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CONTINUING

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ANY study of the Christ leads at last beyond the pages of the Holy Scriptures. He was foreshadowed in the Old Testament; the record of his life and teaching appears in the New Testament; but his influence is to be felt in all subsequent literature and his words have affected the doctrines and beliefs even of some non-Christian peoples. He was born in Palestine, but he belongs to the world. It was to nothing less than the world that he came with his message and his example. Though he was crucified in Judea, he laid down his life in behalf of the world. These universal elements of his character, his claims, and his influence bring him into comparison with other great religious teachers of humanity.

SUCH comparison is as instructive as it is unavoidable. To many its chief value lies in the polemical significance. The practical end of demonstrating the superiority of Jesus dominates their investigations. Was he greater than the greatest of these? Do his words, deeds, character, reveal, as over against these, a more than human personality, or a humanity so exalted as to be explained only from a superhuman source?—these are the questions which not a few reasonably hope to answer in the affirmative.

ANOTHER line may be followed, leading doubtless to the same end, though it starts from another point. In this case the

student is seeking light from every quarter upon the life, teachings, and character of Jesus Christ. He finds in this comparison a not insignificant source of illumination. He now views Jesus from the universal side. He asks, "How is he revealed to me from among the other religious leaders of men? In what respect will it enlarge my knowledge of him to view him in the light of their life, their teachings, their character?" It is questions such as these, and the point of view which they take, that suggest the new and final aspect of the study of the Christ with which we conclude the series of suggestions respecting this study, presented in these pages for the past few months. Only hints of argument, outlines of principles, will be attempted, in order merely to inspire and direct further work in this most fascinating field.

MANY may think that in instituting these comparisons the student is taking our Lord out of his rightful domain, lowering his dignity, degrading the gospel which he proclaimed, and making a dangerous compromise with error. Yet one may well call attention to the simplest facts in the case. What, for example, does it mean that Jesus is one of a company of religious founders? What is the significance of the fact that other systems of religion than Christianity have at their centre personalities who give form, motive, and even name to the organizations? Here are Zoroaster, Confucius, Buddha, Mohammed—great names, whose import for religion we are just beginning to appreciate at something like their real worth. Is it not clear that Jesus himself chose to take his stand among them, to work on their level, from this level to invite comparison with them and in this comparison to illustrate himself and his teaching more clearly and convincingly?

THE impression thus suggested is corroborated in a multitude of directions. Observe how each one of these religious leaders is a part of his own age both in personal life and experience and in religious activity. Jesus was no unnatural Jew, out of sympathy with his own times because beyond them. We can hardly conceive of him in India, or of Buddha in Jerusalem. All these great

leaders use methods determined by time and place, whether it be Judea in the first century or Arabia in the seventh. The form of the message is modified for the people to whom it is brought according to their way of religious thinking, their heritage of past beliefs. These teachers all manifest and work in the human relations and conditions in which they are born, speaking in words which their brethren in the flesh can best understand, and to needs which they preëminently feel.

Wonderful underlying resemblances with these teachers develop more clearly the Christ's relation to them. In much he was no exception, no unique phenomenon. His methods and aims show similar characteristics to those of the other founders of religions. These characteristics are not found in their entirety in each one of the great non-Christian teachers, but there is not one who does not show some trait, some element of resemblance, examples of which are the following: The narrow circle of believers is first gathered. A few are impressed before the many are moved. The ultimate object of teaching is attained by the impact of spirit on spirit. There is no care to leave behind a written record of the preaching. The incarnation of it all in a few living men inspired by the founder's personality is enough. Hope and light are radiated. The imagination of after generations gathers a vast body of written material which reflects and idealizes the impression produced. The substance of the teaching deals with the elemental in human life and experience. Hence the same themes recur. Often similar thoughts are uttered. The deeds bear in many elements a common stamp and the persons attracted disclose a common character. The relation of man and God, man's past and his future, his sins, sorrows, hopes, and fears—these things are the subjects of their discourse. Religion is the common centre of their lives.

Such considerations may seem startling to some to whom they come as a novelty. But they only emphasize in a new way and illustrate with unexpected light the old truth of the wonderful adaptability of the life and teaching of Jesus to the human mind and heart. He is perfectly natural in his dealings with

humanity. His doctrine is not something external, superimposed from without, to which man must adjust himself. It has already been adjusted to man, just as other religious teachers have sought to meet the wants of the human souls about them. Their likenesses in these matters are marvelously instructive, not as the devil's copies of the one and only true, but as "the testimony of the soul naturally Christian" to the perfect suitableness of the Christ to be "the Light of the World."

IF NOW reasonable ground has been shown for making such comparison, as being implied in the relation which Jesus himself virtually takes to these teachers, another step may be taken. We may hope to learn from our study something of the qualities for an ideal religious teacher and founder. Our method is a thoroughly scientific one, that of comparison and selection. What then are these essential characteristics that appear in such a comparative study? The answer which we offer is merely suggestive, for the task is gigantic.

1. Such a religious leader must have the quality of *inwardness*. He knows man in his inmost self, and the essentials of man's need. He lays hold of the permanent and vital in human nature. Humanity is not satisfied with superficial work in religion. He strikes the fundamental chords which give form and direction to the entire harmony and without whose control minor strains die away into silence, or dissonance rends the soul. He is not deceived by appearance, nor does he stop till he reaches the centre. The springs of life are searched and purified, renewed and directed under his hand. He acts, he speaks, from the spirit to the spirit. His method and his work are vital.

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2. THERE must be the quality of *universality*. The principles enforced must be useful in all ages. The form of the message may be colored by the particular period, but the message itself goes back to ultimate ideas which can be separated from the dress that clothes them and can take on naturally the garb of any and every time. The great teacher speaks to all races in all climes. He knows how to reach all varieties of experience and dis-

position. He brings his religious thought to bear upon all the relations of life, not by specific and particular declarations, but in the wide reach of his maxims, the applicability of his general ideas, and the transparent reference of his precepts and example to all realms of human effort, concerning alike the individual and society.

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3. THE world's religious teacher must be an *illustration and example* of his doctrine. He shows that confidence in applying his teachings to himself which he exhibits in recommending them to others. Indeed the truth which he proclaims not merely comes forth from his lips, but belongs to his life, is part of himself. The world demands of him that he exemplify it. The religious sense of humanity revolts from inconsistency of life and words. Doctrine is thus exhibited most clearly when it is incarnated. Teaching through personality is always with least admixture of error. The true test of the teacher's gospel as well as the most effective motive for its propagation lie in the model of its character and effect in one's own person. This is merely to say that in religion, as in every other sphere, the true leader leads.

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4. THE great religious teacher must have the *inspirational quality*. His teaching is not only vital and universal; it is also enkindling. The promulgation of new truth may leave us cold, or it may arouse desire without satisfying it. But a true religious leader fires us with enthusiastic belief in his message, and leads us to the realization of it. He possesses and conveys power. Not only knowledge of what is true is the need of the world; it is the presence of one who arouses in men aspiration to realize that which is known and power to attain that after which they aspire. In other words, the ideal teacher is a great personality endowed with spiritual vitality, winning by sweet reasonableness, drawing by irresistible conviction, transforming by the force of example and self-communication to the springs of the inner life.

IT is not claimed that these four characteristics of the ideal religious leader are all that might be named. Yet no one will

deny that they are fundamental and wide-reaching. They are gathered from a comparison of the salient characteristics of the world's great teachers of religion. For the purpose which is before us, the knowledge of the Christ, they afford a helpful, if somewhat unique, method of study. This may take two directions. First, we may apply these characteristics to the life and teaching of the Christ. That marvelous life thereby gains a new setting, grows in beauty through the discovery of the harmonious adjustment of qualities, discloses a depth and breadth not before realized. Or, again, we may measure all these teachers by this standard, endeavoring to ascertain how far they approach it, contrasting them, one with another, from this point of view. Both procedures are thoroughly scientific, and cannot but prove profitable. There can be no question that the outcome will be a fuller and more truthful conception of Jesus.

WHAT more interesting and delightful culmination of one's study of the Christ, as thus we take leave of him, standing, as he himself chose to stand, among the other religious leaders of mankind, and rising out from among them. It is, in a word, to view the Christ as the universal Teacher, "the Saviour of the World."

A THEORY OF THE DIVINE AND HUMAN ELEMENTS IN GENESIS I.–XI.[1]

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Some propositions.—Objections proposed by those who have ignored the human element.—Objections proposed by those who have ignored the divine element.—Concluding words.

It is the purpose of this, the last article of the series, to formulate, if possible, a theory which shall cover the facts noted in preceding articles. This task is undertaken with a full appreciation of its difficulty and its delicacy. It is not expected that, under the limitations imposed, it will be possible to do more than make some suggestions toward a theory. It is manifestly impossible to elaborate the many points which should receive attention. The steps cannot all be enumerated; as in the genealogical tables of olden times, only the most important may be indicated. The question before us is, Whence came these early stories of Genesis? Of what value are they? How came they to occupy their present place at the very threshold of Sacred Scripture? We shall take up first a series of propositions, and later objections urged from various sides.

I. Some propositions.

1. Man lived once in a state of original innocence; he sinned and as a consequence fell. This is the teaching of Genesis and the teaching throughout of Scripture. No man can accept the Scriptures without accepting this most fundamental doctrine. It does not follow, however, that what seems to be the teaching of science is wholly inconsistent. It is possible, certainly, to accept a doctrine of evolution and at the same time to accept the truth of these representations. Our starting point, however, whether in accordance with the teaching of science or not, is a

[1] A portion of this paper was read at the meeting of the Baptist Congress, held in Detroit, Mich., Nov. 15–17, 1894.

sinful world, which must be lifted back again to God from whom it once came forth perfect.

2. An examination of sacred and profane history shows that from the dawn of history there has been a gradual upward movement. This is nothing other than the development of the plan of God for the "salvation" of men. Sacred Scripture teaches, and the facts of history indicate, that in this upward movement the fundamental principle has been *that work for man shall be done by man.* So rigid was the application of this principle that the Son of God himself became a man in order that the work might be accomplished without violating it. The divine thought has worked in the hearts of individuals and in the heart of nations, and with every advancing century there has been steady increase of power and manifest growth in resources. Nearer and nearer, with each great cycle, humanity has approached the goal. No scholar, who is a Christian, can be a pessimist.

3. At the very beginning the true pedagogical principle was adopted, namely, that of teaching *one* in order that this one might teach many others. Noah was selected as the only righteous man in all the earth, and with him, the race having become corrupt, a new start is made.

4. In accordance with the fundamental principle of the plan adopted, a principle which, as has been said, is strictly pedagogical, of the three sons of Noah, Shem was selected, in whose family there should be a special manifestation of the divine presence; and in later times, Abraham of the many descendants of Shem is chosen. The progress of the divine plan seems to have been slow, but no one fails to observe its thorough-going character.

5. With the transplanting of Abraham, a most important step forward is taken, likewise a most radical step; for this is the beginning of a national history. The chosen nation is as yet only a family. It is better, therefore, to call the period beginning with Abraham, family history rather than national history. In this family history, as well as in the national history which develops out of it, God acts in a special manner, that is,

he enters into it as in no other history.[1] Through the divine influence Abraham abandons idolatry, and there is another beginning of the connection with the true God. Abraham likewise carries with him the traditions of the past which were current among his countrymen. These traditions, as well as his religious ideas, are purified and begin to descend through father to son in their new and more representative form.

6. The work goes on very slowly. The divine influence is felt; but as it would seem, God acts in revelation as well as in nature, slowly. Gradually the heart of man is lifted up and becomes capable of receiving the message in higher and more perfect form. Then come the residence in Egypt, the great work of Moses, the giving of a legislative code, the period of the judges, the reorganization by Samuel, the development of the monarchy, the lyric contributions of David (perhaps ten or fifteen), the division between north and south, and, within a century, the remarkable prophetic activity exhibited in the schools of the prophets, in the work of Elijah, Elisha, and Jonah. The period from the departure out of Egypt to the division of the kingdom, is one of alternate rise and fall. At one time the nation seems to be making headway, at another it loses all the advantage it has gained; now forward, now backward; but after all, the period, taken as a whole, shows immense advance.

7. The time has now come for more rapid progress; more rapid, because foundations have been laid on which something may be built. In order, therefore, that the work may be accelerated, and in order that there may be high and strong incentive for further progress, certain men, themselves the outgrowth of this divinely guided history, and the product of the natural and supernatural influences which have been long centuries at work, are incited and guided to read correctly the story of this plan as it has developed in the past, and to record their reading of it in a form which shall be most helpful. There seems to have been but slight movement in the direction of literary work in Israel before this time. Literary documents

[1] THE BIBLICAL WORLD, November, p. 352.

exist which have come down from earlier centuries, but they are only fragments. The nation had not yet reached the point when literary production was essential, or indeed possible. The memories of the past were, however, many and fresh. As among all primitive peoples, father transmitted to son the family and tribal stories. It is not to be understood that writing was not known, for as recent discoveries, for example, the Tel el-Amarna tablets, have most clearly shown, there were among the surrounding nations literatures already somewhat developed.

8. The great prehistoric events, among others the fall, the deluge, and the stories of beginnings of civilization, made so great an impression upon the primitive man as to have led to their transmission in various ways through many nations. The facts thus transmitted take on various forms in the different nations. Some of these facts are preserved more fully and more clearly in one nation than in another.

9. The Hebrews, among others, inherited these traditions. When Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees, many of them must have been familiar to him. Naturally, coming himself to be a monotheist, such traditions, passing through his hands, must have assumed more or less of the purified and monotheistic form which they present in later days. It is not probable, however, that this purified and monotheistic form originated at one time. It may better be supposed that it was gradual in its development. Many of the oldest traditions are rejected by the descendants of Abraham because of their polytheistic and degraded character. Those adopted are in each case modified in order to accommodate them to the religious spirit which has now developed in the hearts and minds of the chosen people.

10. In later times, namely, the times following those of Elisha, Elijah, and Jonah, when there has come to exist wonderful activity of a prophetic character, certain prophetic writers, guided by the divine spirit, undertake to teach the people of their times and of future times, the law of God on certain essential matters, and in doing this to employ the material handed down from the past. The material within their reach was doubtless of great variety and very copious. The prophetic

writers, however, in each case, have before them a definite conception of the teachings which they would promulgate, and are controlled throughout by this definite purpose. Each writer, therefore, (*a*) *selects* from the great mass of material that which will answer his purpose, rejecting twenty stories, or a hundred, where he takes a single one, the basis of selection being, as above stated, the adaptability of the stories selected to the great purpose which fills his heart and mind; (*b*) *purifies* the material thus selected by rejecting everything that would tend to foster wrong ideas of what was believed to be essential truth, by omitting also that which was false and calculated to mislead in any way; (*c*) *interprets* the material thus selected as only a prophet of God acquainted with the divine laws could interpret it, seeing with the insight given from above the real significance of these events of old, incorporating this significance and connecting this interpretation with the facts narrated in such a way as to make the result not history, but a great religious story; (*d*) *embellishes*, in a manner beyond criticism from the artistic point of view, the material thus purified and incorporated, so as to make these stories, what history has shown them to be, the most beautiful and effective pedagogical material ever prepared; (*e*) *arranges* them in an order, with a connection and consecution which indicate unity of purpose and execution, this arrangement being frequently logical rather than chronological.

11. Side by side with the development of the prophetic idea there has come also the priestly. The latter, indeed, preceded the former in its origin and in its first active manifestations. Including (*a*) elements inherited from other nations, (*b*) elements borrowed from Egypt, (*c*) the new organization and the additional elements rising in the time of Moses, the system continued to develop from century to century, sometimes falling back, at other times taking advanced ground. In course of time the idea is conceived of narrating the origin and growth of this great system, which has now come to be pervasive in its influence, and all but supreme in its control. A man of priestly habits, guided by the Holy Spirit, undertakes to make a collection of these ancient traditions which shall indicate the divine lessons

which from his point of view they were intended to teach, and follows the plan adopted by his brethren the prophets. Whether he preceded them or followed them is not a question to be discussed at this point. The plan was the same, the general purpose the same; and so he selects, and purifies, and interprets, and embellishes, and arranges the material to accomplish the end he has in view.

12. The purpose of the prophetic writers was to teach the law of God concerning the life of men; how men should live, how they should not live; the difference between right and wrong, and the trouble and invariable consequences of doing wrong. The purpose of the priest was to show the development step by step of the plan of God for the salvation of men; how one institution after another was established, and how, in connection with each, a covenant was entered into with man: (1) The institution of the Sabbath, preceded by what was practically a covenant to give to man the dominion of the earth; (2) the institution of the sacredness of blood, and in connection with this the covenant with Noah; (3) the institution of circumcision, and in connection with this the covenant with Abraham—all these leading up to the last, the greatest, (4) the giving of the law on Sinai, and the covenant entered into with Israel.

13. At a later period, how much later is and always will be a matter of uncertainty, an editor filled with the same general purpose and guided by the same spirit, undertakes to join these various representations together. He makes such changes as seem to him best to be made. He omits material now from one narrative, now from another. He places side by side the different interpretations of the same event, for he sees that, however much these differ one from another, the essential ideas are the same. The world would have been a great loser if this editor had given us only one account of each of the events described. Reference has been restricted in the foregoing statement to the material which makes up the stories of Genesis I.–XI.

We see that the work was done *through man for man.* Prophets and priests acquainted with the principles of divine government undertake to illustrate these principles and in connection

with the illustrations to formulate them. The truth imparted to them from on high is thus given objective form. But every effort to illustrate or to formulate was restricted by limitations of a serious character; limitations growing out of their own imperfect abilities and due also to the character of the people in whose interests they were working. It is true that to Israelitish history God sustained a peculiar relation. As has been said, he entered into this history in a unique way. It was in a true sense divine history; the best history Almighty Power, acting in consistency with other attributes, and working in the hearts of the people dragged down with sin, could inspire.

The same may be said of Israelitish literature; God sustained to it a peculiar relation. It was the best literature Almighty Power, acting in consistency with other attributes, could inspire in the hearts of a people of Semitic blood, living in that period of the world's history; and yet it is imperfect, including different and differing accounts of the same event; what from the point of view of history and science are errors and inconsistencies; what is certainly a total disregard of the common laws of history-writing in vogue today. What, now, shall we say concerning these chapters and the others? That they contain the word of God? This is not sufficient. In the truest and fullest sense, they *are* the word of God. They are and constitute the word of God. Israelitish history being divine history in a unique and peculiar sense, the literature growing out of that history is divine literature in just the same sense. God worked in other history, and the revelation of God appears in other literature, but we must go back to Israelitish history and to Israelitish literature to find the real God-history and the real God-word. The history and the word, each considered as a manifestation of the divine purpose and action, and as a revelation of principles covering faith and duty, are perfect and infallible.

II. *Objections presented by those who have ignored the human element.*

1. Are not the outside stories, copied from the Bible stories? This position is untenable because (1) there is satisfactory evi-

dence that some of the outside stories were in their present form before Israel was a nation; (2) the biblical stories contain upon their face the evidence of comparatively late origin; (3) this objection is based upon the supposition that there was a primitive revelation of the material contained in these stories, which has been preserved pure and intact alone in the Hebrew account. This supposition is opposed at the same time to all the historical facts involved, and to any proper conception of the development of the Old Testament religion.

2. Did not Moses, according to the New Testament, write the law and is not any denial of this fact a denial of the veracity of Jesus himself? It is true that Moses organized the institutions of Israel as they had been inherited or borrowed from other nations before his time, and this pre-Mosaic element in the Mosaic system is very considerable. It is also true that in this reorganization new principles were given by Moses which justify tradition and history in ascribing his name to the system; but it is equally true that many additions and modifications were made in the centuries that followed. Should criticism prove that the larger portion of the Mosaic system, as we have it today, arose in a post-Mosaic period, it would not in any way contradict the representations made in the New Testament. A considerable portion of the law, upon any hypothesis, was Mosaic; the remainder grew out of the Mosaic portion and was permeated by the Mosaic spirit. The real essence of the law was Mosaic, and therefore we are justified today in calling it the Mosaic system. The greatest of our Hebrew grammars is still called by the name of Gesenius although the author has been dead for years, and many new editions of the grammar published since his death, each edition containing modifications of the old material and the addition of much new material. The last edition of Webster's dictionary probably contains very little of what was in the book when the author died. The efforts of certain teachers to make Jesus Christ responsible for a theory which modern scholarship has shown to be false, are attended with great risk. An exact parallel is to be found in the attitude of men, actuated by the same spirit, who said fifty years ago that if the day of creation

was not a day of twenty-four hours, the Bible was false. Thinking men should not allow their eyes to be blinded in this artful and superficial way.

3. Was there no revelation from God before 900 B.C.? This is not a fair implication, for it is distinctly maintained that the facts underlying these narratives are facts which were known to all the intervening centuries; and so far as these facts carry with them the lessons found there, revelation must be acknowledged. It is distinctly maintained that Abraham handed down these stories in a purified form, and that the essence of the Mosaic teaching, which was revealed from God, was known to the people of and after Moses' time. The acceptance of the analysis does not, therefore, bring down the date of the first revelation to the year 900 B.C. It only concedes that the present literary form of this revelation dates from about that period. A distinction must be made between the events themselves and the literary form. An example of this may be seen in the case of the prophet Jonah. The historical narrative in Kings tells us that he was a prophet of the time of Jereboam II., and did his work under that monarch. The evidence presented by the Book of Jonah is that this book comes from a period later than 400 to 450 B.C. In order to understand the *work* of Jonah, and at the same time to understand the *book* of Jonah, one therefore must distinguish between the time of the prophet and the time at which the prophetic narrative assumed its present shape. The fact that the book is of late date does not indicate that the prophet Jonah lived during this later period rather than in the period to which history assigns him.

4. *How can this material be the word of God and yet contain errors and inaccuracies?* It seems impossible to take the space required for a detailed answer to this question. It will be sufficient, at this time, to note, (1) the parallelism between Israelitish history into which God entered in a special way, and Israelitish literature given above (pages 410-13); (2) the fact universally accepted that in the present manuscripts and versions of our Bible, there are errors and inaccuracies; (3) the impossibility of supposing *a priori* that anything with which a human hand has

had to do could be absolutely perfect; (4) that there is no necessity for demanding absolute freedom from error except as concerns religious truth.

5. *How can a statement be false in fact and yet ideally true?* In this form the question is often asked. A moment's consideration shows that this putting of the question is a begging of it. In reply to it we may say (1) that according to the hypothesis here presented the statements are not false in fact. It has been maintained that these statements were true in their essence; (2) that in any case care must be taken to distinguish fact and truth; there are many facts which teach no truth; there is much truth which is not dependent upon fact. (3) That even fiction has been employed in all periods of the world's history for the inculcation of the most important truth. Our Lord himself employed the parable which is a species of fiction. (4) That the phrase "idealized history" presupposes in the case of every narrative to which it is applied, real and genuine history. (5) That this phrase, properly interpreted, means history written for a special purpose, implying, of course, something different from and higher than history written merely to narrate or chronicle facts.

6. *Did not the Bible produce history, rather than history the Bible?* The Bible has produced no history, although history has been moulded and colored by the teachings and representations of the Bible. The history of christianity from the first century down has been influenced by the Bible, but the history of Christianity was not produced by the Bible. Certain great events took place. There would have been historical consequences from these events even if they had never been recorded in literary form. The truth is on every hand that the Bible is the outgrowth of history. David, Isaiah, and Ezekiel lived and worked. Their life and work were a part of the history of the nation Israel. Out of this there grew the Bible. The fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, not any record of it, is the foundation of the believer's belief in his own resurrection. The record of the transaction does not prove it to have taken place. Its occurrence without any written record may be satisfactorily proven. The chief difficulty in popular thought in reference to

the Bible lies in the fact that it has put the cart before the horse in placing emphasis upon the record rather than upon the history which produced the record.

III. Objections urged by those who have ignored the divine element.

1. How can it be shown that these words are not the work of a comparatively late date? This follows from (1) their external character (including literary style and historical allusions) as compared with that of other similar stories; (2) their fundamental character in relation to the older biblical system, the beginnings of which, we must concede, date back to great antiquity; (3) their perfect consistency with the representations which they make concerning themselves.

2. *How can it be shown that God acted in Hebrew history as in no other?* This is the teaching of the facts in the case, for if we study Hebrew history in its environment, Hebrew religious teaching in the midst of the teachings of surrounding nations, the peculiar outcome of Israelitish history as seen in New Testament history, the institutions of Israel as compared with those of other nations, the position of Israel today among the nations of the earth,—there is surely no ground, from a scientific point of view, for doubting this fundamental position.

3. *Is there any more of inspiration in these records than in the work, for example, of John Bunyan?* Because these records are the outgrowth of a theocratic life, a life into which God entered as into no other, the inspiration which belongs to them is peculiar and may not be compared with that of even the world's greatest thinkers. This is something unique and incomparable. The history being what it was, the records are what they are. If, in the providence of God, there shall come another epoch in the world's history, during which he shall select and treat some nation as he did Israel of old, then and not till then shall we have writings to which may be accorded the same kind of inspiration that we accord to the records of Sacred Scripture.

4. *Is the predictive element sufficiently specific to prove anything?* Yes. Even upon the supposition that these predictions come from a period not earlier than the eighth or ninth centuries B. C., we find in them evidence of a knowledge of the

future development of the history of the human race which cannot be explained except upon the ground of the revelation from God. Prediction, to be sure, is and must be general, and these predictions may be said to be generic in each case. It remains true, however, that although generic, the details are of such a character as to make it impossible that they should have been uttered without some peculiar knowledge of the divine plan, or at all events of the principles which underlie that plan.

5. *Cannot the superiority of the Hebrew stories be accounted for on purely natural grounds?* The effort to do this has been made many times, but always without success. It is just as great a mistake to throw out the supernatural element and try to explain everything from a purely natural view as it is to throw out the natural element and try to explain everything from the supernatural view. There is, without question, natural development, but in connection with this and permeating it through and through, there was a divine element. If we allow this divine element to be recognized as one of the factors, then everything may be said to be natural. It is impossible, however, to explain the presence of certain elements in Hebrew history and narrative, or the absence of the same elements in the history and narrative of contemporaneous nations, without asking why, if in the former case it was natural, it does not appear also in the latter?

6. *If these stories are divine why do men, Christians as well as skeptics, so largely fail to recognize the divine element?* No one will deny that few people comparatively believe in the historical or even the religious value of these stories. This does not disprove the divine element in them. It shows merely that these people deny a particular current interpretation of these stories, and that the world supposed that in the denial of this particular interpretation there is also a denial of the divine element in them. All this is wrong. A reasonable view of the narratives will receive acceptance. It is because men have been expected to adopt a thoroughly artificial and monstrous interpretation that they have been compelled to deny the divine element. When the real facts of the material are presented, and the true philos-

ophy of the divine element is understood, men will no longer hesitate to accept these chapters as an organic part of the divine word with which they are connected, and they will no longer make their unbelief in these chapters an excuse for their unbelief in the Bible as a whole.

The writer is conscious of the fact that his statements made in these lectures when they were originally delivered and repeated now in this more tangible form have been the subject of much discussion. These statements have been misunderstood and misinterpreted by some. There is much evidence, however, that the statements have been appreciated by many, and that they have been a source of help to not a few. To each of the three classes into which all readers were at first divided, it remains to say just a word.

Do not you who have always literalized the Scriptures now realize how impossible, how really dangerous it is to cling to a theory with so small a basis, a theory the only support of which is tradition and *a priori* argument? Do you not see that as surely as there is a God you are pulling him down into the dust, that you are degrading him whom you would honor? Will you longer dictate to him how to act and what to do and not rather, studying reverently and closely the events and deeds recorded, from these determine what he is and what is his method of dealing with men? I may be pardoned for repeating what has been said before. It was the literal and artifical handling of Scripture which blinded the eyes of the Jews and led to the rejection of the Messiah when he came. This same literal and artificial method has blinded the eyes of men today, and as a result the Old Testament is practically rejected from being reckoned a part of the Divine Word. Why will you continue to place the letter *below* the spirit?

Of you who have never seen the hand of God in these holy pages, I ask for honest and candid thought. I do not blame you for failing to accept the literal and artifical theory of which I have spoken. But show me why you should not accept this broader, yet simpler way of looking at these things. I have presented you a reasonable view. It is based upon scientific

evidence. It has come from an examination of the facts. It covers the facts as does no other hypothesis. If you will make this point of view your own, and henceforth read these chapters, remembering that there is something in them more than the human, your life will be quickened, you will come nearer to God, you will see what the divine writers have desired you to see, the magnitude of sin and the still greater magnitude of the love of God.

There were those whose attitude was that of indifference, but I cannot make myself believe that there is a man or woman who has carefully looked into the contents of these chapters, and after such investigation remained indifferent. Whatever view such an one may have had, whatever view he now holds, he has thrown aside, I am persuaded, his former apathy. These chapters have for him now a great significance, and with difficulties at least in part removed, with the way at least in part clearer, he will not know hereafter what it is to be indifferent to the highest, holiest, deepest things ever penned. It were better to be a skeptic than to be indifferent.

If I have helped any one by the publication of these papers, and the testimonials so frequently and kindly given convince me that I have, I thank God that he has furnished me the opportunity to do this service. If, on the other hand, my words have disturbed any; if anything has been said which would weaken the faith in God or in the Christ, or in the Word, I sincerely trust that a higher power will counteract the injurious influence which my words may have exerted, and that to such persons there may be given special strength to resist the machinations of the evil one, who is at their side making every effort to persuade them that *truth* is harmful and that a search for truth may lead to wrong. It is not so. Truth is divine, and to try to find it is the most glorious work that man can do; because searching for truth is searching for God.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

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V. GALILEE.

Great natural beauty of Galilee.—Three divisions of district.—Its boundaries.—Origin of the name Galilee.—Configuration of the country.—The great highway through it.—The Plain of Esdraelon, the scene of many great battles.—Nazareth.—Wide prospects and noble scenery.—Galilee in the path of commerce.—Josephus' figures for population of Galilee not improbable.—Influence of the district upon Jesus.—The Sea of Galilee.—Contrast of its present condition with what it was in Christ's time.—Capernaum was probably the present Khan Minzeh.—Location of Bethsaida.—The sacredness of Galilee to our memory.

Fortunate is the traveler who is not compelled to enter Palestine from the north and pass from the glory of Galilee to the rocky barrenness of Judea. Jerusalem is, indeed, before him and Bethlehem. Every part of the land is full of historic interest, but there is no finer setting of the pictures of the gospels than that which is made by the lake shore and the mountains of this favored region. Nature here has given of all her wealth — springs, brooks, broad, fertile plains, gentle hills, pleasant valleys, protecting mountains and a noble lake. The bracing air upon the hills and the softer climate of the lake-basin have made possible the widest variety of products from the land, and the sea has done well its part in supplying human needs.

We can best study it all, and from our study gain some conception of the relation of the land to its history, by dividing it into three parts: (1) the great plain of Esdraelon, (2) the mountainous district, and (3) the lake.

Before taking these up separately let us mark the boundaries and extent of the whole. On the north, the natural boundary is the river Leontes, or Litany, which ranks next to the Jordan and flows with winding course, down a deep gorge to the Mediterranean. On the East, the Jordan and the lakes of Merom

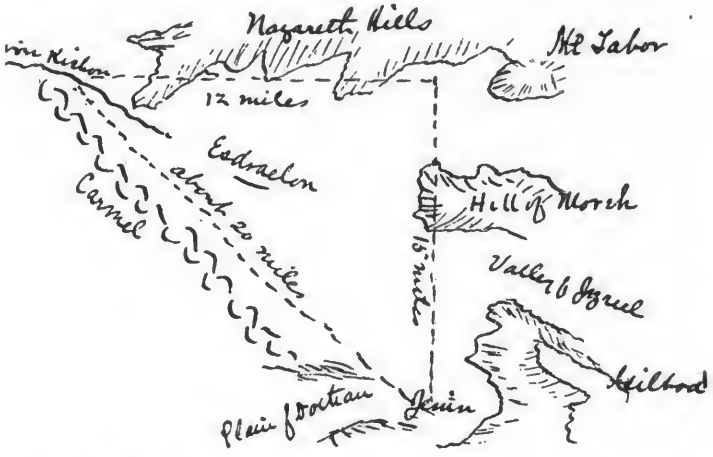
and of Galilee make the natural limit; on the south, a line passing from the Jordan along the southern side of the plain of Esdraelon and running along Carmel to the sea. On the west, Phœnicia. The eastern and southern boundaries changed at times, but when these were as given above, all four included a space of about 1600 square miles. From Jenin on the southern border to the Leontes is about fifty miles, and it is about one-half that distance across the land from east to west. It was not until the time of the Maccabees that that name which appears in our New Testament—"The Galilee"—came to denote the whole northern region. The real reason why the Greek article is used with this word in nearly every case in the New Testament (it is wanting only twice) is that this beautiful land, widening from the small "circuit" which at first included only a few cities on the eastern side, became at last "*the* circuit," "*the* Galilee" *par excellence*.

Taking up our division into plain, mountains and lake, let me ask you, in order to gain a clear conception of the first, the plain, to go with me to the western slope of the hill of Moreh, which rises back of Shunem. From our place of outlook we can command the whole plain, and the triangular shape of it is at once discernible. If we make Carmel the base of the triangle we have for one of the sides a line passing north and south through our standing place and another running nearly east and west along the base of the Nazareth hills. In crude outline it may be given as on opposite page.

Two prominent openings into it are on the eastern side of the triangle—the plain extending to Mount Tabor and the valley of Jezreel which, with broad sweep, goes down to the Jordan. Away at the northwestern corner, where the northern hills come close to Carmel, is the narrow pass of the river Kishon. The configuration of it all is the best interpreter of its troubled history.

From the bay of Acre at the northwest, just beyond the pass of the Kishon; from the plain of Dothan which is separated from it by only moderate hills on the south and which itself opens easily into the maritime plain; from the valley of Jezreel

with its ascent from the Jordan; from the opening near Tabor into the upland by the lake,—ready access was found to this broad undulating fertile plain. It is *the* highway across Palestine. Here was space for chariots; and armies, either from Egypt, or the west, or the east, made it their pathway to the East or to the Sea. Because of its character and position every part of it is rich in historic associations. Over there nearly opposite us, where the Nazareth hills approach Carmel, was the camp of



Sisera by the pass of Kishon; around at our left, as we face the west, was the scene of Gideon's brilliant rout of the Midianites who were encamped just below the hill of Moreh while Gideon was on the slope of Gilboa opposite; just beneath us is the old camp of the Philistines at Shunem who gathered against Saul and defeated him on Gilboa; there at Megiddo, Josiah attempted the defeat of the Egyptian host and was himself defeated; and south of us near Jenin was the camp of Holofernes. Near Carmel were the camps of the Roman armies. Again, at the foot of the very hill on which we are standing was a stronghold of the Crusaders, and here, too, the French routed the Turks. And even now the Bedouin swarm up the valley of Jezreel and make

themselves a terror. As we looked out upon the peaceful scene one bright sunny day when the laborers were busy in the fields and the charm of the whole landscape with its frame of mountains came completely before us, it was difficult to realize that this peace had so often been broken by the terrible ferocity of war. There is no other spot in the world quite like it. It has been "big with destiny." It has been compared "to a vast theater with its clearly defined stage, with its proper exits and entrances," and the figure is striking, for the drama both of nations and of religion itself has had some of its most significant scenes here — so significant, indeed, as to suggest the symbolism of that greater conflict of the Apocalypse "the battle of the great day of God Almighty . . . . when the kings of the whole world shall be gathered together unto the place which is called in Hebrew Har-Magedon."

In vivid contrast to all this is that quiet, yet thrilling scene of the gospels which was enacted here upon the very slope of the hill of Moreh — when the sad procession, just coming out of the gate of the city of Nain, was met by the Savior, and its mourning turned into unspeakable joy by the restoration of the widow's son to life.

As we turn to go northward into the mountain district, two ways are open to us. Either we can go around Tabor and ascend to the plateau near the lake, passing the ruined fortress on Tabor which guarded this road, or we can take the road leading us directly to Nazareth. We take the latter, and soon find ourselves climbing all the circuitous way which brings us into the very heart of the hills and to Nazareth itself. One cannot forget, as one looks upon the place, that here Christ spent the greatest part of his life, and as the scene is characteristic of the hill country of Galilee, we may well stay by a while and study it. The present Nazareth is lower down the hill than was the ancient town, but whatever the changes in the place itself, the hills are there as Christ looked upon them. We can get our best view from the ridge back of the town, and our climb is rewarded by a prospect that is as varied as it is interesting. Looking south, the whole western portion of the plain of Esdraelon is spread out

before us, and on beyond it, Mount Gilboa and the high hills of Samaria. As we face toward the south, on our right, beyond the hills, gleam the waters of the Mediterranean. Turning from the sea toward the north, our eyes fall upon one end of the large, fertile plain of Asochis, and yet more directly north on the higher hills of upper Galilee, while over toward the northeast, we can discern the borders of the lake basin and the valley of the Jordan, and far away in the distance, snowy Hermon. If wide prospect and noble scenery make their impress upon the mind, what a joy this scene must have been to the opening mind of the Christ-child! And that hill-top carries one really away from what is called "the exclusion of Nazareth." To have known anything of Jewish history, must have made one feel on that hill-top, back of the city, how close by it all had been.

Then, too, in any geographical study of Galilee, one must not forget the place and importance of the great roads that crossed it and their relation to the cities and villages. Galilee was much nearer the life of the world than was Judea. Over her great highways merchants were passing and repassing, soldiers were dispatched, officials journeyed. And some of these important roads were but a little way from Nazareth. One of the great roads from Damascus came up from the Jordan to the plateau on the western side of the lake and crossed to Acco by Cana and Sepphoris; another passed around Tabor, crossed the plain and then went southwest to Gaza and Egypt. Is it supposable that these came so near Nazareth, and yet it knew nothing of all that such thoroughfares imply? The more we have come to know of these great roads, the more we feel that the estimates of both Dr. Merrill and Professor Smith regarding Nazareth as being in the very midst of the life of its generation, rather than isolated from it, are worthy of consideration. As the latter has said, "the pressure and problems of the world outside God's people must have been felt by the youth of Nazareth as by few others."

There is a clear line of division in the mountain district itself. If one were to draw a line across the map from the upper end of the lake of Galilee to the coast, and then mark the mountains,

he would find that all those north of the line were considerably higher. The average of those below the line is under 2000 feet, while above it there are those as high as 4000. This latter fact makes the scenery of upper Galilee imposing, and yet it does not take the stern, forbidding character of Judea. Everywhere the land was fertile. The region all about Safed, "the city set on a hill," was marked for its fertility, and Josephus speaks of the land as "inviting by its productiveness, even those who had the least inclination for agriculture; it is everywhere productive." One must take these, and other statements like them, which could be quoted, into account when the matter of the population in the time of Christ is to be considered. For example, it is said that for sixteen miles about Sepphoris (a city not far from Cana) "the region was fertile, flowing with milk and honey." It is not surprising, therefore, that near the beautiful open valleys, and on the gentler slopes of lower Galilee and on the hill-tops in upper Galilee, many cities existed. Josephus says that altogether there were 204 of them—the smallest of which numbered above 15,000 inhabitants.[1] This makes, indeed, a large population, but considering the conditions of the land, its trade interests and its lake industry, and the packed way of living in the cities, this is not improbable.[2] How it all intensifies the picture which the gospel gives when it says that as "Jesus went about all the cities and villages teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness" (Matt. 9:35). In view of them, with their thousands of needy souls, he could pathetically say, "the harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few."

Such, in brief, is the mountain district of Galilee—a land of valleys between beautiful hills; of mountains that are imposing but not barren; of springs and watercourses that were the very symbols of life; of vines and fruit trees and grain-fields that gave support to a great population; of roads and caravansaries and places of customs that kept its people in close touch with the world beyond; of cities and towns that themselves teemed

[1] Life, XLV.

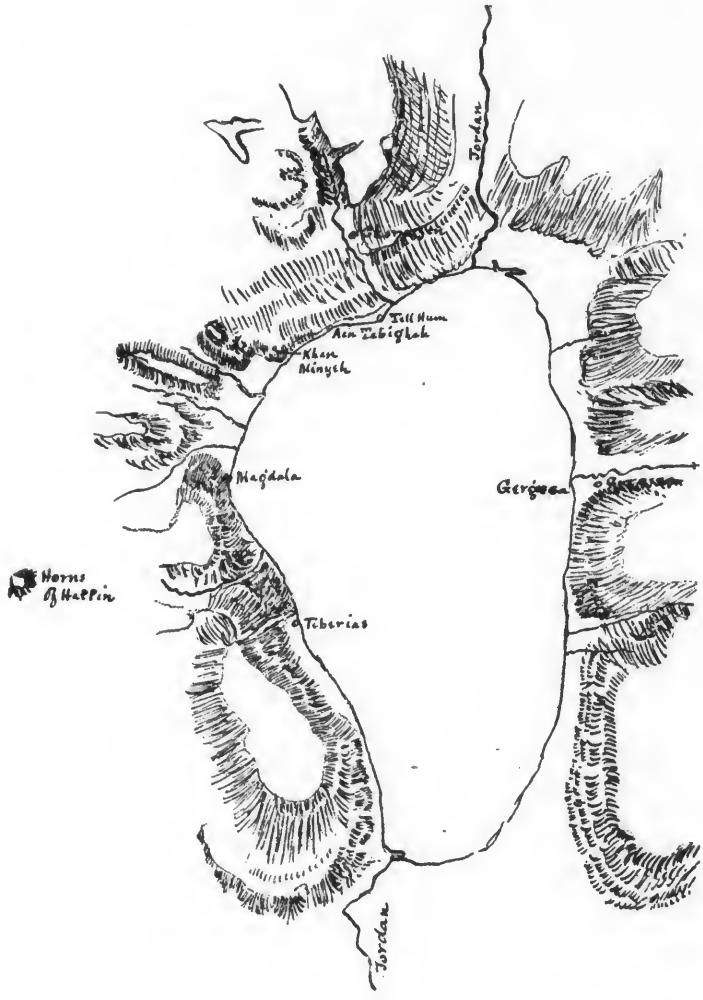
[2] See for other reasons Merrill's "Galilee in the Time of Christ," p. 64 ff.

with activity. In Galilee Christ may have learned far more of the world than we are accustomed to think. His meditations upon his mission and upon himself may have gained increasing definiteness from the very environment of this busy, eager province. Nazareth was only six hours from Ptolemais on the coast —the port for Roman traffic; it was only two hours from Tabor, Nain, and Endor; one-and-one-half from Cana and Sepphoris, and itself a city. It is not an extravagant supposition that Christ may have been in all of these neighboring cities during those years of which we know so little. There is only one place on this mountain district beside Nazareth that is mentioned in the New Testament, and that is Cana. The modern traveler is taken to the village of Kefr Kenna, and shown the water pots and the place of the wedding scene. Another site claims the honor of that imperishable incident, but the position of Kefr Kenna on the road from Nazareth to the lake, argues for it rather than for the other.

From all that we know of the Sea of Galilee the contrast between its present appearance and that of the days when Peter and John fished in its waters and Christ taught by its shores is sharp and saddening. It was our privilege to look down upon it for the first time from the Horns of Hattin on a lovely day in April, when the hills all about were covered with verdure and the waters were as blue as the sky they reflected. We had prepared ourselves for disappointment, and had we gazed upon the scene a month or so later, when the hot sun had withered the grass and taken away the glory of the spring time, we should have had no such delightful memories of the whole region as we gained that day. Despite the desolate shores and the deserted lake surface it was charming, and, as the sun, toward evening, cast long shadows from the western hills across the still waters and the coolness of twilight invited one to walk along the beach, we could understand how a Rabbi might say, "Jehovah hath created seven seas, but the Sea of Gennesaret is his delight." What it was in Christ's time we shall see in a moment. The general shape of the lake can be best seen on the accompanying outline (on p. 429). It is twelve miles long and about eight broad at its widest part. The hills

on the western side close in upon it except in two places, viz., just below Tiberias and just above Magdala. There is quite a recession of the hills at the northeast corner and a narrow space runs nearly all along the eastern shore. From the source of the Jordan to its entrance into the lake the river has made a considerable descent, for the surface of the lake is about 680 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. In this great depression is a climate like that of the tropics. One can see in a moment from the configuration of the shores how the lake is quickly and violently tossed by the winds. Down the gorges through which the streams find their way the cooler winds of the uplands are drawn as through funnels and almost without warning they lash the lake-surface and place anything upon it in peril. These sudden violent squalls but repeat the "storms" which are the setting of some of the vivid events of the gospels.

When we referred to the contrast in the present appearance of the lake to that of Christ's day, we had in mind especially the life and thrift at that time everywhere apparent. Tiberias with its wretched poverty, and the miserable Mejdel (Magdala) are now the only places of human habitation, and one has no desire to linger by either of them. We had difficulty in securing a single boat to carry us over to Capernaum. The blight of the Turk is upon this fair region. What must have been the charm of the scene, when added to all its own attractiveness, there was that of hundreds of boats moving in all directions; of beautiful palaces with fruitful gardens all along the shore; of large towns full of activity and of highways busy with trade. Nine or more cities stood on or near the shores, and every phase of life was represented in them. The region of Gennesaret which begins at Magdala and extends along the lake according to Josephus thirty furlongs with an average breadth of twenty furlongs was the very "garden of the Lord." In its genial climate and soil flourished the walnut, the palm, the fig tree and the olive, exhibiting, as Josephus says, "an ambitious effort of nature, doing violence to herself in bringing together plants of discordant habits and an amicable rivalry of the seasons, each, as it were, asserting her right to the soil."


Jordan
Tell Hum
Ain Tabigha
Khan Minyeh
Magdala
Gergesa
Horns of Hattin
Tiberias
Jordan

With the deepest interest one comes to this part of the land and of the lake, for here the Lord spent, if we count his whole ministry, three and one-half years, *two* of these momentous years making Capernaum "his own city," doing many mighty works both in Bethsaida and Chorazin, and going from this region for his tours in upper and lower Galilee. All three cities Bethsaida, Chorazin and Capernaum are in question. Taking Josephus' description of the extent of Gennesaret, Capernaum may well be placed at Khan Minzeh. It then stood upon an elevation commanding in position, and it was near the point where the roads from the south and the west turned into the road to Damascus. The ruins of the synagogue at the present Tell Hum signify little for the determination of the site, and there is much more to be said for Khan Minzeh than for this. Chorazin is placed about two and one-half miles northwest of Tell Hum on the left bank of a valley which comes down to the lake near Tell Hum. Bethsaida, if there were two Bethsaidas, was probably at Ain Tabighah. There is much to support this, and, if we accept it, the beautiful shore that here skirts the lake is a memorable place. Its gentle sandy slope is admirably adapted for fishing boats. Here upon the beach the multitude stood while Jesus spake to them from a boat just off from shore —and to this the wondering fishermen came back with their miraculous draught of fishes and "then left all and followed him." But Bethsaida and Chorazin and Capernaum, all of them exalted in privilege, have met an earthly judgment which has made even their actual sites doubtful. In the day of their privilege they were busy, thriving towns, in touch with the outside world; apparently "too busy" to care for the teachings of a prophet from Nazareth. On the open space at the northeast of the lake occurred the feeding of the five thousand, and at some distance back from the shore by the river Jordan stood Bethsaida Julias. The scene of the cure of the demoniac is located near Gergesa on the east side below the Wady Semakh. How much of the story of the gospels plays upon the northern end of this lake! Here were the beginnings of Christianity in the lives of those disciples who slowly learned the meaning of his words and deeds

Again we must call attention to the position of it all. Why did Christ go to Gennesaret to make his home? Why did he spend so much time about the northern end of this favored lake? Was it not the very character of the people that called him hither? Galilee was loyal in faith, indeed more so to the law than Judea, but it was also more generous and large-minded because of its closer contact with other peoples. Here he would find his first disciples: here he himself wished to move, in touch with the broader influences of life, and no place on earth has more hallowed associations, unless it be the slopes of Olivet. The pictures that were made by its fields, its vineyards, its highways, its streets and lanes are all in the Gospels. Here by day he went about doing good, and when night came with its "deep, blue sky, spangled with the brilliancy of innumerable stars," he went aside to pray. Mountains, lake, and the heavens above them,—all speak of him.

SAUL BEN-KISH.

By Robert Kerr Eccles, M. D.,
Salem, O.

A nation's first king.—Ground of Israel's demand.—Election of Saul.—His early vigor and piety.—Philistine wars.—Deterioration of character.—Relations with David.—Battle of Gilboa and death of Saul.

A first king is always a prodigy to the after generations of the people among whom his prominence was achieved; and not unjustly, for the man who wrests for the first time from his peers the reverence and submission on which kingship is founded must be in some practical way the superior of his contemporaries. *Magnus* is at the root of *majestas*, really as well as verbally, and we may be sure that the personality lying behind a Theseus or a Romulus was of no ordinary mold. And then, as might be expected, the fascination of such special preëminence stimulates whatever of poetic faculty is in the people over whom it has been won; and so it comes to pass that what the man himself is —"the bright, particular star," as it were—has further affixed to it in story a halo of romance; an appendage which, while not strictly historical, always gives to the less glistening facts around which it accumulates, an added formative influence on at least the unsophisticated mind. Did not Theseus appear and help his Hellenes at Marathon?

But while the histories of most first kings thus take on a legendary cast, the history of the first king of the Hebrews is a striking exception. It stands before us with all the clearness of simple narrative. What is called the "supernatural" is present in the record because it was present in the occurrences. Saul lived in a period when the religious education of our race needed phenomena of this kind. Just as in the geologic world a period of abrupt and cataclysmic change preceded the present tranquillity and regularity, so in the religious world a period of signs and wonders preceded the present comparative uniformity.

He who admits the existence of a megatherium may admit the occurrence of a miracle; both are facts, if preliminary and passing. But the element of the supernatural, though present in the history of Saul, is not there to an extent to withdraw it from the business and bosoms of us who are walking in the morning-red of the twentieth century *anno Domini*. We can follow the ill-fated monarch with genuine human sympathy, even when he is nearest the spirit land. His story is singular, solemn, sublime. Thoughtful students gather round it as Israel camped round Sinai. Out of darkness, thunder-riven, God speaks. Much we can understand, but some things are awful and incomprehensible. In its simplicity mingled with a certain largeness and tragicalness, this narrative is the Æschylean tale of the Hebrews.

The weird is the outcome of disordered times. Like the beast of the Apocalypse it emerges from a troubled sea. And Saul, himself and his history, could only develop during an era transitional and troublous,—an era when Israel, frequently harassed and always threatened from without, found its chief danger from within. Disintegration seemed imminent. The common worship of Jehovah was of too subtile and refined a nature to exercise a unifying influence on its gross and materialistic people. They longed for the centre of loyalty and confidence possessed by other nations—a king. To this change in the plan of the nation's government, arising as it did from unspirituality, Samuel, the venerable prophet-judge, was strenuously opposed. He declared that from the religious side it was ungrateful wickedness, and from the political-side unmitigated folly to reject God and endow any one of their fellows with the dangerous prerogatives of a monarch. But in spite of his denunciations, warnings, and entreaties, the people persisted in counting themselves unworthy of their unique position as the kingdom of God. And, alas! for the stout old prophet, his witnessing for the expiring *régime* was largely neutralized by the sordid and unprincipled conduct of his sons, whom he had himself inducted into office as his successors in the judgeship. Yet it was only when directly admonished by God to desist that he withdrew his

official opposition, and with a submission to the divine requirement which does highest credit to his piety, stifling all public expression of his antagonism both as saint and statesman to the popular movement, he awaited events.

Nor had he long to wait. Soon by divine premonition he knew that within "a day" the man chosen of heaven to be future king would present himself. And even then a young man of Benjamin is hesitating about pursuing further a fruitless search after some lost asses. But on the recommendation of his servant and on the discovery of sufficient "backsheesh" in an almost exhausted scrip, he consents to submit the matter to the wisdom of a "seer," "a man of God, an honorable man" in a city close by. Following the genially loquacious directions of some maidens who had come out to draw water, anon the inquirers find themselves in the presence of Samuel. How natural and how pleasing the contrasts brought out in this incident. Though the question of a nation's welfare is in the quivering scale, yet asses must be looked after, and water pots filled; and in the tissue of the divine arrangement the large and the small intertwine.

Saul and Samuel face to face! It is a notable meeting. To the prophet the inner voice speaks, "This same shall rule over my people Israel." Just on his way to give his benediction to a public ceremonial, he assures the young man of the recovery of the straying property and takes him along. Among the distinguished guests present at the solemnity he treats him with special consideration. In the privacy of the evening retirement he reveals to him the mind of God more fully. In the early morning he accompanies his guest to the suburbs of the city, and there in perfect solitude bestows the royal chrism. Beneath this lofty unction it was impossible for even the modest Saul to cherish further doubt. His calling and election were sure. At once his whole being began to accommodate itself to the exalted conviction. He feels the stress of *noblesse oblige*. On his way home the truth of Samuel's principal assurance was established by the fulfillment in series of a number of minor predictions given by the prophet as confirmations. When the last and crowning incident of this nature, a company of prophets in the wreathed

"chain" of a dance executed to music met him, Saul's enthusiasm reached its height; "The spirit of Jehovah came upon him," and revealing under the intense excitement a strain of poetry hitherto unexpected, but which afterwards showed itself at certain crises of his life, he flung aside his hike and joined in their dance and improvisations. His acquaintances, who had not previously seen anything of the rhapsode in the stalwart young farmer, exclaimed, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" and hereafter this query became a proverb expressing surprise at the occurrence of the unexpected mingled perhaps with a little incredulity. An uncle of the neophyte, with more insight than the others, suspected that this mental exaltation of his nephew had something to do with his recent visit to Samuel. But, though interrogated, the youth, with that reticence so frequently the gift of men of large body, kept his secret to himself.

Thus was Saul privately prepared for his high destiny. But the people must "know" him who was "over them in the Lord." The office of public installation was twofold. The first occurred at Mizpah and was local. Samuel was of course the chief officiator, and with the "Stone of Help" in view, with its glorious memories, the old man may be pardoned if he prefaced his duties with some lamentation over the people's lapse from the theocratic relation. He then submitted to divine decision the question, who was to be the first king of Israel? The lot by successively narrowing circles finally rested on Saul Ben-Kish. The young man, who, as we have seen, already knew his destiny, dreaded these public formalities, and attempted to avoid them by hiding himself among the baggage which was drawn up around this national camping-ground. He was, however, soon discovered, and by a kindly violence placed before the people. At sight of the blushing giant, even the prophet felt the influence of "goodliness" of body, especially when connected with an absence of ostentation, and in words which even yet convey a genuine admiration, he addressed the people, and said: "Look ye on him whom Jehovah has chosen, there is none like him among all the people." And those who heard this vigorous "Ecce homo," when they saw before them one who so fully

answered their physical ideal of a king made the "Watch Tower" and "The Tooth" and even "The Stone of Help" to reverberate that cry to be afterwards heard so frequently and under such varied circumstances,—"Long live the King." But as approbation, however general, is never absolutely universal, there were some malcontents. The insults offered by these "worthless fellows," though open and deliberate, were, with a restraint not often illustrated by those new to power, ignored by Saul.

The ability of the young monarch was soon tested. An Ammonite invasion had been for some time impending. Indeed preparation for this was an element of urgency in the appointment of a king. In about a month, if we accept the Septuagint version, the storm burst and Nahash threatened Jabesh-gilead with a doom unusually wanton and cruel. Amid the terrified and weeping people Saul acted on Samuel's advice on the morning of the anointing: "Do thou as occasion serves thee, for God is with thee." With the vigorous promptness of a veteran chieftain, the farmer-monarch adopted an expedient not unknown in the history of Benjamin. He hewed in pieces the yoke of oxen he was driving when the ill news arrived. The bleeding members were sent through "the coast of Israel." To the summons of this gruesome symbol there was a general response. So thoroughly were the Ammonites discomfited that "two of them were not left together." But even in this uprising of the Hebrew nation we detect that "little rift" which would "slowly widen" into the future disruption. The census of Judah is taken apart from that of Israel.

The fertility of device and firmness of temper exhibited in this matter of Jabesh-Gilead made Saul the darling of his people. They would, with Oriental fervency, have proved their devotion by putting to death those who had insulted their favorite. But here again Saul's averseness to the shedding of blood showed itself; he firmly refused to have the lustre of such a day of deliverance sullied by useless severity. Samuel, on the watch to strengthen the hands of the young monarch in every legitimate way, utilized this prevalent enthusiasm to secure for his *protégé* a larger recognition as king than had been possible at Mizpah. He hastened

to convene a meeting at historic Gilgal. Here in the first days of the occupation the people had by the resumption of the rite of circumcision "rolled away the reproach of Egypt." Here, then, "the kingdom should be renewed." The new dynasty should be "broad-based upon a people's will." A plebiscite was taken. "There they made Saul king before Jehovah in Gilgal." Upon this fitting theatre closed the period of the judges and opened the period of the kings. Samuel announced his retirement from public life, and in his valedictory words reiterated his regret at the downward step which the people had taken, but, knowing that hopelessness is the enemy of virtuous effort, with a tender consideration went on to add that even on the lower platform of national existence which they had chosen, if both they and the king should continue following Jehovah, it would be well with them. That a conscious Deity still took interest in Israel he demonstrated by invoking successfully "thunder and rain" in the parched months of wheat harvest. He comforted them with an allusion to the covenant by which it had pleased God to make them his people, and with an assurance that though as a judge he no longer moved among them, yet that as a priest he would pray for them, and as a prophet teach them "the good and right way." With these words of compassion and encouragement, Samuel left the governmental stage free to Saul.

The curtain now falls for a time upon the life of Saul. When it rises again, after an interval perhaps of fifteen years, it is no longer the retiring youth in affectionate and dependent alliance with Samuel, who is disclosed. It is a veteran warrior in the practice of his trade, and with whom Samuel is only occasionally present. In his obscurity he has been waging war with the Philistines, but so unsuccessfully that these, from being invaders, threaten to become occupiers of a central portion of his kingdom. The spirit of the nation is completely broken. The army consists of only three thousand men, and is rather a body of personal retainers than a national force. Many of the people have betaken them to the mountain hiding-places. The Philistines have taken care to deprive the farmers of such tools as

might be available in warfare, and not unwisely, since sometimes, in the hands of an indigent but indignant people, the pruning hook has become a spear, and the plowshare a sword. No forge was worked by an Israelite, and if even a goad needed to be sharpened it had to be taken to a Philistian smith. In Saul and his handful of household troops was the attenuated continuity of Israelitish nationality alone preserved. The principal portion of these held the heights of Michmash. Beneath was a deep ravine, and on the opposite side some Philistines were encamped at Geba. Upon the rear and left flank of these were posted a thousand men under Jonathan, who for the first time steps upon the scene a mature and capable guerilla warrior. His position of vantage enabled him by sudden assault to exterminate the neighboring garrison. Saul bruited this daring deed throughout the land, to stimulate the faltering courage of his people. But the affair only awoke the Philistines to more violent aggression. They entered the land "in multitude as the sand which is on the seashore." Saul fell back on Gilgal, as the best gathering place for the nation. The ever-increasing host of the enemy was only ten miles away. His own army was hourly dwindling. The campaign had begun irregularly by his hasty action in making the temporary success of Jonathan a signal for a general rising. It should have been heedfully entered upon with solemn sacrificial rites performed by Samuel as the high priest of the nation. And now at Gilgal the impetuous monarch would rectify his mistake. There, according to appointment, he purposed to wait seven days for the coming of Samuel. But the tension became extreme. His people were deserting him, and the attack of the Philistines was likely soon to be made. In such crises men's characters are revealed to their depths. Saul's inveterate self-confidence was laid bare. His subordination to Samuel in any respect had been always irksome to him. At such a conjuncture as the present it was intolerable. If Samuel had the interests of Israel as deeply at heart as he, why was he not present? But why, indeed, should this preliminary rite of sacrifice be alone entrusted to one who was only lingering superfluous on the public stage? How fertile the fretful spirit in such queries! Perhaps the hard and worldly spirit

of the monarch saw in this deferred sacrificial rite only a histrionic device to affect favorably the fainting spirits of a superstitious people, and if so, why might not he perform it as well as another? But with so little of detail before us we can only imperfectly surmise the character of Saul's soul wanderings. We do, however, know that these seven days of anxious expectancy were crucial days to him. "He that believeth shall not make haste." But he had not that confidence in his mission as God's agent for the deliverance of Israel which would have enabled him to "stand still and see the salvation of God." He cannot hold his irritable impatience in check. Before the completion of the seventh day he began the service of sacrifice, in the continued absence of Samuel. It was to consist of two parts, a burnt offering and a peace offering. Scarcely had the smoke of the burnt offering ceased to stain the sky when Samuel was present. Sternly he denounced this act of impetuous prematurity: "Thou hast done foolishly. Thou hast not kept the commandment of Jehovah. Thy kingdom shall not continue." It would be unworthy of the whole history of Samuel to consider these words as the language of an intolerant priest denouncing an infringement of his functions. As in the sacrifice of Cain, the ritualistic irregularity implied moral depravity in the offerer. Saul's insubordination, impatience, and disobedience were unworthy of his elevated place, and dangerous as an example to his people. He was unfit for the throne. Tested as a king he was found a "castaway." "Now thy kingdom shall not continue," said Samuel.

Nor had this impious and unfortunate action the temporary success which Saul had hoped would accrue from it. When he retired to Gibeah his followers were reduced by desertions to six hundred men. Again, it is Jonathan's personal prowess that stayed the falling fortunes of Israel. The Philistines were encamped close by. In three divisions their raiders were devastating the land. Their principal garrison was perched on a triple summit in Michmash. Against this the crown prince devised his act of daring. Accompanied by his armor-bearer, and under covert of its rocky sides, he clambered to the top, and there wrought so great a slaughter that the defenders evacuated the position in

such haste as to throw the camp beneath, weakened as it was by the large numbers detailed on foraging expeditions, into a general panic. The Israelitish watchmen soon detected the unusual confusion. Saul was at a loss to account for it, and sent for the ephod to make inquiry of Jehovah. But as he heard the noise beneath increase, his warrior spirit irreverently arrested the appeal to heaven. Like "the wild roe of Israel" he sprung with his little band of trained warriors upon the rout, invoking with his usual recklessness a curse upon him who, at such a critical conjuncture in the affairs of his country, arrested his sword to take food. There was a general rising of the people, and only at Aijalon did fatigue and the approach of night compel a halt. The ill effects of Saul's rash imprecation were now apparent. The victors in the pressure of their hunger disregarded the usual ritual regulations in the hasty preparation of their food. To obviate this error Saul appointed a sort of central *abattoir*, and to expiate the guilt erected an altar. But a further and more personally poignant effect was to be experienced by Saul. No celestial phenomenon lengthened the day as when Joshua smote the Amorite in this neighborhood. The question of a night pursuit was therefore debated. When the divine determination was sought there was no reply. The pollution of some crime lay upon the camp. On investigation Jonathan was found to have tasted a little honey. The unintentional misdemeanant at once offered himself as the piacular victim for the people, and Saul in his martial frenzy would no doubt have anticipated the accursed *Imperia Manliana* of Roman history, and immolated his son on the battle-field, had not the army interfered with such unanimous firmness that even the furious despot withdrew from his purpose. Nor was this the only time when Saul sought to slay Jonathan. His bearing towards his favorite son is inexplicable, for while usually tenderly affectionate, it sometimes betrayed a malignant suspicion, founded it would seem on some painful occurrence in his mother's history.

War was Saul's life long occupation. He fought at intervals against Moab, and Ammon, and Edom, and Zobah, but ever with the irrepressible Philistines, His treasure and his time were

spent principally upon his army. Like an Oriental Frederick William, "When he saw any strong man or any valiant man he took him unto him." At length arrived the grand climacteric of his moral life. Samuel as the mouthpiece of Heaven, deputed to him the most solemn duty which can be required at the hands of a man — the extermination of the Amalekites. It was a popular undertaking, and Heaven's executioner found himself at the head of two hundred and ten thousand men,—a gathering which suggests the hordes which went on the early crusades, or followed the Mahdi recently in the Soudan. Notwithstanding this vast equipment Saul did not, as he might have done, root out this brigand tribe. This their inroads soon after upon the Philistine and Hebrew borders, of which the assault on Ziklag was a part, made evident. He harried the country from Havilah to Shur, and destroyed everything along his path. But as Samuel's accusation sets forth, though commissioned to fight against the Amalekites till they were utterly destroyed, he "did not hearken to the voice of Jehovah, but flew upon the spoil." Instead of being the Sword of incorruptible justice falling with the unswerving, passionless steadiness of the lightning flash, with stolid insensibility to the judicial elevation of his mission, he degenerated into a mere "riever," a sort of royal Rob Roy. He converted the sacred war into a raid for spoil, and even brought away the reigning Agag to grace as a captive the pomp, and perhaps, along with holocausts of cattle, to die in the crowning sacrifice of the triumph. Unconscious of the terrible magnitude of his dereliction, and full of pride, he had re-entered his country, and after setting up a monumental pillar on the southern Carmel, was slowly advancing with his train of booty when Samuel met him. In what seemed the very vicegerency of Heaven he had failed, and the doom so long threatened falls: "Jehovah hath rent the kingdom from thee, and given it to a neighbor that is worthier than thou."

Saul's deterioration was now rapid. He became the prey of despair and suspicion. The inward susceptibility which had left him open to those excesses of mental exaltation which were the wonder of his friends, disposed him in his present spiritual isola-

tion to fits of deepest gloom. Music and song were remedies in these times of melancholy. So David came to court, for in Israel no fingers were more skillful than his upon the harp, and no *improvisatore* could pour forth such lyrics. With a king the victim of these insane aberrations, the kingdom could not flourish. The Philistines again invaded the country, and that in braggart fashion. Then occurred David's victory over Goliath, celebrated by that chorus of Hebrew women who in the joy of recent deliverance indiscreetly exaggerated the successes of the shepherd-warrior as compared with those of Saul, and thus unwittingly awakened the monarch's suspicion and hate. By secret and open methods Saul sought the life of David, till finally he drove him from court and the settled habitations of men to fly as "a partridge in the mountains." The fugitive became a Hebrew Robin Hood, true to his king, the enemy of the oppressor, and the shield of the oppressed. Two-thirds of the story of Saul consists in affecting tales of this unrelenting persecution, borne by its victim with a chivalrous loyalty unparalleled. Adullam, Nob, Bethlehem, Engedi, and Hachilah, the place of final tearful parting, are names never to be forgotten.

Samuel died, alas! not before he had heard of the massacre of the priests at Nob. Saul was now alone, and the end of the tragedy rapidly drew on. In his exaggerated fear and unremitting pursuit of David he had left the land comparatively unprotected. The Philistines, therefore, pushed forward into the vale of Esdraelon. They covered the slopes of little Hermon about Shunem. Saul confronted them on Gilboa. But he "was afraid and his heart trembled greatly." The decisive day of the campaign was approaching. He was seized with an irrepressible desire to know what was for him in the future. He sought to allay this craving by legitimate methods. But dream and prophet and "Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems," were all irresponsive. Jehovah in mercy gave no answer. But the headstrong despot would notwithstanding pierce into the *arcana* divinely reserved from his knowledge. In his exceeding exigency he became untrue to the tenor of his past life, and resorted (for men adrift from God have no basis

of consistency) to necromancers whom in the early part of his reign he had adjudged only worthy of death. How significant in this development the words of Samuel, "Rebellion" against God "is as the sin of witchcraft"! Beyond the enemy's lines, at Endor, lived a woman reputed to be a vehicle (*ob*, bottle) which was "filled" with "a familiar spirit." To her on the evening before the battle he resorts in disguise. Never as in this story has the *Nekyomanteia* (illicit converse with the dead) been so set forth. How much of the ghastly phenomena was subjective to the nigh distraught monarch it is impossible to say. But, whatever was its nature, that uncanny night left him a nerveless, hopeless man. Next day the scythe of war passed over "the high places of Gilboa," and the "bubbling fountain" which gave the hill its name was distained with Hebrew blood. The accounts of the last moments of a warrior slain in the mêlée of a disastrous field are seldom clear. Perhaps the order of incidents attending Saul's death is the following. Sore wounded by the Philistine archers, he solicited death at the hands of his armor-bearer, but was refused such awful service at the hands of a subject. He then attempted suicide by falling on his sword, but in his wounded state only imperfectly accomplished his purpose. While reclining supported by his spear, in his pain he entreated a young man who happened to be by, "Stand, I pray thee, upon me, and slay me." And the young man, not influenced so much by compassion, as by the prospect of certain possible advantages to be received from David when he could assuredly announce to him the persecutor's death, placed his foot on the body of the fallen king and gave him the *coup de grâce*. Stern is the Nemesis which follows disobedience to the divine will. The man beneath whose heel Saul poured out his life's blood was "the son of a stranger, an AMALEKITE."

Exploration and Discovery.

THE BANQUET OF PAHERI.

By J. Hunt Cooke,
London, England.

About the year 1500 B. C., some thirty-three centuries ago, there was a festive banquet held at El Kab, one of the principal cities of the third nome of Upper Egypt. It was in honor of a deceased prince, a ruler of the district of the name of Paheri. He is described on the monument as a scribe of the corn account, "superintendent of corn-land of the South district, excellent satisfier of the desire of his master from Perhakior as far as Nekheb." This and other inscriptions of that age show that there were some peculiar government arrangements in regard to corn in Egypt just at that period and so far confirm the history of Joseph, recorded in the book of Genesis.

The banquet was of sufficient consequence to be recorded on the tomb of Paheri. . The report was given by a large representation of the scene, with brief descriptions. It gives a side light on the manners of the age. A very careful account of the tomb of Paheri, with plates of its scenes and inscriptions, has been published by the Egypt Exploration Fund in its eleventh memoir just issued. The guests are in rows, each seated on the ground in the same attitude, one knee down and one up. Each has a peculiar conical cap generally found in such representations. There are fourteen gentlemen and twelve ladies. Each one, with but two exceptions, holds a large lotus lily in his hand, some in bud, some in full flower. Most are engaged in either smelling its fragrance, or regarding its beauty. A refined, gentle taste, not now much cultivated with us. We have all heard the jest of the æsthetic young couple visiting a restaurant and calling for a glass of water and a lily. Apparently this would not have been very preposterous in those ancient days. Every lady has a lily on her forehead making what must have been a very pretty head dress. All the men are clean shaven. Their attire is not very dissimilar to that of the women, tight fitting dresses with large collars. In addition the men have belts, but what is significant, not one has a weapon, and there is no allusion to war. The first gentleman is said to be "Herari, the brother of the Scribe, he is making a holiday and receives all good things." The prince's butler attends him, handing a handsome bowl with one hand, while in the other hand are two little vases, probably containing some condiments. Harari calmly smells his lily. The gentlemanly notion of the excel-

lence of indifference is no modern idea. Behind him, or next to him, sits Teta "Son of the sister of the mother of his mother who was an attendant of his majesty." Over each guest is written his name and his relationship to Paheri. A gentleman named Mai has no flower; a servant is approaching him with a full bowl in one hand, and an empty jar in the other. Mai refuses the servant's solicitations, but the man says, "Command me something and I will let thee alone." Clearly if it was etiquette on the part of the guest to exhibit nonchalance, it was the duty of the servant to be importunate. Some people like to be pressed to do what they wish. A little further off Aahmes has offered him a very handsome dish, with a cover, like those used now for vegetables, the fragrance of which overpowers that of the lily bud; he has been persuaded. One is being served by the butler Teta, some servant of renown. There appears to be an abundance of waiters, although not one of the guests is represented as actually taking any of the provision. The ladies are not equally reserved. They engage in vivacious conversation. A servant offers a bowl to Amensat, who declines the wine, but the attendant says, "For thy Ka, drink to drunkenness, make a holiday. O listen to what thy companion is saying, do not weary of taking." We may well listen to her friend, who seems a sprightly damsel. "Nubmehy," she says to the attendant, "Give me eighteen cups of wine, behold I should love to drink to drunkenness; my inside is as dry as straw." Another servant holds up a wine vase to Sensenbet and says, "Drink, do not refuse, behold I am not going to leave you." Whether that means that the attendant will not take "no" for an answer, or that if the lady should become intoxicated there will be some one to take care of her, cannot be clearly ascertained. Her friend Thupu adds to the pressing invitation; she says, "Drink, do not spoil the entertainment, and let the cup come to me; behold, it is due to the prince to drink." This recorded conversation scarcely conveys an exalted idea of the ladydom of that generation. What with taciturn men and ladies talking in this fashion the convivialities of that day do not appear to be specially attractive. Still we should like to have been present. There was possibly some precious wine of good fellowship beneath the froth. The report at the best must be considered incomplete. Whether the call for eighteen cups evidences the lady's capacity, the smallness of the cups, or the weakness of the wine, or really was some brilliant jest, the point of which is lost, we cannot tell. In all probability both wisdom and wit were there. Music was not wanting. There is a grandly dressed band of musicians; one plays a harp of twelve strings, another has castanets, another has a pair of flutes, all indicating skillful harmony.

Would that more of the light conversation of that party had been preserved. We wonder if those stately gentlemen and gay ladies had any thoughts about a certain colony of people from Syria, brickmakers and builders, whose rapid increase was giving anxiety to the government. Had they any care for the oppressed? Paheri is recorded to have uttered a memorable statement to the effect that he "recognized the divine in man." How much of the divine was

there here when the drinking ceased? More perchance than we know of. The stream of history ever brings along the dead leaves, leaving the living flowers behind. These people had immortal souls, they thought about future judgment, they knew of the eternal scales, they believed in God. The artist could draw their bodies, but not their spirits. Their names survive. So do their loves and hates, their thoughts and aspirations, but these were for God and are with God. The guests in all probability enjoyed the festal day, its pleasures, evanescent as the scent of their lilies, came to a close, and each went to his or her appointed sphere of life. And that party, like all parties, has gone "Afay in de ewigkeit."

Synopses of Important Articles.

DIE ADRESSATEN DES GALATERBRIEFS (The Persons Addressed in the Galatian Epistle). By DR. CARL CLEMEN, in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1894, Drittes Heft. Pp. 396–424.

Not a few have taken in hand at present to set forth the arguments for the so-called South-Galatian hypothesis, which understands that the churches addressed in the Epistle to the Galatians are the churches which Paul founded on his first missionary journey. The district called Galatia is the Roman province of that name, which Augustus created in 25 B. C., and includes not only old "Galatia" but the whole central portion of Asia Minor. The question is by no means a new one, but it is being canvassed again. As supporters of this South-Galatian hypothesis Dr. Clemen cites Niemeyer, Paulus, Thiersch, Renan, Hausrath, Weizsäcker, Th. Zahn, Schenkel, Ranke, Havet, Pfleiderer, Völter, Sabatier, O. Holtzmann, Ramsay. While the current view, the so-called North-Galatian hypothesis, which supposes that Paul wrote the Galatian Epistle to certain unnamed and otherwise unknown churches in the small northern district ethnographically called Galatia, churches which he is supposed to have established at the beginning of his second missionary journey, is supported by Usteri, Anger, Rückert, Wieseler, Sieffert, Hilgenfeld, Lightfoot, Mangold, Grimm, Holsten, Davidson, Holtzmann, Weiss, Zöckler, Lipsius, Schürer, Wendt (1888), Godet, Findlay, Chase. The following arguments for the former—the South-Galatian—are then presented by Dr. Clemen. (1) Since the only two passages in the Acts in which the phrase "the Galatian district" occurs tell, one (16:6) of a journey through the land, the other (18:23) of a confirming of the brethren, the founding of the churches is assumed as having taken place; this founding must have been related somewhere, therefore, in Acts 13–14. (2) The Roman province of Galatia must be understood in 18:23, because the road from Antioch in Syria to Ephesus lay naturally through Lycaonia, and Paul would not otherwise have confirmed "all the disciples." (3) The Roman province of Galatia is also to be understood in Acts 16:6, because the direct road to Mysia passed only through it and Phrygia, but not at all through the old Galatia. (4) Since, in the list (Acts 20:4) of representatives of the churches which had contributed to the collection for the saints in Jerusalem no Galatians appear, but only Gaius and Timotheus of Derbe, the Galatian churches are to be looked for in Derbe and the other Lycaonian towns. This assumes that the list given is complete, and that it is so the author goes on to show. (5) It is improbable that Paul preached in the small district of Galatia, because he seems always to have

followed the great military roads and to have preferred the Roman colonies; whereas old Galatia was off the main lines of communication, and could not have been so easily visited by the Judaizers. (6) In the first missionary journey (Acts 13–14) both the haste at first and the change of direction afterward are explained if the "infirmity of the flesh" happened at Antioch in Phrygia. As Paul preached in Perga *afterward* (14:25), there must have been some special reason why he did not do so before. (7) If the Judaizers reproached Paul with occasionally preaching circumcision (Gal. 5:11), they must have alleged some ground for the accusation, such as on the South-Galatian theory is supplied in a striking way by the case of Timotheus. Further, Paul mentions Barnabas as well known to the readers (Gal. 2:1, 9, 13), and since he only accompanied Paul on the first missionary journey, the Galatian churches must have been founded then. Further, when Paul (Gal. 4:9) describes the Jewish feast-keeping of the Galatians as a going back to the weak and beggarly elements, to which they wish again to be in bondage, they must have formerly served similar angel powers, such as Lunus, which was worshipped at Antioch. And finally, the words of Paul (Gal. 4:14), "ye received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus," may point, if not directly to the scene in Acts 14:8 sq., yet to the proverbial kindliness and hospitality of the Phrygians. (8) Since Paul, for the most part, employs the names of the Roman provinces, he presumably meant by "Galatia" the Roman province of that name. He always uses Achaia, Asia, Cilicia, Macedonia in this sense, and in cases where he departs from this usage explanations can be given. (9) Supposing the chronology of the Acts to be correct, it follows from Gal. 2:5, "that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you," that the churches of the letter were founded before the apostolic council, and therefore are to be sought in Lycaonia.

We have here a succinct statement of the reasons for the less common view of the destination of the Galatian Epistle. They are worthy of careful consideration. Some of them seem so strong as almost to demand recognition. Besides, there are many difficulties and some unlikely conjectures which support the current theory. Has the time come for a change of view in this particular? It is a question that calls for a thorough investigation and a candid reply. It will not be a difficult matter to adjust the Galatian Epistle to its new—or rather to its original—circumstances, in case that be the verdict. It may be hoped that the discussion will continue until the more probable view of the destination shall be settled and generally accepted.

C. W. V.

CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY. By Z. SWIFT HOLBROOK, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1894.

Social reforms presuppose the reform of individuals. Christianity has for its mission the regeneration of the individual. Sociology leads, therefore, directly to biblical theology, and its very first question is: "What shall I do with Jesus which is called the Christ?"

The historical Christ is not the product of his age, or of the Hebrew genius. He was in strange contradiction to his times. Combining in himself the most opposite traits, he pursued the golden mean commended by Aristotle, and was able to exemplify the ideal citizen of Plato and Cicero in his own life. If all the world were like him, we should have the ideal social condition.

And what is true of his character is true of his teachings. The sociological student will find his task much simplified by adhering closely to Christ's estimate of man — and especially to his view of sin. But great care must be exercised in determining just what Christ's teachings are. There are three methods of ascertaining his mind; the fair interpretation of his words; the interpretation of his actions; the determination of his spirit and motive as they are revealed in his followers of all ages.

While it is desirable thus to learn Christ's mind upon social questions, it must be confessed that he never came to earth to teach political economy, or the science of government, art, or ethics. Nor did he announce his purpose to save society except as society is saved through its units. But the Christian consciousness has evolved a system of economics that so far as our age is Christian and civilized, and is capable of understanding Christ, is simple and clear. Political economy must always go hand in hand with ethics, and sociology looks to both for the data of its generalizations.

Christ's teachings on selfhood and altruism are an attempt to make neither one's self nor one's neighbor=0. The history of various attempts to accomplish either are unnatural and absurd. Selfishness is not self-interest. To confound the two is misleading, and accounts for the pessimistic wails of the chair of Applied Christianity in Iowa College. Indeed, most of the indictments against society today result from confusing the noble traits that have their origin in self=1, with the perversion of those traits based either upon God=0, or neighbor=0, or self=0. The true equations are God $=\infty$, self=1, neighbor=1. We account for the equality of self and neighbor only by admitting the infinity of God.

From this interpretation of the Royal Law, we get correct views of the vexed economic and social questions of today. The doctrine of property becomes that of Christian stewardship, which is at once opposed to the ravings of socialists and the avarice of trusts. The doctrine of benevolence includes that of justice and calls out Winchester rifles in defense of property rights, no less than it feeds the hungry. The theory and practice of labor organizations, as well as the proposal of the single-tax theorists, must be tried by this standard of justice.

In the new era that is approaching, the Christ will speak peace to present troubles, and out of the struggles of today will come a new and more Christian civilization.

This article may be regarded as the inaugural address of its author, who, with this number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, becomes the editor of a new department in that magazine — that of Christian Sociology. In the minds of many earnest Christians this

new department will be regarded with some suspicion, since few persons outside a specially interested circle distinguish between sociology and socialism. This unhappy confusion of two terms that resemble each other only in their spelling cannot long continue in the mind of any person who reads this vigorous article. If the new department is to be conducted along such lines as are here predicted, it will be a power in the development of a right attitude of the Christian public towards those social problems that we are forced to admit exist.

Some of the propositions of the author we are inclined to question. His view of the present condition of polictical economy seems optimistically vague, and his concluding paragraph runs dangerously near mere rhetoric. He further fails carefully to indicate the content of sociology in general, or to justify the use of such an absurd term as Christian Sociology. Why should we speak of a Christian Sociology any more than of a Christian Logic or a Christian History?

It is to be hoped that in the fifty pages of sociological material promised in each issue of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* a large amount of space will be given to a sober exegesis of such teachings of the New Testament as have any bearing upon social life and institutions. We have had more than enough of undigested, hysterical studies based on what it is *supposed* the New Testament teaches. Let us find out now whether Jesus had any social teachings, and if so, what they really were. And in the meantime if the teachings of Christ are to appear in social studies, let us hope that sociologists will undertake to know a little more about exegesis and "Christian sociologists" a little more about sociology. S. M.

THE MESSIANIC TEACHING OF ISAIAH. By WILLIAM A. SHEDD, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October, 1894. Pp. 575–591.

The critical problems of the Old Testament literature arise from the relations of the literature to the history. The reconstruction of the literature is dependent on a reconstructed history. It is assumed in this paper that the prophetic use of the future is analogous to historical illustration rather than historical narrative, and that prophecy is primarily preaching, and secondarily prediction. The predictive element is itself conditioned by the conscious purpose of the prophets as quickeners of the public conscience, rebukers of national sin, or comforters of the faithful. Therefore every part of prophecy is related to and best interpreted in the circumstances of its delivery. On the other hand the interpretation for the prophet's own day may be a very partial interpretation for our own day. The spirit of prophecy is the spirit of Christ —not the spirit of the age—and "not unto themselves, but unto us did they minister these things."

The comparison of the Messianic teaching with the history shows a close connection between them, resulting in adaptation in the form of the former and progress in content. In Jotham's time the prophet aimed at reformation, and hence presented the ideal holiness of the city and the people. Next, in Ahaz's time the Messianic king was foremost in the prophet's mind. Finally, in Hezekiah's reign, the Messianic salvation is presented in a double aspect, as sure, and hence the sheet anchor for the ship of state, as *abundant*, and

hence a source of comfort to the individual believer. The Messianic teaching may thus be considered in relation to the three great functions of the prophet, as a preacher of righteousness, as a counselor of the state, and as a comforter of the faithful.

As a preacher of righteousness, his Messianic ideals ever stood in striking contrast to the then existing evils. The disgraceful reality is placed side by side with the glorious ideal, which the prophet always declared to be possible. The contrast brought out each the more prominently. When, on the highway of the fuller's field, prophet stood face to face with king, the sight of the faithless, fearful heir of David's throne brought before Isaiah's mind him who should fulfill the covenant made with David. Ahaz and Immanuel stand in sharp contrast—the former of royal birth and luxurious raising, the latter the son of a nameless maiden and nurtured on the plain food of a poor people — curds and honey. Ahaz, weak and vacillating, shall bring down upon his nation in judgment darker days than any since the great disruption (7:17). Immanuel is called Wonderful, Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace, and shall establish the kingdom forever in righteousness (9 :6). The strongest rebuke of the actual was the portrayal of the ideal king. In the face of the king's lack of faith the Messiah flashed before the prophet, and was presented to Ahaz as the supreme and final test of faith. To imagine that this "sign" must be of immediate occurrence in order to be applicable to Ahaz, is to deprive Messianic prophecy of its great glory. The emphasis is neither on the time nor the manner of the birth, but upon the certainty of God's purpose therein exemplified, a purpose involving both punishment and deliverance.

As the counselor of the state, Isaiah has given us a series of Messianic pictures, portraying that ideal state which in the divine purpose was to be realized. Here also contrast is one of the most striking elements. Present imperfections are to completely disappear. Even the land itself is to become fertile and well-watered. Foes shall vanish. Zion shall stand unmoved, triumphant. The prophet's faith is unbounded and is based upon the Messianic promise. His theology determined and idealized his political counsels. Thus with his choicest and most spiritual weapons he fought the spirit of political unbelief.

As the comforter of the faithful in their trials and troubles, Isaiah appears with the most glowing Messianic hopes, at two crises in the nation's history. The first is when Sargon invades the Canaanitish world, and the other when, in 701 B. C., Sennacherib carries terror to the very walls of Jerusalem.

When we come to chapters 40–66 we are in a different atmosphere. The point of view, is changed. The central figure is no longer the Messianic king, but the mysterious servant who can scarcely be distinguished from the people. The most plausible explanation is that the change is due to a change in time and place; that an unknown prophet speaks to exiles about to return to Palestine. However, some of the difficulties of such a theory are apparent on its

face, for example, the very suggestion that the greatest of the prophets is an Unknown. Further, there is not a single passage in these sections which contains a definite reference to the Arabian desert as the route of the returning exiles. The whole conception is not in the realm of prosaic geography, but of poetry. The result of pressing this Messianic figure into close conformity with the theory of an exilic authorship is to forget the redemption of the land in the lesser glory of the return. The prophecy even transcends any literal return to Palestine in any age. There is no dividing line between the return of the exiles from captivity and the Messianic age. The fuller and more glorious the Messianic vision, the greater the difficulty in bringing it so near. Likewise the difficulty of conceiving of the servant as undergoing the life of suffering and the death of contumely, and also being the agent in effecting the restoration, is apparent. It is much easier to think of these elements as being blended in the perspective of distance than in the mind of a prophet living in the midst of the exile.

The writer brings out with remarkable clearness the intimate relation between the form and content of each Messianic prophecy, and the circumstances under which it was uttered; and in so doing has accented a point which is often overlooked. When he comes to the consideration of chapters 40–66, one is disappointed to find that he spends most of his time trying to establish their Isaiah authorship with arguments (which with many scholars would hardly counterbalance the opposing data which he himself admits), and consequently hardly touches upon the rich Messianic teachings contained in these chapters. The careful, historical spirit manifested in the treatment of the earlier chapters, leads the reader to hope that at some later period the work thus well begun will be completed.

C. F. K.

DIE NEUEREN KRITISCHEN FORSCHUNGEN ÜBER DIE APOKALYPSE JOHANNIS. VON DR. W. BALDENSPERGER, Professor der Theologie in Giessen, in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, iv. Bd., pp. 232–250.

Recent criticism is essentially theological as contrasted with the older literary-historical. Such at least can be said of all recent work on the Apocalypse. Weizsäcker spoke, perhaps, the first word in the more recent discussion, stating that he had been long of the opinion that we have in the Apocalypse a compilation, some parts of which are, to be sure, of very early date, and testify to the wide exercise of prophetic gift. This theory Weizsäcker discussed elaborately in the second edition of his *Apostolic Age in the Christian Church*. Soon after Völter put forth his theory, not of compilation, but of redaction, distinguishing five layers, ranging from A. D. 65–140. Vischer, a pupil of Harnack, maintained, in 1886, that the book was simply the translation into Greek of a Jewish Apocalypse, written at any rate before 70, with an introduction and conclusion and with comparatively slight interpolation and interpretations throughout by a Christian hand toward the end of the first century. The strongest argument for the hypothesis of Vischer is its amazing

simplicity. He has made luminously clear the fact and nature of the counter-currents of the book. Weyland, a Dutch scholar, had at the same time, with Vischer and quite independently, hit upon a solution differing from Vischer's only in the assumption of two Jewish sources, written in Greek, however, instead of one. The older of these Jewish sources is of the time of Nero; specifically after the defeat of Cestius Gallus, at the time when Vespasian assumed the command. The younger belonged to the time of Titus, and was written by a Jew of the Diaspora who had seen the ruins of Jerusalem. The Christian revision is of the time of Trajan and here, again, the contribution of the Christian author is not large. These two Jewish sources Weyland marks x and 2; the latter so, because we come upon it second in the order of the narrative. It is, however, the older. It begins with chap. 10, and contains 11.1–14:11 and cc. 19:11–21; 20:1–21:8.

The French scholars Sabatier and Schön have turned the hypothesis about and assume that the basis and structure of the book are Christian, and that the author, writing toward the end of the first century, has simply taken up into his work now smaller and now larger pieces of Jewish oracles, familiar and sacred, some of them from before the fall of Jerusalem. Schön has made one thing clear, namely: the fact that much that is to be assigned to Jewish influences is not therewith, by any means, made out as of Jewish authorship; very much of that sort of thing might exist in the mind and memory of a Jewish-Christian author, and influence him perhaps unconsciously. One of the most important contributions is that of Friedrich Spitta (Die Offenbarung des Johannes untersucht, 1889). The original writing is a Christian one of John Mark, about 86 A. D.; but this is to be distinguished from the work of a Christian reviser, forty years later, who had, beside the Christian, two Jewish sources at his disposal, one of them of the time of Pompeius, and the second of that of Caligula (the θηρίον of c. 13). These are all complete apocalypses, and the redactor has not much to do to work them together. Paul Schmidt in his "Notes on the Composition of the Revelation of John," (1891), goes even farther than Spitta, leaving only introduction and conclusion, the work of redaction, and an occasional interpolation to the Christian hand. The main part of the whole is the so-called "Book of the Messiah," 12:1–22:5, to which were later inserted 14:6–20, and 17:1–19:5. There were altogether three distinct Jewish sources and these are thought to have been translated into Greek by a redactor.

Karl Erber (Die Offenbarung Johannis, kritisch untersucht) returns to Völter's and Weizsäcker's theories, agreeing, however, in some details with Spitta (the θηρίον of chap. 13=Caligula, etc.). The Caligula apocalypse was incorporated into the larger work of the Apostle John, written in Ephesus, about A. D. 62, and about 80 all the sources were combined by a Jewish Christian, who now refers chap. 13 to the Roman world power and Nero.

Baldensperger believes that the author (or authors) of the Apocalypse, like those of all apocalypses, were not theologians, but preachers, reviving

hope, spreading fear; not logicians but impressionists to whom everything was welcome that helped them to reach their aim. He rejects the hypothesis of the Jewish origin of the original apocalypse (Grundschrift) because Christian readers would never be willing to accept such as a Christian book. He holds to a Jewish-Christian origin of the Grundschrift (either chaps. 1–10, or 1–7); the Jewish coloring of the later additions would then easily explain the prejudice against the whole book found among early Christians.

Such in briefest terms is the summary of Baldensperger's article, which, being itself a summary, it would be impossible to condense still further without losing the main points under discussion. It is a very able and grasping treatment of all the important contributions toward the criticism of the Apocalypse. Jülicher's Einleitung in das Neue Testament (Freiburg, 1894), appeared after the publication of Baldensperger's article. It is interesting to note his position. Jülicher believes in a Jewish-Christian origin of the Apocalypse (*cf.* 11:1, etc.). The author was a Christian from Asia Minor (1:1, 4, 9, etc.), having come there from Palestine in his later years. A study of the linguistic features proves that the author of the Apocalypse cannot have been the same as that of the fourth Gospel and the Epistles, nor can he have been acquainted with that literature. The Apocalypse is the work of a Christian of about A. D. 95, who incorporated into his work at several places older apocalyptic visions, whose origin and original character, Jewish or Christian, it will never be possible to determine with any degree of certainty. W. M.-A.

Notes and Opinions.

The View of Christ in Mark's Gospel.—M. Schulze, in a recent number of the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (edited by Hilgenfeld), has an important article upon this subject in which he says: "The purpose of the entire Gospel is to be a testimony to the Messiahship and Divine Sonship of Jesus; to the latter, not in the theocratic or ethical sense, but in the proper sense of the word. In this Gospel Jesus is distinguished not merely by moral teaching of extraordinary purity and a unique life, he has a superhuman nature in the most proper sense of the word. And accordingly the imparting of the Spirit at the baptism is not to be conceived in a spiritualistic sense as qualification for office, but as the entrance of a divine substance and energy into him, removing him in every respect from the limits of nature. . . . . Certainly the human side is not entirely absent. . . . . But the impression of the mysterious, unaccountable, unapproachable fills the foreground. . . . . It is everywhere the indescribable greatness, I might almost say the majesty, of the Son of God, which forbids all approach of man, that meets our gaze."

Peter's Visit in Antioch (Gal. 2 : 11–21).—The time and occasion of Peter's presence in Antioch, referred to in Gal. 2 : 11 sq., has recently received extended consideration by Professor Zahn. He holds that this journey of Peter could not have taken place either in the period described in Acts 15 : 35–40, nor in that mentioned in Acts 18 : 22 f., and so must have been before the Jerusalem Conference. According to Acts 12 : 17 Peter left Jerusalem, driven out by the attempt of Herod to put him to death. Whither he went is not known, nor how long he remained, but he is again at Jerusalem in Acts 15 : 7. Between these passages (44–51 A.D.) we must place this visit of Peter to Antioch, when Paul rebuked him because of his inconsistent conduct in declining to eat with Gentile Christians. But it of course could not have been while Paul was absent on his first missionary journey, so we must place this episode at the period presupposed in Acts 13 : 1, before Paul goes to Asia Minor. From this date Professor Zahn thinks the matter can be understood best. The argument is plausible, and the common position given it in the brief period following the Jerusalem Conference before Paul leaves on his second tour has real difficulties, but doesn't the Galatian Epistle indicate quite clearly that the episode was *subsequent* to the Jerusalem Conference?

The Second Coming of Christ according to the Synoptic Gospels.—This is the title of the third paper in the series by Professor J. A. Beet, D.D., now appearing in *The Expositor*. The Second Coming of Christ is depicted in

plain language in Matt. 13:40–43 and 16:27, 28, and in the latter passage this coming is promised within the generation then living. In the parallels, Mark 8:38–9:1 and Luke 9:26, 27, the language of the first verse refers to the second advent, while that of the second verse may be taken to refer to the events of the Day of Pentecost, when the apostles did see the Kingdom of God actually set up on earth in a manner unknown before, and amid a wonderful manifestation of the power of God. And as Christ did not return within that generation, the reference to Pentecost, a possible understanding of the words in Mark and Luke, is to be preferred. What then of the Matthew passage which does not agree with this? It does not give, with as much precision as the second and third Gospels do, the words actually spoken by Christ; "the account given in the first Gospel was colored by the eager hope of the early followers of Christ for their Master's speedy return." In the most important passages bearing upon the subject — Matt. 24, Mark 13, and Luke 21 — this coloring affects all three accounts. Jesus predicts the destruction of Jerusalem, and the apostles ask when it will be, and further, (according to Matthew) what should be the sign of his second coming and the end of the age. Then the second coming is made to follow immediately upon the destruction of Jerusalem, and both together appear to be included within the life-time of that very generation. But in Matthew and Mark (not so in Luke) this identification of time is made uncertain by the distinct statement that the day and hour of that second coming of Christ was known to the Father only. "The eager desire of his followers anticipated their Lord's return as close at hand." If he did not know when it would be, it *might* be immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, an event which would seem, to Jews at least, as a fitting end for the then present age. "That Christ left in the minds of some of his disciples this hope of an early return, and that he actually and conspicuously taught that he will come to close the present order of things and to judge all men living and dead, must be accepted, on reliable documentary evidence, as an assured result of New Testament scholarship."

The Theology of the Apostle John.—The recent volume on the *Johannine Theology*, by Professor George B. Stevens, of Yale University, has some instructive remarks on the Johannine type of teaching. Discussing the "Peculiarities of John's Theology," the question is raised, What elements of Christian doctrine is the Johannine theology especially adapted to supply? His answer is as follows: "It will hardly be questioned, I suppose, by any student of theology, that the Johannine type of thought has been far less influential than the Pauline type in shaping the great dogmatic systems. The Christian doctrine of God has usually been developed from the legal conceptions of his nature and relations to men which underlie Paul's Jewish forms of thought. The dominant idea of John concerning the nature of God as light or love has not been the characteristic and central conception of the prevailing historic theologies. It has had its

influence, but it has not occupied the commanding place which it occupied in the mind of the Apostle John. Christian thought concerning God has continued through all the centuries predominantly Jewish, taking its color from the terms of Paul's polemic against Judaism, and growing more and more stereotyped in that form through the influence upon it of the severe logic of certain great minds of a strongly legal cast, such as Augustine, Calvin, and Grotius."

"In direct connection with this legalistic tendency of thought concerning God stands the fact that the soteriology of the Church has been characteristically Pauline. The way of salvation has been expounded in rigid adherence to Paul's doctrine of juridical justification. The Pauline legal mode of thought — rendered natural to his mind by his Jewish education, and made especially necessary by his conflicts with Judaizing errors — has, in great part, given the law to all Christian thinking on the subject. The conception of God's nature as consisting primarily and essentially of retributive justice, the idea of his absolute decrees, and the application of commercial and governmental analogies to the work of his grace in redemption, flow directly out of the Jewish aspects of Paul's thought. It is aside from my present purpose to pursue the inquiry, how far this development of thought was justifiable and wholesome, and how far one-sided and misleading. The fact, however, can hardly be denied that the more mystical and purely ethical methods of thought which are illustrated in John have had but a sporadic influence in historic theology. I venture the opinion that theology would have been vastly deepened and enriched, had the profoundly spiritual thought of John permeated and shaped it in anything like the degree in which the polemics of Paul have done. Without detracting in the smallest measure from the great truths which Paulinism has contributed to Christian thought, it appears to me that there is much reason to desire that the spiritual mysticism of John may, in time to come, acquire its legitimate influence in Christian theology and life. The theology of John is consonant in spirit with that of Paul in its highest ranges; but it represents a mode of thought concerning God and his grace in salvation that is distinctly higher than the legalism of Paul, which he brought over from Judaism, and which supplied his weapons of war against his adversaries rather than furnished his favorite forms for the purely positive expression of the truths of his Gospel. In any case Paul's more legal mode of thought may well be supplemented by John's more spiritual mode; his argumentative handling of religious truth by John's more direct and intuitive presentation of it, and his more analytic method by John's more synthetic method, which binds together all separate truths in the great all-comprehending truth that God is love."

"It is not in the interest of Christian thinking chiefly, but in the interest of Christian life, that I would urge the value of the teaching and spirit of the Johannine writings. The tendency of an increased appreciation and application of John's methods of thought must be to lead to a better adjustment

of doctrine and life. A one-sided adherence to the polemics of Paul — called out by the peculiar conditions of his age — has given to our Protestant theology a formally logical aspect which has often made religion too much a set of opinions, and too little a life of fellowship with God. This tendency has often set dogma above life, and theology above religion. It is certain that theology and religion are inseparable, and that they react upon each other; but religion is primary, theology secondary. . . . . Theology is theory, religion is life. . . . . Our Lord's primary concern was religion — that men should love and trust God, and live in harmony with his requirements."

The Authorship of the Last Verses of Mark.— It will be remembered that about a year ago an article upon this subject appeared in *The Expositor* (October, 1893), by F. C. Conybeare, of Oxford, in which he brought to bear upon the problem the significant testimony of an Armenian manuscript of the Gospel dating from about 989 A. D., therefore "the oldest known biblical manuscript which contains Mark 16:9–20." After vs. 8 a space of two lines is left blank, following which, in the same handwriting, only in red, are the words *Ariston Eritzou*, *i. e.*, "Ariston the Presbyter's," and then, still in the same handwriting, come the verses 9–20. This indicates that the author of the twelve verses is a certain Ariston, not Mark. Who was this Ariston? Not, according to Mr. Conybeare, Ariston of Pella, who wrote about 135 A. D., but the Aristion who was one of Papias' authorities (Eusebius' H. E. III. xxxix. 4, 6, 7, 14), and who by reason of his being a chief teacher of Papias and a "disciple of the Lord" was one of the so-called "presbyters." The slight difference in the spelling of the name is no obstacle to this, as both forms are used interchangeably. The inference is that this Aristion himself wrote a narrative of the works and words of Jesus, from which these verses were taken to complete Mark's Gospel, which for some unknown reason ended so abruptly.

This very interesting suggestion of Mr. Conybeare received much attention. Professor Adolph Harnack wrote in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* (November, 1893), agreeing almost entirely with the above theory. Many others also adopted this as a probable view of the facts. Two discussions of special interest, taking a somewhat different view of the problem, were contributed; the first by Prof. Theo. Zahn in the *Theol. Literaturblatt* (December 22, 1893), the second by Dr. Alfred Resch in his *Aussercanonische Parallelltexte zu den Evanglien*. These two articles were considered of so high importance that Mr. Conybeare was asked to translate them for the readers of *The Expositor*, and they appeared in the issue of that magazine for September (1894).

Professor Zahn agrees with Mr. Conybeare that the probable source of these last verses of Mark was Aristion, the teacher of Papias. But he does not believe that Aristion wrote anything, only that his oral information was

collected and recorded by Papias. The work of Papias was therefore the source of Mark 16:9–20, and Aristion's name was retained in the Armenian title because the narrative here was expressly attributed by Papias to Aristion. But this title refers not to the whole section (vs. 9–20), which certainly cannot be all of *one* origin, but to vs. 14–18, which have peculiarities of their own. What occurred, then, was this, according to Professor Zahn: "Some one who wished to give a fitting ending to Mark's Gospel, which had been left incomplete, used for the purpose not only the Gospels of Luke and John (compare Mark 16:9–13 and 19–20), but also the work of Papias, out of which he took the single narrative, Mark 16:14–18, which Papias had inserted as information derived from Aristion. . . . We may assign as the date of the composition of the appendix to Mark the years 130–140 A. D." This gives a final solution to another problem. The longer form of vs. 14 which Hieronymus quotes (C. Pelag. ii. 15) is not an amplification of the canonical text by a foolish but honest copyist; it is a variant form from the same source, the oral tradition of Aristion.

Dr. Resch takes quite a different view of the whole matter. The verses 9–20 are certainly very early, but they are not Mark's. Whose they are he believes to have been discovered in this Armenian title to the verses. He confirms Mr. Conybeare's opinion and disagrees with Professor Zahn, in thinking that this title cannot designate merely the oral source of the narrative, but designates the actual writer and author of the section. He further disagrees with both Mr. Conybeare and Professor Zahn as to the person named in the title, Ariston. Against their opinion that this was Aristion, the teacher of Papias, Dr. Resch maintains that it was Ariston of Pella. Not that the longer form of the name militates against Mr. Conybeare's theory, but because the first and third Gospels use Mark without this ending (16:9–20), and because this ending does not appear in the two oldest manuscripts we have. "It is unlikely that the Second Gospel should have been rounded off and completed as a literary whole by the addition of the existing canonical ending at any time earlier than that in which our Gospel canon grew up. It is, however, impossible to relegate the formation of our fourfold Gospel canon to so remote an age as that of Aristion, when oral tradition still had so great an influence and such a lofty significance." He believes that there are sure signs that the canonical ending of Mark originated at the same time and along with the Gospel canon. He lays down the rule that "agreement between the Greek codex D, the old Latin versions, and the Syriac of Cureton gives us beyond a doubt the text of the Archetype, that is to say, of the oldest Gospel canon, which was formed about 140 A. D." But these verses, 9–20, appear in the Codex Cantabr., in the Syriac version of Cureton 2, in seven Italae MSS., and in the Diatessaron which depended on these sources, so that they surely belong to the oldest Gospel canon. In a few decades this canon came to be recognized to the exclusion of all others, and through it the end of Mark won the same recognition, being expressly mentioned by Irenaeus

and widely diffused in the manuscripts. "If, therefore, an Ariston was the author of the canonical end of Mark, then the same Ariston must also have been the redactor of the earliest Gospel canon. This two-fold, though at the bottom single, editorial activity cannot in any case be carried back as far as Aristion the teacher of Papias, so that the Armenian title must refer, as Sanday has already conjectured, to no other person than the well-known Ariston of Pella. His activity, beginning not earlier than 135 A. D., lay in the region east of Jordan where; after the destruction of Jerusalem, was the seat of the Bishop of Jerusalem, and the focus of the most ancient and precious form of Judaic Christianity. Pella was the birthplace of the first Gospel, which preserves the Jerusalem traditions (Matt. 27:3–10, 52, 53, 62–66; 28:2–4, 9–15). Towards the same locality is our attention directed by the question of the origin of the oldest Gospel canon, which by setting in the forefront and at its head the Gospel of the Jewish Christians is stamped with its origin in the most characteristic way possible. Ariston's standing in the church, no less than the time and place in which he lived, makes him a fitting person in whom to recognize the redactor of the first Gospel canon and at the same time the author of the end of Mark.

So, after all, Mr. Conybeare's theory, although it found such general and high commendation, is not the only possible one, and the matter can hardly be considered settled. Mr. Conybeare promises in the near future to furnish additional information on the subject, and to offer some criticisms upon the foregoing discussions.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

Local Chapters—The following topics to be used at Chapter meetings during November are suggested. Care should be taken to select such subjects as will make a complete and rounded programme, that is, touching every side of the subject. Not more than five subjects and a map drill should be upon any one programme:

1. Map study: Samaria.
2. Bethlehem in history and prophecy before Christ.
3. The enrollment under Quirinius.
4. Herod and the massacre of the infants.
5. Luke the Evangelist: the man and his purpose in writing.
6. A comparison of the two genealogies.
7. A study of the prophetic songs of Mary and Zacharias with special reference to the Messianic ideas expressed in them.
8. The Magi.
9. The home life of Jesus: an idealized sketch based on our knowledge of Jewish home life in general and the character of Jesus and of his family in particular.
10. The childhood of Jesus as depicted by the great artists.
11. Three visits of Jesus to the Temple, (1) as an infant, (2) as a boy of twelve, (3) at the beginning of his ministry.
12. Hints concerning the silent years from twelve to thirty.
13. John the Baptist, (*a*) his preparation for his work, (*b*) the principles embodied in his preaching: were they new? why startling? What was their effect? (*c*) his attitude toward Jesus and testimony concerning him; (*d*) to what extent did he appreciate Jesus' divine nature?
14. The baptism of Jesus: why was it necessary, or expedient? What did it signify?
15. The temptations of Jesus: (1) their peculiar force to Jesus at this time, (2) the reason of their ineffectiveness, (3) their representative character, (4) their comprehensiveness.
16. A characterization of the first five disciples.
17. The marriage in Cana: a study of Jesus' first miracle with special reference to its purpose.
18. Nicodemus: the man; an analysis of Jesus' discourse with him.
19. At Jacob's well: a sketch of the scene and conversation.
20. The great principles of Christ's teaching and mission; to what extent are they revealed in these opening chapters?

A map drill.—A map study should form a part of the programme of each Chapter meeting. Now that we have actually commenced the study of the Gospels it would

be an excellent plan to have some member of the Chapter draw an *outline* map of Palestine upon a square of manila paper, about six by three feet in size. Indicate upon it only the great divisions of the country, the rivers, the mountains, etc. Then at each meeting should be located and added to the map the places referred to in the work of the preceding month or week, as the case may be. Routes should also be traced so far as possible, and indicated and named on this map.

Discussions.—Although discussion is not the most profitable method of learning, in some Chapters a practical turn might be given to the programme by an occasional discussion upon questions which are directly or indirectly suggested by the words or acts of Jesus. Such a subject is suggested by his third appearance at the temple, viz., the the legitimate use of a house of worship.

The monthly assignment of reading for the year is given below. There may be slight variations from this, but such will be noticed in the Postal Bulletin of the month in which the variations occur.

October: Seidel—*In the times of Jesus*, pp. 1–93; Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 1–138; BIBLICAL WORLD (July) Geography of Palestine, (August) Editorials and Geography of Palestine. *November:* Seidel—*In the Times of Jesus*, pp. 93–192; Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 138–295; BIBLICAL WORLD (September, October) Editorials, Geography of Palestine. *December: Harmony*—Parts I., II., III; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 1–149; BIBLICAL WORLD (November, December) Geography of Palestine, Introduction to Gospels, I. *January: Harmony*—Parts IV. and V.; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 149–298; BIBLICAL WORLD (January) Introduction to Gospels, II.; Teachings of Jesus, I. *February: Harmony*—Part VI., and Chapter XXV. of Part VII.; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 299–402; BIBLICAL WORLD (February) Introduction to Gospels, III.; Teachings of Jesus, II. *March: Harmony*—Part VII., from Chapter XXVI; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 403–491; BIBLICAL WORLD (March) Introduction to Gospels, IV.; Teachings of Jesus, III. *April: Harmony*—Part VIII; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 493–776; BIBLICAL WORLD (April) Teachings of Jesus, IV. *May; Harmony*—Part IX; Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 777–861; Bushnell—*Character of Jesus*; BIBLICAL WORLD (May) Teachings of Jesus, V. *June:* Brooks—*Influence of Jesus*; BIBLICAL WORLD (June) Teachings of Jesus, VI.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

A third Australian Colony, New South Wales, has taken up the work of the Bible Club Course for organizations. A neat little circular, a reprint of the American circular, with local changes, has been issued by the Christian Endeavor Union of the Colony and is already in wide circulation. We quote from the *Golden Link* the organ of the Union, concerning the reception of the plan at the recent convention, "The scheme met with the warmest endorsement of all the speakers. An enthusiastic resolution was carried authorizing the Union to actively prosecute plans for bringing the scheme under the

notice of all Victorian societies. At the chairman's suggestion many gave in their names to the General Secretary as intending members."

The organization of twenty-five new clubs has been reported since the quotations in the BIBLICAL WORLD of November.

The largest local Chapter of the Reading Guild thus far reported is from the Third Presbyterian Church of Rochester. Rev. Richard D. Harlan, Pastor. The chapter organizes with twenty-six members, and expects to add several more.

We have received an attractive notice of a special meeting of the Chapter at Hyde Park, Mass., at which Rev. Samuel Freuder will speak on the subject: Childhood recollections of a converted Rabbi.

Syria is this month added to the list of foreign countries in which there are representatives of the Guild, through the Rev. F. T. Hoskins, a missionary at Zahleh.

Although no systematic effort has been made to introduce the work of the Institute in England, much work preparatory to such an introduction has been done by Prof. J. T. Marshall of Sunnyside, Fallowfield Manchester. For several years he has acted as the connecting link between the Institute and a number of correspondence students in Hebrew in England. Prof. Marshall, writes of his work in the Expository Times thus: "As to numbers we have surpassed anticipations, and as to the area from which the members are drawn it is almost coterminous with our hemisphere. Missionaries of various denominations are amongst our most zealous students, and they assure us it is a great relief to their loneliness, as well as a stimulus to Bible Study to be in close contact with some sympathetic instructors at home." Steps will doubtless shortly be taken for the introduction of the more popular work in the English Bible.

The Annual Meeting of the Directors of the Institute will take place in New York City, Thursday, December 6, 1894.

The work of the Rev. O. C. S. Wallace, pastor of the Bloor Street Baptist Church, Toronto, is worthy of special mention here. For several years he has carried a class each winter through one of the Institute Courses. His work for the past year included (1) The Inductive Studies in Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon, with a Senior Bible Class. (2) The Life of Christ (Inductive Studies in Luke) with a Junior Bible Class. (3) Outlines of Old Testament History, with a Sunday afternoon Bible Class. (4) Expositions of Isaiah in Sunday evening sermons.

In the December BIBLICAL WORLD full announcements will be made in reference to the examinations to be offered by the Institute this year. They will be (1) on the International Sunday School Lessons, (2) to college students in the English Bible, (3) to college graduates entering the Theological Seminary, in Hebrew and New Testament Greek.

An interesting local Institute was held in Normal, Ill., Saturday and Sunday, November 17, 18. The speakers and subjects were as follows: The

Bible and Civilization, Rev. James Miller (Normal). The Origin of New Testament Literature, Mr. C. W. Votaw (University of Chicago). The Right and Wrong use of the Bible, Dr. W. P. Kane (Bloomington). The Teaching of Jesus, Mr. Votaw. The Teachers of Old Israel and their Writings, Dr. C. F. Kent (University of Chicago). The Literary Merits of the Bible, Dr. E. C. Hewitt (Normal). A Hebrew Love Story, Dr. Kent. Present Possibilities of Bible Study, Dr. Kent. Question boxes were conducted by Dr. Kent and Mr. Votaw. The meetings were held in the various churches of the town, all denominations uniting. Every session was well attended, and on Sunday the audiences were so large that in the evening an overflow meeting became necessary. It is said that two teachers, living fifteen miles out in the country, beyond the reach of Sunday trains, drove in and out again, rather than miss the meetings. If we can read the times by such signs as these, there is truly an awakening on the subject of Bible study. The Institute was held under the auspices of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations of the State Normal University.

Work and Workers.

THE second part of the German edition of Schürer's *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ* is already out of print, and a new edition (the third) is in preparation, which will later be followed by a third edition of the first part. There will be but few changes in the text of the volumes, but the notes and bibliographical notices will, of course, be brought up to date.

AN investigation has been made by Dr. Dalman, a competent authority, as to the number of Jews now in the cities of Palestine. His estimate gives (the parenthetic number is the *total* population) in Jerusalem, 40,000 (50,000); Gaza, 85 (16,000); Jaffa, 2,500 (10,075); Er-Ramle, 175 (8,561); Hebron, 1,600 (15,225); Nâblus, 99 (20,000); Acco, 150 (9,800); Haifa, 1,640 (8,140); Tiberias, 2,900 (4,500); Safed, 12,000 (19,120); Sidon, 800 (10,000); El-Bugea, 120; Shefa-Amr, 60. There are also as many as twenty-nine Jewish agricultural colonies, with some four thousand colonists, who devote themselves largely to the cultivation of the vine and the raising of fruits. These colonies were established by the Rothschilds.

A PAPYRUS book has been found in the Fayyum which contains a portion of the Septuagint, from Psalms 11 : 7 to 14 : 4, written in very neat uncials, which probably belongs, judging by the character of the writing, to the fourth century. It is thus some older than the Vatican Codex, up to this time the oldest manuscript of any portion of the Greek Bible. Copyist's errors are many, and the fragment is, perhaps, of no special textual value. Papyrus fragments of the latter part of Zechariah and the first part of Malachi in the Septuagint, which were exhibited and discussed at the Oriental Congress in London two years ago as perhaps coming from about 300 A.D., have been, by better judgment, assigned to a date not earlier than the seventh century.

APROPOS of a recent note in this department advocating a new edition of the Revised Version, with a good many much-needed modifications as to helps and conveniences, a correspondent writes to suggest that, in addition to the improvements indicated in that paragraph, this farther one be also made: Let the page number be removed from the upper outside corner of the page to the centre of the bottom of the page, and let its place in the upper outer corner be occupied by a statement of the exact material contained on the page, *e.g.*, 16 : 20–17 : 32. Of course this change should be made. We add it with emphatic approval to the list of improvements which will make the new and better edition of the Revised Version that must, in the nature of things, be published somewhere by somebody soon.

A BOOK is shortly to be published in Germany by Licentiate Herman Gunkel, now privat-docent in Halle, from which much is expected by scholars of widely different schools of theology. It will be entitled *Schöpfung* (Creation), and deals with the influence of the ideas of the Babylonian religion on the forms in which the Hebrew and Christian ideas were expressed. The underlying thought of the book is that the Babylonian myth of creation was used also for the representations of the end of the world, when the watery chaos monsters should be finally and decisively conquered by God. The forms of this myth, used to describe either the creation or the consummation of the world, Gunkel has traced in many passages of the Old Testament, the development culminating in the first chapter of Genesis; and also in the apocalyptic literature. The book will offer a great mass of fresh exegetical material for both the Old Testament and the New; and, it is anticipated, will shed much light on the vexed question of the Revelation. It has been written, in part, in collaboration with the well-known Assyriologist, Professor Zimmern, of Leipzig.

A SERIES of articles is announced for the near future in the *Expository Times*, on the *Theology of the Epistle to the Romans*. They are to be written by Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, of Oxford, who has been working together with Professor Sanday on the Epistle, and he will present Dr. Sanday's position as well as his own. Another series is to be upon *Twenty Misused Scripture Texts*, the writer of which signs himself "M. D.," which being interpreted is (probably) Marcus Dods. The papers upon *Leading Theologians* are to be continued through the new volume, and among them Professor Adolf Harnack will be described by an attached pupil of his, Rev. D. Macfayden, M.A., Principal Stewart will write of Professor Pfleiderer, Principal Davies will write of Professor Dillmann, Bishop Lightfoot will be presented by Professor Salmond, Bishop Westcott by Professor Ryle, and Dr. Hort by the Dean of Emmanuel, Mr. Gwilliam will describe Dean Burgon, Professor Kennedy will describe Professor Kōnig, Professor Hermann will be presented by Rev. David Eaton, and Professor Kuyper by the Rev. J. P. Lilley. This does not complete the list, but is in itself a large promise. Each article is to be accompanied by a full and accurate bibliography of each eminent scholar's works.

THE question as to what is still unsettled in the identification of places in the city of Jerusalem is given the following answer by Major Conder: "Comparing the works of Robinson, Warren, Sir C. W. Wilson in Smith's "Bible Dictionary" (new edition), article "Jerusalem," and Conder, it appears that these are the points still left in dispute among specialists: (1) Where is the term "City of David" to be applied? (2) Where should the term "Akra" be written? As to this Wilson differs from the other three writers above mentioned, they being in accord. (3) What is meant by Zion? On this there is no accord; I regard it as a poetical term for Jerusalem. (4) Where were the

kings buried? The tomb has not been found for certain. (5) How did the third wall run on the west? Its remains have not been found. (6) What was the extent of Herod's Temple? Robinson, De Vogüe, Warren, and I agree against the view of Wilson, who alone maintains that Josephus has given the real measurements; others believe that Josephus' measurements are contradicted by the existing remains on the site. (7) There is a very general inclination in England to accept the site for Calvary north of the city, first advocated on certain grounds by myself, and to reject the traditional site as impossible."

A NOTABLE work has just reached completion in Germany. It is Kautzsch's translation of the Old Testament into the German. The translation is made with the purpose of embodying, as far as a simple translation can, the thoughts and allusions of the biblical writers as they appear in the light of the present literary, historical, and exegetical criticism. Kautzsch and his collaborators have therefore done for the Old Testament what Weizsäcker had already accomplished for the New, and the value of such a commentary upon the Scriptures is indicated by the fact that Weizsäcker's translation of the New Testament has gone through seven editions already. The two together, covering the whole Bible, will be a most important help to every Bible student—they are books to own if one can read the German. They are models which English scholars should hasten to duplicate in our own language. Kautzsch's translation is the united work of eleven representative and moderate Old Testament scholars. The contributions were as follows: Kautzsch himself translated Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Joshua (with some exceptions), also Isaiah 36–39, Jonah, Nahum, Psalms, Chronicles; Baethgen, of Greifswald, translated Job, Song of Songs, Lamentations; Guthe, of Leipzig, translated Isaiah, 1–35, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Habakkuk; Kamphausen, of Bonn, translated Kings and Proverbs; Kittel, of Breslau, translated Judges, Samuel, and Ruth; Marti, of Basel, translated Deuteronomy, Joel, Obadiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Daniel; Rothstein, of Halle, translated Jeremiah and Zephaniah; Rütschi, of Bern, translated Ecclesiastes; Ryssel, of Zürich, translated Isaiah 40–66, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; Siegfried, of Jena, translated Ezekiel; Socin, of Leipzig, translated Exodus 1–24, 32–34, Leviticus 10:29–13:1, Joshua 21–24, and Isaiah 1–11. Five years have been spent in the accomplishment of the work. A system of annotations accompanies the translation indicating in detail the dates and relations of the entire material of the Old Testament, according to the consensus of modern critical conclusions.

THE most favorable review that we have yet seen of M. Notovitch and his *Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* (about which two paragraphs have already appeared in this journal) is contributed by Professor Max Müller to the *Nineteenth Century* for October. He endeavors to think charitably of the author while pronouncing and showing his work to be worthless. He thinks that M.

Notovitch, starting from the idea put forward by some that Christ was influenced by Buddhistic doctrines, went to Tibet with the expectation or purpose of finding some account of the Life of Christ which would show this. When his search was made known there were shrewd individuals who saw to it that he should find the object of his search, which he did—at a good price. "Taking it for granted," says Professor Müller, "that M. Notovitch is a gentleman and not a liar, we cannot help thinking that the Buddhist monks of Ladakh and Tibet must be wags, who enjoy mystifying inquisitive travelers, and that M. Notovitch fell far too easy a victim to their jokes. . . . . He is not the first traveler in the East to whom Brahmans or Buddhists have supplied, for a consideration, the information and even the manuscripts which they were in search of." M. Notovitch then, he thinks, was quite too credulous. Two things in the account given by the monks who deceived Notovitch are "impossible, or next to impossible." "First, that the Jews from Palestine who came to India in about 35 A. D., should have met the very people who had known Issa when he was a student at Benares; second, that this *Sûtra* of Issa, composed in the first century of our era, should not have found a place either in the Kandjur or in the Tandjur. . . . . These are the two collections (333 volumes in all) which contain everything that was considered old and classical in Tibetan literature. . . . . We possess excellent catalogues of manuscripts and books of the Buddhists in Tibet and China. . . . . If M. Notovitch had been better acquainted with this literature he would never have allowed his Buddhist hosts to tell him that this Life of Jesus was well known in Tibetan literature, though read by the learned only." "If this explanation [that the Buddhist monks deceived M. Notovitch], the only one I can think of, be rejected, nothing would remain but to accuse M. Notovitch, not simply of a *mauvaise plaisanterie*, but of a disgraceful fraud." "If there is anything that might cause misgivings in our mind as to M. Notovitch's trustworthiness, it is the way in which he speaks of his friends." Professor Müller then goes on to show how the author's statements regarding his relation to a cetain cardinal at Rome and M. Renan in the matter of publishing his book are entirely unlikely and conflicting. He criticises also M. Notovitch's treatment of the missionaries in Tibet. They have written saying that he never broke his leg nor was nursed in the monastry at Himis. M. Notovitch replies: "How can I tell that these missionaries have not themselves taken away the documents of which I saw the copies at the Himis monastery?" But that is unlikely if, as M. Notovitch, at an earlier time, stated, the missionaries at Leh are distrusted by the people, and the monks would never have shown them the manuscript. Professor Müller puts at the close of his article a letter which, singularly enough, he chanced to receive while writing his article, from an English lady then traveling in India, and postmarked Leh, Ladakh, June 29th. The portion of the letter which concerns this subject is as follows: "We left Leh two days ago, having enjoyed our stay there so much! There had been only one English lady here for over three years. Two German

ladies live there, missionaries, a Mr. and Mrs. Weber—a girl, and another English missionary. They have only twenty Christians, though it has been a mission station for seven years. . . . . Yesterday we were at the great Himis monastery, the largest Buddhist monastery up here—800 Lamas. Did you hear of a Russian who could not gain admittance to the monastery in any way, but at last broke his leg outside, and was taken in? His object was to copy a Buddhist Life of Christ which is there. He says he got it, and has published it since in French. There is not a single word of truth in the whole story! There has been no Russian there. No one has been taken into the Seminary for the past fifty years with a broken leg! There is no Life of Christ there at all! It is dawning on me that people who in England profess to have been living in Buddhist monasteries in Tibet, and to have learned there the mysteries of Esoteric Buddhism, are frauds. The monasteries, one and all, are the most filthy places. The Lamas are the dirtiest of a very dirty race. They are fearfully ignorant, and idolaters *pur et simple;* no—neither pure nor simple. . . . ." With this we trust that we may be excused from making further reference to this disagreeable matter. In spite of Professor Müller's charitable judgment of M. Notovitch, the letter attached seems to vindicate the judgment which critics of the *Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* have almost unanimously pronounced, that the author has perpetrated upon the public a deliberate, carefully prepared and wretched fraud.

Book Reviews.

The Second Epistle to the Corinthians. By JAMES DENNEY, B.D. The Expositor's Bible. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1894, pp. 387. Price, $1.50.

This is a commentary that is profitable and interesting even for continuous reading. It is readable throughout. The language of the apostle is dissolved so imperceptibly into comment, and the whole is so like the original that the book seems simply a strong dilution of the epistle. One cannot but remark how completely the commentator identifies himself with his author, and lovingly makes his own words solely a mirror for the reflection of the profound meaning of the original.

The author finds the epistle full of references to Paul's life, and the elucidation of this experience in the light, so to speak, of a more modern and more fully expressed experience is one of the charms of the book. There may be, in this feature, a possible tendency to fullness of statement and the appearance of a slight homiletical element; but this is hardly to be regretted in a commentary of such a nature.

The author is very close to the heart of Paul; he talks familiarly of his meaning as a preacher does of his text. The apostle is a living preacher, for whom the author has the profoundest admiration.

The book is not wholly void of textual and grammatical comment. Wherever necessary, they are introduced in an unpretentious way, and rather enhance the value of the total result. An introductory chapter discusses the date and some of the particular questions of the epistle, putting it soon after our first epistle, at a time when the apostle had received news from Titus of the effect of the first letter. The close relationship of our two epistles is emphasized.

The book is divided into chapters, according to the advance of thought in the epistle, some chapters comprising many verses and others few. On the whole, the book is a very worthy number to rank with some of the other excellent volumes in the Expositor's Series. C. E. W.

Original Notes on the Book of Proverbs, Vol. III. By Rev. S. C. MALAN, D.D. London: Williams & Norgate, 1893. Large 8vo. pp. 1–499.

This volume treats of chapters 21–31, thus completing the series. The notes upon each individual proverb are of two kinds: (1) Textual and critical, including a study of the Hebrew text and a comparison of this with the other versions. It is greatly to be regretted that here, as in the otherwise

admirable Cambridge Bible series, the Authorized Version is adopted. In these critical notes, which are neither exhaustive nor scholarly, the author has given us a translation which is very similar to that of the Revised Version, and in only a few cases superior. (2) Proverbs, fables, and sayings, kindred in thought, gathered from the lore of all ages and peoples. This part of the work is both interesting and exceedingly valuable. The mass of material thus collected is in quantity overwhelming. The book would be much more usable and more widely read had the selection been more carefully made, and consequently much, which is not directly *apropos*, omitted.

It is, however, a most interesting study in comparative proverbology. Although the maxims are drawn from all sources, the predominance of those coming from the mouths of Oriental sages, demonstrates that the East is the true home of the proverb. One is also repeatedly impressed by the old truth that human nature is the same in all times and lands. The similarity in form of expression as well as in thought, in cases where plagiarism was impossible, is most striking. The biblical proverb, for example, "To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice," finds its echo in the advice given by Bhishma: "Piety is better than sacrifice." The Pythagorean Demophilus strikes the same high key: "God is not honored by gifts and sacrifices, neither do offerings to his temple adorn him in any way. But a sense of godliness unites man sufficiently to God. For the like must of necessity meet its like." As the reader discovers one gem after another of the world's stored-up wisdom, he finds his reverence for the divine truth contained in the Hebrew anthology undiminished; but with this there springs up a genuine appreciation of the degree of light vouchsafed to nations which he perhaps had been accustomed to regard as benighted.

Mirrored here, one is also enabled to study the individual characteristics of each nation. For example, the stay-at-home Hebrews said: "As a bird that wandereth from her nest, so is a man that wandereth from his place." The Finns affirm the same in their characteristic saying: "A strange land is a bilberry; one's own land is a strawberry." Ajtoldi betrays the same love for home: "Being a stranger is very hard for a man." In strong contrast is the proverb of the cosmopolitan Greeks: "For him who is well-to-do, and who behaves well towards others, the whole world is his own country," or of the Japanese: "The frog at the bottom of the well knows nothing of the great sea."

Not a few suggestions as to the true exegesis of obscure Hebrew proverbs are to be found in these kindred maxims. The variously interpreted biblical saying, "As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man," is illuminated by the Turkish proverb, "Man is the mirror of man." Similarly the Mongol says: "In order to see oneself, one requires a looking-glass," and the Arab adds, "A man is his brother's looking-glass." If we accept the ordinary interpretation of the Hebrew proverb, "A poor man that oppresseth the poor is like a sweeping rain that leaveth no food," it is confirmed by the

Hindoo saying, "A mean man, greedy of gain, becomes intolerable when in office," or that of Mangadu Setchen, "Do not get for a ruler one brought up to be a common man."

Thus, to the student who would study the Book of Proverbs as a part of the world's gnomic literature, this work will be found a most valuable aid. The arrangement, or rather the lack of arrangement, is truly Oriental, but patience will not be unrewarded. Even the casual reader will find both pleasure and profit in this rich collection of man's wit and wisdom.

C. F. K.

Introduction to the Talmud. Historical and Literary Introduction, Legal Hermeneutics of the Talmud, Talmudical Terminology and Methodology, Outlines of Talmudical Ethics. By M. MIELZINER, Ph.D., Professor of Talmud at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati. Chicago: Bloch & Co., 1894. Pp. 293. Price $2.50.

Jesus Christ in the Talmud, Midrash, Zohar, and the Liturgy of the Synagogue. Texts and Translations by Dr. GUSTAF DALMAN, Director of the *Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum;* together with an Introductory Essay by HEINRICH LAIBLE, translated and edited by Rev. A. W. STREANE, Fellow of Corpus Christi College. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1893. Imported by Macmillan & Co., New York. Pp. 47+108.

To all but a very few biblical students, and even scholars, the Talmud is known only by name. The fact that its contents are not today practically important leads us almost to forget their historical importance. The twelve folio volumes which constitute this great Jewish literary monument embody the mental labors of the ancient Jewish teachers during a period of some eight hundred years, according to Dr. Mielziner, from 300 B. C. to 500 A. D. Their work, as mirrored in these records, was directed particularly to the exposition and development of the religious, moral, and civil laws of the Bible. Mingled with this material are many wise observations, ethical maxims, beautiful legends and parables, and valuable historical, ethnographical and scientific material. It is a remarkable production. In the Middle Ages it exerted an authority only second to that of the Bible itself, but at present its influence even upon the Jews is much less than formerly, while other nationalities give it little attention, even from an historical point of view. Modern Hebrew scholars lead, of course, in the study of the Talmud, and America has contributed in no small degree to the current knowledge, as may be seen by the list of works which the author cites as auxiliaries to Talmudic study. Germany, however, is doing most in this field of research, as in many others, and quite a literature exists already, with additions being constantly made. Professor Strack, of Berlin, has just issued a new and improved edition of his *Einleitung in den Thalmud* (Leipzig: Hinrichsche Buchhandlung), a work of high value; and a new edition of Wünsche's translation of the Babylonian Talmud, with notes,

has been begun, to be completed in twenty parts (Berlin: Felber). Quite a little work, too, is being put upon the Talmud in France. It will, therefore, be seen that the literature upon the Talmud accessible to the student in English is very scant — only fragments of the Talmud itself can be had in English translation, and the many treatises are in German and French. English Talmudic study has made but a beginning.

The two works whose titles are herewith given in full make a splendid advance along this line, and may well be procured as the first volumes toward a Talmudic shelf in one's library.

Dr. Mielziner's *Introduction to the Talmud* is an excellent work. There is nothing of its kind in the English language, and even Professor Strack's German *Einleitung* is not so comprehensive. There is nowhere else to look for a large portion of the material which our author gives. He has brought together in this comparatively small volume the results of many years' research and of long experience as a teacher of the Talmud in a Hebrew college. The practical value of the contents of the book may be seen from the chapter headings of Part I., Historical and Literary Introduction. They are: The Mishna, Works Kindred to the Mishna, The Authorities of the Mishna, The Expounders of the Mishna, The Gemara, Apocryphal Appendices to the Talmud, Commentaries on the Talmud, Epitomes and Codifications, Manuscripts and Printed Editions, Auxiliaries to the Study of the Talmud, Translations of the Talmud, Bibliography of Treatises on Talmudic Subjects, Opinions on the Value of the Talmud, Why Study the Talmud. The other three parts of the work are equally useful and interesting, furnishing information and guidance as to just those aspects of the Talmud which one feels impelled to investigate. One need not look further nor wait longer for a competent handbook to the study of the Talmud, and with such a handbook available the current ignorance of Talmudic literature will hardly in the future be excusable.

The other volume here considered, *Jesus Christ in the Talmud*, discusses a subject of very large interest, though little has ever been written about it in English. The book is made up of two parts, as the title shows. The first portion contains in unpointed Hebrew the forty-three passages from the Talmudic literature, with fifteen more from the Liturgy of the Synagogue, in which Jesus is understood to be referred to. These texts were collated and translated by Dr. Dalman. The second portion of the volume contains an essay by Herr Heinrich Laible, translated into English by Mr. Streane, upon Jesus Christ in the Talmud. Besides the translation of this essay, Mr. Streane has added brief footnotes and the indexes. The editing of Dr. Dalman's and Herr Laible's essays so that they could be issued in this valuable English volume was a commendable piece of work on Mr. Streane's part, but one is at a loss to know why he should presume to put his own name rather than those of Dalman and Laible upon the back cover, thus: "CHRIST IN THE TALMUD. STREANE." It has not been customary for a translator, or even for an editor, to place his name *alone* on the cover title.

One might suppose that the Talmud would contain much discussion as to the person, the acts, and the teaching of Jesus, since it arose partly during his career and the infancy of Christianity. But exactly that is what is not found, for in the Talmud Jesus is very seldom spoken of, and but little is known of him. This is indeed surprising, but Herr Laible endeavors to explain the fact by remarking that the growth of the Church was ever developing itself less under the eyes of the Jews, Christianity passing soon from Palestine and Babylon, the seats of Jewish study and activity, to the nations farther west. It was, therefore, possible for them to ignore Jesus in the main. They could not know much about him because the writings of the Christians concerning him were burned rather than read. What little reference is made to him is fanciful rather than historical. They regard him as a seducer of the people and a sorcerer and a fool who had given himself out to be God. Herr Laible is particularly anxious, in writing this essay, to show to Jews themselves that their Talmud is not a trustworthy historical record as regards its view of Jesus, because it had neither the disposition nor the opportunity to tell the truth about him. He therefore directs the Jews to look to the Christian Scriptures to ascertain the facts about Jesus, and thinks that if they can thus turn from the Talmud to the New Testament they will be set right in their attitude toward their own Messiah. Every biblical student will wish to see for himself these passages from the Talmud about Jesus, so that the book will doubtless and deservedly have a large sale. C. W. V.

Eastern Customs in Bible Lands. By H. B. TRISTRAM, D.D., LL.D., etc., Canon of Durham, author of "The Great Sahara," "Land of Israel," etc. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1894. Pages viii. and 262. Price, $1.50.

Canon Tristram is well known to every student of the Bible through his contributions to biblical literature along the line of natural history. During his study and sojourn in the East he has picked up many valuable specimens of ancient customs illustrative of the pages of Holy Writ. These he has grouped together under twelve chapters or discussions or chats. Some of the titles are the following: "Jesus as Teacher and Healer," "Journeying in the East," "Eastern Dwellings and Eastern Feasts," "Pastoral and Agricultural Life," "Military System; Wars and Sieges," "Eastern Jurisprudence," "Trade and Money." The author is a vivid writer, describing just enough of detail to invest his narrative with a delightful interest. Customs, old and yet new to the reader, follow in rapid succession, and hold the reader's closest attention. There is little of monotony in so novel a topic, and the student's thought is carried on to the end with an ever-increasing momentum of interest. To begin to specify particular cases of new-old Oriental customs and thought would be simply to aggravate the reader and bring this writer under the ban. This work is somewhat similar to that of Dr. Trumbull's, noticed last month,

but they rarely cross each other's tracks. Both can be read with profit, and both make distinct contributions to the cause of biblical learning. Suffice it to say, that we cannot have too many books with the freshness and newness in material of this one of Canon Tristram. PRICE.

Landmarks of Old Testament History: Samuel to Malachi. By Cunningham Geikie, D.D., LL.D. New York: James Pott & Co., 1894. Pp. x., 525. Price, $1.50.

This book consists chiefly of a collection of papers contributed to the *Sunday School Times* in connection with the weekly lessons of the Sunday School. They are written in the easy, pleasant style characteristic of the author, and convey a certain amount of instruction. The material is diluted biblical narrative, with added explanatory hints. No contribution is made to the knowledge of the reasonably instructed Bible student. What is contained could with greater profit be worked out by the less enlightened student from more original sources. Where there is little time at one's disposal for study, combined with little inclination to original and industrious investigation, this book finds a certain fitness. But it must be confessed that one fails to see any strong reason for its purchase on the part of any other class of persons. G. S. G.

The Gospel of Buddha according to Old Records. Told by Paul Carus. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1894. Pp. xiv., 275. Price, $1.50.

The idea that has inspired Dr. Carus in this volume is an excellent one. We have had enough of the highly colored modern re-creations of the doctrines and life of Buddha where an inextricable complex of early and late, foreign and native, materials is worked together and turned out into mellifluous verse. What does Buddhism say for itself? This is the important question. Dr. Carus has attempted to answer it by gathering into this book the most striking and characteristic passages from the Buddhist writings of the olden time. Both narrative and doctrinal materials are presented, and the reader cannot fail to gain a surer notion of the Buddhism of the early days than from uncritical poems and descriptive manuals.

The compiler shows that he knows where to go for his materials. He disclaims the intention of producing a scientific work, and, while he nowhere definitely affirms that he is unfamiliar with the originals, his method of selection from various translations suggests that he is not a first-hand worker. To know what to choose at second-hand, however, is no ordinary qualification, and such knowledge is evident in the pages of this book. We feel that an error of judgment has been made in the modification of some of these materials, if it is modification that is suggested by the statement that "some [passages] are rendered rather freely in order to make them intelligible to the

present generation." Nor can we see any reason for the composition by the compiler of three introductory chapters and three concluding chapters and some other material, even though he asserts that these are "neither mere literary embellishments nor deviations from Buddhist doctrines." It is an unwise yielding to the desire for completeness. Dr. Carus thinks that he is dealing with Buddhist material as the author of the Fourth Gospel used the accounts of the life of Jesus of Nazareth. This may be true, but yet, with all respect to Dr. Carus, we can hardly regard him as so trustworthy a representative of the spirit of Buddhism as the before-mentioned writer was of the spirit of Christ.

It is also inexcusable, even in a book which is intended for popular circulation, to mix up early and late material in the way in which it has been done in this volume and label it "The Gospel of Buddha." To admit material even from the *Lalita Vistara* alongside of material from the *Mahavâgga* or early *Suttas* is to commit a grave critical blunder, and utterly to mislead the very persons for whom the book is intended. It is equal to compiling a "Gospel of Christ" from the original and apocryphal Gospels indiscriminately. Of course Dr. Carus gives his sources, but what is the general reader expected to know about the dates of the material? If the work had been divided into two parts, the first presenting the Hinayana sources, and the second, the material from the Mahayana writings, nothing would have been lost from the point of view of the popular impression, and everything would have been gained from an historical and critical point of view, *i. e.*, in accuracy and trustworthiness. We regret to be compelled to present this criticism of so well-meaning and otherwise carefully prepared a book as this of Dr. Carus. But simply because it could have been done so much better, if the desire for completeness and impression had not put into the background historical and critical considerations, are we compelled to confess that "The Gospel of Buddha" with all its excellencies cannot be recommended as a wholly safe guide to the knowledge of Buddha and the teachings which are ascribed to him. For classes of students under the direction of a competent teacher it has a very considerable sphere of usefulness, since it is the only collection of Buddhist material from so many sources that can be obtained in so convenient a form and at so reasonable a price.

G. S. G.

Current Literature.

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11. **Current Biblical Literature,** a condensed list of the books and articles published monthly in the great world of biblical learning and investigation in America and Europe.

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2. **Biblical Biographies;** namely, those of Samson, Samuel, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Stephen, Mary, John the Baptist, Peter, Barnabas.

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8. **Sketches of foreign biblical scholars with portraits,** among others, Canon S. R. Driver, Prof. A. B. Bruce, Prof. T. K. Cheyne, Prof. A. F. Kirkpatrick, Prof. Hermann L. Strack, Prof. H. J. Holtzmann, Prof. W. Sanday, and Prof. B. Weiss.

9. **What Higher Criticism Is Not.** A series of six papers by representative scholars showing the various popular misconceptions which are commonly entertained concerning this much discussed method of biblical investigation.

10. **Disputed Texts.** Views of preachers and teachers compared in a series of symposia upon such texts as: Gen. 3:1; Gen. 6:3; Matt. 12:39, 40; Mark 4:12; 1 Cor. 6:12.

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Simplicity of Religion according to the teaching of Jesus.
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The Marriage Customs of the Jews in the first century.
Jewish Literature of the last two centuries before Christ.
The Prophetic gift of the Apostolic Church.
Recently discovered Manuscripts of value for biblical Study.
How to read the Psalter.
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The Question of the Second Isaiah, and what is involved in the question.
The Arguments for the unity of the Book of Isaiah.
The Arguments for the Second as distinguished from the First Isaiah
The Point of View of Chronicles compared with that of Samuel and Kings.
The Alleged Discrepancies between Chronicles and Kings.
Slavery in the Old Testament.
The Forms of the Decalogue.
The Relation of the Decalogue to the Mosaic law.
The Account of Baalam's Ass.
The Witch of Endor.
The Blessing of Jacob, Gen. 49.
The Song of Moses, Ex. 15.
The Song of Deborah, Judges 5.
Human Sacrifices among the Hebrews.
The use of Mythology by biblical writers.
The Underlying Principle of Sacrifice in Oriental Religion.
The Book of the Covenant.
The Order of the Prophets.
The Suffering of the Babylonian Exile.
The Significance of the Return.
Sociological laws in the Old Testament.
The Exegetical Method of Jesus.
The Purpose of Christ's Parabolic Teaching.
The External Evidence of the Exodus.
Jewish Apocalypses.
Jewish Worship, Feasts and Festivals.

LEADING ARTICLES.

The following are selected from those that have appeared in the magazine, as representative of the work of the past year:

TWELVE STUDIES IN GENESIS, *President W. R. Harper*
THE BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF CREATION, *Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt*

Rome in Paul's Day, *Professor H. F. Burton*

The Theology of Paul and John Compared, *Professor Geo. B. Stevens*

Hinduism's Points of Contact with Christianity. Three papers. *Merwin Marie Snell*

Wisdom in Teaching Critical Results, *Professor F. B. Denio*

Jesus Christ and Gautama Buddha as Literary Critics, *Rev. F. F. Kramer, M.A.*

The Attitude of the Christian toward the Higher Criticism, *Professor L. W. Batten*

The Bearing of Criticism on Edification, *Professor T. K. Cheyne*

A Free Translation of the Sermon on the Mount, *Rev. E. P. Burtt*

Christianity and Old Testament Criticism, *Rev. W. Taylor Smith*

Christological Implications of the Higher Criticism, *Rev. Prescott F. Jernegan*

A Hebrew Political Romance, *James A. Duncan*

Jesus' Idea of the Kingdom of God, *Professor A. C. Zenos, D.D.*

On the Need of a Systematic Study of Religion, *Edmund Buckley, Ph.D.*

Studies in Palestinian Geography. Five papers. *Professor J. S. Riggs*

The Chaldean Account of the Deluge, *W. Muss-Arnolt*

Recovery of a Roman Milestone, *Dean A. Walker*

The Explorations at Sendschirli and Some of their Bearings on the Old Testament. *Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr.*

The "Sufficient Reason" for Isaiah xl–lxvi., *Rev. T. S. Potwin, D.D.*

The Newly Discovered Latin Translation of the Epistle of Clement, *James Henry Breasted*

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The Kingdom of God in the Gospel of Matthew, *Rev. Thomas J. Ramsdell*

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