

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE NEWLY DISCOVERED APOCRYPHAL
GOSPEL OF PETER.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

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

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

And they took the Lord and pushed him as they ran, and said, Let us drag away² the Son of God, since we have obtained authority over him. And they clothed him in purple and set him upon the judgment-seat, saying, Judge righteously, King of Israel. And one of them having brought a crown of thorns put it upon the head of the Lord, and others standing by spit in his

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

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

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

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

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

And it was noon, and darkness prevailed over all Judea; and they were troubled, and were in distress lest the sun should go down while he was still alive; for it is written that to them the sun shall not go down upon one who has been slain. And one of them said, Give him to drink gall with vinegar; and they mingled and gave it him to drink. And they fulfilled all, and completed their sins upon their own head. And many went about with lights, thinking that it was night; and some² stumbled. And the Lord cried out, saying, My Power, My Power, thou hast forsaken me! and thus saying, he himself also³ was taken up.

And at the ninth⁴ hour the veil of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain. And then they withdrew the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid him upon the earth; and the whole earth quaked, and there became great fear. Then the sun shone, and it was found to be the ninth hour. But the Jews were glad, and they gave his body to Joseph, that he might bury it, since it had been seen⁵ how many good deeds he had done. And he took the Lord and washed him and wrapped him in fine linen, and brought him into his own sepulchre called the Garden of Joseph.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE EXPANSION OF JUDAISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One of the most imposing things in Jewish literature is the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION IN SWITZERLAND.

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I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BASEL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Prof. Schmidt is now forty-seven years old, and has been a member of the Basel faculty for sixteen years, but his influence is by no means confined to the class-room. He is also very outspoken and aggressive as a member of the *reform*² party, which in Switzerland corresponds to the *Protestantenverein* of Germany.

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

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

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

² In Switzerland, at the present time, the word "Reformer" is used to designate a member of the rationalistic party, which has substantially abandoned the supernatural in the Bible and in the life of Christ.

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

MESSIANIC PROPHECY IN THE BOOK OF JOB.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE SCRIPTURE MATERIAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL LESSONS.

By ASSOCIATE PROF. GEORGE S. GOODSPEED, PH.D.
The University of Chicago.

II. HAGGAI AND ZECHARIAH.

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

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

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

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

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

² Called Jeshua in Ezra.

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

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

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

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

¹ Hag. ii. 10-19.

² Hag. ii. 20-23.

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

6. *Zechariah's great Sermon; its Form.* Zechariah's great discourse, occupying chapters i. 7 to vi. 8 of the book of his prophecies, is peculiar in its form, showing by its apocalyptic character the influence of Ezekiel. It is a vigorous and splendid picture of the situation, its lessons and its hopes. That he was capable of simple and direct exhortation and instruction his first sermon² shows clearly. His selection of the more enigmatic form of vision and symbol for his other discourses is explicable not only by reason of the influence of the elder prophet of the exile, but also, as we shall hope to see more in detail later, in view of the peculiar situation in which he found himself. That situation it is necessary now to explain.

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

¹Such is his title in Haggai.

²Zech. i. 1-6.

³Ezra v. 1-17.

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

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

¹ A comparison of the following summary with the corresponding Scripture material will be sufficient to make the course of thought and meaning of the statements clear.

² Zech. i. 8-17.

³ Zech. i. 18-21.

⁴ Ibid. ii. 1-6.

⁵ Ibid. ii. 7-13.

⁶ Zech. iii. 1-7.

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

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

¹Ibid. iii. 8-10.

²Ibid. iv. 1-14.

³Zech. iv. 6 (margin).

⁴Zech v. 1-vi. 8.

9. *The Case before Darius.* It is a question whether this series of splendid visions with their encouraging import and mysterious promise were proclaimed all at one time, or are to be regarded as separate addresses given as occasion required throughout this trying season of uncertainty, while the answer from the king was awaited. Darius was still in the thick of the combat with his rebellious subjects. It is not impossible that he was at Babylon when the message of the satrap of Syria reached him. The Chaldaean revolt had been quelled in the early spring of 520.¹ When the document of Cyrus was not found in Babylon, the search must be transferred to the archives at Ekbatana. This city, the capital of Media, had been the centre of the most stubborn revolt of all with which Darius had to deal. Providentially for this affair of the Jews, the king had succeeded in winning back the province in May or June of that same year, and the usurper Phraortes was executed in this very city of Ekbatana only three months before the letter of Tattenai was despatched. There the missing decree was found, and its contents satisfied Darius of the sincerity and innocence of the religious founders at Jerusalem as well as of the legality of their proceeding. He adds further privileges and largesses to the generous provisions of the Cyrus mandate, requiring only that the royal family be remembered in the prayers of the sanctuary. His attitude is precisely that of Cyrus. The attempt has been made to contrast the two kings in their religious character and attitude toward their subject peoples, but the facts are against it. Both were governed by the same principle of religious toleration. Darius is no fanatic as Cyrus is no indifferentist. Both favored religiously not only the Jews but other peoples in their realm. Darius rebuilt temples in Egypt and allowed himself to be pictured there in the act of bringing offerings to Amon. He offered a large reward for the discovery of a new Apis bull and won the hearts of the Egyptians by his favor to their religion. It is unlikely that different motives induced him to help the Jerusalem temple builders in this crisis, unless we may see in the language and details of the decree² a special interest in their affairs. They were in the midst of a great move-

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

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

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

10. *The Prophet triumphant; "the Crown."* When Dareios' decision reached Jerusalem is not recorded. Tattenai and his officers, on receiving it, proceeded to announce it and to carry out its provisions.⁴ It was a proud day for the prophets when the truth was known. They had carried the people through the crisis, and their words of promise and faith were now crowned by the reality of assured facts. Zechariah was roused to great enthusiasm. It is not improbable that he ventured at this time upon the boldest of his mysterious deeds the record of which, often strangely misunderstood, is found in chapter vi. vs. 9-15 of his prophecies. A combination of events stirred him to preach in symbolic action the sermon of "the crown." His confidence in the favor of Dareios had been confirmed. But more than that, his call to the Babylonian Jews to come forth, and his declaration that Jerusalem was soon to be filled to overflowing were both strikingly answered. The knowledge of Dareios' marked kindness to the Jews of the Return, would naturally become known and lead some of those still remaining behind to unite their fortunes to the favored community. Some of those thus minded had reached Jerusalem about this time and were lodged temporarily with a certain Josiah. They had brought presents of gold and silver, perhaps for the temple building. Zechariah is directed to go to them. He takes of their gifts, and has a "crown" made. Manifestly this has reference to the expected king. It would be highly dangerous to the good standing of the community with the Persian court if the prophet should proceed solemnly to crown some civil functionary, Zerubbabel, for example, whom he had already vaguely, yet in intelligible symbolism, encouraged with such hopes. But just as before he had used the priesthood as the instrument for pointing out the prince and king, so he places the crown on the head of not Zerubbabel but Joshua, yet with significant words that show his reference to the former. Comparing this passage with iii. 8, 9 and iv. 9, we see that it combines the statements of the two. "The Branch" is before the people; he shall finish the temple; "he shall sit upon the throne; there shall be a priest upon his throne," *i. e.*, beside him, and "the two" shall be at peace. How clear when one recognizes the situation! Zechariah knows that there will be no suspicion of political rebellion when he puts the crown on Joshua,⁵ yet he makes it very

⁴ Ezra vi. 13.

⁵ Various explanations and changes of text have been introduced to do away with the evident difficulty in this passage. Some maintain that the name of Joshua has been deliberately substituted for the original Zerubbabel by a later priestly editor in the interests of the priesthood. Others think that in vi. 11 a clause has fallen out after the word "Joshua," viz., "and upon the head of Zerubbabel." The interpretation here given solves the difficulty and is in perfect harmony with the historical situation as well as with Zechariah's preceding prophecies.

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

11. *Zechariah's last Sermons.* This occasion and its circumstances mark the culmination of Zechariah's work for the community. It had no such far-reaching significance as that of the older prophets. No such important political crisis as that which confronted Isaiah, no grave religious conflict like that in which Elijah was engaged, fell in Zechariah's time. But it was a real crisis, a true conflict, if on a small scale, and the later prophet showed a resolution, a fertility of resource and a power of bringing things to pass which compare well with the qualities of the heroes of old. God had a work for him to do as well, and he did it well. He stirred the dormant energies of his people into action, tided them over a difficult situation without loss of energy, held out before them high hopes and made these bright with truly prophetic lustre. He kept alive the enthusiasm which he had roused during the years of work which lay between the beginning and the completion of their task. We have three final addresses from him, the first dated in the fourth year of Dareios (518 B. C.), and the others later, but undated, probably connected in time as in contents with the first. The situation has now slightly changed. Under the prophetic impulse and by means of the substantial help of the Persian court, the temple is going forward to completion. A deputation comes to the religious authorities at Jerusalem from Bethel¹ asking whether it is necessary to observe the fasts instituted in memory of the destruction of Jerusalem now that the city is rebuilt. Zechariah takes occasion to emphasize the non-ritual side of life and religion in a way irresistibly reminding one of the earlier prophets. The temple being well under way, it is necessary to remember that all which the temple represents should make for *righteousness* among the people. "Be joyful, feast instead of fast now, in view of Jehovah's goodness and favor, and to the end that all this may be real and lasting, *love truth and peace*. Then you shall be the nation and the people sought out by all the world as the one among whom God dwells."² It has been said, but without ground, that Haggai and Zechariah gave forth only hollow echoes of earlier prophets. When we read such lofty ethical sentiments as these, it must be confessed that they had at least learned wisely from their

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

² Zech. viii. 18-23.

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

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

¹ Ezra vi. 13-22.

Exploration and Discovery.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE EXPEDITION OF THE BABYLONIAN EXPLORATION FUND.

EXCAVATIONS AT NIFFER DURING THE SEASON OF 1889.

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

II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Synopses of Important Articles.

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

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

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

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

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

F. W.

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

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

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

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

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

T. H. R.

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. F. K.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

E. D. B.

Notes and Opinions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

T. H. R.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

E. D. B.

Work and Workers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I. F. W.

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

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

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

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

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

Book Reviews.

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

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

O. J. T.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

W. R. H.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

T. H. R.

Current Literature.

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