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## FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,  
The University of Chicago.

THE Greeks stood alone among the nations of the earth in their appreciation of the beautiful; the Romans in their interest and skill in organization. The Hebrew nation stood alone in its overwhelming sense of the heinousness of sin. This thought controlled all their thoughts. Finding themselves in the midst of sorrow, wretchedness, and death, all of which are the result of sin, they began in the earliest periods to look for *deliverance*. The idea of the character of sin was implanted in the Hebrew heart for a purpose. This purpose, as it developed, revealed the divine plan for man's relief from the consequences of sin. In a study of these thoughts and utterances which look forward to the Christ, one must consider the subject from the point of view not only of the divine plan, but also of the human expectation. Israelitish history, wrought out according to a divine purpose to furnish a basis for the development of the plan, falls into several distinct divisions, each division marked by certain great characteristics.

I. Recalling the history of Abraham, the patriarchs who follow him, the residence in Egypt, the exodus, the giving of the law, the wandering in the wilderness, the death of Moses, and

the conquest, we may ask: How definite at the time of Moses' death had the expectation of this deliverance become? and how definite at this time were the promises which had been made from heaven? The destiny of man as a ruler of the world is fully appreciated, as well as the endowment given him by God through which his destiny may be attained, namely, creation in the image of God.<sup>1</sup> The nature of the conflict between man and the powers of evil has become apparent. The struggle will continue for ages, but in the end the woman's seed shall be victorious over the seed of the serpent, though receiving injury in the conflict.<sup>2</sup> The necessity of the close indwelling of God in the midst of men is appreciated, and men believe that God will in a special manner take up his dwelling in the tents of Shem.<sup>3</sup> It is evident that in the successful prosecution of the plan, one nation from all the nations of the earth must be selected, guided, and educated, and it is believed by the Hebrew nation that their ancestor Abraham was thus selected,<sup>4</sup> and that to him a promise was made of a country and a great posterity through which the world shall be blessed. A tradition also exists to the effect that this blessing was transmitted from Abraham to Isaac, from Isaac to Jacob,<sup>5</sup> and that from the sons of Jacob, Judah was selected to be the leader; his supremacy to continue until the conquest of the promised land.<sup>6</sup> As time passes on and Israel, having left Egypt, becomes a nation, the feeling gains ground that Israel, in order to accomplish her work, shall be a kingdom of priests.<sup>7</sup> Balaam, hired to preach against Israel, sees the nation, with the insignia of royalty, destroying her enemies round about.<sup>8</sup> If the Israelitish nation as a nation is to be a mediator to nations, it soon becomes apparent that for this work a special order of men should be set aside,—the priestly order.<sup>9</sup> In order that the nation may be guided aright, and not be compelled to resort to necromancers and wizards, there shall be raised up from time to time prophets who shall speak to them the law of God.<sup>10</sup> More than

<sup>1</sup> Gen. 1:26-30.<sup>5</sup> Gen. 27:27-29.<sup>9</sup> Num. 25:12, 13.<sup>2</sup> Gen. 3:14, 15.<sup>6</sup> Gen. 49:8-12.<sup>10</sup> Deut. 18:15-19.<sup>3</sup> Gen. 9:25-27.<sup>7</sup> Ex. 19:3-6.<sup>4</sup> Gen. 11:26-12:3.<sup>8</sup> Num. 24:17-19.

this, Israel, in order to perform properly her mission among the nations of the earth, must, like other nations, have a king, a royal king.<sup>1</sup> The thought of the period, therefore, seems to have connected itself with the line through which the deliverance is to be wrought; the land in which the great drama of deliverance is to be played; the means of deliverance, namely, the chosen people, and the special agencies by which the chosen people shall effect the divine purpose, a priestly order, a prophetic order, and a royal order.

2. In the period of Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon, the idea of royalty is uppermost in the minds of the people. A monarchy is established. The king who shall sit upon the throne represents Jehovah; he is, however, subordinate, not only to Jehovah, but to Jehovah's messenger, the prophet. In this period the temple is erected and Jehovah is understood to take up his dwelling in the temple, a great advance upon the dwelling in the tents of Shem.<sup>2</sup> The promise is made that David's seed shall be established upon David's throne and that he shall be, indeed, the son of God as beforetime Israel had been called God's son.<sup>3</sup> The king with Jehovah at his side shall rule over Zion. His army, made up of countless youth, shall march as volunteers under his banner. Guided by Jehovah he will win the victory upon the blood-drenched, corpse-covered battlefield, and with unrelenting vigor will pursue the conquered and defeated enemy.<sup>4</sup> His reign will be characterized by peace and mercy; it will be universal and everlasting.<sup>5</sup> The whole thought of the period turns upon the idea of the king; and what could be more natural, in this early age, and at a time in which the thought which filled the minds of all the people was that of an earthly kingdom. The king described in this ideal manner did not come in the period in which he was expected. When at last he did come, he was not the king that had been described. He was, however, something greater than even Israel's prophetic vision had foretold.

3. In the southern kingdom after the division there is little or no prophetic impulse. Here the monarchy and the priesthood

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 17 : 14-20.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Samuel 7 : 11-16; Ps. 18 : 43-50.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. 110.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. 72.

were supreme and the visions of the prophets were rare. In the northern kingdom, however, after a century or so, there begins a prophetic activity which is most marked. Elijah, with a sternness and severity almost indescribable, bewails the apostacy of his times.<sup>1</sup> Elisha, beneficent and courteous, endeavors by diplomacy to advance the interests of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> The schools of the prophets, founded back in the times of Samuel, are greatly strengthened, and their work certainly assists in promulgating a truer conception of the Jehovah religion.<sup>3</sup> At this time, likewise, Jonah makes his trip to Nineveh and by his preaching of the word brings Nineveh to repentance.<sup>4</sup> But in all this work the sins of the times and the profligacy of the period are dwelt upon, and, seemingly, the prophets have little strength left with which to picture the ideals of the future. Amos preaches sermon after sermon upon the text "Punishment for sin."<sup>5</sup> He publishes vision after vision, all of which foretell the coming of judgment and destruction upon the people.<sup>6</sup> His prophetic eye, however, sees beyond the coming of the Assyrian army and the devastation which it shall work, and in the far distant future he beholds the tent of David which has been broken down, again restored;<sup>7</sup> the holy land full of harvests and consequent prosperity, Israel gathered again from the four corners of the earth and restored to home. Hosea sees as clearly as did Amos the coming destruction;<sup>8</sup> he sees also what has not been seen so clearly before, the intense love of Jehovah for his people and his readiness to forgive.<sup>9</sup> Hosea feels that punishment must come on account of the iniquity of the times; but after this punishment has been executed, he beholds, as did Amos, the restoration of Israel to her land.<sup>10</sup> In all this period there has been slight thought of the deliverance from sin, because the minds of the people are filled with the thought and the need of the deliverance from an immediate calamity. This idea is so close as to drive away the magnificent conceptions of earlier days. On the other hand, it must

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kgs. 17, 18, 19.<sup>4</sup> Jonah, 1-4.<sup>7</sup> Amos 9: 11-15.<sup>2</sup> 2 Kgs. 3, 4, 5.<sup>5</sup> Amos 1-6.<sup>8</sup> Hosea 4: 1-19; 8: 1-14<sup>3</sup> 2 Kgs. 2, 4, 6.<sup>6</sup> Amos 7, 8, 9.<sup>9</sup> Hosea 2: 14-23; 11: 1-11.<sup>10</sup> Hosea 1: 10-2: 1; 2: 19-22; 6: 1-3; 14: 1-5:

be noted that restoration of Israel from captivity is in itself a pledge of the fulfilment of Jehovah's promise, and to this extent the foreshadowing of the great future which lies beyond.

4. The Assyrian times have at last arrived. Isaiah predicts the desolation of Israel, and indicates the sins of the people, which are the occasion of the impending destruction. Yet, beyond this destruction, both he and Micah see the exaltation of the mountain of Jehovah's house, the universal acknowledgment of Jehovah as king, and the introduction of an era of universal peace.<sup>1</sup> When Judah is invaded by Pekah and Rezin, Isaiah announces the coming of a child born of a virgin, whose name shall be called Immanuel;<sup>2</sup> and before this child shall be able to distinguish good and evil, the Assyrian invasion will have taken place. Somewhat later, when Tiglathpileser carries away captive the tribes of Zebulon and Naphtali, and the people of Jerusalem are panic-stricken because of this, the beginning of the fulfilment of the prophecies of destruction, Isaiah preaches<sup>3</sup> the coming of light in the midst of darkness; of joy and freedom, instead of grief and captivity; of the abolition of war; and all this because of the child that is yet to be born, whose name is given as the Wonder of a Counselor, God of a Hero, Father of Booty, Prince of Peace. Samaria falls (722 B. C.), in accordance with the prediction of the prophets; but the judgment is not yet finished. Terrible judgments are yet to come, but they will be followed by times of rejoicing, in which those faithful to Jehovah shall no more be ashamed.<sup>4</sup>

Sennacherib now (701 B. C.) appears in Palestine. Though the army is near at hand, the prophet tells of a righteous judge of the line of David who shall rule the nation in peace, and in the knowledge of Jehovah.<sup>5</sup> Although Hezekiah surrenders to the Assyrian army,<sup>6</sup> Isaiah repeats his prediction that the enemy will be scattered, and describes the time when the righteous man shall see the king in all his beauty, and shall dwell with him in Zion.<sup>7</sup> The Assyrian army is smitten with death and Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 2 : 2-4, Mic. 4 : 1-5; Isa. 4 : 2-6.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. 7 : 1-25.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. 28.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kgs. 18 : 14.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. 8 : 16-9 : 7.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. 10 : 5-12 : 6.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. 33.

delivered.<sup>1</sup> On the days that follow songs of joy are sung to heaven, celebrating the city of God as a place of safety and peace for the people; a place of beauty and strength; and a wonder to nations.<sup>2</sup> A cornerstone shall be established in Zion;<sup>3</sup> and out of Bethlehem from the line of David shall come a righteous ruler, who shall lead Judah against the Assyrians.<sup>4</sup>

As before, the thought of the nation seems to have exhausted itself in dwelling upon the perplexities of the day, and yet, in contrast with the dark pictures which the prophet presents, he portrays the brightness of the coming future. Isaiah expects to see the coming of deliverance in connection with the Assyrian invasion. The Assyrian army came again and again, and the expectations of the prophet were disappointed. He is continually looking for the birth of a child. At first, in the days of Ahaz, when he predicts the birth of Immanuel, and later the child, whose name shall be called Wonder of a Counselor, and, twenty-five years later, in the days of Hezekiah, when Sennacherib has led his army into Judah. Isaiah's hopes were not destined to be realized in his own days; but centuries later, when the fulness of time had come, the child was born, as different from the picture of Isaiah's child as was the actual character of the king in comparison with the picture of royalty outlined in David's times. The thought, however, was none the less real; and the hope of the coming deliverance lifted up many a follower of Jehovah in his despondency.

5. The next age is that of Jeremiah and the fall of Jerusalem. Zephaniah sees a coming destruction and, beyond it, restoration, prosperity, and honor.<sup>5</sup> Jeremiah is so occupied with the evils of his times and his own sufferings as to allow little time for the contemplation of the future, and indeed it was difficult even for a prophet of Jehovah to see much that was encouraging in the future. For how could a prophet reconcile himself to the destruction of Jerusalem? And yet Jeremiah is able to do this very thing. In imprisonment he predicts a restoration after the captivity and describes the righteous branch which shall rule in

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 37 : 36, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. 28 : 14-18; Ps. 118 : 22, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Pss. 46, 48.

<sup>4</sup> Mic. 5 : 1-9.

<sup>5</sup> Zeph. 3 : 8-20.

righteousness.<sup>1</sup> Under arrest he promises to those about him relief and restoration and a future time of protection, prosperity, and honor.<sup>2</sup> He preaches of the establishment of a new covenant and the coming of a time when all men shall know Jehovah.<sup>3</sup> As truly as Jerusalem shall be destroyed, so surely shall the people of Israel be restored,<sup>4</sup> and again Jeremiah furnishes promises of Messianic glory.<sup>5</sup> When Jerusalem is laid waste, there devolves upon the prophet the task of reconciling God's promise of eternal prosperity with the present condition of things. This naturally leads them to the consideration of something higher than the city itself; a dwelling with God more ideal than an actual dwelling in the temple.<sup>6</sup> The place of the fall of Jerusalem in the history of prophetic thought is most significant.

6. What form does the expectation of deliverance assume when Israel, far from home and native land, finds herself in the Babylonian exile? Ezekiel, on the banks of the Chebar, tells again and again of restoration of the faithful Israel;<sup>7</sup> the resurrection of dry bones;<sup>8</sup> the reunion of the northern and southern Israel.<sup>9</sup> This indeed is the only note of encouragement which a prophet could preach, for how can there be fulfilment of any of the promises of the past unless first Israel is restored to her native land. Can we put ourselves in the position of the faithful Jews in captivity? While living in Jerusalem before its destruction, they were loyal to the worship of Jehovah, having never been guilty of idolatry. Yet, notwithstanding this faithfulness on their part they are now in captivity. Their sufferings are intense since they are driven away from home and deprived of the opportunity to worship their God. Their brethren, on every side, reproach them because of the inability of the God whom they serve to relieve their sufferings. Their anguish is increased because they believe this suffering to have been sent upon them by God. Why has he deserted them? Why has he driven them away and placed them in the power of their enemies? Have they sinned against him? No. Why was

<sup>1</sup> Jer. 23: 1-8.<sup>4</sup> Jer. 32.<sup>7</sup> Ezek. 11: 14-20; 17: 22-24.<sup>2</sup> Jer. 30: 3-22.<sup>5</sup> Jer. 33.<sup>8</sup> Ezek. 37: 1-14.<sup>3</sup> Jer. 31.<sup>6</sup> Pss. 89, 132.<sup>9</sup> Ezek. 37: 15-28.

their property distributed to their enemies? Had they been faithless to Jehovah? No. What then is the occasion of their sufferings? *The sins of the nation as a whole.* It is because Israel abandoned Jehovah that Israel is now in captivity. They are then suffering because of the sins of others and not because of their own sins. The Israelites who were faithless to Jehovah suffer little on account of the captivity. They did not care for the temple worship or Jehovah; they are well situated in Babylon. Their souls are not tried because Jehovah has abandoned them, since they had first abandoned Jehovah. The real sufferers are those who were faithful. But what is to be the outcome? It is necessary that these faithful ones continue to suffer with those who have sinned and because of their sins, in order that the future may bring a fulfilment of the great promises of Jehovah. If in their distress they turn away from Jehovah, there will be no remnant to whom the promise may be fulfilled. They suffer, therefore, in order to secure future blessings to those who shall follow them. This suffering remnant is the servant of Jehovah; the agent through which a new religion is to be introduced into the world. The nation Israel includes the servant and is sometimes represented as the servant. The prophet in the midst of the captivity predicts that this servant shall be exalted very high.<sup>1</sup> He realizes, however, that preceding this exaltation there is and will be a humiliation. The servant sent to carry to the world the message of its deliverance from sin is not recognized, since no one believes the report which has been given of him and no one sees in his coming the indication of the power of Jehovah. Why is he not recognized? Because he has grown up as a sucker, that is, something superfluous; as a root out of dry ground, that is, without juice or sap; with no comeliness or beauty; and consequently he was despised and deserted. This was the estimation in which he was held by those about him who did not understand his mission. The real fact in the case was that he suffered, but only for the sins of others, and indeed, for the sins of those very persons who, in their blindness, regarded him as stricken with leprosy. It was

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 52: 11-53: 12.



they who had gone astray while on him the iniquity was laid. In all this suffering, though treated rigorously, there was no complaint. Though treated unjustly, his contemporaries did not see that he was suffering for his people. His end was an inglorious one. But in return for the sufferings of the servant, God had proposed to prolong his days and accomplish through him a divine work. He, the servant, will render many righteous; he will receive great reward; he will be treated as a conqueror. Thus the great thought of the exile should be interpreted; but the return and the restoration of spiritual Israel to Jerusalem as a reward of faithfulness, did not exhaust the thought; it is an ideal description, which includes the suffering servant who, centuries later, was to do for all men and all time what the faithful remnant of Israel did for the times of captivity.

The assurance is given that the redemption long ago promised shall surely come.<sup>1</sup> Israel, in spite of her sins, shall be delivered,<sup>2</sup> Jehovah cannot forget Zion; consequently she shall be restored.<sup>3</sup> The whole present situation shall be changed and the future will bring a period of peace.<sup>4</sup> The time is coming when men everywhere will accept Jehovah;<sup>5</sup> when the new Jerusalem will be adorned and decorated;<sup>6</sup> when there will be a new heaven and a new earth.<sup>7</sup> These representations show conclusively that the prophets have detached the ideal future from the local Jerusalem. The new era which Isaiah expected in his day, which Jeremiah predicted would come at the close of the seventy years of captivity, is not ushered in with the restoration of the faithful remnant to Jerusalem. This may be understood as a token of the deliverance still in the future, but it is by no means the deliverance which the prophets had expected, and so Daniel in the last days of the captivity postpones the coming of this glorious time still later by seventy weeks.<sup>8</sup>

7. When, under Zerubbabel, the Jews return to Jerusalem, work is begun at once upon the temple. But after laying the foundation it stops. Some years later, urged by Haggai they

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 45: 21-25.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. 54: 1-17.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. 65: 17-25.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. 48: 17-22.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. 56: 6, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Dan. 9: 24-27; 12: 1-3, 10-13.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. 49: 14-23.

<sup>6</sup> Isa. 62: 1-12.



THE REDEEMER.

From Munkacsy's Christ before Pilate.

take up again the building of the temple and in connection with his exhortations Haggai predicts an impending shaking of the nations, which shall mean great things for Israel.<sup>1</sup> Zechariah, about this time, describes the Jerusalem of the future in contrast with that of the present,<sup>2</sup> and enlarges upon Jeremiah's prophecies of Israel's king, the Branch.<sup>3</sup> It is in these later days that Joel,<sup>4</sup> filled with apocalyptic vision sees a time in the future when Jehovah will pour out his spirit upon all flesh and all men will become prophets.

In connection with this he predicts the destruction of all the nations who oppose Jehovah,<sup>5</sup> and even of Israel herself, in so far as she does not conform to the divine law. The Psalms of the later period deal most fondly with the coming of Jehovah in judgment,<sup>6</sup> the manifestation of his presence and his power;<sup>7</sup> a coming which will bring prosperity to those who love him, and a judgment day for the nations who are opposed to him.<sup>8</sup> But Malachi, closing the long list of prophets, announces the coming of a second Elijah who shall foretell the coming of a messenger of the covenant whose coming shall be a day of destruction to the wicked and a day of blessing to the righteous.<sup>9</sup>

When now we consider the history of Israel as a whole, a history especially conducted by Jehovah, (1) in order to build up a people in the knowledge of himself that through them higher and higher truth might be revealed to the world; (2) in which great and significant events take place, furnishing the object lessons for the inculcation of these important teachings, we cannot fail to recall how, again and again, the inspired speakers refer to the conflict of mankind with evil, announcing that in the end mankind shall conquer. In whom did all these representations find their fulfilment? Who, once for all, gained the victory over sin? We recall the utterance after utterance concerning the day that Jehovah shall appear among men. This coming is always in the future and will be attended with blessings to those who love him, with destruction to those who have

<sup>1</sup> Hag. 2: 1-9, 21-23.

<sup>2</sup> Zech. 2: 1-13.

<sup>3</sup> Zech. 3: 6-10.

<sup>4</sup> Joel 2: 28, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Joel 2: 30-3; 21.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. 97.

<sup>7</sup> Ps. 95.

<sup>8</sup> Pss. 98, 99, 100, 85.

<sup>9</sup> Mal. 3.

opposed him. When has he appeared except in the presence of his son, Jesus Christ? We notice also the vivid portrayals of the day of Jehovah, a day of darkness and distress when hostile nations shall be punished and the people of God redeemed. Does this find its fulfilment in anything else than the new régime which Christ inaugurated? We recall the beautiful descriptions of the Holy Land, as it shall be in the future, where there shall be no death, no sorrow; when man shall be at peace with man and man with beast; when harvests shall be plentiful and everything prosperous; when Jerusalem shall be the great city of the world. We recall how these descriptions enter into the pictures presented to us of the kingdom of God, and we may ask ourselves whether the world has yet seen the fulfilment of these predictions, or whether they are still to come as the outgrowth of the New Testament dispensation, a spiritual land and a spiritual kingdom. We have noted, likewise, how in the divine plan the nation was guided and instructed by three orders of men, each of which in its representations from century to century foreshadows a Christ who shall be at the same time priest, and prophet, and king.

When we remember that there is no such thing as Messianic prophecy in any literature of ancient times except the literature of the Old Testament, and when we consider the definiteness and gradual growth of the full presentation of Messianic prophecy which furnishes the connecting link, from generation to generation, for the whole history and literature of Israel, we may not doubt that in all this there has been exerted an influence for the execution of a divine plan.

## THE TIMES OF CHRIST.

By REV. PROFESSOR H. M. SCOTT, D.D.,  
Chicago Theological Seminary.

*The fulness of times—the Holy Land—People—Social State—Background of poverty—Idea of the kingdom—Pharisaic theology—Messianic hope—Religious life in Israel—Jews in the Dispersion—Forerunners of Christianity—Philo's teachings—The Gentile world—Time of Revolution—Social, political, philosophical, religious—The empire preparing the way of the Gospel.*

“WHEN the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son” (Gal. 4:4). That does not mean that Christ was a product of religious development in Israel. Neither does it mean that historic circumstances created the Redeemer of men. The fulness of time means the fulness of human need on the one hand, and ripeness of historical preparation on the other. The early church loved to speak of the Jews as the people of salvation through whom God prepared a religion for the world, and the Greeks as the men of philosophy, through whom God prepared the world for the religion. The appointed hour had struck in both Judaism and Hellenism. Had Christ appeared in the Maccabean age of worldly prosperity, or before Macedonian conquests in the East and Roman power in the West had checked Persia and Carthage by humanitarianism and law, we cannot see how he could have fulfilled his mission to Israel, or his gospel found an entrance to the Gentile world. Had he not appeared till after Jerusalem fell and the temple was overthrown, and the confusion of pagan cults, caused by the rise of the Empire and skeptical Greek criticism, had been succeeded by the revived, united paganism and learned orthodoxy of the age of the Antonines, he could not have taken his place as fulfiller of law and sacrifices, neither could the apostles have found Jewish synagogues and Greek lecture halls ready to receive them. His advent coincided with the most stupendous transition in ancient history. The scepter had departed from Judah, to pass first into the hands of Herodians, of the

family of Esau, then into the possession of Rome; while Rome was just moving out of Republican isolation into universal Imperialism. Christ was born under the first emperor. The world-wide Empire and the everlasting Kingdom appeared together. With Herod the Great, the political life of Palestine had become utterly worldly and lost its last theocratic vestige; while in Rome, the most secular of all places, Cæsar claimed to be divine. The Jewish high priest lost his crown and became a tool of Herod. The Roman Emperor made himself also high priest, and as such representative of Jupiter and a god. Between these two contending ideas—the efforts of Israel to defend at all costs the theocracy of Jehovah, and the claim of Rome to stand in her Cæsar for the universal cult—Jesus came to full consciousness of his high calling to found the Kingdom of the Divine Father for all men.

The Jews and their land formed a unique meeting place for the exclusiveness of a people of revelation and redemption with the reason and superstition of the world powers. They were shut in by the sea, the desert, the mountains, and the deep ravines of the Jordan; yet they lay at the juncture of Europe, Asia, and Africa. All peoples came to Israel. And when the time came to offer the revelation through Christ to the world, Apostles from Judea could at once enter every avenue of ancient life. With all his seclusion and conservatism, the Jew was now the most cosmopolitan of men. He met all races in his own land; and through his brethren in the Dispersion he was in vital relations with all parts of the world.

Palestine was an epitome of all countries and zones. Its deep valleys, its plains, its table lands, its mountains, presented the temperature, the fruits, the landscapes of every clime. Hence the Bible, the teachings of Jesus, present universal doctrines in scenery and imagery familiar to all men.

The Jews of the land in Christ's time numbered about five millions; the conservative, aristocratic, traditional part living in Judea about the holy city Jerusalem; and the more free, warm-hearted, patriotic, but less cultured part occupying the rich province of Galilee. Between them lay Samaria, in which dwelt a



RUINS OF MAGDALA A CITY ON THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS

half Jewish, half Gentile people, who formed a stepping-stone for the gospel from the Jewish to the Roman world (Acts 8 : 5f.). Trade, commerce, dye-works, potteries, glass furnaces, fisheries, agriculture flourished in the fertile fields and numerous towns of Galilee. It was surely not accidental that the chief scene of Christ's preaching, the cities along the Lake of Tiberias, was a hive of industry, in which he met "Fullers' Unions," "Ass Drivers' Associations," "Fishermen's Clubs," and taught the Gospel of the Kingdom in vital contact with the complicated problems of business life. Here, too, he mingled much with the free country life of sowers and tares, reapers and harvest fields, mustard seed and fig trees, hens and chickens, shepherd and flock, which made his words so winsome to the common people. In Judea, on the other hand, he came in contact with Scribe and Pharisee, a highly organized life, the temple and priests, money-changers and questions about tribute to Cæsar.

One sad thing, which especially impressed Jesus as running through all the secular existence of his people, was the growing misery and deepening poverty which he met on every hand. It is hardly too much to say that the background of all his preaching was business depression, panic, and poverty. Herod the Great exacted about \$3,000,000 a year from the people. The Roman procurators were equally extortionate. Besides this revenue, there were many local taxes, religious dues, and the irregular levies of procurators, zealots, and the increasing plunder seized by robbers and outlaws. Business became more and more interrupted, and want, with growing frequency, showed its emaciated features. How often Jesus speaks of the debtor going to prison, the creditor discounting bills, the man who could not finish a tower for lack of funds, the poor widow, usury because of scarcity of money, men standing idle in the market, or hiding their little wealth from robbing exactors, and multitudes so living on the edge of starvation that Jesus fed them miraculously. The common cry was: "What shall we eat?" Hence the first petition taught the disciples was: "Give us this day our daily bread;" and the first utterance in the Sermon on the Mount was: "Blessed are the poor."



Largely from this point of view, the practical shaping of the kingdom arose in his mind. He knew of the zealot insurrection of his Galilean fellow countrymen, Judas and Zadok, and saw how they that drew the sword in a religious war perished by the sword. He grew up in an atmosphere of anarchy and theocratic socialism. The vision before his brethren was of a kingdom of David, of glory and riches and victory and power. But he turned away from the zealot conception. He passed by even the Davidic kingdom. He preached a spiritual dominion for the poor in spirit, whose triumphs were in repentance, faith, and being perfect as the King, the Father in heaven is perfect.

The theological thought of the Jews in the time of Christ was molded by the Pharisees. All the people except two or three thousand Sadducees, a few free thinkers called Herodians, and some small groups of mystics, especially the Essenes, were Pharisaic in belief. The center of this theology was the schools of the Scribes, and an outgrowth of these schools was the Fraternity of the Pharisees, an order of about six thousand men, in four degrees, bound together by the special vows of tithes and ceremonial purifications. They were the Jewish Jesuits, the official saints, who both taught the law and showed how it should be kept. Jesus did not object to their teachings; it was rather their practice that he denounced. These men in Moses' seat, as they opposed surrounding idolatry, and set themselves to systematic study of the Scriptures, even advanced beyond the cruder theology of the post-exilic days, and made prominent some doctrines which Jesus approved. There were four ruling ideas in this Pharisaic system which the gospel made fully fruitful. They were those of the transcendence of Jehovah, the individual rather than the national relation of man to God, the Law as the way to please the Lord, and the hope of the Messiah as the rewarder of those who obey the Law. From the point of view that God is our Father and his law is love, Jesus gave this circle of thought a new center, from which it received new illumination and the power of an endless life. The great defect of Pharisaic theology was its legalism, which made all religious life, even sacrifices and prayers, good works, for which man expects

a reward. Such teachings were pessimistic, for all men are conscious that perfection is impossible; the schools of Hillel and Shammai accordingly debated whether or not life were worth living, and the Assembly of the Scribes decided in the negative, but advised men to do the best they can since they are here.

Pharisaic views of the Messiah were not certain. They could not reconcile the two pictures given of him as the Servant of the Lord and a glorious King in the Old Testament. They had no idea of two Advents, and thought they meant either two Messiahs or the Messiah in conflict with enemies and his triumph over them. He was preëxistent, but apparently only in the plan of God. They had no thought of the Messiah as dying for the sins of men. He was not divine. The Pharisees did not put Jesus to death for claiming to be the Messiah; but because he claimed to be the Son of God and equal with God (John 19:7).

In the Golden Age of the Maccabees, hope in the coming Deliverer grew very dim; but the terrible days of civil war, of Herod and Rome, appeared to many as the "birth pangs" of the Messiah. In the time of Jesus, the mass of the people looked for the Messiah. The godly in Israel also, through the study of the prophets, came to have higher conceptions of the coming One. The wider horizon of the Greek and Roman world helped them to think of him as ruler of all nations, and not of the Jews only. They thought of his work as spiritual rather than as that of a warrior king. He was more closely associated with Jehovah. The ethical character of his kingdom was given greater prominence; the sinless Messiah must rule over a holy people. Man's relation to him was made more personal and less national. In general, we may add, that every Israelite saw in the Messiah his ideal, and expected to find in his kingdom just that blessedness which would realize his expectation of heaven.

The religious life in Israel suffered much from the state of chronic insurrection into which the land fell in the time of Jesus. It is true the forms remained. The Jews prayed in private morning and night. They had family worship three times a day. They said grace before and after meat. They kept the Sabbath strictly. They were careful to be ceremonially clean. They

attended synagogue worship on Sabbath and once through the week. They observed the festivals. They offered sacrifices in the temple. They were zealous to make proselytes. But, despite all this, the love of many had waxed cold; legalism and worldliness were benumbing many a soul. Especially did earnest men complain of neglect in the proper education of children. Not a few Pietists, Apocalyptic men, like the Essenes, withdrew from public life. The high priests and other Sadducee leaders of the nation were venal and corrupt. The zealots, who were most earnest, seemed smitten with judicial blindness, and dragged the nation after them into civil strife and utter ruin. The Pharisees vacillated, now for Rome, now trying to be neutral, now favoring the zealots, till blind leaders of the blind they fell into the ditch of common despair and death.

We must now glance at the Jews beyond Palestine. They were found everywhere, and fell into two great divisions, the Babylonian and the Greek Dispersion. They were wealthier, more progressive, more liberal than their brethren in Palestine. In fact the Jew of the Dispersion was very analogous to the Roman. The national life of each centered in a city, but both in a peculiar sense were "citizens of the world" as were no others. Both in their religion became largely denationalized and strove to show a universal cult. But exiled Judaism by losing its body politic became a wandering soul; while Rome in building up a great corporate system lost her soul. But the disembodied Jewish spirit and the inanimate Roman body politic, guarded by Cæsar, could not unite, for Israel had rejected her Messiah, through whom in due time the Empire became an organ of Christian life. This Judaism in the Dispersion was the most important forerunner of Christianity in the heathen world. The foreign Jews had largely the rights of citizenship. They enjoyed religious liberty. They were about as numerous as those in Palestine. In Alexandria they formed one-fifth of the population. In many places they were rich and held important public offices. They were bound together, amid dissolving paganism, by their faith in one God, their union of morality with religion, their Greek Bible, their doctrine of creation, which rejected materialism and pan-

theism, the Sabbath, the synagogue, family devotion, and the hope of the Messiah, who was the embodiment of all that Greek wisdom believed or longed for.

The experience of this Jewish Dispersion anticipated largely that of the Christian church. Josephus in his reply to Apion answers the same pagan attacks which Athenagoras and Justin must meet. The services of the Greek synagogues were essentially repeated in the Gentile churches. But especially in mission work and winning converts from paganism did the Jews of the Dispersion open the way for Christianity. Greek Jews, like Stephen and Apollos, and proselytes to Greek Judaism, "the honorable women," were among the first converts to the gospel. There were many converts in the Greek synagogues, chiefly women. Not a few were of high rank, as the wife of Nero, the eunuch of Candace, and the kings of Azizus and Emesa. The attractions of Greek Judaism were its mission zeal, which blazed out especially in the time of Christ, the fulfilment of prophecy, the exalted teachings of the Old Testament, and the tact and learning with which Jewish teachers set forth the great doctrines of God, virtue, immortality, which heathen sages built upon reason, as resting upon divine revelation. The confidence of Judaism in its faith, and the practical fruits in pure family life, and holy worship also impressed thoughtful heathen.

Especially did the theology of the Greek Jews, as represented by Philo, prepare the way for New Testament thought. The problem of defending Homer, the Bible of the Greeks, from critical attacks was solved by the allegorical theory of exegesis. Philo applied this to the Old Testament and made Moses the source of the philosophy of Greece. He taught an exoteric and an esoteric Judaism, which really landed him in rationalism. The real teachings of Scripture were just the deductions of reason. His most suggestive doctrine was that of the Logos, which he called "high-priest," and "eldest Son of God." This divine reason of the Greeks he made a revealer and mediator of Jehovah, especially of His justice and mercy. There is no doubt that these ideas of Philo influenced the form of early Christian thought; but how far he was from the position of the gospel can be seen in the

fact that his Logos had no connection with the Messiah, was impersonal, was a cosmological principle, and led to natural theology, while the New Testament makes Christ the Logos and is everywhere soteriological and religious.

Let us now turn for a moment to the great heathen world. Here the coming of Christ was marked by revolution—social, political, philosophical, religious—a revolution which shook the foundations of all ancient life and thought. Men felt things were so bad that a change must come. Great Pan was declared to be dead. The Romans were looking for the age of Saturn to come again. The rapid growth of Greek Judaism, and early Christianity shows the unrest of the times.

The social changes which came with the Empire were stupendous. The conquered races were greatly mixed. Of a population of 120,000,000 half had been reduced to slavery. Civil wars and standing armies took the farmers out of the army, out of politics, and made them but tenants on large estates, or drove them into the cities. These slaves away from home, these demoralized farmers, formed a fruitful field for the gospel, which was first preached to the poor in Palestine. On the other hand, the cities were full of wealth, business, and blending of races, equally favoring the reception of new ideas in religion.

The political change from Rome a city to Rome an Empire was also far-reaching. Legislation widened from "municipal law" to the "law of nations" and then to the "law of nature." Rome must make laws for man as man. This transition suggested the idea of human brotherhood, taught toleration, brought in safety under law, and, by robbing men of political liberty, led them to seek a substitute in moral questions and the freedom of the soul. Thus thinking men were forced to dwell upon the very problems which looked towards Christianity.

This appears in the philosophy of the time. It was marked especially by three things. It was eclectic, ethical, and sought certainty in revelation from God. Every man's conscience was the final arbiter; just the position of St. Paul (Rom. 3:14). This later philosophy especially looked towards the gospel, by showing the inability of pagan wisdom to satisfy the soul, by

developing a sense of individualism—as the Pharisees had done—which led towards personal life in God, by teaching monotheism, and the spiritual immanence of God, by holding the unity of mankind—Epictetus said: “We are all God’s children”—and by presenting the life of virtue as a long development, with immortality, the restoration of the “image of God” (Diogenes), as its final reward. But the more practical this philosophy became the more it felt its own weakness as it saw the moral life of the Empire growing worse and worse; and the more it longed, and prayed for a revelation from God. The fulness of times was here also a fulness of need, which looked towards Jesus Christ.

The religious revolution in the Empire was equally striking. It was marked first of all in the generation before Christ by confusion of gods and cults, by skepticism among the educated, and neglect of idolatry by the people. The all-upsetting unification of the Empire sorely demoralized national paganism. But in the time of Christ a revival of religion began. Just in the pause between the two Christianity appeared. But it would be a great mistake to say the gospel spread because paganism was too weak to oppose it. Three elements in this revival of heathenism may be noticed. First, the reforms of Augustus and the introduction of Cæsar worship as a bond of union between contending mythologies and a support to decaying morals. Second, the coming in of Oriental cults from India and Syria. These gave Western religion the priest as active functionary, taught that their followers formed a holy brotherhood, gave women equal rights with men, made rich and poor, bond and free welcome as members, showed the cold Roman the place of emotion in worship, pointed to the mysteries as the heart of devotion, offered bloody sacrifices for sin, taught a new birth, were missionary in character, and loved to tell of a God who came to earth as a man, was slain, rose again, and went about teaching the true religion. It is no wonder early Christians saw in such things a Satanic caricature of the gospel. A third factor in this revival was the philosophical, to which we have already referred.

This unity of the Empire not only prepared for Christianity

itself, but opened up channels for its progress. The chief of these were the peace which prevailed, Roman highways, spread of the Greek language, great facility of intercourse by land and sea, freedom given Jews in the Dispersion and their numerous converts, religious tolerance, and the recognition of benevolent and burial clubs, under guise of which churches could often live and labor.

## THE SOURCES OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.

BY ERNEST D. BURTON,  
The University of Chicago.

*The one ultimate source produced various mediate sources, among which our four gospels now hold the first place.—Tradition concerning the authorship of our gospels, and reasons for questioning it.—The synoptic problem: its elements; proposed solutions; propositions practically established.—The problem of the fourth gospel: its character; various views; present status.*

If the four gospels and even all quotations from them in printed books should today absolutely perish from the earth, it would be possible to recover every word of their testimony concerning Jesus. The memories of living men constitute a treasure-house from which a life of Jesus could be drawn as full and complete as that which we possess today. These memories rest, of course, almost wholly upon the written gospels. But there was a time when there existed such a treasure of memories, resting not upon books, but upon the historic facts themselves. Back of all written records of the life of Jesus, and forming the basis and source of all such records lay the knowledge of Jesus which his disciples and friends gained by personal observation. This knowledge found expression in various literary forms. Many of these have perished; yet enough remain so that even without our gospels it would still be possible to give a trustworthy historical account of Jesus. The Acts and epistles of the New Testament would tell us many things, and those too, precisely the most important things. A "life of Jesus" based exclusively on the epistles of Paul, or even exclusively on those which the severest criticism now almost unanimously accepts as genuine writings of the apostle, would be meager indeed compared with the gospel record, yet in the absence of the gospels would be an invaluable gift to the world. The church fathers would give us something not only of that which they derive from the gospels, but something also which is apparently drawn directly from the same stream of living tradition from which the gospels also drew



a little nearer to its source. Even secular writers, Suetonius, Josephus, and Tacitus add a sentence or two of value.

Yet all these witnesses, invaluable in the absence of the gospels, become in their presence secondary sources for the life of Jesus. None of them, nor all of them together—can, except from some special point of view, be compared with the gospels themselves, if only we are assured that in these latter we have trustworthy historical witnesses. Who then were the authors of these books and what opportunity had they for acquiring information? As the books stand today in the New Testament, and as they stand in all manuscripts and versions, even the oldest, they bear respectively the names of two apostles and two companions of apostles. If these four men relate independently what they themselves heard and saw of the life, deeds, teachings, death, resurrection, ascension of Jesus, the question of the sources of the life of Jesus is practically answered: we have in these four books the testimony of four eyewitnesses. Granted only their honesty, one could scarcely ask for more.

But several facts that can be learned with but little observation raise the question, not indeed of the honesty of the writers, but whether these books really profess or undertake to give the direct testimony of these authors to what they themselves witnessed. In the first place, there are related some events which can hardly have been within the scope of observation even of apostles. This is conspicuously true of the narratives of the infancy. And when we come to the two gospels which bear the names not of apostles, but of companions of apostles, we must recognize that we have no knowledge that they were eyewitnesses of any of the events of the life of Jesus. But we do not need to argue wholly from our ignorance. The preface of Luke is quite decisive as respects his book.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed.

These words make it quite clear that the author of the third gospel distinguished himself from those who "from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." Mark has left no such testimony respecting himself, but Papias, the earliest Christian writer, aside from Luke himself, from whom we have any statement about the origin of the gospels, is authority for the statement that John the presbyter said :

Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately the things that were either said or done by the Christ, as far as he remembered them, not, however, in order. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow him ; but afterward, as I said [he followed], Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs [of the occasion], but not as if he were making a systematic arrangement of the words of the Lord. . . .

To these two important statements, that of Luke respecting himself and that of Papias respecting Mark, let there now be added an important fact of internal evidence. An attentive reading of our first three gospels reveals the fact that in certain parts they closely resemble one another, not only in relating the same events or reporting the same sayings of Jesus, but in employing almost identically the same words. Two brief examples will illustrate the fact, the full extent of which can be perceived only by a careful comparison and study of the three gospels throughout. Take one example from discourse material.

Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth therefore fruit worthy of repentance : and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father : for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe laid unto the root of the trees : every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.— *Matt. 3 : 7-10.*

Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father : for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe also laid unto the root of the trees : every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.— *Luke 3 : 7-9.*

Let the other example be from a narrative section.

And walking by the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is

And passing along by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew,

called Peter, and Andrew, his brother, casting a net into the sea; for they were fishers. And he saith unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway left the nets, and followed him. And going on from thence he saw other two brethren, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the boat with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. And they straightway left the boat and their father, and followed him.—*Matt. 4 : 18-22.*

the brother of Simon, casting a net in the sea; for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they left the nets, and followed him. And going on a little further, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the boat, mending the nets. And straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and went after him.—*Mark 1 : 16-20.*

The significance of the fact illustrated by these examples is still more clear, when we observe that such resemblances as these are very numerous among the first three gospels, but scarcely occur at all between any one of them and the fourth. The latter manifestly treats of the same Jesus who is the subject of the other three, yet, in a literary sense, pursues almost an entirely independent course.

These facts and others that are related to them have made it evident that the problem of the sources and mutual relations of the first three gospels—the Synoptic Problem, as it is often called—is a real one, and one which is in large part distinct from any that pertain to the fourth gospel.

The elements of this synoptic problem have already been stated in part. They include, (1) Resemblances of these gospels to one another in several particulars. Thus all three of the synoptists observe the same general historical boundaries, recording the Galilean and Perea ministries and omitting the early Judean ministry reported by John. They record in considerable part the same events in these periods, a fact the significance of which will be better appreciated if it be remembered how small a fraction of all the events of Jesus' ministry is related, and if it be noticed that for the most part the fourth gospel makes an entirely different selection. In the order of events there are marked resemblances; between Mark and Luke especially there is a close resemblance, which is made all the more

striking by the fact that Matthew and Mark much less constantly agree, and that Matthew and Luke scarcely agree at all except when both agree with Mark. Finally there is close verbal similarity in the record of the events related in common by two or by all three of the synoptists; the examples given above illustrate the nature of this similarity. (2) Differences among the synoptists. For despite the marked resemblances, each gospel still has its own somewhat clearly marked purpose, each records some events not related by the others, and omits some recorded by the others, each adds details not found in the others, and Luke in a number of cases gives a quite independent account in place of that which the other two give in common. (3) The statements of the gospels themselves or of early Christian writers concerning the origin of the several gospels. Two of the most important of these have already been quoted, Luke's preface, and the statement of Papias concerning Mark. Another very important one, also from Papias, may be quoted here.

Matthew accordingly composed the oracles in the Hebrew dialect and each one interpreted them as he was able.

As long ago as Augustine the close resemblance of the gospels was noticed, and the suggestion was put forth by him that Mark had condensed his narrative from Matthew. Jerome discussed the question of the relation between the original Hebrew Matthew spoken of by Papias, and the Greek Matthew then and now current in the church. In the eighteenth century interest in the problem revived, and for the last hundred years it has been recognized as one of the most important problems of New Testament scholarship. So many have been the theories propounded that we must speak of them for the most part in classes.

1. The theory of a common document from which all three of our gospels drew. This theory was advocated by Eichhorn in 1794, and for a time commended itself to many scholars. But when it had been modified by the introduction of the multiplied recensions of this one document that were seen to be necessary in order that the theory might account for the facts, it had become so cumbersome, so loaded with unsustained hypothesis that it broke down under its own weight, and today has practically no advocates.

2. The theory of an oral gospel regards the oral teaching and preaching of the apostles and early missionaries as itself the direct source of our synoptic gospels. This teaching, it is held, naturally assumed, while the apostles were still living, a somewhat fixed and definite form, or rather several such forms, resembling one another, yet having each its own peculiarities. The differences of the synoptic gospels are due to the variable element, the resemblances to the fixed element, of this living tradition. Gieseler, in 1818, gave definite form to this view, and it still has ardent advocates. The theory, like the tradition by which it accounts for our gospels, is very flexible, and has in fact received several quite divergent forms. One of the most recently proposed and most interesting forms is that of Mr. Arthur Wright in his book, *The Composition of the Four Gospels*. The serious question concerning this view is not whether such an oral gospel in fact existed, nor whether it is the source of our gospels—this is generally conceded—but whether it is the direct source. The close resemblances of the gospels to one another in certain parts, as well as the peculiar and uneven distribution of these resemblances, lead many scholars to believe that between the oral gospel and the present gospels there must have been a written medium, and that there must also have been some dependence of our present gospels on one another. From this conviction has arisen another class of theories, which admit the existence and the influence of the oral gospel, but do not find in it a sufficient explanation of the facts. They may be grouped under the head of:

3. The theory of an original document supplemented by that of the interdependence of our present gospels. It is evident that this general theory is capable of many forms according to the order of dependence which is assumed. It must suffice to mention the views of a few well-known scholars.

Meyer regarded the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew, the oracles spoken of by Papias, as the oldest document. This was used by Mark, who had as his other chief source his personal recollection of the preaching of Peter. Our present gospel of Matthew grew out of the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew largely under the influence of Mark, and under this influence was

translated into Greek. Luke used Mark and the Greek Matthew as we still have it.

Bernhard Weiss holds a similar view, differing most conspicuously in holding that Luke used not our present Matthew, but a Greek translation of the original Matthew.

Holtzmann, Bruce, Wendt, and others, while recognizing the use both of Mark and of the original Matthew by the first and third evangelists, regard Mark itself as an independent work. According to this view there lie at the basis of our gospels two original and independent documents, the original Matthew and Mark, the latter identical or nearly so with our present second gospel. This is known as the two-document theory.

Uniformity of opinion has evidently not yet been reached. There is, however, a clearly marked tendency to agree on a few propositions. (1) That back of all our gospels lies what may be called the oral gospel, the main source of all documents. (2) That the apostle Matthew put forth a collection of the sayings or discourses of Jesus, probably including also some narrative portions. Some identify this with our present Matthew, but the general tendency is to regard it rather as a source of the first gospel than as that book itself. (3) That Mark put forth a gospel substantially identical with our second gospel. His chief source was his personal recollection of the preaching of Peter, or if he had two coördinate sources these were the original Matthew and the preaching of Peter. (4) That our present Matthew is based mainly on Mark and the original Matthew. (5) That Luke also employed Mark and the original Matthew as his chief sources.<sup>3</sup> Thus on the one side there is a tendency to distinguish our first gospel from the original apostolic Matthew, and on the other to regard all three of the synoptists as resting in no small part upon genuinely apostolic sources.

<sup>3</sup>It is a question which perhaps deserves further consideration than it has yet received whether the matter common to Matthew and Luke but not found in Mark, which is usually assigned to the original Matthew, ought not rather to be recognized as coming from three documents, of which the apostolic Matthew was used by the first evangelist only, the others, however, in common by Luke and the first evangelist, though by each in his own way. Such a view while increasing the number of the sources would explain some facts difficult to account for on the more common view.

When we turn to the problem of the fourth gospel, we find it of a very different character from that which the synoptic gospels present. Here, since we have but one book, the factor of resemblances and differences is at once eliminated. The question of sources is not indeed excluded, but the generally homogeneous character of the book, and the absence of any other work which, containing in part the same material, might serve as a touchstone for the detection of different sources, remand this problem to a secondary place. The great question concerning the fourth gospel is that of its essential authorship. Is it as all tradition affirms, the work of the apostle John, or is it not? Roughly speaking, three views have been maintained: (1) It is in the strictest sense the work of the apostle. This view has been held from the second century down, and is today defended by a large number of sober and able scholars. (2) It is simply a spurious work of the second century, in no sense Johannine, or, at any rate, having a Johannine element so slight as to be almost inappreciable. It was in 1820 that Bretschneider called in question the Johannine authorship, down to that time accepted almost without dissenting voice. He afterwards withdrew his objections, but the question was not dropped, and there are still to be found scholars who find little or no connection between the fourth gospel and the apostle John. (3) The fourth gospel proceeds from John as the chief source of its information, but the actual writer was some disciple of John to us unknown. Substantially this, though with much variation in details, is the view advocated by Sabatier, Weizsäcker, and Wendt in their published writings, and by some other well-known scholars in their class-room lectures.

The truth, we are constrained to believe, lies essentially with the first view, subject perhaps to some modification in the direction of the third. Fifty years of criticism have resulted in carrying the date of the gospel back fifty years earlier than the opponents of its genuineness wished to place it. Whereas, in 1844, F. C. Baur assigned it to about 170 A.D., thus separating it by two whole generations from the latest possible date of John's death, Jülicher, one of the most recent writers

to deny the Johannine authorship, places it between 100 and 125 A.D., with an apparent inclination to the earlier part of this quarter-century. It seems, moreover, impossible to doubt that the clear evidence which the book affords of proceeding from a Jewish Christian familiar with Palestinian affairs in the days of Jesus, and its manifest claim at the very least to rest upon the testimony of an eyewitness from among the apostles of Jesus, will continue to exercise an increasing influence in the decision of the question. At the same time it must be recognized that there are some indications that the book, as we possess it, did not proceed from the very pen of him who was the chief source of its material. It would not be strange if this evidence should at length lead to the conclusion that this gospel is from the apostle John as the second gospel is from the apostle Peter, rather than from his own pen.

Should something approximating to this view come to prevail, and should the views intimated above concerning the synoptic problem stand the test of further examination, we should then have not, indeed, as tradition says, two directly apostolic and two indirectly apostolic books, but four books in varying degrees apostolic. Of the first gospel we should recognize Matthew and Peter as the chief sources; of the second, Peter would be regarded as the chief source, or Matthew and Peter as coördinate sources; of the third, Peter as a main source, Matthew perhaps a second; of the fourth, John would be the source. But, whatever the precise view which shall eventually obtain general acceptance, it cannot be doubted that the total outcome will be in the direction of the results already attained, viz., a more exact, a more impressive, a more surely attested knowledge of the life and teaching of Jesus than previous generations have possessed. If, in the meantime, the historical study of the gospels is made more difficult than it once was, it will also be made more fruitful, and its results will be more surely attested.



## THE BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF JESUS.

By REV. PROFESSOR A. C. ZENOS, D. D.,  
McCormick Theological Seminary.

*The earliest and the latest scenes in Jesus' life attract the Christian—the earliest especially.—The house in Nazareth—the Annunciation and visit to Elizabeth—the effect on Joseph.—The Birth at Bethlehem—the shepherds' watch—the angels' song—the visit to the cave of the Nativity.—The presentation at the Temple—the testimony of Simeon and Anna—the adoration of the Magi.—The flight to Egypt—the return to Nazareth.*

THE Christian Church has instinctively seized on the two ends of the earthly life of Jesus, and made them emphatic by fixing on them as the periods of the festivals and celebrations of its calendar. Christian Art also expressing, no doubt, the same instinctive feeling has expended an apparently disproportionate amount of idealizing energy on the beginning and end of the terrestrial career of the Saviour of men. Almost altogether ignoring the years of the active ministry the great artists have multiplied without number their beautiful representations of the Nativity, the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension. What do these facts mean? It cannot certainly be a mere accident that the hearts and minds of Christians have fondly reverted to these scenes of the Redeemer's life. We reiterate only an old and easily perceptible truth, and yet a profound one when we give answer to the above question by calling attention to the fact that the birth and death of Jesus Christ stand for the great revealed truths of the Incarnation and the Atonement. There is a hunger and thirst in the human spirit which only the revelation of the fact that "the Word was made flesh" can satisfy. There is a craving in human nature which only the knowledge of the fact that Christ "bare our sins in his own body on the tree," can allay.

But of the two periods of the Lord's earthly life above mentioned the earliest is perhaps the one which is more eagerly



FOUNTAIN AT NAZARETH.  
The Traditional Place of the Annunciation

scanned. How often the desire has been expressed that the annalists had given us more fully the details concerning that wonderful birth and that unique childhood. Even the year of the Saviour's appearance in human weakness has been the subject of many searching investigations and divergent conclusions; and as to the time of the year the very opposite seasons have been pointed out as the most likely period for the event. And yet, have not the evangelists furnished enough facts to gratify every legitimate need and desire? If the data be taken in the simplicity with which they appear to be given, and if no difficulties be created where difficulties do not naturally exist in the narratives, they will present in a few clear pictures a complete story of the Advent and Infancy of Immanuel.

The first scene carries us into Galilee, and particularly to the town of Nazareth, despised for its lack of historical associations, and perhaps for the plainness and crudity of its inhabitants. Here lived a descendant of David in lowly circumstances—Joseph, the carpenter. Here dwelt also another descendant of David in somewhat better circumstances, perhaps; for a priest found his wife among her kin. This was Mary, the betrothed of Joseph. It was the age of expectation. Even far away among the Magians of Mesopotamia the hope that a great King and Deliverer was to make his appearance was vividly entertained. In Palestine this expectation was at its keenest. As when the sun after the winter season gathers strength and pours his warming rays on different fields and simultaneously sets the forces of life to working in them and causes it to spring forth and blossom in apparently independent centers, so the Spirit of the Almighty was evidently at work both far and near vivifying the hope of a marvelous manifestation of Himself. But God is consistent with himself, and having aroused this hope he also vouchsafed certain signs whereby its fulfilment should be certified to all men, especially those in whom the hope was aroused at the time. Thus a series of what men conveniently call "supernatural" occurrences took place to arrest the attention and attest God's special presence in what was about to be witnessed.

The first in importance of these supernatural manifestations

was given to the Virgin that was to become the mother of the Messiah. The thrill which filled her heart as she heard the message of the angel of the Annunciation was only deepened and changed into a gladsome acceptance of a great honor divinely conferred when she was further informed in detailed representation of the nature of her offspring that was to be and of his birth and name. Nor was she, the angel assured her, the first person to receive a supernatural intimation of the impending advent of the Messiah, even though she should have the honor of standing in the closest natural relation to him. Her cousin Elizabeth had already been charged and enabled by the power of God to take upon herself the welcome task of motherhood to the prophet that should go before the face of God's anointed. Eager for every ray of light on such a vital matter, Mary hastened to Judea and there heard even more than was sufficient to confirm the angel's words.

But though the message, thus supernaturally given and supernaturally confirmed, rendered her willing, yea, glad, to assume a position otherwise full of difficulty—a position that apart from these supernatural assurances she would naturally have shrunk from—it created a crisis in her relations to Joseph, her betrothed. On returning from a visit to her cousin in Judea she evidently made known her God-assigned task to the righteous carpenter of Nazareth; and in his mind the information could, under the circumstances, lead to but one resolution, *i. e.*, that of putting her away. But here again God's plan was different from that of men. Joseph was apprised in a vision of the night that the Child of his Virgin wife was to be the Saviour of Israel. His mind was revolutionized. Instead of carrying out his purpose of putting away his intended wife, he now hastens to consummate that perfect union between himself and her that should give him the legal right to shield and protect both her and her offspring from all evil that might threaten. Thus the months passed.

A census was ordered, and, according to the Jewish law, it must be taken according to the tribes and families of the nation. Joseph, as "of the house of David," must go to Bethlehem, "the city of David," to be registered. Nothing was more natural than

that he should take with him his bride, and thus secure the enrollment also of her son as the true "son of David." The scanty accommodations of the village were soon exhausted under the strain put on them by the extraordinary inflow of men who, like Joseph, had come to be numbered with their "house." The pair from Nazareth were compelled to take their abode in a natural cave outside the village that had been used as a stable



BETHLEHEM FROM THE LATIN CONVENT.

for the lodging of cattle. Thus did the Divine Providence bring it about that the King of Israel, "the King of kings and Lord of lords" should enter the world in the lowliest imaginable surroundings. Artists have idealized the historical situation, but only that they might the better express the devout feelings roused by the contemplation of the marvelous facts. The process of idealizing adds nothing either to the charm or the suggestiveness of the bare historical picture. The simplicity of nature and history is the simplicity of God's way of dealing, and needs no embellishment.

And yet lowly and simple as the scene presented at Bethle-



THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHEPHERDS.

—LE ROLLE.

hem it lacked nothing of appropriate accompaniment of miracle. In the inimitable language of St. Luke, "there were shepherds in the same country abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them:" and to their minds, filled with natural awe, the message must have sounded like the reassuring words of a friend come to the rescue in time of peril: "Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all the people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." And before they could altogether realize the further details of description through which the angelic message should be verified by them in the manger at the cave, the veil between heaven and earth seemed to be lifted, and upon their entranced ears there fell strains of music such as no mortal had heard till then. Yea, and many have been the efforts since to reproduce that celestial harmony. And though none have succeeded in doing this, yet the attempt has proved a source of inspiration and an uplifting force for the whole art of song. Devout Handels and Bachs and Gounods, as well as Mendelssohns and Wagners who would not bow the knee to the Babe of Bethlehem, have soared higher and sung more thrillingly because the heavenly host on that Christmas night, under the clear sky of Syria, praised God and said: "Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

But the heavenly vision having accomplished its object, having rendered the first announcement of Christ's birth, a glad one to the humble herdsmen of Judea, was lost to their bodily eyes. The incident, however, moved them to hasten to Bethlehem, and, guided by the light which hung over the entrance of the village inn, they found the cave used as a stable attachment to the inn, and there, although not perhaps in harmony with their ideas of the fitting dignity and splendor in which the Messiah should come, they found what they had been told. Thus assured that they had not been the victims of a natural illusion they in turn related their own experiences of the heavenly music and the angelic message and went back to their humble tasks with glad-

der hearts, leaving those who heard their story in a state of greater wonderment and keener expectation.

The next scene portrayed by the evangelist carries us into the Temple. The law required in the case of a first born male child, first the admission of the child into the body politic by the administration of the rite of circumcision. This was duly performed on the eighth day, and the child received the significant name designated by the angel of the Annunciation to both the parents. The further requirements of the law were the ceremony of the redemption of the first born, and the purification of the mother. Though there might be a possible difference of ten days in the dates of these two events, yet if convenience called for it the ceremony of redemption might be put off and the two services rendered at the same time, *i. e.*, on the forty-first day after the birth of the child. On this day, therefore, Joseph and Mary appeared at the Temple with the offering prescribed for the poor on such occasions, "a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons." But scarcely had this service been performed, signifying once more the human and lowly condition of the Infant Christ, before it was counterbalanced by a new testimony to his divine origin and mission. Simeon, a devout man and just, and "waiting for the consolation of Israel," came by the Spirit into the Temple" as this legal ceremony was being ended, and taking the Infant in his arms, poured forth that noble song of praise and gratitude which has remained a religious classic to all the generations following, that song which was also a prophecy of the Child's world-wide mission and of the mother's heart-wound consequent on his earthly suffering. And as if woman also should not be unheard at this first testimony to the Messiah, Anna, "a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, of a great age, who had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity, and was a widow of fourscore years and four, which departed not from the Temple, but served God with fasting and prayers night and day," steps forth from her otherwise unknown career, and adds her voice to that of Simeon in the recognition of the Messianic character and mission of the Child.

These utterances contributed towards the confirmation if not



indeed towards the formation of the resolve by Joseph that he would not return to despised Nazareth but take his abode at Bethlehem and ply his trade there with a view to associating the "Son of David" with his ancestral history and mission in the "City of David." But this was a resolution which he was not destined to carry out. A danger arose presently from an unexpected quarter. Certain Magi, in whose bosoms the great hope of the age had found lodgment, were led either by a direct supernatural sign in the skies designed especially to inform them that their hope was realized, or by a natural phenomenon interpreted by them under supernatural guidance as the sign of the advent of the Deliverer they expected, made their appearance in the capital of Judea; they went to the very palace of Herod publicly declaring their desire to find the new-born king. But that crafty and unscrupulous usurper, moved to suspicion and dread by the least hint of opposition or rivalry, immediately determined to use these "wise men" in putting out of the way the object of their search. To this end he helped them through the learned scribes to find the approximate place of the new king's birth and depended on their further investigations for the exact details that should lead him to strike the fatal blow at his rival. This then was the danger, and how serious it was no one can fail to realize who has learned of the unnumbered atrocities committed by the bloodthirsty monarch even on his nearest kin. A two-fold warning was given to shield the infant Jesus from the murderous design of the tyrant. The Magi were directed, after their act of homage, to depart without again communicating with Herod. And more effectively still the warning was given to Joseph to flee out of the land altogether.

Thus the holy family, crossing the boundary between Palestine and Egypt, passed out of the jurisdiction of Herod. In vain this bloodthirsty tyrant, true to his nature, ordered the infamous massacre of the innocents; the Holy Child was safe in the arms of a Providence whose purposes are never defeated. Herod's days of blood and hatred were, however, nearing their end at the time. He probably did not survive the murder of the infants of Bethlehem by many weeks. When the news of



NAZARETH.

his death reached the ears of Joseph, he naturally determined to return from his temporary exile. He had not, perhaps, heard, when he started on his homeward journey, of the disposition made by the Roman emperor regarding the government of Palestine. If he had any hopes of again settling down in Judea with Mary and Jesus, he was led to abandon them as he learned that Archelaus was assigned the rule of this division of Palestine. The ruler had signalized his accession to power by deeds of cruelty that portended ill for the land as well as for any Messianic plans in behalf of Jesus. Thus Providence by closing up Judea as a place of residence to him seemed to compel his going back to Nazareth in spite of its proverbially bad reputation.

With the arrival of the holy family at Nazareth the period of the childhood of Jesus closes. In a single verse the inspired narrative gives all that could possibly bear on this portion of the earthly career of the Saviour. "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him." The early generations of Christians, ignoring the distinction between the life of the Saviour of the world and the life of Jesus of Nazareth, vainly sought to fill the apparent gap in the gospels. In the search for the information that was to complete the supernatural life they conjured those fantastic and in many cases absurd and repulsive traditions of the infancy which are woven together into the mythical accounts of the apocryphal gospels. Let it suffice to know that the childhood of Jesus in Nazareth was that of an ideal child in a quiet godly home presided over by an upright man and directed by a tender and pure woman.

## THE MINISTRY OF CHRIST.

By PROFESSOR WM. ARNOLD STEVENS, D.D.,  
Rochester Theological Seminary.

HISTORY has only begun to translate into terms of its own that brief career of less than four years which it is usual to designate the ministry of Christ. In the few pages that follow I would fain aid the reader in forming an approximately correct conception of the ministry as a whole, in the first place by outlining its external movement, then by interpreting its inner plan and method. The question may be put very simply: What did Christ do, and how did he do it? What course did he take as he proceeded step by step to fulfil his mission and, in the words of Lange, "Lay the foundations of a new world deep in the spiritual life of humanity?"

One remark should be made at the outset. The subject of this paper is substantially coëxtensive with that of the gospel history. The "gospel" in that early apostolic use of the word which Mark adopts—does not attempt to narrate the *life* of Jesus, but his ministry, his life when it emerges into history; the opening chapters of Matthew and Luke, and the prologue of John are preliminary to the consecutive narrative which forms the body of the evangelical record. These four years, taking that broader conception which includes in Christ's ministry the preparatory and coöperative labor of John the Baptist, constitute substantially *the* subject of the gospel history.

### ITS EXTERNAL FRAMEWORK.

This phase of the subject must be briefly treated. Our Lord's work was confined to the Holy Land, and that not merely in a territorial sense, but to the Jewish communities. There is no evidence that he ever entered Cæsarea, Sepphoris, Tiberias, or any distinctly Gentile city, though possibly he may have done so during his withdrawal to the districts of Tyre and

Sidon. If on one occasion he turned aside to evangelize a Samaritan community, it was partly exceptional, and partly, it may be, by way of recognizing the fact that the Samaritans were not altogether Gentile, but mixed with Jewish blood. In general, however, he adhered to the principle of his mission: "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

Christ's ministry will be better understood by following the method of the gospels and incorporating the work of the forerunner as practically a part of it. The words of the apostle Peter fitly mark its proper scope, "Beginning from the baptism of John unto the day that he was received up from us" (Acts 1:22); for John's work continued side by side with that of Christ for a year or more after he had baptized him. If, then, we begin with John's appearance and end with the Ascension, we have an entire period of nearly, perhaps fully, four years. The gospels themselves do not furnish calendar dates in the style of modern history. Still they have a chronology of their own, and in its way most instructive. The following divisions are marked off in the combined narrative with a certain degree of distinctness, though the assigned length of several of them is necessarily conjectural.

The Opening Events: from the coming of John until the public appearance in Jerusalem; ten or twelve months.

The Early Judean Ministry: from the public appearance of Jesus in Jerusalem until his return to Galilee; about eight months.

First Period of the Galilean Ministry: from the return to Galilee until the choosing of the Twelve; from four to six months.

Second Period of the Galilean Ministry; from the choosing of the Twelve until the withdrawal into Northern Galilee; nearly one year.

Third Period of the Galilean Ministry: from the withdrawal into Northern Galilee until the final departure for Jerusalem; about seven months.

The Perea Ministry: from the final departure from Galilee until the final arrival in Jerusalem; about five months.

The Passion Week and the Forty Days: from the final arrival in Jerusalem until the Ascension; nearly seven weeks.

It would be unfair to the reader whose studies in New Testament chronology are in a strictly rudimentary stage not to remind him at this point that no chronological scheme of the gospel history can as yet make any claim whatever to scientific certainty or precision. Even the year of our Lord's crucifixion has not been demonstratively ascertained; so also as to the duration of his ministry agreement among scholars has not yet been reached. Not a few distinguished authorities still adhere to the tri-paschal theory, which reduces the above four years to three, and allows, as it is usually held, hardly so much as a year to the entire ministry in Galilee. But no advocate of that theory has seemed to me to explain with any degree of probability how the crowded synoptic narrative from the choosing of the Twelve to the feeding of the five thousand can be provided for in the limited time which the theory requires; that portion of the narrative, it will be remembered, includes two preaching tours (see Luke 8:1-3 and 9:1-6, with its parallels), each of which is evidently described as covering considerable territory and requiring corresponding time.

#### THE PLAN AND THE METHOD OF ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT.

Let us now consider the more important question what the Scripture narrative shows Christ's mission in its inner purpose to have been, and in what method he proceeded to carry it into effect. Plan and method there must needs have been. In every realm of intelligence the clearly conceived ideal precedes the highest achievement. Could it have been otherwise here? If the gospels are indeed history and not mere memorabilia, fragmentary annals, they will disclose the fundamental lines on which our Lord wrought at this divine task. If I mistake not, there are three stages of Christ's ministry discernible though not sharply separated from one another, in each of which one feature of Christ's plan is especially prominent.

1. *The evangelization of the Holy Land.* Christ's earlier minis-

try was preëminently an evangelizing ministry. He was first of all, as was John, a herald, announcing a coming kingdom of God. Thus Mark opens his account of the Galilean period, "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe in the gospel;" and from the fourth gospel we learn



TELL HUM—A SUPPOSED SITE OF CAPERNAUM.

that he had been similarly employed in Judea; compare John 3:22 and the introductory verses to the discourse with Nicodemus.

Carrying the glad tidings to the people at large,—this is the characteristic feature of the first half, roughly speaking, of the entire ministry, a period of nearly two years, particularly of his own personal labors. From the coming of John the Baptist to the choosing of the Twelve may be properly called the period of *Evangelization*. From that time on that part of his work was

to a greater extent delegated to his disciples. During the third tour among the cities and villages of Galilee, probably lasting several months, the greater part of it was evidently performed by the Twelve. Later on the same method was applied on a much larger scale, when he appointed the Seventy to traverse Perea and Judea. This appears to have been the most systematic and comprehensive evangelizing campaign of his ministry. It seems evident that it lay in our Lord's plan from the beginning to have the gospel message brought into every Jewish community in Palestine. Thus he brought himself into personal touch with the nation at large. "Good tidings to all the people:" this prophetic word of the angels to the shepherds strikes the keynote of the earlier movement, initiated by John and completed by Christ and his disciples.

In accounting for the tide wave of popular enthusiasm that followed Christ's preaching of the kingdom, we are of course not to omit the factor of miracle. He came with the credentials of a prophet—armed with supernatural power of deed in confirmation of his word of winning grace and of more than human wisdom and power. It is to this phase of his ministry that Peter's remarkable description to Cornelius applies: "God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power; who went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him." It is unnecessary for our present purpose to dwell upon the significance of the miraculous factor in his earlier work as distinguished from the later—sufficient to suggest how it accounts in part for the success of his evangelizing ministry, which indeed appears to have been more successful than many readers of the narrative suppose, who think perhaps only of the one hundred and twenty who came together in Jerusalem after the resurrection, or of the five hundred to whom he appeared in Galilee. That the number of professed disciples was far larger than this will perhaps appear later on.

2. *The founding of the church.* The modern word that will perhaps best serve to describe the second phase of Christ's mission is Organization. The familiar title, Ministry of Christ, is to many imperceptibly misleading. His itinerant life of preach-



ing and miracle-working amid flocking multitudes naturally impresses the imagination, and to the average reader is *the* life of Christ. But he was more than the evangelizing prophet—the preacher to the multitude. He not only announced, he proceeded to found, the kingdom. Lord Bacon assigns the supreme place in history to those who have founded empires, the *Funditores imperiorum*. Jesus was the creator of a society, the builder of the new *Civitas Dei*, the founder of a spiritual empire.

During the long period from the choosing of the Twelve on the Mount of Beatitudes to the final arrival at Jerusalem, about a year and a half, organization is evidently the ruling idea; not merely or chiefly organization external, but that training and development of the corporate life to which the apostle Paul applies the word edification. His time is chiefly, though by no means exclusively, occupied with his disciples. He devotes himself continuously to their instruction; his principal discourses are addressed to them. He speaks now with a loftier tone of authority. The teacher becomes the lawgiver. His words are institutes of morals. The law is not to be abrogated, but obeyed and executed. It is interesting to observe how large a part of the record of the Perea as well as of the Galilean ministry is ethical instruction.

The creation of the apostolate marks the beginning of this long second period and is indeed a typical fact in Christ's whole ministry. But let us not fall into the error, wisely avoided by Canon Gore in his book on *The Church and the Ministry*, of regarding it as the founding of the church—as the first step taken by Christ in the organization of the new society. The true beginning of its corporate life, externally as well as internally, is to be carried back to an earlier stage in the history. The first trace of corporate form in the spiritual organism of Christianity was the institution of baptism; the process of organic differentiation began there. Thus the apostolate was not the genetic nucleus of the church. Neander's position on this question is an impugnable one; the Twelve were organs and representatives of a body already in process of formation.

For let us remember what had taken place during the two

years of evangelization. There had been formed two more or less distinctly marked circles of Christ's disciples. First, as the result of the united work of John and Christ, a numerous aggregate of baptized believers in various parts of Judea, besides many Galileans who were waiting in faith for the coming of the kingdom. Second, an inner circle of those who had from time to time heard the word, Follow me—had attached themselves to his person and were his companions during portions of his ministry. It is these who are frequently referred to as "the disciples" or "his disciples," often when the narrative makes it evident that a larger body than the Twelve is implied. Many of the Seventy were doubtless taken from this circle of disciples.

Now, with the choosing of the Twelve, a still closer circle is formed, its number suggesting a theocratic polity; thus more visibly than upon any one previous occasion, the new kingdom was taking form.

Our space limit forbids following the formative process on through the entire history. It is the distinguishing feature of the Galilean, and indeed of the whole middle period of the ministry. The apostle John, in the doxology with which he opens the Apocalypse, has furnished its appropriate motto: "He made us to be a kingdom."

3. *Redemption.* The third period is that of the passion week and the forty days. Christ's public ministry to the Jewish people ended with Tuesday of the passion week, when he left the temple for the last time, but his ministry of self-revelation to his people of the new covenant continued until "the day when he was taken up."

Less than seven weeks, but how eventful! It deserves attention that nearly one-third of the entire gospel narrative is devoted to the passion week alone. Space cannot here be taken even to enumerate the decisive events and utterances, so swiftly does act follow act in the momentous drama.

The scene for the most part is Jerusalem. Christ's evangelizing ministry covered all Palestine; the founding of the church is chiefly associated with Galilee; the final conflict and victory must take place in the Holy City—the City of the Great King.

Three events stand out conspicuous—the crucifixion, the resurrection, the exaltation; a scriptural abridgment, so to speak, of the last days. Indeed, these three events became in apostolic thought almost a summary of the life of Christ—the very essence of historical Christianity.



BETHANY

What now is the master thought of this last period, the key to this part of the plan? The student of the New Testament is not left in doubt as to the true answer—Redemption. He who alone could furnish an authoritative answer spoke it as he was approaching the Holy City. "For the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a *ransom* (*λύτρον*) for many." Apostolic thought grasped this clue firmly from first to last. So Peter: "Ye were redeemed . . . with precious blood . . . even the blood of Christ." So Paul to the Ephesians: "In whom we have our redemption through his blood." So the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "But Christ . . .

through his own blood entered in once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption." And finally John, from the heights of Patmos, in the words of the doxology cited above: "Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us (*ἔλυσεν*, *set free*, a verb cognate to the noun above) from our sins by his blood, to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever."

These Last Days begin with conflict and end with victory. One of the tasks of Christian thought is to penetrate to the meaning of these varied experiences of conflict, suffering, and death by which redemption was accomplished. "Consider him that hath endured such gainsaying of sinners;" this exhortation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which indeed is a running commentary on the redemptive aspect of the ministry, applies especially to the Last Days. History as well as art helps to set in a vivid light, the moral majesty of the Redeemer-Prince as first in the Temple on the Monday and Tuesday of the Passion week, and then during the trial on Friday, he confronts his adversaries—that compactly organized hagiocracy, priestly and Pharisaic, imposing in its wealth and aristocratic prestige, and in spite of its degeneracy so powerful, morally and intellectually, as to shape at times the whisper of the imperial throne. Upon these scenes history has thrown its light; there are others before which its torch burns dim. Presences from the unseen world take part; moral forces come into play whose measure it cannot take. "What do they mean," said Luther, pausing over the story of Gethsemane, "What kind of words are these, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death'? I hold these for the greatest words in the whole Bible."

But mysteries meet us not in Gethsemane only, but at the cross and the empty tomb, mysteries which the evangelists do not pause in their singularly objective narrative to explain, and which would be utterly insoluble, but for the copious interpretation in the subsequent pages of the New Testament, rendering more than one obscure fact luminously intelligible to Christian faith. And as with the narrative of conflict and suffering, so also is it with that of the victory and triumph—the resurrection, the bodily reappearances, and the ascension from Olivet. The dynamics of

the resurrection life can be made rational only in the light of revelation.

If it be said that the foregoing exposition has gradually shifted its point of view, and professing to be historical has become theological, in a sense it is true. But the events of these Last Days in a preëminent sense lie on the boundary of two worlds, the



GETHSEMANE AND THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

seen and the unseen. The history that does not sit at the feet of revelation can never hope to interpret them, or even the life of Christ at all.

Neander has eloquently and truly said at the close of his *Life of Christ*: "The end of Christ's appearance on the earth corresponds to its beginning. No link in its chain of supernatural facts can be lost without taking away its significance as a whole. Christianity rests upon these facts, stands or falls with them. By faith in them has the divine life been generated from the beginning. By faith in them has that life in all ages

regenerated mankind, raised them above the limits of earthly life, changed them from *glebae adscriptis* to citizens of heaven, and formed the stage of transition from an existence chained to nature to a free celestial life raised far above it. Were this faith gone, there might indeed remain many of the *effects* of what Christianity had been ; but as for Christianity in the true sense, as for a Christian church, there could be none."

## THE TEACHING OF CHRIST IN THE GOSPELS OF MATTHEW, MARK, AND LUKE.<sup>1</sup>

By PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D.,  
Free Church College, Glasgow.

*Groups of New Testament books representing distinctive types of Christian thought—The teaching of Jesus as presented in the synoptic gospels:—The Kingdom of God; the Fatherhood of God; the inestimable value of man; righteousness, and the relation of faith and conduct to it; Jesus' view of himself; his teaching concerning his own experience; the necessity and value of suffering.*

AMONG the writings that make up the New Testament there are certain books or groups of books that are distinguished from the rest by peculiarities of thought and speech on the great theme of all the books, the good that came to the world through Jesus Christ. They differ in this respect, not only from the other books but from each other. The books, or groups of books, referred to present what we may call distinctive conceptions of Christianity; so many varied types or aspects of the common gospel. The books I mean are the first three gospels, the leading epistles of St. Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the fourth gospel bearing the name of John. No thoughtful reader, even though he be not a theological expert, can fail to notice that these books, as compared with the rest, are full of deep thought on the subject of religion, as distinct from mere historical narrative such as you can find in the Book of Acts, and from practical exhortations to godly living such as form the bulk of the epistles of Peter and James. And it is equally noticeable that the thinking is not all of the same cast, that there is one way of thinking in the words of Jesus as reported in the first three gospels, another in Paul's epistles to the Galatian, Corinthian, and Roman Churches, a third in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and a fourth in the fourth gospel.

<sup>1</sup> This is the first of four articles to appear in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* on Four Types of Christian Thought in the New Testament.

These four types of Christian thought it ought to be worth our while to study. Yet diversity of opinion on this point is not inconceivable. The man who looks at the Scriptures from a purely practical point of view—the pastor, *e. g.*, whose interest is in homiletics, not in biblical theology—may think it his duty to ignore these distinctions, or if that be impossible, to reduce their extent and significance to a minimum. His desire is to find one uniform gospel in the New Testament, not a gospel with four phases or faces, still less four gospels that cannot be reconciled with one another. With this last *pium desiderium* we can all sympathize, as we probably all believe that it finds satisfaction in the writings concerned. Few now accept the dictum of Dr. Baur that in the New Testament is to be found not only variety but contradiction. But short of contradiction there may be very interesting variety which it would repay not only the biblical scholar but the preacher to become acquainted with. Noting such a variety must at the least lend to the books in which it appears, a *picturesque* interest, the attraction that belongs to well defined individuality. It may also turn out that the books so individualized, while not contradicting, supplement each other, so that from all taken together in their unmitigated distinctiveness, we can gather a larger, fuller, more many-sided view of the gospel than it is possible to obtain from any one of them. With this conviction I propose to make in four papers an elementary study on the books I have named. And first on the *Synoptical Gospels*, as the first three gospels are named by scholars because of their resemblance to each other.

In these gospels one expression occurs more frequently than in any other part of the New Testament—*The Kingdom of God*, or as it is usually given in Matthew, *The Kingdom of Heaven*. It occurs so often as to suggest the inference that it was Christ's name for the *highest good*, the great divine boon he came to proclaim and bestow. The good news of God, the gospel he had to preach, the synoptists being witness, was that the kingdom of God was come. What he meant thereby is nowhere formally and precisely explained. Jesus gave no abstract definitions of terms such as we are accustomed to; neither of the kingdom of God,



nor of his name for God, Father, nor of his favorite name for himself, *Son of Man*. He defined simply by discriminating use, introducing his leading words and phrases in suggestive connections of thought which would gradually familiarize hearers at once with word and with meaning. One clue to the sense of Christ's great words is, of course, Old Testament prophecy. With the oracles of Hebrew prophets he was very familiar; with the bright hopes these expressed he was in full sympathy, and by their graphic forcible language his own diction was colored. But these oracles, nevertheless, must be used with caution as a key to the interpretation of his words. For Jesus was in a marked degree original, putting new meanings into old phrases, and so transforming many current conceptions that, while the words were the same, the sense was widely different. In his time and in the land of Israel, all men who professed religion talked about the kingdom of God; John, surnamed the Baptist, the teachers in the Jewish schools called Rabbis, and the very strict people called Pharisees. The dialect was one but the meaning various. The Baptist meant one thing, the Pharisees another, and Jesus meant something very different from either. The expression in itself is vague and elastic and leaves room for differences in sense as wide as between political and ethical or spiritual, national and universal.

Leaving Rabbis and Pharisees out of account, it is not difficult to discriminate between the Baptist's conception and that of Jesus. The difference may be broadly put thus: In John's mouth the announcement that the kingdom was coming was *awful* news, in the mouth of Jesus *good* news. John sought to scare people into repentance by talking to them of an axe that was to be employed by a great coming One to cut down barren fruit trees, and a fan to winnow wheat and chaff, and of fire and judgment that were to sweep away and consume all chaff-like men. Jesus, on the other hand, went about among the synagogues of Galilee speaking about the kingdom in a way that did not terrify but win, awakening trust and hope even among the irreligious and immoral. People marveled at the "words of grace" which proceeded out of his mouth (Luke 4:22). Cor-

responding to this difference in the preaching, was the difference in religious temper prevailing among the disciples of the two Masters. John's disciples were a sad company; they fasted often and made many prayers on an ascetic method. The disciples of Jesus did not fast. They were in no fasting mood; they rather resembled a wedding party, as Jesus himself hinted in the parable of the children of the bride-chamber, spoken in defense of his disciples for neglect of fasts observed both by the disciples of John and by the Pharisees (Matt. 9:15).

Probably the surest guide to Christ's idea of the kingdom, and the most satisfactory explanation of the happy mood of those who accepted his evangel, is to be found in the name he gave to God, "Father." We do not indeed find anywhere in the gospels a saying of Jesus formally connecting the two words "kingdom" and "Father" as mutually interpretative terms. As Jesus did not deal in abstract definitions, so as little did he think in system. He did not say to his disciples: "My gospel is the announcement that the kingdom of heaven is at hand, and what I mean by the kingdom of heaven is: God obtaining sovereign influence over human hearts by paternal love in virtue of which he calls all men, even the basest, his sons, freely pardons their offenses, and invites them to participate in fullest family privilege and fellowship." But when you find an unsystematic religious teacher using constantly two words representing two cardinal religious ideas, you cannot help concluding that a real, radical, if unexpressed, synthesis unites them in his mind, and that kingdom and fatherhood, though formally as distinct as a kingdom and a family, are for him only different names for the same thing. The king rules by paternity and the father by his love becomes king.

The frequency with which the name Father is applied to God is a characteristic of the synoptic gospels as compared with the other books of the New Testament. It occurs no less than fifteen times in the Sermon on the Mount. And the reference of the name, in many instances at least, is to a relation between God and men. The standing phrase in the Sermon on the Mount is *your Father* or *thy Father*. In the fourth gospel it is

otherwise. The prevailing expression there is *the Father*, as if pointing to a unique exclusive divine relation between *God* and *Jesus*, theological rather than human. The humanity of the divine fatherhood in the first three gospels is very wide, embracing not only disciples, though they are sons in the first rank, but men indiscriminately, publicans, sinners, evil as well as good, just as well as unjust (Matt. 5:45), prodigals all, nevertheless sons. This also is changed in the fourth gospel. The sons of God there are believers in Jesus, born of the spirit; all others are simply sons of the evil one.

Along with the synoptic account of Christ's idea of God goes an equally characteristic view of his idea of man. From the former we could have inferred what the latter must have been, even in absence of interpretative texts. If all men even at the lowest be God's sons, recipients of his providential benefits, objects of his gracious paternal solicitude for their highest spiritual well-being, what worth man even at the worst must have for God and ought to have for himself and for fellow-men! The doctrine of the divine Father says to all who have ears to hear: Let it never be forgotten that every man even at the lowest has that in him which has inestimable value for God; therefore let no man despair of himself, and let no man in pride despise his degraded brothers. But Jesus did not leave so important a truth to be a matter of logical inference from another truth. He expressly affirmed man's absolute infinite significance. But he did this in his own inimitable way, quaint, kindly, pathetic and even humorous. Instead of saying in philosophic terms: "Man possesses absolute worth," he quaintly asked: "Is not man (any man) better (of more importance) than flowers, fowls of the air, sparrows, than a sheep or an ox, or even a whole world?" The very inadequacy of most of these comparisons invests them with pathos and power. "Of more value than many sparrows!" Men, in the weakness of their trust, and in the depressing sense of their insignificance, need such humble estimates to help them rise to higher faith and bolder self-respect, and the use of them by Jesus is signal evidence of his deep sympathy and also of his poetic tact and

felicity. I value greatly these simple naïve questions of Jesus preserved for us in the synoptic gospels as a contribution to the doctrine of man. There is nothing like them elsewhere in the New Testament; nothing so good, so expressive and impressive, so suggestive, so humanely sympathetic, so quietly, yet severely condemnatory of all low unloving estimates of human worth. Compare with these questions of Jesus, Paul's "Doth God take care for oxen?" Jesus could not have asked that question with an implied negative in his mind. His doctrine was: "God does care even for oxen, but for men more."

One of the great key-words of the Bible throughout is *righteousness*. Prophets, apostles, Jesus, Paul, all use the word and mean by it *in the main* the same thing; yet not without shades of difference. In the synoptic account of Christ's teaching, the idea of righteousness occupies a very prominent place. The aim of a great part of the Sermon on the Mount is to determine what the true idea of righteousness is. Here again we may assume that in the mind of Jesus the ideas of kingdom, father, righteousness were so closely related, that having once ascertained what he meant by any one of the terms you could determine for yourself the meaning of the other two. We find all three ideas connected together in the text "Seek ye his (the father's) kingdom and righteousness" (Matt. 6:33). Seeing then, that the kingdom is the kingdom of the Father, therefore, a kingdom of love, it may be inferred that the righteousness of the kingdom, in the conception of Jesus, is, to begin with, a righteousness of trustful surrender to the loving kindness of the Father in heaven. It is not a legal righteousness as between two persons one of whom makes a demand which the other strives to comply with. It is on man's part towards God trust in his benignant grace. God gives, we receive; and receiving is our righteousness towards the divine giver, whereby we give God credit for benignity and cherish toward him the feeling such an attribute inspires. Such trust in our Heavenly Father, we infer, must be a quite fundamental element in the righteousness of the kingdom. Do the evangelic texts bear out this inference? They do. In the synoptic records of our Lord's words, *faith* holds

a prominent place. "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." "Thy faith hath made thee whole." "O woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee as thou wilt," and so on. We may say that faith was Christ's watchword, as repentance was John's. Very significant in connection with Christ's conception of righteousness is the saying,—one of the most remarkable as well as most indubitably authentic in the records—"I came not to call the righteous but sinners." It was spoken in connection with the censured festive meeting with the publicans of Capernaum, and the word "call" must therefore be taken in a kindred sense, as denoting an invitation to a feast. That is to say, Jesus conceived of the kingdom of heaven, the *summum bonum*, for the moment, as a *feast*, and from that point of view the one thing required of those who are called is readiness to respond to the invitation. That redeeming virtue even publicans and sinners may possess. In this one point they may leave hopelessly behind far more reputable persons, the "righteous" as judged by current standards. They actually did, Jesus himself being witness. That was why he said: "I came not to call the *righteous* but *sinners*." He found that the "righteous," however good and worthy they might be, did not come to his, call, while the "sinners" did. And he counted the coming of the sinners for righteousness. It was the one bit of righteousness still possible to them. However bad they might be otherwise, they could believe in the goodwill of God even to the like of them. They might have been with equal impartiality breakers of the Ten Commandments and of the commandments of the scribes, yet you could not say there was no root of goodness in men who received the tidings of a Father capable of loving such scandalous reprobates. In intrinsic value and in promise for the future, that receptivity of the worthless might outweigh the abounding moral respectabilities of the worthy.

Of course we do not expect to find that this initial righteousness of the sinful is a full inventory of the righteousness of the kingdom as set forth in the teaching of Jesus. Prodigal sons do well in returning to the Father's house, but once there it will be expected of them that they shall live a truly filial life. The

teaching of Jesus, as reported by the synoptists, supplies ample materials for constructing the ideal of that life. The Sermon on the Mount is especially rich in such material. The body of the discourse is really a portrayal in a series of tableaux of filial righteousness. The artist has employed for his purpose the method of contrast, using the righteousness in vogue, that of the scribes and Pharisees, as a foil to show forth the beauty of the true moral ideal. Jesus had never, like the apostle Paul, been a disciple of the scribes, and the fact is of much significance in connection with the difference perceptible between his conception of righteousness and that of the apostle. He had never, I say, been a *disciple* of the scribes, but he had evidently been a faithful *student* of their ways. Witness the vivid delineations of their moral characteristics in the gospels, which, taken together, constitute Christ's negative doctrine of righteousness, setting forth what the righteousness of the kingdom is not. There is much of this negative doctrine in the Sermon on the Mount, for not otherwise than by the method of comparison could the preacher have made his meaning clear to his hearers. But we may disregard the contrast and state in positive terms the drift of the Teaching on the Hill on the subject of righteousness. It may be summed up in two words: be to God all that a son should be to a *father*; treat fellow men as *brethren*. Unfolded, the first word means: seek your Father's honor (Matt. 5:16); imitate his character, even in its most sublime virtues, such as magnanimity (5:45, 48); trust his providence (6:25 f.); cherish towards him as your Father in Heaven sincere reverence, manifesting itself in devout adoration and humble petitions (6:9 f.); value supremely his judgment which looks into the heart of things and not merely at the surface; so shunning vulgar ostentation, religious parade, in almsgiving, fasting, praying, and the like, with insatiable appetite for the good opinion of men (6:1-6). Similarly unfolded, the second word means: be not content with merely not killing a fellow man; cherish toward him as a brother a love which shall make it impossible to hate him or despise him (5:21 f.); be not satisfied with abstaining from acts of impurity towards a woman, regard her as a sister whose honor shall be for

thyself inviolable even in thought, and in reference to others an object of zealous defense (5:27 f.). Be not the slave of legal claims: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. Assert your moral rights by renouncing your legal ones, refusing to be provoked into retaliation by any amount of injustice or unbrotherliness (5:38 f.). Acquiesce in no conventional classification of men as friends and foes, neighbors and enemies; let all be friends and neighbors, or let foes and strangers be distinguished as the objects of a more chivalrous love, so overcoming evil with an absolutely invincible good (5:43 f.).

More might be said on the topic of righteousness. In the synoptical account of our Lord's teaching the righteousness of the kingdom is sometimes presented under the aspect of single-hearted absolute devotion to the interests of the kingdom, or to the will of its king. Contenting myself with simply hinting this, I go on to notice in the last place the account given in the first three gospels of Christ's way of speaking concerning himself.

The synoptical evangelists do not conceal their conviction that the subject of their narrative is a great personage. They hold a creed about him, viz., that he is the person in whom were fulfilled the messianic hopes of the Jews. And they all further represent Jesus himself as holding this view of his own vocation. Yet they are careful to make it plain that Jesus did not parade this claim, but kept it well in the background, as if it were a secret not to be promulgated till its true significance could be understood. The Jesus of the synoptists puts on no grand airs, but is a meek and lowly man. The meek and lowly mind of Jesus found its verbal symbol in the oft-used self-designation *Son of Man*. For there can be little doubt that it is in this direction we must look for the true meaning of the name. Jesus nowhere defines its meaning, any more than he defines the name he gave to God. Here, as always, he defines only by discriminating use. We must listen attentively as he calls himself "Son of Man," and strive to catch the sense of the title from the tone and accent of the speaker. To do this successfully wants a fine, sensitive, sympathetic ear, unfilled with other sounds which blunt its perceptive faculty. For lack of such an ear,

men may get very false impressions and read all sorts of meanings into the simple phrase, meanings laboriously collected from Old Testament texts or suggested by systems of theology. To my ear the title speaks of one who is sympathetic and unpretentious; loves men and advances no ambitious claims. He may be great in spite of himself, by his gifts and graces even *unique*; but these must speak for themselves. He will not take pains to point them out, or advertise his importance as their possessor. The Son of Man is *the Man*, the brother of men, loving humanity with a passionate love which fits him to be the world's Christ, and his attitude is that of one who says: "Discover what is deepest in me and draw your own inference."

The faithful preservation of this name, bearing such an import, by the synoptical evangelists is a service deserving the gratitude of Christendom. It is not to be found elsewhere in the New Testament, *at least in the same sense*. It is entirely absent from the epistles. It occurs frequently in the fourth gospel, but in novel connections of thought, as a foil to the divine nature of the Logos, as the name for the human aspect of Deity incarnate, theological rather than ethical in its connotation. We worship the Son of Man of the fourth gospel as we worship the "Lord" of St. Paul, but we love as our brother the lowly, gracious, winsome, comrade-like Son of Man, of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. We refuse not the worship, but we wish to begin with fellowship on equal terms, as if we belonged to the inner Jesus-circle, to the band of men who were the companions of the Son of Man.

We have to note finally the manner in which, according to the synoptists, Jesus expressed himself concerning his *experience*. Now as to this I remark, in the first place, that Jesus seems to have possessed from the very beginning of his public life intuitive insight into the truth that a genuinely good, godly life could not be lived in the world without trouble. He knew the world he lived in so well, especially the religious world, that tribulation, contradiction, malediction, and worse appeared to him a matter of course for any one who saw, spoke, and acted in accordance with the real truth in religion. and



morals. This was plain to him, I believe, before he left Nazareth to enter on his prophetic career. His anticipations were very soon verified. He had not well begun his ministry before the scribes and Pharisees began to watch his movements and wait for his halting. Hence those significant hints in the utterances even of the earlier period at days coming when the disciples would have occasion to mourn and fast (Mark 2:20). Jesus divined that the ill will already manifest would ere long ripen into murderous purpose, and that he would become the victim of scribal conceit and Pharisaic malevolence. But of this, always clear to himself he spoke to his disciples at first only in mystic, veiled language. As the fatal crisis drew near, he began to speak plainly, realistically, unmistakably, of the approaching passion, saying that "The Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected of the elders and of the chief priests and scribes, and be killed." No sooner did he begin to speak thus realistically of the harsh tragic fact, than by way of reconciling distressed disciples to the unwelcome fact he began to instruct them as to its significance. His first lesson on the import of the passion was a statement to the effect that his coming sufferings were no isolated phenomenon in the moral universe, but only a signal instance of the operation of a universal law: cross-bearing inevitable not only for the Master, but for all faithful disciples. This is a distinctive contribution of the gospels (including John's) to the doctrine of the significance of Christ's death. It is the ethical foundation of the doctrine on which all theological constructions must rest. It is not found in Paul's epistles, in which the sufferings of Christ are regarded as *sui generis*, and from an exclusively theological point of view. It is Christ's answer to a question handed down from the prophets: Why do the righteous suffer? His reply to that question, so earnestly and yet unsuccessfully discussed in the Book of Job, is, in the first place: "They suffer just because they are righteous; their tribulations are the inevitable reaction of an unrighteous world against all earnest attempts to make God's will law in all things." But this reply while true, can hardly be the whole truth. It is not much of a comfort to be told that suffering for righteousness' sake is inevitable. One

would like to know whether the inevitable evil can in any way be transmuted into good. According to the synoptical reports Jesus had something to say on that question also. In effect this was what he said: First, it would turn evil into good for your own feeling, if you could once for all cheerfully accept cross-bearing as the law of discipleship, and take suffering not as an unavoidable, unwelcome calamity, but as an exhilarating experience that lifts you into the heroic region of freedom, buoyancy, and irrepressible, perpetual joy. "Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you; rejoice and be exceeding glad" (Matt. 5:11, 12). Jesus so took his own passion, lovingly, generously, shedding his blood as Mary shed her box of precious ointment on his head (Mark 14:8). But, secondly, it would still more turn evil into good if one could be assured that cross-bearing brings not only exaltation of feeling to the sufferer, but benefit even to others, even to those who laid the cross on your shoulders, benefit to the cause for which you suffer. It is even so, said Jesus in effect to his disciples: suffering is redemptive, it is the price one pays for power to benefit the world. He affirmed this truth in reference to his own suffering experience, in two texts, both of which may be confidently accepted as authentic. "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45); "This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins" (Matt. 26:28). These are great, broad utterances, suggesting deep questions which theology has been trying to answer by its various theories of atonement. Pending a final answer securing universal concurrence, this much is clear from our Lord's words: that his death was not a mere fate but a beneficent event serving high ends in the moral order of the world; procuring for man spiritual benefits. It is a legitimate inference that to some extent the same principle applies to the sufferings of the righteous in general, and that no sacrificial life is in vain, that every such life contributes its quota to the redemption of the world. Jesus is the Captain of Salvation who by his unique merit saves all. But the saved are in turn saviours in proportion as they live and die in Christ's spirit.

## THE TEACHING OF CHRIST IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

By PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D.  
New College, Edinburgh.

*The trustworthiness of the fourth gospel—Differences between it and the synoptic gospels—Considerations that modify the significance of these differences—General consistency of all four accounts—Teachings of the fourth gospel as to the divinity of Jesus—Miracles as manifestations and occasions of teaching—The death of Jesus as a teaching—Christ and man's inner life.*

THE title of this paper confronts us with the necessity of enquiring whether the discourses and sayings of Jesus reported in the fourth gospel may be accepted as genuine; whether, in short, there are any "teachings of Christ" in the Gospel of John. Many critics of repute have held and hold that the words ascribed to our Lord in this gospel are wholly or almost wholly fictitious. And there is so much plausibility in what they adduce in support of this averment, and so much real difficulty in the way of accepting as genuine all that we find in this gospel ascribed to Christ that it is imperative to come to some understanding in the matter.

What test, then, can we apply to the discourses reported in the fourth gospel; have we any criterion by which they may be judged? The reports in the synoptic gospels at once suggest themselves as the required criterion. Doubts there may be regarding the very words ascribed to our Lord in this or that passage of the synoptists, doubts there must be whether we are to follow Matthew or Luke when these two differ; but practically there is no doubt at all even among extreme critics that we may gather from those gospels a clear idea both of the form and of the substance of our Lord's teaching.

Now it is not to be denied that the comparison of the fourth gospel with the first three is a little disconcerting. For it is obvious that in the fourth gospel the discourses occupy a different position, and differ also both in style and in matter from

those recorded in the synoptical gospels. They occupy a different position, bulking much more largely in proportion to the narrative. Indeed the narrative portion of the Gospel of John may be said to exist for the sake of the verbal teaching. The miracles which in the first three gospels appear as the beneficent acts of our Lord without ulterior motive seem in the fourth gospel to exist for the sake of the teaching they embody and the discussions they give rise to. Similarly, the persons introduced, such as Nicodemus, are viewed chiefly as instrumental in eliciting from Jesus certain sayings and are themselves forgotten in the conversation they have suggested.

In form the teachings recorded in *John* conspicuously differ from those recorded by the other evangelists. They present our Lord as using three forms of teaching, brief, pregnant apothegms, parables, and prolonged ethical addresses. In *John*, it is alleged, the parable has disappeared, the pointed sayings suitable to a popular teacher have also disappeared, and in their place we have prolonged discussions, self-defensive explanations, and stern invectives. As Renan says; "This fashion of preaching and demonstrating without ceasing, this everlasting argumentation, this artificial get-up, these long discussions following each miracle, these discourses stiff and awkward, whose tone is so often false and unequal, are intolerable to a man of taste alongside the delicious sentences of the synoptists."

Even more marked is the difference in the *substance* of the discourses. From the synoptists we receive the impression that Jesus was a genial, ethical teacher who spent his days among the common people exhorting them to unworldliness, to a disregard of wealth, to the humble and patient service of God in love to their fellow-men, exposing the hollowness of much that passed for religion and seeking to inspire all men with firmer trust in God as their Father. In the Gospel of John, His own claims are the prominent subject. He is the subject matter taught as well as the teacher. The kingdom of God no longer holds the place it held in the synoptists; it is the Messiah rather than the Messianic kingdom that is pressed upon the people.

On the other hand it has been urged that the style ascribed



SISTINE MADONNA.

to our Lord in this gospel is so like the style of John himself as to be indistinguishable; so that it is not always possible to say where the words of Jesus end and the words of John begin (see 12:44; 3:18-21). This difficulty may, however, be put aside, and that, for more reasons than one. The words of Jesus are translated from the vernacular Aramaic in which he probably uttered them and it was impossible they should not be colored by the style of the translator. Besides, there are obvious differences between the style of John and that of Jesus. For example, the Epistle of John is singularly abstract and devoid of illustration. James abounds in figure, and so does Paul; but in John's epistles not a single simile or metaphor occurs. Is it credible that this writer was the author of the richly figurative teachings in the 10th and 15th chapters of the gospel (the shepherd and the vine)?

But turning to the real differences which exist between the reports of the first three and the fourth gospel, several thoughts occur which at least take off the edge of the criticism and show us that on a point of this kind it is easy to be hasty and extreme. For, in the first place, it is to be considered that if John had had nothing new to tell, no fresh aspect of Christ or his teaching to present, he would not have written at all. No doubt each of the synoptists goes over ground already traversed by his fellow-synoptist, but it has yet to be proved that they knew one another's work. John did know of their gospels, and the very fact that he added a fourth prepares us to expect that it will be different; not only in omitting scenes from the life of Christ with which already the previous gospels had made men familiar, but by presenting some new aspect of Christ's person and teaching. That there was another aspect essential to the completeness of the figure was, as Dean Chadwick has pointed out, also to be surmised. The synoptists enable us to conceive how Jesus addressed the peasantry and how he dealt with the Scribes of Capernaum; but, after all, was it not also of the utmost importance to know how he was received by the authorities of Jerusalem and how he met their difficulties about his claims? Had there been no record of these defenses of his position, must we

not still have supposed them and supplied them in imagination?

That we have here, then, a *different* aspect of Christ's teaching need not surprise us, but is it not even *inconsistent* with that already given by the synoptists? The universal Christian consciousness has long since answered that question. The faith which has found its resting place in the Christ of the synoptists is not unsettled or perplexed by anything it finds in John. They are not two Christs but one which the four gospels depict: diverse as the profile and front face, but one another's complement rather than contradiction. A critical examination of the gospels reaches the same conclusion. For while the self-assertiveness of Christ is more apparent in the fourth gospel, it is implicit in them all. Can any claim be greater than that which our Lord urges in the Sermon on the Mount, to be the supreme lawgiver and judge of men? Or than that which is implied in his assertion that he only knows the Father, and that only through him can others know Him; or can we conceive any clearer confidence in his mission than that which he implies when he invites all men to come to him, and trust themselves with him, or when he forgives sin, and proclaims himself the Messiah, God's representative on earth?

Can we then claim that all that is reported in this gospel as uttered by our Lord was actually spoken as it stands? This is not claimed. Even the most conservative critics allow that John must necessarily have condensed conversations and discourses. The truth probably is that we have the actual words of the most striking sayings, because these, once heard, could not be forgotten. And this plainly applies especially to the sayings regarding himself which were most likely to astonish or even shock and startle the hearers. These at once and forever fixed themselves in the mind. In the longer discussions and addresses we have the substance but cannot at each point be sure that the very words are given. No doubt in the last resort we must trust John. But whom could we more reasonably trust? He was the person of all others who entered most fully into sympathy with Christ and understood him best, the person to whom our Lord

could most freely open his mind. So that although, as Godet says, we have here "the extracted essence of a savoury fruit" we may be confident that this essence perfectly preserves the flavor and peculiarity of the fruit.

On finding that we may accept this gospel as a trustworthy representation of one aspect of our Lord's teaching, we turn to it and learn that the writer's aim is to reproduce the self-manifestation of Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God. With admirable artistic skill he collects from the life of our Lord those acts and words which most distinctly reveal his Messianic dignity, and he so presents them as to bring out, stage by stage, the growing faith and the ever deepening alienation and hatred which this manifestation elicited. The gospel is essentially an apologetic intended to establish the claim of Jesus to be received as the Christ, the Anointed, in other words, the spiritually equipped representative of God among men. And it accomplishes its object not by an abstract argument, nor like Matthew by showing how Jesus fulfilled prophecy, but by the simple method of gathering from the life of our Lord those words and deeds which most conspicuously and convincingly exhibit his actual revelation of the Father and application of his goodness to men.

The whole teaching of the gospel becomes intelligible when we keep in view that it was the author's purpose to select all that might most distinctly assure men that Jesus was the messenger of God and all that most cordially and pointedly invites men to accept what God sends them. In accordance with this the favorite title by which our Lord designates himself is "He whom the Father hath sent" (5:38; 6:29; 7:29; 17:3, etc.), and a favorite designation of God is "the Father which hath sent me" (5:37; 6:38, 39, 40; 7:16; 8:16, etc.) His great aim is to find acceptance as the Sent of God: "the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me" (5:36). "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me" (6:38). Above all, and in the first place, men must recognize him as the Father's ambassador, empowered to reveal the divine love and to express it to men. Whatever be his nature, and whatever be



his previous history, it is not to these that attention is drawn, but to the fact of his being the qualified representative of God on earth, the Messiah. If reference is from time to time made to his nature or previous history, this is incidental to the main purpose which always is to present Christ as the commissioned representative of God to men. Hence we need not be surprised if he says little directly of his divine nature.

At the present time it is gravely doubted whether in any utterance recorded in this gospel Jesus claims to be divine. Professor Beyschlag especially has spent much ingenuity in so explaining the passages which have usually been construed in this sense, as to leave no such claim apparent. The title "Son of God" is a Messianic designation and carries with it no intimation of eternal divine existence as son. The expressions which seem to involve the affirmation of preëxistence (6:62; 8:58; 17:4, 5, 24) only mean that the ideal man existed from eternity in the mind of God. And although he frequently speaks of himself as sent by God and coming down from heaven, these modes of speech are equally applicable and sometimes applied to other men.

Much service has been done by Professor Beyschlag and his fellow workers in compelling us to a stricter exegesis. There is no doubt that the designation "Son of God" is a Messianic title and is sometimes used in this sense in this gospel. Yet this does not explain why Jesus so constantly speaks of himself as "*the Son*" while speaking of God as "*the Father*." This constant setting of himself, in distinction from other men, in a relation of sonship to the Father, produced in the mind of the Jews the impression that he made himself equal with God. And, what is more to the purpose, the same impression was produced upon the mind of John, his most intimate and best-instructed disciple. It is manifest from the prologue that John believed Jesus to be the Logos or the Eternal Son of God, and how our Lord could have permitted this impression to be left on his mind, if it were erroneous, is not easy to understand. When Jesus declared that he was before Abraham, those who heard him understood him to mean that he was personally alive before Abraham; and if they had thought otherwise and that Jesus only

meant to affirm that he existed from eternity in the mind of God, might not they themselves have claimed a similar existence? Certainly the writers who entered most fully into the mind of Christ were most influential in the permanent establishment of Christianity. John, Paul, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, believed in his preëxistence.

It was, then, as Messiah that Jesus primarily manifested himself. In the synoptical gospels he is also presented as Messiah, but mainly in the character of the founder of the Messianic kingdom. In John it is rather the more essential nature of the Messiah as the revealer of God and mediator between God and men, which is in view. And John's idea of the actual qualifications which constituted Jesus the Messiah may perhaps most readily be gathered from the miracles recorded. The miracles selected are those which best serve as object lessons, or manifestations in the physical world, of some particular element in the equipment of the Messiah. In these miracles Jesus was the bearer and dispenser of the Father's good-will, and he desired that in and through them he might be recognized as such, and be trusted as the medium through whom men might come into connection with the whole divine fulness.

Accordingly, as the miracles were meant to tell their own story, their teaching is obvious. In the supply of wine which he furnished for the prolongation of the wedding festivities at Cana, there was manifested his glory as the reliever of all poverty and provider of all innocent joy. When he summoned into life and activity the hopelessly impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, it was made apparent that "the Son quickeneth whom he will." In giving sight to the man born blind he revealed himself, more convincingly than by any verbal teaching, as the light of the world; and when he fed the hungry out of his own stores, the intelligent might have seen that he who could thus sustain the body might be trusted as able also to give the bread that endureth to life everlasting. In the crowning miracle of the raising of Lazarus he reveals himself as the resurrection, inviting men to believe that the life he communicates is undying. By these miracles, therefore, he proclaimed himself to men as carrying in his person a divine fulness of life,—the very life of God, as he him-

self says (6:26) and as imparting this life freely to men. "Life" or "life eternal" is the favorite term in this gospel to express the all-comprehending good which Christ brings to men.

That our Lord foresaw that in order to give this "life" its fullest application to men his own death was necessary, is apparent from several passages. Conspicuous among these are his comparison of his own exaltation to the raising of the brazen serpent on the pole (3:14) and the similar language of chapter 12:32, where he intimates that it is by being lifted up he will obtain ascendancy over all men. In the same chapter he utters the memorable words, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit." It is to minimize the significance of these utterances to find in them only another way of saying, "It is expedient for you that I go away," and to suppose that he looked upon death chiefly as "the passage into a state of glory in which he could act effectively and truly live with his own." It was that; but it was that by virtue of its atoning efficacy. The representative and substitutionary character of his death is brought out in the parable of the Good Shepherd and in his acceptance of the designation applied to him by the Baptist, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." The only way in which a lamb can remove sin is by bearing it as a vicarious victim.

Further, in this gospel our Lord throws much light on the means by which men actually become recipients of the life which Christ brings. Evidently there must in the first place be faith in his words and in his person (5:24; 6:29, 68; 1:12, etc.). But the character of this faith and the entireness of the reception which are requisite for making men partakers of the life that is in Christ are most distinctly brought out in the figure of eating and drinking which he uses in the sixth chapter. It is by eating we assimilate to our own life the nutritive properties of our food; so Christ says we must make him as thoroughly our own as eating makes bread our own. We must make his spirit our own, assimilate to ourselves all that is in him to encourage, to guide, to sanctify. We must so use him for all spiritual purposes that we can understand what it means to be one with him. So eating him we possess life eternal.

## JESUS AS PREACHER.

By PROFESSOR WILLIAM C. WILKINSON,  
The University of Chicago.

*Christ's teaching authoritative, based on knowledge, certain.—His attitude towards the Old Testament; and the legitimacy of biblical criticism.—As to the originality of Christ's teaching.—His homiletic method: His use of opportunity, of rhetorical expedients, of parables.—The equipoise in His preaching.—His elocution.—Christ the Preacher subordinate to Christ the Redeemer.*

THE purpose of the present paper is to point out the chief traits which characterized Jesus as preacher or teacher. Some of these characteristic traits are unique in him. Let us begin with one such.

Jesus taught with *authority*. Nothing in his preaching is a trait more marked, more pervasive, more indelibly waterlined into the texture of his discourse, than this. It is, perhaps, the one note in which Jesus, as teacher, is different from all other teachers in the world, before him or after him. Other teachers have, indeed, assumed or affected the tone of authority in their teaching. With some such teachers the assumption has the effect, was designed to have the effect, of only a pleasant complacency on their part; perhaps even of a certain complaisance toward their disciples or readers. Ralph Waldo Emerson is an instance. In form, he is not seldom as authoritative as was Jesus. But no one feels that he is so in spirit and intent. On the contrary, he associates his readers with himself and makes them share with their master a kind of illusory sense of possessing final and oracular wisdom. Neither writer nor reader is deceived in the premises. The air of seer with which such a man speaks is frankly put on. It is a manner, no more.

Not so with the authoritative tone in Jesus. That is no manner merely. It is of himself. It is the natural language of the speaker. Instead of being put on, it is such that it could not even be conceived as put off. Buffon's word is completely



CHRIST AND THE FISHERS.  
—ZIEMER.

realized. In the case of Jesus, the style is he. But we do not have to *infer* what, if it were left to be inferred, is so abundantly implied. Jesus himself, in express terms, insists on his own authority as teacher. He said to his disciples, "Ye call me master [teacher] and lord and ye say well, for so I am." Again, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" It was no mere superficial complaisance that this teacher would accept from his disciples, in being addressed by them with a conventional title of deference and respect. He claimed seriously all that his title of lord implied.

Intimately related to the trait just named in Jesus as preacher, indeed almost identical with that, yet of a nature to invite separate mention, is a quality for which our language does not, in any single word, afford an adequate name. We shall have to throw out tentatives, make approximations, in order to express it. We might say that Jesus spoke like a seer, like a prophet, like an oracle. But that would very imperfectly, indeed it would somewhat misleadingly, express the fact. It would, to be sure, set Jesus apart from the order of those whom by way of distinction and honor we call "thinkers." So far, it would be just and good. For Jesus was conspicuously, remarkably, *not* a thinker among thinkers. He is nowhere in the records that we have of him, exhibited to us as going through any of those intellectual processes by which men in general arrive at their results in conviction, true or false. He was not a *seeker* of truth. So far as appears he did not reason, institute inductions, draw inferences. He saw without effort. He did not explore and discover. He saw and announced. He sometimes argued; but this to convince, or rather to convict, his opponents; never to satisfy himself. In the respects thus indicated, Jesus was a seer instead of a thinker. But he was not a seer in the sense of being filled from without with an inspiration to which he served simply as organ of utterance. He was never as one carried out of himself. He spoke indeed from God, but it was in the character of a person at the same time consciously one with God. Let us say that Jesus spoke with *authority*, because he spoke as one that *knew*.

A third note, then, braided inseparably into the tone with which Jesus spoke, was the note of absolute, unshaken, unshakable *certainty*. There is in his utterances no doubt, no faltering, no wavering, no slightest possibility admitted, however remotely, of the speaker's being mistaken. What he teaches has in it the solidity—I was going to say—of the planet itself. But that were a feeble figure of speech. God himself could not be imagined speaking in human words with a more pungent and powerful effect produced of the speaker's *knowing* what he affirmed. The degree of the peculiar effect thus described is such in the case of Jesus that that alone would justify and explain the awe-stricken exclamation of one of his hearers, "Never man spake like this man." Christ's characteristic formula of preface, "Verily, verily," was but a kind of spontaneous, inevitable notice and sign given to hearers, of the ultimate, the absolute, character of certainty inhering in that which was to follow from his lips. How convincing, nay, how overawing, it is, when, for instance, in opposition to traditional doctors of universally accepted authority, Jesus says, "But I say unto you"!

It needs to be said that the traits thus attributed to Jesus as teacher or preacher, traits naturally seeming to involve underived and independent quality in their subject, are strangely, almost paradoxically, reconciled in him with an accompanying trait of subordination and obedience. As a New Testament writer expresses it, "Though he was a Son, yet learned he obedience." The case is one without parallel in respect of this blending and reconciliation of two seeming contraries, supremacy and subjection. The mystery of Christ's person as very God and very man, is involved.

Something like the same mystery and paradox seems also to subsist in the double attitude that Jesus held toward the Old Testament Scriptures. On the one side, he treated them with the utmost reverence. He said, or implied, that their sentence on any point which they touched, was final and irreversible. "For verily I say unto you,"—such is his august and awe-inspiring language—"Till heaven and earth pass one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." Nothing

could go beyond this in the way of declaring the absolute truth and authority of Old Testament Scripture. And illustration of the same tenor is inwrought everywhere into the fabric of Christ's habitual discourse.

It is, however, to be noted that this accent of reverence on Christ's part for the Old Testament Scriptures, very singularly involves also a tacit assumption on his part of authority belonging to himself, coequal with their own, nay, even transcending that. The language used by Jesus, as, for instance, in the foregoing quotation from his great discourse, is peculiar: "Verily I say unto you." Such expression is that of one affixing a sanction. It is not that of one subscribing a loyal personal adhesion and obedience. It is rather that of one calmly assuming to endorse and to ratify. The New Testament student is not surprised, therefore, to find Jesus saying, with unaffected majesty, of his own words what he had before said of the words of the law: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."

It is not to be understood as condemnation from him of what the Old Testament taught, when, in the exercise of his right, Jesus fills out, modifies, or even sets aside, a point of Old Testament teaching. If to say this be paradox, it is no less the truth. The Old Testament had foretold that a Prophet should appear, the antitype of Moses; and Moses himself is represented as bespeaking for that Prophet beforehand obedient heed; "Him shall ye hear," is the bidding. It is as if the Old Testament itself provided for its own amendment. Its letter and its spirit were actually therefore in process of being fulfilled, when its predicted Prophet took upon himself the prerogative of setting it at any point aside; that is, of replacing a provisional arrangement in it with something final and absolute; in Scripture phrase, of removing the things which were shaken that the things which could not be shaken, might remain. The annulment by Jesus of the too lax Mosaic permission of divorce is an instance in point; though this ostensible annulment was, it is true, rather only a carrying out to further strictness of a limitation not stringent enough provisionally appointed by the primitive legislator. It



was completion, not abrogation. The freedom with which Jesus handled the Old Testament Scriptures is thus as marked as is his reverence for them. But his freedom in handling them is no derogation from their provisional authority. It is no proof that their just claim was less, while it lasted: but only that *his* just claim was more, who could at points authoritatively define and limit the term of its lasting.

There is one thing further to be remarked on the attitude held by Jesus as public teacher toward the Old Testament Scriptures. Whatever may have been his knowledge in the case, and however different may have been his own individual views on the various points involved, Jesus never disturbed the current popular belief concerning the origin, the date, the authorship, of the various books that in his day composed (as these same books compose in ours) the Old Testament canon. If contemporary belief was mistaken on these points, or on any of them, and if Jesus knew that it was mistaken, he yet did nothing to unsettle it, or to correct it. He left it absolutely as he found it, unchanged, unchallenged.

Such is the fact, the incontestable fact. What does this fact prove? That the contemporary popular belief was right? Hardly. I thus reply, although my own individual opinion is—an opinion long held on grounds of literary criticism alone, and lately confirmed by what seem to be the unquestionable results of archaeological research—that the traditional view on the subject of Old Testament origins and authorships, which view I understand to be substantially the same as that current among the Jews of Christ's time, probably comes much nearer the truth in the case, than any alternative conclusion likely ever to be arrived at and agreed upon by modern higher critics of the ancient sacred canon. Still, Jesus did not, so far as I have been able to see, commit himself, directly or indirectly, on the points involved; and we are left free to infer only that he thought it not worth while to disturb the current belief, even if the current belief were wrong. So Jesus bore himself toward this matter then. Would he so bear himself toward the same matter now? Or, to put our question otherwise, would Jesus still have observed reticence on this topic, if the topic had been in his day a burning one? Our answer

must necessarily be an inferential answer; but to me it seems clear that the whole tone and tenor of his teaching and his life tend in a single direction, and that that direction is to make it probable that Jesus would have put out of his way at once, as things not important enough to engage *his* attention, all questions, though never so burning at the moment, of how, when, by whom, the Old Testament Scriptures were produced. The one thing vital about these Scriptures was that they were from God and were to be revered accordingly.

Does it then follow that men must never inquire and explore as to the genesis and history of the human element in the authorship of the sacred Scriptures? Who would affirm this? But of Christ's purpose in the world, such speculation constituted no part. He came not to gratify intellectual curiosity, but to excite and to satisfy spiritual cravings; in short, to save men. Let those addicted to scientific pursuits make, if they so pleased, scientific quest in the region of Old Testament origins. That, however, was not his own mission; nor was it to be the mission of those whom he would send forth to preach his gospel. Give to science its due, and give to religion its due; render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's.

If this hypothetical conclusion as to the attitude of Jesus toward questions of higher biblical criticism be sound, then the way is now absolutely open to science, free from any interdict to be drawn from the example or authority of Christ, to seek and to find what results she justly may, about Old Testament and New Testament origins. But, if we have rightly inferred from the spirit and example of Jesus, the *religious* teacher, teaching in his name, will not do this. It is a scientific, not a religious aim. The results, whatever they may be worth as science, will have no religious value. I mean, of course, so far as they are speculative and uncertain. Where the results are matters of really verified knowledge, they may undoubtedly sometimes be used to advantage in throwing illustrative light on particular passages, perhaps whole tracts, of Scripture, and so subserve a vital religious purpose. Beyond this, the preacher of the gospel has no warrant from the example of his Master in going. It is a pronounced

negative trait in Christ's teaching that he strongly refrained from intermeddling in the burning questions of his time, unless they were religious, and vitally religious, questions. "My kingdom is not of this world," he seemed always to remember. "Who made me a ruler and divider over you?"—this interrogative refusal on his part of intervention in the matter of a disputed inheritance, expressed also his attitude toward public questions of the day on which good men might honestly differ in opinion. Even a question like that of the difference between Samaritan and Jew, though it involved a vital point of religion, he pronounced his sentence upon, frankly indeed, yet with a certain approach to impatience, with an air of dismissal—because the controversy about it was of only a subordinate and temporary importance. The example and influence of Jesus as preacher are wholly in favor of exclusive devotion on the part of his ministers to what is religious, as distinguished from what is intellectual, in interest, this even where that which is intellectual in interest may border closely on religion. It is not meant thus to be implied that some men may not, in a vitally religious spirit, and with a sincerely religious motive in doing so, devote themselves to scientific exploration of the questions involved in the so-called higher criticism of Scripture. Assuredly, men having a conscientious sense of such vocation may freely do this, animated with the hope of discovering what shall serve the cause of religion in the world. But the work thus described is not included either among the specific activities commanded by Jesus to his *ministers*, or among those recommended to them by their Master's example. "Preach the word"—the word, not higher criticism of the word, is still, as it always was, and always will be, the prime injunction to ministers of the gospel.

In the matter and substance of his preaching, Jesus did not claim to be, and he was not, new and original in any such sense, or in any such degree, as will at all account for his unique influence. His doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood was no novelty. The Old Testament contained it, in such expressions as that of the Psalm, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." Or, if this be deemed not uni-

versal enough to match the doctrine of Jesus, then take this, "His tender mercies are over *all* his works;" or this, "O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, for his wonderful works to the children of men!" No particularism there at least, more than in the teaching of Jesus, "He [your Father] maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good," language addressed, however, be it observed, to his *disciples*, and couched in the *second* person, "*Your* Father." Great pains have been expended by hostile critics of Jesus in the attempt to trace everything that he taught to some source earlier than himself. Such critics do not seem to consider that the more they show Jesus not to have been original, or at least not to have been new, in his teaching, the more they make wonderful the power and the spread of his influence. If there was nothing original and new in his doctrine, then his person, his character, *himself*, must alone be relied upon to furnish the explanation of the history that surrounded him living and that has followed him dead.

The one feature in Christ's preaching that might seem to offer an aspect of originality, consists in this, that the ultimate subject and object of his preaching was himself. No other teacher is in this regard comparable to Jesus. "*I* say unto you;" "These sayings of *mine*;" "If *I* then, your *Lord* and *Master*;" "One is your Master, even *Christ*;" "Come unto *me*, all ye that labor and are heavy laden and *I* will give you rest;" "Ye will not come to *me* that ye might have life;" "*I* am the way, and the truth, and the life;" "No man cometh unto the Father, but by *me*." Extraordinary, unparalleled claims; still, it was only in the article of his identifying himself with the promised Messiah, that Jesus propounded in them anything to be called new. The Christ or Messiah of the Old Testament had for ages been preached or predicted in virtually equivalent terms. "Ye search the Scriptures," said Jesus to the caviling Jews, "for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of *me*." To two of his disciples, so it is told us by Luke, Jesus, after his resurrection, beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, interpreted in all the Scriptures the things concern-

ing *himself*. In its essence, therefore, the doctrine of Jesus was not new doctrine, when he made himself the subject and the object of his own preaching.

We have hitherto considered only traits in Jesus the preacher belonging necessarily to him, because he was such as he was in his person and character, or else because he was exclusively religious in his aim. Let us now turn our attention to traits in him that might be regarded as more incidental, more separable from the person and character of the preacher, more a matter of choice on his part, choice that might conceivably have been different from what it was. We treat now of the *homiletic method* of Jesus.

In the first place, it is very noticeable that Jesus took advantage of the incalculable oratoric reinforcement to be drawn from fit *opportunity*. He hinged and jointed his instructions into particular occasions suggesting them, or at least making them at a given moment especially apposite. The gospel historians are faithful in enabling us to make this useful note as to Christ's method in preaching.

Again, and in the same wise spirit of thrifty self-adjustment to occasion, Jesus, where occasion did not offer itself ready-made to his hand, would say something introductory to serve the purpose of an occasion. For instance, he would rouse attention and expectation, by providing beforehand, over against what he had to say, some antithesis to it, real or apparent. "Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil," is an illustration of this method on the part of Jesus. For we have here, not, of course, abrogation of civil law with replacement of it by lawlessness, by anarchy—which, in the sphere of human government, the absolute *non-resistance* in terms enjoined would be; but simply a rhetorical device for commanding attention and strengthening impression. Indeed the whole series of antitheses from which our example foregoing was drawn, may be said itself to constitute an illustration at large of the point in teaching method here brought to attention. Jesus wished to enforce the high severity of the personal righteousness

required in the kingdom of heaven. He does it most effectively by contrast. He sets his own standard of righteousness over against the imperfect standard maintained by the popular religious teachers of his day: "Except your righteousness shall *exceed* the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." This is the general statement, and then follows the series of instances in which Jesus points out the imperfections, or the faults, of the morality taught, as from the Mosaic institutes, by the best-reputed contemporary doctors of the law. It is the homiletic expedient exemplified of teaching by antithesis.

*Paradox* was with Jesus another favorite expedient of teaching. Perhaps no other teacher ever made proportionately more use of this expedient than did he. You cannot understand Jesus without often making allowance for paradox in his form of expression.

Jesus was sometimes even more frankly rhetorical than has yet been shown or suggested. Take, for instance, that saying of his, "Whosoever shall break one of the least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven." Here, manifestly, the rhetorical quest of balance and antithesis, of symmetry and epigram, in form of statement, leads Jesus to say what he did not desire to have taken in an absolutely literal sense. Hyperbole is yet another rhetorical expedient freely used by Jesus in his discourse. Consider the following: "If any man . . . *hateth* not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." The vast, the immeasurable, claim on his own behalf which Jesus habitually makes does not itself admit of overstatement; but the just statement of it here made is made by means of overstatement the most extraordinary. It is a case of hyperbole rendered more hyperbolic through accumulation and climax. We must beware, in the case of Jesus, as theologians long ago ought to have done in the case of the apostle Paul, not to make dogma out of mere rhetoric.

The *parable* was one more feature in the preaching method of Jesus; perhaps the most commanding one of all. Certainly no

one else ever approached Jesus in mastery of this teaching instrument. Evidently this teaching instrument is one that may equally well be employed to throw light or to throw darkness on the subject of discourse. That Jesus employed it now for the one and now for the other of these two opposite purposes, seems implied in the narrative of the evangelists. "Opposite," I call these purposes. But even when Jesus employed the parable for darkening truth, we may be sure that the darkness cast was cast for the gracious end of awakening desire for light. Hearers that really wished light would be given light. It is not for a moment to be supposed that Jesus ever darkened men's minds with parable, when a different method of instruction adopted by him would have had on those same men's minds an effect more salutary both for themselves and for the general interests of the kingdom of God in the world.

A further feature belonging to the homiletic method of Jesus was the just balance that he held between the two contrasted moods and tendencies of thought often designated, respectively, the optimistic and the pessimistic. Jesus was neither a pessimist nor an optimist, whether in his temperament or in his preaching. He mingled light and shadow, hope and fear. It cannot truly be said that either one of these two mutual opposites predominated in Jesus, whether we regard him in his person or in his preaching. It is true, indeed, that toward the close of his earthly career, the animating hope, if ever such hope lived in his breast, of great and saving results for his nation and for mankind, to flow from his preaching, seems to have suffered extinction; and the darkness, both of the doom impending over the guilty Jewish state, and of the end awaiting himself in Jerusalem, overshadowed more and more deeply his spirit. The predictions, couched now in parable and now in straightforward statement, that issued from his lips, were gloomy in the extreme. But even these were relieved with gleams of promise and of hope—for a remnant; and the discourse of Jesus, as a whole, if not to be pronounced enlivening rather than depressing, was at least enlivening as well as depressing. To describe his preaching as mainly of a bright and cheering tenor, would be to make a

serious critical mistake of disproportion in judgment. He saw things as they were, and not under any glamour of rose color thrown upon them from a light and happy temperament in himself. Solemnity is the prevailing character impressed upon the teaching of Jesus. If it is once said that Jesus "rejoiced in spirit," that note of mood in him produces on the reader an effect of the exceptional rather than the ordinary; and the joy attributed seems, even in the case of exception, to have been a joy impressively solemn in character. The church has made no mistake, all these Christian centuries, in conceiving her Lord as a Man of Sorrows and Acquainted with Grief.

Accordant with the equipoise in Jesus between the sanguine and the despondent, in his way of regarding the world, is the even-handed justice with which he metes out his awards of praise and of blame. There is, however,—and it could not be otherwise if justice prevailed—a very noticeable predominance of blame over praise in the sentences from his lips. The note of rebuke, nay, even of heavy-shotted denunciation, is very strong (and this note not infrequently recurs) in the discourses of Jesus. Nothing could exceed the unrelieved, the red-hot, the white-hot, indignation and damnation launched by Jesus against certain classes and certain individuals among his hearers. The fierceness indeed is such that it is plainly beyond the mark of what could properly be drawn into precedent for any other preacher. Jesus is hardly in anything else more entirely put outside the possibility of classification with his human brethren, than in the article now spoken of.

Of the physical manner, that which may be called *elocution*, in Jesus as preacher, we have absolutely no notice in the histories extant of him. Once or twice indeed it is noted that he looked round about him with anger at the hardness of heart displayed by certain hearers of his; and once that looking upon a young man he loved him. Such hints, rare as they are, stimulate us to imagine that the features of Jesus were mobile and expressive during his speech. One thing, however, we instinctively feel to be certain, that even in his most terrible invectives there was no violence of tone, of gesture, or of manner. If fidelity would



not permit him to appear relenting, equally, the quality of love in him would not permit him to be vindictive.

In fine, and somewhat abruptly, by way of even doing to the present topic a seeming disparagement required by truth, it must be said that Jesus as preacher was in his own view nothing whatever in importance compared with Jesus the suffering Savior. "I, *if I be lifted up*, will draw all men unto me," he said, near the end, with a depth of meaning and pathos beyond reach of human plummet to sound; and, at the very last, "This is my *blood* of the covenant, which is *shed for many*." What his preaching, even *his* preaching, had failed to effect, it remained for his obedience unto death, the death of the cross, to accomplish. His preaching itself thus acknowledged that his preaching alone was vain. Jesus as preacher preached Jesus as Redeemer by blood. He set herein an example which every faithful minister of his gospel, to the end of the age, must follow.

## CHRIST IN ART.

By PROFESSOR RUSH RHEES,  
The Newton Theological Institution.

WHEN Eusebius was asked by the sister of Constantine for a likeness of Christ, he reminded her that she could not expect a likeness of his unchangeable nature, nor yet of his glorified humanity. The only possible likeness would be one of the frail human body, which he carried before his ascension. Even this last was unattainable, since the Christians could tolerate no attempt to portray him who was to them God manifest in the flesh. The scruples that controlled that early Christian feeling have long since vanished, and no divine mystery, whether of the Trinity or of the Eternal "whom no man hath seen nor can see," has been unattempted by an art that has at least not lacked in daring. And as one turns from the attempts to picture the Master of us all, one is often moved to feel that the old reserve had advantages that might commend it to these latter days. We cannot think of Christ apart from the transcendent aspects of his nature, but how can they be portrayed? What men mean for strength and dignity often appears only sternness. What they mean for boundless compassion appears effeminacy. Zeal too often becomes mere fanaticism. Or the effort to combine all his characters results in something neither human nor divine, at best an unnatural symbol.

It is generally conceded that no tradition has come down to us concerning the personal appearance of Jesus. Doubtless in the first days the thought of the glorified Lord who would shortly come again, left little room for interest in the form which he wore in the days of his humiliation. A description purporting to come from a contemporary, Lentulus, and which has greatly influenced modern attempts to portray Jesus, is a palpable forgery from about the twelfth century. The so-called miraculous portraits, said to have been imprinted on cloths by Jesus as he wiped

his face with them, and to have been given one to Veronica, the other to Abgarus, are also apocryphal. In the writings of the first two centuries there is not a trace of any description of the Lord's appearance, excepting hints that relied avowedly on inference drawn from Scriptures such as Isaiah 53:2, 3 and Psalm 45:2-4, or from incidents in the Lord's own life. In fact there were two



SYMBOLS FROM THE CATACOMBS.

diametrically opposed conceptions current in the Church, defended by passages from the Old Testament such as those just cited, the prevailing opinion in the earlier time being that the Lord's personal appearance was at the best without beauty; while another judgment believed that he was "fairer than the children of men."

Though indulging these guesses as to his appearance, it is not strange that the early Christians shrank from the idea of a picture of Christ. Their revolt from idolatry, and a care to give no ground for the charge that they were simply devotees of a new idol would operate to prevent their making pictures of their

Master. Furthermore the second commandment was not unnaturally felt to forbid the making of any image of the "Word made flesh." And had they had the impulse so to use art to honor their Lord and assist their devotion, the associations of the only art they knew with the excesses of idolatrous worship, and with the debauchery of heathen life, would make it seem an unfit handmaid for religion pure and undefiled.

Yet the early years were not without some artistic expression. At first the ventures were most modest. On the grave of some Christian, or the stone of some seal, or the walls of a chamber in the catacombs, symbols began to appear. Commonest among these symbols are the fish and the monogram. The fish had the double advantage of representing in itself various Christian ideas such as baptism, and the gathering of the soul into the church; and of carrying in the Greek form of its name an anagram of many names of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

The monogram dates in its developed form at least, from the time of Constantine. It consists of a combination of the first two letters of the Greek word *Χριστός*. A rarer form is a combination of the initial letters of the two names *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*. These doubtless grew out of a use of the simple X with a possible double reference to Christ and the cross.

To these pure symbols were added symbolic scenes from the Old Testament, such as the history of Jonah, typifying the resurrection; that of Daniel in the lion's den, and the three children in the furnace, setting forth the same fact; Moses striking the rock, to suggest Christ the fountain of living water; the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, to suggest the sacrifice of Christ. Heathen mythology also furnished symbols, the most common being Orpheus charming the beasts, to suggest Christ's restoration of harmony to the creation. With these symbols there appear two others drawn from the New Testament, namely the Lamb and the Good Shepherd. This last is perhaps the favorite one of all. It is found on the walls of the catacombs of St. Callistus and of St. Priscilla, as well as in other ancient cemeteries and on early sarcophagi. While the idea comes from the New Testament, the type

<sup>1</sup> ΙΧΘΥΣ = Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ. Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour.

of representation is so like heathen pictures of Apollo feeding the flocks of Admetus, or of Hermes the Ram-bearer, as to suggest that the Christians have merely consecrated a current type. One possible evidence of this indebtedness appears in the fact that in some of the pictures, as in some heathen prototypes, a



goat or kid takes the place of the lamb. This substitution was not, however, unthinking, since in one picture the Shepherd with the kid stands between a sheep and a goat. It is doubtless a confession of faith in the wide mercy of the Saviour, and perhaps a remonstrance against the rigor of the Montanists.<sup>1</sup>

In these pictures the Good Shepherd is a young man, beardless, with a classic face. This too was an inheritance from the pre-Christian days. But it seems to have suited the ideas of the Christians, for when we find them venturing on more than a symbolical representation of the Lord, this type of face is the one adopted. Christ is so pictured in several scenes taken from the gospels,—notably the raising of Lazarus, the scene at Jacob's well, the miracle of the loaves and fishes,—as well as in pictures of the Lord on his judgment throne with the books before him. It would seem

<sup>1</sup> See the beautiful sonnet by Matthew Arnold.

*He saves the sheep, the goats he doth not save,  
So rang Tertullian's sentence, on the side  
Of that un pitying Phrygian sect which cried :  
" Him can no fount of fresh forgiveness lave,  
Who sins, once washed by the baptismal wave."  
So spake the fierce Tertullian. But she sighed,  
The infant Church ! of love she felt the tide  
Stream on her from the Lord's yet recent grave.  
And then she smiled ; and in the Catacombs,  
With eye suffused but heart inspired true,  
On those walls subterranean, where she hid  
Her head 'mid ignomony, death and tombs,  
She her Good Shepherd's hasty image drew—  
And on his shoulders, not a lamb, a kid.*

that by this young and vigorous type of face the Christians wished to express their belief in the victorious immortality of their ascended Lord. There is something of exultation in their conception, which shows that the notion that Jesus was without comeliness, was applicable in their thought to the state of Christ's humiliation only. It is clearly the Lord of life and glory rather than the Man of sorrows that meets us in the Catacombs.

The scruple against portraying the Lord having passed, different types of picture became current according as one or another conception of Jesus was uppermost in the mind. We have seen that the early pictures suggest the glorious Lord, now at the right hand of power. Towards the fourth century the beardless face gave way to one with a beard, and of an older aspect. The idea that the appearance of Jesus was plain or even repellant was one that the growing spirit of asceticism in the church eagerly adopted. And as this spirit laid hold on the church's life, a change came over the representations of Christ. Gradually there became current a type of face haggard, full of grief, marked by suffering, a type emphasizing strongly the sufferings and the humiliation of Christ rather than his present glory. This face is older than the earlier type, and is bearded, the hair also being long and parted in the middle. This conception soon became a tradition in the church, and any departure from it was held to savor of sacrilege. It is known as the Byzantine type and is found in most old mosaics and in many old paintings.

The beard and the long hair naturally fit with the notion that Jesus, like John the Baptist, was a Nazarite. These actually appeared independently before the development of the Byzantine type, and, in fact, are now characteristics of the artistic ideal of the Christ head. Some of the early bearded representations of Jesus retain the beauty and vigor of the smooth-faced youth. In the pictures of Jesus, in fact, different conceptions of him found differing expression; and it is interesting to note that the two so-called miraculous portraits represent the rival types, the uncomely and the beautiful,—that connected with the name

of Veronica giving the thorn-crowned man of sorrows, while the Abgarus picture shows a bearded face, youthful and fair.<sup>1</sup>

This diversity of conception was an inevitable result of the loss of all record of Jesus' actual appearance, and also of the transcendence of his nature as it is set forth in the New Testa-



MOSAIC HEAD OF CHRIST IN THE CHURCH OF  
ST. APOLLINARE, RAVENNA.

ment. The incarnation, involving as it does the union of the divine and human, is beyond the power of man to comprehend. Much less can he picture it. All that is possible is an apprehension, more or less adequate, of one or more features of that sur-

<sup>1</sup> For the early period see especially Bishop Westcott's essay, *The Relation of Christianity to Art*, in his *Commentary on the Epistles of St. John*, Macmillan, and in his *Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West*, Macmillan, 1891. See also Archdeacon Farrar's, *The Life of Christ as Represented in Art*, Macmillan, 1894, and Mrs. Jameson's *The History of Our Lord in Art*, Longmans, 1865.

passing Person. This has been proved by the course of Christian thinking on the person of Christ. It is evident in the course of Christian art.

The types of representation are not confined to the two which early became current. The development of Mariolatry carried with it a practical if not avowed transfer of the characters of gentleness and compassion from Jesus to Mary. From the eleventh century on, the Last Judgment came to be a familiar subject for artistic representation. One readily recalls the frescoes of Orcagna in the Campo Santo at Pisa, many paintings by Fra Angelico, that of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel, that of Tintoretto at Venice, and the lurid pictures of Rubens at Munich. At first Mary was represented only as one of those at the side of the Lord. Later, however, she appears in the attitude of an intercessor, seeking to soften the rigor of the offended Christ who, as Mrs. Jameson says, appears rather as prosecutor than as judge. This last perversion of truth has not escaped criticism even from adorers of Mary. But it shows how the pictures of Christ are the register of the artist's conception of him.

The breaking with tradition that came with the revival of learning led to a general abandoning of the stereotyped conceptions that were ruling sacred art. A note of reality entered into it that was fresh and individual. This appears plainest in the representations of the Madonna, in whom human beauty and tender motherhood assert their rights as over against the unearthly mode of representation that had removed her far from common life. Unfortunately the interest of that day found so much more to its mind in the Virgin than in her Son, that pictures of his face are relatively rare. In such as exist, however, the new individuality of conception appears. Reference to Michael Angelo's Last Judgment has already been made. The commanding figure of the Lord, stern and terrible, visiting vengeance on the sinful world, is at least original. If we repudiate the conception as false in its severity, losing as it does all thought of "the Lamb in the midst of the throne," we must acknowledge its clearness and force. The artist has made it tell his conception unmistakably. The break with tradition, however, did not issue in a gen-



uine realism. The Lord, however his face and form were conceived, was pictured in the midst of ideal or distinctively modern and European surroundings. The Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci, the Miracle at Cana by Veronese, the Blessing of Little Children by Rembrandt, not to mention the earlier and more formal works of Fra Angelico, do not carry us to Palestine and the first century; rather they are altogether ideal compositions, or Jesus is placed in an Italian or German environment,—the general scene, the type of face, and the halo or nimbus with the conventional garb serving to identify the Lord.

In this, sacred art followed the method pursued in all the painting of the time. Doubtless the archæological question hardly occurred to these men. In so far as in painting Christ they were consciously expressing a belief rather than reproducing an ancient scene, the archæological consideration would be indifferent to them.

Not until our own day has sacred art called in archæology to be her handmaid. The modern study of the life of Jesus, in connection with its social and material conditions, has awakened an interest in the Bethlehem stable, and the Nazareth home, the hillsides by the sea of Galilee, and the Holy City with its temple and palaces, as they actually appeared when our Lord knew them. We are interested to know what he wore, what kind of books he read, how schools were conducted in Nazareth, and what sort of service they had from Sabbath to Sabbath in the synagogues. Inquiry into these things has given a whole mass of new material to artists who will attempt to picture Christ.

And artists have not been slow to use the material thus given. We now have a picture of the Visit of the Shepherds to the Bethlehem stable, by Le Rolle,<sup>1</sup> that gives a new reality to the record of that first Christmas morning. Holman Hunt spent many years of study in Palestine to enable him to tell the story of the "Boy Jesus in the Temple." The more familiar picture represents the moment when Mary has found him and is leading him away as he says: "How is it that ye sought me?"

<sup>1</sup> See illustration on page 438.

There is another that is known to the public only through an engraving published in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1890, and reproduced in Archdeacon Farrar's recent book, *The Life of Christ in Art*. It represents the boy considering the questions of the Doctors. The engraving is not at first sight attractive, but it repays study because of its minute accuracy of detail. One longs to see the original. When these pictures of Le Rolle and Hunt are called realistic we must not think of them as lacking in ideality. They suggest at once the transcendent nature of the subject they present, and that not only by the use of the halo. They are marked by a reverence and high spiritual insight that makes their realism simply a contribution to our knowledge of the Word made Flesh. There are other realists whose religious feeling is not so true. Undeniably great as is Muncacsy's "Christ Before Pilate,"<sup>1</sup> fine in its details, and most strong in its conception, yet the face and figure have more of the fanatic in them than suits the Friend of publicans and sinners. Even less satisfactory, though immensely suggestive, are the Galilean scenes of Verestchagin. The environment in these pictures is excellent, and so far as it goes the representation of Jesus is instructive, but it fails to go under the surface and discover what Matthew Arnold called the sweet reasonableness of Jesus, not to mention the more transcendent qualities that no painter can depict, but which may give a picture an atmosphere full of "the sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused."

Even more noteworthy than the strict realistic development in religious art is the movement represented at its best in Germany by Von Uhde and Zimmermann, and less attractively in France by Béraud. The aim of these artists seems to be "to represent Christ and the New Testament events as present day actualities." Fritz von Uhde is called the apostle of the movement. Having resigned a commission in the German army, he studied painting in Munich and Paris, and in 1884 exhibited his *Suffer Little Children to Come Unto Me*. He had chosen for the scene a German peasant's house, and the children that were

<sup>1</sup> See illustration on page 410.



THE LAST SUPPER.  
—VON UHDE.

crowding about him were German children. All was conceived with great reverence, and executed powerfully. The picture at first aroused severe criticism, but it has made its way into high favor. Mention may be made of a Holy Night, of which a copy was published in the Christmas number of *The Century* for 1891, in which the same peculiarities appear. Especially interesting are the intensely modern cherubs that are introduced into the picture. Prominent among others of Von Uhde's works is a Last Supper.<sup>2</sup> The scene is a German peasant house, the table and its furnishings are very modern, though of humble sort; the group of disciples consists of humble German folk,—plain, poor, but most earnest. The moment chosen is that of Judas' departure, and Jesus seems about to institute the Supper. The grief and consternation of the disciples, together with most loving attentiveness to whatever he will say, are wonderfully set forth. There is much more in the same spirit from this artist. The one unsatisfactory thing in his work is the Lord's face. It lacks the force we demand in it. It is not equal to the rest of Herr von Uhde's conception.

This last criticism does not lie against another artist of the same school,—Ernst Zimmermann. One of the most satisfactory of recent pictures is his Christ and the Fishermen.<sup>2</sup> The moment depicted seems to be that when Jesus says to Peter, "From henceforth thou shalt catch men." The scene is a lake side. The fishermen have left their boat, and the Lord is speaking with the oldest of them, while all listen with intense interest. The Lord's face is in profile, which may account for its satisfactoriness, leaving, as it does, something for each devout imagination to supply. But the serious earnestness, the consciousness of a high mission, that appear in it, as well as the affection and strength apparent in the way the hands lie on the old man's arm, show that the artist has a deep and clear thought of Christ. Much the same figure and character appear in his Christus Consolator,<sup>3</sup> where Christ is seen bringing healing to a dying boy, who lies on a pallet in a chamber pinched by

<sup>2</sup> See the illustration on page 499.

<sup>3</sup> See the illustration on page 477.

<sup>3</sup> See the illustration on page 509.

very modern poverty. Much the same reverence and some of the like power are to be seen in L'Hermitte's *Friend of the Lowly*;<sup>1</sup> or, as it is sometimes called, *The Supper at Emmaus*. It has become familiar to very many through its exhibition in Chicago and in Boston.

The leading French representative of this movement, Jean Béraud, while strong and most original in his work, is not so satisfying. In his choice of scenes and his treatment of them there is an element of criticism of modern life that has been well termed *sarcastic*. Criticism life clearly needs, but these introductions of Christ, and especially of Christ and his cross, into Parisian surroundings are at first sight repellant. However, it must be remembered that the crucifixion was Jerusalem's condemnation for its blindness and hypocrisy, far more than its execution of a disturbing enthusiast, and that these pictures are a powerful sermon addressed to modern pride and godlessness. The hopeful feature in all this movement is that it is evidently art with a message, and that a most earnest one. It has taken hold on some aspects of truth concerning the Lord, it has felt their universality, and in this way it most forcibly asserts their pertinence to our day, and our day's need alike of Christ's rebuke, and of his tenderness and inspiration.

In idea, though not in method, there should be associated with these last mystical realists, a group of men who in method follow more nearly the older lines of representation and, in picturing Christ, go for details of architecture and dress partly to a knowledge of archæology, but more to a fertile and chaste imagination. They may be called the idealists pure and simple. Of these Hoffmann is the easy leader. His pictures are so well known that it is necessary only to call attention to one that has recently been reproduced in photograph. It is *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*. The face is the same that has become familiar in this artist's work<sup>2</sup> and the story is sweetly and profoundly told. Plockhorst, whose *Good Shepherd* is familiar, is of the same school with Hoffmann. It is probable that we

<sup>1</sup> See illustration on page 517.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, the cover of this number and the frontispiece.

should class with the work of these idealists also a remarkable picture of the "Temptation" by G. Cornicelius. It is simply a noble Face wrapped in intense thought—note how the left hand grips the wrist—while the suggestion of easy empire which comes from the Devil who seeks to put a crown on Jesus' head, reveals the reason for the intense gaze which tells of battle waging in the heart. The reality of "suffering" in temptation, together with complete freedom from the taint of the least surrender, are marvelously pictured here.

How interesting it would be to consider the work of Rossetti and Millais and Burne-Jones, of the new Russian school led by Nicholas Gay, of Morelli in Italy, and Carl Bloch among the Scandinavians! But the aim of this paper is not a history, only a hint at some of the relations of Christ to art and some of the ways men have chosen to depict him. Such a consideration leaves the conviction that it is well that we have no copy of his earthly features, it is well that different conceptions of him seek expression in pictures. For our lack of an authentic portrait forces a closer study of that other portrait found in the gospels, to which Eusebius commended his Empress. And the diversity of representations forces us to criticise the conceptions that have so found expression, and leads to the discovery that Christ is too large for our full comprehension, and that while our heads are puzzling over the problem his nature has set to our thought, our hearts can largely and freely appropriate him.



THE TEMPTATION.  
—CORNELIUS.

## CHRIST IN POETRY.

By the REV. FRANK W. GUNSAULUS, D.D.  
Chicago, Illinois.

THE dictum of Plato concerning good poetry has not lacked for impressive testimony to its truth, in the influence of the central fact of history, as it has touched upon that art and in the attitude of the poetic art itself to the fact—the incarnation of God in Christ. Said the Greek philosopher: “All good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems, not as works of art, but because they are inspired or possessed.” Remembering what a feeble apprehension he had of the radical significance of Jesus Christ in the life and hope of man, we are not surprised at the method with which Matthew Arnold dealt with human problems, and the alleviations he offered for them. It is not too much to say that he furnishes an example of how surely even the most poetic fact of all time missed the privilege of enlarging and harmonizing one of the voices of our own time, because his spirit would be neither “inspired or possessed” by it. Mention is made of this fine figure in the history of that poetical literature which refers to Christ, because, at the outset of the study, it is well to reflect that the first thing demanded by Christ, either for salvation or for poetic representation, is the open soul, the child-spirit—something capable of being “inspired or possessed.” This capacity for being “inspired or possessed” Christ himself acknowledged that he must have before he might bless or redeem. “We are saved by faith.” From poet to poet Christ has gone in vain, “because of their little faith.” Matthew Arnold was a musician with fine and exquisite ear for truth and beauty and goodness, with a voice of somewhat thin quality and yet of sure-footed mastery, as he attempted his characteristic treble-tones, preferring minor to major, his whole personality dominated by such high intellectual power and such preconceived theories as to what is indeed “the song with which the morning stars sang



together," that the deep and universal theme and strain which reached its complete expression in Jesus Christ pleaded in vain at the portals of his soul and therefore could not either "inspire or possess him." He was a Greek, questioning, acute, wise, and sad. Plato was Greek, and more,—for he was so human as to be a prophet of the Christ, as were Isaiah and Virgil. The difference between Plato and Arnold may be seen in the comparison of the statement of Plato with that of Arnold, when this more recent thinker tells us that "poetry is the criticism of life." One, in pre-Christian days, touches the essential method of Christ-finding and truth-getting by pleading for that receptive, open-souled hospitality for experiences by which he may be "inspired or possessed;" the other, in Christian days, reverts to a method by which even the highest pre-Christian truth was missed. In those days men possessed themselves in self-contained and imperious calm. The poet is always the organ of a voice and a theme above him.

The place of Jesus Christ in the world's poetry may only be partially intimated here; but a few of the illustrations of how the poetry which has worshipped him has been saved and exalted by him are possible in such a brief excursus; and from them it is clear that Christianity has never been able to undo its essential nature by violating its own spiritual method. On the other hand, it has uttered itself on the lyres of the greatest poets because, not so much by the genius of this world alone, but by the genius which is open to the whispers of the universe, the highest souls have been the humblest. Therefore they have been so "possessed and inspired" that his divine glory has made their song immortal.

The poetry of Christianity may say, "I am apprehended of Christ that I may apprehend" the meaning of the world, the significance of man's life and struggle, the immeasurable hope and destiny, the open secret of Omniscient God. Only as any poetry is the result of the mutual life of mind and heart, as they are "inspired or possessed," by truth revealed to man, as he is influenced by plans higher than man's limping thought, is it a worthy "criticism of life." Only as any poetry records the supreme spiritual events, not unreasonable but above the ken of reason alone, and

visions of being to which men may aspire, is it, or can it be, a true "criticism of life." Jesus of Nazareth, as Saviour and Master, is life's truest, because life's most hopeful and sympathetic critic, flooding life's realm and process by the radiance of himself, at once man's revelation of God and God's revelation of man.

His presence in the plan of God, in the universal movement, leading

"to that divine far-off event  
Toward which the whole creation moves,"

his existence and influence in the groaning system of incomplete creation as the Reason which was from the beginning and will be the Reason for it all at the consummation, his progress through the life of man's up-looking and seeking spirit, the hope of him which was the inevitable product of the soul as it was constituted and led by God through the evolution of its life and ideal—these are within, if they have not created that melodious rune which sings in the changing mass called nature. Poetry witnesses that these have made the "mighty riddle of that rhythmic breath" in the world of man's thought and sentiment which "suffers him not to rest." Poetry is the art which taps this central, elemental stream which "flows through all things," and, listening to its harmony, finding that it has discovered and has been made rhythmic with the musical theme, the poet's soul obeys, because it is "inspired and possessed" by this imperative cadence. When it expresses its experience with all possible fitness the result is undying verse.

Therefore the psalmists and prophets were men almost necessarily poetic. Poetry came when a Jacob wrestled until the breaking of the day with what seemed the incarnate Infinite, though it were called only an angel; or when, like Moses, a fine human eye, looking through flame and feeling that truth or goodness may not be burned, had listened to the Eternal in a burning acacia bush; or when, with the hot blast of life's problem bursting from a fiery furnace one saw a form like unto the Son of God; or when out of an abyss of despair a soul, like Job's soul, cries for a daysman that shall stand between God and man; or when a lawgiver, knowing the impotence of Sinai to govern men, looks

ever so vaguely for a lawgiver whose law shall have an authority like that of Calvary, toward whose altar all other altars seem to lean. Whatever opinions one may entertain as to the supernatural element in Hebrew prophecy and psalmody in the sacred writings, it is impossible to suppose that minds willing to be "inspired or possessed," who are therefore poetic in temper and method, should miss the fact that nature and life are persistently enthroning a human manifestation of the divine, and that a Christmas-day is drawing nigh somewhere and somewhen.

Virgil's fourth eclogue is to Christian poetry what Plato's vision of the "God-inspired man" is to Christian prose. It does not at all change the value of that poetry which, in the eloquent lines of Isaiah and other Jewish seers, exalts Christ, that we discover a noble propriety in the poem written on Virgil's tomb by a Christian singer; Dante himself might well acknowledge that the pagan, Virgil, had made him a Christian, as the Florentine sings to the Roman,

"On toward Parnassus thou did'st lead  
My faltering steps, and in its grotts I drank;  
And thou did'st light my wending way to God."

Beneath all the shadowy dreams of Israel and throughout all the expectant adoration of Messiah which sang its hope in the lines of prophet or bard in Hebrewdom, not less than in that "still sad music of humanity" which rises to the lips of pagan poetry, a true philosopher of literature and religion will see man obedient and hopeful in the presence of great symbolic ideals pointing Christward. These are the crude ore of poetry. Humanity has in all loftiest hours, when higher ideals have hurried men away at the cost of losing lower ideals, "drunk of that spiritual rock which followed them; and that rock was Christ." This minstrelsy has glorified the Redeemer. It was not strange that at the birth of Jesus the seeds of song garnered from the past should sprout and bloom instantly in the sunny day of that first Christmas. The old Hebrew verses melodious on the lips of those who had waited long, the o'erheard wafts of psalmody of God's messengers, were gracious and divine overtures to that vast oratorio of Christmas-song in which saint and martyr, mys-

tic and hero, ecstatic monk and poetic queen, have prolonged the harmony until the days of Kirke White, Keble, and Phillips Brooks. From Christmas-time to Christmas-time new song-movements have entered into this verse. The age of Ignatius is not more different from the era of the Salvation Army than are the resonant lines that tell of the birth of Christ. Human pain has told its character and quality in the new adaptation to human deliverance which poetry has found in the Christ-child. Indeed, this constant changefulness of human circumstance and want has made the pictures of every event in Christ's life completer and truer; and each song, enshrining in its worship any place in his career on earth, in the form of hymn or poem, has made him no less the king of all the ages because in it he has appeared so adorable in a special age.

This fact gives an age its characteristic Christian poem. Dante's "Inferno" is to the poetry what the "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" is to the music of the Middle Ages; what the "Magna Charta" of the Norman Barons is to the politics; what Thomas A' Kempis' "Imitation of Christ" is to the prose; what Angelo's "Moses" is to the sculpture; what the Milan Cathedral is to the architecture; what St. Bernard's "Sermons on the Crusade" are to the eloquence; what Fra Angelico's angels on the walls of St. Mark's, Florence, are to the painting of the same worshipping twilight time. The "Stabat Mater" is both literature and song, and it is not only, as it has been characterized, the most pathetic,—it is the most characteristic hymn of mediæval time. It is an illustration of what fortune befalls a great emotion and experience as they take their memorial form in hymnology. Emilio Castelar speaks of the Middle Ages—that time of mingled light and shadow between the date of the fall of the western end of the old Roman empire and that of the revival of learning—the long thousand years of gloom between the death of the old and the birth of the new civilization—as the Good Friday of human history. This hymn is that dark day's interpretation in melody. Dante himself was the loftiest of the prophets of that larger Christ-portrait which he did so much to give to our modern poets, in order that they may bring it nearer to completion.



CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR.  
—ZIMMERMANN.

Toward that complete picture each age's care or sorrow contributes something. The first Christmas was prophetic of that perpetual Christmas morning which is constituted by human history, when Christ's re-coming in divinely "possessed and inspired" humanity shall bring the Kingdom of God, and domesticate here below the City of God "that cometh down out of heaven." He said: "It is expedient for you that I go away." "I will come again and receive you unto myself." Every succeeding age perceives and acknowledges, this divine expediency. In a sense deep and significant, throughout his whole career on earth, Christ was trying to get his followers to see how God yearns to possess and inspire men. He regarded himself as the head of humanity. He would not separate himself from the race, even so far as the worship of his disciples suggested. "Worship God," he said, "My Father—he doeth the works." But he bound them to himself in the high privilege of their being recipients of the divine. This they share with him. He even went so far as to say, "The glory which thou gavest unto me, I have given unto them." He gave men power to become the sons of God, and he had revealed the possibilities of sonship. In this he was beginning that process of persuading his disciples to be "inspired and possessed" of the divine life, as he was,—a process which he continued and made more nearly sure of completion when he said: "It is expedient for you that I go away." He wished men to live by the Spirit. He knew that in sending the Spirit he would send into man's life the soul of a divine society which would be slowly formed in the society of men by their obedience to the things of his, which the spirit would show unto them. Thus would he prepare for and accomplish his own second coming "with clouds and great glory." This continuous event—the second coming of our Lord—may, or may not, issue in a single sublime crisis. This is not the place to discuss that problem. It, however, certainly is occurring. The promise he made is actually being fulfilled; and it is in this new coming of Christ, as a power by which men's thoughts and sentiments and purposes are "inspired or possessed," that poetry finds ample themes, its situations of genuine nobility, its utterances of fairest prophecy.

Indeed, the history of the development of the Christ-idea as Redeemer and Lord of humanity, the judge of all the earth, and the express image of God's person in history, may be found only in this form of literature. He has given to poetry its true epic movement, reaching a more heroic dignity in each age; he has invested its labors with the task of uttering fitly the eternal drama of man; in his presence in life and struggle the lyric voices have caught for themselves the purest and clearest tones, and, especially in recent verse, poetry has proven her profound instinct for truth by running far in advance of theological statements and becoming prophetic of a more Christian orthodoxy. The two poets whose dust has recently been entombed in Westminster Abbey have been more vitally effective in enthroning Christ Jesus than all the divines of Westminster; and the singers of that Christianity whose Christ is coming again in every form of righteousness and peace to make the *creature*, man, a *son* of God, are leading more worshipers to Calvary and Olivet than even the framers of the historic confession and catechism. So, confining ourselves to one illustration, we may perceive how the living Christ is greater even than the historic Christ, as he is presented by another age's highest poetry.

If we compare John Milton, "organ-voice of England," with Robert Browning, who has a voice of less volume and richness of tone, we readily find that the Christ of "Paradise Lost" or "Paradise Regained" is as much less influential amidst the sovereignties of time and eternity, as the merely historic Christ is far removed from that perpetual human problem in which the ever-present Christ is creating a continuous and freshly-born Christmas day as King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Taine is quite right in noting that much of the spectacle and movement of the divine in Milton's poetry was conditioned, if not produced, by the times of Charles I. of England. It is not a confession, either of ignorance or irreverence with regard to the great Puritan, to say that lofty as was his genius and rich as was his music, they never touched the deeps of the human problem nor did they reach the moral altitudes in which yearning and buffeted humanity has at length found peace with God. To a soul asking the questions

suggested in "Hamlet" and "Faust," not less than to a spirit perplexed with Lucretius or Æschylus, the splendid coronation of Jesus of Nazareth in Milton's best verse seems external and objective, not to say theatrical. The questions of life and time that pulse in the speech of the heart of man, until it grows a little weary of the trumpet-strains of Milton, are not modern or ancient queries; they belong to the soul of man and are uttered insistently whenever the soul has dared to reflect. Adam and Eve, "imparadised in one another's arms" are less interesting to the mind of man, as he feels for a Christ, than some spiritual Samson,

"Fallen on evil days and evil tongues,  
With darkness and with danger compassed round."

But even a Christ for Samson is not sufficient. Doubtless Goethe was right; one of Milton's poems has "more of the antique spirit than any other production of any other modern poet," but it is not antiquity, or modernity, of spirit by which poetry, at length, has been gladly led to crown Jesus of Nazareth; it is the ageless and permanent spirit of man which, by elemental associations and needs, is destined to find a way to God. It would not have been enough if, when in his day Milton had met the queries of Giordano Bruno which still echoed at Oxford, or after the poet's visit to Galileo, he had been less wavering between the Copernican or Ptolemaic systems; the truth is that life has gone deeper and higher; it has grown larger needs, and the Christ answering to its thirst is greater. It is not true to say that our age has little else than

"This vile hungering impulse, this demon within us of craving."

The Christ shining in each age's poetry, in spite of the age's limitations, has made a new and larger portrait of man's Saviour necessary in the next age. He himself has confronted the soul's instincts—

"Which, be they what they may,  
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,  
Are yet the master light of all our seeing—"

and it is He who has said to the greater hopes which are children of greater spiritual struggles: "If it were not so, I would have told you."



The life-hunger which feeds upon the Christ of Robert Browning's poetry is not entirely the product of the two centuries lying between the date of "Paradise Regained" and the date of "Saul;" still less will the excellence of Browning's product account for the fact that it does, while that of Milton's does *not*, woo man's soul to adoration of the Christ. Browning's "Saul" is greater than any figure of Milton's verse, not as a creation by a better writer of rhymes, but only as a discovery of what is in man's heart and life, and of what no intervening centuries may make, namely, the hunger of the soul for redemption. The eye-glance of Browning brings to light the elemental facts in view of which there was "a lamb slain from the foundation of the world," It is the redemption of his poetry—this Christ-thirst—which cries with young David:

"O Saul, it shall be  
A face like my face receives thee: a Man like to me,  
Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever! a hand like this hand  
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the  
Christ stand!"

This poem illustrates the force of the ageless, preëxistent and post-existent Christ, no more than does one of the poems of Browning which is full of a classical atmosphere. It is more significant than that in which Milton learned of Virgil. In the poem, "Cleon," the modern singer has not so much reproduced the accent as the spiritual experience which speaks out of the weary and unsatisfied heart of ancient life. Its tone is both modern and ancient. The poet's feeling is as old and young as the soul. Cleon cannot avoid uttering his prophetic words that cry for Christ, even though he may despise Paulus and stand pledged to honor the dumb Zeus. The value of such an offering as is this poem to the worship of Jesus lies not less in its swift, bold portraiture of the real Christ than in its perception of the fact that paganism in any soul, ancient or modern, has the agonizing need which was experienced at that hour of the Greek decadence. Mrs. Browning more lyrically sings of the vacant world when Pan was dead; but Robert Browning alone has left a vivid portrait of the soul of man at that hour when, Cleon-like—poet

painter, and artist in method and in thought—the soul looks Christ-ward through mists of death, saying, as if to Him who brought life and immortality to light—

“I dare at times imagine to my need,  
Some future state revealed to us by Zeus,  
Unlimited in capability  
For joy, as this is in *desire* for joy,  
To seek which the joy-hunger forces us.”

So does poetry rear her modest rose where Christ answers the thorniest doubt. Milton had no such temptations or doubts to be met by his genius for faith, and therefore he could not offer such a portrait of what is essential in Christ. Browning sings:

“Why come temptations but for man to meet  
And master and make crouch beneath his feet?”

and

“I prize the doubt  
Low things exist without,  
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark.”

Each age's Christ creates, by displacement of ideals born of need, a larger area of doubt around the fact of faith. Browning's age has apprehended a reality more nearly as great as is the Christ of God, because of its greater necessities. Every new age is a new Christmas-dawn for the eternal Christ—“the Word which was from the beginning,” who is also the “reason of God” at the end of all things. In this lies the important contribution to Christian theology which, as has been confessed by the most influential devotees of dogma, such poems as “Christmas Eve and Easter Day,” and “A Death in the Desert,” have made in our time. In all these poems, there is a witness to the fact that the new faith in Christ's power and work is an evolution out of the older. Even Milton hinted at a faith that evil

“Shall on its back recoil  
And mix no more with goodness.”

Dante himself, at an earlier period, had suggested such a picture of Christ as made Milton's achievement in poetry and faith possible to his hand. And, earlier still, Virgil, the master of the Florentine, in that poetry which, before the historic Christ,

anticipated the presence of the real Christ, had sung so deeply that Dante acknowledged him as master after thirteen centuries had slipped away. He refers to Virgil as he sings :

"The season comes once more,  
Once more come Justice and man's primal time.  
And out of heavenly space a new-born race  
A poet by thy grace and thus a Christian too."

It is this intimate acquaintance which he has with the real needs of man, deeper than any utterance of the time of Virgil, Dante, or Milton, that gives Browning such a relationship with the dominant harmony that works through the discords of all times,—a harmony uttered completely only in Christ. In the three last mentioned poems from his muse, nothing is lost because he has in mind a Strauss, a Darwin, or a Renan, or even some staggering superstition, puerile in its second childhood,—each of these is a force in our troubled age. He simply places all these beneath the throne of Christ and makes them bow before the manger-cradle. Life is evermore the "chance o' the prize of learning love," and it is our noblest possibility

"To joint  
This flexile, finite life once tight  
Into the fixed and infinite."

Where is this infinite, or where is this finite jointed thus?  
How shall he learn to love? The answer is given in Christ.

Helpful was the light,  
And warmth was cherishing and food was choice  
To every man's flesh, thousand years ago,  
As now to yours and mine; the body sprang  
At once to the height, and stayed: but the soul,—no!  
Since sages who, this noontide, meditate  
In Rome or Athens, may descry some point  
Of the eternal power, hid yestereve;  
And, as thereby the power's whole mass extends,  
So much extends the æther floating o'er  
The love that tops the might, the Christ in God.

It is this Christ in the song of universal being which makes the poet's rhyme, in which over all and in all and above all is

revealed God in Christ, so that we see Him even on the unsubstantial glory of nature itself.

Another rainbow rose, a mightier,  
Fainter, flushier, and flightier,  
Rapture dying along its verge !  
Oh, whose foot shall I see emerge,  
WHOSE, from the straining topmost dark,  
On to the keystone of that arc?

He was there.  
He himself with his human air.

### The Song of Mary.

My soul doth magnify the Lord  
And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour;  
For He hath regarded the low estate of His handmaid;—  
For, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call  
me blessed.  
For He that is mighty hath done great things for me  
And Holy is His Name.  
And His mercy is unto generations and generations  
Of them that fear Him.  
He hath shown strength with His arm,  
He hath scattered the proud by the imagination of  
their hearts,  
He hath put down princes from their thrones  
And hath exalted them of low degree!  
He hath filled the hungry with good things  
And the rich hath He sent empty away!  
He hath holpen His servant Israel  
That He might remember mercy  
(As He spoke unto our Fathers)  
Towards Abraham and his seed forever.



THE FRIEND OF THE LOWLY.  
—L'HERMITTE.

## CHRIST IN HISTORY.

By PRINCIPAL A. M. FAIRBAIRN,  
Mansfield College, Oxford.

*General characteristics of Christ's place in history—Supremacy of the man over the Jew—Brotherhood of man his gift—A moralizer and humanizer of religion—The maker of moral men and the elevator of society.*

Two things are characteristic of Christ's appearance in history; first, the limited and local conditions under which he lived, secondly, the universal ranges and penetrative energy of his posthumous influence and action. There are founders or reformers of religion whose influence has endured longer than his, for they lived before him; but there is no one who has been in the same quality or degree a permanent factor of historical change. The philosopher that is wise after the event may love to discover the causes or exhibit the process by which he passed from the mean stage on which he lived for three brief and troubled years, to the commanding position from which he has, for nineteen centuries, not only reigned over, but absolutely governed civilized man. But one thing is certain, neither the science which thinks it can explore the future nor the statesmanship which believes it can control the present could have beforehand divined or predicted the result. His life throughout its whole course was void of those circumstances that appeal to the normal imagination, and, without any doubt, his sudden passage from an obscure life amid an obscure people to the supreme place in history, is the most dramatic moment in the experience of collective man. If history be a drama, then he is the hero of the drama, who stamps it with its character, exhibits and unfolds its tragic problem, the person for whom it was written, through whom it moves, in whom it has its end. It is impossible that any philosophy which seeks to explain history can regard him as an accident; it is even more impossible that the science which seeks the reason of events should find the cause of his preëminence

in the hard and narrow racial conditions under which he was formed and within which he lived.

But our special concern is not with the emergence of the most universal person out of the most parochial conditions, it is rather with the modes and results of his historical action. These were retrospective as well as prospective, for his characteristic power of universalizing whatever he touched is illustrated by the respects in which he is distinguished from his own people. He was by blood and inheritance a Jew; all that the past brought to his race it brought to him, all that it brought to him it might have brought to his race. But the two cases are very different. In the hands of the Jew the whole inheritance remained racial, the book, the worship, the religion, the deity. The race with its beliefs and customs and legislation is the most wonderful example in history of distribution without absorption, of separate existence combined with universal diffusion, a people whose racial unity and continuity have been secured and perpetuated by their extinction as a nation. The most broken and scattered, they are yet the most united and exclusive of peoples, with all their historical possessions their own rather than man's. But where they have specialized Jesus generalized; what he retained of the Hebrew inheritance became through him man's, and ceased to be the Jew's. The Old Testament read through the New is not the book of a tribe but of humanity. The idea of a people of God translated by the term church becomes a society coextensive with man. Jehovah, seen through the consciousness of the Son, is changed from the God of the Jews only into the God and Father of mankind. In a word, he transformed his historical inheritance, universalized it, breathed into it a spirit that made it independent of place and time and special people, ambitious only of being comprehended by all that under it all might be comprehended.

This power to universalize what he inherited expresses an intrinsic quality of his personality; it is as it were, in spite of the strongly marked local and temporal conditions under which it was historically realized, without the customary notes of time and place. He became through the reality he was an ideal to

to the world, conceived not according to birth or descent but rather according to nature and kind. He impersonated man, and because of him man appeared to the imagination as at once a unity and an individuality. These are now among our most formal and even conventional ideas, but they can hardly be said to be ideas the ancient world knew. In it nationality was too intensely realized to allow unity to be conceived. Each people was to itself a divine creation, the offspring of its own gods, guarded by them, alone able to worship them, the gods as acutely separated from the gods of other peoples as the peoples from each other. And as there was no unity there could be no affinity; where there was no community of nature there could be no common mind or bond of brotherhood. As the absence of the sense of unity affected the outer relations of peoples, so the want of the idea of individuality affected the inner life of societies. It meant that there was no sufficient notion of the value or worth of man. Hence in the Oriental monarchies the dumb millions were but instruments of the sovereign will, to be sacrificed without scruple, as beings with no rights or hopes, whether in building a royal tomb or buttressing a tyrant's throne. Even in states where the idea of liberty was clearest and most emphasized, it was liberty not of men but of special men, members of a class or a clan, Greeks or Romans. Freedom was their inalienable right, but it was necessarily denied to Helots or to slaves. Thus, without the sense of human individuality, there could be no rational order in society, and without the feeling of unity no orderly progress in the race. But from the conception of Christ's person the true ideas sprang into immediate and potent being, though, as was natural, the lower idea of unity was active and efficient before the harder and higher idea of liberty. The belief in a person who was equally related to all men involved the notion that the men who were so related to him were equally related to each other, and the conception that he had died to redeem all, make all appear of equal value in his sight and of equal worth before God, who indeed as the God of Jesus Christ could know no respect of person. For in Christ there was neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, but only one new man.



And what has been the historical action of these ideas? They have set an ideal before the race which it feels bound to realize, though it may step with slow and labored reluctance along the path of realization. The pity for the suffering which has created all our hospitals and agencies for relief, the love of the poor which seeks to ameliorate their lot and end poverty, the sense of human dignity which hates all that degrades man, the passion for freedom which inspires whole societies and abhors the privileges and prerogatives of special castes, the equality of all men before the law which makes justice copy the impartiality of God—these and similar things are the direct creations of the Christian idea of Christ. Though they have not as yet been fully realized, still they have been conceived; they are ends towards which history in its broken way has moved, and dreams which society feels it can never be happy till it has embodied. And what do these things represent but the most potent factors of all its order and all its progress which history knows?

Connected with this is the degree in which he has at once moralized and humanized religion. It was on the side of morality that the ancient religions were most defective and inefficient. The gods were too self-indulgent to be severe on the frailties of man. Indeed no polytheism can be in the strict sense moral, for where the divine wills are many, how can they form a sovereign unity? And so while there may be worship, there can never be obedience as to a single and absolute and uniform law. As a consequence philosophy rather than religion was in the ancient world the school of morals, and its morality, though exalted in term was impotent in motives, a theme of speculation or discussion rather than a law for life. And we have further this remarkable fact that in the interests of morality philosophers in their ideal state or normal society restricted the area of religion as regards both belief and conduct. Two ancient religions indeed held a place of rare ethical distinction—Hebraism on the one side, Buddhism on the other, but the distinction was attended by characteristic defects. Hebrew morality was the direct creation of the Hebrew Deity. Religion was obedience to his will, and his will was absolute. Men became accept-

able in his sight not by "the blood of bulls and goats" but by doing justly, loving mercy and walking humbly with God. But this morality was too purely transcendental; in it man stood over against the Almighty will as a transient creature, and will as such is too cognate to power to be an elevating or always beneficent moral law. We can see this in the exaggerated echo of Hebraism which we know as Islam. There the divine will that has to be obeyed is but a will of an Almighty Arab chief who delights in battle, who glories in victory, whose rewards are for complete devotion to his service and his commands. Neither religion produces a really humane system of ethics, nor is such a system consistent with a pure transcendental deism. On the other hand Buddhism is strictly human alike in ethical standard and motive. Buddha is the ideal man and right conduct is the behavior that pleases him. He is pitiful and so pity of human misery is the note of the good man. But simply because there is no transcendental source or motive the ethics of Buddhism are pessimistic. They are possessed with the passion of pity, not with the love of salvation or the belief in the good of existence that binds a man to do his utmost to save men and ameliorate their lot. Now Christ represents the transcendental ethics of Hebraism and immanent ethics of Buddhism in potent union and harmonious efficiency. The man he loves is a man made of God, worthy of his love, and capable of his salvation. The God he reveals is one manifested in man, glorified by his obedience and satisfied with nothing less than his holiness; thus while the glory of God is the good of man, the chief end of man is the glory of God. In a word the ethics of Christ have more humanity than Buddha's, more divinity than the Hebrew. They have so combined these as to make of the service of man and the obedience of God a unity. This has made the religion an altogether unique power in history, has turned all its motives into moral forces which have worked for amelioration and progress of the human race.

This last point may be illustrated by the number and the variety of the moral men Christ has created. His church is a society of such men. It is scattered throughout the world, and

wherever it is, there live persons pledged to work for human good. It is hardly possible to overestimate the worth of a good man to an age or a place. He who creates most good men most increases the sum of human weal. And here Christ holds undisputed preëminence. There is to me nothing so marvelous as his power to awaken the enthusiasm of humanity. Organization may have done great things for ecclesiastics, but the supreme things accomplished in the history of Christendom have been performed by souls Christ has kindled and commanded. The church did not strengthen Athanasius to stand against the world; Christ did. What comforted Augustine was not the policy of the Eternal City, but the sublime beauty of the Universal Christ. Francis of Assisi was vanquished by his love, and all our early martyrs and saints, all our mediæval mystics and schoolmen bear witness to it, while the devotional literature of the church, its prayers, its hymns, the books that live because alive with love attest the preëminence and the permanence of personal devotion to Christ. In keeping a continuous stream of holy and beneficent men in the world he has affected the course of history, the movements of thought, all the ideals and all the aims of man. His name is thus a term denotive of the richest moral forces that have acted upon the lives of mén. If we cannot love him without loving the race or serve him without being forced to the beneficent service of man, then his place in history is that of the most constant factor of order, the cause of progress and the principle of unity. In all things he has the preëminence; in him has been manifested the manifold wisdom of God. Over hearts and lives he reigns that he may in the ways of infinite grace subdue all things unto himself.

## HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

By SHAILER MATHEWS.  
The University of Chicago.

THE last few years have witnessed an extraordinary revival in the historical study of the New Testament. Since the days of the fierce attacks upon current religious beliefs by the so-called Tübingen school, there has been a steady advance in both the amount and the character of investigation given to the times during which Jesus lived, and the records that describe his words and deeds. Many of these works have been outgrown or superseded by later studies, but each has contributed something towards a completer knowledge of the times and the country, the social environment, and the course of thought in which Jesus and his biographers lived.

In the list below only such works are mentioned as both embody the results of recent scholarship and are believed to be especially adapted to the use of pastors and unprofessional students of the New Testament. It does not include works of purely historical or technical interest, or those written in a foreign language.

### I. The Times of Christ.

The chief literary source of all works under this head is Josephus, whose histories, the *Antiquities of the Jews*, the *Wars of the Jews*, as well as his other writings, contain about all that is to be known of this period within the limits of Palestine, except what may be derived from the study of archæology. The arrangement of much of his material is, however, not the best, and on many other grounds it is advisable to supplement his account with the work of some modern writer.

FAIRWEATHER, WM., *From the Exile to the Advent.* (In the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. 210. Price, 80 cents.

An admirable little text-book, giving succinctly an account of the Jewish people from the deportation under Nebuchadnezzar till the death of Herod I. Few references are given to other works, but the author has evidently read the most recent authorities.

WADDY-MOSS, R., *From Malachi to Matthew.* London: Charles H. Kelly. Pp. xiv. 256.

This little handbook attempts "to do nothing more than outline the history of Judea in the centuries that elapsed between the prophecy of Malachi and the event that forms the first theme of the New Testament." The author has rigidly kept to this aim, refusing to be led off into details, and, on the whole, has maintained a very good historical perspective. The treatment of the Maccabean period is especially good. It is not thrown into the form of a text-book, and its style is good. It unfortunately is not supplied with a bibliography.

SCHÜRER, E., *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.* Division I. The Political History of Palestine, from B. C. 175 to 135 A. D. 2 vols. Division II. The Internal Condition of Palestine and of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. 3 vols. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Price, \$8.00, net.

This monumental work by Schürer has made all other histories almost superfluous. In no other account of the period is there to be found such wealth of learning and such admirable arrangement of material. Its use of sources is exhaustive, and the work everywhere displays astonishing power in grappling with perplexities. Each section is preceded by a full bibliography, and all statements are substantiated by reference to authorities. In the first division of the work the author has given solutions to many geographical and chronological problems, besides compressing into reasonable space the account of the events of the period. The second division is especially concerned with the civil and religious institutions of the Jews, as well as the literature of the two centuries which the work covers. Especial attention is also given to rabbinism in its bearing upon the New Testament. No attempt is made at describing the social life of the times. In certain cases, perhaps, Schürer has a little too readily yielded to certain chronological difficulties of the gospel record, but in general his attitude is remarkably impartial, and at times in effect, if not in purpose, apologetic.

STAPPER, E., *Palestine in the Time of Christ*. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. xii. 527. Price, \$2.50.

This work is a most exasperating combination of fact and fiction. It needs severe revision. Yet, on the whole, it is about the only single volume in English which gives anything like a respectable account of the entire life—political, social, religious—of the Jewish people in the days of Jesus. Many of its errors are those of carelessness, and sometimes are so ludicrous as to be detected by any attentive reader. Its use of the Talmud is considerable, although uncritical.

SEIDEL, M., *In the Time of Jesus*. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Pp. 188. xxv. Price, 75 cents.

Probably the best account in small compass of the heathen and Jewish world in New Testament times. It is especially good in its descriptions of the political and religious institutions of the Jews.

EDERSHEIM, A., *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*. Chicago: F. H. Revell & Co. Price, \$1.25

A popular, though scholarly little work, descriptive of the habits and customs of the Jewish people in New Testament times.

MERRILL, S., *Galilee in the Time of Christ*. New York: Whittaker, 1885. Price, \$1.00.

A helpful little volume of especial value from the personal investigations of the author. The general conclusion is favorable to the statements of Josephus in regard to Galilee in the first century.

DELITZSCH, F., *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Jesus*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Pp. 91. Price, 75 cents.

This little volume contains a great amount of information in regard to the industrial life of the common people in the time of Christ, and is written in an interesting style.

## II. The Geography of Palestine.

HENDERSON, A., *Palestine*. (In the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Price, \$1.00.

An admirable handbook, well up to date and generally accurate, both in description and maps.

SMITH, GEORGE A. *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land.* London: Hoddu & Stoughton. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Second ed., 1895. Pp. xxv. 692. Price, \$4.50.

An exceedingly stimulating volume. Not only is it a thesaurus of the best results of modern exploration in Palestine, but, as in no other volume, is the history of the land interpreted by its physical characteristics. Especial commendation should be given its maps. To read this volume is the next best thing to a visit to Palestine.<sup>2</sup> Its literary style is attractive although somewhat diffuse.

STANLEY, A. P., *Sinai and Palestine.* New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. 641. Price, \$2.50.

This classic in scriptural geography is by no means superseded by the work of Smith. In its descriptive and suggestive power it still is among the best modern works that attempt to show the relation between a people's history and their physical environment. In general, also, its identifications are accurate and its maps and colored plates helpful.

### III. The Life of Jesus.

STALKER, J., *The Life of Jesus Christ.* Various editions. Pp. 167. Price, 60 cents.

A scholarly, and in every way delightful work. It is especially adapted to use in bible classes.

FARRAR, F. W., *The Life of Christ.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Pp. xv. 472.

Full of fervid rhetoric and deep religious feeling. It is characterized by the author's generous scholarship and liberality. It is of especial value in helping the student to realize keenly the circumstances of his Lord's life.

ANDREWS, S. J., *The Life of Our Lord.* New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1891. Pp. xxvii. 651. Price, \$2.50.

Altogether the opposite of the preceding in its avoidance of all literary effort. As a result it is not easily readable, but is of the utmost value because of its exhaustive essays upon harmony, chronology, and geography. By all means it is the most scholarly production along these lines of any American scholar. No student of the gospels will neglect it.

<sup>2</sup> A review of this work will be found in the coming January number of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

EDERSHEIM, A., *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 2 vols. Pp. xxvi. 698; xii. 826. Price, \$6.00.

This is the most exhaustive study on the times of Jesus thus far produced by an English scholar. Its chief defects are the absence of any critical examination of the sources, occasionally poor exegesis as well as poor harmony, and an excessive pietism. But the merits of the work outweigh these defects. Viewed as a series of essays upon the customs and habits of thought suggested by the life of Jesus it is masterly and invaluable. If one were to own but one life of Jesus, it should be Edersheim's.

WEISS, B., *The Life of Christ*. Eng. trans. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 3 vols. Pp. xvi. 392, 403, 428. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Price, \$9.00.

Especially valuable for critical examination of the sources and deep spiritual insight. Though not so versed in rabbinical learning as Edersheim, Weiss is one of the greatest critics and exegetes. No one can be in touch with modern methods in the study of the gospels who is unacquainted with his critical position, however one may accept some of its applications and corollaries. There is great need of a life of Christ that shall combine the critical processes of Weiss and the Jewish learning of Edersheim with the literary excellencies of Stalker.

#### IV. The Teaching of Jesus.

BRUCE, A. B., *The Kingdom of God*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. xv. 343. Price, \$2.00.

As satisfactory a treatment of the central teachings of Jesus as exists. Like all of the author's works it is characterized by critical processes and deep religious reverence and insight.

HORTON, ROBERT F., *The Teaching of Jesus*. London: Isbistu, 1895. Pp. viii. 287. Price, 3s. 6d.

Dr. Horton tells us frankly that his lectures are based on Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, and Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology*, with an effort to supply that which is found lacking in them. . . . And now our recommendation is, that if anyone has set to read these books, he should read Dr. Horton's first.—*Expository Times*.

WENDT, H. H., *The Teaching of Jesus*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 2 vols. Pp. 408, 427. Price, \$4.50.

An admirable translation of the greatest systematic study of the teachings of Jesus thus far produced in Germany. It is marked by all the excellencies of



German scholarship, but is free from most of its faults. It is characterized by conservative exegesis, acute analysis of the gospel records, and reverent regard for truth. It goes far more into details than the work of Bruce, and it exhibits more completely the processes by which its results are gained. Its greatest defects are seen in its treatment of the Johannine account of Christ's teachings.

FAIRBAIRN, A. M., *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*.

"That mine of learning, masterly historical generalization, and rich suggestion has given new strength to the Christian consciousness throughout the English-speaking world; and the longer it is read the more generation of ideas it will be found to be."—George A. Gordon, in *Christ of Today*, p. vi.

BEYSCHLAG, W., *The Theology of the New Testament*.

A review of this great treatise, so far as it is concerned with the teaching of Jesus, is found on another page.

## THE HALL OF THE CHRIST AT CHAUTAUQUA.

By BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT.  
Chautauqua Office, Buffalo, N. Y.

THE central thought of Christianity in this age is Christ—his person, his life, his teaching, the spiritual dispensation which he founded. It has not always been so. Men have exalted doctrine, philosophy, sacraments, ceremonies, priesthoods, ecclesiastical constitutions—everything but Christ himself. Men who study manhood look now to the man of Galilee. Men who study theology seek now “sound words, even the words of the Lord Jesus.”

The critical study of the New Testament tends to exalt its one all-dominating character. And this is well. Men who cannot understand philosophy can understand biography. When they are not able to accept the systematic creed-forms, dogmatically taught by doctors and councils, they are able to hear the wise sayings of the One who walked with his own disciples over the hills and through the valleys of Palestine. They see him on the human side. They study him in the light of ancient life. He is a man again—a teacher, a friend. Approaching him from the human side they are prepared for the deeper, the loftier revelations of the spiritual kingdom for the manifestation of which he became flesh and dwelt among us. More than ever do the scholars turn with delight and enthusiasm to the study of this “great phenomenon.” More than ever the specialists of the biblical schools turn to the study of the Christ as foreshadowed in prophecy, as revealed in history, as reported in literature and glorified in art.

At Chautauqua, Christ and his gospel have constituted the center of all teaching from the first day until the present, and it is now proposed to plant in the center of the Chautauqua grounds, in the midst of all other buildings at this rural university, a temple especially consecrated to the study of his life and

teachings, his relations to the age in which he lived, his influence on the race as developed in successive civilizations and the great schools of thought which have been created or inspired by his presence in the world.

This building is to be called the Hall of the Christ. It is to be a class room for the study of Christ by various grades of pupils, from the little children for whom while on earth he showed such delicate fondness, to the profoundest scholars who may meet to investigate the problems in philosophy, in philology, in literature, in art, in social and political life which are created or illuminated by his marvelous personality and ministry. The building is to be used for no other purpose whatever but to set forth the one idea—the germ and fruition of all great religious ideas—The Christ. Children will be encouraged to take a simple course of reading and study on which they must be examined before their admission as students in the Hall of the Christ, and this to create a greater interest on their part and to emphasize the value of the opportunity to which they are admitted.

A generous philanthropist who is famous for noble gifts and whose name will in due time be announced has made the first contribution of ten thousand dollars toward this project. The Hall of the Christ will occupy one of the most central, eligible and beautiful sites on the Chautauqua grounds. The building will be constructed of substantial material, and will be the most permanent and impressive in appearance of any building in that city by the lake, so solidly constructed that it may last for centuries, and capacious enough to accommodate on special occasions an audience of at least five hundred students.

A room will be set apart for a library of the lives of Jesus and for a selection from the most able discussions which literature furnishes relating to his person, office, work and influence.

Another room will be devoted to a collection of the best engravings and photographs of the great pictures and statues representing Christ—the contributions of the great artists of the ages to the interpretation of his personal character. It is hoped that before long a copy of Thorwaldsen's famous statue of Christ may be placed within the building.

An occasional reverent and beautiful service of worship to the Christ will be held, with all that music and devotional literature and the spontaneity of personal piety may contribute to this end.

The instruction to be given in the Hall of the Christ will be of the most thorough character, prosecuted in the spirit of reverent love, employing the latest results of the most critical study, that students looking eagerly and discriminately into the letter of the four gospels may come more fully and more heartily to appreciate him who spake as never man spake and whose name to this day is above every name.

The Hall standing in the center of the Chautauqua grounds will continually represent the central idea of Christianity and exalt him who was in his earthly life the Friend of the friendless, the Saviour of the sinful and whose gospel and spirit are today the most effective promoters of true social and political reform, and which are daily building up a civilization founded upon the broad doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

It is the aim of the projectors to make the building plain but impressive, Grecian rather than Gothic in style, suggesting as little as possible the "ecclesiastical" and emphasizing the true relation between Nazareth, Jerusalem, Rome and Athens, the alliance between the highest attainable human culture and the holiest personal character that ever shone upon earth, in pursuance of the thought that all culture, all material activity, all science, all philosophy, all literature, all art, all reform, all hope for humanity must center in him.

Another feature of the Hall of the Christ will be the provision of memorial windows and tablets devoted to the memory of departed friends—the Chautauquans of all the years since its founding. These windows designed by a skillful artist will commemorate the various events in the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Ascension.

In front of the Hall it is expected that there will be a portico, and from it two arms or semi-circular porches will extend enclosing a space in which now and then a large audience may

be convened to listen to addresses or sermons. These architectural "arms" will represent in cenotaphs and statues the great characters of the Old Testament by which the Hebrew people were prepared for the coming of the Christ, while on the opposite side shall be represented in similar fashion the great characters of profane history who were in their times a light unto the world and a preparation for the coming of the Man of Nazareth.

This dream of a building will certainly become a substantial reality. Shall we have a word of suggestion concerning details from Chautauquans and others interested in the plan?



THE CHRIST CHILD.

—MURILLO.

## Synopses of Important Articles.

JESUS' TEACHINGS ABOUT HIMSELF. By REV. JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., in his recent book, *Our Lord's Teaching*, pp. 31-40.

Jesus presented himself as a problem to his countrymen, and after he had been manifested to them for a sufficient time, the testing questions he put to his disciples were these: "Whom do men say that I am?" and "Whom say ye that I am?" On the answer to this latter question it depended whether Jesus would find material for the foundation of a church; and when Peter answered well, his Master accorded him solemn praise (Matt. 16:16, 17). In one respect there was great reserve in his teaching about himself. Not till near the end of his ministry (Matt. 16:16, 17; 26:63, 64) did he openly avow himself, or allow himself to be declared the Messiah, the Christ. Often before, indeed, the consciousness of such a greatness showed itself in incidental sayings (Matt. 7:22, 23; 12:42; Luke 14:26; John 6:35; 8:12; 11:25; 14:6). But he long withheld from the Jews the plain announcement that he was the Christ. Obviously he did so because this title had been so tarnished and carnalized in their thoughts that he would have been quite misunderstood, and his death would have come before he had had time to win true disciples by his life and teaching.

Two names he used, the one with equal freedom in Judea and Galilee, *The Son of Man*; the other, mostly in his debates with the Jewish leaders at Jerusalem, *The Son of God*. Both of these were—so far as meeting the expectation of the Jews went—*incognito* titles. Jesus took neither of these names from the Old Testament for use, because it was an understood equivalent for the Messiah; they were not recognized by the people as distinct Messianic titles. They came from his own heart, the expression of his own consciousness of himself. The first title, the Son of Man, conveys two chief truths, the reality of the humanity of Jesus, and the uniqueness of it. He expresses by it the possession of true human nature, his community of feeling with men, his sharing in human affections and interests, his true experience of human life, his liability to temptation, his exposure like other men to hunger and thirst, suffering and death. And at the same time he thus described himself as the unique and ideal man, the man in whom humanity is summed up, and the "fulness of the race made visible," the Head and Representative of all men. The second title, the Son of God, implies the reality of his sonship, and the uniqueness of it. These truths Jesus most frequently pressed upon his Jewish opponents in Jerusalem, as recorded in the fourth gospel, with a view of proving himself the Son by laying open to them his actual and constant filial intercourse with God, in the beauty and perfect naturalness of

it which could not be feigned. There is, indeed, in much that Jesus says about his intercourse with his Father, nothing different in *kind* from that sonship with God which is possible for us, and is familiar in the experience of all true children of God. But there is a manifest difference in *degree*. His intercourse with the Father is perfect, complete, and unmarred by sin. All that Jesus says or does he knows to be of God. He is the Son as no one else is, from the perfection of his communion with God, and from the completeness with which his sonship is realized and constantly lived out. The terms in which this communion is described seem to require the doctrinal faith in which we have been brought up, that Jesus is of one essence with the Father, and one in eternal being with him. In many passages he speaks so that nothing short of this seems implied (John 16:28; 17:5; 8:58; perhaps 10:30; 20:28). Our faith in Jesus as the Eternal Son of God may stay itself not only on the unique communion with God which we see him enjoying, but on his own belief and claim and testimony. It is not meant that there are no other grounds for this great faith. There is also the apostolic teaching thereto. And perhaps if the faith of most Christian people were closely inquired into it would be found to rest largely on their own experience. They have felt the change and blessing which have reached them through communion with Jesus to be nothing short of divine. He has to them, as it has been expressed, "the value of God," and they cannot give him any lower name than that of the Eternal Son.

C. W. V.

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THE INCARNATION AND THE UNITY OF CHRIST'S PERSON. By the REV. PRINCIPAL T. C. EDWARDS, D.D., in the *Expositor*, October 1895, pp. 241-261.

As the fulness and the glory of the incarnation lies in the true, divine personality of the Logos, so also the self-sacrifice which the incarnation implies is the act of the same Logos. The initiative in the incarnation must be ascribed to the Logos; that initiative is an ethical act, a "becoming poor" (2 Cor. 8:9), based upon a change of metaphysical condition. The apostle calls it a self-emptying (Phil. 2:6), which is a word so extreme and emphatic that we must beware of making the fact that it is unique a reason for refining it away. It was not in dying on the cross that the Son of God began to sacrifice himself, but in assuming human nature into union with his Divine Person; not as if the assumption of itself involved humiliation, for then the humiliation of our Lord would continue forever. But his incarnation involved his divesting himself for a time of the form of God and taking upon himself, instead of the form of God, the form of a servant. It is true that he had already obeyed his Father's command by incarnating himself; and, even previously to the act of incarnation, he was already from eternity ideally, though not actually, a servant, when he was king. But now he took the form and position of a servant, in which form it was not competent for him to assume the kingship without dying to regain it.

The doctrine of the self-emptying of the Logos is found in Origen (*Hom. in Jer.*, I., 7), among the Fathers. But it was not favored in the early church, owing to the influence of Athanasius, and to the extreme and confessedly heretical form in which it was thought to be presented by Apollinarius. But the words, "in the likeness of men," refer to the humiliation of the Logos incarnate. In the Trinity the Second Person is, in idea, human; but through incarnation he assumed actually the *humanlike* condition, though he continued to be God. In this century we are indebted to Thomasius (*Christi Person und Werk*, 1886) for the first elucidation of the kenotic theory. Dr. Bruce has subjected it (*Humiliation of Christ*, Lect. IV.) to very clear and most powerful, but, to my mind, not convincing, criticism. In the first place, he says that, according to the Thomasian doctrine, the incarnation involves at once an act of assumption and an act of self-limitation, the former an exercise of omnipotence, the latter the loss of omnipotence, and asks, Are such contrary effects of one act of will compatible? But there is no contradiction here. In the creation of the world God passes from a state of quiescence to a state of activity; the incarnation is a Divine Person, withdrawing himself from activity that he might be subject to infirmity. In the second place, Dr. Bruce acutely observes that the depotentiated Logos seems superfluous, because it implies that he has been reduced to a state of helpless passivity or impotence. But the kenosis consists of two successive steps. The first step was the laying aside the form of God, and this act the apostle dates back in the pre-incarnate state of the Logos. It was an infinite act of self-denial, than which a lesser would have been impossible to him, as well as incapable of being revealed as an ethical example to men. Then, when he had divested himself of his metaphysical omnipotence as Son of God, and was "found in fashion as a man," he humbled himself—an expression properly applicable only to a man or the Logos as man—and he humbled himself more than would have been possible to any mere man or angel, however perfect, and however much aided by the Spirit of God. For our Lord's moral omnipotence still remained to him, and the help of the Spirit was added, which enabled him to become obedient unto death, yea the death of the cross, and constituted his obedience redemptive—priestly and sacrificial. In the third place, Dr. Bruce objects that the kenotic theory introduces a break in the consciousness of the Logos as God. This holds good only against certain forms of the doctrine. Quiescence does not mean annihilation. All that is essential is that the Logos did not in any way or measure hamper the free activity of the humanity. An omniscient or omnipotent man, not in need of the unction and power of the spirit, is inconceivable, but a perfectly just and loving man, having the Spirit, is not. If the divine side of the complex personality of Christ is the initiatory and productive element, the human side is the regulative.

Among English theologians who accept the doctrine of the kenosis are Canon Gore (*Bampton Lectures*, 1891, Lect. VI.) and Principal Fairbairn (*Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 476).

C. W. V.



## Comparative-Religion Notes.

**Lectures and Meetings.**—The American Society of Comparative Religion announced the following series of addresses during the past quarter. October 21, "Recent Outbreaks of Mohammedan Fanaticism and what they Indicate," by Rev. A. P. Atterbury, D.D.; "A Comparison of the Hindu Schools of Philosophy with Western Thought," by Rev. S. L. Beiler, Ph.D.; "The Bhagavad Gita and the New Testament," by the Rev. J. L. Clark. The meetings were held at the Assembly Room of the Methodist Book Concern, New York.

The second series of "Haskell Lectures" on the Relation of Christianity to the Other Religions will be delivered by the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D.D., at The University of Chicago in January 1896. His subject is stated as "Christianity as compared with the chief historic Religions." The religions considered and the order of discussion are as follows: Judaism, Parsism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism.

Dr. Barrows has resigned the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago in order to devote himself more entirely to another field of usefulness to which he regards himself as providentially called. This is the establishment of the Barrows Lectureship of the University of Chicago. This lectureship was founded in October 1894 by Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell with a gift of \$20,000. By its conditions a series of six or more lectures are to be delivered in Calcutta and other cities of India every year or every two years as may seem advisable. Their general subject is the Relation of Christianity to the Other Religions. Dr. Barrows has been chosen to deliver the first series of lectures. His conception of its importance has led him to give up the work which he has so long and so successfully prosecuted. Of the profound significance of the new work he thus speaks in his letter of resignation: "An unusual and most important responsibility has thus been thrown upon me, not only of presenting to the scholarly and thoughtful people of India in the chief collegiate and English-speaking centers the questions of the truth of Christianity, its harmonies with the truths of other religions, its rightful claims and the best methods of setting them forth, but also of laying the foundations of a Christian lectureship, already endowed, which is to be permanently maintained in the cities of India." The interest and sympathy of all Christian people will follow Dr. Barrows in his new field. It is the opportunity of a prophet of Christianity to do an unspeakably great service to humanity.

## Work and Workers.

DR. H. B. SWETE, editor of the new Cambridge text of the Septuagint, is preparing an introduction to the Septuagint, for the use of students.

TWO new books upon the Pastoral Epistles are soon to be published by the Cambridge University Press (Macmillan, New York), one by Dr. J. H. Bernard, of Dublin, the other by the Rev. A. E. Humphreys, late fellow of Trinity College.

PROFESSOR A. C. ZENOS, D.D., who occupies the chair of Biblical Theology at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, is about to publish a book upon *The Elements of Higher Criticism*, from the house of the Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

A BOOK entitled *The Essentials of New Testament Greek* has just been published by Macmillan & Co., of which the author is Professor J. H. Huddleston, of the Northwestern University. The aim has been to give in a concise form those things which a beginner must have in order to enter upon the study of the New Testament in its original language. Lessons, exercises, text, vocabulary, grammar, syntax, these are the ingredients, and the book is a serviceable primer to introduce one to New Testament Greek.

THE death of Rev. Asahel Clark Kendrick, D.D., LL.D., took place at Rochester, N. Y., on October 21, at the age of eighty-six years. He had been Professor of Latin and Greek at Madison University, 1832-50, and since that time Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester, also teaching Hebrew and New Testament Greek for a time in the Rochester Theological Seminary. He was a useful member, 1875-81, of the American New Testament Revision Committee, and a translator and reviser of several great German commentaries.

SOME years ago Dr. Geikie's *Life of Christ* was translated into Russian at Moscow, with official sanction. Further recognition has recently been given the book. M. Pobiedonostzeff, the Supreme Censor of Russia, acting as the official of the Holy Synod, has directed that the book be used in all ecclesiastical middle schools of Russia. Also, the Council of the Ministry of Popular Instruction and the Committee of Education of the Holy Synod have ordered that the first part of the work be used in all the middle-class schools of the empire. Dr. Geikie's *Life of Christ* is an interesting and useful book, well adapted to the purpose for which Russia has chosen it. For English readers there are more accurate works upon the same subject, which are much superior to this one.

## THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

To the readers of the *BIBLICAL WORLD* is made the first general announcement of a plan which will place upon a permanent and widely representative basis the work of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, which has held a tentative existence for more than a dozen years. This because, the aim being granted,—the promotion of a true and systematic study of the Bible throughout the world,—the best method of bringing about the result was yet a matter of experiment. The experimental period has now passed. The work of the Institute has become a part of the world's work. The following plan has been devised for the future conduct of this work, along the lines already well established and in new directions not yet developed.

The strong points of the plan lie (*a*) in the organization of the leading active biblical teachers of the country for a common purpose (§§ 2, 3, 4); (*b*) the constant training of new teachers in the *Guilds* of the *Council*, which will result in added dignity and a consequent increase of interest in biblical teaching as a profession (§ 9); (*c*) the possibility of increase in the working power of the Institute through Councilors and Fellows, in all parts of the country; (*d*) the body of patrons, who, although themselves unable to conform to the conditions of membership, in the *Council*, will yet stand back of the work in a practical way.

The *Council* has already been organized, and the transfer of the affairs of the Institute was authorized at the annual meeting of the Institute directors, in New York City, Nov. 29. A list of charter members and patrons of the *Council* will be published in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* for January.

1. The name of the organization shall be THE COUNCIL OF SEVENTY, in full "The Council of Seventy of the American Institute of Sacred Literature."

2. The purpose of the Council shall be (1) to associate more closely those who desire to promote the study of the Bible from the historical standpoint, and of other sacred literatures as related to it; (2) to induce properly qualified persons to undertake this work either independently or in connection with another calling; (3) to extend through the American Institute of Sacred Literature a wider acquaintance with the right methods of Bible Study and their results; (4) to direct the affairs of said Institute.

3. The Council shall consist of persons who believing that the critical need of the times is teachers of the Bible properly trained and imbued with the historical spirit, (*a*) having secured a thorough knowledge of a particular portion of the Bible or of other sacred literatures as related to it, and (*b*) having prepared themselves to teach the same, (1) shall by the acceptance of membership in the Council pledge themselves to accept such opportunities as may present themselves to communicate to others the results of their work in Bible Study, and (2) thus express themselves as willing to accept the appointments of the American Institute of Sacred Literature in so far as such appointments do not interfere with other obligations which they have assumed

4. The number of members in the Council shall be limited to seventy and the

Council shall be divided into three Chambers according as their work pertains to the Old Testament, the New Testament, or sacred literatures in general. No Chamber shall contain more than twenty-three members exclusive of the President of the Council; who shall be reckoned as a member of each Chamber.

5. The officers of the Council of Seventy shall be a President, who shall be Principal of the Institute, a Recorder, who shall keep the records and edit the reports of the Council, a Treasurer, who shall also be the treasurer of the Institute, and a Trustee, who shall have general charge of the funds of the Council and who shall be elected by the Council from among the Patrons, a Master and a Scribe for each Chamber. These ten shall constitute the Senate of the Council, to whom shall be committed the management of the affairs of the Council in the intervals of its meetings and the detailed management of the Institute, which shall include the arrangement of courses of instruction, the organization of aggressive work, the selection and appointment of instructors. The President shall be elected by a separate ballot of each Chamber and a majority of the votes of each of the three Chambers shall be necessary to an election. The Recorder and Treasurer shall be elected by a majority of the votes of the three Chambers, and the Master and Scribe by a majority of the votes of the Chamber concerned. Friends of the work who may consent to render aid in furthering the purposes of the Council shall be denominated Patrons and their names published as such in the documents of the Council.

6. One-fourth of the Council shall constitute a quorum, provided each Chamber is represented. One-third of each Chamber shall constitute a quorum. One-half of the Senate shall constitute a quorum.

7. The charter councilors shall be Messrs.—<sup>1</sup>

New Councilors shall be elected by the respective Chambers subject to confirmation by the Senate. The rank of Councilors in each chamber shall be determined in each case by academic seniority.

8. Each Councilor shall pay to the Treasurer for the general expenses of the Council and for the work of the Institute the sum of \$10 a year, payable semi-annually.

9. The Council shall hold an annual meeting in the month of December at such time and place as may be determined. At this meeting (1) the annual report of the President shall be presented; (2) an election of officers shall take place; (3) separate meetings of the Chambers shall be held for the discussion of special questions.

10. Each Councilor shall be authorized to organize a Guild of those of his pupils (a) who have shown sufficient advancement in biblical work and interest in the purpose of the Council to warrant such appointment; (b) who will undertake to give earnest attention to the securing of a thorough knowledge of a particular portion of the Bible or other sacred literatures; (c) who will make every effort to prepare themselves to teach the same to others; (d) who will hold themselves in readiness to accept the appointments of the Institute of Sacred Literature so far as such appointments do not interfere with other obligations which they may have assumed. All appointments to a Guild shall be made annually and shall be confirmed at the annual meeting by the Chamber of which the Councilor is a member. Members of the Guilds shall (1) be called Fellows of the Council; (2) report through their Councilors to the Chamber the work of each year; and (3) pay to the Treasurer the sum of \$5.00 a year. In filling vacancies in the Council preference shall be given to the fellows.

11. The Council shall undertake the publication of such pamphlets and documents as may be needed for the work of the Institute.

12. A record of the work of each Councilor and of each fellow shall be preserved. This record shall be printed annually and sent to each Councilor and Fellow.

13. An annual report of the work of the Institute shall be prepared by the President and shall be published for the benefit of the Councilors and Patrons.

The work of the Institute in all departments continues without interruption. In this new organization may be seen, however, a most important and significant indication of the great future for which the work of the past decade has prepared the way.

<sup>1</sup> Announcement in BIBLICAL WORLD for January.

## Book Reviews.

**New Testament Theology.** Historical Account of the Teaching of Jesus and of Primitive Christianity according to the New Testament Sources. By DR. WILLIBALD BEYSLAG, Professor of Theology at Halle. Translated by REV. NEIL BUCHANAN. T. & T. Clark, 1895. Vol. I., pp. xxiii. + 419; II., pp. xii. + 517.

Professor Beyschlag in this, as he tells us, his life-work, treats of the teaching of Jesus according to the synoptists and according to the Gospel of John; the views of the first apostle, according to the Acts, the epistles of James and Peter; the Pauline system (flesh and spirit, Adam and Christ, God and the world, the establishment of salvation, the way of salvation, the life in the spirit, the Christian church, the consummation of the kingdom); the theology of Hebrews; and Johannine conceptions. In this review we are concerned only with the author's presentation of the teaching of Jesus. The contemporaneous Judaistic didactic ideas are in no way "indispensable to the understanding of the teaching of Jesus . . . quite apart from the fact that we have not sufficient sources at our command to gain a clear conception of the state of pre-Christian ideas of the time." Is the teaching of Jesus, or the doctrine about Christ, Christianity? The author occupies a mediating position as to this question, maintaining that the teaching has for its background a unique self-consciousness, the incomparable significance of his person, the latter rather than the teaching as such, accomplishing the founding of the kingdom of God. Jesus did not come into the world to preach the kingdom of God simply, but that there might be a kingdom of God to preach. But what is meant by the kingdom of God, or of heaven? "The kingdom of God in the perfect original order of things which has its home in heaven, in order to come down thence and realize itself on earth,—that ideal condition which humanity and history are to reach, that God may in his inmost essence, as eternal spirit and holy love, fill all and condition all that is in the world," p. 43. Its historical root was theocracy imperfectly realized in the land of promise, more vividly in the view of the prophets as the ideal picture of the future, but a theocracy the hope of whose realization on earth sank lower and lower, till Israel's eyes were raised to heaven in the hope of seeing what they longed for coming thence. There is a striking contrast between the conceptions of the kingdom held even by John and Jesus. John makes the kingdom act immediately in the way of blessing or condemning; "his preaching demands conversion, but only demands it, and therefore drowns the sweet sounds of promise by the thunders of approaching judgment." Jesus regards it from the first as his mission not to condemn but to save. Not the axe and the fire and the winnowing fan, but the condescending love of God, in virtue of which the spiritually poor may become divinely rich, is, rather, the characteristic trend in the Master's thought. The appar-

ent contradiction between the view of the kingdom as at hand and as yet to be, Beyschlag resolves at length by reference to progressiveness and growth.

As to the personal relation of Jesus to the idea of the kingdom, he was conscious of bearing in himself personally that very thing which he desired to set up in the world. What, then, was Jesus' thought of himself? From the beginning of his public ministry he was conscious that he was the Messiah. This was the presupposition of all his preaching, but he did not utter the name, nor allow others to do so, till a late period. The motive for this remarkable procedure is to be found in the gulf that lay between the popular idea of the Messiah and his own Messianic consciousness, as well as between the popular idea of the kingdom and his own. "If Jesus from the first had thrown the exciting name among the people, he would have called forth the most fatal misunderstandings and excitements." He must first beget a purer, higher, more spiritual idea of the Messiah, in the mirror of which he might be recognized as the Coming One. But, avoiding the name Messiah, he gave in lieu thereof the name Son of Man. How is this to be interpreted? By this term Jesus did not mean to describe his human nature, nor to declare thereby that his human existence is miraculous, a form of existence not original to him (against Meyer), nor to set himself forth as the ideal man (against Schleiermacher, Neander, Reuss), nor to show that nothing human was foreign to himself (against Baur), nor to emphasize thereby his being a son—referring to the seed of the woman—the protevangel (against Cremer); but he meant by this expression, furnished him by the well-known passage in Daniel, that he was "the God-invested bearer of the kingdom that descends from above," I., p. 67. But not this name, but the name Son of God leads us into the heart of the self-consciousness of Jesus. As the name Son of Man designated his office and calling, so the name Son of God designated his personal consciousness. He is God's beloved and God's likeness. He was conscious that he was Son of God before he knew himself to be the Messiah. Jesus regarded the divine sonship as resting on inner moral likeness to God, but in his case unique because absolute. Yet, inasmuch as the Son of God cannot be God Himself, we should not in any way confuse the name Son of God with the later name "God the Son," uttered in the doctrine of the church,—a name which sprang from an entirely different world of ideas. Jesus had no feeling of consubstantiality with God. His was a *purely human* consciousness,—yet sinless. What was Jesus' thought of God? Beyschlag controverts the position of Weiss (N. T. Theol. I., p. 64) that Jesus had no new idea of God to announce, as his God was simply the God of the Old Testament. One of his apostles made his whole gospel consist in the revelation of a new and perfect idea of God (1 John 1:5). Jesus first stamped the name Father as one proper to God, and meant to express thereby a purely personal relation that has no equal,—holy love. What was Jesus' conception of man? Recognizing the two factors, body and soul, flesh and spirit, Jesus saw in ethical personality man's capacity for immortality. Jesus presupposes the universality of sin. The best need to be converted. Continuance in sin

means the irrevocable ruin of the inner man. What was Jesus' doctrine of righteousness? Here the author's thought is rich indeed, and one despairs of adequately expressing it. God is *τελειος* in the ethical sense, hence the preaching of the kingdom is a preaching of the way of righteousness. In the teaching of Jesus this exacting side is fuller than even the announcement of grace. He even amended the law of Moses, repudiating parts of it. His "fulfilment" of law was didactic. His religious ethics rest on love to God and love to man. In reference to the latter, while the duty of rebuke goes with that of placability and forgiveness, the duty of love to forgive remains even where there is no apology or change of mind. Jesus does not make so much of the former, yet it is the background of all his teaching here. What is Jesus' doctrine of salvation? "Rationalism, in turning back from the doctrine of the church, which was based essentially on Paul, to Jesus' own plainer gospel, received the impression that this gospel is essentially a system of ethics." This is not the case, else we had therein, not gospel, but law more penetrating, more cheerless, more exacting than ever. Jesus presented the kingdom of heaven as salvation. The doctrine of righteousness merges into a doctrine of salvation. The way of salvation through calling and election, conversion and forgiveness, sonship and sanctification, is worked out at length. As to the saving significance of Christ's death, Beyschlag has no comfort for the traditional dogmatists. On Matthew 22:28, he remarks: . . . "The traditional doctrine of vicarious satisfaction, as may be readily conceived, is imported into these words the more confidently, that it for once finds here the indispensable *ἀντί* peculiar to it, which is wanting in almost all the rest of the New Testament." This *ἀντί* is best explained by the image of redemption from slavery,—in this passage slavery to sin. Jesus cannot have thought of paying the debt of death due by others, by enduring death for them, because by the presupposition that God neither can nor will be gracious or forgive without a *λύτρον*, he would have destroyed everything he had up till then taught of the free grace of God, and the forgiveness which depends only on the sinner's return," pp. 152 ff. The author's chapters on the church are of deep interest, but we refrain from remark, save to note that Jesus came not simply to redeem the individual, but society.

Space will not permit our following the author farther. We return in conclusion to his point of view. He properly expects New Testament theology to rejuvenate dogmatics. But it seems to us that, while his own contribution is masterful and real indeed, his treatment of the subject is colored by his own dogmatic preconceptions. To this criticism he replies, however, in his preface. "History is not chronicles," he says, "but living reproduction of the past, and therefore must be to some extent subjective." This is of course true; and his biblical theology does not merge into biblical dogmatics, as has been charged. But at times his allusions to systems of doctrine are more than incidental,—so much so that "the scientific impartiality and objectivity of his historical account" is disturbed by them. Apparently, *e.g.*, he goes out of his way to oppose the Ritschlians, pp. 6-8. G. B. F.

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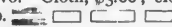
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





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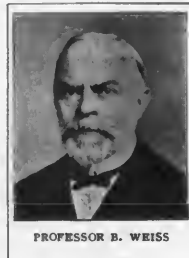
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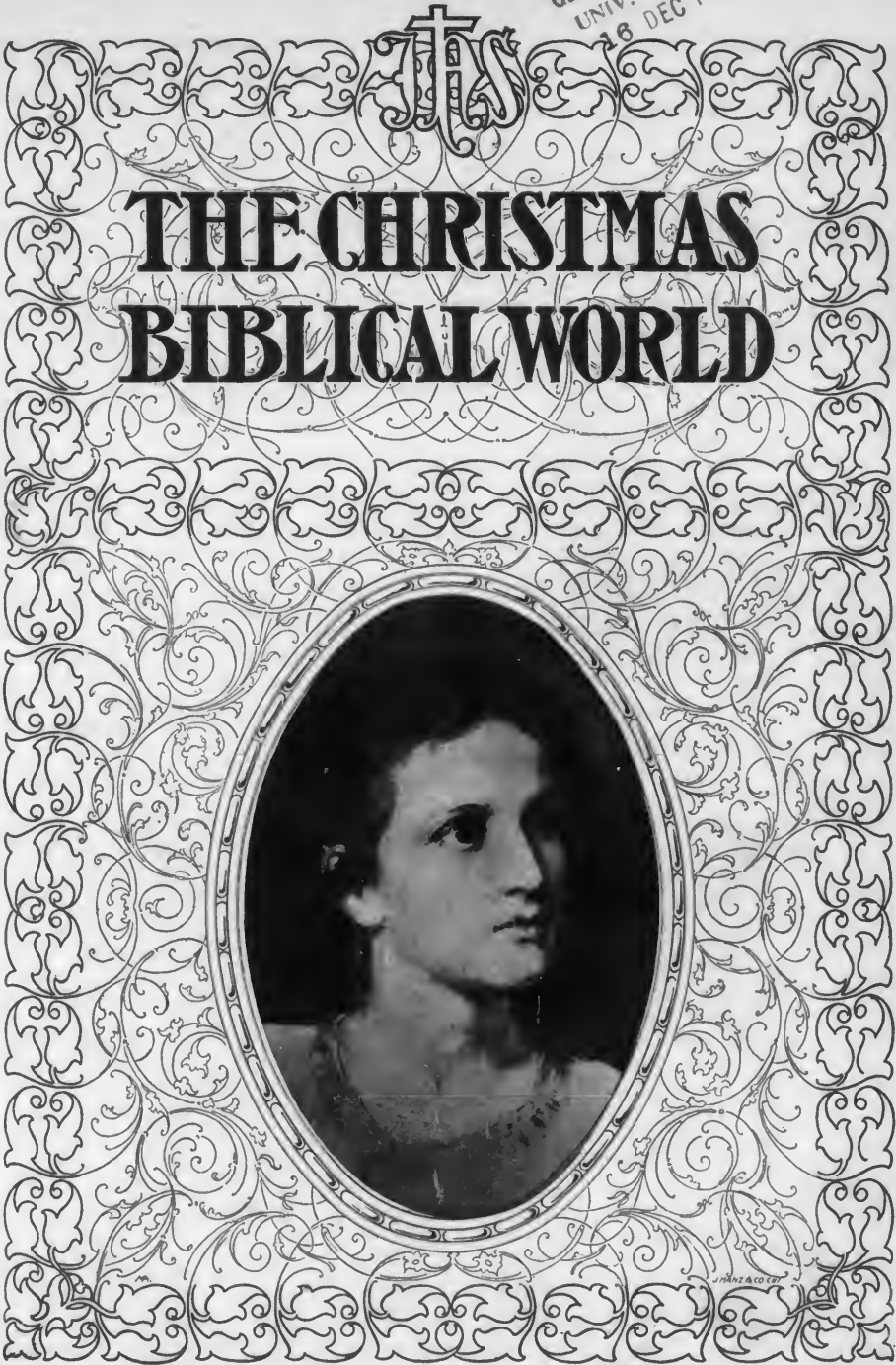
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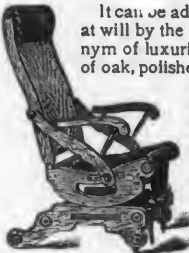
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