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This is my commandment, that ye love one another, even as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends. Ye are my friends, if ye do the things which I command you.

—JOHN 15:12-14.

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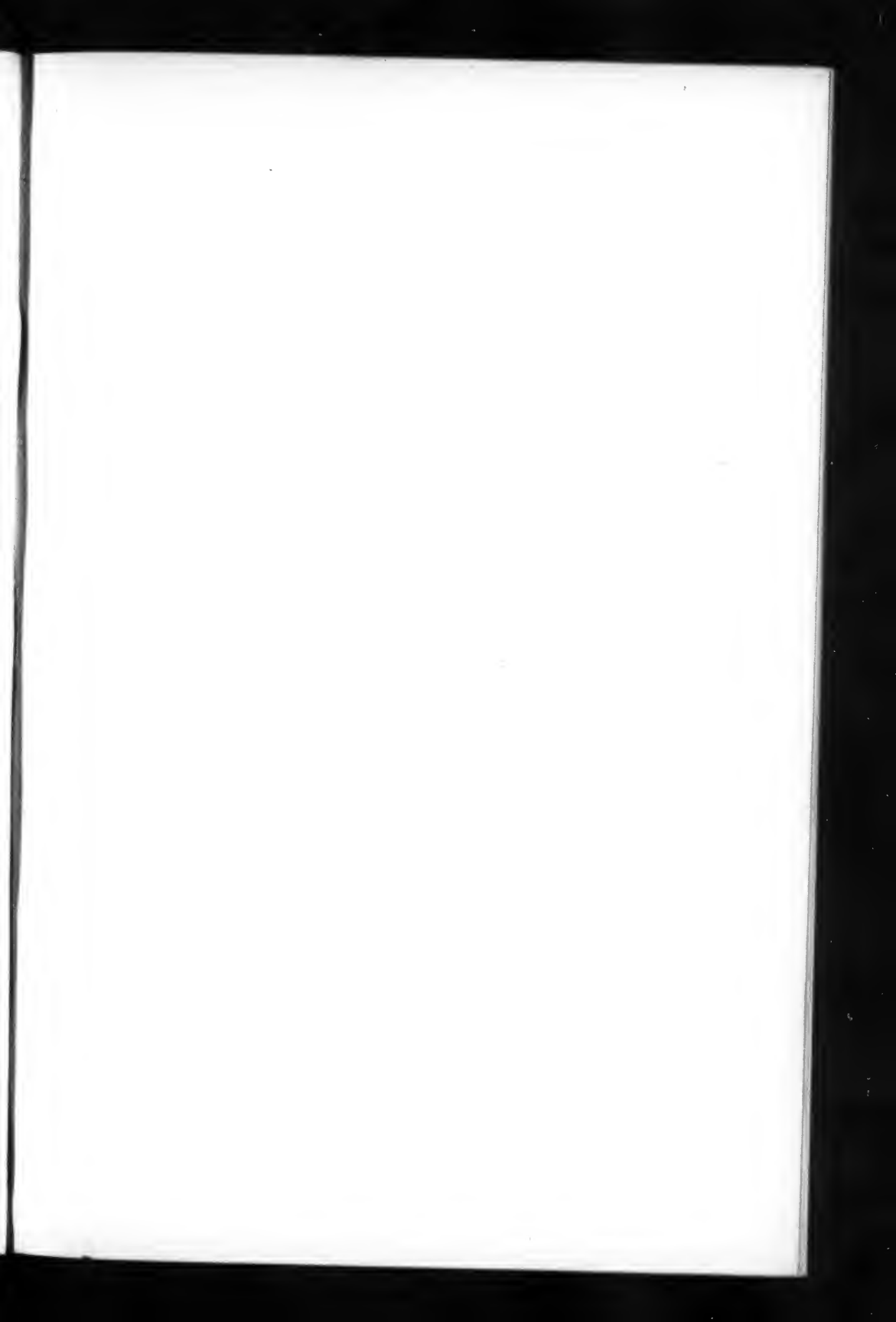
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“Her face so fair
Stirred with her dream, as rose-leaves with the air.”
Of course 'tis *Pears'* that makes her fair.

BYRON.





A TYPICAL JEW OF MODERN JERUSALEM.

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THE BEATITUDES OF JESUS.

THE teaching of Jesus known as the "Sermon on the Mount," of which the Beatitudes constitute the first section, is given the place of honor in the gospel of Matthew. It receives more space than any other discourse, and is placed prominently at the beginning of the book, after introductory matters are recorded. That Jesus did deliver such a discourse upon the true righteousness is altogether probable, and the reports of the discourse which are found in the first and the third gospels are in general agreement as to its chief features. Granted that some of the material found in the two accounts was originally uttered on other occasions, and has been brought into connection with the historical discourse by topical association for practical use, the theme of the original discourse and its development are not destroyed or even obscured. The excerpts which have come down to us of Jesus' great Sermon leave both theme and development clear.

Some scholars have thought to find the theme of the discourse in the passage Matt. 5:17-20, in which case the Sermon was either a polemic against the perverse pharisaic interpretation of the Old Testament Law, or else a defense against the pharisaic charge that Jesus destroyed the Law and the Prophets. But this is improbable, for: (1) the Sermon in Luke does not contain the verses found in Matt. 5:17-20, and would therefore have no statement of the theme of the discourse; (2) the remainder of Matthew's fifth chapter shows how little, rather than how much, Jesus held in common with the Old Testament system; (3) if the theme lies in 5:17-20, there is no logical connection in the discourse for the greater part of the material which Matthew

records; and (4) the situation to which Jesus addresses himself in the Sermon on the Mount would have made unsuitable and unwise a discourse of a negative quality, whether polemic or apologetic.

The theme of the Sermon really lies in the Beatitudes. They stand at the head of the discourse in both the first and the third gospels, and furnish a theme which fairly unites the material given in both accounts. Jesus sought to present in this teaching the ideal life in character and conduct, the true righteousness over against current shallow and perverse conceptions of righteousness. There is abundant probability that Jesus, at some middle point in the Galilean ministry (Luke associates the discourse with the appointment of the twelve apostles), after careful preparation of the people, and to a general company of his followers, would undertake to set forth somewhat specifically and comprehensively the kind of men and women for which the kingdom of God called; what it meant in actual life to become a member of that kingdom; and the kind of righteousness which God required, as contrasted with the current scribal teaching. To develop this definite theme in a great discourse would logically involve a characterization of ideal character and conduct; a comparison of this ideal with the ideal commonly held among his hearers; some illustrations of how this ideal character and conduct would manifest themselves in one's attitude toward God, self, and fellow-men; and earnest injunctions to the actual attainment of this ideal. This is what we have in the Sermon on the Mount, and the Beatitudes present the chief ideas of the theme at its very beginning.

Whether Matthew or Luke presents the more authentic form of the Beatitudes is a question of much difficulty. Some scholars hold that Luke's four Beatitudes are the more original, the eight which Matthew gives being increased in number and expanded in form. This hypothesis, however, is not generally accepted. While the Matthew form of the Beatitudes may not perfectly reproduce the words of Jesus at this point in the discourse, they do seem to convey the spiritual meaning which Jesus had in mind, and all of them are

*TWO REPORTS
OF THE
BEATITUDES*

needed to present the complete view of the ideal life. The Beatitudes as given in the first gospel have always been used by the Christian church as the more satisfying and helpful of the two accounts; and this popular judgment finds much support from a moderate scholarship.

The beatitude type of utterance was not new upon Jesus' lips, for it is found often in the Old Testament. But Jesus made the beatitude his own (as he made the parable his own), and constantly used it as a mode of expression which carried the idea of love rather than of exaction, the idea of persuasion rather than of force. The ideas and phrases of the Beatitudes were largely taken by Jesus from the Old Testament and from current Jewish terminology, to give them in his own teaching a higher import and a greater power.

The phrases "the poor," "the mourners," "the meek," "the hungry and thirsting," "the merciful," "the pure in heart," "the peacemakers," "the persecuted," are stable conceptions and terms of the Old Testament, and of the Judaism of Jesus' day. The same is true of "the kingdom of heaven," "the comfort of the afflicted," "the entering into possession of the earth," "the satisfaction of longing for righteousness and truth," "the seeing God," and "the becoming sons of God." The adoption by Jesus of this religious terminology served to form an essential connection between Jesus' hearers and himself. Yet he did not use it as a mere matter of expediency; rather he used it because he found an essential unity between his own ideas and those of the Hebrew prophets. These phrases in their highest meaning were rooted in fundamental spiritual needs, realities, and aspirations, such as Jesus came to satisfy, to proclaim, and to fulfil.

The Beatitudes consist each of two phrases, the one expressing the condition, the other the result which follows upon it. The one states the character or service to be attained, the other the blessedness of attaining it. The blessedness which Jesus here affirms belongs both to the present and to the future. In one aspect it is eschatological; the endless future of men who attain the

*SIMILARITY TO
OLD TESTAMENT
THOUGHT AND
EXPRESSION*

*THE
INTERPRETATION
OF THESE
SAYINGS*

character and perform the service described is assured, as one of perfect happiness and communion with God. But the blessedness which Jesus promised belongs also, and primarily, to the present life. The blessedness of the Beatitudes is that condition of true well-being which results from committing one's self to God with the purpose of living according to His will; and this condition normally produces peace and joy, arising from the consciousness of God's approval and blessing, the feeling of assured present and future well-being.

The Beatitudes present each a special idea, but they are not mutually exclusive. An organic unity joins them all together, and they interlace with one another. Like so many facets of a diamond, they present the ideal life in eight different aspects, they indicate the several characteristics which make up the whole. The order in which the eight sayings are arranged does not appear to be a closely wrought one; they do not seem to present an ascensive or climactic arrangement. Repeated attempts to find a logical consecution and an intricate relation between them have failed.

The detailed interpretation of the eight sayings is a difficult task, as may be seen from the portions of commentaries on Matthew's gospel which attempt it, or in Tholuck's classic work on the Sermon. It can be accomplished only by thorough historical, linguistic, and exegetical study, in accordance with principles of interpretation which are to be derived from a comparison of the entire body of Jesus' teaching, and with full knowledge of the Hebrew religion and literature which Jesus used as a foundation for his work.

It was a most significant way which Jesus chose for setting forth his ideal of life in the Sermon. He did not re-enact the Ten Commandments of Moses, which his people for centuries had regarded as embodying the law of God for man; he did not propose a new table of commandments to take the place of the old. Instead, he presented a series of sayings which pronounce the highest blessings upon those who aspire to the best kind of life. "Blessed are

the poor in spirit, the mourners, the meek, they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers, they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake." He gave these Beatitudes with the profound intention of revealing at once the spirit and the substance of the Gospel. Man is not made subservient to an external law forced upon him from without, but is made responsive to a creative light and power within. The criterion by which God judges him is not primarily a standard of external performance, but a standard of internal purpose and aspiration.

The ideal of human life described in the Beatitudes pertains to the fundamental nature of a person, and concerns all men equally. Jesus furnished here a universal ideal, and a universal criterion, according to which a man's success or failure is judged, not by the amount of money he can accumulate, nor by the amount of social distinction he can command, nor by the extent of his intellectual or official achievements; but rather by the essential character which he fashions within himself, and by the service which he renders to his fellow-men. In the Beatitudes Jesus calls men away from the superficial tests and standards which so commonly prevail, to a criterion which concerns the real nature of man, is equally just to all, and stands in relation, not alone to the few years of the present existence, but to the whole of a man's eternal career.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE JEWS IN PALESTINE.

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

IN considering the way in which the Jews of modern Palestine earn their daily bread, it will be convenient to divide them into four groups: (1) those who, supported by charitable funds, spend their whole time in purely religious occupations, *e. g.*, the study of the sacred books, and those whose great object in coming to the country is to die on holy soil; (2) those who, though perhaps coming originally from religious motives, have still to do something for their living; (3) those who, having in most cases been brought up in Palestine, have to earn their living unassisted by charitable funds; (4) those who have been settled in agricultural communities by various philanthropic agencies.

Before proceeding to discuss these very real divisions of Jews, it is necessary to explain a word which will occur frequently in what follows, the word *Khaluka*, חֶלֶקָה (literally, the "portion"). It is money sent to Jerusalem from all over the world, but especially from the center of orthodox Judaism, Russia, for the support of the Jews dwelling in the Holy Land. The early Christian church sent *Khaluka* by the hand of Paul to the saints at Jerusalem. Each orthodox man whose daily avocations leave him no time to "study the law" is supposed to contribute what he earns in the time he *ought* to study the law to pay someone else to do his duty vicariously in the Holy Land. It reminds one of arguments we have seen in missionary literature, that those who cannot themselves go to fulfil the command, "Go ye into all the world," should pay, or help to pay, a substitute. The *Khaluka* is divided into two great divisions—the greater *Khaluka* and the lesser *Khaluka*. The former, a sum variously estimated at from \$200,000 to \$300,000,^{*} is exclusively for the Ashkenazim

^{*}The writer is indebted to *Jewish Life in the East* by Mr. S. M. SAMUEL, and to the annual handbooks of MR. LUNCZ, of Jerusalem, for much of the information in this section.

and is largely collected in Russian Poland. Each district supports the people who have migrated from that district to Palestine, and every member of the family, even the smallest child, gets an equal share. The amount received varies much, according to the number of contributors in and the number of



A GROUP OF DAGHISTAN JEWS IN JERUSALEM.

recipients from a given district; but it has been stated to amount to from \$20 to \$30 per head—including children—for all whose names are on the list.

The lesser *Khaluka* is collected from all parts of Europe and Russia, and is divided in shares among the Ashkenazim and Sephardim. It is said to amount to \$80,000² for the whole of Palestine. It is collected by a number of "messengers" who travel about for the purpose, and are allowed a liberal commission for their trouble. I have met Jews born and brought up in Jerusalem who have been over half the world on these errands.

² This is an old estimate; it is certainly more now.

It will now be seen who are the members of the first of the above-mentioned classes. They are the recipients of a full *Khaluka*. In this class belong the chachamin or rabbis. The leading chachamin have the control and administration of the funds, and thus have an enormous power over the doings of all



A JEW IN TYPICAL COSTUME.

the other recipients. This power, so far, has been always exercised against progress and education: Among the Ashkenazim many very ordinary families live on these alms—not, as is the case with the Sephardim, only the more learned rabbis. These latter, in all three hundred families it is said, give their time to the study of the law. For some whose *Khaluka* is small there are small local appointments connected with schools and synagogues which enable them to give their time to "the law."

There are others, especially among the Ashkenazim, but also a proportion among all the immigrant Jews, who have come in old age or in failing middle life to pass their declining years in studying the sacred books on holy soil, and to lay their bones here. Some of these bring with them their savings, others are supported by allowances from relatives or local communities independent of the recognized *Khaluka*.



ORIENTAL JEWESSES.

By an easy step we pass to the second class. Here we find men who have come originally for purely religious motives, but who, finding it impossible to manage on their "portion," or perhaps marrying in middle life and thus burdening themselves with extra cares and expenses, are obliged to do something for a livelihood. This class must necessarily form a social problem, for they are not quite dependent on their work, as are those who work for their whole living, and so are able to undersell their fellow-religionists and their gentile fellow-tradesmen.

The Jews engaged in business in Palestine are very numerous

and belong to all classes of the community. They are found in all parts of the country. In Jerusalem Jews have much of the



STREET VENDERS IN JERUSALEM.

money-changing and money-lending in their hands, and also a considerable proportion of the shops. The cleverest at handicrafts are the Ashkenazim, who do most of the furniture-making,

olive woodworking, bookbinding, printing, plumbing, watch and clock-making, etc. The Sephardim and the Gourgees are most successful as drapers, fancy trimming sellers, etc. All classes—not only those but also the Mughrabin and Yeminites—flourish as tailors, cobblers, and rough tinkers. The Yeminites excel as stone cutters and bricklayers. Many of the Sephardim are



VISITORS TO THE TOMB OF RABBI SIMON BEN YOKHAI,
AT MERON, NEAR SAFED.

carriage drivers. Others, and some Gourgees, are porters carrying heavy loads on their backs for great distances. The competition is very great and the Jew will work with a very small margin of profit.

A list of all the various trades of Palestine would fill half a page, but to show that it is not only the rougher trades that are followed, I must mention that I know many Jews who are druggists, makers of surgical instruments, electrical machinists, a sculptor, an oculist, besides of course professional men such as doctors, dentists, teachers, etc.

There is comparatively little work for so many Jews to do; the workers can often scarcely get enough to satisfy even their humble wants. Young men constantly have to leave the country

for America, Australia, or South Africa to find fresh openings. Nor can there, in the present state of things, be additional openings, unless the general prosperity of the country increases in some quite unexpected way. The conditions will continue to be difficult for self-supporting Jews. A community containing so many charitably supported persons as is the case in Jerusalem,



VEGETABLE DEALERS.

and also in Hebron and Safed, is only limited in size by the amount of the charity funds and the enthusiasm of the contributors to the *Khaluka*; but it is not a satisfactory basis for a permanent population.

The last class of Jews deserve special mention on account of their unique position; in the past they have been in a half-way position between the first and third classes. They have received the equivalent of a *Khaluka* for living on holy soil, but their business has been, not to read the law, but to till the soil. Recently this pseudo-*Khaluka* has been largely withdrawn. Agricultural colonies in Palestine are a comparatively recent experiment. For many generations a small number of Jewish families at El Bukia'a, in Galilee, not far from Safed, have cultivated land side by side with the fellahin, but this is a small and little-known community. The modern³ movement began in 1870,

³For a full account of the agricultural colonies in Palestine the reader is referred to the new *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. I. The present writer is indebted for the latest statistics to *Die jüdischen Colonien Palästinas*, by A. M. LUNCZ (Jerusalem, 1902).

when the Turkish government presented the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" of Paris with over six hundred acres of land near Jaffa. This land was on the road to Jerusalem, and a School of Agriculture under one Charles Nelter was established there, bearing the name Miķweh Yisrael. The latest figures show that



BEDOUIIN FAMILY AT A MEAL.

there are now one hundred pupils living at this school, and former pupils are largely employed in the newer colonies. During the past thirty years an increasing number of colonies have been founded. One was started in 1878 at a village called Mulebbis, six miles northeast of Jaffa. It nearly came to grief through the unhealthiness of the site, but was rearranged in 1887 by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and has now become the flourishing colony of Petah Tikwah, with 3,150 acres of land and a population of over 800 persons. In 1882 three of the best colonies were founded: Zikron Ya'akob, at Samarin, a village on

Mount Carmel four miles from the sea; Rosh Pinah, at the village of Ja'unek, four miles east of Safed in Galilee; and Rishon le Zion, some five or six miles southeast of Jaffa. Each of these colonies is the most important in its own district, and they may be taken as types of all.

Zikron Ya'akob, at Samarin, is the finest. It occupies a beautiful site on Mount Carmel. The territory is over 3,635 acres in extent, and the population is put at nearly nine hundred persons. The colony is a complete little town of itself, with public buildings, public gardens, library, stores, a hospital, a handsome synagogue, well-built houses, and paved streets. It is on the main road from Jaffa to Haifa, and possesses a fair hotel for travelers. There are several smaller branch colonies dependent upon it. It used to be controlled by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, but now it has passed into the care of the Jewish Colonization Association of London. The present endeavor is to make it a self-supporting colony.

Rosh Pinah in Galilee has 1,581 acres and about three hundred inhabitants.⁴ Half a million vines and twenty thousand mulberry trees have been planted. This colony is connected by road with the small colonies of Yesod ha Ma'alah (Isbait) on the Lake of Merom, and with two other colonies on the Jordan river at the "Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob."

Rishon le Zion has 1,545 acres and more than five hundred inhabitants. It produces great quantities of wine and brandy, which are sold all over Europe. An enormous cellar and all modern machinery were supplied by Baron de Rothschild, and it is said that 400,000 gallons of good wine can be produced annually. Silkworms are also cultivated, and there are extensive fruit gardens. The colony possesses many public buildings, such as the synagogue, a hospital, schools, baths, a library, etc. The internal affairs of the colony are managed by an elected committee of settlers.

These must be taken as types of what has been accomplished. As much as 61,000 acres have been acquired by various individuals and societies for colonization purposes. Of this land

⁴Not including Jewish lads from Safed, who are employed in the silk factory.

16,500 acres are east of the Jordan, and are yet for the most part undeveloped. The remainder is divided as follows: In Judea, 9,254 acres, belonging to nine colonies, with a total population of 1,525; in Samaria, 16,129 acres, belonging to eight colonies, with 2,033 persons; in Galilee, 19,047 acres, belonging to eight colonies, with 892 persons. According to these statistics,⁵ 4,450 Jews are said to be located in the colonies. But these figures were computed in 1898; since then various changes have taken place, and not a few families have left. Baron de Rothschild himself actually assisted some, whom he had established in his colonies, to leave the country when these colonies were confronted with the new self-supporting policy of the London Jewish Colonization Society. Nevertheless Mr. Luncz, of Jerusalem, this year puts the total population of all the colonies as 4,935 souls. These figures include a few non-Jews who work in the colonies.

Compared with the way their poor co-religionists live in the "holy cities," these colonists live in luxury; but what may be the future of the scheme no one can say. It has disappointed the hopes of many who were very enthusiastic at the first. Some sites chosen have proved to be very unhealthy, and the attempts made to get rid of malaria by planting enormous quantities of eucalyptus trees have not been successful; many marshy spots will require draining. The whole colonization scheme is yet an experiment and one which will be watched with interest by all who are in sympathy with the Jews.⁶

⁵Taken from the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, Vol. I.

⁶The following statistics, published last year (1902) by Mr. Luncz, of Jerusalem, will enable the reader to form a good idea of what is the present situation of the Jewish agricultural colonies: Total estates, 40, of which 20 are colonies, 13 are private estates, and 7 are undeveloped estates. Total amount of land, 350,444 dunams (a Turkish land measure, a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre), of which 92,767 dunams are devoted to grain, 27,463 to vineyards, 2,091 to orange groves, 3,447 to almonds, 3,344 to mulberries, 6,349 to olives, 576 to roses (for making perfumes), 102 to figs, 156 to various fruit trees, 1,224 to eucalyptus trees, 120 to tobacco, and 3,218 dunams are used as gardens attached to the houses; nearly half the total is as yet undeveloped. The population amounts to 4,935 persons, representing 1,205 families in 708 houses. To the colonies also belong 467 barns, 438 wagons and carriages, 623 horses, 365 asses, 587 oxen, 1,171 cows, and 2,586 sheep and goats.

A STUDY OF JEREMIAH.

By REV. ALEXANDER R. GORDON,
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THE book of the prophet Jeremiah is conspicuous, even in the rich field of Old Testament literature, for its many-sided interest. From whatever point of view we study the book, we shall reap an abundant harvest in knowledge and idea. The critic will discover an unlimited number of the special problems which he investigates. The historian will have unfolded before him a profoundly interesting historical drama: the decline and fall of the kingdom of Judah. The psychologist is presented in the character of Jeremiah with the most fascinating personality, perhaps, in the whole roll of Hebrew prophecy. While the devotional man will find rich spiritual pasture in the life and struggles and manifold spiritual experiences of one of the purest-hearted servants of God.

The special subject of this paper is: the place of Jeremiah in the development of prophecy and religious life in Israel.

It has become almost an axiom of modern theology that inspiration is not mechanical, verbal, or literal. "Not of the letter, which killeth, but of the spirit, which giveth life." The divine Spirit of Revelation speaks through the inspired personality of the prophet to the men of his time, in relation to the facts and movements of the time. Thus inspiration is conditioned, on the one hand, by the personality of the inspired writer, and, on the other hand, by his historical situation. The former element, again, is the complex of very many simpler elements. Of these, three may be treated as outstanding: (1) the natural character or disposition of the prophet; (2) his religious environment, especially the influence of earlier prophets; (3) his call, and personal religious experience. In an estimate of the prophetic and religious significance of the individual

prophet, therefore, we must take account of these four influences: his natural character, his religious environment, his historical situation, and his call and personal religious experience.¹

In order to arrive at a true idea of Jeremiah's prophetic and religious significance, we shall study the influence of these four determining factors—rather, however, in the free and natural course of their operation, than under separate rubrics.²

The eighth century B. C. marks the crisis of national religions. It was then that the great powers of Assyria and Egypt put forth their energies to win world-empire. As they extended their influence, the smaller nations of Syria, Moab, Ammon, and Edom were, one after the other, conquered and crushed. With them fell their gods, Chemosh and Molech. It was certain that Israel and Judah must, in due course, share the same fate. The great question then was: Would Jehovah, the God of Israel and Judah, fall with his people? This question resolved itself into the more fundamental one: Was Jehovah merely the national god of Israel, as Chemosh was of Moab, and Molech of Ammon? or was he the universal God, the absolute Lord of heaven and earth, the Prime Mover in the great drama of world-history?

Now, the popular conception of Jehovah at this epoch was undoubtedly narrowly and crudely nationalistic. To the great bulk of the people of Israel and Judah, Jehovah was simply their national God. If this conception had been universal, then certainly the worship of Jehovah would have perished as utterly as the nation. But at this crisis there were raised up by the Spirit of God men who saw deeper into the character of Jehovah, and who vindicated, against the popular conception, his absolute

¹ See a suggestive treatment of this subject in DUHM, *Theologie der Propheten*, Einleitung.

² This study of Jeremiah rests, of course, upon a close critical treatment of the text. The attitude adopted toward the leading critical problems of the book is, briefly, as follows: (a) In textual criticism, the Massoretic reading has been accepted as most nearly representing the original, while numerous suggestions and corrections have been adopted from the Septuagint. (b) In the field of "higher criticism," the more moderate position of critics like Davidson and Giesebrecht has been adopted, viz., to conserve for Jeremiah all that does not give clear evidence of lateness and different authorship. The radical criticism of Duhm and Schmidt (*Encyc. Bibl.*) seems to me improbable.

sovereignty and his righteousness. To them Jehovah was the one high and holy God, the Lord of heaven and earth, whose glory would be manifested even amid the ruins of Israel's national life. And through their influence, humanly speaking, it was that the worship of Jehovah not only survived the downfall of the nation, but even entered thereby into a new and more glorious life.

First Amos, the prophet of justice, asserted, in the face of the people's idolatry and immorality, the absolute righteousness of Jehovah; then Hosea, the prophet of mercy, appealed to them by the love of their God; after him Isaiah, the prophet of the divine transcendence and holiness, proclaimed the high and holy sovereignty of God. These earlier prophets, however, were not yet free from national limitations, or from one-sided conceptions of Jehovah. It was left for the fourth great prophet to break through their limitations and to transcend their differences, to unite in one great conception the justice and mercy of Jehovah, to balance his perfect holiness with his perfect love, to vindicate at once his absolute sovereignty and his universal grace. This fourth great prophet was Jeremiah, the prophet of personal religion.

Jeremiah was born at Anathoth, near Jerusalem, about 650 B. C., *i. e.*, toward the close of Manasseh's evil reign. He was the son of Hilkiah, a God-fearing local priest, perhaps a descendant of the priestly house of Abiathar. In the sanctuary of the godly home, the future prophet would be kept free from the corruptions of his time, and trained to fear and serve Jehovah, the God of his fathers. There was, probably, never a time when Jeremiah did not fear and love to serve Jehovah. This much, indeed, is implied in the words of Jehovah: "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest out of the womb I sanctified thee" (Jer. 1:5); that is, Jeremiah was from the womb the servant and predestined prophet of Jehovah.

The definite call to be a prophet came to Jeremiah "in the thirteenth year of Josiah" (625 B. C.), when he would be some twenty-five years old. From the account in chap. 1 we can arrive at a sufficiently clear idea of what the call meant. And we shall find therein the germ, at least, of his whole prophetic

inspiration and thought. The call of Jeremiah presents an interesting contrast to that of Isaiah. The latter sees one overpowering vision of Jehovah's transcendent majesty and holiness; he falls prostrate, awe-struck, before the divine presence; and thereafter, being purified from his uncleanness and admitted into the holy choir of Jehovah's worshipers, he consecrates his life wholly to Jehovah's service: "Here am I; send me."

Jeremiah's call is less ecstatic, more calm and deliberate. Jehovah gives him no overwhelming revelation of his holiness. Rather, he unveils to him the meaning and purpose of his own life. He shows him how he has called and separated him, even from the womb, and how he has led and trained and disciplined him, during all the years of youth and early manhood, for his service. Now, when the full time is come, he calls him to take up his burden of responsibility: "I have appointed thee a prophet unto the nations" (1:5). The timid, shrinking, yet deliberate acceptance of the call is followed by the bestowal of new graces on the part of Jehovah. He touches the prophet's lips and puts his words in his mouth. He opens his eyes, and shows him visions of judgment and of grace. He receives him into his council chamber, and reveals to him the secrets of his divine government. He appoints him his plenipotentiary representative on earth. And he stands by him, to defend him against all the assaults of his enemies. "Behold, I have set thee this day over the nations and over the kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, and to destroy and to overthrow; to build and to plant" (1:10). "And, behold, I am with thee, to deliver thee" (1:19).

Thus, in the call of Jeremiah, more completely than of any other of the prophets, the whole personality of the prophet comes into play. The appeal of Jehovah is to the deepest element of his being. And the prophet responds to the call "with all his heart and soul and strength and mind." Further, the revealing spirit of God is to Jeremiah no power now and again overmastering him from without, but an abiding personal possession; a spirit of light and truth continually dwelling within him; a living word within his heart; as it were, a fire in his bones, burning to find utterance.

The earliest prophecies of Jeremiah (chaps. 2-6) were uttered, to all appearance, immediately after his call. Their occasion was the terrible invasion of Scythian hordes from the north, which awakened also the prophetic inspiration of Zephaniah. These early prophecies of Jeremiah are of deep interest. In their definite message, quite on the lines of the older prophets, especially of Hosea and Isaiah, they yet breathe a wonderful freshness and originality. The language is terse, vigorous, and full of genuine poetry. In these chapters, indeed, Jeremiah takes his place at once in the front rank of lyric poets. "What a glorious prophetic writer Jeremiah was," exclaims Ewald, "when he first began his labors, before the hard fortunes of his late years had blighted the first tender bloom of his literary activity also." In Davidson's judgment, "the pathos and depths of these chapters are not surpassed by anything in Scripture."

Charming is the picture of Israel's early innocence: "I remember thee, the grace of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, how thou wentest after me in the wilderness, through unknown land. Israel was holiness unto the Lord, the first-fruits of his increase" (2:2, 3). But all too soon the fair picture is overshadowed with darkness. "My people, saith the Lord, have forsaken me, the well-spring of living waters, and have hewn them out stagnant cisterns—and these, too, broken cisterns that can hold no water" (2:13). Israel, planted a generous and fruitful vine, "has turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine" to Jehovah (2:21). She has become polluted through and through with foul iniquity, which neither lye nor soap can cleanse (2:22). She "playeth the harlot with false gods upon every high hill, and under every green tree" (2:20; 3:6). She "gaddeth like a swift dromedary, or a wild ass of the wilderness" after her lovers, the Baalim (2:23). She multiplieth gods in every city, and in every corner of the streets. She boweth down to "stocks and stones" (2:27), forgetting Jehovah "days without number" (2:32). The whole land is full of falsehood and injustice and all unrighteousness: adultery and lying and the shedding of innocent blood (2:34; 4:1 f.). Yet with all that, Israel boasts herself in her innocence, and relies with self-

complacent confidence on the gracious help of Jehovah, her God (2: 23, 35; 3: 5, etc.). But Jehovah will have none of his people's confidences. "How can I put thee among the children, and give thee the children's goodly heritage?" (3: 19). His fierce anger is turned against the people (4: 8). If they repent not, he will bring upon them his swift vengeance (4: 5 ff.).

In chaps. 4-6 Jeremiah draws terrible pictures of the "foe from the north," the Scythian invaders, whom Jehovah will summon into the land as the instruments of his wrath. "Like a lion from his thicket, he goeth forth from his place to make the whole land desolate" (4: 7). In one awful passage, the prophet paints the whole horror of the devastation which shall befall the land of Judah. "I beheld the earth, and lo! it was waste and void, and the heavens, and lo! they had no light. I beheld the mountains, and lo! they trembled, and all the hills moved to and fro. I beheld the land, and lo! there was no man, and all the birds of the heaven were fled. I beheld the fruitful field, and lo! it was a wilderness, and all the cities thereof were broken down before the fierce anger of the Lord" (4: 23 ff.). Yet, in spite of his fierce anger, Jehovah was a merciful God. He would fain avert the impending calamity. If only his people would return unto him, he would blot out all their sins, and be gracious unto them. "Return, ye backsliding children," he appeals to them as a father; "return, and I will heal your backslidings" (3: 22). "If thou wilt return unto me, O Israel, saith the Lord, unto me shalt thou return; and if thou wilt put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou not be removed; and if thou shalt swear, 'As the Lord liveth', in truth, in judgment and in righteousness, then shall the nations also bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory" (4: 1 f.).

In the midst of his earliest prophetic activity, before he uttered the "words" of chaps. 5 and 6, Jeremiah seems to have left his home in Anathoth, to take up his residence in Jerusalem. It may be he entered that holy city with the feelings with which Luther entered the holy city of Rome. If so, he was as grievously disillusioned. In the capital he saw perhaps less coarse irreligion and immorality than in the country villages of

Judah; but far more deliberate and refined wickedness. There was, indeed, much outward profession of religion, much swearing by the name of Jehovah, much sabbath-keeping and temple-treading, and many sacrifices. But all this profession of devotion to Jehovah only threw into blacker relief the heart-corruption of the people. Their swearing by Jehovah's name was only the hypocrite's cloak to veil their abominations. With one accord, the people, high and low, pursued after wickedness, injustice and dishonesty, oppression of the poor and needy, the slaughter of the innocent, adultery, and all shamefulness. Indeed, it seemed to the prophet, as he cast his eyes over the city, that there was no man that did justly, none that sought truth. The leaders of the nation, the priests and prophets, who should have taught the people the ways of the Lord, were themselves the very ring-leaders in iniquity. Therefore, the harsh notes again ring out: If she repent not, the holy city of Jerusalem shall likewise be overwhelmed in the general calamity of Judah. "Be thou instructed, O Jerusalem, lest my soul be alienated from thee; lest I make thee a desolation, a land not inhabited" (6:8).

Jeremiah has thus already advanced beyond the earlier prophets, notably Isaiah, in so far as he can at least contemplate the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity of the whole people. We shall see how the prophet was led; by the natural evolution of history, definitely to break through the Isaianic limitation, and to vindicate the universalism of Jehovah's righteousness through the utter destruction of Jerusalem, the ruin of the temple, and the captivity of the people. We shall see, too, how profound a bearing this had on his conceptions of God and religion.

Another characteristic note appears in these earliest prophecies. Isaiah always declares his prophetic "words" from the Olympian heights of his own unwavering faith in God. But Jeremiah can never dissociate his own personal feelings from his prophecies. The revelation of Jehovah's word touches and moves him to the heart, and ever and anon his feelings break through his words. At one time his heart is broken at the thought of

his people's sufferings. "Oh my bowels, my bowels! I am tortured to my very heart. I cannot hold my peace for pain, because my soul hath heard the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war, the crash of destruction upon destruction" (4:19 f.). And then again his soul is full of the fierce wrath of Jehovah: "I am full of the fury of the Lord: I am weary with holding it. Pour it out upon the children in the street, and upon the assembly of young men together" (6:11). We shall see how important a bearing this intrusion of the personal element also had upon Jeremiah's prophecies and religious influence.

A few years after the prophet's migration to Jerusalem, in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign (620 B. C.), occurred the great events narrated in 2 Kings 22:23: the discovery of the law-book, *i. e.*, the book of Deuteronomy, in the temple, and the consequent radical reformation of religion under the auspices of the king. To a mind like Jeremiah's, these far-reaching events would have appealed with irresistible force. The reformation must, indeed, have seemed the consummation of all his hopes and efforts: the re-establishment of Jehovah's kingdom of righteousness over the land. We do not wonder, therefore, to find him personally embarking on the work of reformation, and appealing to the people of Jerusalem and Judea—in the words of the remarkable prophecy in chap. 11—"Hear ye the words of this covenant. Hear and do them. For thus saith the Lord, 'Cursed be the man that doeth not the words of this covenant'" (11:2 ff.).³

³ From the difference of standpoint and outlook between Jeremiah's maturer prophecies and the book of Deuteronomy, it has been argued by many scholars, notably by Davidson and Duhm, that the prophet's attitude toward the reformers was from the first one of more or less pronounced hostility. But, in spite of national differences there existed a profound spiritual affinity between Jeremiah and the Deuteronomists. They had the same elevated conceptions of Jehovah's majesty and holiness, the same lofty ideals of morality, and the same passionate love of purity of worship and hatred of idolatry. Besides these points of affinity, the countless reminiscences of Deuteronomy, in both style and thought, which meet us in the later prophecies of Jeremiah, are abundant evidence how deep and abiding an influence the book exerted on the still developing mind and character of the prophet. The direct evidence of chap. 11—the language of which is distinctly reminiscent of Deuteronomy—Duhm can only escape by the supposition that this passage is a Midrash, intended to bring Jeremiah into connection with the Deuteronomic movement. Nor is the fundamental contrast

I think we must count Jeremiah's activity in connection with the Reformation among the most potent influences of his prophetic life. As pointed out in the note below, the later prophecies of Jeremiah show countless traces of the influence of Deuteronomy, both in style and in thought. The prophet drank in the true spirit of the covenant, which the people in great measure disregarded; and that elevated and broadened his conception of Jehovah, as well as his ideal of morality. But his participation in the movement had an even more profound significance. For, just as Paul and Luther were led through the errors of Pharisaism and Romanism to their matchless insight into the gospel of salvation by faith, so Jeremiah was led through practical experience of the impotence of the "renewed covenant" to his almost Christian conception of the "new covenant"—the covenant, not of the letter and of law, but of the Spirit and of grace.

in principles between Deuteronomy and the "new covenant" of Jeremiah (chaps. 31 and 32), any real evidence against Jeremiah's participation in the Deuteronomic reformation. Rather, as we maintain, his experience in connection with that movement was the negative preparation for the clearness and strength of his conception of the "new covenant."

[To be concluded in the next number.]

THE TWENTY-SECOND PSALM.

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FOR many reasons this psalm deserves the attention of Christian scholars. One of these is the use of some of its language by writers of the New Testament in connection with the person of Jesus Christ; another, the high probability that all of it is fairly applicable to his experience during the last part of his earthly life; and a third, that the tone of it from first to last is profoundly human and at the same time religious, revealing extraordinary confidence in God on the part of the suppliant, even while he remonstrates with Jehovah for abandoning him to awful suffering and shame. If the Psalmist is rehearsing his own experience, he must have been tested almost as severely as Job, and possessing a most sensitive nature must have come out of the furnace purified; but if his language represents the experience of others, he must have had sympathetic qualities of the highest order.

The psalm has two divisions—the first being a plea for help by a sufferer *in extremis*, consisting of two parts: an expostulation by the sufferer with his God for abandoning him to such foes (1-10), and prevailing entreaties for deliverance from their hands (11-21*a*). The second division may be characterized as the same sufferer's testimony to the grace and glory of God. And this half of the psalm falls also into two distinct parts; the sufferer's joyful testimony to his people of Jehovah's goodness (21*b*-26), and his exultant prediction of salvation for the gentiles as well as for the chosen people (26-31). This analysis seems to be unquestionable, except at a single point—the extent of the first part of the first division, or the place where expostulation gives way to petition. We suppose that expostulation ends with the tenth verse, and that direct petition begins with

the eleventh. The former is but an expansion of the first verse: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? Why so far from my help?" And the latter is but an expansion of the eleventh verse: "Be not far from me, for trouble is near."

This analysis may be expanded as follows: The sufferer first addresses God as his own God, but declares his grief and wonder at God's neglect of his continued cries for help. Why, O why does God forsake his servant in such a crisis? And his wonder is augmented by remembering that God is morally perfect, a holy king, exalted by the praises of his people; and yet more by recalling to mind the uniform promptness with which Jehovah had answered the prayer of the fathers by delivering them repeatedly from their foes, so that they were never put to shame. With this remembrance the sufferer contrasts his own condition, despised and put to shame and bitterly mocked. This desertion of himself by Jehovah he finally contrasts with God's great kindness to him from the first moment of his existence to the present dreadful hour. Such is the tenor of the first strain of this wonderful psalm.

But at this point wonder and grief yield to returning hope, expostulation gives place to prayer, and he renews his cries to God for help *in extremis*. Trouble is near and there is no one but Jehovah to succor him. His adversaries are many and powerful; they press upon him on every side; they are mad with rage and rush against him with great power and fell intent; they leave him no means of defense or escape; they count him as good as dead, and hasten to divide the spoil. So he calls upon Jehovah to save him, and repeats his cry until it is answered by deliverance from his deadly foes.

Thus delivered at the last moment from the jaws of death, the suppliant instantly utters his pæan, declaring his purpose to make known God's loving-kindness in the assembly of his people, to the end that they too may glorify Jehovah, who does not despise the afflicted one, but answers his prayer and fills his heart with thanksgiving. Thus the needy will be satisfied with good and all Jehovah's servants will praise him. So he shouts to them with sympathy and delight: "Let your heart live for-

ever!" While thus engaged the vision of the delivered sufferer enlarges. He foresees a brighter future, and believes that all the ends of the earth, even the nations afar off and the generations yet to be, will remember Jehovah and return to him. For he is their rightful sovereign. Both rich and poor will partake of his bounty and pay him homage. Even those drawing near to death will worship him. There will be a generation of his chosen seed, and they will declare his righteousness to those not yet born, and assure them that Jehovah has done all that is here ascribed to him.

It may be doubted whether the American Revised Version has given the best possible reproduction of the Hebrew in the following instances:

In the first member of verse 6 it renders the Hebrew literally "But I am a worm, and no man," as if the sufferer were expressing a feeling of humility, and not of humiliation, whereas the verse seems to be a case of synonymous parallelism, the second member expressing in different words the same thought as the first. But the second reads: "A reproach of men and despised of the people." The significance of this language is made clear by the words that follow: "All they that see me laugh at me," etc. Hence the first clause of verse 6 means, "But I am treated as a worm and not a man;" and it would be safe to insert the word "treated" or "spoken of" in order to represent correctly the original to an English reader. For the remonstrant is complaining bitterly of the contumely heaped upon him, and any confession that it is deserved is out of place, unsupported either by the immediate context or by the tenor of the psalm as a whole.

Passing down to the eighth verse we think another version preferable to the American Revised, which reads: "Commit thyself unto the Lord [or Jehovah]; let him deliver him, let him deliver him, seeing he delights in him." This version follows the Massoretic text; but the consonants of that text may be read with a different vowel (*Gāl* instead of *Gōl*), and the proper rendering would then be: "He has committed himself to," or "he trusts in Jehovah; let him deliver him, let him deliver him,

seeing he delights in him." This rendering is supported by the Greek and Latin versions, and the same text is evidently at the basis of the quotation of the passage in the first Gospel: "He trusts in God; let him deliver him now, if he wishes him."

But we are disposed to abide by the Massoretic vocalization of the first word of the last clause of the sixteenth verse, which reads, "like a lion (פִּאֲרִי) my hands and my feet," while the American Revised Version follows the Greek and Latin in rendering it, "they pierced my hands and my feet" (ῥυξαν—fodērunt). Our reasons for adhering to the Massoretic text are two: (1) The Hebrew consonants do not readily suggest any other vocalization than the Massoretic, and (2) the Massoretic text yields as good a sense as the other. For the obvious meaning is, that the assembly of evil men, as a pack of bloodhounds like a lion in strength and fury, *rend* or *tear* his hands and his feet—these parts of his body being his only means of defense or escape from wild animals. Though the language is condensed and the metaphors mixed, the resulting thought is forcible and congruous, and the introduction of the phrase, "like a lion," is no more abrupt than in verse 13, where it is said of the many bulls of Bashan, "they gape upon me with their mouth, like a lion, rending and roaring." In both cases the real assailants of the sufferer are infuriated men.

Something further may be said concerning the style of this psalm. In the first half of it the language may be pronounced fairly lyrical, but not distinctly beautiful or sublime. In the latter respect it does not compare favorably with either the first part of the eighteenth psalm or the first part of the nineteenth. The metaphors employed to characterize the persecutors of the suppliant are all taken from the animal world. They are plain, forcible, bold, and even rough, but scarcely poetic. Every one of them is to the point, hitting the mark like an arrow and doing its work effectively. But its work is terrible; it puts the brand of Cain on the sufferer's foes, but—and this is remarkable—without any whisper of a curse. We know what sort of persecutors were seeking the suppliant's blood; how powerful, how arrogant, how bitter, how relentless, how sordid they were.

They were like lions, roaring and rending; like bulls rushing and bellowing with fury; like dogs in a pack, strong as lions, leaping on their prey; like wild oxen, with horns great and sharp; like executioners, sure of their victim and eager to divide his garments while he was yet alive. Scarcely less vivid are the images of weakness and woe which are used to portray the sufferer's condition. He is poured out like water, his heart is melted like wax, his bones are wrenched apart and almost visible under the skin, his strength is dried up, and his tongue cleaves to his jaws. He is disheartened, exhausted, emaciated, so that God only can deliver him.

Passing now to the second half of this psalm, we perceive a marked change of style as well as of feeling. We breathe a new atmosphere. The suppliant has been rescued from his foes, and is exulting with great joy. But wrongs have not embittered his spirit. Affliction has not soured his temper. No malediction falls from his lips. For once at least, "being reviled, he reviles not again." His enemies, whom he has described as so violent and unsparing, seem to have passed completely out of mind. His heart is first of all with the friends of God. They are his brothers, and he longs to praise Jehovah in company with them. Nor are his faith and love satisfied with such a meed of praise to his Divine Helper. He would fain see all the families of mankind united in the service of the Most High, and his longing rises to the height of prophetic vision and assurance as he meditates on the loving-kindness of God.

A word may here be in place concerning the authorship of the psalm, although this may have no vital relation to its interpretation or value. We are persuaded that the evidence found in the title to its Davidic origin is not conclusive. Too little is known respecting the headings or titles prefixed to the psalms to justify much confidence in their correctness, when unsupported by other evidence. We must therefore look to the contents of the psalm for indications of its authorship. And these are on the whole favorable to the hypothesis that it was composed by David before his terrible fall into adultery and murder. We find in it just those qualities of style which agree with his environment

in early manhood. He was familiar with wild beasts and relentless persecutors. He knew the character of Doeg, the Edomite, and of Saul, who sought his life with jealousy and rage. He was a fugitive in Gath, in Moab, in the wilderness of Maon, and in the roughest and most desolate parts of southeastern Judea. He used every stratagem, and even feigned himself insane or idiotic, in order to escape the arm of his adversaries. For years he was hunted like a wild beast and must have suffered hunger and thirst by day and by night. In a word, his experience must have furnished to hand the very metaphors employed in the first half of this psalm. But could so heroic a man as David have been so keenly sensitive to reproach and physical pain as the suppliant of this psalm appears to have been? To this we must answer in the affirmative. Well-accredited events in the life of David justify such an answer. Observe the narrative of his love of Jonathan, the knightly son of Saul, and of his deep affection for Absalom, his vain and ambitious son. Nay, his profound respect for Saul, as the Lord's anointed, reveals a nature susceptible of deep feeling, and we do not find any trace of a callous indifference to peril or contumely in the story of his career.

Moreover, it is not to be forgotten that a sympathetic and imaginative spirit often enters into conditions of peril, or disgrace, or suffering suggested by what it sees in the life of a friend, although it has never been in precisely such conditions itself. The truest and loftiest poetry is not always strictly historical. It idealizes and magnifies and completes what it has experienced but in part. There is nothing in the twenty-second psalm which proves that the writer of it is making a record of his personal experience. He may be speaking from an ideal standpoint, and that ideal may have been suggested by a sympathetic perception of what others had suffered and felt in circumstances known to the writer. Poetry works with a free hand. It represents what might be or ought to be in given conditions. Thus the suppliant sufferer of the twenty-second psalm may have been in the mind of the writer an ideal character, representing a loyal servant of God, tried by long continued and desperate sufferings, but at last delivered and following up that deliverance

with joyful praise among his people and glorious anticipations of the world-wide homage of Jehovah.

According to Matthew's gospel Jesus Christ appropriated the first words of this psalm in addressing his Father on the cross (Matt. 27:46; *cf.* Mark 15:34). This may have been done without meaning to claim the words as originally spoken of him; but they were at least suited to express his feeling when he appropriated them. Matthew also quotes the expression, "wagging their heads," from the eighth verse, and the words, "He trusted in God; let him deliver him, if he wishes him [to be saved]" from the ninth verse. Moreover, John relates that: "The soldiers, when they crucified Jesus, took his garments and made four parts, to every soldier a part, and also the coat. And the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said therefore to one another, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be; that the Scripture might be fulfilled, They divided my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots" (John 19:23, 24).

Evidently the author of the fourth Gospel regarded the language of the psalm as fulfilled in a significant and noteworthy manner by the action of the soldiers in dividing the garments of Jesus among themselves. We may perhaps safely infer that he believed the psalm to be in some sense messianic, though it would probably be going too far to infer that he supposed the psalmist to have had distinctly in mind the promised Messiah when he composed the psalm. Had the psalmist merely thought of depicting an ideally righteous sufferer praying for deliverance *in extremis*, and being heard, so that he gave glory to God for that deliverance, his language might have been interpreted as applicable to Jesus Christ pre-eminently and perhaps only. It must at least be accepted as a very significant fact that the apostle John, and therefore presumably the other apostles, thought these words of the twenty-second psalm to have been fulfilled by the soldiers at the crucifixion of Jesus.

Moreover, the author of the epistle to the Hebrews makes very significant use of the twenty-second verse of our psalm:

"For both the sanctifier and the sanctified are all of One; for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren, saying: I will declare thy name to my brethren. In the midst of the congregation I will sing praise to thee" (Heb. 2:12). For it is perfectly evident that the writer understood the subject of the psalm to be the Lord Jesus Christ. His argument demands this interpretation of his language, and we cannot reject his interpretation of so great a passage without impeaching his authority as a Christian teacher. This the present writer is not prepared to do; for he finds in the epistle to the Hebrews a rich mine of Christian truth set forth in an argument of singular coherence and lucidity, as well as a quiet tone of authority which associates him closely with the Master of us all.

In view, then, of the use of this psalm in the New Testament and by Christ himself, as well as of its obvious meaning naturally interpreted, it must be pronounced truly messianic, having been fulfilled in the last days of the suffering Savior, followed by his speedy deliverance from death and the joyful message which he committed to his disciples for all mankind. Yet the psalm does not anticipate all that is said in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. The thought of vicarious suffering, so prominent in that passage, is not suggested here, and the suffering itself ends before actual death. These things point to a date for the psalm earlier than the Maccabean age, to which some critics have referred it with more or less hesitation. The subject of the psalm is *a perfectly righteous sufferer*, delivered at the last moment from the very jaws of death by the favor of God, and devoting himself thenceforth to the establishment of Jehovah's worship in all the earth. Such a being was Jesus of Nazareth. In him was fulfilled the deepest meaning of this holy song, and it has never, as far as we can learn, been fulfilled in any other servant of God since the world began. What it teaches is well taught; and the apostles were not in error when they saw in Jesus the great sufferer and suppliant who speaks in this psalm.

Finally, it has been suggested that the twenty-second psalm is a combination of two distinct songs, the first of which ends with the words, "*thou hast answered* [delivered] *from the horns of wild oxen,*" while the second is a song of praise complete in itself.

This view is supported by appealing to the difference of tone between the two parts, to the difference of literary quality, and to the slight reference in the second part to the theme of the first. For the first part is said to be personal and the second social; the first sad, the second joyous; the first prayer, the second praise and prediction. But in answer to this one may say that praise and hope are the natural sequel of prayer answered; that praise expresses itself in tones and measures unlike those of complaint and entreaty; that personal blessings in answer to prayer lead to confidence in God and to the hope of salvation for others; and that there seems to be a distinct reference to the theme of the first part in the twenty-fourth verse, "For he has not despised the affliction of the afflicted one"—the adjective "afflicted" being singular, not plural, in form.

Moreover, it is well-nigh incredible that the first part could ever have ended with a half-line, recording the fact of deliverance from such awful peril and agony, without a word of thankfulness or praise—a most abrupt and dry conclusion to such a powerful argument. It is not perhaps very surprising that the deliverance itself should be announced by a single clause of partly figurative language; for there is nothing in the first half of the psalm to show that the suppliant expected deliverance by any special means or agents. Deliverance in any form and by any process would be ascribed to Jehovah; but it would surely be looked upon as great, and even wonderful, and would fill the suppliant's heart with inexpressible gratitude. Hence the second part is the fitting sequence of the first, a noble and appropriate response to a divinely gracious act; but the first part alone is unsatisfactory, if not impossible—a story broken off in the middle, a stream losing itself in the sand. The whole psalm, on the other hand, is a piece of true spiritual life. Deliverance with thanks is natural; deliverance without thanks is false to the best human experience. One could believe that the second half of the psalm was written without the first, although less easily explained psychologically; but not the first without something like the second to complete it. No inspired singer, having written the first part, could have slept in peace before he had composed the second part.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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EVERY seeker after truth will welcome new light on the Bible. To know more accurately the best of all books is a natural and laudable wish. We are living in an age when much important light is being thrown on the sacred Scriptures. A good part of this is due to the varied contributions made by archæology.¹ The discoveries in Assyria, Babylonia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, have in many ways helped in the interpretation of the Old Testament. The digging has at times gone to a depth of 120 feet. Sometimes several cities have been unearthed, one built over the other. Lachish has been rightly called "a mound of many cities." The objects found differ a good deal. Sometimes temples, palaces, houses, shops, streets, and squares have been unearthed. At other times the discoveries have been of smaller articles, such as pitchers, vases, cups, lamps, rings, bracelets, and seals. The most important finds have been the inscribed tablets. These are usually small and made of clay. When soft, writing was put upon them; they were then baked in the sun so as to become very hard. It is thus that they have endured through so many centuries. Thousands upon thousands of these clay tablets have been discovered. At Tello (Lagash) de Sarzec found something like 30,000; while Dr. Hilprecht estimates the number at Nippur to be about 250,000. Sometimes large slabs from six to ten feet in height are found. These not only contain inscriptions, but in many cases pictures of kings, priests, gods, sacrifices, battles, and booty are found upon them.

¹ Cf. DRIVER in *Authority and Archæology*; BALL, *Light from the East*; NICOL, *Recent Archæology and the Bible*; DELITZSCH, *Babel und Bibel*; SCHRADER, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (third edition by Winckler and Zimmern).

A good many of the inscriptions have been read,² but an immense amount of material yet remains untouched, and every year brings many new finds to light. The story³ of the interpretation of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, covering well-nigh a century, is most interesting, and illustrates the triumph of scholarship over many and varied difficulties. In Egyptology a similar progress has been made, and, as Professor Erman has rightfully said, "the age of deciphering is at an end; we begin to read."

From the various finds much has been derived to illuminate and supplement the pages of the Old Testament.

Archæology has done much for a better understanding of the Hebrew language, in which the Old Testament was written. This is of great importance, for only as we know the original aright can we translate it accurately into any other language. Of all the Semitic languages, the speech of Assyria and Babylonia is most closely allied to the Hebrew. Especially in lexicography, but also in grammar, has Hebrew derived much from the language spoken by the nations on the Euphrates and the Tigris. Hebrew words and expressions have received a new, fuller, and more accurate meaning. In many cases where the Old Testament text is corrupt, important help has come from the Assyrian toward a more accurate reading. The origin and signification of many proper names⁴ have been explained. The relation of the Hebrew alphabet to that of neighboring Semitic peoples has been shown by monuments found in Moab, Phœnicia,⁵ and Zinjirli. The origin of the Hebrew letters can probably be traced to the cuneiform of Babylonia. A new discipline has arisen, that of comparative Semitic grammar; and two eminent scholars⁵ have written books on this theme. Courses on the contribution of Assyrian to Hebrew are now given in some higher institutions of learning.

² *Records of the Past*, New Series, edited by Sayce; *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, six volumes thus far, edited by Schrader.

³ ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*; KING, *First Steps in Assyrian*.

⁴ NÖLDEKE, art. "Names" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; GRAY, *Hebrew Proper Names*.

⁵ The late Dr. William Wright and Dr. Heinrich Zimmern.

Every grammar and dictionary of the Hebrew now shows the important contributions made by archæology. It is very interesting to compare the first edition of Gesenius's *Hebrew Grammar* (1813), with the twenty-seventh revised edition (1902) by Kautzsch; or Gesenius's *Hebrew Dictionary*, first edition (1812), with the thirteenth edition by Buhl, or with that now being edited by Dr. Francis Brown. A like gain has come to all recent commentaries, for they must ever be built on the grammar and the dictionary. The older commentaries were diffuse, errant, polemical, and speculative, while those recently issued are brief, exact, scientific and exegetical.⁶ One scholar has indeed written an archæological commentary on Genesis in which all the matter is derived from archæology. The two monumental Bible dictionaries⁷ recently issued owe their value in no small degree to the results furnished by archæology. Nearly every page is laden with learning derived from the monuments. Indeed, the time has come when no exact student of the Old Testament can afford to neglect, not only the study of Assyrian history, religion, and antiquities, but especially that of the Assyrian language itself. Happily that prince of Assyrian scholars, Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, in his Assyrian grammar, dictionary and reading book, has put within the reach of all students the tools by which a thorough grasp of this language can be gained.

Many chronological data for the Old Testament have been found in archæology. It is natural that we should wish to know when important events took place, for we can appreciate many facts in the Bible only when we know their time-relation. The Old Testament presents several difficulties in regard to chronology. The time between creation and the call of Abraham is 2,021 years in the Hebrew Old Testament; but in the Greek version it is 3,407. The Hebrew assigns 215 years for the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan, and 430 as the time spent in Egypt; while the Septuagint (Exod. 12:40) gives 430 for the whole time

⁶ Compare the *International Critical Commentary* or the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament* with any of the earlier commentaries on the Old Testament.

⁷ Edited by Hastings, and by Cheyne and Black.

spent in Canaan and Egypt. Paul (Gal. 3:17) seems to follow the Greek version, while Stephen (Acts 7:6) follows the Hebrew. The 480 years (1 Kings 6:1) from Exodus to Solomon are hard to harmonize with the 410 years of the Judges plus the time covered by the wandering in the desert and the rule of Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. From the death of Solomon until the fall of Samaria the regnal years of the two kingdoms disagree by twenty years.

Archbishop Ussher, who died in 1656, placed the creation at 4004 B. C., and this date still remains in the margin of many Bibles. A variety of considerations show that this date is wide of the mark. The first Egyptian dynasty must be dated from about 5000 B. C., as the monuments testify;⁸ but even before this period there ruled a number of kings, some of whose names have been recently found. The flint implements of palæolithic man in Egypt take us back to about 7000 B. C. at the very lowest. Professor Hilprecht places the founding of the Bel temple at Nippur not later than 6000 B. C. The memorial tablets of Eannadu and his father Akurgal, governor of Shirpurla (Lagash), must be dated at about 4500 B. C. Most Assyriologists place Sargon I. at 3800 B. C. Several independent lines of proof confirm this antiquity of man upon the earth. Eridu, once on the Persian gulf, is now 130 miles inland. The débris has been filled in at the rate of 100 feet in a year. This would take us back to 6500 B. C. for the founding of Eridu. The Nile deposits about four inches of mud in a century; and the depth now is about thirty feet. This would lead us to a date about 9000 years B. C. Geologists maintain that the rocks testify to an age vastly earlier than 4004. Ethnologists, too, are convinced that man has been much longer on the earth than the date of Ussher would imply.

No chronology is possible in the Old Testament before the time of Abraham, as Professor W. H. Green long ago pointed out. As Hammurabi, who ruled about 2250 B. C. in Babylon, is generally held to be the same person as Amraphel in

⁸ W. MAX MÜLLER, art. "Egypt" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; PETRIE, *History of Egypt*, and *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. "Egyptology" in Supplement, Vol. III.

Gen. 14: 19, we thus get a date for Abraham. The discovery by Naville of the stone city Pithom (Exod. 1: 11) seems to show that the Pharaoh of the oppression was Rameses II. and that the exodus took place under his son Merenptah, about 1250 B. C. After this date very much help comes from Assyria and Babylonia. These nations paid much attention to time reckoning, and have laid for us the foundations of astronomical and mathematical science. The eponym canon extends from 893 to 666 B. C. The Babylonian chronicle begins with Nabunatsir, 747 B. C., and contains much chronological material relating to Babylonia and Assyria. The canon of Ptolemy covers the period from 747 B. C. to Roman times. The historical inscriptions⁹ of Shalmaneser II., Ramman-Nirari III., Tiglath-Pileser III., Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus contain direct references to biblical history and settle many dates with absolute accuracy. Scholars¹⁰ constructing chronological tables on the basis of the material furnished by archæology have come to a marked agreement.

Archæology has also brought to us much information concerning many nations otherwise almost unknown. There are mentioned in the Old Testament very many peoples about whose origin, history, and civilization we knew next to nothing. The tenth chapter of Genesis, commonly called "the table of the nations," has been wonderfully illuminated by archæology. It is of course a catalogue of races and not of individuals; and is planned with reference to their geographical position. The Japhetic peoples are placed in the north, Hamitic in the south, and the Shemitic in the east. More than thirty of the names have been found on the monuments,¹¹ and many obscure references have been cleared up. A remarkable example of this is

⁹ WINCKLER, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*.

¹⁰ See art. "Chronology" in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*, by CURTIS; in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, by MARTI; in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Supplement, Vol. III, by DRIVER; in KAUTZSCH, *Outline of History of Literature of Old Testament*; and in ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*.

¹¹ JENSEN, "List of Races in Tenth Chapter of Genesis," *S. S. Times*, February 4 and 11, 1899; DELITZSCH, *Paradies*; commentaries on Genesis by HOLTZMANN and GUNKEL.

found in the name Heth (Gen. 10:15). We knew almost nothing about this people except the few scattered references in the Bible. Now we know that they were no other than the Hittites, a people which for centuries ruled a good part of Syria, and had a great empire with important cities at Hamath, Kedesh, and Carchemish. Rameses II. even made a treaty with a Hittite king and married his daughter. Their language, religion, and civilization have been in part recovered. They spoke a non-Semitic tongue and were the ancestors of the present-day Armenians.¹² The monuments often give pictures of the various peoples, so that we can get a tolerably accurate idea of how they looked. The facial types of Elamite, Judean, Israelite, Arab, Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Hittite, and Phœnician are now well known.¹³ The mental and physical traits of these nations can also be inferred from the inscriptions and pictures.

Thus the various nations mentioned in the Old Testament have been made to live and move before us in a manner which we could not have anticipated. All this is of immense importance for the twelve tribes, since we can understand their history aright only when viewed in relation to the nations surrounding them. We now see that Israel and Judah were subject to the same historic forces as the other nations. They had their victories, defeats, captivities, and releases just as the others.¹⁴ If God brought up Israel out of Egypt, so also did he the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir, as the prophet Amos (9:7) shows. God has been working in all history and among all peoples (Mal. 1:11). From a political point of view the sole importance of the twelve tribes was that they occupied a territory which was debatable ground, a bone of contention, between such nations as Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt.

Further, all the information about nations in touch with Israel and Judah is of great value in interpreting the Old Testament prophets. They spoke first and foremost to the people of their own time, and must ever be read from this standpoint. The his-

¹² WRIGHT, *Empire of the Hittites*; JENSEN, *Hittiter und Armenier*.

¹³ DELITZSCH, *Babel und Bibel*; BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archæologie*.

¹⁴ PATON, *Syria and Palestine*.

torical situation conditioned the prophetic messages, and they must be studied in connection with the times when the prophets lived. A neglect of this canon has led to some very erroneous interpretation.

Archæology has shown us that art in Israel was largely derived from Egypt. The Hebrews were not an artistic people. Their years of serfdom in Goshen, wanderings in the desert, and centuries of warfare with many tribes in Canaan, prevented any growth in painting, sculpture, and architecture. The Phœnicians, the great traders of antiquity, brought Egyptian art to Israel. The Phœnicians¹⁵ had no art of their own, but borrowed at different times from Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. From about 2000 B. C. to 1200 B. C., Egyptian art ruled in Phœnicia. This was natural, for Egypt then largely controlled Palestine. Probably these same seafaring people carried Egyptian art to Crete, where antiquities have been found which show so clearly Egyptian influence. The Doric column in Greece without doubt had its origin in the pillars found in the rock tombs at Beni Hassan in Egypt. The fourteenth-century Mycenæan civilization was in close touch with the ancient civilization of Egypt. We know on what good terms the kings of Phœnicia were with David and Solomon. At the same period the Phœnician cities were closely allied with Israel. How natural then it is that we should read (2 Sam. 5:11), "and Hiram, king of Tyre, sent messengers to David, and cedar trees, and carpenters and masons; and they built David a house." When Solomon wished to construct a temple and other buildings in Jerusalem this same Phœnician king furnished the timber and stones, which received the proper shape largely from Phœnician workmen. So we read (2 Kings 5:18): "and Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders and the Gebalites did fashion them, and prepared the timber and the stones to build the house." If one examines the temple as restored by Stade¹⁶ from the biblical

¹⁵MEYER, art. "Phœnicia" in *Encyclopædia Biblica*; PERROT AND CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art*.

¹⁶STADE, in *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1883, pp. 129-77; BENZINGER, *Hebraische Archæologie*.

data, it shows clear traces of Egyptian influence. The columns, doors, walls, and roof are a reproduction of those which are found on the banks of the Nile. The whole appearance of the temple shows the fundamental principle of the Egyptian building, namely, the hewn rock. If we compare the ground plan of Solomon's sanctuary with that of Amon's temple at Karnak, the resemblance is close. The fore-hall, holy place and holy of holies in the one correspond to the peristyle, hypostyle, and adytum in the other. The ark with the two inscribed stones has its parallel in the ark of granite which usually contained a stone or wooden image of the god. The various utensils for use in the temple were made by Phœnicians (1 Kings 7:45) and in all likelihood were modeled after Egyptian patterns. The monolith yet standing at the pool of Siloam is thoroughly Egyptian. After the exile the second temple was also built by Phœnician workmen (Ezra 3:7).

Archæology has helped to a right interpretation of the material in the first nine chapters¹⁷ of Genesis. The resemblances between the narratives in Genesis and the legends of Babylonia are very numerous. The record of creation in Gen. 1:1—2:4 has many points of agreement with the Babylonian version. The Babylonian sabbath was celebrated on the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st and 28th of the lunar month, and was associated with the worship of the moon-god Sin. The word "sabbath" means a day of rest for the heart of the god. It was a day of prayer and repentance. The garden of Eden is located in Babylonia, as the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris show. The word "Eden" is pure Assyrian. A Babylonian picture of a tree with a serpent, and a man and woman on each side, is probably the story of temptation and fall as seen in Gen., chap. 3. The ten antediluvian patriarchs can be compared with the ten antediluvian kings of Babylonia mentioned by Berosus. Zimmern has shown that the Hebrew names are, in part at least, a translation of those found in Babylonia. The ages of kings in the Baby-

¹⁷JENSEN, *Kosmologie*, and *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. VI; KING, *Religion and Mythology*; RYLE, *Early Narratives of Genesis*; ZIMMERN, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3d ed.).

lonian list are much greater than those given in Genesis. The Babylonian flood-legend has many close resemblances to the flood-story of Genesis. The name given to the tower where the confusion of tongues took place shows its position in Babylonia.

What is the historical connection between these two sets of narratives? A few scholars¹⁸ have believed in a common Semitic tradition from which the narratives in Genesis and Babylonia were derived. Still fewer¹⁹ think that Abraham, when he came from Ur in Babylonia, brought these stories with him. Most Assyrian investigators²⁰ are now quite agreed that the narratives in Genesis were derived from the Babylonian legends; but, as Professor Sayce says, "they are a paraphrase and not a translation." The distinct Babylonian coloring and character of the narratives in the Bible, the fact that those in Babylonia are much older than those found in Genesis, and the idea that Assyria and Babylonia regarded other nations as tribute-payers and so would not borrow their sacred legends from them—these three reasons preclude the idea that Babylonia borrowed the traditions from Israel. Probably no scholar now living believes that the Genesis narratives were the source from which the Babylonians drew their material. It is believed by some that Israel first found these stories in Canaan when they entered after the desert wandering. We know from the Amarna tablets that Babylonian culture was spread over Palestine centuries before the Israelites took possession of the land. Indeed, in this Amarna correspondence, fragments of two Babylonian legends have been found, which imply that they were well known among the peoples of Canaan. The Babylonian stories can be traced back as far as the age of Hammurabi (2250 B.C.), which seems to have been the golden age of Assyrian literature. Nothing shows Israel's religious grandeur more fully than the way these Babylonian stories have been purified of polytheism, of grotesque and mythological detail, and have been made the vehicle of the loftiest religious and ethical teaching for all time. To accomplish such a task reveals the highest kind of inspiration.

¹⁸ Dillmann, and others.

¹⁹ Jastrow, and others.

²⁰ Delitzsch, Zimmern, Jensen, Meissner, King, Sayce, and many others.

Archæology has contributed largely toward a better understanding of the primitive religion of the earliest Semitic peoples. The finds have consisted of temples, altars, arks, lists of offerings, sacred hymns, prayers, pictures of priests and others sacrificing, and inscriptions recording ideas about sin and a future life. The religious ideas, customs, rites, and ceremonies of the nomadic Arabs have been carefully studied, and much valuable information has been gathered.²¹ After a series of brilliant and scholarly studies Professor Robertson Smith held that the religions of the primitive Semites and Aryans rested ultimately upon a similar basis. This was not abstract monotheism or polytheism, but simply an unwritten code of religious observances by which it was thought the welfare of society could be secured. The most primitive form of sacrifice was probably a meal in which the worshiper offered up food to the god, and at the same time ate a portion himself. It was a communion of the man with his god, who was supposed to need food and drink like any human being. Every altar was simply a table on which the food for the god was placed. The gods were located in springs, rocks, trees, and in the tops of hills and mountains. Every community had its god and goddess, Baal and Ashtoreth, with whom it was supposed to be genetically related. Every want of man was transferred to his god. As Professor Margoliouth has shown,²² the gods, like men, needed residences, gifts, servants, food, sympathy, and entertainment. The gifts to the god expressed various ideas, such as thanks for past blessings, a request for new favors, or a desire for the god's good will and forgiveness. Some of the oldest Babylonian hymns²³ reveal a very lofty conception of sin and a deep sense of unworthiness. Many of them are comparable with the psalms of the Bible. The recently found law-book of Hammurabi, king of Babylon, 2250 B. C., contains laws in part the same as those found in the Pentateuch. King asserts²⁴ that the Babylonians

²¹ ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites, and Kinship, etc.*; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste, etc.*; FRASER, *Golden Bough*; CURTISS, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*.

²² MARGOLIOUTH, *Religions of Bible Lands*.

²³ JASTROW, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*; ZIMMERN, *Busspsalmen*.

²⁴ KING, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*.

and Assyrians possessed a system of morality which in many respects resembled that of the descendants of Abraham. The unique supremacy of Ashur in Assyria, Marduk in Babylonia, and Ra in Egypt was a feeling after monotheism. Professor Friedrich Delitzsch says²⁵ that the more enlightened minds regarded Nergal and Nebo, Sin and Shamash, Ramman and the other gods as being one in Marduk. Perhaps the same could be said of Ashur in Assyria, Ra in Egypt, and Zeus in Greece. The triumph of the god Marduk over the demonic dragon Tiamat, many believe, is referred to in the Old Testament in such passages as Isa. 51:9; Pss. 89:10 ff.; 74:12; Isa. 27:1; Job 40:40 ff.; Ps. 104:26; Isa. 30:6; Job 7:12; Ezek. 29:3, and Jer. 51:34. The name Rahab, leviathan, behemoth, and dragon are probably all designations of Tiamat.²⁶ Compare also Gen. 49:25 and Dan. chap. 7. Professor Gunkel finds the same Tiamat story in the New Testament book of Revelation, especially in chap. 12. It reached the Christian writer through Jewish tradition, where it had been worked over. The Babylonian abode of the dead, Allatu, "the land without return," is a counterpart of the biblical Sheol, and has the same characteristics. Most recent writers²⁷ on Old Testament religion and theology have drawn much from the material furnished by archæology, and so have been enabled to throw much light on the origin and significance of rites and ceremonies, customs and manners, in old Israel.

Archæology has done much for our knowledge of biblical geography.²⁸ There are mentioned in the Old Testament many cities, villages, hills, mountains, valleys, plains, rivers, brooks, lakes, and seas. It is certainly important to know something of their location in order to appreciate the references made to them in the Bible. Then, too, geography had very much to do in shaping the history and destiny of the people of Israel. The Old Testament is pre-eminently a book of the land. Half

²⁵ DELITZSCH, *Babel und Bibel*.

²⁶ GUNKEL, *Schöpfung und Chaos*.

²⁷ Marti, Smend, Schultze.

²⁸ G. A. SMITH, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*; BUHL, *Geographie des alten Palästinas*.

a century ago we knew little about many geographical references in the Old Testament. Now all is changed. In 1865 the Palestine Exploration Fund was organized and has achieved great results. The west Jordan land has been carefully surveyed and also part of the east Jordan territory. Accurate maps have been prepared, under the direction of Conder and Kitchener, which must ever be the basis for Palestinian cartography. Nearly two hundred places west of the Jordan, previously unknown, have been located. Important excavations have been carried on at Jerusalem, Lachish, Gezer, and other places. The publications²⁹ of the society have been most valuable. The American Palestine Exploration Society was founded in 1870. Its work has been confined chiefly to the east Jordan territory. About one hundred places have been located. Several quarterly statements have been issued. In 1877 the German Palestine Association was established. It has conducted excavations on the southeast hill in Jerusalem, and in the northern part of the east Jordan land. Much important geologic and topographic work has also been done by this society. Its journal³⁰ contains many important articles. The Russian Palestine Society, instituted in 1882, combines scientific exploration and practical church work. Besides these organizations, there is a number of individuals who are privately carrying on explorations in Palestine.

What is thus true of the Holy Land is in a measure true of the geographical work being done in Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Arabia, and Egypt. In all these lands much has been accomplished in locating sites of places mentioned in the Old Testament. All these efforts are of the highest value, and are doing much for an accurate understanding of many biblical geographical references.

Archæology has done much to improve the mediæval views of the Old Testament. The past has made great contributions to biblical learning for which all must be devoutly thankful. Great scholars have given to the world results which will endure through all time. But with the gold has come a great

²⁹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, and various books.

³⁰ *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

deal of dross, which has tended to obscure the Old Testament and to make it a dead and uninteresting volume. The Bible was studied with no relation to the time, place, and circumstances in which it arose. Men formed opinions as to what the Bible should say, and then made the Scriptures conform to their preconceived ideas. Biblical study was deductive, not inductive. Texts were torn apart from chapter and book without regard to the context. Now all is fast changing. Archæology shows us that the Bible is a tree with many roots ramifying far and wide among other nations and peoples. The Old Testament has a most close historical relation with the centuries when it grew up. Archæology illuminates those centuries, and in so doing throws a flood of light on the Bible. The pick and the shovel are making the Bible a new volume full of thoughts that breathe and words that burn.

THE CURRICULUM OF STUDY IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL.¹

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By a curriculum is meant the subject-matter of study so arranged as to lead the pupil in an orderly fashion through that instruction and discipline for which all schools are established. The curriculum of the Sunday school must conform to this general conception. Its subjects of study must be so arranged that its students in the successive years may be given instruction and mental, moral, and religious discipline. He who would write upon this subject is confronted with a condition and not a theory. He must therefore, on the one side, while endeavoring to present ideals, be sensitive to the possibilities of the institution for which he prescribes subjects of study; and, on the other hand, he must not allow any discouragement due to facts as they are, to lead him to abandon his ideal for things as they should be.

The curriculum of a Sunday school is conditioned by the purpose for which a Sunday school exists. If the purpose be the mere giving of information, one sort of curriculum will be demanded; if its purpose be the awakening and the growth of the religious nature through the use of the Bible, then a very different sort of curriculum will be demanded. If such a religious purpose be recognized, there are still conditions that are regulative.

The curriculum to no small degree must be influenced by a decision as to whether the religious growth of the child is likely to be steady or marked by crises; whether it shall move on as steadily and as devoid of moral strength as in the case of his growth in mathematical process. In other words, shall instruction in the Sunday school ignore the fact that there is no moral growth without specific and conscious decisions; and that in many, if not in most, cases these decisions are not made in childhood, but in the period of adolescence, when almost

¹ An address delivered at the Convention for Religious Education, held in Chicago last February; reprinted from the volume of *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the Religious Education Association, 1903*. The volume can be obtained from the Executive Office of the Association, 153-155 LaSalle St., Chicago, for \$1.00 postpaid (430 pages, bound in cloth). See the author's fuller treatment of the subject in BURTON AND MATHEWS, *Principles and Ideals for the Sunday School* (University of Chicago Press, 1903, \$1.00, net).

of necessity they involve a greater or less inner struggle? Generally the boy or girl does not consciously enter upon a religious life without some moment of most intense introspection and struggle with his accumulated habits and concepts. Shall the curriculum recognize such moments? In a word, has conversion any pedagogical significance, and, if so, shall it exercise any influence upon the construction of a curriculum which, if properly taught, will hasten and normally direct the religious growth of the youth?

I hold that adolescent life, and the moment of crisis of moral and religious growth which we call conversion, are two elements that cannot be eliminated from religious pedagogy, and that therefore they must influence the curriculum. There are three possible curricula for Sunday schools as they now exist: (1) the uniform curriculum; (2) the graded-uniform curriculum; and (3) the graded curriculum.

I. The uniform curriculum. Nothing is easier than to discover faults in things that actually exist. If a statesman is a successful politician who has died, a utopia is a program which has never been given a chance to live. I can remember, as a very small boy, hearing my elders discuss the change from the system of Sunday-school lessons which had been prepared by the Sunday school itself to the system of uniform lessons which was to be used the world over. At that time, as I recall it, there was no small discussion of the advisability of the plan. Looking back over the thirty years of trial of these lessons, I am sure that no thoughtful person would question the wisdom of the decision which that church along with thousands of others made. The uniform system of lessons has been and still is of immeasurable value to the Christian world. Any attempt on the part of Christendom to destroy it, at least before we are ready to adopt a better system, would be nothing less than suicidal.

By the uniform system of lessons I mean precisely that system which is prepared by the International Sunday School Lesson Committee, and which is used by the vast majority of all Protestant Christian churches. That it falls short of being ideal, even as a uniform system, probably no one of its most ardent champions would question, while its advantages must be admitted by its most outspoken opponents. The question before us at this time is briefly to consider its actual pedagogical value. Of its ability to weld the Sunday schools into something like a unity, to concentrate the study of an entire world upon a given subject—in a word, of its general practicability, no one can have any doubt in the light of its history.

In my opinion the question is not that of destroying this form of curriculum, but of developing its possibilities and of guarding it so far as possible from inherent dangers. The uniform system has these pedagogic advantages: (1) it gives a definite lesson to an entire school; (2) it makes easy the holding of teachers' meetings for preparing the lesson of the next Sunday; (3) it provides a section of the Scripture of a length which may conveniently be handled in the time generally given to study in the Sunday school; (4) it makes possible the preparation of high-grade lesson-helps at the minimum of expense; (5) it enables the entire family to join in the study of the same lesson. The most serious objections which can be brought against it are: (1) its tendency toward atomism—that is to say, the presentation of bits of Scripture rather than the Scripture as a whole, and thus the breaking of any continuity of teaching; (2) its forcing students of different mental development to study the same lesson; (3) its failure to lead the pupil forward by successive years—that is to say, it lacks pedagogical movement; (4) its disregard of the period of spiritual crises.

These dangers may be in part met, in the first place, by so arranging the selections chosen for the lessons that, taken as a whole, they shall constitute literary units of some sort. Within the last few years this has obviously been the policy of those who have selected the lessons. Instead of miscellaneous selection of bits of material from different parts of the Bible, we have a tolerably continuous study of the different sections of the Bible. In the second place, the danger which arises from attempting to teach all the students one and the same lesson has been to some degree provided against by the adoption of methods which in some way adapt the lesson to the pupil. In the third place, the lack of progress may be, and to some degree has been, obviated by the adoption of cycles of lessons in which there is considerable actual progress in the lessons themselves, *i. e.*, for those pupils who start in with the beginning of the cycle. The fourth danger, so far as I am able to see, cannot be obviated by the uniform system; conversions will of course occur, but with small help from the curriculum. Especially is this true of those who come to the spiritual crisis in early maturity.

II. The semi-graded or graded-uniform curriculum. Years ago the most serious objection to the uniform system, namely, that it attempted to teach the same lesson to pupils of different mental and religious development, was recognized and considered. As a result of that consideration there were introduced into the Sunday schools

special lessons for very young children, and the lessons taught in the kindergarten and the lowest classes of the elementary departments were in reality detached from the uniform system as a whole. Thus there were created in a way two sets of uniform lessons, of a genuine graded nature: those intended for the infants, and those intended for all the other pupils.

Now the graded-uniform system as an ideal would carry this process one or two steps farther. Following the natural great division of growth, it would classify the pupils as children, adolescents, and mature—possibly making two subdivisions of the last, one including the young men and women, and the other the adults. Within each of these three or four divisions there would be a different lesson taught, but each division would have the same lesson—that is to say, there might be taught to the different classes of children the same Bible story, to all the classes of boys and girls the same lesson of biography or geography, to all the adult classes the same lesson of biblical teaching.

There can be no denying that for many schools this graded-uniform system has decided advantages both theoretically and practically over the merely uniform lessons. It preserves some of the advantages of the uniform system; it gives the great body of pupils of approximately the same age the lesson which is in a general way adapted to them, and at the same time does not tend to break down the unity of the school itself. Doubtless much can be done along these lines, and for many schools which wish to advance toward a genuinely graded curriculum this is unquestionably the step to be taken. For many years there have been on the market lesson-helps which make this possible. Today as never before there are tendencies at work which make it altogether probable that the next step forward in the general Sunday-school world will be along the lines of the recognition of the threefold division of the Sunday school, and of the desirability of forming cycles of lessons prepared especially for each division.

III. The graded curriculum. To be idealistic is to believe in the final survival of the fittest. If the uniform system is essentially practical and the graded-uniform system practical, the graded system is practically ideal. Not impractically ideal, but as experience shows, *practically* ideal—if not for the majority, at least for the very respectable minority, of Sunday schools.

But to say that the Sunday school ought to have a graded curriculum is one thing; to show what that curriculum should be is another and a more difficult task. One is compelled to work here almost

without precedent or experience, and must fall back on general principles and analogies derived from secular education where a curriculum has already been worked out, aided by what little experience has already been had. Any attempts at the shaping of a course of study for the Sunday school must be regarded as tentative, and will undoubtedly be revised by experience. Nevertheless it seems necessary to make the attempt.

Yet right here the development of the college curriculum may furnish us a helpful suggestion. As the field of modern knowledge has grown and new subjects have knocked for admission at the door of the college curriculum, the colleges, as a rule, have not found it expedient either wholly to exclude them or to make room for them by excluding the older occupants. Room has been found for them by introducing the principle of election. The advantages of this method need be no more than hinted at here, some of them more marked in the case of the Sunday school than of the college. In the first place, the introduction of a wide range of subjects is an advantage even to those who are compelled to limit themselves to the same amount of work which they would otherwise have done. The necessity of choosing between different courses, or the knowledge that others are pursuing a different course from that which he is himself pursuing, broadens the pupil's horizon and in a valuable, though superficial, way increases his knowledge of the field of Bible study. Under an elective system, again, it is possible to adapt instruction more perfectly to individual needs. And, finally, it permits the student who will remain in the school year after year to be always moving forward to new subjects and new fields of study, and by this very fact tends to hold him in the school when otherwise he would drift away, feeling that he had gained all that the school had to give him.

But great as are the advantages of an elective system, the Sunday-school curriculum cannot, of course, be elective throughout. Aside from the fact that the majority of the pupils who have not reached adult age are quite unprepared to make a wise selection of courses, it is evident that there are some fundamental things which all need to learn and which must be learned as the basis of more advanced elective study.

At this point one may well utilize the experience gained under a system of uniform lessons. For a generation Christendom has been instructing its children and youth in what earnest men have designated as material that should be known by all Christians. The system,

pedagogically considered, is exposed to many objections. But, in that it has demanded that all should know something, and in so far as it has required that this something should include the essential elements of the biblical material, it points the way for further progress. Whatever failures may have followed the attempt to make this system of uniform lessons permanent rather than introductory to something better, its efficiency and effects at this point enforce the desirability of seeing that sooner or later all pupils study the same lessons.

From such considerations as these it results, then, that the first part of the course must be prescribed, the latter part elective. Where the line should be drawn may be matter of doubt, but perhaps no better arrangement can be made than this: for the years corresponding to the elementary and secondary divisions of the secular education—that is, approximately, from the sixth to the eighteenth year of the pupil's life—let the course be prescribed; for the subsequent years let it be elective.

What then shall be the governing principle of the prescribed course? Four factors must be taken into account: the years of the pupil's life during which he is pursuing this course; the fundamental principles of biblical study based on the nature of the Bible; the fact that the prescribed courses are all that will be pursued in common by all the pupils, and that they must therefore serve as the basis of the future diversified work; and the fact of the spiritual crises.

As respects the first point, it must be remembered that the majority of the pupils who pursue the prescribed course will be in the same year advancing through the elementary and secondary schools in their secular education. In the latter part of this period they will be pupils in the high school, and their course will include the study of history, in all cases the history of the United States, in a large proportion of cases that of some other country also, as of England, or of Egypt, Greece and Rome.

As respects the second point, we hold that the deepest insight into and broadest outlook upon the meaning of the Bible, the truest conception of the basis of its authority, is to be gained by a thoroughly historical study of it. It is through the biblical history in the broadest sense of the term that the divine revelation is most clearly revealed and most clearly seen to be divine. But if this be so, then, in view of the third consideration named above, the prescribed course should culminate, intellectually speaking, in a broad historical view of the Bible.

Yet it is equally manifest that it cannot begin where it ends. Facts in isolation must precede facts in relation. And the work of the elementary division must be in no small measure the acquisition by the pupil of those facts which in the latter portion of his prescribed course are to form the basis of a true historical study. Still more needful is it to remember that in these earlier years the child is susceptible to religious impressions, and that the instruction should be such as to lodge in his mind, or rather impress on his heart, the elemental principles of religion and conduct. We come, therefore, to the conclusion that the prescribed course, covering the ten to fourteen years of the elementary and secondary divisions—approximately the years from six to eighteen in the pupil's life—should begin with the simpler stories of the Bible and the more elementary truths of biblical teaching, and should move toward and aim at the acquisition of a systematic knowledge of biblical history, including in this term the history and interpretation both of events and of teachings.

The fourth fact, that of the occurrence of the spiritual crises, demands that the subjects of study should be adjusted to the stages of spiritual growth as shown by statistics. Speaking generally, these crises come in the period of early adolescence and of early maturity. The lessons intended for such periods should be therefore especially adapted to move the pupil to correct spiritual decision. In the case of boys and girls, such lessons should be biographical. In the case of young men and women, the crisis being more intellectual in character, the lessons should be both biographical and doctrinal.

IV. These considerations suggest the following general scheme for a graded curriculum:

1. In the kindergarten the instruction must of course be *viva voce*. The aim of the teacher must be to lodge in the hearts of the little children some of the elemental principles of morality and religion. Obviously this cannot be done abstractly. Stories from the Bible and from the children's own experiences will serve as media by which to convey or suggest the truth, and the child should at once be given opportunity to express in play or picture work his idea of the truth which has been presented to him.

2. In the first three years after the kindergarten the aim should be to lodge in the memory of the child such stories from the Bible as will interest and profit him, and certain of the choicer sentences or verses of the Bible, such as will make upon his mind now an impression of spiritual truth, and will be treasured in the memory in after life.

Pictures and other illustrative apparatus must be freely used, and all the teaching must be skilfully brought into connection with the child's own life. To this end stories from other literature than the Bible, and from life, may be freely used by the teacher. The religious and ethical aim must be constantly kept in mind along with the purpose of storing the pupil's memory.

The plan upon which these stories should be arranged deserves more careful study than it has yet received. An obvious division would be to devote one year to stories from the life of Jesus, a second to stories from the Old Testament, and a third to stories from the lives of the apostles. But it is probable that a topical arrangement on the basis of the ethical and religious ideas to be inculcated would be better, and that more account should be taken of the seasons of the year and the festivals of the church, such as Christmas and Easter, than a purely biographical grouping would permit. Neither the chronological nor the biographical motive appeals very strongly to pupils at this age. Nor, indeed, is it necessary to compel them to arrange details in any schematic order.

3. The child who has, in the preceding three years, heard many of the stories from the lips of the teacher, and has, it is to be hoped, had many of them read to him at home, has presumably by this time learned to read for himself. It is time, therefore, that he should begin to learn something about the books of the Bible, as a preparation to the study of them from the printed page. A year may very profitably be given to the study of the Bible as a collection of books, a library. The children should learn from specimens of each kind the different kinds of books which the Bible contains, as for example books of history and stories, of law, of sermons, of poetry and wisdom, of letters and of vision. Home readings from books of each class may be assigned, the co-operation of the parents being secured. Passages of Scripture notable for their content and beauty, such as the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes, choice Psalms, sayings of Jesus and the apostles, should be committed to memory. The names of the books of the Bible may be learned by classes, and in the order in which they are printed in the Bible, with the intent that the children may be able to turn readily to any one of them. The primary and controlling aim should be to give the pupil a knowledge of the varied contents of the biblical library, of the arrangement of the books in the Bible, and above all to give him a genuine interest in them which will impel him and prepare him to study them farther.

4. The pupil who, in the kindergarten and during the first three years after leaving it, has had lodged in his memory many of the Bible stories disconnectedly and without reference to their historical order, and who has spent a year in gaining a general knowledge of the contents of the whole biblical library, including, perhaps with some special emphasis, the books of history and story, may now profitably pass on to biographical study. In such study the unit is no longer the story, detached and isolated, but the life of the individual whether patriarch, prophet, king, apostle, or Christ. The pupil being now able to read, the books of the Bible should themselves be his chief text-book, whatever aids to the use of them it may be expedient to put into his hands. This portion of the curriculum may perhaps also occupy three years.

5. At this point in the curriculum the pupil, having had three years of stories, a year in a general survey of the books of the Bible, and three years of biographical study, may properly take up the continuous and more thorough study of single biblical books. Three years may be given to this kind of study. The aim should be to give the pupil an intelligent idea of the content and, as far as he is prepared for it, of the structure and character of certain biblical books. These books are the sources of the history which he is to take up in the succeeding four years. It being impossible to study thoroughly the whole of the literature, typical examples should be selected for study. But that the pupil may nevertheless gain a genuine, even though general knowledge of the contents of the whole Bible, there should be laid out for him a three-years' course of reading, covering all the books of the Bible not taken up for thorough study.

6. In the last four years of the prescribed course the aim should be to give the student a connected idea of biblical history, including both events and teaching, and these in their mutual relations; in short, a comprehensive survey of the history of biblical revelation, from the first recorded beginnings in the most ancient times down to the end of the apostolic age.

This course of fourteen years might be accomplished by the brightest pupils in somewhat less time. Each class pursuing its work independently might go rapidly or slowly, according to ability; and individual pupils might carry on two courses at once, thus shortening the course to twelve, or even ten, years.

7. When the pupil has completed his prescribed course, covering the twelve years or so of the elementary and secondary divisions, he will pass into the adult division, where elective courses, sufficient to

occupy him the rest of his life, may easily be offered, if only competent teachers can be provided. All the books of the Bible may be taken up for literary and interpretative study; the several periods of biblical history may be studied in greater detail than before; the whole field of biblical theology and biblical ethics is open; and there seems to be no valid reason why courses in applied ethics, personal and sociological, as well as courses in the history of the church, ancient and modern, especially the history of missions, should not be offered here also.

These seven propositions yield something like the following:

CURRICULUM.

I. ELEMENTARY DIVISION.

1. The kindergarten.
2. Three years of stories, pictures, and verses, the chief basis of grouping being probably that of the ethical and religious ideas to be inculcated.
3. One year of general study of the books of the Bible: elementary biblical introduction, accompanied by reading of appointed portions and the memorizing of selected passages.
4. Three years of biographical study:

Fifth year:	The life of Jesus.
Sixth year:	Lives of Old Testament heroes.
Seventh year:	The lives of the apostles.

II. SECONDARY DIVISION.

1. Three years in the study of the books of the Bible:

Eighth year:	First half—1 Samuel.
	Second half—The gospel of Mark.
Ninth year:	First half—Isaiah, chaps. 1-12.
	Second half—Acts, chaps. 1-12.
Tenth year:	First half—The Psalms.
	Second half—1 Peter; Acts, chaps. 13-28.
2. Four years of biblical history:

Eleventh year:	Old Testament history begun.
Twelfth year:	Old Testament history completed.
Thirteenth year:	The life and teachings of Jesus.
Fourteenth year:	The history and teachings of the apostolic age.

III. ADULT DIVISION.

Elective courses:

1. The interpretation and literary study of the several books of the Bible.
2. Biblical ethics and theology.
3. Biblical history, more detailed than before.
4. Church history.
5. Christian doctrine.

COMPARATIVE TRANSLATION: ECCLESIASTES 11:1.

A STUDY IN MODERNIZING THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

שֵׁלַח לְחִמָּה עַל־פְּנֵי הַמַּיִם כִּי־בָרַב הַיָּמִים הַמְצִיאֲנִי :

—Ginsburg's Hebrew Bible, 1894.

Ἀπόστειλον τὸν ἄρτον σου ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ ὕδατος, ὅτι ἐν πλήθει ἡμερῶν εὐρήσεις αὐτόν.

—H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek*, 1891.

Mitte panem tuum super transeuntes aquas: quia post tempora multa invenies illum.

—Tischendorf's Edition of *The Vulgate*, 1873.

Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days.

—Authorized Version, 1611.

—Revised Version (British Edition), 1885.

Revised Version (American Standard Edition), 1901.

Let thy bread go forth over the watery mirror: for in the course of many days shalt thou find it (*i. e.*, send forth thy capital upon commercial enterprises and after long waiting it will return to you with gain).

—Delitzsch, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, 1875.

Cast thy bread upon the surface of the water, for in the process of time thou mayest find the profit of it.

—Ginsburg, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, 1861.

Send thy bread on the water, for thou shalt find it after many days (*i. e.*, just as in sea-trading the temporary sacrifice of one's property brings in a rich reward, even though after a long interval, so also in his own good time, the Lord restores that which may have been given to sufferers for his name's sake).

—Hengstenberg, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, 1859.

Do good even to those from whom you may expect no gratitude and no return; after years of waiting you will find your reward.

—BIBLICAL WORLD.

Exploration and Discovery.

RECENT WORK IN PALESTINE.

THE tradition exists at Jaffa that there used to be in ancient times a harbor in a depression, east of the present city, now a swamp in which water accumulates to a considerable depth after heavy rains. Some effort has been made by Rev. J. E. Hanauer, of Jerusalem, to learn the facts behind this tradition. What he has been able to learn regarding it he has published in the July number of the *Quarterly Statement*. It appears to him that it is by no means unlikely that the configuration of the land in ancient times was somewhat different from its present condition, owing to changes produced by earthquakes. The facts could be more fully known if diggings could be made in the vicinity of the swamp to discover whether a harbor wall is at present beneath the surface and whether a channel leads from the swamp to the sea. Mr. Hanauer seems to expect this would be found if excavation were made.

THE work carried on by Professor Sellin at Taanach is reported at length in *Das heilige Land*, Vol. XLVII, Part I. The work was commenced in March, 1902, and one hundred and fifty laborers were employed in the digging. Three towers—one Canaanite, one early, and one late Israelite—and an Arab castle were brought to light; among the small objects found were lamps, vessels of earthenware, weapons, and a few scarabs. Near one tower the remains of about thirty children were found, buried in jars as at Gezer, and not far from them a Canaanite rock-altar. There were also uncovered two libation columns and a whole street of sacred columns. In the houses were found large numbers of images of the Canaanite naked Astarte; and under the houses were discovered the remains of infants and of adults who had been buried when the houses were built. An altar of burned clay was found in forty-one fragments, which were put together. On two sides were cherubim and lions, on another the tree of life with two stags, and on a fourth a man strangling a snake. The altar is said to be of Israelite times.

It is understood that Dr. Sellin will publish a large work describing his explorations at Taanach.

AT the annual meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund held recently in London, Sir Charles Wilson explained the laws of stratification as illustrated by the seven strata which have been unearthed at Gezer. The two lowest strata of Gezer were occupied by an aboriginal non-Semitic race, small in size, unacquainted with metals. The Neolithic people gave place to a Semitic race, of stronger build and of more advanced civilization. Here, in the third stratum, was found the now famous "high place," which was apparently altered and enlarged in the period represented by the fourth stratum; under its floor were the jars containing the remains of newly born infants. The fifth and sixth strata represent the occupation of Gezer by the Israelites. The use of iron and the frequent lamp-and-bowl deposits under the foundations now begin to appear. He suggested that the latter were a modification of the older pre-Israelite foundation sacrifices. At all events, these deposits completely disappear at the time of the exile. The sixth stratum, with its royal stamps, is certainly of the age of the monarchy; while in the seventh and last we have the Syro-Egyptian period, the age of the Ptolemies and Maccabees.

SIR CHARLES WILSON continues in the *Quarterly Statement* for July his series of articles on "Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre." His investigations lead him to the following explanation of the official identification of Golgotha made in the fourth century under Constantine. The facts seem to him to have been as follows:

1. After the Council of Nicæa, Constantine commanded Macarius, who was then returning to Jerusalem, to search for the cross of Christ.
2. The first step was to find the place of the crucifixion, near which, under ordinary circumstances, the cross would have been buried or cast aside. Macarius, after consultation with his suffragans, and after making inquiry among the native Christians and Jews, came to the conclusion that Golgotha lay beneath the temple of Aphrodite.
3. Constantine, having been informed by Macarius of the result of this investigation, sent his mother, the empress Helena, to Jerusalem with full power to demolish buildings and make the necessary search.
4. The empress, on her arrival at Jerusalem, employed laborers and soldiers to clear away the temple of Aphrodite, and its substructures. By this means a portion of the ancient Jewish cemetery, hitherto concealed from view, was uncovered, and a rock-hewn tomb, prepared for the reception of a single body, was identified as that in which the body of Christ had rested. A spot on the terrace above was at the same time assumed to be Golgotha.

5. Constantine, on being informed of the discovery, ordered the erection of a church which should inclose the tomb. Meantime the excavations were continued with unabated vigor, and at last the three crosses, the nails, and the title, which had become separated from Christ's cross, were found. The true cross was then identified by its "life-giving" properties.

6. The emperor, on hearing of the recovery of the cross, wrote the letter preserved by Eusebius, in which Macarius was directed to build two churches with lavish magnificence.

7. The rock was cut away so as to isolate the tomb and Golgotha, and the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection, and the Basilica, or Great Church, were built.

So far as the nature of the ground is concerned, Sir Charles Wilson says, there is nothing impossible in the view that Christ may have been crucified on the surface of the upper terrace (Golgotha) and buried in a tomb in its vertical face.

THE July *Quarterly Statement* presents a long report from Mr. Macalister on the excavation of Gezer from March 1 to May 15, 1903. The work has gone on with rapidity and thoroughness, and the results have been of large interest. Another cave of bones has been unearthed, fresh discoveries of the lamp-and-bowl deposits have been made, a jar has been found containing two infants, and another cave has been opened up with a series of fifteen magnificent jars and dishes arranged around the wall. A block of limestone has been found inscribed with Greek. The continued results of the excavation show the archæological wealth which lies hidden under the mounds of Gezer, and indicate the importance of completing the work which has been so successfully carried on.

Mr. Macalister, reviewing the work of the past year at Gezer, summarizes his results as follows: Traces of the Levitical occupation have been found in the evidence of Jewish worship at the Great Central Shrine of the town. The destruction and restoration of the city under Solomon, and its fortification by Bacchides, have both been illustrated by towers and walls assigned with reasonable probability to these builders. The method of the disposal of the dead by the pre-Israelite tribes has been determined with a completeness that we could not have ventured to hope for. The nature and extent of Mycenaean and Egyptian influences on Palestinian culture have received illustration in objects found almost daily. And the period of the introduction of iron has been indicated, though perhaps the deductions can-

not as yet claim finality. The mound still remains silent on the subject of the Philistines, and of their mediæval antitypes, the crusaders; nor has it yet yielded the wished-for answers to Yapahi's agonized petitions to the king of Egypt.

In addition to the above results, the following have been obtained: (1) a remarkable series of correspondences, both in general and in detail, have been established between the biblical history of the site and the history as deduced from the buildings and objects unearthed; (2) the bones, pottery, implements, and dwellings of a Neolithic race hitherto unknown in Palestine have been recovered, and undoubted bones of the Amorite and early Israelite races have for the first time been found; (3) a "high place" or temple of the Canaanites has been laid bare, and the tangible remains of infant sacrifices, orgies, oracle-giving, perhaps also ophiolatry, Stylitism, and other concomitants of Semitic worship, have been unearthed; (4) important corrections have been made in the history of the development of pottery and of other arts in Palestine.

The Religious Education Association.

MEETINGS OF OFFICERS IN BOSTON.

At the first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Association, held on February 12 at the close of the Convention, it was planned among other things that a meeting of the Directors be called in Boston at the time of the convention of the National Educational Association, July 6-10. The arrangement thus made was duly carried out, and on Tuesday, July 7, the Directors of the Association met in the lecture-room of the Horace Mann School.

The main work of the Directors at this time was to review the work of the Executive Board during the period of five months since the Association was created. During this period the Executive Board had held fourteen meetings. Its work was chiefly the election of officers to positions not filled by vote of the Convention, the securing of the first list of members, the issuing of the volume of Proceedings, and the preparation of preliminary plans for the work of the Association.

A printed report of the Chairman of the Executive Board was presented to the Board of Directors, and has been sent to all members of the Association. A portion of the information contained in this report was furnished to our readers in the June number. The chief items of interest since that time have been: (1) the appointment of Professor Wallace N. Stearns, Ph.D., of Baldwin University, Berea, O., as Financial Secretary of the Association; (2) the establishment of the Executive Office of the Association in the Association Building, 153-155 LaSalle St., Chicago; (3) the publication of the first annual volume of Proceedings of the Association on June 18, a well-printed and bound book of 430 pages, to be had from the Executive Office at the price of \$1.00, postpaid; (4) the legal incorporation of the Association under the laws of the state of Illinois, effected on June 19; (5) the preparation of an official budget for the remainder of the year, on the basis of \$12,000 a year for current expenses; (6) the taking over from the American Institute of Sacred Literature, at its request, of the advocacy of a "Bible Sunday" at the opening of the school year; (7) the presentation to the Executive Committees of Departments of twelve suggestions made by the Executive Board for the work of the Depart-

ments. This work done by the Executive Board was duly reviewed and approved by the Board of Directors.

Six recommendations to the Board of Directors from the Executive Board were discussed and approved, as follows:

1. That the next Annual Convention of the Association be held in Philadelphia on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, March 1-3, 1904; that the local arrangements for the meeting be placed in the hands of a committee of Philadelphia citizens; that the general theme for the Convention be "The Bible in Practical Life;" and that the preliminary draft of a program presented by the President of the Association and a Committee on Conventions be in general approved.

2. That the fiscal year of the Association begin February 1 and end January 31.

3. That the Secretaries of the Association be four in number: a General Secretary, an Editorial Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and a Financial Secretary.

4. That an office of Executive Secretary be established in connection with each Department of the Association, the function of which shall be to keep the machinery of the Department in motion; that the Executive Secretary be appointed by the Executive Board and hold office continuously, subject to the action of the Board.

5. That the Board of Directors recommend to the Annual Convention that the wording of the Constitution of the Association be so modified and amended as to express the provisions above made.

6. That the Executive Board undertake to publish a bulletin for the members of the Association and for the press, which will convey news, and otherwise promote the work and the interests of the Association.

Following the meeting of the Board of Directors held in the afternoon, a dinner of the officers of the Association was held at the Hotel Bellevue, at which some sixty persons were present, representing the 230 officers of the Association. The names of those present were: E. H. Abbott, D. W. Abercrombie, A. W. Anthony, C. W. Barnes, L. C. Barnes, G. H. Beard, J. R. Bishop, F. L. Bliss, C. C. Bragdon, H. A. Bridgman, G. N. Carman, J. W. Carr, G. A. Coe, J. W. Cook, J. R. Crosser, E. W. Donald, A. E. Dunning, S. A. Eliot, W. H. P. Faunce, W. B. Forbush, F. W. Gunsaulus, C. C. Hall, W. R. Harper, J. I. D. Hinds, H. H. Horne, G. E. Horr, R. G. Huling, R. C. Hughes, W. S. Jackman, F. W. Johnson, R. L. Kelly, W. N. McVickar, W. P. Merrill, L. W. Messer, J. M. Moore, W. J. Parker, G. W. Pease, R.

H. Potter, W. S. Pratt, D. B. Purinton, O. D. Robinson, S. H. Rowe, J. E. Russell, Albert Salisbury, F. K. Sanders, E. F. See, W. F. Slocum, W. H. Smiley, E. D. Starbuck, C. M. Stuart, C. H. Thurber, W. F. Tillett, J. H. VanSickle, C. W. Votaw, J. M. Webb, Mary E. Woolley.

In addition to these officers, a number of other persons were present as guests. The meeting was large and representative, and the ideas and plans of the Association were carefully considered. The earnest belief in the movement and the enthusiasm shown for the carrying forward of its activities were marked.

On the following afternoon meetings were held of the Executive Committees of several Departments, namely, Sunday Schools, Secondary Public Schools, Elementary Public Schools, Private Schools, and Christian Associations. The work particularly undertaken by each of the Committees at this time was threefold: (1) to consider the scope of the Department; (2) to select and enter upon some particular piece of investigation with regard to the subject of the Department for report at the next Annual Convention; (3) to prepare the program for the meetings of the Department to be held in connection with the next Annual Convention. Progress was made in these three matters, and the work of the Departments inaugurated. Some of the officers of other Departments also conferred at this time, and have already set on foot the work of their Departments.

The work at the Executive Office of the Association in Chicago continues during the summer months. New members are being received daily, and orders are coming in from all parts of the country for the volume of Proceedings. Plans are being made for pushing the work of the Association vigorously during the coming year. It is hoped that a General Secretary may be secured in time to take charge of this campaign.

Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D., who has occupied the chair of church history in Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, O., for the past six years, has been elected to the chair of church history in the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pa. He will enter upon his new duties there at the beginning of the next year. He is the son of the distinguished Dr. Philip Schaff, with whom he was associated in the publication of many of the large works which have contributed much to the theological knowledge of the present time. Professor Schaff was born in 1852, and is a graduate of Yale University and Union Theological Seminary.

AN English text of the Code of Hammurabi has been published by Rev. C. H. W. Johns, A.M., Lecturer in Assyriology in the University of Cambridge (imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; pp. 88; \$0.75, net). The English reader has therefore before him a complete text in English of the famous Code, with which he can make his own comparison of the biblical legislation. Mr. Johns's book is entitled *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*. It does not discuss these laws or treat them in relation to the biblical material, but simply presents them in translation and furnishes an elaborate index to their contents. The author promises in his introduction to publish soon a larger work upon the Code, in which it may be supposed he will deal adequately with the problems which the Code presents.

AN important and admirable effort has been made in England this summer to bring higher biblical instruction to the attention of educated women. A three-weeks' school has been held for this purpose at Newnham College in Cambridge. The subjects and lecturers are: (1) "New Testament Christology," by Professor Swete; (2) "Old Testament Religion," by Professor Kirkpatrick; (3) "New Testament Times," by Professor Stanton; (4) "Isaiah," by Dr. Barnes; (5) "The Epistle to the Romans," by Dr. Beet; (6) "The Philosophy of Religion," by Dr. Rashdall; (7) "The Synoptic Gospels," by Mr. F. C. Burkitt; (8) "Genesis and Exodus," by Rev. C. F. Burney; (9) "The History of Israel," by Rev. R. H. Kennett. In addition to these series of lectures there will be single lectures upon special subjects. Critical

and archæological questions will receive due attention. The courses are to be scholarly and instructive. The school is intended for Churchmen and Nonconformists equally, and is open to all who care to avail themselves of the opportunity. It is to be hoped that there may grow out of it a permanent summer school by which biblical knowledge may be extended.

AN important addition has been made to the study of the patristic period by the publication of a new edition of the *Didascalia*. The new edition appears in two forms: first in Syriac, edited from a Mesopotamian manuscript with critical apparatus; second in English, translated from this Syriac text. The editor is Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson, of Cambridge, England, whose services to biblical study have already been large. The Syriac edition which has been in use up to this time was published by Lagarde in 1854, and has been for a long time out of print. Mrs. Gibson's edition is not based upon the manuscript which Lagarde used, but upon a new manuscript which was procured by Dr. Rendel Harris in the Orient. The publishers of the Syriac and English editions just out are Messrs. C. J. Clay & Sons, London.

It will be recalled that the *Didascalia* is a name for the early document, belonging probably to the first half of the third century, on which the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions were based. The *Didascalia* is a series of discourses on church life. The first book consists of precepts for the laity. The second book concerns the duties and rights of the clergy, bishops, presbyters, and deacons; it treats also of church courts and of the internal arrangement of the church building. The third book is on widows and baptism. The fourth book is on orphans, and their adoption. The fifth book is on the care and honor due to martyrs and confessors, and on Christian festivals. The sixth book is on heresies and schisms. The material is valuable for the study of the Christian church in the third century. It is interesting also for its biblical quotations, especially those from the gospels.

This work, in Syriac and in English, constitutes the first two parts of a series undertaken by Mrs. Gibson entitled "Horæ Semiticæ."

Book Reviews.

The Death of Christ: Its Place and Interpretation in the New Testament. By PROFESSOR JAMES DENNEY, D.D., United Free Church College, Glasgow. Second Edition. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Sons, 1903. Pp. 324. \$1.50.

Professor Denney has given us in this book a work of first importance. In it he discusses the New Testament conception of the death of Jesus, as found respectively in the synoptic gospels, the early Christian teaching, the epistles of Paul, Hebrews and the Johannine writings; he then discusses the importance of the death of Christ in preaching and in theology. Professor Denney in his introduction has a few sharp words to say about what he regards to be an unhappy distinction between the historical and dogmatic, biblical and systematic, material and formal elements in the New Testament, and states very emphatically his thesis that in speaking of the death of Christ we cannot make any distinction between theology and religion. About this we naturally have our doubts.

The first main proposition which Professor Denney champions is that the death of Christ is central in the synoptic gospels, and that Jesus himself so regarded it. His method here is a good illustration how a clever conjecture may in the course of a few pages be treated as a datum on which to base argument. We can very well believe that Jesus foresaw from the beginning of his career that he would be killed as the prophets had been killed, but we find it difficult to see that Professor Denney has substantiated his fundamental position that in his baptism Jesus consciously numbered himself with the transgressors, "submitting to be baptized with their baptism, identifying himself with them in their relation to God as sinners, making all their responsibilities his own." It seems to us also that Professor Denney has likewise overemphasized the meaning of the *λύτρον* reference in Mark 10:45. It seems also, furthermore, a trifle strange to find him arguing that "St. Paul has sat at the feet of Jesus in this particular." There is at the bottom of this position an exceedingly important critical consideration. Is the saying actually one of Jesus or is it an evangelist's comment upon the career of Jesus? It is easy to see that this must be definitely settled before one can use the saying as expressing Jesus' own idea of himself. Professor Denney does discuss this matter briefly

on p. 39, but wholly from a dogmatic point of view. If it should appear that the use of the term "Son of man" is not restricted to Jesus himself, the position taken by Professor Denney would be considerably weakened.

At the same time we agree with Professor Denney that it is impossible to disassociate death from the messianic work of Jesus or from his conception of that work, and, further, that his death is central in the apostolic soteriology. It is in his development of the Pauline doctrine that Professor Denney's work is especially valuable. He very properly sees that "to become a curse for us" is exactly the same as to say Jesus died for us. It is with great satisfaction that we see that his interpretation of Paulinism does not make its system center about the incarnation. Nothing is farther from the Pauline thought than that, and the pages of Professor Denney's criticism in this connection are well worth reading by all those theologians who are endeavoring to find their own opinions in Paul. Paul's idea as to the death of Jesus is simply this: It was vicarious and enabled God to be just at the same time that he was justifying those who believed on Jesus. Professor Denney's discussion on this point is eminently satisfactory, except that he does not recognize, as distinctly as one could wish, that *δικαιοσύνη*, when referring to the believer, describes a state of nonliability to punishment rather than a state of actual moral righteousness. Had Professor Denney made a more careful word-study of this word and its cognates, we are inclined to feel his admirable discussion would have been still better. At the same time we cannot help feeling that his discussion of the propitiation idea tends to give it a larger importance than it actually possesses. Instead of propitiation, in any ordinary sense of the word, being the central thought of the New Testament teaching, it is one phase of the general teaching that Christ's death has a bearing upon the reconciliation of God and man.

It is not necessary to follow the argument of Professor Denney farther, but we wish to commend his book to all those who are actually interested in the New Testament doctrine. We are inclined to think that he has in a number of cases pushed certain phrases farther than the historical interpreter would quite have dared, and on every page of the book is evidence that its author is by temperament a dogmatic theologian. None the less the book is fundamentally sound in its exposition of the Pauline conception of the death of Jesus and is especially to be commended for its consistent refusal to allow pious reflection and rhetoric to do service as exegesis.

We cannot feel that any book written wholly on the death of Christ which does not make the messianic view of Paul consciously central can quite escape the danger of its treatment being somewhat lacking in perspective. The approach to all Paulinism is through the apostle's attributing messianic value to Jesus. His death, resurrection, ascension, his sending of the spirit, and his second coming are all more or less co-ordinately important elements of this general conception. Had Professor Denney come up to his work with less bias against the historical theologians — a bias which, we admit, has to some extent justification by the vagaries of a so-called rather than true historical method — he would have, in our estimation, made the book more an aid to a conservative reconstruction of Christian teaching. Until we abandon altogether the attitude of the apologete in our New Testament study, we shall fail to get at the New Testament thought with precision. What we need more than anything else just now is an actual presentation of the New Testament teaching exactly as it stands. Then, when we have once discovered what that teaching is, it will be time to defend or reject it.

S. M.

Criticism of the New Testament. [St. Margaret's Lectures, 1902.]

By PROFESSOR WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., *et. al.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. 230. \$1.80, *net.*

This volume contains six lectures dealing with the historical criticism of the New Testament. The subjects and writers are: (1) "The Criticism of the New Testament," by Professor William Sanday, D.D., University of Oxford; (2) "Manuscripts," by Dr. F. G. Kenyon, assistant keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum; (3) "The Ancient Versions of the New Testament," by Mr. F. C. Burkitt, University of Cambridge; (4) "The History of the Canon of the New Testament," by Professor F. H. Chase, D.D., University of Cambridge; (5) "The Dates of the New Testament Books," by Rev. A. C. Headlam, rector of Wellwyn; (6) "The Historical Value of the Acts of the Apostles," by Dean J. H. Bernard, D.D., Trinity College, Dublin. The essays thus brought together by leading scholars in Great Britain give a valuable, although somewhat fragmentary, view of the present status of scholarly opinion concerning the New Testament.

The purpose of the book is to promote general intelligence and thoughtfulness on the part of the multitude of Christian people who know little of what has been accomplished in the development of

biblical science during the past seventy-five years. The condition of popular thought is not a satisfactory one, as Canon Henson, in his prefatory note to the volume, states :

The condition of sound interpretation of Scripture is honest and thorough criticism. . . . Much of our standard theological literature is practically worthless because based on a discarded exegesis; and it is humiliating to reflect that much current preaching and teaching of religion is only tolerated because the religious public remains extraordinarily ignorant of the assured results of biblical science. In the prevailing ignorance unwarrantable fears invade the general mind and create a panic-stricken prejudice against critical studies, eminently favorable to that resuscitation of fanaticism which is one of the most curious and melancholy characteristics of our time. It becomes therefore a matter of no slight importance that sound knowledge as to the methods and conclusions of criticism should be disseminated as widely as possible among the people. . . . No worse disaster to religion could well be imagined than the divorce of critical scholarship from average belief. Criticism must not be allowed to take an esoteric character, but, at all hazards, must be held closely to the current teaching of the church.

Among the large number of books which are constantly appearing from the presses of England and America that aim to mediate between scholars and people, this is certainly one of the best. The scholarship, the conservatism, the frankness, and the fairness with which these subjects are treated by the authors commend the work to every reader as helpful and deserving of his attention. No one of course will imagine that all of the opinions expressed in these essays will be found ultimate, but at least they express a moderate consensus of the present biblical criticism. A mistake which the popular reader easily falls into is to suppose that the scholar whose essay or volume he reads thinks he has attained absolute truth or fact. Historical study of the Bible is in process, and while some of the larger results already achieved give evidence of permanence, a great deal yet remains to be discovered, and new conceptions are sure to arise from further study.

It might then be asked: Why should the people not wait until the scholars have concluded their work? Why should they endeavor to understand the study upon which the scholars are engaged? Many persons will of necessity find themselves excluded for lack of opportunity, ability, or interest, from engaging in the investigations which are in progress concerning the Bible. But it is the privilege, not to say the duty, of many others who can do so to study and to think with those who are searching out the facts and truths of the Bible. It is the scholars, and those who make some effort to live and work with

them, that determine public opinion about the Bible, and the kind of use which is made of the Bible. Let everyone therefore who feels moved to learn about the New Testament acquaint himself with such books as the present one.

C. W. V.

The Song of Solomon, with Introduction and Notes. By PROFESSOR ANDREW HARPER, D.D. [The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.] New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. xi + 96. \$0.50.

Following the lead of Budde, recent scholarship has for the most part regarded the Song of Songs as a collection of wedding songs having no inner unity. The present commentary adheres to the view formerly most common, viz., that we have here a drama, or rather a series of dramatic lyrics, intended to teach the purity and nobility of true love. The message of the poem is thus primarily ethical. Dr. Harper, however, seems inclined to add to this a spiritual content to be derived through an allegorical interpretation, the love portrayed being that between God and the church. The arguments against Budde's interpretation are fully and strongly presented, Appendix II being devoted especially to that subject. In Appendix I is given the author's arrangement of the song in thirteen dramatic lyrics with stage-directions attached.

The introduction to the commentary is full, discussing among other things the question of the unity of the book, its dramatic character, its age, authorship, and purpose, and the various interpretations proposed. The commentary proper furnishes just the help that the ordinary student needs, and the explanations are for the most part sane and instructive. But in many cases it appears as though the author's view of the meaning and purpose of the poem had caused him to minimize its Oriental sensuousness to an unwarrantable degree. On the whole this commentary is to be heartily recommended to the non-specialist as the best interpretation of the Song of Songs accessible in English, and as worthy to stand beside the best volumes of the excellent series to which it belongs.

JOHN M. P. SMITH.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Current Literature.

Science and the Flood.

In an article on this subject in the June number of the *Expositor*, Professor T. G. Bonney, LL.D., F.R.S., expresses himself as in disagreement with the late Sir J. W. Dawson and with Sir H. H. Howorth in their defense of the Genesis story of the flood which destroyed mankind. He admits that the flood story gains some strength from the widespread general tradition of such an event, not only in the book of Genesis, but outside in the traditions of other peoples. But the evidence of geology, he holds, is strongly against the actual occurrence of such a flood. All the indications point to a progress in civilization of the race or races; a change in the fauna, perhaps corresponding to some alteration of climate; and a gradual disappearance of extinct forms with an incoming of living forms. So that the idea of a universal deluge, or even of closely connected but local deluges on a large scale, cannot in his judgment claim any real support from geology.

The Famous Code of Hammurabi.

In a paper read recently before the American Oriental Society by Professor Christopher Johnston, of Johns Hopkins University, the importance of this newly discovered code was discussed. In his judgment no monument of antiquity has ever been discovered, either in western Asia or in Egypt, which exceeds this one in interest and importance. It is the oldest of all law codes in existence, and must henceforth form a starting-point for the systematic study of historical jurisprudence.

Hammurabi, the compiler of the code, was the sixth king of the first dynasty of Babylonia, and reigned for fifty-five years, about 2250 B. C. He is referred to in the Old Testament (Gen. 14 : 1) as Amraphel, and is there represented as a contemporary of Abraham. He was a most enterprising and efficient ruler, doing many things to advance civilization in his nation. Among other things he established courts of law everywhere, and gave his personal attention to the administration of justice. The Babylonians of a later date looked back upon his reign as the golden age of their history.

To what extent and in what manner Hammurabi made use of earlier codes in compiling his laws is at present difficult to decide. That he did so is to be presumed, and there are indications of the existence of such codes. He employed a legal phraseology which had become traditional in his time, and he may well have incorporated previously existing laws with little or no change of wording. It is unlikely that before his time there had been a uniform code of laws in force throughout all Babylonia. Hammurabi's great political achievement was the union of all Babylonia under a single monarchy, and its consolidation into a homogeneous whole. It seems, therefore, highly probable that he conceived the plan of replacing the conflicting laws of the individual states by a universal system which should be in force everywhere in his dominions. As the political organization which he created endured down to the time of the Persian conquest, so his code of laws remained the basis of Babylonian and Assyrian law until the fall of both empires.

Indeed, it had a far wider sphere of influence. An intimate connection is conclusively shown between this Babylonian code and the legislative codes which appear in the Bible; and it is striking that the parallels are most numerous and definite in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20 : 22—23 : 33), the oldest of the several biblical codes. It is not too much to say also, Professor Johnston adds, that the code of Hammurabi has had its effect upon the legal systems of the present day.

Tree-Worship in the Old Testament.

Rev. R. B. Taylor, of Aberdeen, Scotland, contributes an interesting article to the *Expository Times* for June on the "Traces of Tree-Worship in the Old Testament." There are many evidences, he says, that customs connected with tree-worship have been universal in Europe. If this is true where moisture and vegetation abound, we can well understand that in a land like Palestine, where trees were few, the worship paid to them was real and accentuated. The land around a spring green with vegetation was called "Baal's land." It was held sacrosanct, and the trees themselves were supposed to be endowed with the life of God. Cloth and votive offerings were hung upon the trees to secure the favor of the deity. It was natural that the Israelites, as part of the great Semitic stock, would be sharers in those beliefs that we find spread over a wide area of Asia. The old Testament presents numerous traces that tree-worship was still in vogue in the earlier

centuries of Hebrew history. These evidences are of several kinds: (1) etymological, in the names given to trees; (2) in the belief that oracles were given by trees (*e. g.*, 2 Sam. 5:23); (3) by the connection of trees with places of justice (*e. g.*, Judg. 4:5); (4) by the Asherah, the final form that tree-worship assumed before it was rooted out by the centralization of the cultus and the heightened moral and spiritual sense of the people. The great prophets protested against the worship of the Asherah, and it was the book of Deuteronomy (621 B. C.) that gave the impulse to the rooting out of this last phase of tree-worship. Tree-worship was from this time forward recognized as something evil and offensive to Jehovah.

Assyro-Babylonian Parallels to Daniel, 5: 5 ff.

In the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXII, Part I, Professor J. D. Prince suggests that "in the narrative of Dan., chap. 5, we have a later distortion of an original Babylonian tale." This suggestion is based upon the fact that we have two Assyro-Babylonian records of the delivery of divine dream-communications *in writing*. One of these is found in the Annals of Ashurbanipal and, as translated by Professor Prince, reads: "On that same day a certain scribe during the night fell asleep and saw a vision; namely, on the surface (*i. e.*, the crescent) of the god Sin (*i. e.*, the moon-god) it stood written thus: 'Whosoever hath planned evil against Ashurbanipal, the king of the land of Assyria, whosoever enacteth hostility against him, to them will I give a baleful death; by the swift dagger of iron, by casting into the fire, by famine; by the destruction of the god Gira will I cut off their lives!' These things I heard; I trusted in the word of the god Sin, my lord." The same incident is alluded to in the following statement from another account: "Nebo, the universal tablet-writer, (which is) the art of his godhead, stood reading aloud the inscription of the surface of the god Sin."

The other instance cited is from an inscription of Gudea (about 3000 B. C.). Here it is related that a man appeared to him in a vision and gave him a plan on a tablet for the building of a temple. The chief difference between these accounts and the story in Daniel is that these written communications were seen in dreams, while that of Daniel is represented as coming to the king and his courtiers while in a waking state. Professor Prince says: "It is possible that the author of Daniel knew a story, according to which the last king of Babylon

was vouchsafed a vision *in writing* of his impending downfall. In the course of centuries this story must have been altered into a narrative of an event which took place in waking life, as we have it in Daniel. The Maccabean biblical author then no doubt changed the account according to his theology and incorporated it into his work as a tale bearing an instructive moral for Antiochus Epiphanes, against whose persecutions the entire book of Daniel was directed."

Have We Outgrown the Gospel?

The president's address at the last meeting of the American Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis is before the general reader in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Part I, 1903. Professor B. W. Bacon, D.D., of Yale Divinity School, gave the address upon the subject "Ultimate Problems of Biblical Science." Among other things he spoke of the error of supposing that modern progress has been such as to antiquate all past thought in the field of religion. He says: It is easy to overrate the difference made by a few centuries of additional knowledge and discovery, and hard to realize the maturity of thought of two thousand years ago and upwards on the fundamental ideas of morality and religion. Disencumber the teaching of the New Testament of that which its own authors, if they lived today, would admit to belong not to the substance but only to the form, and New Testament thought represents, not the past, but the present; not an incomplete stage in spiritual evolution, but the completest and most perfect within our observation. We must admit the principle of evolution; we gladly avail ourselves of it in the spiritual creation; but we must beware of assuming that because intellectual progress along certain lines has been comparatively rapid during the last twenty-five centuries, the moral and religious consciousness has outgrown the stage of eighteen hundred years ago. It might not be scientific to say: "The moral and religious consciousness of man reached its limit in Jesus of Nazareth. His conception of man in his relation to God and his fellow-man, under the forms of sonship and brotherhood, represents absolute religion." It might be better, with the fourth evangelist, to give full swing to the principle of spiritual progress, and say: "It doth not yet appear what we shall be." Only, while geology and astrophysics combine to unroll before us the inconceivable æons which mark the stages of physical evolution, let us not make the mistake of imagining the greater spiritual creation going on about us to be the product of a few centuries. In

the real principles of his teaching, Jesus belongs to our own time. Christian thought is modern thought. Religious literature in general must be classed as either preliminary or as subsidiary to that which reveals his consciousness of God and man. There are foothills nearer and more remote, on this side and on that; but it bespeaks a loss of perspective, and exaggeration of that which owes its seeming greatness to mere proximity, to talk of subsequent religious or philosophical systems as if they evinced a spiritual consciousness comparable with this great fact of the spiritual creation. To imagine that the literature in which Jesus' consciousness of man's relation to God is embodied may lose its authority and uniqueness, may suffer eclipse under the brightness of some modern luminary, unless we continue to deck it out with the attributes of a mechanical inerrancy and up-to-dateness, is to prove one's self in the sophomoric stage of appreciation.

General Results of Historical Criticism.

In his latest book, *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century*, J. Estlin Carpenter, joint editor with the late G. Harford-Battersby of the Oxford *Hexateuch*, thus sums up the situation resulting from the application of the historical method to the study of the Bible: The principle of interpreting the Bible "like any other book" at once brings into view the resemblances which unite it to other deposits of ancient faith, and the differences which divide it from them. On the one hand, we are made aware of its multiform character. Its contents are not all of one order. The Old Testament, for example, contains specimens of many kinds of literature. History and lyric, the ancient legend, the folk-tale, the parable, the lofty oracle of the prophet, the religious debate, all find a place within its pages. The recognition of diversities of content and style has fixed attention on the processes by which the books have reached their present form and driven the student to investigate the materials out of which they have been composed. This has again and again resulted in profound modifications alike of our historic view and of our theological beliefs. Theories once ardently cherished have been overthrown. Conceptions that had exerted immense influence for centuries can no longer be maintained. Some doctrines—such as that of eternal punishment—have been widely abandoned in silence; others, like that of vicarious atonement, have been so transformed, even in fifty years, as to be hardly recognizable.

On the other hand, the true value of the Bible has been enhanced.

We have ceased to ask of it what it cannot give us ; we cherish all the more highly what it can. Here is the testimony of men who have striven and suffered, men who have believed and hoped ; and the power of their faith, their utterance, their character, shines out for us with more illustrious value in the great process of the divine education of the race, when it is compared and contrasted with similar witness from the great nations with which Israel was in turn associated. Babylonia and Egypt are among the teachers of Greece, and through Greece of modern Europe ; each represents a religious culture vastly older than that of Israel ; yet the immense literatures inscribed on temple and tomb beside the Nile, or buried among the ruined libraries beneath the mounds of Mesopotamia, might have remained for ever unread, and our spiritual life today would be no poorer. But we cannot imagine either our history or our religion without the Bible.

This general result is the product of many influences besides the literary inquiries of criticism. It must suffice here to name three of the most prominent which have operated with special force during the last century : (1) the progress of science ; (2) the discovery of the sources of much of the early story of human things related in the opening chapters of Genesis ; and (3) the slow rise into our view of the Greater Bible of the entire race, supported on an enormous mass of primitive speculation concerning the origin of the world and the condition of man.

The Preacher and Biblical Criticism.

In the introduction to a valuable new work on *Prophetic Ideas and Ideals*, by Professor W. G. Jordan, D.D., of Queen's University, Kingston, Can., some excellent advice is given to the minister concerning the use which he is to make of biblical criticism in his preaching. It is not the business of the preacher, Dr. Jordan says, to give lectures on history in the pulpit, or to discuss theories of criticism or methods of exegesis, but rather to do all that preliminary work so thoroughly that his exposition of the Bible shall bring the noblest spirit of that past to meet the questioning of the present. This process cannot be made easy, but it is the only way in which we can show real reverence to men who in their own day were not given to choosing short methods and easy paths. Building monuments to the prophets and forsaking their spirit is a manner of worship which ought by this time to have fallen into discredit among intelligent men. To praise the Scriptures

as possessing the supreme revelation involves the duty of endeavoring to appropriate the message in its varied forms. In this we have the example of the most faithful and effective teachers in all ages.

This effort to get back to the actual life of men to whom we owe so much can only be partially successful; but the effort itself is both a religious exercise and a means of culture. The minister, whose business it is to understand and to sympathize with all classes and conditions of men, may thus find on the intellectual side of his life a real preparation for those duties which lay the largest strain upon his heart. To understand ourselves we must know the past. This is a truth now recognized in every sphere of science, and it has a deep meaning for the student of religion who desires to realize the glory of his great heritage.

It is not difficult to prove that the Hebrew prophets have a message for our time; but more than any definite message is the spirit that they quicken in the devout student, and the atmosphere of fearless faith and courageous hopefulness that they kindle about his life. The message of the prophets was largely a national or social one; individual piety is implied, and the problems of the personal life begin to emerge; but in the main their address was to the community. The preacher who will try to discover for himself what that message actually was, and will seek to disentangle its essential spirit from the temporary form, thereby prepares himself for dealing with social questions in a sober spirit; he will learn to combine boldness with wisdom, and to express in powerful, appropriate forms the passion for righteousness.

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