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WITH this number THE STUDENT closes its sixth volume. A glance at the contents of this volume shows at least two things:—

(1) It is possible to present the leading subjects of Old Testament study in a form which is at once scholarly yet popular. In certain lines of investigation, where the linguistic element abounds, the more learned style is necessary. But in general, there is no occasion for the employment of the affected style which characterizes much of our "learned" work. A plain straightforward presentation of a subject is entirely consistent with a deep and exhaustive knowledge of that subject. If scholars could but be brought to recognize this fact, how much more wide-reaching the results of their work would be.

(2) It is possible for men who are not specialists to keep abreast of the results accomplished in a given department with the expenditure of a comparatively small amount of time and energy. The great cry, in these days, is for more time; and certainly, in view of the pressure which rests upon us, more time is needed. But the fact is, a judicious use is not always made of the time we have. Men think, and plan, and consider, but do not *act*. The Old Testament subjects about which so much is written, for example, are thought to be too deep, too exacting, for anyone but a specialist to take up. It is true that a certain portion of the work must be done by specialists; but when the results of this work have been put into shape, there is no reason why men who are not specialists should hesitate to enter upon an investigation of them. The work, if but once begun, will be found to be most helpful and stimulating. There is, however, aside from this, a general knowledge of the Old Testament department which every conscientious Bible-student should make an effort to maintain. For such especially THE STUDENT is intended. May the number desiring such help become greater; may the help afforded by THE STUDENT become more valuable.

THE work of Professor Beecher on the Sunday-school lessons during the past year has deservedly attracted much attention. The material has differed essentially, both in plan and execution, from any other. Its striking characteristic has been the rigid application of "common-sense" principles of interpretation. It is not strange that we should bring with us from our childhood a multitude of "childish" ideas about the Bible. And not only we, but our ancestors for many generations, have done this thing. The result is a multitude of misconceptions, of which skeptics naturally, and in some cases most justly, make much capital. With a reverent spirit, and from a conservative point of view, Professor Beecher has endeavored, in the small space at his disposal, to call attention to some of these weak positions. He has, from time to time, pointed out the utter absurdity of some of our most cherished ideas. In this effort to introduce the principle of common sense, to lead us to look at Bible-history from a rational stand-point, he has performed an invaluable service. Destructive critics would take away Bible-history; most conservative critics would treat it as a piece of costly furniture to be handled with gloves, or as an idol to be worshiped. Professor Beecher would treat it as a book describing ordinary life under extraordinary guidance; he would so interpret it as to make it seem to be, what it really is, a sensible book;—a method of interpretation which, when put into general practice, will deliver us, on the one hand, from the blasphemous attacks of unregenerate critics, and on the other hand, from the equally injurious upbolstering of ignorant and fanciful apologists.

TOO much must not be expected of American students. Neither the professors nor the clergy of this country are as favorably situated for carrying on original investigations as are those of England or Germany. It is, however, with some feeling of pride that one reads the list of books and articles in the line of exploration which Professor Mitchell gives us in this number of *THE STUDENT*. After all, much has been done. The names of Robinson, Merrill, Trumbull, Ward, and many others, will long be remembered in connection with the work which they have accomplished in this direction. The bibliography of this subject will serve, not only as a convenient reference for students, but also as a stimulus to still greater activity. It is an occasion for regret that the means are not at hand with which to push this work. We need not fear that too much will be done. There is rather a danger that, in our practical and busy life, we shall overlook a work which deals only with the past, and in which a few only, at best, can be actively engaged.

STUDENTS of the Bible will await with much interest Captain Conder's vindication, in view of the charges of ignorance and misrepresentation made by Professor W. Robertson Smith. The sympathies of conservative thinkers are, of course, with Captain Conder. It is interesting to note that the same instrument wielded by Captain Conder has been turned against him. Evidently some one is at fault. But the question is reduced, in the case of their mutual charges, to one of *facts*. (1) Has Conder, in his statement of the results of monumental study, stated facts? (2) Has Wellhausen ignored these facts or shown himself ignorant of their existence? All will agree with Conder in the statement that, "among the chief requisites for a thorough understanding of the Bible, it is important that the critic, in addition to linguistic and literary knowledge, should possess a deep acquaintance with Eastern antiquities and a sympathetic appreciation of Eastern manners and thought." It remains for those versed in these matters to determine who is in the right. The decision will be awaited with much interest.

CONNECTED with this question, another, of peculiar importance from the biblical stand-point, has arisen. For nineteen years much has been made of the Moabite Stone, discovered not far from the Arnon, and claiming to be the epigraph of King Mesha, and to date from about 900 B. C. Only recently there has appeared a critically restored edition of the text, with full notes, by Professors Smend and Socin. But in the *Scottish Review* of April, Rev. A. Loewy, Sec'y to the Anglo-Jewish Association, endeavors to show that the stone, "notwithstanding its world-wide glorification, is nothing but 'a stone of stumbling,' and must be consigned to the limbo of marvelous impositions." A fuller statement will be found elsewhere. A few scholars have held this position from the beginning; but its acceptance as genuine was as universal as is ever expected in such cases. If now it proves to be a fabrication of modern times, the feeling of doubt in the results of modern researches, already considerable in some quarters, will be strengthened. It will, nevertheless, teach the necessity of being on our guard against impositions, of accepting cautiously the claims of specialists in whatever field they may be made, and of drawing our conclusions from their claims with even greater caution. It is altogether probable that Dr. Loewy is mistaken. It will require strong evidence to show that a stone which has been tested with such care and by such experts, is a fraud.

THE article on "Israelitish Politics as affected by Assyrian, Babylonian and Early Achæmenian Kings," by Professor Lyon, will

be read with interest by our readers, although most of them, doubtless, will differ with the author in his conception of the prophet's work. In the past, writers on prophecy have emphasized the divine element in prophecy, and in so doing have almost obliterated the distinction which exists between prediction and prophecy. In other words, the human side of the question has been overlooked. For our own part, we feel the importance of placing an increased emphasis, if that is possible, upon the divine character of this most wonderful phenomenon. The deep and broad study of the subject should most certainly lead to a more decided feeling of its supernatural character. On the other hand, we must not make the mistake of supposing that the prophets were men of another world. They were Israelites, imbued with the religious and political feelings of the men of their time. They were working, as best they could, for the elevation of their fellow-men. They were the moral reformers and, in many cases, the prime-ministers of their day. From this stand-point much light is shed upon their work by a study of the history of the nations with which they came into contact, and by the study of their own history from the political point of view. The article referred to is full of suggestive material. We trust it may have a careful perusal.

A DETERMINED effort is being made looking toward a "proposed school of Biblical Archæology and Philology in the East." The names of the gentlemen who have undertaken the movement furnish a sufficient guarantee not only of its worthiness, but also of its probable success. This school will furnish "a center for instruction and assistance to recent graduates of theological seminaries who wish to pursue special branches; to ministers able to secure a few months vacation; to scholars who have time for more careful and extended investigation; to young men preparing to fill chairs of oriental languages or to become professors in theological institutions; to travelers anxious to do something more than merely make a hurried tour through the Holy Land; to expeditions sent out to undertake explorations in Syria or the adjacent countries; and to all who, in any way, are attempting to gather from the land material for the clearer illustration of the Book." Can there be a doubt as to the gratifying results of an outlay in establishing such a school? We trust that the appeal for funds will receive a prompt and hearty response; and that this new enterprise, full of so much promise, shall soon be thoroughly established. Communications may be addressed to Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, 11 Cliff Street, New York.

ISRAELITISH POLITICS AS AFFECTED BY ASSYRIAN, BABYLONIAN AND EARLY ACHÆMENIAN KINGS.

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I.

This paper does not claim to be an exhaustive discussion, but only an illustration of the subject. It is not occupied with the exegesis of individual passages, but is an attempt to comprehend and define the larger political relations.

The period of time covered by the title is from the first appearance of Assyrian kings in Israelitish politics in the middle of the ninth century B. C., to the time of the rebuilding of the temple after the return from the Babylonian exile.

I employ the term "Israelitish" not in distinction from Judean, but as including the latter during the whole period under review.

It is impossible, in any study of the topic, to exclude reference to Egyptian politics, because of the important relations between Egypt, on the one hand, and Assyria and Babylon on the other, and because the treatment of Israel by the latter countries was often influenced by Egyptian tactics.

From the Old Testament itself comes most of our material, but it is to the contemporary cuneiform annals that we must frequently turn for the larger interpretation of the facts. The facts themselves are sufficiently familiar to the most casual reader of the Old Testament. In the second Book of Kings we have the record of invasions by the Assyrian kings Tiglath-pileser (xv. 29), Shalmaneser (xvii. 3), Sennacherib (xviii. 13), and by the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar (xxiv. 1). We know that Tiglath-pileser carried many of the people of Gilead, Galilee and Naphtali captive to Assyria (2 Kgs. xv. 29), and received a large bribe or tribute from Ahaz of Judah (2 Kgs. xvi. 8-18).

When Shalmaneser, who was besieging Samaria, died, Sargon, his successor, led the siege to a successful issue, carried the people away and settled them in other Assyrian provinces (2 Kgs. xvii. 6). He then brought other captives from Babylon and the neighboring cities and settled them in Samaria (2 Kgs. xvii. 24).

Sennacherib received large tribute from Hezekiah (2 Kgs. xviii. 14), and according to his own version of the affair, cut off Judean cities and gave them as presents to certain of his Philistine vassals. He also records the transportation of over 200,000 Judeans into captivity.¹

It is recorded of a king of Assyria, whose name is not given, that his officers captured Manasseh and carried him in fetters to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11). The Assyrian kings contemporary with Manasseh were Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, both of whom include Manasseh's name in lists of tributary princes.² The "great and noble Asnapper," who, according to Ezra (iv. 10), settled foreigners in Samaria, cannot, from the form of the name, well be any other than Assurbanipal. His father before him had done the same that Asnapper does (Ez. iv. 2). Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made successive invasions of Judah, car-

¹ See the account transliterated in my *Assyrian Manual*, pp. 10-12. Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, vol. I., London, 1885, has both transliteration and translation, pp. 280-286.

² See the lists in Schrader's *Kellinschriften und das Alte Testament*, ed. 2, Giessen, 1883, p. 355.

rying off numbers of its inhabitants (2 Kgs. xxiv.), and ultimately destroying Jerusalem (2 Kgs. xxv. 9-11).

The Old Testament does not mention Nabonidus, the Babylonian king, whose reign filled most of the space between Nebuchadnezzar and the fall of Babylon; nor does Nabonidus mention Palestine except incidentally, where he refers to the peoples subject to him as far as Gaza, on the borders of Egypt (*Assyrian Manual*, 36, 3). This was at the beginning of his reign. During his wars with Cyrus, the inhabitants of Palestine, no doubt, fell away from him and became tributary to Egypt, or enjoyed a short period of independence.

The captivity in Babylon came to a close in 538 B. C., when the Persian king, Cyrus, on taking the city, proclaimed general amnesty, and permitted all exiles, who so desired, to return to their native land (Ezra i. 1). Cyrus thus became the founder of the new Judean state. Under his successors the rebuilding of the temple, after many interruptions, was at last brought to a happy conclusion, by the favor of Darius (Ezra vi. 7). The new state continued to be a Persian province until it passed under the yoke of the Greeks.

The Assyrian and Babylonian kings appear not only as reducing Israel and as carrying the people captive, but also as receiving tribute, and as deciding questions relating to succession on the throne. Shalmaneser II. received tribute from Jehu in the ninth century B. C., a fact for which we are indebted to his own monuments.¹ Tiglath-pileser relates that he received large tribute from Israel, put Pekah to death and appointed Hosea to be king.² Nebuchadnezzar left Jehoiakim as a vassal for three years on the throne of Judah (2 Kgs. xxiv. 1). After Jehoiakim's death and a brief rule of his son (2 Kgs. xxiv. 8), Nebuchadnezzar appointed a successor, Zedekiah (2 Kgs. xxiv. 17), and it was on the rebellion of the latter that the Babylonians burnt the temple and completely destroyed Jerusalem (2 Kgs. xxv.). Between Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, Judah seems to have been wise enough to bear quietly the yoke of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. After the return from Babylon the Jews were quiet subjects of the Persian power.

II.

The meaning of these repeated invasions, captivities, deportations, from the standpoint of the contemporary prophets is perfectly clear. Israel has sinned against its God, has forsaken his worship for that of other gods, has become cruel, oppressive, proud, immoral. Yahweh, therefore, brings up the Assyrian or the Babylonian as his rod to chastise his rebellious people for their sins. The only salvation is the road of repentance and of trust in Yahweh.

We cannot go amiss in selecting illustrations of the prophetic utterances as to the cause of the calamity which befell Israel. The state is honey-combed with idolatry, and Yahweh is angry. This view of the prophets is maintained through all the troublous period of the invasions.

Isaiah says: "They have rejected the teaching of Yahweh of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel. Therefore is the anger of Yahweh kindled against his people, and he hath stretched forth his hand against them" (v. 24, 25). Yahweh shall hiss for the Egyptian fly and the Assyrian bee (vii. 18) to come and settle in the desolate valley of Israel. "The people hath not turned to him that smote them, neither have they sought Yahweh of hosts. Therefore Yahweh hath cut off from Israel head and tail, palm-branch and rush

¹ See *Assyrian Manual*, p. 8.

² See Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, I. 248. Cf. 2 Kgs. xv. 19-31.

in one day" (Isa. ix. 13, 14). "Ho, Assyrian, rod of mine anger, staff in whose hand is mine indignation. I will send him against a profane nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the spoil and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets" (Isa. x. 5, 6).

The position of Jeremiah is the same. The iniquity of the people is too great to be washed out (ii. 22), there are as many gods in the land as there are cities (ii. 28). The Babylonian invader comes at Yahweh's call (iv. 6), and the only hope is in repentance. "O Jerusalem, wash thine heart from wickedness, that thou mayest be saved" (iv. 14). If ye do judgment, oppress not, shed not innocent blood, walk not after other gods, "then will I cause you to dwell in this place" (vii. 5-7).

It was a hard office to which the patriotic prophet felt himself called. With other prophets against him (xiv. 13), and with a strong party favoring alliance with Egypt as an escape from Babylon, he continued to preach repentance until he saw that the state of Judah was beyond help, and then he counseled submission to Nebuchadnezzar (xxi. 9). Yea, he even perceives that the only way to remain in the land is by cheerfully accepting Nebuchadnezzar's yoke (xxvii. 1-11). But his warning was unheeded. It was in one of his times of doubt caused by the unstable course of events that he charged his God with deception. "Ah, Lord Yahweh, surely thou hast greatly deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying 'Ye shall have peace;' whereas the sword reacheth unto the soul" (iv. 10; cf. xx. 7; Ezek. xiv. 9). When the city actually fell, Jeremiah was looked upon as an ally by the Babylonian general and was treated accordingly (xli.).

Ezekiel accepts the captivity as a matter of course. The sins of the people have rendered it necessary. Yahweh in his anger has made the land subject to Nebuchadnezzar. The king of Judah provokes Yahweh by breaking the oath of allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar, and by seeking alliance with Egypt (xvii. 11-21).

In the Second Isaiah, the greater part of which belongs at the close of the captivity, a different tone is adopted. The fires of affliction have purged Israel's sins. Babylon has been haughty, is idolatrous and cruel, and shall be brought down (xliii. 14). Cyrus is to desolate the city and destroy its gods (xlv.-xlvii.).

Similar is the tone of the last two chapters of our Book of Jeremiah, which are supposed to belong to a later date and to a different writer.

The attitude of the contemporary prophets is also that of the historians of the Assyrian and Babylonian invasions. Yahweh's anger and rejection of his people is brought out with great frequency and power in the second Book of Kings. Because of their idolatry "Yahweh was very angry with Israel and removed them out of his sight" (2 Kgs. xvii. 18). "Through the anger of Yahweh did it come to pass in Jerusalem and Judah, until he had cast them out from his presence" (2 Kgs. xxiv. 20).

If the captivity was an expression of Yahweh's anger, the return was the expression of his reconciliation. In Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22), Ezra (i. 1), and the Second Isaiah (xlv.), we are expressly informed that Yahweh had raised up Cyrus for this definite task. The message of the prophet to Cyrus is: "For Jacob, my servant's sake, and Israel, my chosen, I have called thee by thy name" (Isa. xlv. 4). Cyrus is Yahweh's shepherd who shall cause Jerusalem to be rebuilt.

How the prophets may have attained to the conviction that the political hopes of the people depended on a moral reformation and on the purity of Yahweh worship, I will not here inquire. Nor will I discuss the means by which they hoped to escape from their enemies in case of reformation. Isaiah and

Jeremiah would seem to have expected immediate divine intervention. Yahweh would turn the foe aside if the people would sincerely repent. We must remember that the great prophets were statesmen as well as moral reformers. And in the end both Jeremiah and Ezekiel came to see that Israel was too small a power to maintain itself between two such giants as Babylon and Egypt, and they had reason to believe that the land had more to hope from the former than from the latter. There must have been seasons when the prophets seriously doubted the correctness of the message which they proclaimed. How otherwise could they charge Yahweh with deceiving them and the people?

In the view taken by the Hebrew prophets and historians of Israel's foreign relations we must recognize the influence of the thought of that age and the limitations which belong to every attempt to refer to the divine being *special* momentous events. That it belonged to the age to consider national calamity as the work of the deity, is abundantly illustrated in the contemporary cuneiform annals and elsewhere. Esarhaddon tells us that Babylon had been destroyed by his father, on account of the anger of Marduk, the god of Babylon, and that he rebuilt the city when the anger of its god was appeased.¹ Assurbanipal makes repeated mention of pacifying the anger of the gods by visiting punishment on the enemies of Assyria.² Nabonidus says that the moon-god was angry with his city Haran and gave it over to destruction.³ In an inscription of Cyrus we learn that Marduk rejected Nabonidus for impiety and chose Cyrus because of his pure hands and clean heart.⁴

As to the danger connected with *special* attempts at interpretation of providence, illustrations in our day are familiar. Railroad accidents on Sunday are sometimes declared to be judgments for a violation of the Lord's day. An earthquake or a great fire, devastating a city and costing many lives, is believed to be the voice of God expressive of his displeasure. This idea is so often inculcated in the Old Testament and has become such a part of our mental equipment, that we can scarcely divest ourselves of its influence, even after our reasons have laid it aside. True, Jesus has told us that those whose blood Pilate mingled with the sacrifice, and those on whom the tower of Siloam fell, were not sinners above all other men (Luke XIII. 1-5), but we are slow to appropriate the higher teaching. Of course, I do not deny a causal relation between sin and suffering. I only affirm that it is a narrow and harmful view of providence which refers to the divine anger *special* misfortunes, instead of trying to find out their natural causes.

But, notwithstanding their *special*, local, temporary explanation of the foreign relations of Israel, the prophets have left us the means of forming just conclusions as to what those relations were. Nor will we cavil at the prophets for the interpretation which they have given. Their ideal was a noble one, and they enforced it by the vigorous use of such material as they possessed. A higher morality and fidelity to one God—this was the essence of their preaching. The further teaching that obedience to the national God will always bring political prosperity, while disobedience will as surely bring political disaster—this is but the temporary argument by which they hoped to secure the reformation of character.

¹ Cuneiform account in *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, I., p. 50, col. I, l. 19, col. II., l. 16.

² *As Assyrian Manual*, p. 26, l. 27.

³ *Assyrian Manual*, p. 35, ll. 7-11.

⁴ *Assyrian Manual*, p. 40, ll. 5, 6, 12, 20.

III.

In the light of what we now have from Assyrian and Egyptian sources, we are permitted to take a more comprehensive view than was possible for the prophets. I pass now to illustrate this subject specially from the Assyrian and Persian point of view.

From the time when Assyria first appears in the west, it is not for Israel's sake, nor is Israel the objective point. Extension of territory was the ruling passion of Assyria. The Mediterranean coast was from the most ancient times an inviting field for the conqueror. Already one of the earliest Babylonian kings, Sargon of Akkad, boasts of his successes in that region, and we have in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis reminiscences of another invasion.

The reason why this was chosen territory for the Assyrians of the period under consideration was partly geographical. The nations living east and north in the mountains were more difficult to deal with, and no permanent grasp seems ever to have been laid upon them. Success was easier among the people in the west, who were devoted to the gentler arts of peace. Add to this the fact that the west offered a more promising field for booty, and we have the reason why the Assyrian arms became the scourge of the region west of the Euphrates.

So long as it stood, the powerful kingdom of the Hittites was a partial barrier, acting as a shield to Damascus, the wealthy Phœnician and Philistine cities, Israel and the country to the south-west. Commerce and victories had made these peoples rich, and with the fall of the Hittites the presence of the Assyrian arms and officials became the rule, not the exception.

The Israelitish states were, of course, from the stand-point of the Ninevite statesmen comparatively unimportant. The Assyrian kings were burning to measure arms with the representatives of a civilization older than the Israelitish, that on the banks of the Nile.

With the fall of Carchemish, the position of Israel became different. So long as the Hittite empire stood intact, Israel was comparatively safe. When the intervening governments should fall into the hands of Assyria, Israel's turn would inevitably come. Ahab was aware of this, and sent accordingly 2,000 chariots and 10,000 troops to join a great coalition headed by Damascus against the invader. Hamath, Arvad, Ammon and even Egypt entered the coalition. So far as the numbers are preserved, there were about 75,000 soldiers, besides chariots and horse. The result of the battle was disastrous to the allies. They lost 14,000 troops, besides the military stores, chariots, etc.¹ Wars nearer home prevented the Assyrians from reaping the full benefit of the victory.

The battle does not seem to have led to permanent results, though one of its fruits is that Jehu, of Israel, subsequently appears as tributary to the king who crushed the coalition.² The shattered monarchies retrieved their fortunes and were able to make opposition when the Assyrian raiders re-appeared in the west. Ahaz of Judah was short-sighted enough to welcome the approach of Tiglath-pileser, even going to pay court to him at Damascus (2 Kgs. XVI.), because he hoped by the advance of the Assyrians to see his northern enemies humbled, Israel and Syria. Isaiah had a keener vision, and told Ahaz that Judah's woes through the Assyrian king should far exceed anything suffered from Syria and Ephraim (Is. VII.).

Both Tiglath-pileser and Sargon carried large numbers from Israel into cap-

¹ See account in Schrader's *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, pp. 183-187.

² *Assyrian Manual*, p. 8.

tivity, the latter so many that the northern kingdom ceased to exist. It was now in part re-peopled by captives from Babylonia, and the whole reduced to an Assyrian province. The reigning house or some native prince might have been allowed to continue in Samaria if the statesmen of the period had been better discerners of the signs of the times. There were, perhaps, in Samaria, prophets and others who were advising the same course that Isaiah was urging in Jerusalem, repentance and resistance. It was a grand opportunity to preach reform; but resistance was the one course most sure to exasperate Assyria. If Israel had paid its annual dues, as under Jehu and Menahem, the nation would not have been lost to history, and much of the ingenious conjecture as to the fate of the ten captive tribes might have been spared the world.

We now know that the policy of deportation was a favorite one with Assyrian kings for incorrigible subjects. The annals of Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal are full of illustrations. But the people thus carried off were those who offered stout resistance and would not bear the new yoke. The captives coming into utterly new relations, torn from all national and local associations, settled in colonies among peoples of new customs and strange tongue, the leaders subjected to toil on the great national works of Assyria, temples, palaces and canals,—the captives passing through this experience lost more easily the national spirit and learned to identify their own interests with those of their captors.

The more politic nations understood the state of affairs, quietly yielded, paid tribute to Nineveh, and enjoyed peace and protection at home. The Assyrian yoke was often so mild that the subject people knew little of it beyond the annual collection of taxes.

IV.

When Samaria went into captivity, Judah was left in a unique and uncomfortable position. It and the Philistine cities were all that remained as a partial cover to Egypt against the advancing columns of Assyria. The Egypt of that time had no desire to enter into open conflict with her ancient foe. She had less of recent experience in the art of war than the Assyrians had, and could show no such record of great victories and growing domain. Her policy, therefore, was to bolster up the little states of Judah and the Philistine cities, and to encourage a resistance which could only delay, not ward off disaster. She had her emissaries at the Judean court, and a strong party considered an alliance with Egypt as a possible means of escape. Against this party Isaiah (cf. XIX. and XX.) and afterwards Jeremiah warned the people (Jer. XLII. 19). Not the help of Egypt, but Yahweh alone can rescue Judah. No reliance can be placed in Egypt, for Yahweh has determined that she also shall be led away by the Assyrians.

We have an interesting commentary on these utterances of the prophets in Sargon's account of a campaign against certain Philistine cities and Egypt. On the defeat of the allies, the Egyptians fled and left Gaza to its fate, and the Egyptian Pharaoh paid his tribute to the conqueror.¹ There was in the Philistine cities a strong Assyrian party, and the land bowed in submission. Sargon nowhere records the capture of Jerusalem, but does say that he subjected Judea.² It is probable that this only means that he acquired possession of a large part of the territory, but not that he laid his hands on the capital. Had he done so, the city would have paid dearly for its resistance.

¹ Schrader's *Kellinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 396. ² *Assyrian Manual*, p. 9, l. 14.

Times went from bad to worse when Sennacherib came to the west. It was necessary to reduce again the Philistine cities whom Egyptian intrigues had induced to rebel. Egyptian and Ethiopian allies were defeated in open battle, and the fate of Jerusalem trembled in the balance. The reigning prince, Hezekiah, paid his tribute, but did not open the city gates. Sennacherib desired specially to reduce the city because it was a hot-bed of insurrection, and would be an unpleasant foe to have in the rear while the Assyrian army was penetrating into Egypt. When the city was on the border of despair, the siege was raised, partly, perhaps, because the victory over Egypt had been won at great cost, and partly because affairs nearer home called for the presence of Sennacherib and his army. But in retiring he left Judah weaker than he found it. Though unable to dislodge Hezekiah, he carried off more than 200,000 Judean subjects, and reduced the size of the land by giving much of its territory to the re-established Assyrian vassals in Philistia.¹ To what extent Hezekiah may have regarded himself as also a vassal we do not know.

His son and successor, Manasseh, understood his own relations to Assyria. The repeated invasions in the west had not been unavailing. There are still occasional insurrections, but with such interruptions all of Syria, as far as the confines of Egypt, has now become Assyrian territory. Manasseh, of Judah, appears in a list of twenty-two kings, including those of Tyre and Edom, Moab, Ashkelon, Ekron, Ashdod, as tributary to Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, and also to Assurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon. It seems remarkable that no Old Testament historian should have preserved for us any account of this period of subjection. It is true that they tell us of Manasseh's sins, of his capture and transportation to Babylon, of his prayer to Yahweh, and of his restoration to his throne (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 seqq.). But they preserve no details of the period of vassalage. In the light of the monuments, this capture and restoration is but an illustration of what we know to have been a favorite policy of the Assyrian kings. They often restored captive princes, first causing them to swear life-long fealty. It was an Assyrian officer, and not the king himself, who carried Manasseh to Babylon. It no doubt appeared, on investigation there, that he was not so turbulent as the officer had thought. We may suppose that his offense was withholding his dues to Assyria, which was a practical renunciation of the Assyrian yoke. But here the offense belonged, perhaps, less to him than to his advisers. (I have treated this narrative as historical, though I am aware of grave suspicions regarding its historical character.)

With the Philistines and the Judeans now helpless vassals, Esarhaddon could carry out unhindered the long cherished Ninevite project of invading Egypt. The campaign was crowned with success, and the land was divided into twenty provinces, over each of which an Assyrian governor was placed.²

Owing to intrigues and invasions from Ethiopia, Assurbanipal found it necessary early in his reign to advance against Egypt in order to restore the government which his father had set up. He tells us that on this expedition the twenty-two faithful vassals of Syria, both the coast dwellers and those of the interior, furnished soldiers to march with his own by sea and by land for the invasion of Egypt.³ There can be scarcely a doubt that Manasseh was one of the twenty-two, and thus we have a reversal of the times when Judah fought by the side of Egypt against Assyria.

¹ See the whole account in *Assyrian Manual*, pp. 10-12. ²*Assyrian Manual*, pp. 42-47.

³ *Assyrian Manual*, 42, 18.

Except once, in a list of tributaries already quoted, Assurbanipal never, to my knowledge, mentions Judah or Manasseh. The reason is obvious. Jerusalem was a quiet subject, and hence there was no occasion to mention it. Even in the great insurrection occurring about 650 B. C., Judah seems to have been true to her master; for though he mentions Arabia and various cities of the Mediterranean coast whom he found it necessary to chastise, he says nothing about Judea.

V.

With Assurbanipal, the great period of Assyrian supremacy came to a close. In the convulsions belonging to the time of the fall of Nineveh, Jerusalem may have had a short breathing space, in which she was left in uncertainty what course to pursue. The question before her was whether she should bow to the new Babylonian monarchy, or should again risk her fortunes with Egypt. It would have been possible, for a while, to remain neutral, and thus to see to which of the two great contestants she properly belonged. Egypt evidently, for the present, cared little about Judah. She would first measure arms with the new Babylonian power. Judah was but one of the prizes.

But with strange fatuity Josiah chose to resist the advance of Egypt, and consequently lost his life at Megiddo (2 Kgs. xxiii. 29). He had learned too well the lesson of subjection to Assyria and Babylon. Necho pressed his arms to the Euphrates, and all Syria thus fell into his hands. On his return from the expedition, he deposed one son of Josiah and placed another son on the throne at Jerusalem, putting the land to a tribute of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold (2 Kgs. xxiii. 33). So affairs continued for some years, when the young and vigorous Nebuchadnezzar set about the task of recovering his lost provinces and of reducing again his hereditary enemy, Egypt.

Judah was now put to worse straits than ever before. There were three parties, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, and the national. The first favored submission to Babylon, the second to Egypt, the third insisted on independence. But the sight of Nebuchadnezzar's archers under the walls of Jerusalem was more than the Egyptian vassal could endure, and he bowed his head to the yoke. It would have been well for him and for his people, politically speaking, if he had been content to be a servant to Nebuchadnezzar.

Nebuchadnezzar was one of the most pious and mild of all the Assyrian and Babylonian sovereigns. While a skillful warrior, he cared more for building and adorning temples, for beautifying Babylon and for constructing great canals, than for the clash of war. An increase in the daily sacrifice gave him more pleasure than the slaying of a rebel. His leniency toward Jerusalem is worthy of all praise. When Jehoiakim submits, Nebuchadnezzar leaves him quietly on the throne. When he revolts, the Babylonian army comes again; "surely at the commandment of Yahweh," writes the historian, "came this upon Judah, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did" (2 Kgs. xxiv. 3).

It was no unusual severity when Nebuchadnezzar, on capturing the city again, carried the new king and 10,000 of the prominent citizens, together with the treasures of the temple, to Babylon. We read of no executions and no conflagrations. He puts a new vassal on the throne and makes Judah again a Babylonian province. Such treatment is a beautiful contrast to the way in which Saul or David would have dealt in similar circumstances.

But again the vassal rebels. This time Nebuchadnezzar did not come in person. But his general was, perhaps, acting under instructions in burning the temple and the dwellings, breaking down the walls of the city, and carrying away most of the people except the poorer farming class. The governor who was appointed over this remnant, together with his body-guard, was slain by some zealots.

We need not follow the fortunes of the Jews in exile further than to note that Evil-Merodach seems to have treated the rebel Jehoiachin with far more clemency than could have been expected (2 Kgs. xxv. 27).

The Assyrian policy, perpetuated by the Babylonians, has prevailed. Israel has vanished, lost in the confusion of the nations. Judah pines in the land of bondage. What does all this mean? Sargon and Nebuchadnezzar say: Assur, or Marduk, has given to me the empire of the world and commanded me to transport all nations who would not bear the yoke of my gods. The prophets of Judah say: Yahweh is angry with his people on account of their sins and drives them from his presence for their chastisement. Such claims are the attempts made from different points of view to comprehend great world-movements then going on. The positions of the Assyrian and the Jew are essentially the same. They differ only in the name of the god to whose decision the events are referred.

With a dispassionateness impossible to participants in the great drama, and with a perspective which they could not have, we may now comprehend the natural causes governing Israel's relations to Assyria. While firmly believing in God's guidance of the nations, we do not find that the Assyrian or the Jewish view aids us in understanding the relations of these peoples.

The best help to an understanding of the political fortunes of Israel is a due appreciation of the geographical position of Israel between the two great world-powers, Assyria-Babylonia on the one hand, and Egypt on the other.

VI.

With Cyrus came a great change. He had been hailed by a prophet of the exile as the one who should utterly destroy Babylon, and break to pieces her idols. Not so did he come, but as a prince of peace. Babylon was left intact. Its inhabitants, who were tired of the reigning king, received the Persian conqueror with open arms. He sent to their shrines the many gods which had been collected into Babylon. He aided numerous captives, of whom Babylonia was now full, to return to their homes. He made ample provision for the sacrifices to the gods not only at Babylon, but in various Babylonian centers of religion. The reason for all this, as he informs us, is that Marduk, the great god, has commanded him to do so, and has given to him the dominion of the world.¹

The Jews are treated like the other captives. This we learn, not directly from Cyrus himself, but from the Old Testament. It was a great event for the Jews, a season of joy unspeakable. How shall they account for it? Surely it is the work of Yahweh. For this very purpose he has raised Cyrus up.

Those who offer this explanation may not have known that Cyrus was doing no more for them than he was doing for other peoples. But if any of the influential Jews were admitted to an interview with Cyrus, he would have been quite capable of saying that Yahweh had raised him up for this purpose. He was not very fastidious in his religion. In his view, not one god, but many gods were his

¹ *Assyrian Manual*, pp. 39-41.

friends, and he might easily have believed that Yahweh's blessings had attended him in order that he might aid the people devoted to the worship of Yahweh.

But the value of the Cyrus inscription, which was just referred to (note p. 301), is that it helps us to comprehend how it was that the Jews came back from captivity. It was not at all exceptional, but was only one act in a great new policy inaugurated by Cyrus. It was a matter of state-craft. By mildness and benefits he would win the peoples whom Babylonian kings had not won by deportations.

With the return the new state became a Persian province. All the dictates of gratitude and of prudence demanded that it should be so. As a Persian province, great works could be undertaken or prosecuted only by the express permission of the Persian governor or king. But it is not my purpose to pursue the subject beyond the period of the return.

The brief sketch which has been presented shows that, during the long period from about 750 to 500 B. C., Assyria, Babylon, and Persia decide the destiny of Israel. It was an eventful period of tuition and of growth, in the main a time which tried men's souls and which must have seemed to many a thoughtful mind hopelessly dark. The prophets, in keeping with the thought of their time, referred every event in the national life to the pleasure or the anger of the national god. We can but admire them for their deep earnestness and their high moral standard. Their interpretation of current events was the only one possible to their time. It is true that, by the side of their particular, local, national interpretation, we have occasional statements of the nobler belief that over all nations there is one God ever executing his own eternal purposes. But, in general, the Yahweh of the prophets before the Babylonian captivity must not be confounded with God. The Hebrew Yahweh is indeed the deity from whom our conception of God has been largely developed. But God is now a fuller idea than Yahweh was, means indeed so much more that one can be contrasted with the other. Yahweh loves Israel and destroys Israel's enemies; God loves all men and hates none. Yahweh's regard to other nations was conditioned on their relations to Israel. God loves the Greek and the Roman as really as he does the Hebrew. The feeling for beauty and the feeling for law, embodied in Greece and Rome, are no less implanted by God, and developed by his providences, than the feeling for religion, which was so marked a characteristic of the Jewish mind, and to which is largely due the best civilization of to-day.

It is hardly necessary to add that there can be no question as to Israel's great and special mission in the world. Such question is impossible in regard to a people who could produce poets like the psalmists and preachers like the prophets, and whose religion could blossom into Christianity. The nation was under providential guidance, but so were Assyria and Egypt, Greece and Rome. Israel's history may be called unique, not as if it had been directed by God while other nations were destitute of such direction, but because it was guided by him in order to fulfill a specific mission. Other nations were entrusted with the fulfillment of other equally specific missions. In this sense every nation has a unique history. But notwithstanding this uniqueness, every nation is but a part of the great whole; and we must expect, in the phenomena of the national life, to see those natural laws under which the nations develop and fulfill their missions.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EXPLORATION.

A LIST OF AMERICAN WRITERS UPON BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE WORK OF EXPLORATION IN BIBLE LANDS, WITH THE SUBJECTS THEY HAVE DISCUSSED, INCLUDING REVIEW AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES AS WELL AS SEPARATE BOOKS.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—The foregoing list of American writers on subjects connected with Biblical Exploration, being a first attempt at such a collection, is necessarily incomplete; but it may furnish suggestive material for better work in the same direction. The attempt is to record under the name of each writer all the works and the articles which have appeared in reviews, magazines and other permanent volumes of periodical literature. Want of space forbids the insertion of a much larger list which might have been gathered from the columns of religious journals. The compiler will be grateful to any who will send him corrections or additions to this list for future use.

IS THE CURRENT CRITICAL DIVISION OF THE PENTATEUCH INIMICAL TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH?

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THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT for May, page 259, copies a paragraph from the *Presbyterian Review* containing the following sentences:

"The analysis of the Hexateuch into several distinct original documents is a purely literary question in which no article of faith is involved. Whoever in these times, in the discussion of the literary phenomena of the Hexateuch, appeals to the ignorance and prejudices of the multitude, as if there were any peril to the faith in these processes of the higher criticism, risks his reputation for scholarship by so doing."

Two remarks are naturally suggested by these words.

1. Truth is to be accepted at all hazards. If the first six books of the Bible are really compounded of the several documents which the critics profess to discover in them, we must admit the fact and make the best of it. No doubt the Christian faith will survive, whatever happens.

2. Nevertheless there are good reasons why those who reverence these books as an integral portion of the inspired Word of God and who believe them to be a truthful and reliable record, should not be overhasty in accepting critical conclusions which are based upon and necessarily involve the opposite assumption.

The bearing of the divisive hypothesis upon the credibility of the Pentateuch and the inspired authority of the Bible as a whole is obvious. If the great leader and legislator of Israel himself recorded the marvelous transactions in which he took so conspicuous a part, and those laws which he is expressly said to have written, or which God is said to have directly imparted to him, then we have the highest possible guarantee of the truth and accuracy of the statements and of the verity and divine authority of the legislation; and then, too, the declarations of all the subsequent scriptures both of the Old Testament and of the New upon this subject are completely justified. But recent critics claim that the professed record of the history and legislation of Moses is based upon different documents of unknown origin and of uncertain age, which have been compacted together by a redactor or series of redactors, of whom nothing whatever is known. If these documents were the products of contemporaries of and participants in the events described, and there was evidence that they had been fairly dealt with and faithfully transmitted, the case would not be so bad. But whatever diversities exist among the critics as to the age, authorship and tendencies of these supposed documents, their unanimous verdict is that the earliest of them was not written until several centuries after the Mosaic age.

Moreover, these documents give, it is claimed, not only varying but mutually inconsistent accounts of the persons and events which they describe, and this not only in subordinate and unessential particulars, but in matters of the greatest moment. And they have been put together in such a manner as to give an entirely different complexion to things from that which either of the documents taken singly aimed to give. Their incompatible statements have been harmonized in an unwarrantable manner, and their divergent accounts of the same event have been converted into distinct events, showing that the redactor misunderstood or misrepresented his sources. His misconceptions would have been of less consequence if he had preserved the documents entire and unaltered, so that adequate means would have been possessed for forming an independent judgment of their contents. But, on the showing of the critics themselves, the documents have been preserved in a mutilated form, that only being retained by the redactor which seemed to him suited to his purpose; and this was often modified considerably from its original intent by the new connections in which it was placed; and certain passages were besides seriously altered or additions made which still further obscure the genuine signification. So that he who would arrive at the real truth respecting the matters treated in the Pentateuch, must first ascertain and expunge what has been inserted by the redactor, and restore what he has changed to its previous form. He must then discover and correct the modifications to which the documents have been subjected in the various editions through which they are severally alleged to have passed. When this task has been successfully accomplished, and what is left of the documents has been restored in each case to its primitive form, these will put the investigator in possession of all that now remains of the traditions which were circulating about the Mosaic age six or more centuries subsequently. From these mutually contradictory legends he must evolve the facts. And this is the sort of voucher we have for the revelations made to Moses, and the institutions founded by him, which are the basis of the Old Testament religion and the foundation on which the New Testament likewise rests.

When in this condition of things it is said that the analysis of the Pentateuch

is a purely literary question, in which no article of faith is involved, it is difficult to attach any intelligible meaning to the words. To speak of inspired documents and an inspired redactor as factors in this critical hypothesis is to use language that is altogether misleading. The Pentateuch so constructed can only be said to be inspired by attaching such a sense to this term as will render it applicable to a mass of very unreliable materials, in which legends, misstatements and contradictions largely figure. If the church is to take her idea of the Word of God from what the Pentateuch becomes under the operation of this critical hypothesis, what becomes of its divine authority? And what becomes of the infallibility of Christ's teachings, who gave to it his own supreme sanction?

In the article from which the extract in the May number of this journal was taken, students are referred to "the completed works of Wellhausen, Reuss, Kuenen, and Dillmann" in their study of this question. It may be presumed that these leaders of critical opinion understand the bearing of the hypothesis of which they are the most distinguished advocates; and almost every page of their writings furnishes evidence of the readiness with which the truthfulness and reliability of the sacred records are dissipated in the critical crucible. The whole thing is in a state of flux. The critic disposes of facts and institutions and written records at will. Everything goes down before his analysis; and this is being constantly pushed further and further. Seams and flaws hitherto unsuspected are opening with every fresh application of critical tests. The Pentateuch is not only rent into four documents, new strata and further divisions are detected in the body of each separate document. When the limit of ultimate divisibility will be reached, none can tell. And what will be the end of the process, or how much will be left of Moses and of his institutions when it is finished, it is impossible to foresee. It really seems as though the critical documents, by the further application of the same methods that produced them, were on the verge of dissolution, and a reign of chaos approaching that of the old fragmentary hypothesis might be at hand. How far it is proposed to follow the critics into this dismal slough does not appear. There are no very clear signs of faltering yet.

It may be said that we should distinguish between the analysis of the critics and their deductions from it; the former may be accepted and the accuracy of the latter denied. We may admit the four documents that they find, and claim that though these are divergent, as the four gospels are, in their mode of presentation, they are, nevertheless, harmonious and mutually consistent. It would seem that this is the only attitude that believing scholars can consistently take, if in their opinion the existence of the Pentateuchal documents has been established. But if they accept the critical analysis in its current form, they will be as hopelessly entangled by their admissions as the fly that has unwarily ventured into the spider's parlor. The ready-made scheme of Pentateuchal documents proffered by the critics is throughout based upon and pervaded by gratuitous assumptions at war with the truth of the sacred record,—assumptions of doublets which are purely imaginary, of senses at variance with the existing context which are brought about by dislocations and hypothetical connections, of oppositions inferred from a silence which has itself been created by critical severances, of manipulations by the redactor justifying the summary ejection of whatever proves intractable by less violent means.

It is a first principle of fair and candid dealing that an honest and capable witness is to be believed unless there are positive reasons for discrediting his testi-

mony. Assuming the existence of the documents and the redactor, it ought to be firmly maintained that the latter, who had the documents in full before him, had the opportunity of knowing their genuine signification as the modern critic, who has them only in an incomplete state, cannot possibly do. Unless, therefore, his integrity or good sense (not to speak of his inspiration) can be successfully impeached and on valid grounds, it should be insisted upon that, however he may have combined or transposed his sources, he has faithfully preserved their original and proper meaning. If this be maintained, as the simplest regard to sound interpretation undoubtedly requires, the critical scheme now current will be found faulty at a thousand points, and Pentateuchal analysis will be completely shorn of its destructive qualities. Let the analysis be conducted on purely literary grounds, and apart from the sinister presuppositions that have been adverted to, and it may have the freest scope as in reality a literary question, in which no article of faith is involved. No one need object to an analysis which shall classify and re-arrange the materials according to their literary features, if it but leave them all unimpaired and retain their true and proper signification. But this would be a totally different affair both in its principles and its results from the current critical scheme, which discredits the Pentateuch at every turn by converting it into a repository of discordant traditions.

It does not annul the inherently vicious character or the evil tendencies of this hypothesis that men revered for their learning and piety have of late signified their acceptance of it, and that they consider its adoption compatible with whatever is essential to the Christian faith. It is a remarkable phenomenon that in European universities eminent biblical scholarship has been to so great an extent dissociated from faith in the Scriptures in any evangelical sense. We may wisely employ the Philistines to sharpen our spears and our swords; but we cannot join them in an assault upon the camp of Israel. No more perilous enterprise was ever attempted by men held in honor in the church than the wholesale commendation of the results of an unbelieving criticism in application both to the Pentateuch and to the rest of the Bible, as though they were the incontestable product of the highest scholarship. They who have been themselves thoroughly grounded in the Christian faith may, by a happy inconsistency, hold fast their old convictions while admitting principles, methods and conclusions which are logically at war with them. But who can be surprised if others shall with stricter logic carry what has thus been commended to them to its legitimate issue? If it be true that the great body of those who lead in biblical scholarship have been swept away by the recent popularity of this critical craze, it may be well to remember that questions of truth and right are not to be settled by the majority of voices, but by the strength of the arguments. And they who are slightly referred to as in a "hopeless minority," may derive some consolation from the thought that they have the infallible declaration of our Lord and his apostles and the inspired word on their side, and that a great array of former scholars, fully equal in all respects to any who have since swerved from their footsteps, have constructed defences which no ingenuity of perverted learning will ever be able to overthrow.

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS.

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JUNE 12. THE COMMANDMENTS. Exod. XX. 1-11.

JUNE 19. THE COMMANDMENTS. Exod. XX. 12-21.

What we call the "ten commandments," are currently called in the Hebrew text "the ten words," (see Exod. XXXIV. 28; Deut. x. 4 and IV. 13, the article being used in all three places). The words of the Hebrew stem *çāwā*, commonly translated by the English verb "command" and its derivatives, are not currently used to denote what we call "the ten commandments," and are, perhaps, not even once used, distinctively, in this meaning. This special meaning of the word "commandment" is purely a matter of translation-usage, and not of Hebrew usage. And it is a use of language so fixed in the habits of most of us, that we need to watch ourselves very closely to keep from being misled by it.

What is thus true of the term commandment, as applied to "the ten words," is perhaps even more emphatically true of the term "law" in the same application. We are accustomed, and correctly, so far as the ethical aspects of the matter are concerned, to regard "the ten words" as being pre-eminently *the* law of Jehovah, as recorded in the Old Testament. Nevertheless, neither the Old Testament nor the New are accustomed to apply the term law distinctively to "the ten words;" it is doubtful whether they so apply it in even a single instance. In Exod. XXIV. 12, for example, we make a good sense if we regard the words law and commandment as in apposition with "the tables of stone," but there is no grammatical necessity for thus regarding them. "The ten words" are a portion of the commandments of Jehovah; they are found in the law of Jehovah; they are an especially important part of the law and the commandments; but it is not according to biblical usage to call them either by the name law or by the name commandments.

This is the more noteworthy because the Bible, instead of signaling their importance by applying these two names to them, has other names which it uses for this purpose. It speaks of "the two tables of the *testimony*," Exod. XXXI. 18; XXXII. 15, etc., and of "the tables of the *covenant*," Deut. ix. 9, 11, 15; Heb. ix. 4, etc. The Bible regards "the ten words," indeed, as precepts to be obeyed; but it far more prominently regards them as the foundation and evidence of special privileges accorded to Jehovah's people—as a charter of rights, rather than a code of prohibitions.

"The ten words" are not the only decalogue in this part of the Pentateuch; critical scholars have shown that many of the other laws, especially those now found nearest "the ten words" in Exodus, are given in groups of tens or of fives.

One reading only the account of the giving of "the ten words" now found in Deuteronomy, would doubtless get the impression that they were first given orally, then presently afterward written by the finger of God, then destroyed and re-written, and then immediately placed in the ark, which had previously been

prepared for that purpose. If he afterward read the account in Exodus, he would find that it contradicted, in several points, the impressions he had formed from reading Deuteronomy. On closer examination, he would find that there is no real contradiction between the accounts, but that, for lack of information, he had misunderstood some of the statements of Deuteronomy. If, pursuing the study, he took pains to put the two accounts together, he would reach substantially the statement of the matter that will be presently given; and in doing this, he would incidentally reach one or two critical conclusions of great importance. The account in Exodus is not such an account as any writer would ever have derived, by any process whatever, from that in Deuteronomy; the statements in Deuteronomy are precisely such as a writer might have taken from Exodus, provided he assumed that his readers were familiar with the Book of Exodus, or with the events there recorded. There is strong evidence that the writer of Deuteronomy was familiar, not only with those parts of the Exodus account of "the ten words" which the critics assign to the older prophetic writers, but also with those parts which they assign to the various strata of the priest-code. In other words, the Exodus account, as a whole, bears decided marks of being earlier than the first two discourses in Deuteronomy. This is one instance of a large group of critical phenomena bearing strongly against the theories now largely prevalent. Another and simpler instance occurs within the limits of our lessons; the fourth commandment presupposes the account of the creation given in the first chapter of Genesis; the critical scientist must either accept this as conclusive against the theory that the first chapter of Genesis was written several hundred years later than the twentieth of Exodus, or else he must proceed to re-adjust the phenomena, so as to make them fit the theory.

The order of events which the authors alike of Exodus and of Deuteronomy had in their minds, and intended to convey to their readers, is the following: First, "the ten words" were audibly spoken from Sinai; then Moses received the various precepts recorded in Exod. XXI.-XXIII., now commonly described as the covenant-code; then, Exod. XXIV. 1, 2, Moses was directed to come up into the mountain, but first wrote the "book of the covenant," rehearsed it to the people, obtained their assent to it, and solemnized the occasion by a sacrifice and the sprinkling of blood, Exod. XXIV. 3-8; then he went up into the mountain, and after forty days received the first pair of tables; still later, he received the second pair, after the first were broken; and when at length the ark was made he put them in the ark, and the ark in its place in the sanctuary-tent.

The author of this part of Exodus certainly intended us to understand that "the ten words" were included in the book of the covenant that Moses read to the people; otherwise, directly after saying "God spoke all these words," to wit., "the ten words," he would not have continued by saying that Moses recounted to the people "all the words of Jehovah," as well as "the judgments," and that he wrote "all the words of Jehovah," and that the people replied, "all the words that Jehovah spoke we will do." Moreover, "the ten words" are habitually spoken of as the basis of Jehovah's covenant with Israel; the two tables were the tables of the covenant; the ark in which they were kept was the ark of the covenant; it is hardly possible that they were omitted from this covenant-book and covenant solemnization made just after they were given. The book of the covenant may very naturally have included "the ten words," the covenant-code, and the narrative concerning them; but whatever else it included, it certainly did not

omit "the ten words;" to have left them out would have been like leaving Christ out of the gospels.

It follows from this that the original of our present copies of "the ten words" is the copy that Moses wrote in the book of the covenant, and not the copy that God wrote, some months later, on the second pair of tables, of stone. The two versions of the decalogue, in Exodus and Deuteronomy, are not two discrepant copies from the original copy in stone, proving that scribes took liberties even in transcribing so divine a document, making careless or willful changes in it. "The ten words" in Deuteronomy are a changed version, rather than a changed transcription of "the ten words" in Exodus; and we have no means of comparing either of them with "the ten words" as written on either pair of tables. The significance of the tables lies not in the supposed fact that they contained the first writing of "the ten words," from which all other copies were transcribed, but in the fact that they were authenticated by their divine handwriting, just as any charter of a people is authenticated by the signature of the sovereign, and that they were therefore to Israel the voucher given by God himself, of the reality of their covenant with him.

It is an important point gained in criticism thus to differentiate every statement made concerning the tables of stone from any statement anywhere made concerning sacred writings by Moses or by any other man; the only point of contact they have lies in the fact that there was a Mosaic copy of "the ten words," as well as a divine copy. And this view of the case is made prominent, not only in the accounts of the origin of the tables, but in those of the arrangements made for their care and custody. The law was kept beside the ark, the pot of manna and other national memorials, before the ark, but only the two tables, within the ark, 1 Kgs. viii. 9; 2 Chron. v. 10. The attempt to prove from Heb. ix. that the pot of manna and Aaron's rod that budded had once been in the ark, but were lost before the building of the temple, is based upon a mechanical exegesis, rather than upon a search for the intended meaning of the author. It is as if one should insist upon the grammatical construction of the reporter's statement that certain parties had put up a building 216 feet long, capable of accommodating 76 men, four stories high. The two tables were kept, not for purposes of study or appeal (it was death to look into the ark), but as a testimony, as sacred divine credentials; the law, on the other hand, was in the custody of the priests and elders for purposes of administration. The reputed origin of the two was not more diverse than the use regularly made of them.

The two tables, in the ark, with the mercy-seat over them, forming the central object of the sanctuary and its worship, represent the moral principle of the religion of Israel. God's covenant with Israel, as with any man in all time, is on the basis of the keeping of the "ten commandments;" yet there is propitiation for the repentant man, who is conscious of sin because he has failed to keep them. This two-fold symbol is to the religion of the Pentateuch what the life and death of Christ are to Christianity—a fixed standard of obligation, coupled with a proclamation of forgiving grace.

JULY 3. THE INFANT JESUS. Matt. ii. 1-12.

The student who wishes to examine for himself into the relations between the Old Testament and the New, will find the Gospel by Matthew, on the whole, better adapted to his purpose than any other book of the New Testament. Let

one begin, for example, by comparing the Greek forms of the proper names, Matt. i. 1-16, with that of their Hebrew originals; let him compare the list here given with that in the Old Testament history, noting especially the omissions, and trying to account for them; let him explain the three fourteens of generations mentioned in verse 17; let him compare *γένεσις*, verses 1 and 18, with the Greek name of the first Old Testament book; in verses 18-25, let him note the expressions "Holy Spirit," "just man," "Angel of the Lord," "appeared," the allusion in verse 21, the quotation in verse 23, the etymologies given for the names Jesus and Emmanuel; let him look up with especial care the Hebrew equivalent of the word Christ, and its use in the Old Testament. If he thus makes a beginning, he will find points for comparison multiplying themselves before him. He will find the second and the succeeding chapters as rich as the first. He should especially watch the verb-tenses, and the genitives and the articles, testing them sometimes by translation into Hebrew or Aramaic. It is particularly true that some scholars ought to do this kind of work with especial reference to some future revision of our Revised Bible; but it is also true that work of this sort would be peculiarly fruitful for purposes of practical exegesis, bringing us closer to the accurate meaning of the New Testament, and making that meaning vivid and picturesque for us.

OLD TESTAMENT NOTES AND NOTICES.

As a result of recent discussion, two of the leading institutions in New England, Yale and Amherst, offer for next year optional courses in the study of biblical literature, or in other words, of the English Bible. This is not devoid of significance. If such work is to be undertaken in colleges of this rank, it will not be long till the literary study of the Bible shall occupy an honored and established place in the curriculum of every college. The movement will be a rapidly growing one. A beginning has been needed and has come. The end will not be far away.

From the present outlook the Summer Schools of Hebrew promise to be much larger during the coming summer than ever before. The number of persons applying for information, as well as the number already enrolled, as compared with the same date a year ago, is more than double. It is especially noteworthy that a larger number of college students will be present. The desirability of learning the principles of the Hebrew language before entering the seminary is now quite generally appreciated. The fact that no tuition-fee is charged will make it possible for many to attend the schools who would otherwise be unable to do so.

The exact site of Capernaum, the central place of Christ's activity in Galilee, has been a vexed problem among Palestine explorers ever since the inauguration of a thorough and scientific study of the Holy Land, and indeed earlier. Two localities claim the honor of being that famous city, namely, what is now called Chàn Minje, on the western border of the lake, and Tell Hâm, on its northern extremity, near where the Jordan enters. The authority of Robinson has induced many to accept Chàn Minje as the original Capernaum. But against this, later investigators have adduced weighty reasons. The last one to join the ranks of the advocates of Tell Hâm, or rather to renew his allegiance, is Franz Delitzsch, in the third edition of his "A Day in Capernaum," recently issued in German. His arguments are both negative and positive. Negatively, he shows that, aside from a single tradition of unknown age and very doubtful value, there is really nothing that speaks for Chàn Minje. On the other hand, this identification is open to the serious objection that Capernaum is by the New Testament reported as lying where the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun join. From biblical, as also from rabbinical sources, it appears that this boundary line can have been only at the northern edge of the lake, where the great ruins of Tell Hâm are found. It is indeed noteworthy that the fate of the three cities over which Christ uttered his woes, should have been so terrible. Capernaum is a mass of ruins, and its site disputed, although when it was destroyed does not seem fixed; Chorazin was already in ruins in the days of the church historian Eusebius, and Bethsaida was destroyed so effectually a few years later that its site can no longer be identified.

The April number of *The Scottish Review* contains an article on "The Apocryphal Character of the Moabite Stone," by the Rev. A. Loewy, in which the claim is made that King Mesha's inscription is a forgery. The author of the article begins by giving a short history of the discovery of the stone, and a list of the scholars who have published its text. After this short introduction, the author plainly and pointedly states his own view, viz., that the stone is a forgery to be classed with those of Shapira and Firkowitz. One of the chief reasons leading Loewy to this conclusion is—in his own words—the following: "Whilst the surface of the stone is pitted and indented in consequence of its exposure to varying influences extending perhaps over thousands of years, the characters inscribed on the stone have in no instance suffered from similar influences, because the DRESSED SURFACE IS ANCIENT, WHEREAS THE INSCRIPTION ITSELF IS MODERN." Loewy, although an octogenarian, is a novice in palæography, and is not in a position to speak with authority on this part of the subject.

After this claim, according to which Clermont-Ganneau, De Vogüé, Nöldeke, Levy, Euting, Neubauer, Geiger, Derenbourg, Merx, Stade, Smend and Socin have all been blind to the same forgery, Loewy gives a copy of the inscription, with his own peculiar transliteration, and a translation. This is followed by a critical (?) analysis of each word and idiom, in which the author claims that the language and style is not what would be expected, and hence that the stone is a fraud. The arguments then are (1) the modern appearance of the engraved letters and the aged appearance of the stone itself; (2) the language and style of the inscription. Taking into consideration that Mr. Loewy is only a talmudical scholar of no very high order, it will be well for us to retain our former views as to the authenticity of the inscription until some abler scholar and *palæographer* enters the ranks of those who would regard it as a forgery.

"Advanced thought" is a term that is used and abused a great deal in our day. In itself it implies nothing that is objectionable. In truth, the idea naturally associates with itself commendable features. It means an advance upon a position previously occupied. And indeed much of what, in theology and in other fields, is called advanced thought, is commendable. The theologian is not simply to reproduce what the fathers have believed and taught; his work is not one of mere memory. Much as we revere the memories and the faith of the Christian fathers of different centuries, we must not forget that they too were mortals and did not see and understand everything that the word of God teaches. It is the peculiarity of this word that new features of its truth are opened up to every successive generation; and it is certainly no violation of modesty to say that the best Christian scholars in our day are in advance of what their predecessors knew. No one can dispute the fact that we know more of biblical history, archaeology, chronology, philology, etc., than was known a hundred years ago; and it is at least a debatable question whether the study of biblical theology in our day has not shed a clearer light upon the character and historical contents of the revealed word than did the one-sided cultivation of dogmatics in the hands of those who constructed the great theological systems. There is, then, a perfectly legitimate use of the term "advanced thought," namely, progress in the study and understanding of the truth. Of course, not everything labeled "advanced

thought" is such. Men who do not advance in the paths of truth, but depart from them, cannot claim to be in advance of their predecessors, as they have gone in an altogether new direction. To call their movement "advanced" is a misnomer. But *abusus non tollit usum*, and it would certainly be lamentable if the abuse of such words as "critics," "higher criticism," "advanced thought," and the like, should prejudice the minds of men against the claims of legitimate and correct theological science. Conservative scholarship should protest against allowing the advocates of biblical science, falsely so called, to abuse such terms for purposes of their own.

The attempt has frequently been made to show the dependence of this or that biblical book for its thoughts or style upon the profane literature of the ancients. This has been the case chiefly with the New Testament, and here again it is the Logos idea of John which has often been claimed to have been drawn from the philosophical speculations of Philo. In the Old Testament, attempts of this kind have been restricted to Ecclesiastes, which has been interpreted, or misinterpreted, as teaching a Greek philosophy filtered through a Jewish mind. Among the Apocrypha of the Septuagint, the Wisdom of Solomon has been the favorite book selected as a connecting link between sacred and profane literature. A new move in this direction has been made by Professor Ed. Pfeiderer, who has issued a monograph on the teachings of the famous philosopher Heraclitus, of Ephesus. While he thinks that Ecclesiastes shows the influence of the philosophy of Heraclitus, he does not think that this can be proved. However, his influence on the Wisdom of Solomon he considers proved beyond a doubt. He maintains that this is so negatively and positively. Wisdom is stated to combat Heraclitus in the latter's deification of fire (XIII. 2), in his esoteric exclusiveness in not being willing to spread wisdom (VI. 21-24; VII. 13, 14); in his false view of death (I. 12-16); in his friendly attitude to the immoral mysteries (XIV. 22-31). The positive influences are to be seen in the sixteenth chapter of Wisdom, where one of the leading thoughts of Heraclitus' philosophy has been made use of, especially in v. 21. Professor Schürer, of Giessen, in discussing these problems, states (1) that an acquaintance of the author of Wisdom with the works of Heraclitus is possible; (2) that an indirect influence of Heraclitus upon his writings is not only possible, but even is, in a certain degree, something to be expected, as the author of Wisdom is well acquainted with the Stoic philosophy of the Greeks, hence also in all probability with the system of Heraclitus. But no reasons can be adduced for going any further and maintaining more than this indirect and general influence. The efforts of Pfeiderer to show that this system has had a marked influence on the Gospel of John and other early Christian literature, Schürer pronounces to be without any foundation whatever.

→BOOK : NOTICES.←

TWENTY-ONE YEARS' WORK IN PALESTINE.*

Every Bible-student has heard something of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Its works are constantly cited. Organized in 1865, for the purpose of conducting "systematic and scientific research in all branches of inquiry connected with the Holy Land," with special view to the illustration of the Bible, its work has gone on regularly and continuously during this period, and the results accomplished are of a number and character which only the professional student can appreciate. This work is intended as a popular resumé of the work of the society, and as such certainly fills an important place. After indicating the work originally proposed and the principles in accordance with which it was to be conducted, the writer gives us a brief history of the management, the amount of money received and expended. There follow brief yet interesting accounts of the "first expedition," "the excavations at Jerusalem," "the desert of the exodus," the surveys of Western and Eastern Palestine, the geological survey, and the monuments of the country. A chapter is given to the memory of those of the society's officers who died in the work. In the final chapter an indication is given of the work which lies immediately before the society, and for which it asks additional funds. That part of the work in which least has been done is in relation to the manners and customs of the people. In this department the society promises publications at an early date. Whatever may be the basis for the severe criticism of the society's work by Professor Socin a year or so ago, sufficient has been accomplished to entitle the society and its officers to the everlasting gratitude of all students of the Sacred Word.

THE PEOPLE'S BIBLE.†

The preceding volumes of this work—truly a great one in many senses—have already been noticed. Critical students must not lose sight of the fact that there is a depth of meaning in the biblical narratives which the cold analytical method of study does not reach. If the word "meaning" is here too definite, we may perhaps substitute "suggestion." To a mind like that of Dr. Parker the simple narratives of Scripture and its peculiar phraseology are wonderfully suggestive. A certain expression starts him on a line of thought which is rich and deeply spiritual. His admonitions are pointed; his exhortations are effective; his teachings are most wholesome; but whether such a method of treating the Bible is, everything considered, the best, may, perhaps, be questioned.

*TWENTY-ONE YEARS' WORK IN THE HOLY LAND (A RECORD AND A SUMMARY): June 22, 1865—June 22, 1886. London: *Richard Bentley & Son*. 1886. 8vo, pp. 232. Price, \$1.40.

†THE PEOPLE'S BIBLE: Discourses upon Holy Scripture, by Joseph Parker, D. D. Vol. V. Joshua—Judges V. New York: *Funk & Wagnalls*, 18 and 20 Astor Place. 1887. 8vo, pp. 300. Price, \$1.50.

HAM-MISHKAN—THE WONDERFUL TENT.*

This book, as well as those elsewhere noticed in this number, is intended not for scholars and critics, but for the people. The writer endeavors to depict the structure of the tabernacle, its purpose and its teachings. The presentation aims to be succinct, definite and clear; and the author has endeavored to do this without "indulging too much in fanciful and extravagant interpretations."

A perusal of the book produces the impression that, in both of these particulars, the writer has failed. The presentation is anything but succinct and definite. The method employed, that of a conversation between several travelers, rendered a succinct presentation impossible. One reads through entire pages before obtaining what might often have been more satisfactorily expressed in as many lines. It is difficult to know what standard of interpretation the author held before himself. Anything more fanciful or extravagant than much which this book contains would be difficult to find.

THE BIBLE-WORK: OLD TESTAMENT.†

The general purpose of this work is seen from its title. It is something like Spurgeon's work on the Psalms, "The Treasury of David." It shows wonderful care and industry. The good judgment displayed in making the selections is everywhere manifest. The arrangement of the material, however, does not seem to accord with the principles which the writer lays down in his preface. Does it not seem premature, to say the least, that an exhaustive treatment of the doctrine of the trinity should be introduced in connection with Gen. i. 26 and ii. 7. We cannot believe that the plural in "let us make man," etc., has any allusion to this doctrine. But so long as Bible-students desire to know what great and good men through all ages have thought and written concerning the Bible, and have not time or opportunity to consult the works of these men, there will be a field for this book. The author is certainly to be congratulated upon the courage which enables him to undertake a work of such vast proportions.

* **HAM-MISHKAN, THE WONDERFUL TENT.** An account of the structure, signification and spiritual lessons of the Mosiac Tabernacle. By Rev. D. A. Randall, D. D. With a portrait and sketch of the author. Cincinnati: *Robert Clarke & Co.* 1886. 12mo, pp. 420. Price, \$1.75.

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- The First and Great Commandment.* By Prof. Geo. R. Stevens, ib.
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- Biblical Theology of the Old Testament* (Weidner). By Ad. Kamphausen, ib.

GENERAL INDEX.

American Explorers in Bible-Lands....	273
American Institute of Hebrew, Report of the Principal of Schools of the....	178
“ “ “ Report of the Treasurer of the.....	185
“ “ “ The Annual Meeting of the.....	187
Antediluvian Chronology, The.....	175
Ballantine, Prof. Wm. G., A Book-Study: Isaiah XL.—LXVI.....	51
Barton, Geo. A., The Prayer of Habakkuk	176
Beecher, Prof. Willis J., The Sunday-School Lessons.....	
..... 22, 47, 78, 113, 145, 170, 219, 246, 277,	319
Bible, The Study of the, by College-Students.....	196
Bible-study in the Pastorate: Figures and Facts.....	131
Bibliography of Exploration, The. A List of American Writers upon Biblical Archæology and the Work of Exploration in Bible Lands, with the Subjects they have discussed, including Review and Magazine Articles as well as Separate Books.....	303
Boardman, Dr. Geo. Dana, The Antediluvian Chronology.....	175
Book Notices: <i>Bartlett and Peters</i> , Scriptures Hebrew and Christian, 29; <i>Blaikie</i> , A Manual of Bible History, 61; <i>Bradley</i> , Lectures on Ecclesiastes, 61; <i>Briggs</i> , Messianic Prophecy, 126; <i>Butler</i> , The Bible-work: The Old Testament. Vol. I. Genesis—Exodus XII. From Creation to the Exodus, 327; <i>Cheyne</i> , Job and Solomon, 254; <i>Chicago Theol. Sem. Professors</i> , Current Discussions in Theology, 253; <i>Conder</i> , Syrian Stone-Lore, 286; <i>Cook</i> , Orient, 253; <i>Kellogg</i> , Abraham, Joseph and Moses in Egypt, 286; <i>Kuenen</i> , An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch, 190; <i>Orelli</i> , The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of the Kingdom of God, 28; <i>Parker</i> , The People's Bible: Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, 223; <i>Parker</i> , The People's Bible: Discourses upon Holy Scripture, 326; <i>Pember</i> , Earth's Earliest Ages, 62; <i>Randall</i> , Ham-mishkan, the Wonderful Tent, 327; — Twenty-one Years' Work in Palestine, 326; <i>Weidner</i> , Biblical Theology of the Old Testament, 31; <i>Wright</i> , Ancient Cities from the Dawn to the Daylight, 223.	
Book-study: Isaiah XL.—LXVI.....	51
Book-study: Part I. (Genesis I.—XI.).....	117
Book-study: Part II. (Genesis XII.—L).....	164
Book-study: Exodus.....	203
Book-study: Hosea.....	270
Brown, Prof. Francis, Commentaries on Exodus.....	84
Caphtorim, The. Who were these People and where was their Original Home?	243

Chambers, Dr. Talbot W., Divisions of the Pentateuch.....	5
The Perfection of the Decalogue.....	261
Chapter-study. Jacob's Blessing (Gen. XLIX.).....	79
Chinese Legends, Primeval.....	38
Critical Division of the Pentateuch inimical to the Christian Faith? Is the Current.....	315
Current Old Testament Literature.....	32, 64, 96, 128, 160, 192, 224, 256, 288, 328
Curtis, Prof. Edward L., The Old Testament Prophet.....	25
Some Features of Old Testament Prophecy illustrated by the Book of Amos.....	136
Decalogue, The Perfection of the.....	261
Delitzsch, Franz.....	209
Delitzsch, Prof. Franz, Must we follow the New Testament Interpretation of Old Testament Texts?.....	77
DeWette, W. M. L.....	154
Denio, Prof. F. B., The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament, I.....	55
The Kingdom of God in the Old Testament, II.....	71
A Book-Study: Hosea.....	270
Divisions of the Decalogue.....	5
Douglass, Benjamin, Esq., An Exposition of Isaiah LXIII. 11, 12.....	173
Editorial Notes: Activity in the Old Testament Department, 65; The advanced Views old, 227; Americans and Independent Research, 225; American Students, 280; Assyrian and its Contributions to Biblical Science, 226; The Bible in the College Curriculum, 194; Bible-study in the Pastorate, 129; Bible- study in the Seminary, 129; Prof. Chas. R. Brown on the Revision, 2; Cold Reception of the Revised Old Testament, 66; Capt. Conder's Vindication, 291; The Critical "and Mystical," 258; Danger of Bible-study by Student, 194; Devotional Study of the Bible, 34; Exegetical Work, 2; Explanation of "Figures and Facts," 161; Figures and Facts, 161; The Gospel in the Old Testament, 68; Hebrew Summer Schools, 3; Higher and Lower Criticism, 35; The Interest in the Bible, 193: False Interpretation, 257; Lyon's Article on Israelitish Politics, 291; The Minister's Use of the Bible, 3; Do Ministers devote sufficient time to Bible-study? 130; The Ministry not studious, 162; The Moabite Stone, 291; New Testament Interpretation of Old Testament Passages, 65; Non-appreciation of the Importance of Bible-study, 162; THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT, 1; What THE OLD TESTAMENT STUDENT has accomplished, 257, 289; Preaching and Teaching, 33; Preachers as Students of the Bible, 35; The Prevalence of the so-called "Critical" Views, 259; The proposed Reconstruction of Israel's History and Religion, 67; Renewed Interest in Biblical Languages, 227; Reverent but Critical Study, 227; The proposed School of Biblical Archæology and Philology in the East, 292; Sta- tistics, 225; Study abroad, 4; Study of the Bible by College Students, 193; Study of Biblical History, 66; Study of Biblical Languages, 66; Study of Prophecy,—its importance,—its difficulties,—interesting and fascinating,— the need of honest, scientific study,—the practical results, 97-100; The Work of Exploration, 258.	
Edkins, Rev. Dr. J., Primeval Chinese Legends.....	38
Elohim in Gen. I., The word.....	241
Everts, Rev W. W., Jr., W. M. L. DeWette.....	154

Exodus, Commentaries on.....	84
Foster, Prof. R. V., Hebrew Prophets and Prophecy, I.....	110
“ “ “ “ “ II.....	150
“ “ “ “ “ III.....	166
“ “ The word Elohim in Gen. I.....	241
Genesis I.-III., The Literary Problem of.....	101
Genesis XIII. 10, The Incongruous Clause in.....	237
Gillett, Rev. C. R., Pithom: Naville and his Reviewers.....	139
Green, Prof. William Henry, Is the Current Critical Division of the Pentateuch inimical to the Christian Faith?.....	315
Habakkuk, The Prayer of.....	176
Hallen, Rev. A., The Caphtorim: Who were these People and where was their Original Home?.....	243
Harper, Prof Wm. R., A Chapter-study. Jacob's Blessing (Gen. XLIX.)....	79
“ “ A Book-study. Part I. (Gen. I.-XI.).....	117
“ “ Bible-study in the Pastorate: Figures and Facts.....	131
“ “ Report of the Principal of Schools of the American Institute of Hebrew.....	178
“ “ The Study of the Bible by College-students.....	196
“ “ A Book-study: Exodus.....	203
Hebrew Prophets and Prophecy, I.	110
“ “ “ “ II.....	150
“ “ “ “ III.....	166
Hilprecht, Prof. Hermann, Franz Delitzsch....	209
Hovey, Pres. Alvah, Shekhar and Leaven in Mosaic Offerings.....	11
Isaiah LXIII. 11, 12, An Exposition of.....	173
Kingdom of God in the Old Testament, The, I.....	55
“ “ “ “ II.....	71
Lyon, Prof. D. G., Israelitish Politics as affected by Assyrian, Babylonian and Early Achæmenian Kings.....	293
Margin in the Old Testament Revision, Popular Uses of.....	229
McCurdy, Prof. J. F., Popular Uses of the Margin in the Old Testament Revision.....	229
McGarvey, Prof. J. W., Palestine Exploration: What Remains to be Done	69
Mitchell, Prof. Edward C., American Explorers in Palestine.....	213
“ “ “ American Explorers in Bible-Lands.....	273
“ “ “ The Bibliography of Exploration. A List of American Writers upon Biblical Archæology and the Work of Exploration in Bible Lands, with the Subjects they have discussed, including Review and Magazine Articles as well as Separate Books.	303
Moore, Prof. W. W., The Incongruous Clause in Gen. XIII. 10.....	237
New Testament Interpretation of Old Testament Texts, Must we follow the?	77
New Testament Judaism and its Genesis.....	44
Old Testament Notes and Notices.....	92-95; 123-125; 156-159; 222; 250-252; 283-285; 323-325
Old Testament Prophet, The.....	25
Old Testament Prophecy illustrated by the Book of Amos, Some Features of	136
Pagan Religions, Ethical Value of.....	17

Palestine Exploration: What Remains to be Done.....	69
Palestine, How to see.....	58
Palestine, American Explorers in.....	213
Pentateuch Question, The—Recent Phases	268
Pithom: Naville and his Reviewers.....	139
Politics, Israelitish, as affected by Assyrian, Babylonian and Early Achæ- nian Kings.....	293
Psalms, To a Pastor who wishes to know how he may study the Book of, to his own best advantage and that of his Congregation, Letter I.....	235
Rameses the Great, Unrolling the Mummy of.....	26
Religion as an Element in Civilization ..	106
Schodde, Prof. Geo. H., New Testament Judaism and its Genesis	44
“ “ “ Genesis I.-III., the Literary Problem of.....	101
Shekhar and Leaven in Mosaic Offerings.....	11
Smith, Dr. Justin A., Ethical Value of Pagan Religions.....	17
“ “ Religion as an Element in Civilization.....	106
Smith, Prof. Henry P., The Pentateuch Question, Recent Phases.....	268
Sunday-School Lessons, The.....	22, 47, 78, 113, 145, 170, 219, 246, 277, 319
Weidner, Prof. Revere F., To a Pastor who wishes to know how to study the Book of Psalms to his own best advantage and that of his Congregation, Letter I.....	235

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Vol. VI. JUNE, 1887. No. 10.

I. EDITORIAL	289-292
II. ISRAELITISH POLITICS AS AFFECTED BY ASSYRIAN, BABYLONIAN AND EARLY ACHEMENIAN KINGS. <i>Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph. D.</i>	293-302
III. THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EXPLORATION. A LIST OF AMERICAN WRITERS UPON BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY AND THE WORK OF EXPLORATION IN BIBLE LANDS, WITH THE SUBJECTS THEY HAVE DISCUSSED, INCLUDING REVIEW AND MAG- AZINE ARTICLES AS WELL AS SEPARATE BOOKS. <i>Prof. E. C. Mitchell, D. D.</i>	303-315
IV. IS THE CURRENT CRITICAL DIVISION OF THE PENTATEUCH INIMICAL TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH? <i>Prof. William Henry Green, D. D., LL. D.</i>	315-318
V. THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS. <i>Prof. Willis J. Beecher, D. D.</i>	319-322
VI. OLD TESTAMENT NOTES AND NOTICES	323-325
VII. BOOK NOTICES: Twenty-one Years' Work in Palestine.—The People's Bible.—Ham-mishkan, the Wonderful Tent.—The Bible-work: the Old Testament	326, 327
VIII. CURRENT OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE	328
IX. GENERAL INDEX TO VOL. VI	329-332

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