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## Editorial

### JESUS AND THE OLD TESTAMENT LAW

In an article published in a recent issue of the *Sunday School Times* Professor Harnack of Berlin defends the thesis that Jesus had no intention of doing away with the law of the Old Testament, but that unconsciously to himself he assumed toward it such an attitude as logically involved its abolition. Comparing the position of Jesus to that of Luther, who while still regarding himself a loyal son of the church had really broken with the church and was engaged in an effort to destroy it, Professor Harnack affirms that "*objectively* the attitude of Jesus toward the law involves a contradiction, but *subjectively*, that is for himself, he was not conscious of it." The early church, Harnack goes on to maintain, endeavored to walk in the footsteps of Jesus in this matter, but found the position impossible. It was Paul who first discovered that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone that believeth, a position in which the Fourth Gospel follows the apostle to the Gentiles. In other words, the position of Jesus may be compared to that of one who is seeking to strengthen an old building by supporting buttresses but is in fact unconsciously to himself undermining its foundation and preparing it for its downfall.

Such an interpretation of Jesus is of course entirely intelligible. Many a teacher and thinker has failed to see the full implications of the positions to which his own thinking has led him. It is proverbial that the followers of a progressive thinker usually outrun their teacher. An important forward step is rarely accomplished wholly in one generation. To the example of Luther cited by Harnack

scores of others might be added. Many men have builded better or worse than they knew or intended.

There is moreover unquestionably a certain element of truth in Harnack's view respecting Jesus. He was not an iconoclast. He did not expect or intend to inaugurate an anti-legal movement within the Jewish community, or at once to create a community of independent ethical thinkers. He recognized the necessity of leadership and the fact that time is an important factor in all healthy transformations of thought. Much of his most far-reaching teaching concerning law was conveyed incidentally and without effort on his part to point out the full implications. It is true also that if Jesus assumed an attitude of freedom in respect to the law, the early church did not at once apprehend this, or follow him in this attitude.

It is to be observed also that the position which Professor Harnack takes issues in the same result for Christian practice today as the view which finds in Jesus himself the conscious repudiation of the authority of the Old Testament law. For while maintaining that Jesus intended to defend the law Harnack is equally clear in maintaining that Paul's explicit application of the Law was the necessary consequence of the attitude which Jesus, without fully apprehending its significance, assumed toward the Law. "The bud which Jesus placed in the Old Jewish stalk could result only in the decay of Judaism and the founding of a new religion, the religion of Jesus Christ. . . . Not in his preaching did Jesus teach this, but in his person, his work, his sufferings, in his resurrection, did his disciples learn it." The question at issue is not then one of ethics, but of history, and its implications are not ethical, but christological; not what should be the Christian's attitude toward the law, but what was Christ's attitude, and how are we to rank him in respect to ethical insight.

It must of course be dealt with on purely critical and exegetical grounds. For our conclusions not only respecting the substance of Jesus' teaching but as concerns the precise intellectual quality of Jesus as a teacher we are dependent solely on the records of the New Testament. A discerning literary criticism and a faithful exegesis are the instruments by which we must derive from these records our information as to what Jesus did and how he did it.

The passage which Harnack expressly cites in defense of his view is Matt. 5:17, 18, "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass away, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished." He adds that there are many more passages and testimonies, and refers by implication to the command of Jesus to the leper to show himself to the priest, his assertion in Matt. 23:3 that whatever the Pharisees commanded should be observed, and the setting-aside of the Mosaic law of divorce grounded, he says, on an older law.

It is not our present purpose to examine these passages in detail, or to criticize Harnack's exegesis of them. It is our desire chiefly on the one hand to call attention to the significance of the issue which Harnack's paper raises, and on the other hand to express our conviction that his interpretation of Jesus' attitude is critically and exegetically indefensible. It ascribes to Jesus a lower intellectual power and less keen insight into moral questions, and a less clear apprehension of the significance of his own teaching than the New Testament warrants us in ascribing to him. We have grown somewhat familiar in recent years with the view that in the field of eschatology Jesus adopted the current messianic ideas of the Pharisees and allowed himself to cherish expectations respecting the coming of the kingdom and his own personal return as the Christ of judgment which subsequent history has shown to be quite without foundation. The view that Jesus was similarly lacking in penetration in reference to the implications of his own fundamental ethical position is perhaps only the natural sequel to this common notion with reference to his attitude on questions of eschatology. But it is a little surprising to find Professor Harnack, whom we have understood as repudiating the view referred to respecting Jesus' attitude toward eschatology, now advocating it in respect to Jesus' ethical position. There are indeed utterances of Jesus which standing by themselves might seem to sustain the view that he desired to continue the statutes of the Old Testament in force unabated, and even that he desired to perpetuate Pharisaic scribism. But there are others which as clearly indicate a complete emancipation of his mind from the authority of the Old Testament law, and an attitude of independent judgment upon

questions of morals and religion based upon his own insight into the moral world and his own interpretation of moral experience. So clear and strong is the testimony of these latter passages, so evident is it that the early church did not fully apprehend the position of Jesus on this matter that if it be necessary to interpret such utterances as Matt. 5:17, 18 and 23:3 as affirming the perpetuity of the Old Testament statutes, they may well be accounted for as modified under the influence of the thought of the church. How, indeed, can Harnack escape some such position respecting Matt. 23:3, in view of his affirmation that Jesus repudiated the Pharisaic additions to the law?

But even aside from any such critical emendation of the testimony of the gospels we are persuaded that their total evidence warrants no other conclusion than that Jesus, while abstaining from any direct assault upon the law, and recognizing the necessity that his followers should continue in relation to the existing system and in a measure under the leadership of the recognized teachers of the day, did also clearly claim for himself and for all other men of clear moral judgment, the right of independent thought in the realm of morals and religion, and was fully aware that this position involved the essential repudiation of the authority of the Old Testament law as such to limit the thought, constrain the conscience, or control the action of men of his own time or of later times.

Harnack underestimates the intellectuality of Jesus, and overestimates his likeness to Luther. He builded not better than he thought, but better than Harnack thinks. He was not the forerunner of Paul, unconsciously sowing seed which bore fruit only in the days of the greater apostle who followed him, but the clear-visioned prophet, and the tactful teacher. The teachings to which we owe our emancipation from the enslavement of the present to the past were not put forth by him in ignorance of their real significance and in an effort to buttress up that which he was really undermining, nor was it he but his contemporaries and the later church that failed to perceive their full significance.

## THE LEGALISTIC ELEMENT IN PAUL'S RELIGION

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The Jewish contemporaries of Jesus and of Paul looked upon the first five books of the Old Testament as the most sacred literature in existence. The "Prophets" and the "Writings" were also sacred works, but the "Law" was given the place of supremacy. It expressed perfectly God's will for mankind and so in its careful observance lay the hope of salvation, according to the opinions of the theologians of the time.

Both Jesus and Paul criticized these ideas. Jesus' criticism was chiefly from the ethical point of view emphasizing that the law was an imperfect and inadequate expression of the Father's will for men, while Paul's criticism was more concerned with the practical question of how far it was necessary to observe legal requirements in order to attain salvation. What place did Paul assign the legalistic element in his religious thinking?

The desire for salvation was the primary interest of the early Christians as it had been of the Jews before them; and, as was the case with the Jews, the hope of salvation was ultimately associated with belief in God and confidence in his favor. But at present his perfect will for man was being hindered by sin which brought men under the divine displeasure, hence some means must be found to offset the effects of sin. Before Paul's conversion he was busily engaged in this task, attempting to balance his own account with God by an accumulation of good works, through loyal observance of the law, sufficient to outweigh the burden of his sin. Salvation, it was thought, could be procured by winning enough of the divine pleasure to overbalance the amount of displeasure which sin had wrought in the feelings of God. But in all probability Paul had been accustomed to rest his hope ultimately upon the thought of God's favor for his chosen people. A promise had been made to the patriarch Abraham that his seed should be remembered with favor, and the Jews were the lineal descend-

ants of Abraham. To be sure, sin had prevented the realization of the promise, but the promise itself had not been revoked. John the Baptist had preached against this trust in favoritism but he does not seem to have shaken seriously the current feeling of confidence. There still remained the assurance that God must bless Israel when the people had done their part and when the time had become ripe for him to act. Indeed he had been acting in the past, and the gift of the law as a disclosure of his will for them was a remarkable evidence of his continued favor.

The immediate need for getting rid of sin was emphasized by the thought of an impending judgment. When the time was fulfilled the divine wrath would manifest itself in judgment on the terrible day of the Lord when the sinners of the gentiles—and the gentiles were all sinners—would receive condemnation. The Jews, or at least those with whom Paul was most intimately connected before he became a Christian, thought to insure themselves against this day by their legalistic righteousness. When the crisis came all who had won the divine favor would attain unto a future state of blessedness in the messianic glory. Christians and Jews alike shared this hope of future blessing, but the Christians defined it more explicitly by adding that the believer would then come to dwell in the presence of Christ (I Thess. 4:17; II Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23; John 12:26; 14:3; 17:24).

This problem of procuring salvation was central in Paul's thought. It had been central previous to his conversion and it continued to be so afterward. While under Judaism he had two principal items in his doctrine of salvation: (1) God's favor for Israel traced back even to the promise made to Abraham, and (2) the need, before this promise could be fully realized, of making reparation to God for sin. The first idea related to the ultimate ground upon which the hope rested, and the second to the immediate means by which its realization was to be effected. After conversion Paul still maintained the same general theological position upon this subject. God's favor was still the ultimate ground of hope—salvation was of divine grace, a free gift to man; and amends had to be made to God for sin. But the means by which reparation was now understood to be made marked the distinctively new element in Paul's doctrine as a Christian. Before, he had thought that the burden of sin which blocked the divine

favor could be removed only through the rigid observance of the law, but he now believed it could be completely removed through faith in Jesus Christ and him crucified.

Thus the fundamentally new feature introduced by Paul into his interpretation of the law was negative. He contended that the Jews had wrongly supposed it to be the means of making amends to God for sin. The fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham and his descendants was not to be procured in this way, but its realization had been made possible only by the work of Jesus. Paul would not deny the necessity of making reparation to God—there must be some means devised for removing the obstruction raised by sin, but the Jews were thought to have made a mistake in supposing that man could effect this merely by obedience to the law. For this also man must have divine help, so it can be said that salvation is God's free gift made possible by the work of Jesus Christ, but it can become effective in the life of the individual only upon the condition of faith, that is, through belief in Jesus as Messiah and a life of trustful fellowship with him. So Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to everyone that believes. Thus there is still in Paul's Christian doctrine of salvation the twofold emphasis: God's favor and man's effort. The former has been extended and the latter has been given a new interpretation. The divine grace had been manifest both in the promise and in its fulfilment, and the individual who would realize it for himself must strive to live the life of faith. The new life "in Christ" had been substituted for the life of strict legalism, and in place of the letter which killeth there had come in the spirit which maketh alive.

What, then, has become of the law as an instrument of salvation? Though it can no longer be regarded as the pivotal point upon which the possibility of salvation turns, it is not on that account an entirely worthless affair, as some of Paul's later interpreters were inclined to claim. Paul by no means despised the law, though he did severely denounce his opponents for the way in which they were perverting its purpose. For him it was valuable as pointing to Christ; he respected it for its supernatural origin; in its words God himself had spoken (I Cor. 9:8-10); Christ had been present in those ancient days of Israel's wilderness wanderings (I Cor. 10:4); the Jews had

been greatly advantaged in that they had been intrusted with the "oracles of God" (Rom. 3:2); and the law was holy, righteous, and good (Rom. 7:12). Nor had Paul, even after his years of gentile missionary work where his own countrymen had strenuously opposed him, given up hope that ultimately God's glory would be manifested in its fulness through his chosen people's final acceptance of Jesus as Messiah. Just now, to be sure, it seemed as if God was turning away from them unto the gentiles, but this was only a temporary phenomenon—a means to an end—for ultimately the Jews will enjoy a great "fulness," a fulness all the greater because through their rejection it became necessary for the gospel preachers to turn to the gentiles. After all, heathen converts to Christianity are but a wild olive branch grafted into the good olive tree of Israel (Rom. 11:11-28).

Furthermore, the law represents a universal principle in the experience of humanity. Among the Jews this principle had come to clear and formal expression; and among gentiles, though more dimly discerned, it was also present, a law of God in their hearts guiding them by the action of conscience. It was even necessary for both Jew and Greek to keep this law—not merely in the letter but in the spirit—in all good conscience if they were to be saved. The fundamental principles of the law are universally and continually valid (Rom. 2:13-16). But the secret which will enable one truly to keep the law in spirit is to be found only in the life of faith. So Paul vigorously maintains that righteousness, and consequently salvation, can be attained only by faith and not by works of the law. Justification by faith is complete in itself, but along with it go the demand and the power to live according to the dictates of the law of conscience.

Paul's emphasis upon the primacy of faith furnishes the point of view from which to observe his real conception of the significance of the Mosaic law and of the past history of Israel in general. There are three chief items in his doctrine of the relation between faith and law, namely, (1) the faith principle antedates and underlies the law, (2) the law of itself is not capable of producing righteousness, and (3) the prime function of the law is disciplinary. Each of these items will bear further examination.

In point of time and origin the law is inferior to the Abrahamic covenant. The promise came to Abraham directly from God, but



the law was given 430 years later through the agency of Moses and through the mediation of angels (Gal. 3:17 f.). Even circumcision was a consequent of the promise to Abraham and not a condition of its fulfilment, "a seal of the righteousness of faith which he had while in uncircumcision" (Rom. 4:11); and subsequently God had continued to reveal a righteousness which was through faith to all the children of faithful Abraham (Rom. 3:21 ff.; Gal. 3:6 ff.). Hence faith has been and remains the real ground of justification in the sight of God.

While the law of itself has proved insufficient to produce righteousness, Paul seems to hold that theoretically salvation might be obtained by keeping the whole law perfectly—a possibility even for gentiles who kept the law of conscience. But the actual fact which all experience proved was that Jew and Greek were alike under the condemnation of sin because they had not kept the whole law, nor was it practically possible for the natural man to keep it (Rom. 3:9 ff.). This seems to be Paul's meaning when he declares that by the works of the law no man can be justified (Rom. 3:20; Gal. 2:16; 3:11). Inherently the law is utterly weak. As a letter it veils the truth and produces death (Rom. 2:27-29; II Cor. 3:6-18), and as an angelic enactment it is subject to the "elements of the world" which are inferior spirit beings ministering death rather than life (Gal. 4:3, 9; cf. Col. 2:8, 16-20) and which all are to be brought into subjection to Christ (I Cor. 15:20-28). Furthermore, if a law had been given capable of yielding true spiritual righteous life Christ's death would have been in vain—for Paul an impossible supposition (Gal. 2:21; 3:21; Rom. 8:1-4). It follows that the law is incapable of furnishing a practical means of attaining righteousness and so cannot be a positive agency of salvation.

And yet it has served a most important purpose, discharging a negative rather than a positive function. As Paul expressed it figuratively, speaking out of the depths of his own experience, the law was a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, and it did this by making them conscious that every way of escape was cut off except that of faith (Gal. 3:23 ff.; Rom. 3:19). By setting up a definite criterion for the regulation of conduct it enabled one to see how far his actual life fell short of the ideal, and thus a real consciousness of failure was

made possible. Previous to the Mosaic enactment sin (*ἁμαρτία*) existed and resulted in death, yet this sin could not be reckoned in terms of definite transgression (*παράβασις*) since there had as yet not been drawn before the eye of man any exact line over which he must not step (Rom. 3:20; 5:12 f.). The law came in and by laying down a rule for the guidance of action made possible definite transgression. No doubt Paul supposed that the law was designed to be a check upon sin, but he dwells especially upon the idea that it was intended to make men appreciate the culpable character of their conduct, even to make the trespass "abound," and so to set sin out in bold relief that the necessity of a way of escape might become the more evident (Gal. 3:19; Rom. 5:20; 7:7). In this way a fuller recognition of God's wrath was brought about (Rom. 4:15), man was made to realize his own helplessness (Rom. 7:7-11) and made ready to turn in faith to Christ (Gal. 3:24). For Paul the chief significance of the law was its power to produce a vivid consciousness of the sense of loss which man suffered through the inheritance of Adam's sin, the loss of the supremacy of the spirit over the flesh. Restoration was therefore possible only through faith by which one might put on the "new man," the spiritual Adam, who is Christ.

Paul's criticism of the law, while having important practical bearings upon questions of his own day, was still doctrinaire, and for modern thinking much less satisfactory than Jesus' ethical criticism. For Paul it still remained a "law"—a ready-made code put into the world from without rather than a historical record of the attainments which a people had made in religion and morals. So he could say he had not known coveting except the law had said, "Thou shalt not covet" (Rom. 7:7); yet we know him well enough to be sure that he would have set the law aside quickly enough in this respect, as he did in other respects, had his own moral sense failed to approve its demands. Virtually he recognized, though his rabbinical theological method interfered with the clear exposition of the fact, that the law had validity just in proportion to its serviceableness for the new religious conditions of his day. Practical efficiency was the real test of validity for Paul in actual life. In this he was close to Jesus who found the whole law subsumed in the principle of love to God and to one's neighbor (cf. Gal. 5:14; 6:2; I Cor. 12:31-14:1).

Yet Paul was not so far carried away by his sense of inner spiritual certainty as to break entirely with the past. It was fortunate that he taught his communities to use the Old Testament, for thus the religious enlightenment of the past was made to contribute helpfulness to successive generations. At the same time there was the danger that the ideas of antiquity might be set up as a final norm, and so become a hindrance to further spontaneous religious growth. This was the result which actually came about, but it was not in harmony with the real spirit of Paul, nor were his later followers just to him when they set Paul himself up as such a norm. The lesson that may be learned from him, if his career is viewed as a whole, is that moral and religious standards are relative, that is, they are shaped according to the needs of contemporary conditions, and as expressed in one age they may not be entirely adequate for another. Instead of literally adhering to the past, each generation should be striving to produce its own ideals, drawing freely from all that has gone before but at the same time striving to transcend all previous attainments. He who is inclined to be content with mere imitation may recall an expression of Jesus, which Paul's whole teaching seconds: "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:20).

Notwithstanding Paul's own freedom in spirit and his rejection of Mosaic rites for his converts, it must still be admitted that his exposition of Christian doctrine is built about a fairly distinct legalistic framework. Salvation was realized through the carrying-out of a *programme*, juridical conceptions were used to describe the details, and a prominent place was given to formal and external elements. For example, the divine wrath was offset by the objective fact of Christ's death, the problem of man's weakness was solved by a mystical conception of life "in Christ," and for works of the law faith was substituted which in its intellectual aspect meant a formal belief in Jesus' messiahship, though on its experiential side it pertained more especially to one's personal fellowship with God. And the details in which these main outlines were worked out were often phrased legalistically. Thus the significance of Jesus' death is explained by the idea that all men were under the sentence of death (Rom. 5:12 ff.), or by the doctrine of the curse of the law (Gal. 3:10-13), or by the

idea of sacrifice (Rom. 3:24 f.). While these expressions may not always be clear to the modern reader, probably their meaning for Paul and his readers should be sought in the usage of the time. Again the new strength of the new life was a new law—the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus which liberated one from the law of sin and death (Rom. 8:2); and justification, while not to be procured through Mosaic ritual, had as its ground the new “law of faith” (Rom. 3:27 f.; 5:2).

While we may not say that Paul’s theology is entirely free from legalistic elements, these after all are not fundamental in his religion nor is it in the sphere of doctrine that he makes his most significant contribution to Christianity. True, his system of thought has been given such prominence that sometimes one is led to question whether he rather than Jesus was not really the founder of our religion. If Christianity is essentially a system of doctrine as expounded by the great theologians of the past, Jesus can be its founder only in the sense of being the person about whom theological thinking has centered. Certainly his teaching as recorded in the first three gospels, which are the most reliable sources of information, is not concerned with problems of theological discussion after the Pauline fashion. But is Paul’s significance for Christianity truly comprehended when attention has been centered upon his dogmas? May he not speak quite as significant a message out of the depths of his religious life as out of the intellectual comprehension of his experience—his theology—which he recorded in contemporary phraseology to meet the local needs of his communities? If he had not first been the man of deep religious experience he would never have been the theologian that he was, and it may very justly be questioned whether Paul the man of moral enthusiasm, the devout and practical missionary, has not made a larger contribution to Christianity, through his life of service for the men of his day than he did through the system of theology he expounded. The story of his life and the appreciation of his spirit are not only of themselves an inspiring influence for modern men, but they should constitute the chief basis for a study of his teaching. The religion of Paul is primary, his theology secondary.

## THE HEBREW IDEA OF THE FUTURE LIFE

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### III. BABYLONIAN INFLUENCE IN THE DOCTRINE OF SHEOL

In two previous articles<sup>1</sup> we have considered those conceptions of the future life which the Hebrews held before their migration out of their primitive home in the Arabian desert. We must now consider the new elements that entered their eschatology in consequence of the occupation of Canaan.

The Canaanites were a Semitic people, closely akin to Israel; and their original beliefs concerning the soul, as archaeology shows, were identical with those of the other Semites; but, as a result of long-continued Babylonian influence, these beliefs had undergone many important modifications during the two millenniums that preceded the Hebrew conquest.<sup>2</sup> The Babylonian ideas of the other world that the Canaanites adopted they passed on to the Hebrews who settled among them and amalgamated with them. As a result of this process, the Old Testament contains not only primitive Semitic beliefs concerning the future life, but also another diverse cycle of ideas which goes back ultimately to a Babylonian origin. This leads us to consider the Babylonian conception of the other world and its analogies in the Old Testament.

The Sumerian, or pre-Semitic population of Babylonia had already reached a high stage of civilization before the Semites arrived on the scene. Primitive conceptions of the dead as resting with their kinsmen in the family grave the Sumerians had outgrown. They conceived of the shades as dwelling together in a mighty realm, and as socially organized after the manner of an ancient Babylonian kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Biblical World*, January and February, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, chap. iv.

<sup>3</sup> On the Babylonian conception of Hades see Jeremias, *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (1887); Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* (1890); Jeremias, "Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern," in *Das Alte Orient*,

For this realm the usual Sumerian name is *Aralû*, of which the etymology is unknown. Its common Hebrew name is *Shēōl*, of which also the meaning is uncertain. Jeremias and Jastrow think that *Shēōl* appears in Babylonian as *Shw'ālu*, but this is denied by Jensen and Zimmern. Another Babylonian name is "Land of the Dead," or "Death." Similarly in the Old Testament "Death" or "the Dead," is used frequently in poetic parallelism with Sheol (e. g., II Sam. 22:5 f.; Hos. 13:14; Ps. 115:17). Still another Babylonian name is "Earth." Thus in the epic fragment known as *Ishtar's Descent to Hades* (rev. line 5) we read, "Ishtar has gone down to the Earth, and has not come up."<sup>4</sup> In the *Gilgamesh-Epic* (XII, iv, 1) Gilgamesh asks Eabani after "the law of the Earth," meaning as the sequel shows, the nature of the other world.<sup>5</sup> In the Old Testament also "Earth" is a frequent synonym of Sheol (Exod. 15:12; Isa. 14:9; 29:4, Eccles. 3:21).<sup>6</sup> Closely similar in meaning is the Sumerian word *Kigal*, "Great Beneath," or "Under-world," which passes over into Semitic as *Kigallu*. To this corresponds the Hebrew *Ereš-tahtiyā* (or *tahtiyōth*), which our version renders "the lower part of the earth" but which more properly means "Lower Land" or "Under-world" (Ezek. 26:20; 31:14; 32:18, 24). Since this region is regarded as a vast cavern, it is called *Nakbu*, "the Hollow,"<sup>7</sup> or "the Hole of the Earth."<sup>8</sup> The same conception appears in the Old Testament in the name *Bôr*, "the Pit" (Ezek. 26:20; 31:14, 16; 32:18, 23; Isa. 14:15, 19; 38:18; Ps. 28:1; 30:3; 40:2; 88:6; 143:7; Prov. 1:12; 28:17; Lam. 3:53, 55), or the synonymous *Shaḥath* (Job 33:18, 24, 28, 30; Isa. 38:17; 51:14; Ezek. 28:8).

From these names it is evident that both Babylonians and Hebrews regarded Sheol as situated in the depths of the earth. One is said to "go down" to *Aralû*, or to "come up" from it. The gods of *Aralû*

1900, Part 3; Zimmern, in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*<sup>3</sup> (1903); Warren, *The Earliest Cosmogonies* (1909). For the corresponding Hebrew conception see the works cited in the preceding article, *Biblical World*, February, 1910, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 87.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 263.

<sup>6</sup> Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 18.

<sup>7</sup> S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 16.

<sup>8</sup> *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 262.

are also the gods who cause vegetation to spring out of the ground. When the Babylonian kings wish to describe the depth to which they carried the substructures of their mighty edifices, they say that they laid the foundations "on the breast of Aralû," or "of Kigallu." The tower-temples of ancient Babylonia were regarded as counterparts of E-kur, "the mountain house" or inhabited earth, and beneath these the dead were buried, to correspond with the way in which the shades dwelt beneath the abode of the living.<sup>9</sup> In the inscriptions the tops of these tower-temples are said to be as high as the mountains, and their bases as low as the under-world. Similarly in the Old Testament one "goes down" or is "brought down" to Sheol (Ps. 28:1; 30:3; 88:4; 107:26; 143:7; Isa. 14:19; 38:18; Ezek. 26:20; 31:14, 16; 32:18 f.), and the sick man who barely escapes death is said to be "brought up" from Sheol (I Sam. 2:6; Job 33:24, 28, 30; Ps. 9:13; 16:10; 30:3; 49:15; 86:13; Lam. 3:53, 55; Jonah 2:6; Wis. 16:13; Tob. 13:2). How literally this language is meant is shown by the story of Korah and his company who "went down alive into Sheol" (Num. 16:30-33; cf. Ps. 55:15; Prov. 1:12); or Amos 9:2, which speaks of "digging into Sheol." Isa. 7:11 speaks of "going deep unto Sheol"; Isa. 29:4, of the shade as speaking "deep from the earth"; Isa. 57:9, of "descending deep unto Sheol." Sheol is called the "under part of the earth" (Ps. 63:9; 139:15; Isa. 44:23), and both Sheol and the Pit have the adjective "beneath" attached to them (Deut. 32:22; Ps. 88:6; Lam. 3:55). Ecclus. 51:5 speaks of the "depth of the belly of Hades." Sheol is lower than the foundations of the mountains (Deut. 32:22; Jonah 2:6). Beneath the earth are the "waters under the earth" (Gen. 49:25; Exod. 20:4; Amos 7:4), but Sheol is lower than these (Job 26:5; Lam. 3:53; Jonah 2:3 f.). The deepest thing conceivable is said to be "deeper than Sheol" (Job 11:8), and the depths of Sheol are often contrasted with the heights of heaven (Job 11:8; Ps. 139:8; Isa. 7:11, Amos 9:2). From these expressions it appears that Babylonians and Hebrews alike regarded Sheol as a vast cavern under the ground, the subterranean counterpart of the space included between the earth and the celestial dome of the "firmament."

Sheol could be entered directly through a gap in the earth, as in

<sup>9</sup> Hilprecht, *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*, 465.

the case of Korah and his company; but such a route was unusual. Ordinarily it was entered through a gate in the western horizon. The myths of the descent of Ishtar (Venus) and other astral deities indicate that the road to the under-world was that followed by the celestial bodies. The west was the region of darkness and death, as the east was the region of light and life. A man haunted by a ghost prays, "Unto the setting of the sun may he go."<sup>10</sup> The Hebrews must have had a similar conception, since in Enoch 22:1-4 the entrance to Sheol is described as lying in the distant west.

The habitable earth was regarded as an island lying in the midst of the ocean; consequently, in order to reach the entrance of Sheol at the setting of the sun, it was necessary to cross the sea. In the *Gilgamesh Epic*, Gilgamesh, who has set out to seek his ancestor Ut (Pir ? Šit ?)-napishtim, after crossing the Syrian desert and passing the mountains of Lebanon, reaches the shore of the Mediterranean, and inquires of a goddess how he may cross the sea. She replies: "There has never been any ford, Gilgamesh, and no one who since the days of yore has arrived here has ever crossed over the sea. The sun, the hero, has crossed over the sea, but except the sun, who has crossed? Hard is the passage, difficult the way, and deep are the Waters of Death that lie before it. Where, Gilgamesh, wilt thou go over the sea? When thou comest to the Waters of Death, what wilt thou do?" Presently, however, she shows Gilgamesh where he may find a ferryman who will carry him over the waters. Together they make a forty-five days' journey to the western end of the Mediterranean. Then they enter upon the "Waters of Death," or the ocean beyond the straits of Gibraltar. After terrible perils they succeed in passing this, and land in the farthest west on the shore where Ut-napishtim dwells.<sup>11</sup> This ferry over the Babylonian Styx is alluded to also in an incantation, where the priest says, "I have stopped the ferry and barricaded the dock, and have thus prevented the bewitching of the whole world," i. e., I have prevented the spirits of the dead from coming back across the ocean to molest men.<sup>12</sup> Because of this necessity of crossing the "Waters of Death"

<sup>10</sup> King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. 119, line 19.

<sup>11</sup> *Keilinschrijftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 217-23; Jensen, *Gilgamesch Epos*, 28-33.

<sup>12</sup> Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies*, 15.



the Babylonian Sheol received the epithets *mat-nabalkattu*, "land of crossing over," and *iršitu ruḫtu*, "distant land."

This thought was familiar to the Hebrews also. They conceived of the earth as surrounded by water, and therefore spoke of the "ends of the earth." To reach Sheol one had to pass across, or through the waters. II Sam. 22:5 f. (=Ps. 18:4 f.) reads: "The waves of Death compassed me, the floods of Belial made me afraid, the cords of Sheol were round about me, the snares of Death came upon me; and Jonah 2:2-5: "Out of the belly of Sheol I cried. . . . for thou didst cast me into the depth, into the heart of the seas, and the flood was round about me; all thy waves and thy billows passed over me. . . . The waters compassed me about, even to the soul; the deep was round about me; the weeds were wrapped about my head" (cf. Job 36:16 f.; Ps. 88:7; 107:26; 124:3-5; Lam. 3:54; Amos 9:2 f.). Deut. 30:12 f. contrasts "crossing the sea" with "going up into heaven," and in Rom. 10:7 "crossing the sea" is interpreted as "descending into the abyss." Of the ferryman across the "Waters of Death" there is no trace in the Old Testament. Spirits are supposed rather to "fly away" to their abode (Ps. 90:10). The bird-like form assumed by the soul for its journey was a widespread belief of antiquity, and appears probably in the word "twitter" that is used of the voice of ghosts in Isa. 8:19; 29:4. This idea was not unknown to the Babylonians. In *Ishtar's Descent* (obv. 10) we read of the shades, "They are clothed like a bird in a garment of feathers."<sup>13</sup>

For the ancient Babylonians there were seven heavens presided over by the sun, moon, and the five planets. There were also seven stages of the tower-temple of the earth. In like manner *Aralû* was conceived as containing seven divisions separated by walls. These walls were pierced by seven gates, which had to be passed in succession by the goddess Ishtar before she reached the lowest depth (*Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 37-62). These gates were fastened with bars, and there was a porter who opened them to newcomers. The seven divisions of Sheol are familiar to Jewish Theology.<sup>14</sup> They are first mentioned

<sup>13</sup> See Paton, *op. cit.*, I, *Biblical World*, January, 1910, p. 18; Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* (1907).

<sup>14</sup> Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, II, 328 ff.

in II Esdras 7:80 ff., but the idea is certainly much more ancient. Prov. 7:27 knows of the "chambers of Death" and Isa. 14:15; Ezek. 32:23 of the "recesses of the Pit." The gates of Sheol are referred to in Job 38:17; Ps. 9:13; 107:18; Isa. 38:10; Wis. 16:13; Matt. 16:18; and their bars in Job 17:16; Jonah 2:6. The Greek text of Job 38:17 speaks of the "gatekeepers of Sheol."

Sheol was primarily a cosmological conception, and had nothing to do with the grave as the abode of departed spirits, but the Babylonians were unable to keep the two ideas apart. The result was that Sheol was pictured as a vast tomb in which all individual tombs were included. The same ideogram was used both for grave and for Aralû. In the incantations the ghosts are said interchangeably to come forth out of the grave and out of Aralû. Everything that the heart delights in on earth is eaten by worms in the under-world (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XII, iv, 7 f.). Similarly in the Old Testament Sheol and the grave are used interchangeably in a great number of passages (e. g., Gen. 37:35; Ps. 88:3, 5, 11). Isa. 14:11 says, "Thy pomp is brought down to Sheol . . . the worm is spread under thee, and worms cover thee." Ezek. 32:17-32 speaks of all the nations as lying in graves in the midst of Sheol. Hence the conception that Sheol is dark (in spite of the fact that the sun goes down into it). Thus in Babylonian one of its epithets is "dark dwelling." In *Ishtar's Descent* (obv. 7) it is called "the house where he who enters is deprived of light," and in line 10 it is said, "they see not the light, they dwell in darkness" (cf. *Gilgamesh Epic*, VII, iv, 35). In like manner in Job 10:21 f. it is called "The land of darkness and of deep gloom, the land of thick darkness like darkness itself, the land of deep gloom without any order, and where the light is as darkness" (cf. Job 17:13; 38:17; Ps. 88:6, 12; 143:3; Ps. of Sol. 14:19). For the same reason Sheol is conceived as a place of dust. In *Ishtar's Descent* (obv. 9, 11) it is said, "Dust is their food, clay their nourishment. . . . Over door and bar dust is strewn" (cf. *Gilgamesh Epic*, XII, iv, 10). So also in the Old Testament "dust" is a synonym of Sheol (Job 7:21; 17:16; Isa. 29:4).

The Babylonian Sheol stands under the rule of the god Nergal or Irkalla (a personification of Irkallu, "great city," one of the names of Aralû), and his wife Ereshkigal, "mistress of the under-

world." In their service stand *Namtâru*, the death-demon, and a host of evil spirits who roam over the earth, afflicting men with all sorts of diseases, and seeking to win new subjects for their masters. Survivals of similar conceptions appear in the Old Testament. Sheol is frequently personified as a hungry monster opening its jaws to devour men (Isa. 5:14; Hab. 2:5; Jonah 2:2; Prov. 1:12; 27:20; 30:15 f.). It seems to have been worshiped as a deity by the Canaanites, to judge from certain place-names in Palestine.<sup>15</sup> Muth, "Death," was deified by the Phoenicians.<sup>16</sup> He appears in the Hebrew personal name *Ahi-Môth*, "Death is a brother," and probably in several place-names. In the Old Testament Death is often personified, and is used in parallelism with Sheol (Job 30:23; 38:17; Ps. 107:18). He appears as the ruler of Sheol in Ps. 49:14: "They are appointed as a flock for Sheol, Death shall be their shepherd"; and in Job 18:14: "He shall be brought to the King of Terrors." Another demon of the under-world is apparently Belial (*B'lyā'al*), which the scribes have fancifully vocalized as though it meant "without use," but which may mean "the god who swallows" (*Bālî-ēl*). He appears in Nah. 1:15; II Sam. 22:5 (=Ps. 18:5). Similar is the "destroyer" of Exod. 12:23, or the "destroyers" of Job 33:22. Diseases are often personified as the evil demons of Sheol; e. g., Job 18:11-13, "Terrors shall make him afraid on every side, and shall chase him at his heels. His strength shall be hunger-bitten, and Calamity shall be ready at his side. It shall devour the members of his body, yea the Firstborn of Death shall devour his members"; Hos. 13:14, "Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from Death? Hither with thy plagues, O Death! Hither with thy pestilence, O Sheol!"; Ps. 116:3, "The pangs of Death compassed me, and the pains of Sheol got hold upon me" (cf. II Sam. 22:6). The death-angels of later Judaism are simply the degraded gods of the under-world of an earlier period.

To the attacks of these demons man sooner or later succumbs. "He who at eventide is alive, at daybreak is dead." "The day of death is unknown," but none the less it is certain; for it is "the day that lets no one go." So the ancient Babylonian expressed himself,

<sup>15</sup> H. P. Smith, in *Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, I, 55.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

and similarly the ancient Hebrew said, "I go the way of all the earth" (Josh. 23:14; I Kings 2:2); "I know that thou wilt bring me to Death, and to the house appointed for all the living" (Job 30:23); "What man is he that shall live and not see Death, that shall deliver his soul from the hand of Sheol?" (Ps. 89:48); "Remember the sentence upon him, for so also shall thine be; yesterday for me, and today for thee" (Ecclus. 38:22).

Two instances are known in Babylonian literature of persons who escaped death, and were translated to the abode of the gods. Ut(Šit? Pir?)-napishtim, the Babylonian Noah, after narrating the story of the Flood to Gilgamesh, concludes: "Bel went up into the ship, grasped my hands, and led me out, led out my wife also, and caused her to kneel down at my side. He touched our shoulders, stood between us, and blessed us, saying, Formerly Ut-napishtim was a man, now shall Ut-napishtim and his wife be like gods, and Ut-napishtim shall dwell afar at the mouth of the streams" (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XI, 198-204). Adapa just missed immortality by declining the bread and the water of life (*Adapa Myth*, II, 24-34), which shows that it was not considered impossible for men to escape death. In the Old Testament we have the similar cases of Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and Elijah (II Kings 2:11). Such translations were, however, so rare that they constituted no basis for hope that men in general would escape the common doom of humanity.

Babylonian theology knows of a distinction in the fates of those who enter Aralû. One "rests in his chamber and drinks clean water"; another "eats what is left in the pot, the remnants of food that are cast out into the street" (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XII, vi, 1-12). When Ishtar incurs the wrath of Ereshkigal, the queen of the under-world, Ereshkigal bids her servant Namtâru: "Shut her in my palace, loose upon her sixty diseases" (*Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 68 f.). The *Gilgamesh Epic* (X, vi, 35-38) seems to speak of a judgment in the other world: "After the Watch-demon and the Lock-demon have greeted a man, the Anunnaki, the great gods, assemble themselves; Mammetu, who fixes fate, determines with them his fate; they establish death and life."

On this basis, Jeremias and Delitzsch<sup>17</sup> found the theory that the

<sup>17</sup> *Babel und Bibel*, 38 ff.

Babylonians distinguished a Paradise and a Hell in the under-world. The facts do not justify this view. In the passage which speaks of the different fates of the dead, the context shows that these fates depend, not upon moral distinctions, but upon the manner of burial. The one who "rests in his chamber and drinks clean water" is he who has enjoyed the honorable interment of a hero. The one who eats refuse is he "whose corpse has been cast out upon the field, whose ghost has no one to care for him." This is nothing more than a survival of the primitive animistic belief that the repose of the spirit depends upon the proper burial of the body.<sup>18</sup> The "clean water" is not the "water of life," but the libation poured by a son upon the grave. The judgment pronounced by Mammetu and the Anunnaki is not a judgment upon character, that determines eternal life or eternal death, but is merely a decision whether or no a man is to die. Through severe illness his soul is brought down to the very gates of Aralû, and is greeted by the watchman; then the gods decide whether he is to remain in the under-world or is to return to life. This explains the following line, "but the days of death are not revealed." So, after it has been decreed that Ishtar is not to remain in Hades, the Anunnaki are assembled to pronounce her release, and to sprinkle her with the water of life that she may return to the upper-world (*Ishtar's Descent*, rev. 37 f.). The distinction in Aralû is merely one of relative comfort, it is not a distinction of place. In numerous passages the dead of all ages and all degrees are described as dwelling together in one common habitation. Thus in an epic fragment belonging to the Gilgamesh cycle the ghost of Eabani says:

In the house that I have entered, my friend, . . . crowns lie upon the ground. There dwell the wearers of crowns, who of old ruled the land, for whom Bel and Anu have appointed name and memory. Cold dishes are served up to them, and they drink water out of skins. In the house that I have entered, my friend, dwell Enu-priests and Lagaru-priests. There dwell enchanters and magicians. There dwell the anointed priests of the great gods. There dwell the heroes Etana and Ner. There dwells the queen of the under-world Ereshkigal. There dwells Bêlit-šêri, the scribe-goddess of the lower world crouching before her.<sup>19</sup>

The Old Testament conception is the same. It too knows of a distinction in the fate of the dead. Ezek. 31:16 speaks of the kings

<sup>18</sup> See Paton, *op. cit.*, *Biblical World*, January, 1910, pp. 13 f.

<sup>19</sup> Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies*, 16.

of the earth as "the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, that drink water and are comforted in the nether parts of the earth." Ezek. 32:23; Isa. 14:15, 19 speak of those who go down to "the recesses of the Pit" or the "stones of the Pit"; but in both of these cases their sad fate is not due to sin, but to the fact that they are "cast forth from the sepulcher like an abominable branch. . . . as a carcase trodden under foot." Lack of burial prevented rest in Sheol, and lack of burial in the family tomb excluded one from the society of his relatives,<sup>20</sup> but there is no trace in the Old Testament of a division of the dead on the basis of character. The sinner is threatened with Sheol as a punishment, but never with a particular section of Sheol (cf. Prov. 2:18; 21:16). The righteous Samuel says to the wicked Saul, who has been rejected by the Lord, "Tomorrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me" (I Sam. 28:19). Jacob says, "I shall go down to the grave unto my son mourning," in spite of the fact that he supposes Joseph to have been devoured by a beast, and therefore to be unburied (Gen. 37:33, 35 J). The Old Testament thinks far more frequently of the miserable lot of all the shades than of distinctions that exist among them.<sup>21</sup> Isa. 14:9-23 and Ezek. 32:18-32 speak of all men of all races as dwelling together in Sheol, and Job 3:13-19 says:

Now should I have lain down and been quiet; I should have slept; then had I been at rest: With kings and counsellors of the earth who built tombs for themselves, or with princes that had gold, who filled their houses with silver: or as a hidden untimely birth I had not been: as infants which never saw light. There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary are at rest. There the prisoners are at ease together; they hear not the voice of the taskmaster. The small and the great are there; and the slave is free from his master.

This passage bears a striking resemblance to the Babylonian epic fragment quoted above. By both Babylonians and Hebrews Sheol was conceived as a land, a city, or a house, in which all classes of men dwelt together as on earth. Life went on much the same as in the upper-world, only all was shadowy. This conception was simply a survival of primitive beliefs concerning the existence of the dead that were combined with the later doctrine of Sheol.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10 ff.

When once a man had entered Sheol the Babylonians believed that it was impossible for him to return to life again. The underworld was "the land of no return" (*Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 1, 6, 41), or the "enduring dwelling" (*ibid.*, rev. 31). Its watchman, the "Lurker of Nergal," does not release when once he has seized a man (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XII, iii, 18). Speaking of his friend Eabani, Gilgamesh says: "My friend whom I loved has become like clay . . . Shall I not also like him lay me down to rest, and not arise for evermore?" (*Gilgamesh Epic*, VIII, v, 36 f.). Similarly David says, "I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me" (II Sam. 12: 23); and the wise woman of Tekoah, "We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again" (II Sam. 14: 14); "As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away, so he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more" (Job 7: 9 f.; cf. 10: 21; 16: 22; Eccles. 12: 5; Eccles. 38: 21; Wis. 16: 14).

This denial that the dead can return means only that they cannot return to life, not that they may not leave Sheol to haunt the living, or to respond to the summons of a medium. The ancient belief in ghosts and in necromancy continued both in Babylonia and in Israel alongside of the belief in Sheol.<sup>23</sup>

Whether the Babylonians believed in the possibility of a resurrection is a disputed question. A number of gods, particularly Marduk, bear the title *muballit mâtûti*, "quickener of the dead." In a hymn it is said, "He whose corpse has gone down to Aralû thou bringest back."<sup>24</sup> On the strength of these passages it has been claimed that the Babylonians believed in a resurrection,<sup>25</sup> but the evidence is insufficient. All that this language means is that the god in question raises up to life a man who is sick unto death. According to the primitive conception, the soul left the body in illness, or in unconsciousness, and drew near to the under-world. For a time it was doubtful whether it would remain with the shades or return to earth. The god who prevented its final separation from its body was called

<sup>23</sup> See Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19; and II, February, 1910, pp. 91.

<sup>24</sup> King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, No. 2, 21.

<sup>25</sup> Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, 480.

“quickener of the dead,” but that there could be any resurrection after the body had been buried and dissolution had set in there is no evidence; in fact, this idea seems to be directly contrary to the statements just quoted that there is no return for one upon whom Mammetu and the Anunnaki have pronounced sentence of death, but only for one whose entrance to Aralû they postpone. The “water of life” that is guarded by the Anunnaki in Aralû does not serve to bring back the dead, but only to restore those who have gone down alive to Sheol. It is given to Ašûshunamir, the messenger of the gods, that he may return to heaven, and is sprinkled on Ishtar that she may go back to the upper-world (*Ishtar's Descent*, rev. 19, 34, 38). Gilgamesh is washed with it that he may be cleansed from his leprosy (*Gilgamesh Epic*, XI, 254 ff.), and Adapa has it offered to him that he may attain immortality (*Adapa Myth*, II, 26). In these cases the dead are not restored to life, but the living are prevented from dying. The “water of life” is the divine counterpart of the holy water with which the priest sprinkled the sick man to keep the death-demons from dragging him down to Aralû. In only one passage is the possibility of a real resurrection suggested. When Ishtar is refused admission to Aralû, she says to the porter: “If thou openest not thy gate and I come not in, I will break down the door, I will shatter the bolt, I will break through the threshold and remove the doors, I will bring up the dead, eating, living; the dead shall be more numerous than the living” (*Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 16-20). This seems to refer to a restoration of the dead to life. From this it follows that the Babylonians regarded it as possible for the great gods to empty Aralû, if they saw fit; but there is no evidence that they believed that this power would ever be exerted.

The Old Testament doctrine is the same. When a man is dangerously ill, his soul is believed to leave his body and to approach the under-world. Thus Job 33:19-22 says: “He is chastened with pain upon his bed, and with continual strife in his bones. His flesh is consumed away that it cannot be seen, and his bones that were not seen stick out. Yea his soul draweth near unto the Pit, and his life to the Destroyers.” Similarly Ps. 88:3 f.: “My soul is full of troubles, and my life draweth near unto Sheol. I am counted with them that go down into the pit.” Isa. 29:4 speaks of half-



dead Judah as speaking like a ghost out of the ground. When Yahweh takes pity on the sufferer and restores him to health, he is said to bring him back from Sheol. Thus Hezekiah, when cured of his dangerous illness says: "Thou hast in love to my soul delivered it from the Pit of Bel[ial?]" (Isa. 38:17; cf. I Sam. 2:6; Job 33:24, 28, 30; Ps. 9:13; 16:10; 30:3; 49:15; 86:13; Lam. 3:53, 55; Jonah 2:6; Wis. 16:13; Tob. 13:2). In none of these passages is a resurrection referred to, or even a blessed immortality for the disembodied spirit, but only a release from impending death. The doctrine of a resurrection of the body does not appear in the Old Testament until after the Exile, and therefore has no connection with ancient Babylonian beliefs. Three cases are recorded in pre-exilic literature of a raising of the dead to life. The first is Elijah's raising of the widow's son (I Kings 17:21 ff.), the second is Elisha's raising of the son of the woman of Shunem (II Kings 4:32 ff.), and the third is the raising of a dead man through contact with the bones of Elisha (II Kings 13:21). In all these cases apparent death had just occurred, but the body had not yet been buried, so that one may question whether the connection between soul and body had been completely severed. These restorations do not differ materially from the preceding instances in which the souls of the dangerously ill are brought back from the gates of Sheol. Pre-exilic literature does not know a single instance in which reanimation occurs after dissolution has set in.

From the foregoing study it appears that the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol is the counterpart in every particular of the Babylonian doctrine of Aralû, and there can be no doubt that, directly or indirectly, it has been derived from Babylonia. When we consider the fact that this belief appears in the earliest Hebrew literature, we must assume that it was acquired soon after the conquest of Canaan; and that probably it was derived from the earlier inhabitants of the land, who, as known from recent archaeological discoveries, had become thoroughly Babylonianized long before the arrival of the Hebrews.

## THE ETHICS OF CONFORMITY

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The student of the history of science is frequently struck by the complexity of modern thought. While it was entirely within the range of possibility for a scholar of the time of Aristotle or of Leibnitz to compass all human knowledge, to be indeed a master of the arts, no one today, no matter what his native endowment or his industry may be, can hope to do more than acquaint himself with the method of scientific study, to command in detail a definitely limited field of investigation, and perhaps, if time and strength allow, to familiarize himself with the general results of the various lines of historical, scientific, and literary research sufficiently to satisfy conventional demands, and to answer for himself, if he cares to, some of the more fundamental questions affecting life and practice.

The result of this astounding development after centuries of comparative intellectual quiescence has been what might well have been anticipated. The experience of exhilaration and delight which followed in the wake of the great lines of scientific advance has been succeeded by one of perplexity and baffled impotence in the face of certain problems of ethical and religious import, particularly, for which traditional solutions are no longer available. Many of the old landmarks of belief have been either completely swept away, or are about to yield under the pressure and grind of the mighty flood of scientific and historical criticism beating against them. Many views formerly believed to involve grave moral and practical issues have all but disappeared from among us. Some of these have been abandoned only after a prolonged and bitter struggle; others have slipped out of our thought unawares, owing either to a process of gradual corrosion, or else to the rise of other and more engrossing interests. It is quite natural also, where so much is found untenable, that a tendency should grow up to suspect everything which bears upon it the marks of age and tradition. The tendency to wholesale

abandonment has, in the absence of clear standards of truth and value, extended to, and thoroughly involved, not only theoretical beliefs, but, what is more serious, customs, moral standards, ideals, and institutions as well. As the theorists of society and the state of a former time concluded that, since society and the state were not divine institutions, but a mere human artifice, the result of compacts made by men for their mutual benefit, these institutions could again be dissolved by men when the benefits contemplated no longer accrued, so many in our time have seemed to lapse into the crude individualism of the eighteenth century, and have declared that, since the moral code, or the sacred writings, or the church, or the family are not divine institutions in an old and crude sense of the term, they are therefore of no further significance or value. In spite of the great progress of social and political philosophy and our theoretical insight into the fact that each of us, though a unit, is still an organic part of a larger whole and can deserve and enjoy liberty only under law, we are still widely disposed to emphasize our rights and forget our duties, and, in general, to underestimate the significance of the institutional life in virtue of which we have become what we are. The sabbath, with some, interferes with the right to work; with others, with the right to play; the legal regulation of the liquor traffic interferes with the right—well, to starve one's family, or it even checks the free development of social and aesthetic sentiments; marriage cuts across the lines of natural affinity and is incompatible with a many-sided personal development; and law and order in general are felt to be inconvenient restrictions of our natural rights and opportunities from which we are often justified in freeing ourselves.

Now, while much of this restiveness can doubtless be explained by assigning its social causes and motives, and while the right to fresh initiative in thought and action must, if there is to be progress, ever be held inviolate, and while there will always be times when the established must firmly be resisted and even destroyed, yet it must be plain that the present is no time to urge a destructive policy. Rather is it a time when a strong effort should be made, not indeed to arrest the progress of science—that would be an uncalled-for task—but to stem the tide of ill-considered and reckless criticism,

and systematically, by teaching and example, to resist the wanton destruction of the vast treasures of human experience as crystallized in customs, morals, and institutions, the result of the thoughts, impulses, and instincts of countless millions of men and women, and the precious right and inheritance of each new generation. It should be remembered, in the first place, that no individual or nation can realize its best possibilities when afflicted with that most debilitating of all intellectual maladies, a chronic skepticism. "The deepest, nay the only theme of the world's history," says Goethe, "is the conflict of faith and unbelief. The epochs in which faith, of whatever form it may be, prevails, are marked epochs in human history, full of heart-stirring memories and of substantial gain for all after-times." The reason why his subjects were not heroes, but only half-heroes, says Carlyle in his essay on Johnson, Rousseau, and Burns, was not the want of organization for men of letters, or any other adventitious reason. The fatal misery of the literary man, to quote the powerful words of Carlyle,

was the spiritual paralysis of the age in which his life lay; whereby his life too, do what he might, was half paralyzed. The eighteenth was a skeptical century: in which little word there is a whole Pandora's Box of miseries. Skepticism means not intellectual doubt alone, but moral doubt; all sorts of infidelity, insincerity, spiritual paralysis. . . . That was not an age of faith, an age of heroes! The very possibility of heroism had been, as it were, formally abnegated in the minds of all. Heroism was gone forever; triviality, formulism, and commonplace were come forever. The "age of miracles" had been, or perhaps had not been; but it was not any longer. An effete world; wherein wonder, greatness, Godhood could not now dwell—in one word, a godless world!

"It must be a duty especially laid upon us," says G. Stanley Hall, one of our own most accomplished scholars, "to see that negations do not cause religious indifference, but are swallowed up in essential and glorious affirmations, for the measure of man's power in the world is his capacity for belief and not that for doubt."

It is the high duty of the intellectual leaders of this time, in the second place, to seek to create a large and vital appreciation of the vast significance of the institutional life of which we form a part; to define anew the true relation of the individual to the social whole, and of the present to the historical past of which we are the natural outgrowth and issue; to develop and strengthen the historical sense

on the possession of which we often pride ourselves, but to which we have, after all, rendered lip service only. The value of our spiritual inheritance from the past is, I am confident, still greatly underestimated. This applies not so much to our scientific inheritance, which has, owing to the comparative meagerness of empirical materials in the past, not been so great, but it does apply pre-eminently to those sciences which depend mainly upon introspective methods for their materials, and to morality, custom, laws, and institutions which represent, if one may say so, the precipitated result of the common experiences of all mankind. It is a propitious sign that men of technical training and highly critical spirit have in no uncertain terms called attention to the significance for social welfare of existing morality and institutions. So the late Henry Sidgwick, after subjecting common morality to what is perhaps the most searching criticism existing in any language, has this to say in a forceful and eloquent passage which every student of moral and institutional life would do well to lay to heart:

The Utilitarian must repudiate altogether that temper of rebellion against established morality, as something purely external and conventional, into which the reflective mind is always apt to fall when it is first convinced that the established rules are not intrinsically reasonable. He must, of course, also repudiate as superstitious that awe of it as an absolute or divine code which intuitional moralists inculcate. Still, he will contemplate it with reverence and wonder, as a marvelous product of nature, the result of long centuries of growth, showing in many parts that fine adaptation of means to complex exigencies as the most elaborate organisms exhibit; he will handle it with respectful delicacy as a mechanism, constructed of the fluid element of opinions and dispositions, by the indispensable aid of which the actual quantum of human happiness is actually being produced: a mechanism which no politicians or philosophers could create, yet, without which the harder and coarser machinery of law could not be permanently maintained, and the life of man would become, as Hobbes forcibly expresses it, "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

Our plain duty toward our scientific, moral, and institutional inheritance will accordingly be, not to neglect or destroy, but to evaluate and conserve. And this is often not so difficult to do if one only has a mind to address himself to the task. Whatever, for example, may be our views of the origin of the literatures which constitute the Bible, or of their scientific or historical accuracy,

there can be no doubt about their significance for our moral and religious life, representing as they do the accumulated wisdom of a race gifted above all others with moral and religious genius, and containing many passages whose dash and finish entitle them to a place of highest distinction among the noblest literatures of the world. To lose the Hebrew Scriptures would be to forfeit one of the finest fruits of our common civilization. Again, moral laws, though not invented and arbitrarily delivered by God in an old and crude sense, are nevertheless, as we have already seen, absolutely indispensable instruments of moral and social life, and by their universality and suggestive force still vie with the starry heavens in filling men's bosoms with awe and inspiration. And conscience, we say, is not the voice of God implanted in the heart as an infallible guide to action, but, to use Paulsen's words, only the will and voice of society to whose bidding the individual, owing to the cumulative force of social tradition, gives a ready obedience. Well, what then? Is the function of conscience in any way impaired, or its social value diminished, by theories of its origin? Does language lose its function as an instrument of communication by theories of its natural origin and continuous growth? And what of the finality of the Christian religion? Has it inherent in it the elements of permanence? Well, one might inquire in turn, What of faith, hope, and love? Are these of evanescent interest and value, soon to be outgrown? And is Jesus really divine? And does he indeed still live? To this we ask once more, Is patience divine, and self-forgetful devotion, and spiritual-mindedness, and obedience unto death? Or can any good man or happy deed perish and pass into nothingness? His body indeed is not here. But the master's spirit with all its subtle force and charm, his profound personality, is still with us, and is increasingly with us, the very essence, according to Harnack, of Christianity itself: "a personality so strong, so pure, so noble, as to leave an indelible impress upon the human mind, which far from fading rather grows, and gives promise of growing till it shall remold humanity into its likeness."

## THE GROWTH OF THE MISSIONARY IDEA IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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### I. THE PRE-EXILIC SITUATION

In two short articles the attempt will be made to deal in a summary but suggestive way with an important question, viz., how far and in what way do we find in the Old Testament literature the record of a true missionary idea and a real missionary movement? While recognizing that it is not possible to cut a living history into absolutely separate sections, for convenience of treatment we propose to deal with (1) the pre-exilic situation, and (2) the post-exilic missionary movement.

Such a review has, of course, lying behind it a certain historical point of view and a literary criticism which cannot now be made the subject of elaborate statement or detailed justification. This position is usually referred to as "the modern point of view," and while that correctly designates its form, its true spirit is shown in the effort to conserve that which is noblest in the thoughts of reverent students of all ages. It recognizes the rearrangement of the literary material, in the Pentateuch and elsewhere, which has been accepted by the great body of present-day scholars, and insists upon the fact of development which has been so clearly proved and abundantly illustrated by the labors of these scholars. It is useless to attempt to trace the growth of any great truth through the twelve centuries which form the historical space of Israel's pre-Christian life if we follow the example of some apologists who seek to magnify the spirituality and sublimity of the beginning while giving undue prominence to the national and particularistic traits which mark the close of this great movement. Those who frankly recognize that God works through normal growth as well as through sudden catastrophes, and that such growth is exceedingly complex in its character, will

not need to be afraid of the word "development" or the changeful, comprehensive movement for which it stands.

It is true of a nation as of an individual that being precedes doing; there must be some maturity of character, some clear grasp of truth before there can be an outflow of life to render service beyond the bounds of that nation. Today in our zeal that manifests itself in a desire for larger subscriptions and more perfect organization for the purpose of sending the message into the outside world we are in danger of forgetting how long it took, and by what a complex process the spiritual and intellectual content of the message was formed. This study of history is surely one of the best helps against falling into a worship of the mere external machinery of missionary work. The thing that makes the Old Testament in the best sense a missionary movement is the fact that it is the story of such a varied life, a life beset by all common human temptations, a life moved by all common human aspirations, a life that learned to express in terms capable of ever-larger interpretation the needs and sorrows of the nation and the soul. No complete ideal programme dictated within a brief space of time could have become such a reflection of the life of man and such a revelation of the will of God. It is not enough that we should today, in our missionary conventions, rejoice that we possess the richest revelation and the highest gospel; it is essential to the upbuilding of our own spiritual life that we should appreciate, in some measure, the wonderful way by which men have been led to believe in one righteous redeeming God and to apply to the life of man and of society the principles of the cross. In seeking to understand the growth of the missionary idea in the Old Testament we have to bear in mind that the earlier period is the time when the people are engaged in the strenuous work of fighting for national existence and shaping for themselves forms of social life and literary expression which shall most appropriately set forth for their own sustenance and satisfaction their faith in God and their relation to the great world.

We must also bear in mind that when we are dealing with the evolution of an idea we are handling a subtle thing and must not make statements too positive and absolute; for example, we might easily say that the spirituality and universality of God is a lofty truth which comes only "in the fulness of time," that is, at the end



of a long development. This is certainly true, and anyone who is in sympathy with the statement will readily make the necessary qualification without any carping criticism. But it is well to remember that in the earliest, simplest form of this faith there is the promise and potency of the highest form. When men sought God in the trees and fountains and on the high hills that seemed to reach to heaven, there was a certain measure of universality within that faith. The attempt to restrict the special manifestations of the divine presence to one temple had no doubt a useful part to play; it sacrificed poetry and picturesqueness to intelligence and purity. But it was only an intermediate stage toward a clearer and fuller belief in the universal presence and the sacredness of the whole world. The Hebrews never attained that highest point where the great teacher can declare with regard to true worship that it is not limited to this mountain or that but is the privilege in all times and places of spiritual approach to the one eternal God. In a certain sense it is true that Jewish religion never frees itself from "this mountain," but that statement does not contain all the truth.

We are concerned then with the history and experience of a certain number of tribes that come into Palestine some thirteen centuries B. C., make for themselves a home, attain a measure of unity, build up a nation, form a particular type of religious life, create for themselves an everlasting name, and leave a contribution to the world's life and literature which is of the highest importance. This summary statement of the situation surely shows that there cannot be a fully developed missionary idea in the earliest stages. In Gen. 12:3 we meet a passage which at the first glance may appear to contradict this statement. It reads thus—a promise to Abraham—"I will bless them that bless thee, and him that curseth thee will I curse; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." Now it is an ungracious task to rob a well-known text of its rich meaning and sacred association, but Old Testament exegesis has its own task, and historical investigation cannot be altogether guided by sentiment. Here we are met by two facts: (1) that if we could give the final clause of this promise the larger meaning which it appears to have in the English Version we would have to refer it not to a period some centuries before the Exodus but to the time of the early prophets;

(2) however there is no need to discuss that, as when the passage is carefully read, and placed in the whole class of passages to which it belongs we find that the idea is not that Abraham is to be a means of blessing to all tribes, but that his prosperity shall be such, as a result of Jehovah's blessing, that all who know him shall wish for themselves like good fortune. Compare Gen. 48:20: "And he blessed them, saying, In thee shall Israel bless, God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh," etc. Indeed on a survey of the whole field we are compelled to admit that while in the earliest period there is preparation for the missionary idea the explicit expression of such an idea can, in the nature of the case, only be looked for in later times.

The beginning of the Hebrew religion, like all beginnings, is shrouded in mystery. We have to judge of the beginning from the end, and by the rich fruit we have to recognize the noble seed. While the minute examination of the literature has for ever shattered the mechanical verbal theory of inspiration it has opened our eyes more fully to the wonderful work done by inspired teachers and to the glory of a movement which is larger than any teacher or generation of teachers and which as it unfolds before us leads us to say, "It is the Lord's doing and is marvelous in our eyes." While the earliest records are so scanty and the materials at the disposal of the historian therefore so fragmentary we still believe that threads of living purpose can be discovered running from that early time when Israel fought his way into western Palestine and attempted to establish there a settled order and abiding life. There are those who would date the beginning of what we call specifically Hebrew religion much later, in the time of David; but while we must concede that the earliest records are, in many cases, permeated by the ideas of later times, we believe that the more conservative view accepted by the great body of scholars will ultimately prevail. The fact then which we accept as standing at the beginning of the national life has in it rich promise, viz., that while the tribes in the earliest days may have had tribal gods, and religious customs which we now, in accord with the judgment of later times, brand as "superstition," the belief in Jehovah as Israel's God has in it from the first something of unifying force. In its simplest form, that is, the earliest form in which we meet it, it bound together a number of clans and tribes in a common hope and for a common effort. This

is far beyond any mere animism or polydemonism, and, though we cannot by any microscopic investigation follow with perfect clearness the psychical process by which the transformation is made we see it there and we are glad to recognize its spiritual significance. There is a suggestion of that which comes to such clearness in later times, in Deuteronomy and Deutero-Isaiah, and which we regard as one of the greatest contributions of the Old Testament to the world's highest religious thought, the belief, of immense importance though now apparently so commonplace, that history as well as nature is the sphere in which the supreme Lord Jehovah manifests his unlimited power and wise purposes. In the rough unsettled period of the "Judges" and in later days, in many critical periods and heroic hours, we can see that the sacred name and the common faith play a great part in uniting the peoples in worship and work, in suffering and battle. Still this must not blind us to the fact that the old tribalism which was so hard to shake off and which still survives in varied ecclesiastical forms was in those early days a very severe limitation of the theological outlook. The passage in I Sam. 26:19, so much quoted and discussed, in which David, speaking of his enemies says, "For they have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of Jehovah saying, Go, serve other gods," certainly suggests the close relationship of Jehovah to the soil on which his people dwell and where he is worshiped. At least David does not regard his exile as an opportunity for missionary work but rather as a personal deprivation and a danger of apostasy. He has not reached the stage which finds such rich expression in one of the noblest of the psalms, ascribed to him in later days (Ps. 139). The "Holy Land" is then a limited portion of earth and foreign gods are as real as foreign lands. The faith has not yet become pure and self-sustaining enough to venture even in vision into the great outside world.

In the meantime the struggle for existence by means of which the faith of Israel is enlarged as well as strengthened is the indispensable preparation for the larger more distant work. When David establishes his capital in Jerusalem and claims a place for Jehovah's sanctuary, when Elijah in the northern kingdom protests against the worship of the Tyrian Baal and demands perfect loyalty—these and similar things are not mere isolated political events, they

are related parts of a series of movements by which Israel was prepared to play its great part in the world. To mention all these would call for an outline of the whole history and that is not necessary for our purpose. To understand the pre-exilic situation we have to see as clearly as possible (1) the position of Israel with regard to the foreigner and stranger, and (2) the growth of great religious principles which gave rise to the consciousness of a worldwide mission.

It is due to the complexity of life that we meet here the fact, paradoxical as it may appear, that there was not as much exclusiveness in the earlier as in the later stages. True, at all stages the particularism may have been greater in theory and dogma than in actual life. The living forces of personal affection and social intercourse tend at all times to soften our national and ecclesiastical sectarianism. The separateness of the Jew even in still later times seems to have been more a matter of stiff creed and crystallized custom than of racial purity. And in the earliest days the Hebrews were not so sharply distinguished, in these respects, from their neighbors of similar race and language. They did not attempt to exterminate these neighbors but lived side by side with them and entered into varied relationships with them. One attempt to exterminate a neighbor is referred to as something that needed atonement for the sake of Jehovah's justice and the feelings of the injured party (II Sam., chap. 21). The kingdom of David was no doubt built and strengthened by the accession of friendly clans. When some centuries later a great many families were transported from Northern Israel to Assyria, these people were so much like the people among whom they were settled that their absorption was not at all a difficult matter. A still longer course of teaching and discipline was required as well as such sharp experience as the Exile, the battle for the Law under Ezra and Nehemiah and the Maccabean revolt before the exclusive Jew could be formed and made almost impervious to foreign influences. This does not mean that the Hebrews in those early days had no consciousness of separateness of national and religious life; it is simply asserted that the lines were not so sharply drawn, that the existence of other gods was recognized, that life was not so completely hedged about by the Law and hence at times there was danger of the line of demarkation becoming too thin. The customs of the

Israelites, in this respect, were those of the time in which they lived. They had friendly intercourse with their neighbors; they had also quarrels and wars. They entered into marriages and other forms of alliance with those outside their own tribe. Slaves taken in war might receive a position in the family or might even be set to serve in the temple of their god. Those who came into intimate relations with them, except in special cases, as the kings' foreign wives, etc., must come into relationship to their god not because of any missionary idea or because of a reasoned conviction of the absolute superiority of their god, but because of the antique view of the close relation between the god and the land. The sojourner is constantly recommended to the kindness of those who have power and riches; he is classed with widows, orphans, and Levites as one whose dependent position should save him from oppression. These frequent exhortations breathe a spirit of humanity. Religious privileges are open to the stranger but he is not yet involved in a meshwork of minute laws. There is not yet discoverable in the relation of Israelites to foreigners and sojourners any consciousness of a mission to evangelize the world.

It is in the attempt to purify the religion of Israel and separate it from foreign elements that there comes at the same time a sense of separateness and the beginning of universality. The prophets who sought to proclaim the ideas of morality and brotherhood as more acceptable to Jehovah than the sensuous ritual of the sanctuaries set forth principles of universal application which they applied in the first instance for the redemption of their social and national life embodying truths that were meant for mankind. When Amos in that marvelous first chapter of his book lifts the conduct of Israel and the surrounding tribes into the light of those pure moral demands which are proclaimed as being free from tribal limitations, there is the beginning of a universal morality which implies the great thought of one God whose rule is not restricted to a particular nation. Hosea's God who demands mercy rather than sacrifice, and Isaiah's sublime King whose supreme desire is for social righteousness must finally pass all sectarian barriers and claim a universal home. This we believe is the real genesis of the central missionary thought, viz., there is one God of the whole world who is also Israel's God, this

and not any world-god brought in mechanically from outside. From the practical side and from the hearts of men who are inspired by a living faith and moved with pity for the ignorance and need of their fellow-men does this great belief grow. Following out this line and searching into the deep meaning of the prophetic messages, faithful disciples will come to see first that the righteous God is supreme Lord, and finally that there can be only one supreme Lord, the creator of the world, the guide of history, the ruler of nations, the redeemer of those that put their trust in him. For long this universal truth may be bound in local limitations, but it contains within itself the pledge and promise of its own enlargement. In the Book of Deuteronomy, which represents an effort to embody these principles in persuasive preaching and appropriate precepts, these ideas may be found in forms that to us seem contradictory. "One God and one sanctuary" is a formula which to us has lost its meaning; for us the oneness of God perfectly realized means the abolition of all special sanctuaries so that the great words may be fulfilled:

Where'er they seek Thee Thou art found  
And every place is hallowed ground.

But a nation, like an individual, learns one great truth at a time, and does not all at once see the full significance of that truth. In this popular lawbook we have not only a great document which has influenced profoundly the life of the Jew through many centuries, we have also a cluster of great ideas which shall become operative in all true missionary work. We have the thought of God in history coming to clear expression, history should be studied, the memory of the nation should be exercised to keep alive the great thought of God as one who guides the life of the nation and subjects to a real moral discipline. Religion here begins to become a thing of the book and is regarded as matter for intelligent, systematic teaching. This may bring a danger of formalism but it opens the way for intellectual breadth and spiritual greatness. It opens the way also for that great theological conception, the doctrine of election, a doctrine of vast possibilities even if also capable of sad perversion. When Israel and Jehovah were coincident and coterminous that idea could not come into full play. When Israel is set by its boldest thinkers

against the background of the world's large life and Israel's God is also Lord of the world, then election expresses the special relation of this nation to the God of the world. Now, it depends upon how this idea of election is interpreted whether it is a missionary idea or not. It may be interpreted as election to privileges and prosperity of a chosen few who shall lord it over the "lesser breeds without the law," and it has been so interpreted, even in latest Christian days, showing that the loftiest truth may be turned to sectarian uses. It may beget dark bigotry and wild fanaticism. But, thank God, it may receive its true interpretation as election for service—and out of it may come a missionary movement of some form. Of one thing we may be sure, viz., that if the highest truth is reached it cannot be permanently confined behind any nation that is not its destiny and cannot be its fate. Ideas, however, have their history, and it is not simply a history of the thoughts of men but also of the facts of life. The next great fact in the history of Israel, after the struggle that produced the Book of Deuteronomy, is the fact of the Exile. Then a great question had to be faced, even this, "How can we sing Jehovah's song in a foreign land?" Israel had to face that question not only for herself but also for the world. If the song is altogether earthly and cannot be detached from the particular soil, then it cannot bear transplanting and must die; but if it passes through bereavement and silence to a larger life it may have an inspiring note that shall touch the heart of humanity and enter into the everlasting heritage of mankind. It may be that in the darkest hour the message from the past stood out in a clearer light and was prepared for future service.

## AN EXEGETICAL STUDY OF MATT. 11:25-30

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The interpretation of this great passage—in some respects the central utterance of the gospels—is beset with a host of problems, only a few of which can even be touched upon in a short article. It would be too much to say that these problems are now in process of solution; but in the case of no New Testament passage have the careful methods of modern investigation more abundantly justified themselves than in this. The verses, which seemed to stand isolated in the synoptic tradition and were therefore discarded by many critics as a Johannine interpolation, can now be related to the teaching of Jesus as a whole. They can be employed, with a degree of confidence which was formerly impossible in the consideration of vital questions affecting his inner life and his messianic claim.

Among the more notable of recent discussions of the passage are those of Harnack (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, pp. 189-216), Wellhausen (*Evangelium Matthaei, in loc.*), J. Weiss (Comm. on Matthew in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*), Loisy (*Synoptiques*), Holtzmann (*Synoptiker*), Schmiedel (*Das vierte Evangelium*, pp. 48-51), Klostermann (*Matthäus*). These distinguished scholars are frequently at variance with one another on questions of detail; but the broad results at which they arrive are remarkably similar. It is now possible to speak of a modern interpretation which represents something more than the irresponsible guesswork of one or two critics.

The passage appears at first sight to consist of three parts, thrown together in a merely casual sequence. Jesus thanks his Father that the unlearned have understood his message (vss. 25, 26); he expresses his sense of a filial relation to God (vs. 27); he invites the heavy laden to accept his yoke (vss. 28-30). The three sayings have sometimes been explained as separate logia; and some color is given to this theory by the Lukan parallel (Luke 10:21, 22) which omits



the third saying altogether. Luke, however, is evidently anxious to connect the passage with the incident of the return of the disciples. The third saying would have been quite out of place in this context, and the evangelist may have purposely omitted it, intending, perhaps, to weave it into his narrative at some later stage. There is no valid reason for breaking up the passage as it stands in Matthew, for on closer examination a real unity of thought can be traced in its three sections. Jesus thanks the Father that the simple multitude, which knows not the Law, can receive his revelation. He rejoices to think that this revelation, intelligible to all, is also the fullest and deepest. He closes with his tender invitation to the common people, bidding them throw off the yoke which they have found so grievous and learn the true will of God from the kindest of teachers.

The three divisions of the passage, therefore, are closely connected, and the connection only becomes the more apparent as we study them in detail. But it will be convenient to take them separately, while bearing in mind that they form a harmonious whole. Each of them has its own peculiar difficulties, which require to be considered by themselves.

I. The general meaning of vss. 25, 26 is sufficiently clear. Jesus recognizes, with gladness and thankfulness, that although the "wise and prudent" have rejected him, he has found a welcome among the simple-hearted. In this issue of his work he discerns the fatherly will of God. The chief difficulty in the verses is concerned with the indefinite reference to "babes" (*νήπιοι*). According to Luke's reading of the passage, the simple ones who had understood the gospel were the disciples; but this explanation is almost certainly too narrow. Jesus has spoken of the "wise and prudent"—the arrogant doctors of the Law; and the "babes" whom he contrasts with them can be no other than the unlearned multitude. This contrast, as we shall see, is explicitly set forth in vss. 28-30.

II. It is in the second section of the passage that the main problems confront us. Jesus seems to pass abruptly from the thought of men's attitude toward him, and to assert his sense of a unique dignity. All power has been committed to him, and he is conscious of a union with God in which the Father and the Son are all-sufficient to one another. This doctrinal interpretation of the verse was never ques-

tioned until recent years; but there are strong arguments for putting it aside and replacing it by one which is more in harmony with the passage as a whole, and with the uniform Synoptic teaching.

a) The reference in "all things are delivered unto me" is not to cosmical power but to religious knowledge and insight. In the previous utterance Jesus has spoken of the rabbinical teachers, whose claim to wisdom was based on their conversance with the *παράδοσις*, or religious "tradition." He emphasizes the difference between himself and them by using their technical term in a new application. His "tradition" has come to him from his Father (*παρεδόθη*). He is no transmitter of doubtful knowledge handed down from teacher to teacher, but has received his message from God himself, with whom he is in direct communion, as a Son with his Father.

b) It is more than probable that at least two important changes must be made in the existing text. Irenaeus states that in certain versions of the gospel "hath known" (*ἔγνω*) took the place of "knoweth"; and denounces this substitution as the work of heretics. But the early patristic quotations of the verse seem all to assume the past tense instead of the present. We may reasonably infer that in the original saying Jesus did not allude to a timeless knowledge, inherent in him now as from all eternity, but simply contrasted himself with previous teachers. The "tradition," even at its fountain-head, had represented an inferior revelation; and now for the first time God was truly known. Again, in ancient quotations and manuscripts alike, the first clause ("no man knoweth the Son but the Father") is frequently placed second, in a sort of awkward parenthesis. This uncertainty about its position in the verse is itself suspicious; and there are fair grounds for regarding it as an interpolation. A tendency may well have been at work, from an early time, to assimilate the verse to the Johannine type of doctrine. When "knoweth" was once substituted for "hath known," it was only natural to bring out the theological implication by the addition of the new clause.

c) The parallel verse in Luke reads "knoweth who the Father is" instead of "knoweth the Father." This Lukan phrase is less in keeping with the ordinary language of later Christian thought, and is therefore more likely to be authentic. Jesus would thus imply,

not that he had attained to knowledge of God in some mystical or theological sense, but that he understood the moral character of God. He had discerned, as no one else had done, that God was not an exacting taskmaster, jealous of his Law, but a Father, whom men could obey willingly and gladly. This knowledge had come to him in virtue of his own sonship. He was conscious that he stood to God in an altogether unique relation, which enabled him at once to understand God's will and to interpret it to others.

III. The invitation in the closing verses is addressed not, as commonly understood, to the sinful and sorrowing, but to the common people of whom Jesus has spoken above. He alludes elsewhere (Matt. 23:4) to the "burdens grievous to be borne" which the official teachers laid upon men's shoulders; and in the present passage the reference is undoubtedly the same. The people looked to their appointed leaders for a rule of living and a religious enlightenment in which they might find rest. All that they received was the "yoke" of a meaningless ritual. A routine of ordinances was imposed on them which crushed all the joy and spontaneity out of life and made any true communion with God impossible. In exchange for this "yoke," which neither their fathers nor they had been able to bear (Acts 15:10), Jesus offers them his own, i. e., the new rule of obedience which he laid on his disciples. He tells them that in three ways his "yoke" is different from that which had hitherto oppressed them: (1) They will be instructed by one who is willing to bear with them patiently and teach them. "I am meek and lowly of heart," i. e., gentle and condescending. Jesus here contrasts himself with the Pharisaic teachers who despised the common people and held them at a distance. He is himself one in heart with the humble, and they can "learn of him" without fear of a repulse. (2) They will gain from his instruction what they have been vainly seeking. Their desire has been for "rest"—rest of spirit in the certainty of God's love and providence. This will be given them only when they have learned "who the Father is." (3) They will find the new "yoke" easy to be borne. It does not consist in burdensome ordinances and restrictions, but in willing obedience to the Father, whom it is a joy to serve.

These closing verses of the passage present a series of striking coincidences with the prayer which concludes the book of Ecclesi-

asticus (cf. esp. *Ecclus.* 51:23-27). From this it has been inferred by some scholars that words not literally spoken by Jesus have been attributed to him by the piety of the early church. But the coincidences, when carefully examined, appear to be little more than verbal. Their existence may be purely a matter of accident; or, if this is regarded as doubtful, we may fairly assume that Jesus was himself acquainted with *Ecclesiasticus* and that certain of its phrases came back to him, perhaps unconsciously. In any case there is no valid reason for calling in question the full authenticity of the saying. Not only does it bear the unmistakable impress of a word of Jesus, but it forms an integral part of the whole passage in which it stands. The very difficulties that beset the passage are evidence that it comes down from the primitive tradition, and enshrines one of the most certain as well as one of the most precious of the sayings of our Lord.

## PROFESSOR WILLIAM ARNOLD STEVENS

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William Arnold Stevens was born in Granville, Ohio, February 5, 1839. His father, John Stevens, of New England birth and education, a graduate of Middlebury College in 1821, emigrated in 1831 to what was then the far west of Ohio. His mother also was of New England birth, Mary Arnold of Charlestown, Mass. Serving from 1831 to 1838 as the editor of a religious paper in Cincinnati, John Stevens became in 1838 vice-president and professor of intellectual and moral philosophy in Granville College, now Denison University. When William was four years old his father returned to Cincinnati, entering again upon editorial work. Cincinnati in those days was an important center of the influences which were shaping the history of the Middle West, and the atmosphere of the Stevens home was calculated to develop in the mind of the children an interest in the making of history. An experience of five years in an extensive wholesale house in Cincinnati developed in William systematic business habits which characterized him throughout life. He graduated from Denison University in 1862 and spent the year 1862-63 as a student in Rochester Theological Seminary. Returning to his alma mater he filled the position of classical tutor from 1863 to 1865. During the years immediately following his college course he spent two summers on the battlefields of the South in the service of the Christian Commission. The three years from 1865 to 1868 were occupied in study at Harvard University and in Germany at Leipzig and Berlin. From 1868 to 1877 he was professor of the Greek language in Denison University, serving also during a portion of this period as acting president of the college. In 1877 he became Trevor professor of New Testament interpretation in the Rochester Theological Seminary. In 1881-82, accompanied by Mrs. Stevens, he made a journey to Palestine and Egypt. For this journey he had made previous careful preparation in the way of reading, and the

influence of it was manifest in all his subsequent work as a teacher of the Bible. He continued to fill the professorship at Rochester to the end of his life. He died at Rochester after a brief illness January 2, 1910.

In 1876 while professor at Granville he published an edition of selected *Orations of Lysias*. In 1887 he issued a *Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians*. Though the requirement of the series in which this work was published made it necessary that it should appear as a commentary on the English text, it embodied the results of scholarly study of the original Greek. In 1892 he joined with the author of this article in the publication of an *Outline Handbook of the Life of Christ* and of a *Harmony of the Gospels in English*. He received the Degree of D.D. from Denison University and of LL.D. from the University of Rochester.

Professor Stevens' father was a tall man of large frame, and in his later years, with his abundant white hair and beetling eyebrows and somewhat stern manners, was well calculated to inspire his students with something akin to awe. The son, however, inherited the physiognomy of his mother rather than of his father. Not tall, of slender figure, of quiet, gentle manners, he won the respect and affection of his pupils by the sterling qualities of mind and heart. Never of great physical vigor he accomplished the tasks which he set for himself and which his position demanded, by discreet economy of his strength and patient persistence in daily work.

This is distinctly the record of the life of a scholar and teacher. Yet to none of those who enjoyed the privilege of intimate association with Professor Stevens was he simply these. Colleagues, friends, and students admired and loved him for his qualities as man and Christian. He was never a recluse, concerned only for what was written in books, and lost in things that could be recorded in class records and examination reports, but a man of broad human sympathies and broad outlook on the world. Well equipped in the field of his own special studies, he was also well read in philosophy, history, and poetry, and had a fair acquaintance with modern science. To him scholarship served the ends of life, and he took a deep and active interest in the progress of Christianity throughout the world.

Of the qualities that made him a scholar, and at the same time

endeared him to his friends, none was more fundamental than his genuineness and sincerity. This quality expressed itself in his personal relations. Always friendly, he could also, when occasion required, speak honest words of disapproval, far more to be prized than flattery, of which he was never guilty. This quality of sincerity disclosed itself in his prayers. Those who listened to his words in the Seminary chapel, or in his classroom would doubtless all unite in saying that they never heard from his lips an "eloquent" prayer, or one that did not evidently express a real and immediately present thought. He believed in prayer as a veritable communion with the living God, and with reverence but with frankness spoke to God the thought and wish of his heart.

The quality of sincerity was eminently characteristic also of his scholarship. To him truth was a sacred thing to be sought for earnestly and dealt with honestly. He believed, as he often, said that ideas ruled the world, and he looked upon thinking as the most serious and responsible business that one can engage in, being nothing less than the effort to find the realities upon which men can safely build their lives and society its institutions.

Some things were indeed settled for him beyond dispute. He was by definite intention and in reality a progressive thinker. But it was his ideal to make progress not by a perpetual revision of former opinions and convictions, but on a firm foundation laid once for all to go on building story after story of the structure of his thought. These foundation-ideas and convictions, fixed in his earlier years, he often referred to in the latter half of his life as the postulates of his thinking; in the interest of steady progress he sought to avoid, if possible, the reconstruction of these. Among these primary convictions were the reality and personality of God; the distinction between the natural and the supernatural and the reality of the latter, especially as an element in the life of Jesus Christ; revelation as a fact of human experience in which God is the active power; Christianity as a historical religion based primarily not on ideas but on historic facts; the Christian church as a divinely ordained agency for the achievement of the will of God in the world. But these were only foundation stones, or, to change the figure, the first stages of the road which Christian scholarship had to travel. In the region

that lay beyond them, there were numberless problems of lexicography, of grammar, of interpretation, of history, and of theology, that called for investigation. In this region Professor Stevens exemplified with singular fidelity the open-mindedness of the investigative scholar. In 1905 he said to one of his students of later years, "It has been my first object to find the truth, not to harmonize it. The chief satisfaction of my intellectual life now is that having earlier followed the truth when lines seemed to diverge, I now find these lines converging." He expressly approved the method of biblical study commonly called scientific, even when he dissented from the results which some representatives of it reached by means of it.

Many of his students have testified in after years to the powerful and permanent influence that he exerted upon them, precisely by this quality of his mind as it reflected itself in his teaching. It was this indeed that, joined to the beautiful character of the man himself, gave him his power as a teacher. Meeting Rochester men in all parts of the world, I have been struck with the testimony which they have repeatedly, I might almost say uniformly, borne to the great and permanent influence that Professor Stevens exerted on their lives. And almost always they have spoken of just this quality in him as being that which influenced them, viz., the downright honesty and sincerity of his thinking; and more than one of them has said that this was the greatest thing he found at Rochester.

My relationship to Professor Stevens I count among the best things in my life. It would be unfair to him to hold him responsible for all the opinions I hold today. For among the many kindnesses he showed me I count none greater than the fact that he often told me with frank kindness that he thought the opinions and convictions that I felt obliged to hold were wrong, and sometimes that the decisions I felt obliged to make were unwise. But of all my teachers none has had so constant or on the whole so powerful an influence over me as he, and for none had I higher respect or deeper affection. Doubtless Professor Stevens had the experience of many another teacher: some of his pupils, even of those who most clearly recognized their debt to him, applied the method they gained from him in regions other than those in which he had taught them to use it, and rode, perhaps roughshod, over some of those convictions which to him were sacred boundaries



of thought. But none held him in higher respect and affection than these who through the influence of his teaching departed somewhat from it. Even he himself did not wholly escape the reflex action of his own scientific method, but in the latest years of his life re-examined the grounds of what he had for many years regarded as unchangeable elements of his thinking, not perhaps with the result of seriously modifying them, but of increasing that kindly tolerance which he had always maintained toward those who in the honest pursuance of the task of investigation had reached different results from his own.

A second quality of Professor Stevens' mind was his conscientious exactness. This sprang naturally from his sense of the value of truth. It was not enough for him to attain approximately accurate results. He wished to know the exact facts, whether in history, in grammar, in lexicography, or exegesis. If he was ever impatient it was with slovenly and inexact work.

It is perhaps but restating in another form what is already implied to add, as a third element that characterized him as scholar and teacher, that of reverence. He had a strong sense of the connection of the present with the past, and an immovable conviction that God is in that great historic movement of which our present is simply the most recent product and expression. This he held in a very special sense in respect to the Christian religion. To him this was not simply one of the great experiments of the human race in the attempt to relate itself to the Unseen Power. It was, as already implied, a revelation proceeding from God; and faith in Jesus Christ was something more and deeper than the philosophical conviction that there is meaning in the world and that that meaning is good.

Holding to this conception of Christianity and having always a broad outlook on human life, itself the product in part of his historic studies, he was deeply interested not only in the study of the Scriptures of this divinely revealed religion, but in its spread throughout the world. In spirit he was always a Christian missionary. Compelled himself to stay closely by his books and his classroom, he took an active interest in the pastoral and missionary work of those who had been his students, and in the progress of Christianity in all lands. He served for many years as the chairman of the

Board of Managers of the Foreign Missionary Society of his denomination.

Limited all his life by the limitations of his physical strength, less prolific as an author and less conspicuous outside his classroom than his abilities in other than physical respects fitted him to be, he yet admirably and beautifully combined the scholar of the study, the teacher in the classroom, the friend of his colleagues and pupils, the broad-visioned student both of the past and the present. He chose—who shall say unwisely?—to put his energy mainly into the tasks of the scholar and into the lives of his pupils, and many of these will always account his life and teaching as chief among the beneficial and formative influences of their lives.

## JESUS' GALILEAN MINISTRY: THE PERIOD OF POPULARITY<sup>1</sup>

REV. JOHN C. GRANBERY, PH.D.  
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One's view of the synoptic problem must play a large part in determining his historical judgments in the life of Jesus. A theory of literary relationships gives the student a starting-point for his historical reconstruction of that life. The now practically assured result of many arduous years of literary criticism, that Matthew used Mark's Gospel in Greek, is itself big with consequences. Zahn differs from most modern scholars, in that he holds that Mark used Matthew's Gospel, but in this conclusion he now stands practically alone.

The comparison of Matthew with Mark and with Luke,<sup>2</sup> from this point of view, enables us historically to estimate Matthew's account of the Galilean ministry of Jesus in the period of popularity. We observe that Matthew has in general followed Mark's order, but that he has often preferred a topical arrangement to that which was in his source, and some deviations which are at first sight quite confusing, upon closer inspection become more intelligible. It is evident that in considerable portions Matthew has but re-edited the Gospel of Mark. Aside from the short accounts of three miracles given in 9:27-33 and 12:22, which offer peculiar difficulties, Matthew has added to Mark's account but one miracle, the healing of the centurion's servant, recorded also by Luke. Changes both in order and in fact appear to be mainly for literary and theological reasons. Such appear to be the duplications in the case of the demoniacs and of the blind men. Unless it be in some minor instances, as the substitution of Matthew for Levi in the list of the apostles, the

<sup>1</sup> This study covers the International Uniform Sunday-School Lessons for April 3, 10, 17, 24, and May 1.

<sup>2</sup> Allen, *International Critical Commentary* (on St. Matthew), has worked all this out with great detail.

writer of the First Gospel does not correct Mark's narrative from more authentic sources, so far as we can judge.

In one instance, however, Matthew may be historically right in his rearrangement of Markan material. We have seen that Mark begins to introduce the hostility of the scribes and Pharisees to Jesus as early as the second chapter, but that Matthew defers this feature. While Mark as compared with Matthew is chronological rather than topical, yet in Mark also there is evidence of topical grouping. It is likely that at first Jesus did not attract great attention from the scribes and Pharisees and they did not therefore seriously interfere with his work. Upon just such points as this the historian must pass judgment.

But it is also evident that Matthew frequently draws upon sources other than Mark. We cannot be sure that the discourses introduced by Matthew were spoken on the occasions specified. Luke often gives them in a different connection. In some instances Matthew appears to have built up longer discourses around brief ones given in Mark; such, for example, is the charge to the Twelve (Mark 6:7-13; Matt. 10:5-42). The appearance of many of these sayings in Luke suggests that Matthew compiled detached sayings into larger discourses, though it is possible that these discourses were in his sources. The presence of a passage also in Luke, its apparent originality, and its seeming freedom from later influences, often assure us of its antiquity and of its authenticity as a saying of Jesus. But beyond a certain point it is in some instances impossible to press. For example, in Matt. 11:27 there is a remarkable antithesis: the Son, the Father. It is found only here in this Gospel. Its occurrence in Luke carries it back to an earlier stage in the gospel tradition. The same usage occurs in Mark 13:32. When the historian attempts to push back farther, he finds the way uncertain.<sup>3</sup>

The cause of Jesus' popularity in Galilee is not difficult to discover. Matthew has suggested a helpful contrast between the content of his preaching in the earlier period and later. The early Galilean ministry was to the common people. It is introduced by Matthew in these words: "From that time began Jesus to preach and to say: Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (4:17). But later both the

<sup>3</sup> See article by E. F. Scott, pp. 186-90.

content of his preaching and his auditors changed, as is indicated in the following: "From that time began Jesus to show his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer much from the elders and chief priests and scribes and be killed and be raised on the third day" (16:21). In reporting that Jesus began his ministry by the preaching of the kingdom Matthew is following Mark. He characteristically abbreviates Mark's fuller statement. According to Mark the message of Jesus was this: "The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent and believe in the good news" (1:15).

To one acquainted with the Jewish literature of that day the meaning of these terms is unmistakable. It is the familiar language of apocalyptic. The proclamation was a startling one and constituted the man making it a revolutionist. It allied him with the radical elements and tendencies of the day. The time is fulfilled. A new epoch in history is about to be inaugurated. The end of the present age has come and the new age is about to begin. Behold, God is coming to his people, and this means vengeance for the wicked, sifting for Israel, and deliverance for the righteous. "The fulness of the time!" (Gal. 4:4). God has allotted out the ages; the measure of the present age is now full, and the messianic age is about to begin. The man who made this proclamation was in line with the older prophets, who announced the near advent of the day of Yahweh—a dreadful day of revolution, physical convulsion and upheaval, of judgment upon the sinful many and deliverance for the righteous few. Surely repentance was advisable in view of the approach of the messianic period.

We may bring ourselves to a faint realization of what such a proclamation must have meant by supposing that in some community untouched by the modern view of the world a preacher today should boldly and confidently announce that in view of the rumors of wars that now disturb the international situation, in view of the terrible earthquakes at San Francisco and Messina, and more especially in view of Halley's comet now appearing, the end of the world is at hand. On the social side a better analogy is the social revolution of modern radicals. A fundamental difference is that with the older prophets, to a less but considerable extent with the apocalyptists, with John the Baptist, with Jesus, and with his immediate followers, the interest

and emphasis were more on moral conditions and results than on economic prosperity. Another difference is that with them the kingdom was to come not by social evolution or revolution but by the direct intervention of God.

Just what the kingdom meant depended upon the persons who thought of it. Many and diverse hopes and fears clustered about these messianic terms. It seems that the masses of the people were intent upon the expulsion of the Roman power and consequent freedom from despotism and tax extortion. The legalist desired "righteousness," or perfect obedience to the law. In general we may say that the coming of the kingdom involved the restoration of Israel to national independence and power as under David, social prosperity and justice, an end to the suffering of the righteous, knowledge of God and the doing of his will. Spiritual people naturally dwelt more upon the spiritual blessings.

And Jesus had his own conception of the kingdom. Scholars are not agreed as to what that was, but certain features stand out markedly in the period we are studying. We know that he rejected the political feature of the popular hope. He refused to lend his influence to the party of the Zealots. From all symbols of hatred he turned away: the sword, violence, bloodshed. For him love was the power that held society together, and love must save it. By teaching the truth and by self-sacrifice, in trust and dependence on the Father, he would win the victory, or not at all. And yet we need not overlook the fact that he was crucified partly because the Sadducees and Pilate thought that they discerned in him danger of political disturbance. He is reported to have called Herod, his ruler, "that fox" (Luke 13:32).

In the second place, Jesus' conception of the kingdom is in marked contrast with that of John the Baptist. Matthew has taken this message ascribed to Jesus in Mark 1:15 and attributed it to the Baptist: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (3:2), where Mark has: "Preaching a baptism of repentance unto forgiveness of sins" (1:4). But Matthew has with good reason made an important omission: it is the feature of the Lord's preaching which constituted it good news, and which was wanting in the message of the Baptist. According to Matthew's account John warned the people of the coming wrath, the flames of judgment, called the professional religionists

who came to him an offspring of vipers, told the people that only repentance could save them in the coming judgment, that the Messiah was already at hand, would lay the axe at the root of the tree and with his fan thoroughly cleanse his threshing-floor, gathering the wheat into the garner but winnowing out the chaff to burn it with unquenchable fire. John came to his martyrdom because, according to our gospels, he denounced the immorality of his ruler, Herod Antipas, or, according to Josephus, because Herod feared a revolutionary rising on account of John's influence over the people. Now Jesus was called forth from the seclusion of Nazareth by the Baptist's movement, and he cordially placed himself in line with it. He championed the cause of John the Baptist and paid him a high tribute. But that did not blind him to the difference between his own message and mission and the work of John. When from the castle of Machaerus, where John was given liberty of communication with his disciples, he sent to Jesus for an explanation of the divergence between his own and the popular messianic expectation on the one hand, and on the other the character of Jesus' work, our Lord appreciated the strain that was being put upon both the faith of John and that of his own disciples. The difference between himself and John extended even to their personal habits and manner of life, as Jesus publicly recognized: John was an ascetic, while Jesus was affable, genial, and sociable.

In the third place, the kingdom was for Jesus human and universal instead of national. We do not forget that our gospels arose on the Gentile field, when the church was conscious of her missionary responsibilities, and accordingly we shall be on our guard against ascribing to Jesus all of the marks of the larger outlook. His mission was to his own people. But the kernel of his message and work is universal. His teaching concerning God the heavenly Father, concerning man and sin, concerning heart-purity and love and service, parables like those of the Prodigal Son and of the Good Samaritan, are universal in scope. On strictly critical grounds we refrain from ascribing to Jesus certain sayings looking in another direction, recorded in Matthew's Gospel. And finally, while it seems best to regard the kingdom as essentially future, in the thought of Jesus, it would appear, the beginnings were already present (Matt. 12:28; Luke 17:21).

Mark 1:15 probably gives a general summary of Jesus' message instead of the specific terms in which it was delivered, but it is certain that his message revolved more or less about the kingdom of God. We have seen how the news that the kingdom was at hand must have powerfully stirred the emotions and imaginations of the people. What it meant to the common people is suggested by the beautiful messianic hymns found in the first and second chapters of Luke.

He showed strength with his arm;  
 He scattered the proud in the thought of their heart;  
 He put down princes from thrones and exalted the lowly;  
 The hungry he filled with good things,  
 And the rich he sent away empty (Luke 1:51-53).

The words of Jesus fell as sweet music upon the ears of the people. It was as though the psalmist had again taken up his harp.

Blessed are you poor, For yours is the kingdom of God.  
 Blessed are you that hunger now, For you shall be filled.  
 Blessed are you that weep now, For you shall laugh (Luke 6:20, 21).

These terms, with both their economic and religious significance, breathe the very atmosphere of the Psalms; we are carried back to the time when the poor and needy were oppressed by the rich and powerful, and when accordingly the poor people were identified in thought with the pious of the land. Downtrodden by the haughty and ungodly, they felt the need of God's help and were the special objects of his favor. While Luke has probably preserved the form of our Lord's words, Matthew has more accurately represented the Semitic idiom.

Despised by the Pharisees, the unlearned common people rejoiced to hear that so great blessings were theirs, that technical learning was not essential, but open-mindedness and childlikeness were. The blessings of the kingdom were for the gentle and teachable, and not for the violent, dogmatic, self-asserting people. Hence the rigid, orthodox Jews failed to appreciate and bitterly resented his teaching, and Mark's suggestion that very early he attracted their suspicion and enmity is not altogether unlikely. That he made upon his disciples stern ethical demands would not at first militate against his popularity with the masses; in its first stages the people like that sort of thing, and worship a brave man and a hero. In him they saw with admiring



delight one whose inward sense of dignity and authority made him superior to their scribes and to ancient prophet and lawgiver.

But it was not only the music of the Psalms that was heard; there were also heard those majestic strains that sound and resound through the second portion of the Book of Isaiah, so grandly interpreted in modern times by Handel:

Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.  
Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem,  
And cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished,  
That her iniquity is pardoned,  
That she hath received of Jehovah's hand double for all  
her sins (Isa. 40:1, 2).

Jesus brought redemption to the people. That he wrought cures there can be no doubt. When the people were groaning beneath the heavy burdens laid upon them by their religious teachers, he summoned them to him for rest. He called them to a life of sincerity, ethical freedom, and trust in God. He set forth his own conception of his mission in the language of Isa. 61:1, 2, and replied to the question of the Baptist in the words of Isa. 35:5, 6. To the poor good news was preached, and it seemed to them that the acceptable year of the Lord had come.

## Book Reviews

**Authority in Religion.** By REV. J. H. LECKIE. Edinburgh: Clark, 1909. Pp. x+238. \$2.00.

The subject of this book is timely. The author has read widely and thought to good purpose. His views are in the main moderate and reasonable and the reading of his book ought to contribute to clearness of thought upon the part of many who are now in perplexity.

The general positions of the book may be summed up briefly as follows: Authority is "a power not self-produced which rules belief or conduct." Authority is real. Liberty is real. Our problem is not to get rid of either but to adjust these two facts to one another. Authority is a relative term. It does not carry with it the idea of infallibility. It demands respect and consideration, not necessarily and always obedience. Distinction must be made between the source and the organ of authority. The only source is God. The ultimate organ is the soul in communion with God—the soul to whom God reveals the truth. Every human soul is then potentially a medium of revelation and an organ of authority. But not all souls are equally such. The method of God is aristocratic. To the few great souls he reveals himself with special clearness and fulness, and these then become authorities, i. e., organs of authority, to the multitude. But the community of the devout, each member of which is in his lesser measure an organ of authority, is as a community an important rival or corroborator of the prophet in the sphere of authority. And to that end the individual himself, in his measure an authority and endowed with liberty, stands over against these other greater authorities, bound to give heed to their voice, but bound also to be true to the voice of authority speaking in his own soul. For who can say that he too is not a prophet? The sinlessness of Jesus added to his own consciousness of authority gives to him a unique position. He is, though not in every sense yet in a true sense, an absolute authority. The church, though often wrong, is yet for the individual only less authoritative than the Christ. This authority pertains primarily indeed rather to the facts of religious experience than to the dogmas which have been formulated as interpretations of these facts. Yet in respect to the great dogmas of the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, the Reconciliation through Christ, the Remission of Sins, and the Resurrection from the

dead, it is impossible that they should have survived the stress and strain of all the generations, had they not been peculiarly fitted to express and defend the substance of faith.

There are some notable features in this treatment of the subject. Miracles are never mentioned in the book. The whole argument for religious authority based on deeds of power is simply ignored. Have we indeed entered the new era in this respect? The relativity of authority is expressly and admirably set forth. These two facts signify more than possibly even the author himself recognizes. With the surrender of the notion that authority is attested by a deed in itself having no relation to the message but only authenticating the messenger, and with the recognition of the distinction between authority and infallibility, the soul of the individual becomes the final arbiter for its own beliefs and conduct; in duty bound indeed to give earnest heed to the voice of prophet and of church, but not less to keep for itself the seat of the judge, and to recognize the similar right and duty of every soul. The whole discussion is notable too for its judicial recognition of both sides of the case and its preference for a reasonable middle ground rather than either extreme.

Nevertheless the book has its limitations. To confine the discussion to authority in religion, leaving on one side the authority of the state, society, and the home in matters non-religious, was quite within the author's right. He was likewise within his right in addressing his discussion to the theist only; but he thereby materially diminished the value of the book, for to many a sober and religious-minded man the most serious problem in the realm of authority is just this: Is there a self-revealing God whose will I may know and so come under its authority? And when the author defends this limitation by the statement, "We take for granted the belief in God, for without that belief the question of religious authority does not emerge," he falls into a palpable fallacy. Is not the existence of a thing a part of the question concerning it?

But the author imposes upon his discussion another limitation which he does not mention and is perhaps not aware of. Though citing Mohammed and Buddha among the prophets, real bearers of revelation, his discussion as a whole bounds itself by the horizon of the Hebrew and Christian revelation. Admitting the Pauline contention that God is one, he yet, like Paul himself, falls short of making a thoroughgoing application of it. His defense of the authority of the church we can but believe would not have been carried to the length to which he carries it if he had kept in mind what he in fact recognizes, that God has been as really present, even if not as fully apprehended, among other nations both ancient and

modern as in those who have been the recipients of the Hebrew and Christian revelation.

Moreover, even the very idea of authority itself despite seeming care and exactness in definition is left somewhat hazy. "Authority," the author says, "is a power not self-produced, which rules belief or conduct" (p. 2). This definition, he claims, applies to all kinds of authority, whether of the state, the church, the book, or mystical experience, adding, that "it is ever the confession of the saints that they do not find the truth, but the truth them." Later (pp. 98, 99) he says "Religious authority is found wherever conviction arises in the soul such as to carry with it the assurance that it is of God. This conviction may be created in three ways: (1) by direct revelation to the individual conscience in which it is found, (2) or by a message conveyed to that conscience through a specially endowed soul, and recognized by it as true, (3) or by a deliverance of the common religious consciousness, verified in the individual experience," and adds, that "there is no real test of truth except experience." Again he says (p. 135), "By the authority of the church is meant (in harmony with the whole principle of this essay) not its executive power or its right to coerce the conscience, but the constraining weight of its religious witness." These later statements apparently qualify and interpret the original definition. By "rules" the author apparently means "has the right to rule." He evidently does not mean to ascribe authority to that which actually though wrongfully controls, or to deny it to that which though having the right to control is resisted. But furthermore "rule" must, in view of his definition of the authority of the church, mean not "control," but "demand consideration." Even the expression "not self-originated" must, in consistency with the author's later statements, be interpreted as not applying to the conviction or command to which the individual yields, for this must not only be tested by individual experience, but may originate in such experience. What the phrase really expresses is the author's conviction that back of every authoritative conviction or command there lies a personality other than that of him to whom it is authoritative. Does he mean this in the experimental sense? Must the scientist recognize an authority other than that of its truth before a proposition becomes authoritative? Must the community in a democracy recognize in its own law the voice of God in order to recognize its authority? Has conscience no authority except for the conscious theist? Who vouches for the theistic judgment itself? There seems to be some lack of clear thinking here. There is a similar lack in respect to the important distinction between conduct and belief as related to authority. The parent has the right to control the conduct of

his child; has he the same right in respect to his belief? How is it with the state and the church? This distinction recognized in the definition is thereafter scarcely referred to. In consequence the argument suffers in clearness and cogency, tending on the one hand to a possible underestimate of authority in respect to conduct and on the other to an overestimate in respect to belief.

Despite these defects of the book it is a valuable contribution to the subject and in the main calculated to influence thinking in the right direction.

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**The Gospel of Reconciliation or At-one-ment.** By W. C. WALKER. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. vi+245 pages. \$2.00.

Through his recent book, *The Gospel of Reconciliation, or At-one-ment*, Rev. W. C. Walker of Glasgow has laid the Christian world under renewed obligation.

To those familiar with his earlier books: *The Spirit and the Incarnation*, and *The Cross and the Kingdom*, the title of the new work will give rise to the question as to what it contains that is new. A close reading of the other books will disclose that much that is in the new book is in the others, at least in germ. Wherein then lies the justification for the new book?

It is not merely an expansion of germinal ideas found in the other books. Mr. Walker feels that "the present outlook in a large portion of Christendom is 'most ominous'" and doubts if the churches are faithful to Christ and "His Gospel of God." Modern evangelism, he feels, is in danger of falling into legalism, and of veiling the free, universal, unconditional forth-going of divine grace by preaching conditions of acceptance with God utterly foreign to his uncorrupted gospel. He therefore tasks himself to bring the Gospel of Reconciliation to its proper place in the mind of the church.

What is the Gospel of Reconciliation? It is not merely that God forgives all who in contrition seek to leave their sin and amend their lives. The prophetism of the Old Testament proclaimed this. The Gospel of Reconciliation in Christ came as a new, freshly creative, personal force into the world. It is the simple message of the holy God and father who cannot wait until his wandering children return, but who in the urgent necessity of holy love must go forth to cause their return and bring them into at-one-ment with himself. The whole experience of Christ represents

not a movement of man toward God but a coercive movement of God toward man. The Gospel of Reconciliation is the universal, "rich, free, unconditional gospel of God's love." It is the message of God's love in action, operating for the redemption of all mankind. "The divine forgiveness goes forth to men, not because of the Cross; on the contrary, the Cross came to Christ because God was forgiving men. Instead of forgiveness being grounded on the Cross, the Cross is grounded on the forgiving love of God."

This is the kernel of the book, the essential, abiding, evangelical doctrine of reconciliation, the unrestricted preaching of which the author believes would save the world. But what about Christ's death? Christ met his death in the fulfilment of his vocation as the representative of humanity and in utter obedience to God's will in a world dominated by self-love. All ideas, therefore, of "expiation" and "atonement to God" as well as of arbitrary and externally inflicted penalty are foreign to the discussion. The death of Christ has a "judicial" as well as an ethical aspect. Indeed the latter is grounded on the former and the two grade into one. But all that came to Christ in the way of suffering came to him as the representative of humanity in the sequence of the divine moral order, and what he suffered was the desert of human sin which is self-punitive in its working. The Gospel of Reconciliation comes through the Cross, but the Cross does not add to the teaching and testimony of Jesus. It is the final witness of God's righteousness and God's love, and the paramount means by which the forgiving God comes to men in reconciling love, for God was immanent in Christ. The Cross manifests the self-destructive nature of self-love, exhibits the completeness of God's opposition to sin, and visualizes the unceasing urgency of God's love. All this is instructively and illuminatingly brought out in chapters headed: "Christ Made Sin for Us," "How Christ Bore Our Sins," "Christ and the Race: the Head of Humanity," and in the general consideration of Paul's doctrine which is shown to be substantially concordant with the teachings and life-work of Jesus.

Only one chapter is devoted to the social aspect of the gospel, and this we feel to be less convincing than it might be. The gospel is designed to perfect the social organism and many of its social bearings are described but what is said seems to be in the air for lack of any definite and clear recognition of the radically social nature of the individual. The hope of collective redemption is made to depend upon the redemption of the individual, but no adequate emphasis is laid in the book upon his essential social nature as the key to social salvation. The kingdom of God is based on the idea of society which you cannot have apart from beings whose

ground nature is social, a fact which both Plato and Aristotle recognized, and which is made emphatic throughout the sacramental and dynamic unity and uniformity of divine revelation. If the cry for a social gospel is to be satisfied it must be shown that the gospel fits into the folds of our essentially social nature and is qualified to bring us to our richest promise and fullest expression of power as members of the social organism. That this is true the concentration of Christ's earthly ministry makes manifest. Mr. Walker has this in mind throughout the book, and it pervades this particular chapter, but it nowhere ascends to that distinctness required to satisfy the call of our modern specialized social sense for a social gospel.



CHICAGO

J. J. MARTIN

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**Ezra Studies.** By CHARLES C. TORREY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910. xv+346 pages. \$1.50.

The nine chapters of this book are devoted to the consideration of the following topics: I, "Portions of First Esdras and Nehemiah in the Syro-Hexaplar Version"; II, "The Nature and Origin of First Esdras"; III, "The Story of the Three Youths"; IV, "The Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah"; V, "The First Chapter of Ezra in Its Original Form and Setting"; VI, "The Aramaic Portions of Ezra"; VII, "The Chronicler as Editor and as Independent Narrator"; VIII, "The Ezra Story in Its Original Sequence"; IX, "The Exile and the Restoration."

The book is one which makes its appeal to scholars. It is distinctly above the range of the average man. Professor Torrey has the rare capacity of detaching himself wholly from preconceived and prevalent views with reference to a piece of literature and so formulating his own view with entire independence. The positions assumed in this book are not wholly new, since they were in large part expressed by Professor Torrey in his earlier work, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* (1896). This earlier work has not received the attention that its author thinks it deserves; hence he has returned to the consideration of the subject in the present volume and has sought to make his propositions so compelling that scholars must give heed to them, even if they do not accept them. It is perfectly safe to say that in this purpose he has succeeded. No scholar hereafter can do any creditable work upon Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah without taking full account of the labors of Professor Torrey.

It is not likely that some of the positions here taken will find many

defenders, at least for the present. On the other hand, all scholars will be grateful to the author for some contributions made in this volume. For example, he has here for the first time published the Syro-Hexaplar text of a series of extracts from Nehemiah, viz., 1:1-4a, 2:1-8; 4:1-3, 10:16; 6:15-16; 7:73b-8:18; 9:1-3.<sup>1</sup>

To the present reviewer it also seems certain that Professor Torrey's original order of the materials in the first and second chapters of Ezra is correct, namely, Ezra 1:11+1 Esdras 4:47-56+1 Esdras 4:62-5:6+ Ezra 2:1 ff., Ezra 4:43-47a and vss. 57-61 being interpolations. Still further, Professor Torrey is certainly in the right in following those scholars who maintain that Theodotion was the author of the translation of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah now incorporated in the Septuagint. He has furnished much new material in support of this position.

When, however, the author proceeds to discount the historical character of the whole of Ezra and a large part of Nehemiah we must hesitate. From Professor Torrey's point of view the Chronicler becomes the writer of a historical novel with a religious purpose. The emphasis here is on the words "novel" and "religious" and not at all on the adjective "historical." The Chronicler is blessed with a rich and fertile imagination, according to Professor Torrey, and he does not hesitate to use it at every opportunity. He has accordingly fabricated large sections of material including, for example, all the Aramaic documents, for the purpose of making good his point of view. Scholars have, of course, long recognized the imaginative character of much of the Chronicler's work; but they have regarded it for the most part as confined to the exaggeration of given facts and conditions and have not credited him with either the will or the power to create his facts *ex nihilo*.

The defenders of the essential historicity of the Chronicler's narrative will find that Professor Torrey's work will necessitate a thorough reconsideration of many important questions which can no longer be ignored. From that point of view, whatever may be the outcome as to the particular questions raised by this volume, it is certain that in general a truer understanding of the character of the Chronicler's work must inevitably result.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to observe that John Gwynn in his *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible* (1909) publishes the same text with the mistaken idea that his is the first publication. As a matter of fact, Torrey's edition of the text was published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* as far back as October, 1906. The first, second, third, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters of the present book are all reprints from that *Journal*, while chap. iv was published in the second volume of the *Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (1908). The last chapter is the only one that appears for the first time in this volume.



A detailed consideration of the problems under discussion in this work is out of the question in a popular journal like the *Biblical World*, but all who are interested in this kind of problem may rest assured that they will be amply rewarded for their time, trouble, and expense should they purchase and read this book.

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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**Sixty Years with the Bible.** By WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE.  
New York: Scribner, 1909. 259 pages. \$1.25.

The title of the book at once arrests attention. Sixty years is a long working lifetime, and rapid change, compelling serious transitions in thought and activity, has been the programme for the last six decades. In the beginning of the period Darwin, Ritschl, and Kuenen had not commenced their revolutionary work. The natural sciences were scarcely born. The reign of external authority was in theology all but unquestioned. At the end of the period, the fact of evolution is paramount. Everywhere archaeology has been the handmaid of biblical criticism, and old systems and time-honored interpretations are sadly out of countenance. The biological and psychological laboratories are peering into new worlds. They have provided much food for reflection, and are slowly compelling theology to adopt at least a new vocabulary. And these sixty years with their dower of growth and pain, have all converged on the Bible. How has the book of our fathers met the enlarging horizon, the keener scrutiny, and the more imperious demands? Our ears are open to anyone who undertakes to tell us the story out of his personal experience. But Professor Clarke, apart from his subject, has a claim upon us. The charm of his pen, the candor of his mind, not more than the deep reverence with which he always approaches his task, have a large place in many hearts.

The book is what its title suggests. It is the story of the intellectual and spiritual history of the author, as related to the Bible. It is a story of change. In his own winning way he leads us through the decades with utmost frankness. Brought up in the home of a pastor, the Bible was in constant and loving use. But even at the family fireside, the principle of selection was wisely in operation. Chronological and difficult passages were omitted in family worship. As a boy the pastor's son had to face, from his schoolmates, questions concerning the accuracy of the Bible, to which the commentaries gave no answer.

In his theological course he gave himself unstintedly to Bible study.

He became familiar with the value of textual criticism and largely mastered the currents of thought, especially in the New Testament books. In his first pastorate, contact with literalists, the back-wash of the Millerite movement, and a study in Spencer were potent factors in leading him to recognize that the Bible was a genuinely historical book and must be so interpreted.

In the 70's a pastorate in the proximity of a theological seminary, the delightful companionship of alert biblical scholarship, and more elaborate study of the Scriptures than heretofore matured conceptions which had long been germinal in his mind. If mutually exclusive doctrines could be equally well defended from the Scripture, then it could not be an infallible book throughout. Thus the Bible was not so much a sourcebook for infallible information, preserved in the convenient form of proof-texts, as an inspiration in his apprehension of the great salvation of God. In the spirit of freedom he realized that "the Bible was made for man, not man for the Bible."

The following decade led to yet deeper study. A change of pastorate was fruitful of readjustment. The writing of a commentary shook his confidence in the possibility of completely harmonizing certain gospel narratives. A few years of teaching the New Testament in a seminary contributed its quota. Both perfect translation of a book and perfect interpretation of any author were recognized as impossible. As human language could never be unambiguous in all its statements, for all interpreters, we could never claim infallibility for the statements in the Bible. Forced to acknowledge this and freed from the bondage of the letter, yet the "book remains a divine gift and a perpetual inspiration," in which the great eternal verities and the central Person "can be understood as well as it is needed that they be understood."

In the last decade of the last century the author came to the crown of his Christian ministry, viz., the chair of systematic theology. His method of using the Bible in this field is known to all. While welcoming truth from any and every source, while feeling free to criticize inadequate biblical conceptions, the Scripture in its lofty ideals and great currents has constituted the chief source and inspiration of his work.

In sixty years the author has traveled far. But there are no hasty movements. New attitudes were adopted very slowly by this essentially conservative scholar. Evidence must thrust him forward before he advances. Nor is it inexorable logic alone which compels his decisions. Ever the nobler and higher conceptions of life and of God beckon him onward to freedom. With this growing liberty, the Book is ever becoming more

vital to his thinking and glows with a growing splendor through each succeeding decade. The calm certainties, the deep spiritualities of every page are the convincing argument that the pathway is one of progress. To those who have traveled over a similar way, the book comes as a great delight. To those who are now in the struggle, few books will be more reassuring. To all of this generation who read it carefully, the book, with its spiritual uplift, can scarcely fail to be of some real help.

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## New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

### OLD TESTAMENT

#### BOOKS

TORREY, C. C. *Ezra Studies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910.

Pp. xv+346. \$1.50.

If the positions taken in this book be correct, they will make it necessary for most of us to revise completely our conceptions of the course of events in Palestine from the fall of Babylon in 538 B. C. to the coming of Alexander in 333 B. C. The Chronicler is here represented as the writer of a religious history in which adherence to facts played little part. The dominant things in his work are his vivid imagination and his religious bias. The book will necessitate a fresh study of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, for no defense of the essentially historical character of these books can afford to disregard Professor Torrey's studies. Whatever may be thought as to the historical and literary positions of the author, he must at least be given credit for some excellent textual work.

DAVIES, T. WITTON. *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*. Introduction, Revised Version, with Notes, Maps, and Index. [The Century Bible.] Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1909. Pp. 384. 2s. 6d.

This is the best popular English commentary on these books in existence. The attitude taken is on the whole one of confidence in the biblical text as it stands. Yet the opinions of scholars of contrary view, like Kusters, Torrey, Buhl, and Van Hoonacker, are given due consideration.

WIENER, H. M. *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*. Oberlin: Bibliotheca Sacra Co., 1909. Pp. 239. \$1.50.

A reprint of six articles from the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of last year. They are heralded as "the most damaging indictment of the Higher Criticism that has ever been made." But criticism will survive.

KAUTZSCH, E. *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*. 3d ed., Part 16. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1909. Pp. 64. M. 0.80.

This constitutes the first instalment of Vol. II. The Minor Prophets are here taken up and progress is made as far as Habakkuk. The commentators are Guthe, Marti, and Kautzsch. The liberty exercised in this third edition in the realms of both textual and higher criticism is a marked advance upon the second edition.

#### ARTICLES

DAY, E. Is the Book of Hosea Exilic? *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, January, 1910. Pp. 105-32.

This question is answered in the affirmative, but the grounds alleged as basis for this view will hardly convince many.

BREASTED, J. H. The Earliest Social Prophet. *American Journal of Theology* January, 1910. Pp. 114-16.

This is a critical note setting forth the character and significance of a very important Egyptian narrative which exhibits features analogous to Hebrew prophecy, though centuries earlier than the first of the prophets of Israel.

DE LONG, I. H. The Importance of the Study of Hebrew in a Theological Course. *The Reformed Church Review*, January, 1910. Pp. 1-27.

The inaugural address of the new professor of Hebrew and Old Testament science in the Theological Seminary at Lancaster, Pa. It is a very good presentation of the theory that all candidates for the ministry should be required to study Hebrew.

RIESZLER, P. Wann wirkte Nehemias? *Theologische Quartalschrift*, January, 1910. Pp. 1-6.

An attempt to show that the Assuan papyri contribute nothing toward the settlement of the date of Nehemiah. The method of proof is that of positing a Babylonian form *šangu-uballat* as the original of Sanaballat and then concluding that this name was not personal, but only an official title which might be borne by successive officers, and thus cannot be an evidence of date.

LOISY, ALFRED. La notion du sacrifice dans l'antiquité israélite. *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse*, January, 1910. Pp. 1-30.

An interesting résumé of the history of sacrifice in Israel from the point of view of its psychological significance. The author rightly sees that the meaning of the rite was not always the same, but changed with differing occasions and times.

## NEW TESTAMENT

### BOOKS

ANDERSON, EDWARD E. The Gospel According to St. Matthew. With Introduction and Notes. [Handbooks for Bible Classes.] Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1909. Pp. xxi + 243. \$0.75.

Mr. Anderson holds that the First Gospel was written between 75 and 90 A. D., both the Gospel of Mark and Matthew's Sayings of the Lord being embodied in it. The introduction and comments are intelligent and discriminating, and the handbook should be very useful to students and pastors.

HAWKINS, JOHN C. Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem. 2d ed., revised and supplemented. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909. Pp. xvi + 223. 10s. 6d. net.

Horae Synopticae is a compact, discriminating, and unbiased presentation of the chief resemblances and differences of the Synoptic Gospels. In this new edition, it is more than ever useful to students of the gospels, and especially of the synoptic problem.

ALEXANDER, GROSS. The Epistles to the Colossians and to the Ephesians. [The Bible for Home and School.] New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. vii + 132. \$0.50 net.

Dr. Alexander has given us in small compass a spirited and sympathetic commentary on Colossians and Ephesians. He connects them with Paul's Roman imprisonment, A. D. 62-63, and regards Ephesians as a circular letter intended for the churches of Asia. The positions are in general conservative.

REGNAULT, HENRI. Une province procuratorienne au début de l'Empire Romain: Le Procès de Jésus-Christ. Paris: Picard, 1909. Pp. 144. Fr. 4.

A study of the financial, military, administrative, and judicial organization of Judea in New Testament times, with especial reference to the trial of Jesus.

STEINMANN, ALPHONS. Aretas IV, König der Nabatäer, Eine historisch-exegetische Studie zu 2 Cor. 11:32 f. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1909. Pp. 44.

Dr. Steinmann presents evidence tending to show that Aretas IV, king of the Nabataeans of Arabia, secured possession of Damascus in 37 A. D. by a grant of the Emperor Gaius. Aretas died in 40 A. D. In the interval, the Arab governor who represented him was stirred up by the Jews against Paul. Paul's conversion, Steinmann concludes, must thus have fallen between 34 and 37 A. D.

## ARTICLES

BACON, B. W. Notes on Gospel Chronology. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXVIII, 2. Pp. 130-48.

A careful collection and criticism of primitive and patristic evidence as to the birth, ministry, and death of Jesus, brings Professor Bacon to the important conclusion that A. D. 33 or 34 is astronomically the most probable date for Jesus' death; that his ministry was probably about two years in length, and that his birth fell about 8 B. C. His life would thus be much longer than has generally been supposed.

ROPES, JAMES H. The Text of the Epistle of James. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-29.

Professor Ropes has subjected the text of James to a critical examination, and presents some conclusions of his study. Vaticanus and the Old Latin Corbeiensis (ninth century) prove to be the best witnesses for the text. This discussion and evaluation of the manuscripts and versions of James, form a significant contribution to New Testament textual study.

## RELATED SUBJECTS

## BOOKS

HASTINGS, JAMES (editor). *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Vol. II. New York: Scribner, 1910. Pp. xxii+901. \$7.

This great volume well sustains the high level established by its predecessor. It begins with Arthur and ends with Bunyan. The scope of its contents is marvelous. For Bible students the two most important articles are Professor Sanday's "Bible" and Professor Dobschütz's "Bible in the Church." Every good library must secure this encyclopedia.

LEUBA, J. H. *The Psychological Origin and Nature of Religion*. [Religions Ancient and Modern.] Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. 95. \$0.40.

A very clear and sane statement of a difficult subject. It brings the important themes it discusses well within the range and time of any educated man.

NAVILLE, EDOUARD. *The Old Egyptian Faith*. [Crown Theological Library.] New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909. Pp. xx+321. \$1.25.

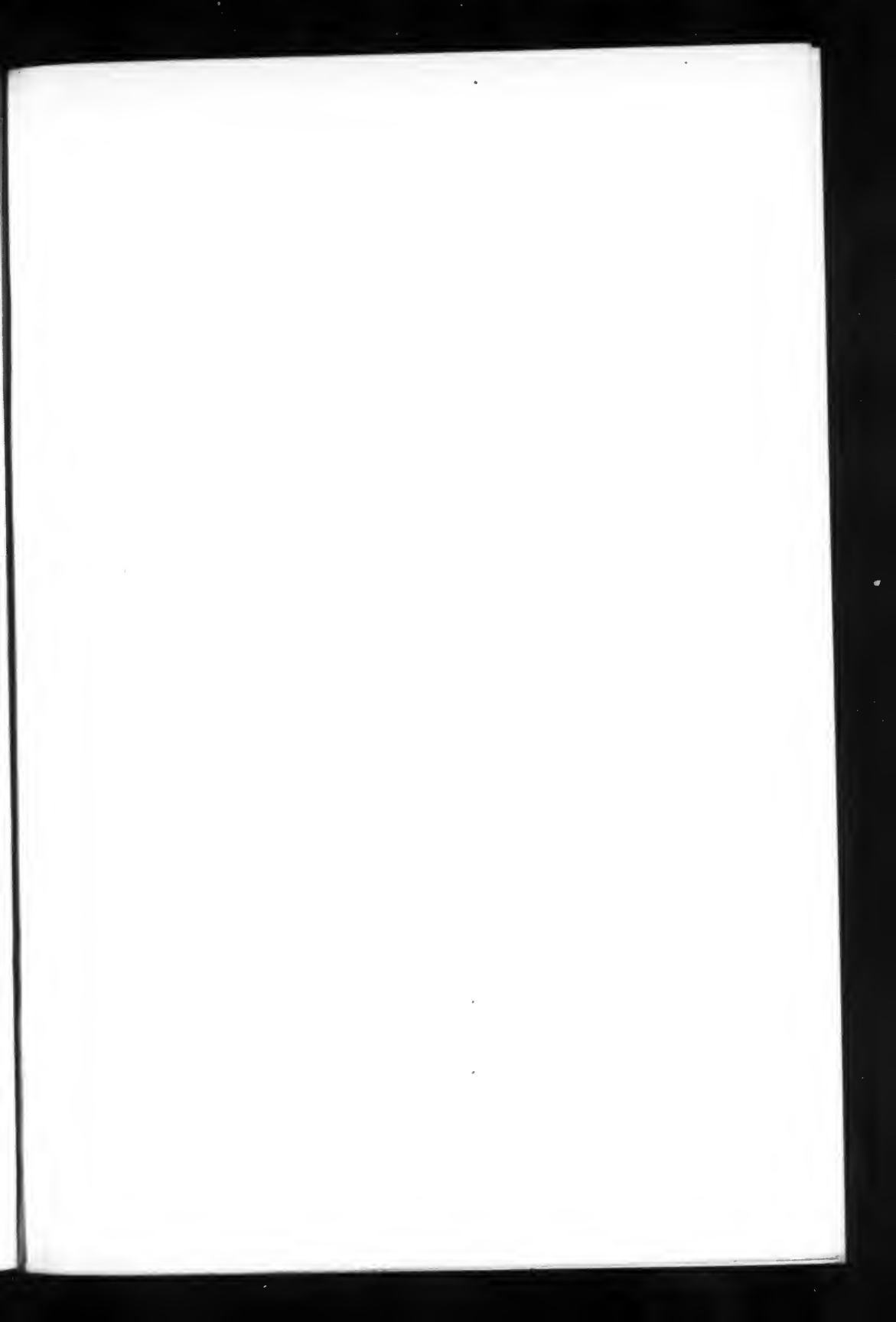
A popular handbook on the religion of the Egyptians by one who has long been a leader in the French school of Egyptologists. With this volume and that by Erman in his possession, the average man can obtain a fairly complete and satisfactory understanding of the subject.

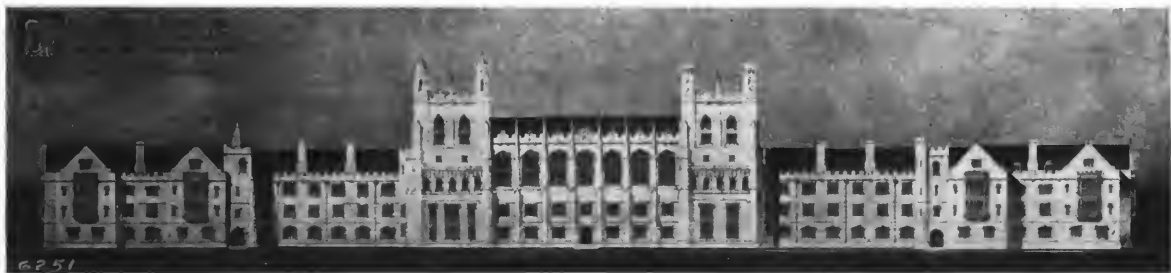
DE GROOT, J. J. M. *The Religion of the Chinese*. [The Hartford-Lamson Lectures on the Religions of the World.] New York: Macmillan, 1910. Pp. vii+230. \$1.25.

A series of lectures delivered before Hartford Theological Seminary by the author who is second to none as an authority upon China and the Chinese. The purpose of the series is to furnish candidates for the ministry in general and the mission field in particular such information as they need for a successful approach to the task of converting the followers of other religions to Christianity. This volume will well repay reading to those interested in practical missionary activities as well as those whose interest is rather that of the student.

ELLIS, W. T. *Men and Missions*. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1909. Pp. 315. \$1.

A well-written little book by a practical man who has secured a fairly full and accurate knowledge of missions as they are and would help put them where they ought to be. The average layman may learn much from it.





THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO: THE HARPER MEMORIAL LIBRARY AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS OF THE LIBRARY GROUP. SOUTH FAÇADE

The central portion of the buildings here shown, consisting of the two towers and the structure between them, constitutes the Harper Memorial Library now under process of erection. The group will be completed at some future time by the erection of the buildings to the east of the east tower which are to be devoted to History and Philosophy, and the buildings to the west of the west tower which will be given to the Modern Languages and the Classical Languages. The group includes other buildings not shown in this view; thus the Law Building, already erected, stands northward from the right-hand tower, the Haskell Oriental Museum northward from the left-hand tower.