶⁹ shows the difference between the standards when applied to the coming kingdom and when applied to the age that was to end within the lifetime, possibly, of the slave himself. That the two conceptions did not affect one another is the clearest possible evidence of the failure of Paul to see the social bearing of Christianity.

The attitude of Paul toward prostitution and other evils which depended upon sin rather than upon misfortune and law is not radically different from that displayed toward slavery, though no fornicator was to be permitted to live within the Christian community or could hope to enter the kingdom of God.⁷⁰ Yet, so far as we know, no effort was made by the apostolic church to reduce or control prostitution and other vices by law, or in any way except by the conversion of the evil-doers themselves. Apostolic Christianity at this point was thoroughly individualistic. The Christian as such was to be chaste; society would always be licentious. Paul expressly implies that prosti-

⁶⁶ Eph. 6:9.⁶⁷ Col. 4:1.⁶⁸ Eph. 6:5; Col. 3:22; Tit. 2:9; 1 Pet. 2:18.⁶⁹ Gal. 3:28.⁷⁰ 1 Cor. 6:9.

tution is a permanent factor of un-Christian society, and that it is impossible for the Christian, in Corinth at least, to avoid associating with fornicators. In such a case he must needs go out of the world — a saying which marks the nearest approach to cynicism contained in apostolic literature.⁷¹

One thing, however, must be added. If apostolic Christianity, because of its anticipation of the speedy return of its Lord, felt no responsibility for establishing a Christian civilization, it most emphatically did feel the responsibility of treating all men, whether or not of the household of faith, with self-sacrificing love. The apostolic literature abounds in exhortations to treat all men in the spirit of Christ. "Avenge not yourselves, beloved," says Paul to the Romans,⁷² "but give place unto the wrath of God; for it is written, Vengeance belongeth unto me; I will recompense, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." And to the Galatians⁷³ he wrote: "Let us work that which is good toward all men." With humanity once possessed of such a spirit, the new age would indeed have dawned.

The fact is, however, that the great mass of the Pauline teaching regarding social relations concerns the church and its members rather than society at large. The ethical and social teachings of Paul would have been almost meaningless to any but those who shared in his faith. A Christian society was evidently expected by him to result from the segregation of Christians, rather than from the transformation of an empire. Christian civilization, paradoxically enough, was a by-product of apostolic Christianity. How far Paul was dominated by the conception of the church as the only social group with whose conduct and conventions he had an immediate concern will appear as we proceed to consider his more specific social teachings.

⁷¹ 1 Cor. 5 : 9, 10.

⁷² Rom. 12 : 19-21.

⁷³ 6 : 10.

CONSTRUCTIVE STUDIES IN THE LITERATURE OF WORSHIP IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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IV. THE HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF THE PRIESTLY SCHOOL.

I. THE PRIESTLY NARRATIVE IN THE HEXATEUCH.

§ 199. **The New Tendency Encouraged in the Exile.**—

Consider (1) the effect of the exile upon the ambition of Israel to be a *nation* among other nations of the earth; (2) the actual condition, in the exile, of all political institutions and political machinery; (3) the certainty that under these conditions the minds of the leaders and the energies of the people would be turned in some other direction; (4) the naturalness and, indeed, the inevitableness of a turning in the direction of a more definitely religious, as distinguished from a political, régime; (5) the foundation for this movement already prepared in the two great doctrines of *individualism*, as preached by the priest Jeremiah, and *solidarity*, as preached by the priest Ezekiel—doctrines preached in view of and in connection with the fall of the nation.

Isa. 57: 17-20.

2 Chron. 35: 17-21

Isa. 41: 17-20.

Ezek., chaps.
40-48.

Isa. 44: 24-28.

Jer. 31: 29 f.

Ezek., chaps. 18,
33.

See J. R. SLATER, "Individualism and Solidarity as Developed by Jeremiah and Ezekiel," BIBLICAL WORLD, Vol. XIV (1899), pp. 172-83; MONTEFIORE, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*, pp. 216-19, 251-3; DUFF, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. II, pp. 488 f.

§ 200. **The Basis of This Tendency toward Priestly Influence.**—Observe now three things: (1) that the priestly influence had long been in existence, and that only a century or so before the fall of Jerusalem it had been greatly strengthened by the union of effort in which prophet and priest joined, and of which the promulgation of Deuteronomy was the result (*cf.* §§ 25-8, 170); (2) that the prophetic work in these last days had in large measure fallen to priests, *e. g.*, Jeremiah and Ezekiel;

2 Kings 22: 3-
23: 25.

Jer. 1: 1; Ezek.
1: 3.

(3) that, inasmuch as the will of God has now been presented so clearly in the prophetic word (for prophecy has practically completed its work, having reached its highest development in Jeremiah) and in the written law (the law as found in Deuteronomy having been canonized in 621 B. C.), the task that remains is not so much the revelation of new truth as the interpretation, organization, and application of the great body of truth already known. Such ministrations are the work of the priest.

§ 201. **The Origin of the Idea of the Church or Community.**—Consider now to what extent the idea and practice of the *community* or *church* (1) are the further development of the priestly conception and ritual which existed before the exile and was formulated during the exile by Ezekiel in his visions; and (2) are the direct outcome of the prophetic teaching of individualism and solidarity (see above); and still further (3) the necessary result of the historical forces which combined to destroy the nation and put an end to prophetic work and leadership.

§ 202. **The Purpose of the Church.**—(1) Study, as widely as possible (*e. g.*, in Ezekiel's code, the Levitical code, and the priestly prophets), the purpose of the church as it now began to take the place of the nation, as that purpose exhibited itself (*a*) in the emphasis placed on worship, (*b*) in the multiplication of ordinances seeking to preserve, organize, and develop the ritual of the temple; and (2) note how greatly such interest (already existing in the exile) would be strengthened when the return had taken place, the temple had been rebuilt, and worship had actually been established in the new environment.

§ 203. **The Desire to Prepare Histories of Worship.**—Consider how, under these circumstances, there would come into existence the desire (1) to trace the beginnings of these ordinances to the earliest times, and to show the place assigned them under the great leaders of the past; (2) to write a narrative which would present their history through the long centuries from David's time down to the last days—a story parallel with that other

2 Kings 22:3;
23:3.

Deut. 10:8.

Exod. 20:23—
23:33; Deut.,
chaps. 16-26.

Ezek., chaps.
40-48.

Mal. 1:6-14;
Zech. 14:16 ff.
Leviticus.

Hag. 1:7-14;
2:1-9; Zech.
6:9-14.

Cf. P (below).

Cf. Chronicles.

narrative (prepared by the prophets who had now passed away) which, in representing prophetic truth, had almost entirely ignored the priest-side of the national history; and (3) to show just how these institutions were finally reinstated or re-established after the return by the great leaders Ezra and Nehemiah. This desire found its realization in what we may call the histories of the priestly school.

Cf. Ezra and Nehemiah.

§ 204. **The Histories of the Prophetic School.**—Recall (1) the history of J, the work of a Judean prophet, probably the oldest of the prophetic histories, which gathers up the stories and traditions of the earliest times down to the settlement of Israel in Canaan and uses all this material for the purpose of illustrating and enforcing the truths of prophecy;¹ (2) the history of E, which covers practically the same ground as J, but is written from the point of view of northern Israel, and is somewhat less naive in its conception of God and in respect to other theological ideas;² (3) the histories found in Judges, Samuel, and Kings, which trace the progress of the nation from the conquest to the exile; and note the principal characteristics, common to them all, viz.: (a) that they are in large part compilations of older material; (b) the emphasis laid by them upon the

Gen. 2: 4b-4: 26; etc.

Gen. 15: 1, 5, 16; chap. 20; etc.

2 Sam. 1: 18; 1 Kings 11: 41; 14: 29; 2 Kings 15: 26; etc. 2 Kings, chap. 24.

¹ The J-material in Gen., chaps. 1-40, is: 2: 4b-4: 26; 5: 29; 6: 1-8; 7: 1-5, 7-10, 12, 17b, 22f.; 8: 2b, 3a, 6-12, 13b, 20-22; 9: 18-27; 10: 1b, 8-19, 21, 24-30; 11: 1-9, 28-30; 12: 1-4a, 6-20; 13: 1-5, 6b-11a, 13-18; 15: 3f., 6-11, 17f.; 16: 1b, 2, 4-14; 18: 1-19: 28, 30-38; 21: 1a, 2a, 7, 28-30, 33; 22: 20-24; 24: 1-25: 6, 18, 21-26a, 28; 26: 1-3a, 6-14, 16f., 19-33; 27: 1a, 2, 3, 4b, 5b, 6, 7a, 15, 18b-20, 24-29a, 29c, 30a, 30c, 31b-34, 41b-42, 43b, 45a; 28: 10, 13-16, 19; 29: 2-14, 31-35; 30: 3b-16, 22c, 23a, 24f., 27, 29-31a, 34-38a, 39-40a, 40c-43; 31: 1, 17, 18a, 25, 27, 31, 43f., 46, 48-50; 32: 3-7a, 13b-22a, 23b-29, 31f.; 33: 1-18a; 34: 2b, 3a, 3c, 5, 7, 11, 19, 26, 29b-31; 35: 14, 16-22a; 36: 31-39; 37: 2b, 2d-4, 12, 13a, 14b, 18b, 21, 25b-27, 28b, 32a, 35; 38: 1-39: 6b, 7b-23. The remainder of the document may be found in J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. II; or in ADDIS, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. I; or in DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*.

² The E-material in Gen., chaps. 1-40, is: 15: 1, 2, 5, 16; 20: 1-18; 21: 6, 8-27, 31f., 34; 22: 1-13, 19; 25: 25b, 27, 29-34; 27: 1b, 4a, 7b-14, 16-18a, 21-23, 30b, 31a, 35-41a, 44, 45b; 28: 11f., 17f., 20, 21a, 22; 29: 1, 15-23, 25-28a, 30; 30: 1-3a, 17-20, 26, 31b-33, 38b, 40b; 31: 2-16, 19-24, 26, 28-30, 32-42, 47, 51-32: 2, 23a, 30; 33: 18c-20; 35: 1-5, 6b-8; 37: 5-11, 13b, 14a, 17b, 19f., 22-25a, 28a, 28c-31, 32b, 33a, 34, 36; 39: 6c, 7a; 40: 1-23. For the remainder of the document see literature cited in previous footnote.

thought of sin as the cause of all of Israel's troubles; (c) the purpose of their work as evidently didactic, rather than historical in the modern sense of the word; (d) the selection and arrangement of material, which is such as to enforce the great lessons of prophecy.

§ 205. **The Priestly Histories.**— Under this head may be classified (1) the priestly narrative in the Hexateuch; (2) the books of Chronicles, which furnish a parallel history, as understood by the priest, for the entire period covered by the prophetic history found in Judges, Samuel, and Kings; and (3) the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which describe the restoration from exile and the re-establishment of the temple and its elaborate system of worship. These all possess the same general characteristics of style, are controlled by the same theological ideas, are interested in the same general subject, and are written from the same priestly point of view.

See above.

§ 206. **The Historical Character of the Priestly Histories.**— Keep in mind (1) the purpose of these so-called histories, viz., to represent the *priest-side*, that is, the element of worship; (2) the consequent necessity of making *selections* from the large body of material in existence; (3) the fragmentary and disconnected character of the material which comes by selection; (4) the only method that, under these circumstances, can be employed—that of compilation; (5) the danger of confusion and disorder; (6) the certainty that material having its origin centuries after the event described will not be intended to serve as a chronicle of the event, but rather to meet some definite and practical end in view; (7) the difference between *actual history* and *idealized story*; (8) the meaning of the word “pragmatic” as applied to history.

See, *e. g.*, my article in *Sunday School Times*, July, 1889; GEO. F. MOORE, art. “Historical Literature,” *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II; W. E. BARNES, “The Religious Standpoint of the Chronicler,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. XIII (1896-97), pp. 14-20; T. G. SOARES, “The Import of the Chronicles as a Piece of Religio-Historical Literature,” *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. III (1899), pp. 251-74; C. C. TORREY, *The Composi-*

tion and Historical Value of Esra-Nehemia ("Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft," II, 1896); L. DIESTEL, "Die hebräische Geschichtsschreibung," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, Vol. XVIII (1873), pp. 365 ff.; FRANZ DELITZSCH, "Die Formenreichtum der israelitischen Geschichtsliteratur," *Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, Vol. XXXVI (1870), pp. 31 ff.; J. E. MCFADYEN, *The Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians* (1901), pp. 241 ff., 271 ff.

§ 207. **The Scope of the Priestly Narrative.**—This document is found alongside of the prophetic histories J and E in the Hexateuch.³ Like them it goes back to the time of creation and sketches the course of events up to the settlement of Israel in Canaan. This leads it in many cases to duplicate the narratives of the prophetic historians; but, although the same events are often narrated in both accounts, the point of view is widely different, since the purposes of the two schools of writers are of a different character. The priestly narrative is primarily concerned with questions like (a) the divine choice of Israel as the peculiar people of God; (b) the divine origin of her system of worship; (c) the growth of the accompanying institutions and customs.

Gen. 1: 1—2: 4a;
Josh., chaps. 14,
15, 17, etc.

Gen. 34: 1, 2a, 3b,
4, 6, 8—10, 12—18,
20—25, 27—29a;
cf. 34: 2b, 3a, 3c,
5, 7, 11, 19, etc.

§ 208. **The Gradual Growth of the Priestly Narrative.**—A careful examination of this priestly narrative reveals that it is not all the work of one hand or one time, but, like the prophetic histories, is a compilation of older

³The material belonging to the priestly narrative, as indicated in *The Hexateuch* by J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, is as follows: Gen. 1: 1—2: 4a; 5: 1—28, 30—32; 6: 9—22; 7: 6, 11, 13—17a, 18—21, 24; 8: 1, 2a, 3b—5, 13a, 14—19; 9: 1—17, 28, 29; 10: 1a, 2—7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32; 11: 10—27, 31, 32; 12: 4b, 5; 13: 6a, 11b, 12; 16: 1a, 3, 15, 16; 17: 1—27; 19: 29; 21: 1b, 2b—5; 23: 1—20; 25: 7—17, 19, 20, 26b; 26: 34, 35; 27: 46—28: 9; 29: 24, 28b, 29; 30: 21, 22a; 31: 18b; 33: 18b; 34: 1—2a, 3b, 4, 6, 8—10, 12—18, 20—25, 27—29a; 35: 6a, 9—13, 15, 22b—36: 30, 40—43; 37: 1, 2a, 2c; 41: 45b, 46a; 46: 6—27; 47: 5, 6a, 7—11, 27b, 28; 48: 3—7; 49: 1a, 28—33a, 33c; 50: 12, 13; Exod. 1: 1—5, 7, 13, 14b; 2: 23b—25; 6: 2—7: 13, 19, 20a, 21b, 22; 8: 5—7, 15b—19; 9: 8—12; 11: 9—12: 20, 24, 28, 40—13: 2, 20; 14: 1—4, 8, 9b, 15b, 16b—18, 21a, 21c—23, 26, 27a, 28a, 29; 16: 1—3, 5—35; 17: 1a; 19: 1, 2a; 24: 15b—18a; 25: 1—31: 18a; 34: 29—40: 38; Lev. 1: 1—27: 34; Numb. 1: 1—10: 28, 34; 13: 1—17a, 21b, 25, 26a, 32; 14: 1a, 2, 5—7, 9a, 10, 26—30, 32—39a; 15: 1—41; 16: 1a, 1b, 2b, 3—11, 16—24, 26a, 27a, 32b, 33c, 35—20: 1a, 2, 3b, 4, 6—8a, 8c—13, 22b—29; 21: 4a, 10, 11a; 22: 1; 25: 6—32: 38; 33: 1—36: 13; Deut. 32: 48—52; 34: 1a, 1c, 5d, 7—9; Josh. 3: 4a, 8, 15, 16; 4: 7b, 8a, 13, 15—17, 19; 5: 10—12; 9: 15c, 17—21; 13: 15—14: 5; 15: 1—12, 20—61; 16: 4—9; 17: 1—10; 18: 1, 11—19: 46, 48—21: 42; 22: 9—34.

materials, which have gradually been brought together and wrought into a homogeneous narrative. This appears (a) from the fact that there are many repetitions within the priestly narrative itself, *e. g.*, the repetition of the account of the structure of the tabernacle, the double account of the census of Israel, the two recensions of the laws concerning feasts, etc.; and (b) from the different tone and character of various parts of the narrative. It is now generally granted that there are at least four different strata in this work. These are (1) a continuous narrative from the creation to the settlement in Canaan, which forms the groundwork of the priestly narrative (= P^g); (2) the Holiness Code (= P^h); (3) a collection of priestly teachings on subjects connected with the various institutions (= P^t); (4) "a miscellaneous set of secondary enlargements, ranging over a wide variety of topics—genealogical expansions, legislative elaborations, illustrative narratives, etc."

Exod., chaps. 25-30, *cf.* 35-40; Numb., chaps. 1-3, *cf.* 26; Lev., chap. 23, *cf.* Numb., chaps. 28, 29.

Lev., chaps. 17-26. Numb. 15: 1-31; etc.

Exod. 30: 22-31: 11; etc.

See, *e. g.*, J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, pp. 142 ff.; ADDIS, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. II, pp. 186 ff.; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, pp. 332 ff.; STEUERNAGEL, *Deuteronomium und Josua, und allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, p. 272; BAUDISSIN, *Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, pp. 154 ff.; WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, p. 385.

Gen. 6: 5-8; 7: 1-5, 7-10, etc.; *cf.* 6: 9-22; 7: 6, 11, etc.

§ 209. The Sources of the Priestly Narrative.—(1) Examine carefully some of the narratives contained in both the prophetic history and in the priestly narrative, *e. g.*, the accounts of the deluge, the story of Dinah,⁴ the bringing of water from the rock in the wilderness,⁵ etc., and consider whether the prophetic and priestly writers are to be regarded (a) as having used the same sources, or (b) as having used different sources, or (c) as being dependent one upon the other; if the latter, which is the original?

(2) Consider, further, whether it is probable that any

⁴ In the Dinah narrative the following material is from P: Gen. 34: 1, 2a, 3b, 4, 6, 8-10, 12-18, 20-25, 27-29a; and the remainder of chap. 34 belongs to J.

⁵ In Numb., chap. 20, the following material is assigned to P: 20: 1a, 2, 3b-4, 6-8a, 8c-13, 22b-29; the following to J: 20: 1b, 3a, 5, 8b, 19 f.; and the remainder to E.

sources other than popular traditions were ever in existence for the study of the earliest prehistoric times. In cases where the priestly and prophetic accounts of the same event differ widely, *e. g.*, in the accounts of the events at Sinai,⁶ what explanation may be given?⁷ Is the difference to be explained as due to the use of varying sources or as a result of the different point of view and purpose of these writers?

(3) Compare the creation accounts of J and P with each other, and still further with the creation stories as found on Babylonian tablets. Note carefully the points of resemblance and difference, and try to determine (*a*) which of the two shows the clearer traces of Babylonian influence; (*b*) whether they both resemble the same Babylonian tradition; or (*c*) whether each reflects a different Babylonian tradition. (*d*) If the Babylonian accounts are considered as sources of the Hebrew narratives, note how thoroughly the Hebrew writers have edited their sources and the different style of editing done by P as compared with J.

Gen. 1:1-2:4a;
cf. Gen. 2:4b-24.

For English translations of these Babylonian stories see W. MUSS-ARNOLT's rendering in R. F. HARPER's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* ("The World's Great Books," Aldine edition, New York, 1901), pp. 282-300. Cf. also LENORMANT, *The Beginnings of History*, pp. 47-66; GUNKEL, *The Legends of Genesis*; JOHN D. DAVIS, *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, pp. 1-22.

§ 210. **The Legislation Embodied in the Priestly Narrative.**— Note that, just as the prophetic histories included some elements of legislation, *viz.*, the smaller Book of the Covenant in J, and the greater Book of the Covenant, with the Decalogue (Exod. 20:1-17), in E, so the priestly narrative contains its proportion of laws.

Exod. 34:17-28.

Exod. 20:23-23:3; 20:1-17.

⁶For the distribution of material among the various sources in Exod., chaps. 19-40, in the book of Leviticus, and in Numb., chaps. 1-10, see the literature cited in note 1.

⁷Other stories which are thought to be duplicates are: (1) the account of the birth of Hagar, etc., in Gen., chap. 16 (P = 16:1a, 3, 15, 16; the remainder belongs to J); (2) the birth of Isaac (P = Gen. 21:1b, 2b, 3-5; the remainder belongs to J and E); the revelation of God to Jacob at Bethel (P = Gen. 35:6a, 9-13, 15; the remainder belongs to J and E).

Exod. 12: 1-20,
25 f., 43-49;
13: 1; 25: 1-
31: 17; **chaps.**
35-40; **Numb.**
5: 1-9: 10;
chaps. 15, 18,
19, 28-31, and
35.

This legal element is found in portions of Exodus and Numbers and in the entire book of Leviticus. (1) Notice the relatively large amount of space and consideration given to legal matters in P, as compared with J and E. Is it not true that in J and E the legal material is incidental, while in P it is the essential and all-important thing? (2) How may this increase of legal material be accounted for? Is it perhaps due to the greater interest of the priestly writers in such matters?

§ 211. **Orderly, Systematic Treatment of Material.**—

Gen. 1: 1-2: 4a.

Read the priestly narrative of the creation, and (1) notice that the order of events is carefully distributed throughout six days, corresponding to the working days of the week, and that God is represented as resting upon the seventh day. (2) Is not the whole account much more systematic than the prophetic account of the same sub-

Gen. 2: 4a-25.

Gen. 2: 4a; 5: 1;
6: 9; 10: 1;
11: 10; 11: 27;
25: 12; 25: 19;
36: 1; 37: 2.

ject in the following chapter? (3) Consider also the division of the patriarchal period into ten "generations," beginning with the "generations of the heaven and of the earth,"⁸ and ending with the generations of Jacob.

Gen. 1: 1; 8: 1;
etc.
Gen. 17: 1.

Exod. 6: 2f.

(4) Notice that prior to the time of Abraham the general name *elohim* is used; between Abraham and Moses the name *el shaddai* appears; after Moses' time the name is Jehovah. (5) Observe the similar system which appears in the presentation of the covenant idea; the first covenant being represented as having been made with Noah, its sign—the rainbow; the second covenant being with Abraham, its sign—circumcision; while still later the sabbath is spoken of as a covenant, and as the sign of a covenant.

Gen. 9: 8-17.

Gen., chap. 17.

Exod. 31: 16f.

See DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (6th ed.), pp. 129 ff.; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, pp. 353 ff.; J. E. MCFADYEN, *The Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians*, pp. 245 f.; STEUERNAGEL, *Deuteronomium und Josua u. s. w.*, pp. 271 f.

Gen. 1: 1-2: 4a;
5: 1; 10: 1; etc.

§ 212. **The Fondness of the Priestly Narrative for Genealogical Statements.**—(1) Recall the fact, previously mentioned, that the creation account and the patriarchal

⁸Gen. 2: 4a belongs to P's preceding narrative and should probably be transposed to the beginning of chap. 1.

history are presented in the form of genealogies. (2) Notice further the large amount of genealogical material in the priestly narratives, and that long periods of time are frequently represented by nothing more than a genealogical list. (3) Does the writer seem to use these lists in large part as connecting links for his narrative, hastening over by their means long periods of time in which he has no especial interest, in order to give more attention to matters in which he is vitally concerned?

Exod. 6: 14-27;
Numb. 1: 5-16,
20, 47; 3: 14-39;
26: 1-27: 11.

§ 213. **Prevalence of Statistics and Dates in the Priestly Narrative.**—In illustration of this characteristic of P recall the fact that it gives the ages of the antediluvians; the dimensions of the ark; the date of the flood; the depth of the waters of the flood and its duration; the age of Abraham at various junctures in his life; the price paid for the field of Ephron; the number of people that entered Egypt; the duration of the sojourn in Egypt; the date of the arrival in the wilderness of Sin and of that at Sinai; the dimensions and specifications of the ark of testimony, the table of shewbread, and the golden candlestick; most minute specifications for the tabernacle with all its furnishings; the exact dates of all feasts; a census of Israel at Sinai; the exact value of the offerings made in connection with the dedication of the altar; a careful demarkation of the boundaries of the various tribes; etc. Does not the presence of so much material of this sort render the general style stiff and precise as compared with the free, flowing narratives of J and E?

Gen., chap. 5;
6: 15 f.; 7: 6, 11,
13, 20, 24; 8: 3 ff.;
13, 14; 12: 4;
16: 3, 16; 17: 1,
24 ff.; 21: 5;
23: 16; 46: 27;
Exod. 12: 40 f.;
16: 1; 19: 1;
25: 10 ff., 23, 25,
31 ff.; chaps.
26-30 and 35-40;
Lev., chap. 23;
Numb., chaps.
28, 29; chaps.
1-3, and 26;
chap. 7: 34: 1-15.

§ 214. **The Style of the Priestly Narrative is Repetitious.**—(1) Observe that the account of the structure of the tabernacle is given in full twice; also that the census of Israel at Sinai is twice narrated. (2) Read Numb., chap. 7, and notice that six verses are used twelve times in this chapter. (3) Consider, further, the large extent to which certain formulas and stereotyped phrases are repeated, and the fact that many sentences are cast in the same mold. (4) Are some of these repetitions due to the fact that the priestly narrative is a compilation? But can the tendency to the repeated use of the same phraseology

Numb., chaps. 26-
30 and 35-40;
chaps. 1-3 and
26; 7: 13-17;
Gen. 1: 5, 6, 8,
13, etc.; 10: 5,
20, 31 f.; 25: 16;
36: 40, 43, etc.;
Gen. 5: 6-8, 9-11,
12-14, etc.;
11: 10-11, 12-13,
etc.; 12: 46;
16: 16; 17: 24 f.;
21: 5; 25: 26d;
41: 46a; Exod.
7: 7; Numb.
33: 39; 1: 20 f.,
22 f., etc.;
2: 3-9, 10-16,
etc.

be so explained? Is it not a marked characteristic of the priestly style?

On the style of the priestly narrative in general see: DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (6th ed.), pp. 126-35; J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, pp. 125 f.; GUNKEL, *The Legends of Genesis*, pp. 145 f., 148; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, pp. 349-54; BAUDISSION, *Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, pp. 96-102; and the articles by W. R. HARPER and W. H. GREEN in *Hebraica*, Vols. V and VI.

- § 215. **The Selection of Material in the Priestly Narrative.**—(1) Consider whether, if it is not the purpose of the priestly writers to write a history in the modern sense of the word, but rather to teach certain truths with reference to God and the proper methods of worship, it may not be reasonable to suppose that they selected and arranged their material with a view to its appropriateness to the end they had in view. (2) Notice, for example, (*a*) that, while in J the narrative of the creation is merely introductory to the account of man's first sin, in P the creation narrative is treated in a manner to emphasize strongly the sanctity of the sabbath; (*b*) that between the creation and Abraham the centuries are bridged over by means of genealogies, with the single exception of the deluge and the account of the covenant with Noah; (*c*) that the only incidents in Abraham's life to which P gives any consideration are the account of the institution of circumcision with the accompanying covenant, and the purchase of the field of Ephron; (*d*) that the only incident treated in the life of Isaac is the care taken to provide for his son's marriage to a woman of his own race; and in Jacob's life the failure of the proposed alliance between the sons of Jacob and the men of Shechem, the appearance of God to him at Bethel with the promise to bless his descendants, and his entrance into Egypt with his sons; (*e*) that in the account of the exodus the only incidents receiving any considerable attention are the institution of the Passover, the giving of manna on six days and its withholding on the seventh, and the legislation at Sinai which constitutes the bulk of the priestly narrative. (3) Consider in
- Gen. 1:1-2:4a.
Gen., chap. 17.
Gen., chap. 23.
Gen. 28:1-9.
Gen. 34:1 f., 36, 4, 6, 8-10, 12-18, etc.; 35:9-13, 15; 46:6-27.
Exod. 12:1-20, 40-51.
Exod., chaps. 25-40; Lev., chaps. 1-27; etc.

each of the above cases why the incident was chosen for treatment to the exclusion of other material, much of which would have been of more interest and value as pure history.

See, *e. g.*, GUNKEL, *The Legends of Genesis*, pp. 146 f.; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, pp. 359 f.

§ 216. **The Theological Point of View of the Priestly Narrative.**—(1) Is not the conception of God that appears in the priestly narrative in many respects the highest attained in the Old Testament? (2) Note that in the creation account of P, as compared with that of J, all anthropomorphic features are lacking; it is sufficient for God to speak and the thing is done. He is most holy, so that none but members of the holiest class may come near his altar or perform the highest functions of his worship; and these ministers are set apart by a most solemn service of consecration. The usual manifestation of his presence is by means of a cloud resting upon the tent of meeting and the appearance of his "glory." In the presence of such a holy Being the sinfulness of man is greatly intensified; constant sacrifices are necessary to make atonement; and there is an obligation resting upon all Israel to be holy, because God is holy. This exalted conception of God can be traced everywhere in the narrative and in the legislation. (3) To what extent is it due to this conception of God and of Israel's relation to him that the accounts of Israel's ancestors differ so widely in spirit from the corresponding narratives of J and E? (4) Consider the significance of the fact that none of the sins and shortcomings of the patriarchs, so freely mentioned by the prophetic writers, are alluded to in the priestly narrative; the patriarchs being looked upon as the founders of the holy nation and, as such, they must themselves have been holy. (5) Note also that no sacrifices are offered nor altars built by the patriarchs according to the priestly narrative, in contrast with the prophetic account, because sacrifice was not legal until the Mosaic legislation had been given and the proper means for the right conduct of sacrifice provided.

Gen. 1: 1—2: 4a.

Numb., chap. 18;
Lev., chap. 8.

Exod. 40: 34 ff.;
Numb. 16: 19.

Lev. 19: 2.

Gen. 35: 6, 9 ff.;
cf. 35: 7.

See, e. g., DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (6th ed), pp. 128 f.; J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I, pp. 132 f.; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, pp. 376-90; KÖNIG, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, pp. 231 ff.

§ 217. Literature to be Consulted.

KUENEN, *An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch* (1861, 2d ed. 1885; transl. 1886), pp. 65-107, 272-313; J. W. COLENSO, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, Critically Examined*, Parts I-VII (1862-79); WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1878, 4th ed. 1895; transl. from German 1885), pp. 385-91; W. R. SMITH, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1881, 2d ed. 1892), Lecture XII; DRIVER, *Journal of Philology*, Vol. XI (1882), pp. 201-36; E. C. BISSELL, *The Pentateuch, Its Origin and Structure* (1885), pp. 318-61; DILLMANN, *Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded* (5th ed. 1886; transl. 1897), Vol. I, pp. 1-26; FRANZ DELITZSCH, *A New Commentary on Genesis* (5th ed. 1887; transl. 1889), Vol. I, pp. 1-59; B. W. BACON, "Pentateuchal Analysis," *Hebraica*, Vol. IV (1888), pp. 219-26; KITTEL, *History of the Hebrews* (1888; transl. 1895), Vol. I, pp. 96-134; W. H. GREEN, *Hebraica*, Vol. V (1888-89), pp. 149 ff., 162 f., 174 ff.; Vol. VI, pp. 127, 133, 167, 180 f., 196, 210; Vol. VII, pp. 16, 27, 33, 36 f., 113 ff., 137 f., 141; Vol. VIII, 37 f., 63, 201 f., 228, 243; W. R. HARPER, *Hebraica*, Vol. V (1888-89), pp. 22 f., 25 f., 33 f., 45, 52 ff., 63 ff., 244 f., 253, 266 f., 275, 286; Vol. VI, pp. 2, 11 f., 19, 26 f., 36 ff., 242 f., 252, 265 f., 276 f., 288 f.; DRIVER, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1891, 6th ed. 1897), pp. 126-35; E. J. FRIPP, *The Composition of the Book of Genesis* (1892); C. A. BRIGGS, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch* (1892, 2d ed. 1897), pp. 69-75; B. W. BACON, *The Genesis of Genesis* (1893), pp. 54-9, 66-94; W. H. GREEN, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (1895), pp. 59-133; W. H. GREEN, *The Unity of the Book of Genesis* (1895), *passim*; ADDIS, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, Vol. II (1898), pp. 170-88; H. E. RYLE, article "Genesis" (§ iv (a)) in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II (1899); C. A. BRIGGS, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture* (1899), pp., 329 f.; F. H. WOODS, article "Hexateuch" (§ iii, 2 and 4 D) in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II (1899); L. W. BATTEN, *The Old Testament from the Modern Point of View* (1899, 2d ed. 1901), pp. 79-119; J. E. CARPENTER AND G. HARFORD-BATTERSBY, *The Hexateuch*, Vol. I (1900), pp. 121-56; G. F. MOORE, articles "Genesis" (§§ 2 f.) and "Historical Literature" (§§ 9 f.) in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II (1901); GUNKEL, *The Legends of Genesis* (1901), pp. 144-60; WELLHAUSEN, article "Hexateuch" (§§ 19, 23, 24, 29, 30) in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II (1901); J. E. MCFADYEN, *The Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians* (1901), pp. 239-47.

H. HUPFELD, *Die Quellen der Genesis* (1853); K. H. GRAF, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1866); NÖLDEKE, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (1869); ED. RIEHM, "Ueber die Grundschrift des Pentateuchs," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1872, pp. 283-307; BLEEK-WELLHAUSEN, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (4th ed. 1878), §§ 81 ff.; RYSEL, *De Elohistæ sermone* (1878); GIESEBRECHT, "Der Sprachgebrauch des hexateuchischen Elohisten." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. I (1881), pp. 177-276; WURSTER, "Zur Charakteristik und Geschichte des Priestercodex," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. IV (1884), pp. 111 ff.; DILLMANN, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium*

und Josua ("Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament," 1886), pp. 648 f., 663; KAUTZSCH UND SOCIN, *Die Genesis mit äusserer Unterscheidung der Quellen* (1888, 2d ed. 1891); WELLHAUSEN, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1889); RIEHM, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Vol. I (1889), pp. 253-80; C. H. CORNILL, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1891, 3d ed. 1896), pp. 56-68; WESTPHAL, *Les sources du Pentateuque*, Tome 2 (1892), pp. 21-32; WILDEBOER, *Die Litteratur des Alten Testaments* (Dutch, 1893; transl. into German, 1895), pp. 306-33; ED. KÖNIG, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1893), pp. 225-31; HOLZINGER, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893), pp. 332-425; STEUERNAGEL, *Uebersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua, und allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch* ("Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," 1900), pp. 271-8; BAUDISSION, *Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1901), pp. 96-102.

§ 218. Constructive Work.

1. Prepare a brief survey of early Israelitish history from the passages ordinarily assigned to P (see above), noting especially (*a*) the gaps which are found to exist, that is, the periods left untouched, or passed over in the genealogical method (see above); (*b*) the portions on which large emphasis is laid.

2. Make a list of all the so-called duplicates (*cf.* § 209), that is, those events which are described by some other writer (*e. g.*, J or E) as well as by P, and observe particularly the characteristics which distinguish the account of P from other accounts.

3. Prepare a statement which (*a*) will present in logical order the various elements of style that characterize P, (*b*) will show the relationship existing between these characteristics of style and the contents, and (*c*) will exhibit the contrast between the style of P and that of the prophetic narrators (J and E).

4. Formulate P's conception of God, and trace the influence of this conception in (*a*) the contents, that is, as explaining why certain things are included or omitted; (*b*) the style, that is, as explaining why the style is in such marked contrast, *e. g.*, with the prophetic style; (*c*) the conception, that is, as explaining the thought of the writer on various subjects, *e. g.*, man, angels, worship, etc., etc.

The Council of Seventy.

BIBLE STUDY SUNDAY—SEPTEMBER 14, 1902.

Two years ago a *Bible Study Sunday* was announced by the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE. So great was the enthusiasm with which the day was observed in its first and second year that it now needs no introduction to the public. It can be called an established "special day," based upon such sound principles as (1) that Bible study is a legitimate part of the work of the church, (2) that it should be guided directly or indirectly by the pastor, (3) that it should have an opportunity to progress systematically through the church year, beginning in the early autumn, when all the other church activities are taking form, having with them an equal chance for success.

Demands of the plan.—The plan is exceedingly simple. The pastor of a church wishing to co-operate in the observance of the day promises to preach upon the chosen date, at his chief service, a sermon upon some phase of the subject, "Bible Study in its Relation to the Life and Work of the Church and of the Individual Christian." He may further promise to make an active effort to enlist his people in the systematic study of the Bible, either in organized groups or individually. This is a promise which any minister of the gospel will feel justified in making, unless some local reasons render it in his judgment unwise.

The results of the day as observed in past years.—The day was first observed in September, 1900, in nine hundred churches. In September, 1901, two thousand churches joined in the movement. This in itself was a great result, but the real good accomplished was in the wave of enthusiasm for Bible study which spread over many of the congregations listening to the sermons delivered. Ten thousand persons have each year since enrolled themselves under the instruction of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE, and many more than this number have pursued courses of study issued by their denominational organizations. The demand for systematic courses has tripled, and the day seems near when no others will find acceptance. The hundreds of pastors who have themselves led classes claim almost without exception (1) that the Bible class has united pastor and people

in the closer relation of teacher and pupil ; (2) that in the church as a whole interest in the Bible has deepened and increased ; (3) that this new interest has affected the prayer-meeting, bringing out new material and freshening the old ; (4) that the standard of instruction in the Sunday school has been visibly raised. These are but general statements ; far stronger ones concerning specially successful work in individual fields could easily be made. These results have not been obtained without earnest and persistent work by the co-operating pastors, but the service is a pleasure where, as in most cases, it has been met more than half way by the people. No pastor can know what the responses in his particular field will be until he has tried the experiment for himself. To put the conditions to the test seems a plain duty.

Dates for 1902, September 14 and September 28.—Two dates are set for the observance next autumn : September 14 and September 28, the latter for the city churches alone. It has seemed best to make this distinction, since city churches do not reassemble as early as those in the country. These dates are not arbitrary, and can be changed within reasonable limits to suit local conditions.

Standard to be reached in 1902.—Since in 1901 the number of pastors observing Bible Study Sunday was double that of 1900, it is very proper that the number to be aimed at in 1902 should double that of 1901. This makes it necessary to secure the co-operation of 4,000 pastors. The promise card to be signed by all who wish to co-operate *requires* only a promise to observe the day by a sermon upon an appropriate topic. Opportunity is further given upon the card, however, for a promise to attempt the organization of church classes.

In issuing this call the INSTITUTE desires expressly to state that the movement represents all Bible study, not that of any denomination or school of interpretation. It stipulates no special books or study material. Every minister is urged to observe the day, and to see that classes are organized, the particular course of study and the manner of its pursuit being left to his own discretion. The INSTITUTE will, however, be glad to send to any minister who wishes to introduce its courses, full material for examination in advance.

Special order of service and sermon outlines.—A new special order of service will be supplied each co-operating pastor. A new series of suggestive outlines for sermons will also be provided. These outlines, as last year, will be prepared by famous preachers and teachers from both sides of the ocean. For the benefit of those who wish to give

instructive addresses upon the history or literature of the Bible, lists of helpful books will accompany the outlines. The Order of Service and the outlines will appear in the BIBLICAL WORLD for August and September, and will be distributed in reprints after each issue to all who have signed the promise card.

When and how to co-operate.—Such a movement is destined to increase in extent and effectiveness each year. To join in it is simply to show one's appreciation of the needs of the times and a desire to meet them so far as may be. This can be done by three steps :

1. Pledge your own name immediately, thus adding the weight of "I have done so" to anything which you may say upon the subject. (See advertising pages for blank form.)

2. See that an opportunity to sign the promise card is presented to every minister of your acquaintance.

3. Keep the day in your own mind and in the minds of your people, so that each may be ready when the time comes to embrace with enthusiasm the opportunity to enter upon or to continue systematic Bible study in one form or another.

This call is issued by the COUNCIL OF SEVENTY, on behalf of the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE. (Address Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill.)

JOHN HENRY BARROWS,
President of the Council.

WILLIAM R. HARPER,
Principal of the Institute.

CHICAGO, June 1, 1902.

WORK OF THE COUNCILORS IN SUMMER SCHOOLS.

The biblical work offered at the various summer schools and assemblies throughout the country is year by year increasing in quantity and improving in quality. The members of the COUNCIL OF SEVENTY take a large share in this summer work. The following partial schedule of engagements to be filled by members of the COUNCIL in the summer of 1902 will indicate this. In a large proportion of the schools the work is affiliated with the AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

At Asheville, N. C., June 14-22, Professor Edward I. Bosworth, of Oberlin, will give a course on the "Teaching of Jesus and His Apostles," in connection with the Students' Conference of Southern Colleges.

At Bay View, Mich., July 16-31, Professor George L. Robinson, of McCormick Theological Seminary, will give daily book studies from the Old Testament. He will also give an illustrated lecture upon "The Bible and Modern Discoveries." At the same assembly, July 31-August 13, Rev. T. G. Soares, of Oak Park, Ill., will give a series of studies in the life of Christ. Dr. Soares is one of those recently selected for associate membership in the COUNCIL.

At Chautauqua, N. Y., July 6-27, Professor Lincoln Hulley, of Bucknell University, will give daily class work in "The Minor Prophets." He will conduct a Sunday morning hour on "The Wisdom Books." During July 28-August 18, Principal G. M. Grant of Queen's College, Kingston, Ont., will give daily studies in the New Testament.

At the University of Chicago, June 17-August 31, the following members of the COUNCIL will be in residence, and will give courses: President William R. Harper, five courses in Hebrew and the Old Testament; Professor Ira M. Price, three courses in Hebrew and the Old Testament; Professor George S. Goodspeed, one course in Old Testament history and one in the history of the ancient East; Professor H. L. Willett, a course in Isaiah, chaps. 40-66; Professor James Breasted, one course in Arabic and two in Egyptian; Professor Ernest D. Burton, four courses in the gospels and the epistles; Professor Shailer Mathews, two courses in the New Testament; Professor Clyde W. Votaw, two courses in the New Testament; Dr. E. J. Goodspeed, two courses in the New Testament; Professor George B. Foster, three courses in systematic theology. Professor Henry C. King, of Oberlin, will give twelve lectures upon "Theology and the Social Consciousness."

At Devil's Lake, N. D., July 6-20, Professor E. L. Parks, of Atlanta University, will give daily class work on "Christ's Discourse on the Destruction of Jerusalem and the End of the World," and on the "Revelation of John." Five lectures and conferences upon "Systematic Bible Study" will also be given by him.

At Delavan, Wis., July 31-August 10, Professor Sylvester Burnham, of Hamilton Theological Seminary, Colgate University, will give daily devotional studies upon "The Kingdom of God," and class studies upon "The Ministry and the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah."

At Grove City, Pa., August 1-10, Professor George L. Robinson will give daily Bible work in connection with the Bible conference to be held at that place.

At Huron, S. D., July 2-10, Professor Robinson will give daily book studies in connection with the South Dakota Epworth Assembly.

At Harvard University summer school, July 11-17, Professor Henry C. King will give six lectures upon "The Seeming Unreality of the Spiritual Life." Professor George B. Foster, of the University of Chicago, will give six lectures upon the subject, "Is Christianity the Ultimate Religion?"

At Lakeside, O., August 20-31, Professor King, in connection with Professor Bosworth, of Oberlin, will conduct a Bible institute, the general subject being "The Spirit and Method of Jesus." Professor King will give ten studies in the synoptic gospels, and will conduct five devotional hours upon the general theme, "The Conditions of Deepening Acquaintance with God." Professor Bosworth will give ten studies in "The Gospel of John," and five studies in the teachings of Jesus, under the title "Jesus' Conception of the Disciple and His Mission."

At Lake Madison, S. D., June 21-July 5, Professor E. L. Parks will give work, of which that at Devil's Lake, N. D., named above, is a duplicate.

At Ludington, Mich., July 25-August 3, Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, will give lectures upon "Systematic Bible Study," demonstrating the principles involved by studies from the Acts and the Galatians. He will also give a general lecture growing out of his recent trip to Palestine.

At Mount Vernon, O., July 27-31, Professor Lincoln Hulley will give daily studies in "The Minor Prophets." At the same place, July 21-26, Professor Sylvester Burnham will give daily lectures in "The Times and Ministry of the Prophet Jeremiah."

At Northfield, Mass., June 27-July 6, at the Northfield Conference of College Students, Professor Bosworth will give the course on the "Teaching of Jesus and His Apostles" named above in connection with the Asheville conference. He will also give a series of studies in the book of Acts at the Mount Hermon school. At the same conference Professor Henry C. King will give a series of studies in the Acts of the Apostles.

At Ocean Park, July 28-August 2, the Maine Ministers' Institute will be held. The COUNCIL OF SEVENTY is represented on the program by Professor A. W. Anthony, of Cobb Divinity School. He will lecture upon the theme, "What is Christianity?" At the same place,

August 5-12, Professor Anthony will give seven lectures upon special themes connected with the life of Christ.

At Silver Bay, Lake George, July 26-August 3, in a so-called "Council of the Forward Movement of Congregational Churches," the purpose of which is to stimulate the study of the Bible and the study of missions in the Congregational churches, Professor Bosworth will give a series of studies in "The Gospel of John," and will make an effort to introduce the systematic study of the Bible in the churches represented in the Council.

At Winfield, Kan., June 17-27, Professor George L. Robinson will give daily book studies in the Old Testament. He will also preach on the theme, "The Kingship of Christ," and lecture on "The Bible and Modern Discoveries."

Further announcements will be made in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* for July.

Work and Workers.

MR. IRWIN HOCH DE LONG, a graduate student in Semitics in the University of Chicago, has been appointed to the Thayer Memorial Fellowship in the American School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine. This fellowship is awarded on the basis of an examination, and the appointment is for the period of one year.

REV. JOHN H. KERR, D.D., professor of Greek exegesis and New Testament literature in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at San Francisco, has been chosen editorial secretary of the American Tract Society, to succeed Rev. William Rand, D.D., who at the age of eighty-six is closing a service of fifty-four years at this post.

REV. LOUIS B. CRANE, thirty-three years of age, a graduate of Princeton Theological Seminary in 1891, and pastor of Calvary Presbyterian Church at Buffalo, N. Y., has been elected professor of New Testament literature and exegesis at the Chicago Theological Seminary, and will assume his duties at the opening of the year next autumn. This is the chair left vacant a year ago by the resignation of Professor George H. Gilbert, Ph.D., D.D.

THE Alfred Theological Seminary (Seventh-Day Baptist), at Alfred, N. Y., has arranged to conduct the study of non-resident students in the English Bible by means of correspondence courses. For this purpose the courses of the American Institute of Sacred Literature have been adopted and are now in use, covering "The Life of Christ," "The Founding of the Christian Church," "The Foreshadowings of the Christ," and "The Work of the Old Testament Sages."

THE third volume of the Cheyne and Black *Encyclopædia Biblica* has just appeared, containing the articles L to P. The fourth volume of the Hastings *Dictionary of the Bible*, completing the work, is to be ready in a short time. These two great works are of supreme importance in the progress of biblical knowledge, and will occupy a prominent place in the discussions of the next twenty years. The usefulness of the two works is not lessened by their simultaneous appearance, for they represent different schools of criticism; the Hastings dictionary represents a moderate conservatism, while the Cheyne dictionary stands in the forefront of advanced historical investigation.

THE First Baptist Church of Palo Alto, Calif., Rev. Robert Whitaker, pastor, is experimenting with a Sunday morning service which combines church and Sunday school into what is called a "church Bible school." The service occupies an hour and a quarter; the first half-hour is devotional; the remainder of the time is given to the study of the Bible. The pastor conducts the senior and adult departments, these forming his congregation in the main audience room, and the lesson is given like a sermon from the pulpit. Four worthy objects are held to be accomplished by this new arrangement: the number of Sunday services for pastor and people is reduced, the children and adults worship together, the Sunday-school work is improved in quality, and the preaching from the pulpit is made more useful, attractive, and effective.

A SPECIAL interest attaches to an address which President Roosevelt made just before he became chief executive by the assassination of President McKinley. The address was delivered before the Long Island Bible Society, and in the course of it he expressed his conception of the value of the Bible. Copies of this address, to the number of 80,000 in English and 10,000 in Spanish, have been circulated during the past year, by President Roosevelt's permission, through the American Bible Society, of New York. Among other things President Roosevelt said:

Every thinking man, when he thinks, realizes what a very large number of people tend to forget that the teachings of the Bible are so interwoven and entwined with our whole civic and social life that it would be literally—I do not mean figuratively, I mean literally—impossible for us to figure to ourselves what that life would be if these teachings were removed. We would lose almost all the standards by which we now judge both public and private morals; all the standards toward which we, with more or less of resolution, strive to raise ourselves. Almost every man who has by his life-work added to the sum of human achievement of which the race is proud, of which our people are proud, almost every such man has based his life-work largely upon the teachings of the Bible. Sometimes it has been done unconsciously, more often consciously; and among the very greatest men a disproportionately large number have been diligent and close students of the Bible at first hand. . . . If we read the Bible aright, we read a book which teaches us to go forth and do the work of the Lord; to do the work of the Lord in the world as we find it; to try to make things better in this world, even if only a little better, because we have lived in it. That kind of work can be done only by the man who is neither a weakling nor a coward; by the man who in the fullest sense of the word is a true Christian, like Great Heart, Bunyan's hero. We plead for a closer and wider and deeper study of the Bible, so

that our people may be, in fact as well as in theory, "doers of the word and not hearers only."

ANNOUNCEMENT is made by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons of a new series, interesting to Bible students, to be brought out under the general editorship of Professors Kent and Sanders. It is to be called the "Library of Ancient Inscriptions," the volumes of which are to be prepared by leading scholars in America, England, and Germany. Six volumes are now promised: (1) *History of the Discovery and Decipherment of the Ancient Inscriptions*, by Professor C. F. Kent, Ph.D., of Yale University; (2) *Old and New Babylonian Historical Inscriptions*, by Professor Christopher Johnson, Ph.D., of Johns Hopkins University; (3) *Assyrian Historical Inscriptions*, by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D., of the University of Pennsylvania; (4) *Inscriptions of Palestine, Syria and Arabia*, by Professor C. C. Torrey, Ph.D., of Yale University; (5) *Babylonian and Assyrian Epics, Penitential Psalms, Proverbs and Religious Texts*, by Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, Ph.D., of Berlin University; (6) *Egyptian Religions, Magical, Medical and Scientific Texts, Legal and Business Documents*, by Francis Llewellyn Griffith, M.A., F.S.A., superintendent of the Archæological Survey of the Egyptian Exploration Fund. Three more volumes are indicated, but the authors are not yet named: *Egyptian Historical and Biographical Inscriptions*; *Babylonian and Assyrian Letters, Contracts and Laws*; *Egyptian Tales, Proverbs, Poems and Belles Lettres*. The purpose of this great work is to meet the demand for a thoroughly scholarly, and at the same time popular, English translation and interpretation of the monumental literature which is now universally recognized as fundamental to all study of antiquity. A careful selection is to be made of all important inscriptions from Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, pertaining to the study of history, literature, social science, and religion. Historical maps, chronological tables, and indices will be furnished with each volume.

AN interesting step has been taken by the papal curia which concerns the study of the Bible. The influence of the progress made in the knowledge of the Bible has affected the Roman Catholic church in many ways, and the pope has been led to formulate a plan for determining the relation of this Bible movement to the Catholic church. The Pontifical Commission has been appointed to consider questions of biblical criticism in their bearing upon Roman Catholic Christianity. The commission is composed as follows: president, Cardinal Parocchi; assessors, Cardinals Segna and Vives y Tuto;

secretary and consultor, Father David Fleming, head of the Order of Friars Minor; consultors, Professor Van Hoonacker, of Louvain; Professor Grannan, Washington University; Professor Fracassini, of Perugia; Professor Jorió, of Palencia; the very Rev. Esser, O. P., secretary of the Congregation of the Index; Professor Vigouroux, of Paris; Father de Hummelauer, S. J.; Professor Gismondi, S. J., of the Gregorian University in Rome; Dom Ambrose Amelli, prior of Monte Cassino; Dr. R. F. Clarke; and Dr. D. A. Poels, of Ruremonde. The scope of the investigation is thus stated: "To ascertain the limits of the freedom which is allowed to the Catholic exegete in the biblical questions of the day; to point out definitely conclusions that must be maintained in the interests of orthodoxy, others that must be rejected as incompatible with, or dangerous to, divine faith; as well as the debatable ground between the two where each one is free to hold his own view." The precise topics which will be investigated have not been made public, and will not be until the report of the commission is presented. It seems obvious that the result which will be reached by this commission will be to determine what methods of investigation may be used by Roman Catholic scholars and what critical conclusions concerning the Bible may be permitted in the Roman Catholic church. There are few members of the commission who can be considered biblical scholars in the modern sense of the term, and it is unlikely that the questions will be treated from a historical point of view; rather, the finding of the commission will be an ecclesiastical pronouncement upon theological grounds. There is no reason, therefore, to expect that any advance in the Roman Catholic church will actually be made by this arrangement, and it is not likely that the commission will render its report for years. In fact, it is hinted by a correspondent from Rome that the intent of the step is to provide a means of referring questions of biblical criticism, and the attitude of the Roman Catholic church toward them, to a commission which will postpone indefinitely a pronouncement. This would at the same time relieve the responsibility of the hierarchy, and produce a soothing effect upon the Roman Catholic public which is restive under the advance of biblical scholarship, even within the church itself.

Book Reviews.

Topographical and Physical Map of Palestine. By J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.S.E.; edited by GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1901. Scale: four miles to an inch. Mounted on cloth and in cloth cover, with index. \$3.50, *net*.

Those who welcomed Dr. G. A. Smith's maps in his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* as a great advance on what had been attempted before, will be glad to meet their old friends in a new form. Here we have a map which represents a "complete survey of the country," with the physical relief shown by coloring in contours; no less than ten shades of green and brown have been used to indicate varying altitudes. The modern names of places are given in small lettering, the identified biblical sites in bolder type. Unimportant names are for the most part omitted, so that the field is nowhere overcrowded. There are also insets, two of which are especially valuable, exhibiting the country in vertical section, one for Judea, and one for Galilee. The others consist of a vegetation map of Palestine, a map of modern Jerusalem, a list of Arabic geographical terms; and last of all a map of London on the same scale, which looks strangely out of place, but is very suggestive.

This map of Palestine is intended to appeal to the scholar in his study and to the intelligent traveler through the land. For the former the name of the editor will be a sure guarantee that site identifications are the results of the latest discoveries and researches. Doubtful sites are marked ? and very doubtful ones ?? . Some will be surprised to find how many ancient sites Dr. Smith considers assured. Capernaum is located with certainty at Khan Minyeh, to the exclusion of even a possible identification at Tell Hûm. Dr. Smith has no place for two Bethsaidas. Tell el Kadi is no longer put forward with assurance as the site of Dan, but has to stand—with Banias—as a doubtful claimant. Jebal Dahi has been long maintained to be the hill of Moreh (Judg. 7 : 1), but Dr. Smith will not allow even the suggestion. We are surprised to find M. C. Ganneau's identification of the Hajar el Asbah as the stone of Bohan given without query, while the more important and much more probable stone Zohelth (= Zahweileh) is

not mentioned. The valley of Hinnom is located in its traditional position, though many good scholars place it quite otherwise.

There is no doubt some would like to see more mention of sites famous in the later secular history of the land; for example, the mediæval names of the great crusading castles whose ruins today form such prominent objects in the country. Belfort is almost the only one that appears. However, on such a map we cannot have everything, and the identifications here mentioned will be more than sufficient for the majority who will consult it. They cannot find a surer guide than the editor of this map.

Viewing the map from the standpoint of the traveler, it will be found in many ways superior to its predecessors. The contours of color will at once suggest, in broad outline, the kind of country to be traversed; on so small a scale the more usual shading causes confusion, and of necessity is only relatively correct. Further, the map is portable; the cover, like that of an ordinary book, is a great improvement on the old-fashioned case which on a journey was always troublesome. Even here one or two things are behind the times. It is to be regretted that the properly made carriage roads radiating from such centers as Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nazareth, Damascus, etc., are not clearly distinguished from numerous bridle tracks, many of which are almost impassable. For example, the terrible paths to Engedi and 'Ain Feshkiah are marked in double line just like the excellent carriage road to Jericho. Carriage roads are scarce enough, but it is important for travelers that they should know where to expect them. Again, with respect to the railways it is most unfortunate that the Acre-Haifa-Damascus line, which (at present at any rate) shows no sign of ever being completed, should be marked at all. If the few miles of line laid, but already fallen out of repair, were marked, it would tell a very different tale. Even this great sweep of hypothetical line is incorrect, since it is made to join the narrow-gauge French line at Sunnamain; such an ending would be as hopeless as the present one, for the Haifa road is the natural enemy of the French line, and is also of a different gauge. If new lines are to be marked, that to Baalbek, now completed, and the great one to Mecca from Damascus, now in process of construction, might well appear. Neither are the telegraph lines rightly shown as they now exist. Kerak has long been connected with Damascus, and much of the line to Mecca is set. A line to Beer-sheba via Hebron is also in process of construction.

Among the names of places some will be disappointed with the

omission of almost all the now much-talked-of Jewish colonies; only one is noted—that of Rosh Runah near Safed. Reshon le Zion in the south, and Zikron Ya'akob (Sammarin) on Carmel, should certainly have been indicated. The latter is a common halting-place on journeys between Jaffa and Haifa; it even boasts of a hotel.

As the map is intended largely for travelers, it is surely a mistake not to explain that el Burak stands for what are known to all as Solomon's Pools.

No part of the map is open to such serious criticism as the inset map of modern Jerusalem; it is quite out of keeping with the scholarly character of the work as a whole. Such mediæval names as "Upper" and "Lower Pool of Gihon," "Pool of Hezekiah," etc., are to be deplored. The pool near the Church of St. Anne, which has at any rate some claim to be the "Pool of Bethesda," is not even marked. The Virgin's Well is certainly incorrect, also the term "Old Pool" for the so-called lower pool of Siloam—a modern cesspool. The Siloam tunnel is not even marked, nor indeed are any important identifications of sites. The old wall is incorrectly shown as inclosing the Pool of Siloam, which it did not do until the time of the empress Eudoxia. Even the modern buildings to the north of the walled city are marked as they were, say, fifteen or twenty years ago. The publishers would do well to revise this corner thoroughly.

The inset map showing vegetation is of little use. A map of surface geology, showing the distribution of limestone, sandstone, volcanic rocks, and modern alluvial deposits, might with much more profit have been inserted. As it is, the luxuriant orange groves of Jaffa are marked "sandy desert;" one of the most sterile areas of Judea, north of Jerusalem, receives a dark green patch of special fertility; while the great olive plantations—for example, around Beit Jala—the miles of vineyards around Hebron, and the beautiful fertile valleys among the uplands of Galilee, are merged into one mass of "limestone hills."

The list of Arabic geographical terms is a complete one, and will be found most useful. There are a few slips, probably through copying names from German maps; and the transliteration is not uniform. Kana is certainly a mistake for Kanah (Kanat), plural Kanawat; belled should be balad, and (the plural) balād = country. Kadein = Kadûn; Khor = Ghor; madine = madineh (madinet); turah = tur'ah; and so on.

I have called attention to these points because they are blemishes in what may be considered the best and most convenient map of the

kind to be had, and which should be removed to make the work more nearly perfect. Even now this map is for the ordinary student and for the studious traveler the most portable, the clearest, and the most up-to-date map of Palestine obtainable.

E. W. G. MASTERMAN.

JERUSALEM, SYRIA.

The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, Galatians, Romans and Philippians. By JAMES DRUMMOND, LL.D., Principal of Manchester College, Oxford. [International Handbooks to the New Testament, edited by Orello Cone, D.D.] New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. 391. \$2.

The Epistles to the Hebrews, Ephesians and Philemon, The Pastoral Epistles, The Epistles of James, Peter and Jude, together with a Sketch of the History of the Canon of the New Testament. By ORELLO CONE, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Canton Theological School. [Same series.] New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901. Pp. 396. \$2.

This series of commentaries, mainly by American scholars, will treat the entire New Testament in four volumes, three of which are already published. What the general editor, Dr. Cone, says in his prefatory note is especially applicable, at some points, to the volume by Dr. Drummond: "The books of the New Testament are treated as literature which, in order to be understood, must be explained, like all other ancient literatures, in accordance with the accepted principles of the grammatical and historical interpretation. The aim of the writers has been to ascertain and clearly set forth the meaning of the authors of these books by the application of this method in freedom from dogmatic prepossessions." The series is much more popular in character than the "International Critical Commentary." The treatment is brief; there is little use of the Greek text, and that is largely in notes; the comments concern thought rather than form; and technical details are mainly passed over.

The volume by Dr. Drummond, on the leading epistles of Paul, has the qualities of clearness and freedom from dogmatic prepossessions in a marked degree. It contains concise introductions, general analyses of the letters, brief summaries of the thought from time to time in the commentary, and occasional dissertations on important words and phrases. His position on questions of introduction may be suggested by two or three points: Second Thessalonians, though

appearing to have "no permanent spiritual value," he accepts, at least provisionally, as genuine. The last four chapters of Second Corinthians are not regarded as part of a lost letter, but rather as directed against a small faction at Corinth who were hostile toward Paul. The geography of the Galatian churches is held to be still *sub judice*. The genuineness of Romans, chaps. 15, 16, appears "to involve fewer difficulties than the rival hypotheses."

The commentary proper is a sympathetic study of the letters of Paul, free from polemic matter and also from special pleading. It contains fresh suggestions as to the meaning of the text, which in many instances are drawn from the author's large acquaintance with Jewish theology. The discussion of texts which have played important parts in the history of Christian doctrine, like Phil. 2 : 5-11, though necessarily brief, is worthy of careful attention.

The volume by Dr. Cone is the third of the volumes to appear, having been preceded in 1900 by the *Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*, by President G. L. Cary of the Meadville Theological School. It treats eleven of the New Testament writings, and contains a sketch of the origin of the New Testament canon. The general structure is the same as that of the volume by Dr. Drummond, with the exception that it does not give analyses of the several epistles.

Regarding the authorship of these eleven letters the conclusions of Dr. Cone differ widely from the traditional views, and in some cases widely also from the views of many scholars of the present day. Hebrews is, of course, not credited to Paul, and Dr. Cone rightly says that it is against an almost unanimous consensus that the Revised Version retains as a heading "The Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews." Our American Standard Edition of the Revised Version drops the name of Paul from this title. Colossians is regarded by Dr. Cone as the work of a writer considerably later than Paul, who worked at the end of the first century, or the first half of the second. He thinks Ephesians was probably written by a disciple of Paul, "possibly as late as 140 A. D." The pastoral epistles also are regarded as the work of a disciple of the apostle, and are assigned to the first half of the second century. James and Jude were not written by brothers of Jesus, according to Dr. Cone. The former is assigned to the early years of the second century, and the latter apparently to a later date. The authors of the two letters which tradition assigns to Peter are unknown. First Peter cannot be put earlier than the last quarter of the first century, and Second Peter may be assigned to the middle of the second century.

Of Dr. Cone's expositions the limits of this review allow only a very inadequate illustration. His study of Hebrews makes large use of the Alexandrian sources of information. Another noteworthy feature of it is the criticism of that use of the Old Testament which was made by the author of Hebrews. In the exposition of Colossians, Ephesians, and the pastoral epistles, as might be expected from Dr. Cone's position regarding their authorship, a good deal of attention is given to the relation of their teaching to that of the epistles held to be genuine. It need not be said that Dr. Cone is quite unfettered by the traditional interpretation of Scripture and the traditional theology of the church.

GEORGE H. GILBERT.

DORSET, VT.

The Book of Psalms. Books IV and V, Psalms XC-CL. With Introduction and Notes. By A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D. [Cambridge Bible Series.] New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. cxii+300. \$0.80.

The two preceding volumes appeared in 1894 and 1895 respectively. The introduction has been printed with each volume, but in this there is a noteworthy increase of material, new paragraphs and chapters having been added and former statements often recast. The chapters on the Psalter in the Christian church and on the literature are new. The author shows that he has kept abreast of recent discussions; yet, while he is inclined to follow modern methods, he is withheld by a native caution from fully accepting recent conclusions. He admits the post-exilic origin of the present form of the Psalter, yet holds that other psalms than the eighteenth must be attributed to David, and that there must have been a collection older than the eighth century. He considers the existence of Maccabean psalms extremely doubtful, while acknowledging that the great majority of scholars are against him. The "I" of the Psalter may, in some cases, be national, but just as often he would make its reference personal; while in psalms where both "I" and "we" occur he holds that the personal and national elements alternate; but in this he does not give due weight to the fact that in Deuteronomy "thou" and "ye" are used interchangeably of the nation.

We cannot help feeling surprise at his statement on p. lxxix that many of the messianic psalms "prefigure the sufferings of Christ even in circumstantial details," though he admits that those details are not the most important part of the type or prophecy. More reasonable

are his words on pp. lxxxiii and lxxx, where he says "the institutions of Israel and the description of the saints of old were designed to express the divine purpose of the age as the people were able to receive it;" and, "the record of the psalmists' own sufferings helps to give some insight into the part which suffering must perform in the redemption of the world." Such statements are nearer a true messianic interpretation within the lines of historical development.

The new renderings of the commentary are often independent, and give a good insight into the meaning of the original. The introductions to individual psalms are fair summaries of recent discussions. Ps. 90 is referred to the exilic period. The antiphonal character of Ps. 91 is not sufficiently recognized, and the tautology of 91:1, of which most commentators complain, would disappear if the participial clause were translated somewhat as follows:

There is one sitting in the secret place of the Most High!
He will ever abide under the shadow of the Almighty.

For Ps. 110 the author rejects both a Maccabean date and the testimony of the title. He thinks that the original reference is probably to David or some other king, and that Jesus used it to show his opponents that even on their own interpretation of the Old Testament his claims were valid.

Taken as a whole, the book is a curious mingling of old and new critical views, with a decided leaning toward extreme conservatism. Yet the translation and exegesis are so good that we gladly welcome it to a place in a series which has maintained such a high standard of excellence.

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Current Literature.

[Books marked with an asterisk (*) will be reviewed in subsequent issues.]

OLD TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

- BERTHOLET, A. *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemiah, erklärt.* [Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.] Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. Pp. 132. M. 3.50.
- DELITZSCH, F. *Das Buch Hiob, neu übersetzt und kurz erklärt.* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 179. M. 6.
- GEFFCKEN, J. *Die Oracula Sibyllina.* [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.] Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 296. M. 12.

ARTICLES.

- STEUERNAGEL, C. Review of Recent Literature on the Hexateuch, I. *Theologische Rundschau*, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 145-55.
- PRÁŠEK, J. V. Sennacherib's Second Expedition to the West, III. *Expository Times*, April, 1902, pp. 326-8.
- JASTROW, MORRIS, JR. The Palace and Temple of Nebuchadnezzar. *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1902, pp. 809-14.

Announcement was made in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* for March, p. 209, of the recent discovery, by the explorers of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar in the ruins of the ancient city of Babylon, lying about forty miles south of Bagdad. Professor Jastrow gives here a fuller account of the discovery, with some instructive illustrations of the excavations and finds. The palace was begun by Nebuchadnezzar's father at the close of the seventh century B. C., and was completed by Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed Jerusalem in 586 B. C. and carried into the Babylonian captivity the upper classes of the Hebrew nation. It was in this palace that Alexander the Great died about two hundred and fifty years later. The exact site was found also of the great temple of Marduk, or Bel, the head of the Babylonian pantheon. The ancient city of Babylon was in large part the creation of Nebuchadnezzar (*cf.* Dan. 4: 30), since it had to be built up again after its destruction by the Assyrian king Sennacherib in 689 B. C. The subsequent burial of the city under huge mounds was due primarily to neglect, the clay buildings going quickly to ruin when no longer kept in repair.

The most remarkable monument that has as yet been brought to light in the palace area is a large stela of dolerite, over three feet high, with a picture of the Hittite storm-god sculptured on it, accompanied by one of the best-preserved, as well

as one of the longest, inscriptions in the strange Hittite characters. Another interesting matter was the excavation of the sacred street, constructed by Nebuchadnezzar, leading from the temple of Marduk through the city, past the palace wall, and across the Euphrates river to Borsippa, where stood a temple to the Babylonian deity Nebo, the symbol of "wisdom." Along this street in solemn procession on New Year's day Marduk was conducted to the temple of Nebo, and then Nebo accompanied Marduk for a part of the return journey. Limestone blocks were found, used for the pavement of the street, on which were inscribed these words: "Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, the son of Nabopolassar the king of Babylon. The street of Babylon for the procession of the great lord Marduk, with paving of mountain stone, I built as a highway. Oh, lord Marduk, grant eternal life!" Along the walls of this beautiful and famous street there were highly colored mosaic decorations, tile fragments of which have been found in sufficient number to restore one of the imposing lions which formed perhaps the main feature of the wall on both sides of the street.

SELBIE, J. A. The Present Position of Critical Opinion on the Book of Daniel. *Critical Review*, March, 1902, pp. 99-112.

Nowhere in the realm of Old Testament study has the science of historical criticism reached conclusions which are more generally accepted by scholars of all shades of opinion, says the writer. In studying Scripture in general, and the book of Daniel in particular, we are in a world so different from that around us every day that it is imperatively necessary for us to keep a perfectly open mind. The opinion may be said to be now practically universal among scholars that the book of Daniel belongs, not to the age of the close of the Babylonian empire, but to the beginning of the Maccabean period (about 165 B. C.). Dr. Driver's recent *Commentary on Daniel* (in the Cambridge Bible series) is marked by painstaking research and reverence, setting forth this view of the book. As for external evidence to the date of the book of Daniel, there is no clear reference to it before about 140 B. C. The internal evidence also points to the Maccabean date, as follows: (1) the book contains no allusion to certain events which we should have expected to interest deeply a Jewish contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus, such as the captivity of King Jehoiakim, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, the edict of Cyrus, and the return. (2) Such historical allusions as do occur are frequently incorrect: there was no capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of Jehoiakim (605 B. C.); Belshazzar was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar, nor was he ever king of the Chaldeans; Darius the Mede is not known to history, nor is there any room for him; the word "Chaldeans" as the name of a learned caste rather than of a nation is a decided indication of lateness. (3) The language of the book shows that Daniel was written long after the exile; the Hebrew is of a distinctly late type; the Aramaic is Palestinian, and could not have been the court language at Babylon; there are fifteen Persian words in the book, and three unquestionable Greek words. Dr. Driver's decision is therefore warranted that the book must have been written after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander (332 B. C.). (4) The teaching of the book concerning the Messiah, angels, the resurrection, the judgment, is given with greater distinctness and in a more developed form than anywhere else in the Old Testament, and in a way that reminds us of the book of Enoch (written c. 160-100 B. C.). (5) The interest of the book of Daniel is fixed upon the great Maccabean struggle 168-165 B. C., and therefore by all analogy it arose at that time. Mr. Selbie thus concurs in the general scholarly opinion that

the book was written to strengthen and encourage the Jews in the dark, troubled period of Antiochus's reign, and that it was written by one who himself lived in that period. The author's confidence that God can deliver his people in the darkest hour, his sublime hope in a messianic age, his anticipation of some of the most important doctrines of the New Testament, are the essential elements in the book, and these are independent of its date or literary form.

DOUGLAS, G. C. M. The Book of Daniel. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1902, pp. 224-53.

In marked contrast with the position of Mr. Selbie's article, Professor Douglas, of Glasgow, argues for the traditional view of the book of Daniel. Nowhere will one find a more able and succinct defense of the exilic date for this important Old Testament book.

FARRAR, F. W. The Minor Prophets, II. *Expositor*, April, 1902, pp. 271-86.

SOMERVELL, R. The Historical Character of the Old Testament Narratives. *Expository Times*, April, 1902, pp. 298-302.

The Old Testament is given us as a book of religion, a record of the gradual revelation of God to the Jewish people. Thus it serves a far higher purpose than a mere history. The proper inquiry in approaching the Old Testament is: What light does it throw upon the ethical and religious ideas of those who wrote and received it, and what is its meaning and value for present-day religion? The book does indeed record certain historical facts; and learned men will still try through the mists of the past to interpret and reconstruct the history, perhaps with increasing success. But for the Christian church the value of the Old Testament lies in its witness to a progressive revelation, in its account of the growth of truer and loftier conceptions of the divine nature.

DAVIS, J. D. Old Testament Discussion and Princeton Opinion. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1902, pp. 177-206.

CURTISS, S. I. The Physical Relation of Man to God among the Modern Semites. *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1902, pp. 304-13.

WILSON, R. D. Lost Meanings of Hebrew Roots. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1902, pp. 277-92.

TAYLOR, R. B. Review of Evans's "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult." *Expository Times*, April, 1902, pp. 309, 310.

This book is an important and valuable attempt to determine the relation of Mycenæan art in its religious aspects to Semitic and Egyptian religions. It has been proved that the art of the Ægeans was not derived from the Semites, but was indigenous. The Semite still remains the *religious* genius of the world; the crass customs of other peoples, and the mythology of Babylon, he transmuted into moral and spiritual forces. But artistic influences moved eastward, and the art of the Semites, turned to religious account, came originally from the West.

NEW TESTAMENT.

BOOKS.

*DOBSCHÜTZ, E. v. Die urchristlichen Gemeinden. Sittengeschichtliche Bilder. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. 300. M. 6.

ASKWITH, E. H. An Introduction to the Thessalonian Epistles. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. 144. \$1.25, net.

BENSON, E. W. Addresses on the Acts of the Apostles. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. 669. \$7, net.

This sumptuously printed volume is evidently a loving memorial to Archbishop Benson, probably by one or more of the ladies to whom these addresses were given during the years 1887-92, in Lambeth Palace Chapel. They were popular expositions of the Acts narrative, the main feature of which was the extended application of the teaching of the book to the practical religious life of his day and of those whom he addressed. As a series of expository homilies this collection of addresses has interest and value. The volume contributes nothing, however, to the historical or exegetical study of the book of Acts. Nor does it treat the large problems of practical religion in a comprehensive manner.

MINTON, H. C. The Cosmos and the Logos. [Stone Lectures, 1901-2.] Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1902. Pp. 319. \$1.25.

HOLTZMANN, O. Das Messiasbewusstsein Jesu und seine neueste Bestreitung. Giessen: Ricker, 1902. Pp. 26. M. o.50.

BÖKLEN, E. Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parisischen Eschatologie. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. Pp. 150. M. 4.

ARTICLES.

CHARLES, R. H. The Messiah of Old Testament Prophecy and Apocalyptic, and the Christ of the New Testament. *Expositor*, April, 1902, pp. 241-59.

There were three primary ideas in messianic prophecy: (a) the kingdom of God was to be a kingdom within man—and so far to be a kingdom realized on earth; (b) it was to be world-wide and to ignore every limitation of language and race; (c) it was to find its true consummation in the world to come. And these three ideas correspond with the actual characteristics of the kingdom established by Christ; Jesus' kingdom of God embodies the permanent elements in the past development, and fuses them into one organic whole. In the Christ of the New Testament we have a marvelous conjunction of characteristics drawn from the most varied and unrelated sources in Old Testament prophecy and apocalyptic. Yet the result is no artificial compound, no labored syncretism of conflicting traits; but their perfect and harmonious consummation in a personality transcending them all. So far, indeed, is the Christ of the gospels from being the studied and self-conscious realization of the messianic hopes of the past that it was not till the Christ had lived on earth that the true inwardness and meaning of those ancient ideals became manifest, and found at once their interpretation and fulfilment in the various natural expressions of the unique personality of the Son of man.

GARVIE, A. E. The Growth of Jesus in Wisdom and Grace. *Expositor*, April, 1902, pp. 260-70.

MACKINTOSH, H. R. Review of Holtzmann's "Leben Jesu." *Critical Review*, March, 1902, pp. 149-52.

MUIRHEAD, L. A. Review of Fiebig's "Der Menschensohn." *Critical Review*, March, 1902, pp. 153-9.

MILLIGAN, GEO. Mk. 10:45, "A Ransom for Many." *Expository Times*, April, 1902, pp. 311-13.

BACON, B. W. The Transfiguration Story: A Study of the Problem of the Sources of Our Synoptic Gospels. *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1902, pp. 236-65.

Professor Bacon argues that the transfiguration is not to be conceived as a historical event literally described, but as a didactic piece put into the literary form of a vision, which he understands to be true also of the baptism and temptation narratives. Mark 9:2-10, containing the account of the transfiguration, is derived from a different source from Mark 8:27-9:1, 11-13, and presents a duplicate of the ideas set forth in that section. These two passages, which have been combined in Mark, give an account—one in the poetic dress of the time, *i. e.*, vision, the other in prose—of how the Twelve first became acquainted on this occasion with four fundamental facts about Jesus: (a) his calling to be the Son of God, and its significance (Mark 1:9-13); (b) his anticipated career of humiliation and death as foretold by the prophets (Matt. 16:21-23); (c) his assurance of subsequent resurrection and glorification (Matt. 16:26-28); (d) his conception of his relation to the expected "witness (witnesses) of the Messiah," *i. e.*, Elias, or Moses and Elias (Matt. 17:10-13). The author then endeavors to trace the origin and development of the poetic account of this teaching, as contained in the transfiguration story.

MOFFATT, JAMES. The Adoration of Jesus. *Expositor*, April, 1902, pp. 302-17.

HALÉVY, J. La tentation de Jésus. *Revue sémitique*, January, 1902, pp. 13-60.

The sources for the story of the temptation of Jesus are most closely reproduced by Matthew. Luke is a copy of Matthew rather carelessly made; but Mark is an epitome of the story as it was presented in the gospel sources, the evangelist considering it unfavorable to the prestige of Jesus to publish the entire account. To Mark also is due the present relative position of the story in the life of Jesus. It really belongs to the period of Jesus' life when for the first time he faced and expressed the certainty of his death, on the journey northward to Cæsarea Philippi. The story as it now appears is unhistorical. The nucleus of fact upon which it is based is the experience of Jesus with Peter, when he addressed to him the words, "Get thee behind me, Satan," because Peter began to dissuade him from moving forward to his death, which he had declared to be certain. The account received its present form under the influence of the story of the temptation of Isaiah recorded in the *Ascension of Isaiah*. That such a relation exists is established by the frequent identity of both thought and expression presented in the two accounts.

ALLEN, W. C. The Aramaic Element in Mark. *Expository Times*, April, 1902, pp. 328-30.

The author here returns (see the *Expositor*, June, 1900) to the defense of his theory that the gospel of Mark was originally composed in Aramaic, of which our Greek Mark is a translation (similarly Blass, Halévy, and Zimmerman). The Semitic element in the second gospel consists in part of linguistic turns and forms of expression which are common to Hebrew and Aramaic modes of thought, but in part of such

forms as are distinctively Aramaic; and he thinks his theory best explains these Aramaic features. Mr. Allen has not, however, sufficiently answered the objection that these Aramaic elements may be readily explained as a feature of the gospel tradition in Greek which Mark drew upon for his material. The gospel of Mark as we know it must have been in Greek, for it was intended for use among gentiles, who knew no Aramaic. The evidence seems very slight on which to posit an original gospel of Mark which not only was in Aramaic, but also was a different book from our second gospel.

HENDRIX, E. R. The Women of Luke. *Methodist Review* (Nashville), March-April, 1902, pp. 163-80.

BARTLET, V. Review of Purves's "Christianity of the Apostolic Age." *Critical Review*, March, 1902, pp. 120-23.

HARRIS, J. R. On a Recent Emendation in the Text of St. Peter. *Expositor*, April, 1902, pp. 317-20.

FINDLAY, G. G. Fides Victrix. 1 John 5: 1-5. *Expositor*, April, 1902, pp. 287-302.

THUMB, ALBERT. Die sprachgeschichtliche Stellung des biblischen Griechisch. *Theologische Rundschau*, Heft 3, 1902, pp. 85-99.

Dr. Thumb, of Marburg, is the author of the important work, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus* (1901), so that his discussion of biblical Greek will receive unusual attention. He attempts in this article to determine the position of the biblical Greek in relation to the general development of that language in the post-classical period. The New Testament is a monument of the *Koiné* literature. The more fully we prepare ourselves, by the study of the inscriptions and the papyri, as well as by the knowledge of modern Greek, to consider the language of the New Testament in comparison with the whole *Koiné*, the more clearly we see that there lies before us in the New Testament, not a specific dialect, nor a barbaric Jewish-Greek, but a natural phase of the development of the Hellenistic Greek. To Deissmann belongs the credit most of all for showing the falsity of the widely prevailing notion of a peculiar New Testament dialect; many words which it has been customary to describe as "Christian," or "Jewish-Greek," or Hebraistic, have now been shown to be in common use in the *Koiné*. Since we are only at the beginning of these investigations, it is likely that the New Testament language will be much more fully illustrated and illuminated from the other literary remains of the same period. Bible scholars cannot neglect these results, nor can they decline to enter upon these investigations, if they wish the history of the New Testament literature to stand upon a sound linguistic basis. There was, as a matter of fact, no Jewish-Greek dialect; nor does the evidence support the view that there was a Palestinian-Greek dialect. The Greek loan-words which appear in the rabbinic literature do not show any particular correspondence with the New Testament vocabulary. The New Testament literature stands forth as the first monument of the popular language of Hellenism raised into the literary sphere; this development of the spoken Greek into a literature was almost as great a revolution as that which the ideas of the New Testament introduced into the world of thought.

RELATED SUBJECTS.

BOOKS.

PARKHURST, C. H. *The Sunny Side of Christianity.* Chicago : F. H. Revell Co., 1901. Pp. 123. \$0.60, *net*.

In these impressive pages Dr. Parkhurst teaches the simplicity of true Christianity, and —like Jesus in the gospels and Paul in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians— he exalts *love* as the essential principle of the Christian faith and practice. "Lay all the stress that we properly can upon indoctrination, the final proof and fruit of it all is a pure heart and a loving spirit and living sympathy with the mind of Jesus." The church will recover the confidence of the people "when it comes back distinctly on to Christ's ground, when it becomes pure as Christ is pure, tender as Christ is tender, and when church life is understood to consist in the inbreathing of God's spirit of holiness and loving kindness, in order that we may breathe it forth again into the atmosphere of a world that needs not so much to be enlightened as to be loved." Many other things also are said in the book which men need to hear; it is a message for the times, a call to a recognition and observance of the real Christianity as taught by its Founder.

FORSYTH, P. T. *Religion in Recent Art: Expository Lectures on Rossetti Burne-Jones, and Others.* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Pp. 324. 10s.

GRAY, C. D. *The Šamaš Religious Texts, Classified in the British Museum Catalogue as Hymns, Prayers, and Incantations.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1901. Pp. 23, with 20 plates.

FUNK, F. X. *Patres Apostolici. Textum recensuit, adnotationibus criticis exegeticis historicis illustravit, versionem latinam prolegomena indices addidit.* Tübingen: Laup. Vol. I, second edition, 1901. Pp. 608.

HORT, F. J. A. *Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. Pp. 158. \$1.25.

ARTICLES.

CONDER, C. R. *Exploration of Eastern Palestine. Homiletic Review,* April, 1902, pp. 291-5.

MACALISTER, R. A. S. *The Newly Discovered Tomb North of Jerusalem; the Mosaic in the Church of Notre Dame de Spasme; the Sculptured Cave at Saris; Jeremiah's Grotto; etc. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement,* April, 1902, pp. 118-32.

GANNEAU, CLERMONT-. *Archæological and Epigraphic Notes on Palestine. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement,* April, 1902, pp. 132-8.

WILSON, C. W. *Obituary of Dr. Conrad Schick. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement,* April, 1902, pp. 139-42.

WILSON, C. W. *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher, II. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement,* April, 1902, pp. 142-55.

The author here continues (see the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1902, pp. 66-77) his study of the origin of the name Golgotha, reaching the conclusion that

Golgotha derived its name from a local legend which connected it with a skull, possibly that of Adam (as all the early Christian Fathers who mention the subject assert). Therefore the theories which identify "the place of a skull" with a public place of execution, or with a spot—whether on an eminence or not—which resembled a skull, are of later growth and probably of western origin. There is no indication in the Bible that Golgotha was skull-like in form, or that Christ was crucified on a knoll, or a hill. The view that there was a Jewish public place of execution at Jerusalem in the first century A. D., and that during the Roman occupation it was the place at which criminals were crucified or decapitated, is not supported by any evidence, direct or indirect.

MASTERMAN, E. W. G. Observations of the Dead Sea Levels. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April, 1902, pp. 155-60.

MASTERMAN, E. W. G. 'Ain el-Feshkhah, el-Hajar el-Aşbah, and Khurbet Kumrân. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April, 1902, pp. 160-67.

BLISS, F. J. The German Excavations at Ba'albek. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April, 1902, pp. 168-75.

CONDER, C. R. Hebrew Weights and Measures. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April, 1902, pp. 175-95.

MERRILL, SELAH. Review of Mommert's "Golgotha und das heilige Grab zu Jerusalem." *American Journal of Theology*, April, 1902, pp. 349-53.

Mommert's work is an elaborate and able defense of the traditional site of Calvary, along conventional lines. The reviewer shows the fallacy of the argument, which entirely fails to prove the thesis.

HAMILTON, EDWARD J. Are Miracles Possible? *Homiletic Review*, April, 1902, pp. 311-16.

COWAN, H. Review of Rainy's "Ancient Catholic Church." *Critical Review*, March, 1902, pp. 113-19. Also, ORR, J., in *Expository Times*, April, 1902, pp. 305-8.

GRIFFIN, E. H. Belief as an Ethical Postulate. *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1902, pp. 207-23.

LANCE, W. W. Philosophy of the Resurrection. *Methodist Review* (New York), March-April, 1902, pp. 223-9.

GOUCHER, J. F. The Church and Education. *Methodist Review* (New York), March-April, 1902, pp. 191-6.

CRAMER, J. A. De Logosleer in de Pleitreden van Justinus. *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, March, 1902, pp. 114-59.

STRZYGOWSKI, J. Das neuaufgefundene Orpheus-Mosaik in Jerusalem. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Heft 4, 1902, pp. 139-71.

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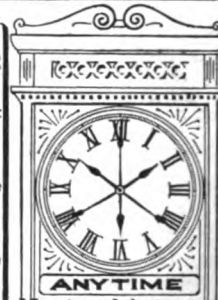
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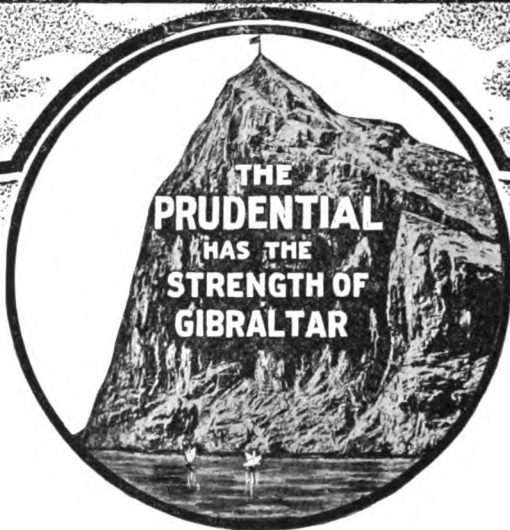
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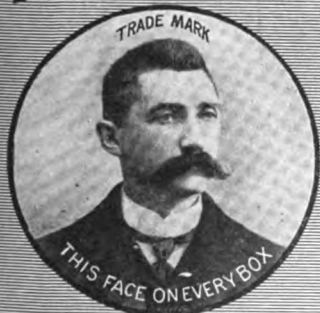
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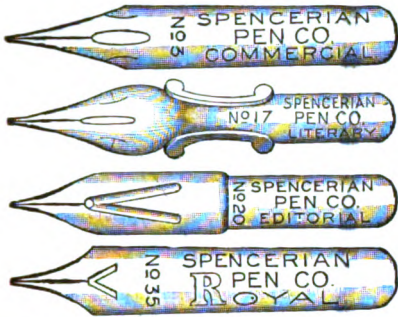
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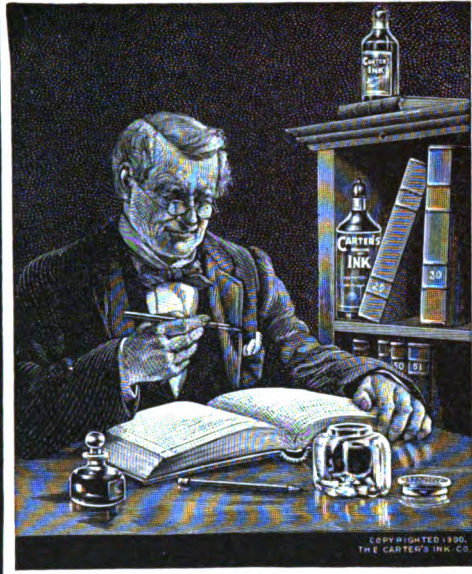


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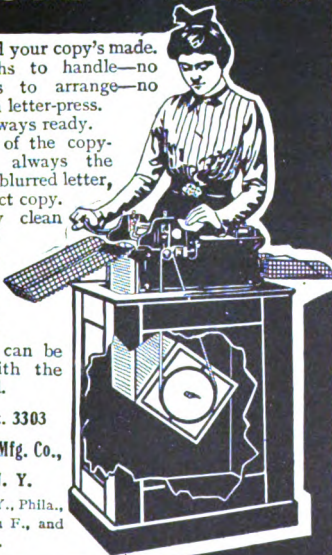
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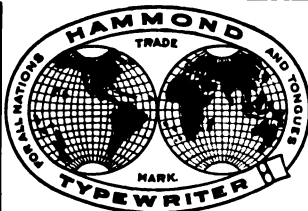


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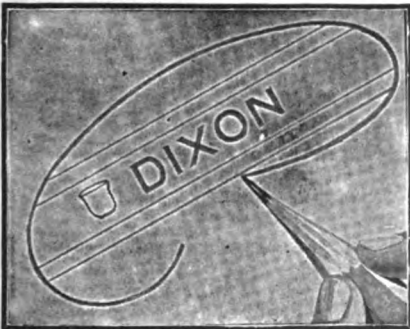
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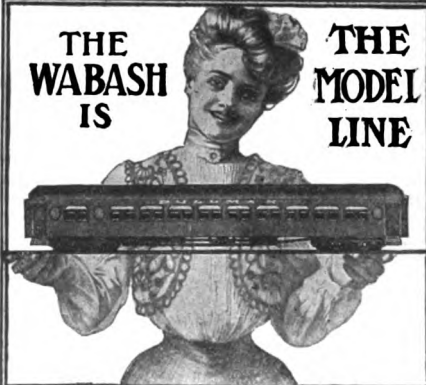
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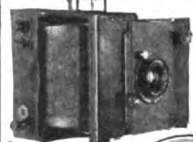


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