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CONTINUING

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IF one looks back over the events of the theological world which have taken place during the past six months, three elements in the situation present themselves: There has been apparent everywhere a feeling of unrest; men have shown alarm, either for themselves or for others. The uncertainty, which seems to characterize those to whom we have been accustomed to look, has led to a still greater uncertainty on the part of those who do not form opinions for themselves. It is evident to anyone who is observant that a change of position, at least in reference to details, is taking place in the case of many men. It is true, moreover, that these changes, or, as it may be better described, this progress is seen in the utterances of men whose names have been before the theological world for several decades; the older men as well as the younger give evidence of having developed. One may not fail to note also that in some sections of the country the unrest is limited wholly to concern about the position of others, these sections furnishing little evidence that any changes are taking place in them. In pulpit, and in pew, in the secular and in the religious press, there is a feverishness, which bodes ill or good according to the spirit which prevails.

THE SIGNIFICANCE of the unrest is easily determined. It means activity. No one will deny that there has been an ever increasing activity in thought concerning all matters which relate to the Bible and the church. In these days, such activity is no longer limited to the clergy; our laymen are wide-awake, and the number of men outside of the ministry, who find pleasure in directing their thoughts to the burning questions of the day rapidly increases. This activity has seemed to be more intense of late than ever before. It could be wished that a better spirit might characterize it than has been indicated in certain quarters. One can think of nothing better than the freest discussion, and it may be expected that when the period of discussion has passed, warm as it may be, there will follow here, as, for example, in Scotland, a time when men holding widely different views will be able to work together peacefully in the same communion.

In reference to one thing care is needed; nothing should be done to diminish this activity. Let the discussion go on; let it grow still warmer if need be. It is only in this way that the right end will be gained.

THE THIRD ELEMENT is the honesty which seems to characterize the utterances of all parties. However conservative, or liberal, it is safe to assume that, at least, in a great majority of cases, there is true sincerity. But is true sincerity ever accompanied by any but the right spirit? Experience shows that honesty of purpose does not always carry with it breadth of spirit. This is something, which, however desirable, cannot always be expected. There is a general desire to know more about these things which are now being discussed. It is conceded that much valuable information has been out of the reach of the majority of people. Not a few wonder why this information has not already been given. Be that as it may, the fullest information is now within the grasp of all. There is also a growing desire to look at all these things from what may be called the historical point of view. Men are beginning to recognize that while, "the essential facts of Christianity are unchangeable and final, the understanding of these facts by the general

Christian church, as by the individual Christian, is progressive. Progress in theology involves better statements of individual truths, and more perfect adjustment of these truths to each other, resulting in the growing understanding of the revealed thoughts of God in their purity, harmony, and unity. No human statement of divine truth is to be regarded as final; any dogma which is in conflict with the enlightened and living conscience of man, is doomed. Ecclesiastical dogmas, which have had wide, almost universal acceptance, would, if now accepted, wreck the faith of ages. The theological movement of our age is not that of an eddy, or a whirlpool, but that of the Gulf Stream, under the guidance of the provident spirit of God, bearing us on 'towards that far-off, divine event,' towards which the whole creation moves. We are as near to God as the patriarchs, the prophets, or the apostles. God has not spoken his last word. He never will speak his last word. He is the living, and immanent God, speaking to all men of all religions to the end of the world.'¹

IN RESPONSE to a demand based upon the general desire to which reference has been made the *American Institute of Sacred Literature* is about to organize the *Bible Students' Reading Guild*, the purpose of which will be to draw together those who desire to undertake a common course of reading with a view to securing an intelligent conception of the Old and New Testaments. The work of the Guild will cover four years. In the first, the subject for consideration will be the Life of Christ; in the second, the Foreshadowings of the Christ, or Old Testament Prophecy; in the third, the Development of the Church; in the fourth, Old Testament Literature. The plan, which is more fully presented elsewhere in this number (see p. 463), includes the reading of a small number of carefully selected books, together with those portions of the sacred Scriptures which furnish the material for the subject of the year. In order that the work may come within the reach of the largest possible number, the

¹Professor George W. Northrup, D.D., in an address before the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, May 9th, 1894.

list of books is not an extended one. Full directions for the work will be given and it will be possible for any one, willing to spend thirty minutes a day, to do the work required.

THE SPIRIT of this work will be entirely in harmony with the statement made above. The books selected for reading will be standard books, acceptable to all. No effort will be made to introduce the "special teachings" of any class. The effort will be a sincere and honest one to bring into the possession of the reader a reasonable familiarity with the facts and the general teachings. In such work much, it must be confessed, depends upon the spirit. A large proportion of the work in these modern times is rendered null and void because of the spirit which characterizes it, and the methods employed in conducting it. Sincerity and simplicity, we believe, should characterize every attempt to deal with the most sacred of all subjects, the Word of God, and in this spirit the work proposed is undertaken.

IT MAY BE ASKED, why introduce a new course? Are there not sufficient already in the field? In answer to this it may be said that the new course is intended to meet certain difficulties, the force of which has been felt by many people. These are (1) *lack of time*. There are thousands and tens of thousands of people who can find a few minutes each day for work of this kind, but who are unable to do any large amount of consecutive study. The courses already in existence are of such a nature as practically to prevent this large class of people from doing anything. It is further believed that work undertaken thus will lead to additional work, and that in the end many will be led into higher and more thorough courses of study. (2) *Lack of definiteness*. The majority of people feel the need of a guide in such work. They have time for reading if only they knew what to read. So many books are recommended that there must be a selection. If, now, a definite plan of reading may be suggested, the undirected and misdirected effort of many may be guided in such a manner as to lead to definite results.

FROM THIS point of view the new movement will enter upon the experiment. That it is an experiment we are entirely willing to concede. It is quite certain, however, if the books have been judiciously selected and if the plan in any measure fulfills the expectation of its originators, results will be attained the value of which will be very great. Readers of the *BIBLICAL WORLD* during the past ten years have watched with much interest the development of experiments along similar lines which have accomplished, at least in many cases, far more than was expected of them. The interest and sympathy of these same readers will, we feel quite sure, be accorded this new experiment, in the hope that help may come to many for whom the right kind of help has not yet been provided.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT SENDSCHIRLI, AND SOME OF THEIR BEARINGS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

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Debt of biblical study to excavation.—Sendschirli and the mounds of Syria.—Assyrian monuments discovered.—The Aramaic inscriptions and their story.—The statue of Bar-Rekub.—The analogies in the biblical history.—The Hadaad monument.—Its historical and religious significance.—Later literature on the subject.

Biblical study owes much to the explorations that have been conducted with such uninterrupted activity in the Orient during the past fifty years. It is astonishing indeed to note how, at almost every turn, some witness of antiquity is found that furnishes an illustration to a bit of biblical history, or has some bearings on biblical customs, or throws new light upon biblical speech. An ancient palace is exhumed on the site of Nineveh, and in the record left by its builder we read an account of his attempt to destroy the kingdom of Judah. A traveler passing through Moab comes across an ancient stone, and new data are revealed of King Mesha's conflict with the kingdom of Israel. Some peasants stumble upon the archives of Egyptian kings, and as a result the history of Jerusalem is traced back to a period five hundred years before David made it the capital of his kingdom. And so again recent excavations conducted by German archæologists at a mound in northern Syria have brought to light material of the greatest interest and value to biblical lore.

For a long time Semitic scholars felt justified in looking for a rich yield from the explorer's spade in this region. The territory lying between the Orontes and the Taurus range is dotted with mounds of the artificial character of which there was no doubt. Moreover, many of the so-called Hittite monuments were found in this region and lastly from Egyptian, biblical, and more especially Assyrian sources, it was evident that great political

activity once prevailed here. The Assyrian records tell of many a bloody conflict waged against the principalities into which the territory was split up, and the many names of towns mentioned by the Assyrian conquerors furnish an index for the thickness of the population. Ten years ago a German scholar, Dr. F. von Luschan, formed the plan of attacking one of these mounds that appeared especially promising. It was known among the natives as Sendschirli, *i. e.*, chain—a name suggested probably by its appearance, which is long and narrow. Situated at the foot of the Taurus mountains, some sixty miles above Antioch, it bordered on the highway leading from Assyria to the Mediterranean, and at the same time formed a natural barrier against advance to the north. Sufficient interest having been aroused in Luschan's project to lead to the formation of a special "Orient Committee" in Germany, an expedition was sent out in the spring of 1888, the success of which prompted further diggings in 1890 and 1891. The first-fruits have now been made public, and one is warranted in classing the German undertaking among the most significant of this age of Oriental explorations. Although only a portion of the mound has been explored, the remains of several large buildings have been exhumed, containing magnificent sculptures, besides a large number of minor objects. Several walls have been traced, adapted by means of numerous little towers for the defense of the place, and in the third place, inscriptions have been found both at Sendschirli and in a neighboring place known as Gerdshin. It is the inscriptions that furnish the clue to the identification of the place.

Strange to say, while the sculptures of Sendschirli show all the characteristics of "Hittite" art, no Hittite inscription was met with. Instead we have a magnificent monolith covered with cuneiform characters and three monuments with "Aramaic" inscriptions. The Assyrian monument turns out to be one erected by the famous Esarhaddon, who ruled over Assyria from 681 to 668 B. C. This is the king, it will be remembered, whose name is recorded in II Kings, 19: 37, as the successor of Sennacherib.¹

¹The murder of Sennacherib is referred to in a Babylonian chronicle in these interesting words: "On the twentieth of Tebet, Sennacherib was murdered by his son in an uprising, after having ruled over Assyria twenty-three years."

According to his annals, all the rulers of Palestine and the Phœnician coast were forced to do his bidding, and among these rulers he mentioned "Manasseh of Judæa." Esarhaddon also undertook several campaigns against Egypt, in the third of which he succeeded in capturing the city of Memphis. This occurred in the eleventh year of his reign, and the monument at Sendschirli is devoted to a record of this triumphant event. In addition to the inscription there is a pictorial representation on the stone of the king himself in the act of holding two captives by means of ropes which have been cruelly drawn through their lips. These captives appear to be Tarku, the king of Egypt and Ethiopia, and, as I conclude from a reference in the Babylonian Chronicle B (col. iv, 27), Ushankhuri his son, though Schrader and others take one of the two to be Ba'alu king of Tyre. It must have been on his return from Egypt that Esarhaddon passed through Sendschirli, and left this monument in the place, partly to satisfy his thirst for glory and in part, no doubt, to serve as a warning against would-be opponents of Assyria's all-grasping control.

The monument furnishes a valuable date for the age of the building in the courtyard in which it was discovered. At the same time, Esarhaddon's omission to make any reference to Sendschirli itself is sufficient ground for concluding that no opposition to his sovereignty came from this district. As a matter of fact, Sidon alone of all places lying to the west of the Euphrates endeavored to throw off the yoke of Assyria during Esarhaddon's reign. The other principalities, Judæa, Moab, Edom, Tyre, and the whole of northern Syria, bought their peace by a show of submission. About a century and a half previous, however, the situation was different, and it is to this period that we are carried back by the "Aramaic" inscriptions.

A survey of the situation is essential to an understanding of these inscriptions. At that time (745-727 B. C.) Tiglethpileser III. sat on the throne of Assyria. He was a usurper who, profiting by the dissensions that so frequently arose from the rivalry between Babylonia and Assyria, succeeded in establishing a new dynasty. He was probably a Babylonian by birth, and upon mounting the throne exchanged his name Pul for one that was

famous in the land as the author of Assyria's greatness some four centuries previous. The change of dynasty was the signal for a general uprising in the lands that were obliged to acknowledge the sovereignty of Assyria, and hence Tiglethpileser is busy during the greater part of his reign in expeditions to the north, east, and west for the purpose of reestablishing Assyria's control over the lands conquered by Shalmaneser II. about a century earlier. As in the days of the latter, the fortunes of the two Hebrew kingdoms are bound up with those of the Phœnician coast and Syria proper, and it is one of the most valuable services rendered to the study of biblical history by the Assyrian records, that it enables us to bring the events chronicled in the Books of Kings into their proper connection with the political movements of the times. In the days of Shalmaneser, Ahab, the king of Israel, joins a grand coalition of twelve rulers of Palestine and Syria to withstand the onslaught of the Assyrian armies, and accordingly, after the defeat of the "alliance," he shares the fate of his associates in being forced to pay tribute to Assyria. In the days of Tiglethpileser III., the southern Hebrew kingdom becomes involved in the political turmoil, and the Assyrian conqueror deals severely with both Azariah of Judah and Menahem, the king of Israel.

Unfortunately the section of Tiglethpileser's cylinder devoted to an account of his relations with the Hebrew kingdoms is in a bad state of preservation. But for this, we would have many an interesting detail to add to the brief account of his Palestinian campaigns in the fifteenth chapter of II Kings, where, it is interesting to note in passing, Pul, the real name of Tiglethpileser, occurs by the side of his royal one. Still the broader aspect of the events which shook central and southern Palestine in its foundations is indicated by the parallel to the struggle going on in northern Syria. Tiglethpileser overruns the entire region up to the Taurus range, and in the same list with Menahem of Samaria he places Rezin of Damascus, Hiram of Tyre, Sibittibil of Byblos, Pisiris of Carchemish, Ini-ilu of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, and more the like—all paying tribute to him.

The "Aramaic" monuments of Sendschirli throw an unexpected light upon this period. On all three of the inscriptions we read a name identical with one of the kings whom Tiglethpileser includes in the above list—namely, Panammu of Sam'al, and as a further aid to identification, one of the inscriptions begins, "I am Bar-Rekub, the son of Panammu, king of Sam'al,¹ the servant of Tiglethpileser, the king of the four quarters of the earth." The date therefore is beyond all doubt.

It is to the memory of this Panammu that Bar-Rekub erects the statue which von Luschan was fortunate enough to find. The head and entire upper portion of the huge dolorite block out of which the monument was carved are missing, but the body containing the inscription and the feet are preserved. The mere fact that the inscription, which consists of twenty-three lines, shows the old Phœnician characters, the letters having very much the same form as on the Moabite stone, and that the language is Aramaic, though bearing a closer resemblance to Hebrew than the Aramaic of later days, is quite as important as the contents of the inscription itself. The monument furnishes a northern limit for Aramaic speech at this early period, its southern limit being the Arabian peninsula; and in the light of this discovery one can understand how a few centuries later, Aramaic should have succeeded in replacing Hebrew as the popular tongue of Palestine, and in maintaining its position there through the period of Greek and Roman supremacy down to the Mohammedan conquest. The story that Bar-Rekub has to tell, gives a vivid picture of the political conditions prevailing at the time, and in this respect may be regarded as complementary to biblical and Assyrian narratives. Some of the events referred to, moreover, are curiously paralleled in Hebrew history, and serve to bring out in sharper outline the human features of this history.

Bar-Rekub begins by recalling the marvelous preservation of his father at a time of general uprising directed against the reigning house of Sam'al. In the course of the outbreak Bar-Şur, the father of Panammu, together with seventy "brothers," were killed, Panammu alone surviving the slaughter. One is involuntarily

¹ Written with *sh* in the Sendschirli inscription; in the Assyrian documents with *s*.

reminded, as Professor D. H. Muller suggests, of the occurrence that took place among the Israelites after the death of Gideon. Seventy "sons" of the latter were put to death by Abimelech, and only one escaped. The use of the word "brothers" in the one case, as that of "sons" in the other, must be understood in accordance with Oriental usage as members of the household. As for the number seventy, the suggestion which naturally occurs to one that it is a round number, used in a rough way much as we speak of "scores of people," is strengthened by its re-occurrence in another biblical incident similar to the above two. Jehu mounts the throne, killing Ahab and seventy "sons."

One of the immediate results of the internal disturbances was a scarcity of food. This was a natural consequence of the devastation which reached such a degree that, as Bar-Rekub puts it, "the number of destroyed towns outnumbered the populated ones;" but instead of being attributed to this cause, the famine is represented as a punishment sent by the god Hadad for the outrages that were committed in the country. Corn, wheat, and barley rose in price "until half a measure of wheat cost a shekel, and a measure of barley cost a shekel, and a liquid measure of certain drinks cost a shekel." It is interesting to compare this with Elisha's prophecy concerning the delivery of Samaria from the famine incident to the long siege by Ben-Hadad, the king of Aram: "Tomorrow a measure of fine meal will be offered for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel at the gate (*i. e.*, the market) of Samaria." Ben-Hadad abandoned the siege because of a rumor that the Egyptians in the south and the Hittites in the north had combined at the instance of the king of Israel for an attack upon Aram from two sides.

The land of Sam'al is included in the Khatti, or Hittite land, by the Assyrian monarchs, and now that some of these Hittites are in trouble, they turn for protection to Assyria. Panammu makes a pact with the king of Assyria, sending him presents and agreeing to become a follower in his camp. In return Tiglethpileser recognizes Panammu as the rightful king, and removed the "stone of destruction." Tranquility was restored. Those who had been thrown in prison by the rebel authorities were set

free, the women too were liberated, buildings were restored, food and drink became plentiful so that "prices fell." Assyria was, however, the real gainer by the situation. Henceforth the king of Sam'al became merely the servant of the Assyrian monarch. Tiglethpileser pursued much the same policy of interference as in the kingdom of Israel, only that in the case of the latter a rebel was pitted against an usurper. According to his own narrative, Tiglethpileser abetted the cause of Hosea against Pekach and by the powerful aid of Assyria, the former was established on the throne. As a matter of course, a large tribute was sent by King Hosea to his powerful master.

Panammu keeps faith with Tiglethpileser. He follows him on his expeditions "from the rising sun to the setting thereof." In return Tiglethpileser enlarges the territory entrusted to Panammu. The latter dies in Tiglethpileser's camp at Damascus. He is deeply mourned by the king and his army. In solemn procession the body is carried to its final resting-place in Sam'al, much as Jacob's body is borne from Egypt to Palestine. "And I Bar-Rekub," the inscription goes on to say, "because of the merit of my father, and because of my own merit, was established on the throne of my father, Panammu, the son of Bar-Sur by my lord the king of Assyria."

The opening words of the second of Bar-Rekub's inscriptions quoted above show that the position of dependency was maintained in the days of Panammu's successor. No attempt is made to throw off the foreign yoke, and Bar-Rekub devotes himself.

An earlier phase of the history of the district is revealed by the third monument, which moreover adds to our knowledge of the religious ideas prevailing in ancient Syria. It is a representation of the god Hadad, accompanied by a dedicatory inscription of Hadad. The name of the devotee who erects the image is again Panammu, but a different Panammu, as his father's name Karal, shows. That he is older than Panammu, the son of Bar-Şur, is proven by the characters on the monument, which shows a more archaic type as well as by the express mention of Panammu, the son of Karal, in the inscription of Bar-Rekub, as that

of an earlier ruler. The Sendschirli inscriptions thus furnish us with a list of five rulers, namely :

Karal,
Panammu,
Bar-Sur,
Panammu II.,
Bar-Rekub.

Whether Bar-Sur follows immediately upon Panammu I. is not certain, but quite likely, since it was quite customary for the grandson to take the name of his grandfather. So the two Benhadads of Aram stand in this relation to one another. Panammu II. being the contemporary of Tiglethpileser III., Karal's reign may be approximately placed at the end of the ninth century, or contemporaneous with Shalmaneser II. (860-825) and King Ahab. Shalmaneser II. indeed makes mention of the country of Sam'al, and through him we learn of a sixth and still earlier ruler, Khânu, the son of Gabar, who is associated with four other North-Syrian chiefs in warding off the attack of Assyrian arms. This took place at the beginning of Shalmaneser's reign. Some years later, when the latter again turned to the west for the purpose of crushing the opposition of central Syrian and Palestinian princes—Ahab among them—Khanu preferred to acknowledge Assyrian supremacy without making any struggle. We may assume then that Karal and Panammu I. likewise were, for all practical purposes, subjects of Assyria. A difference, however, between the earlier and the later Panammu that cannot as yet be satisfactorily accounted for, is in their titles; Panammu II. calls himself king of Sam'al, whereas Panammu I. is the king of Ya'di. Of the two, the latter appears to be the more inclusive. Again, while Shalmaneser also speaks of the country of Sam'al, at the time of Tiglethpileser, it is a city. It would seem, therefore, that the district derived its name from the city; and when the jurisdiction of the Sam'al kings was curtailed, they were known as governors of the old city. The etymology of Sam'al is not without interest. It is a well-known Semitic word, which in Hebrew, Arabic, Assyrian, and Syriac, signifies the "left." It is thus the complement of "Yemen," which means "the right side;" and we may further

conclude from this nomenclature that the ancient Semites were accustomed to guide themselves by turning to the rising sun—perhaps a trace of ancient sun-worship. The common Arabic name for Syria, Shâm is closely connected with the ancient Sham'al.

Coming back to the inscription of the earlier Panammu, we find it taken up with the praise of the power and majesty of Hadad, though by the side of Hadad four other deities are mentioned. Two of these are well known, and their occurrence here is significant, El and Shamas. The former, became the generic term for deity among the Assyrians, and among the Hebrews it was used to designate the one and only God. Shamas is the sun-god, whose worship was especially prominent in southern Babylonia. The remaining two are peculiar to northern Syria: Reschep, who seems to have been a "Hittite" deity, and Rakubel, who is met here for the first time. Panammu attributes to Hadad and the associate deities his position as well as his possessions. It is they who have placed him on the throne and who have granted him whatever he has asked of them—peace and plenty. The king describes his land in language that is entirely biblical. "It is a land of barley, a land of wheat, a land of the leek." Through the gods, the jurisdiction of the kings of Ya'di was increased. War and misfortune were kept at a distance. "In my days," he adds, "food and drink were plentiful." After recounting a piece of personal history, which does not concern us here, Panammu closes with solemn warnings against doing injury to the stone. The person who dares to deface the inscription, to alter the name of the king, to cast the monument into water, or to burn it, or even to hide it from public view, or expose it to neglect—woe to him! The curse of Hadad is called down upon him. The name of the offender and that of his seed will be wiped off the face of the earth. "He will be accursed in the sight of gods and men." More than one third of the entire inscription is taken up with this imprecation, the close resemblance of which to the phrases commonly found at the close of Assyrian inscriptions suggests a direct borrowing from the latter. In view of the close contact existing between Assyria and Sam'al, nothing appears more natural.

In conclusion, a few words about the deity Hadad, who is an interesting personage to biblical students for various reasons. In the proper names Ben-Hadad and Hadadezer, the well-known kings of Aram and of Sobâ, the name of the deity constitutes one of the elements, and it is perhaps present in Hadad of Erosis, 36, 36. The former name signifies "the son of the god Hadad," and the contemporary of Ahab calls himself thus, just as a king of Sam'al takes the name Bar-Rekub, that is, "the son of the deity Rekub." The occurrence of Hadadezer in the days of David testifies to the worship of this deity in Syria at least a century earlier than Panammu, the son of Karal. A passage in Zechariah (12:11), shows that at Megiddo a yearly festival was held in honor of Hadad, and through this same passage we also receive a valuable clue for determining the special character of this deity. He appears in Zechariah under the compound designation Hadad-Rimmon. Such compounds—of which there are many parallels in Semitic mythology—point to a combination of two deities of parallel attributes. Hadad-Rimmon accordingly is equivalent to saying that Hadad is Rimmon. Now the god Rimmon or Ramman is well known from Assyrian monuments. He is the god of thunder, and then of storms in general. Kings of Babylonia and Assyria, as early as the fourteenth century before this era, declare themselves to be worshipers of this deity. The identification of Hadad with Ramman accordingly suggests that the former was of a violent character, suitable as the head of a pantheon for warlike groups such as the ancient inhabitants of the Sam'al district must have been. Gods who manifest themselves in storm and wind are generally found associated with a mountain, and the Taurus range at the northern boundary of Syria fulfills the conditions for what was perhaps the original seat of Hadad. From the extreme north, the worship of the deity made its way to the south and as early as the fifteenth century B. C. the name of the deity under the form Addu—a contraction apparently of Adadu—enters as an element in the proper names of inhabitants of Phœnicia and Palestine.² The Sendschirli monument thus adds an interesting chapter to

² Cf. Rib-Addu and Yiptakh-Addu in the El-Amarna tablets.

the history of this deity, and accounts for the popularity that he continued to enjoy for such a long range of centuries, down in fact to the Græco-Roman period where Hadad is still known as the "king of the gods."

For the benefit of those interested in these remarkable monuments of Sendschirli, a list of the chief publications that have appeared bearing on the subject is subjoined: (1) First in order comes the publication of the Berlin Museum itself, under the title "Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli I." (1893). The chapters in the first part have been prepared by Dr. Luschan, Profs. Schrader and Sachau. (2) Die Altsemitischen Inschriften von Sendscherli, by Prof. David Heinrich Müller in the *Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. VII., Nos. 2 and 3. (3) Les Deux Inscriptions heteennes de Zindjirli, by Prof. Joseph Halevy in the *Revue Semitique*, Vol. I., Nos. 2, 3, 4, and Vol. II., No. 1. (4) Theodor Nöldeke's review of the Berlin publication in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesells.*, XLVII., pp. 96-105. (5) J. A. Craig in the *Academy*, 1893, p. 441, and (after the above article had been sent to the printers) (6) The Excavations at Sendschirli, by Prof. D. H. Müller in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1894.

HOW MUCH DO I STUDY THE BIBLE, AND HOW?

RESPONSES TO THIS QUESTION FROM WORKING PASTORS.

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The Bible is with me the great subject of study. I give to it from two to five hours daily, sometimes more, exclusive of the time given to teaching it to others. The kinds of study are varied. I study it sometimes in the original languages and sometimes in the Revised English Version. My study is now that of a whole book to determine its structure, and the course of the thought in it; now, the careful exegesis of special passages; again, to find in the book the material for the determination of the isagogical facts relating to it; again, to determine the evidences the book contains on which to base a literary criticism of the book; now, to trace the history of the chosen nation, or the life of some holy man of God, so far as either of them appears in the book; and again, to discover the great spiritual and religious truths presented in the book. S. B.

The theological seminary gave me a knowledge of almost everything save the thing most essential—the sacred Scriptures. To my class biblical theology was unknown, the Bible was without historical perspective, and a verse from the pessimism of Ecclesiastes was as decisive as an utterance of the Son of God. Only when a man emerges from this view does he reach the real sources of power and touch the river of God which is full of water.

One man's method may be another man's ruin; but my own is as follows:

I endeavor to keep constantly at work on two books of the

Bible,—or rather two periods in biblical history,—one from the Old Testament and the other from the New Testament. This involves two separate lines of study, which converge and intersect in surprising fashion. This last year I have worked at the period of the Exodus, and at the period covered by the first half of the book of the Acts. (For the last I have found very helpful the outlines published by the American Institute of Sacred Literature.) I have avoided commentaries and harmonies and homiletic helps, reading first the original material, then reading the versions in modern languages, and then studying the period from the historical standpoint. I was surprised to discover what is doubtless familiar to others—that Exodus is the Old Testament book of Acts, and that the period of the Acts is the time of the Christian Exodus.

The year previous I studied the life of Isaiah and the life of Christ. Here also the interlacing of the two subjects was remarkable. (George Adam Smith's "Isaiah" is the finest example I know of what wealth may come to the preacher through the steadfast pursuit of the historical method).

I have never been able to accomplish anything by giving the famous "one half hour a day." That sounds so easy and is so hard. I give a whole morning or evening to the work twice in the week. This is woefully little, but more is impossible.

I never study the Bible with a view to making sermons. The homiletic purpose vitiates the historical study, while on the contrary, the historical study leads into the richest homiletic fields. To grasp the leading "motives" of a period in the revelation is to thrust one's roots into inexhaustible supplies. To reconstruct mentally and spiritually a part of the sacred history is to construct potentially a hundred sermons. Such knowledge is like Aaron's rod that budded when "laid up before the Lord." The word of God is alive. It is given to us not as a graven granite block, but as a forest is given to the botanist and the ornithologist.

When I began to preach, the "word-study" of the Bible seemed to me most important. It certainly is essential to know the meaning of such epoch-making words as *faith*, *parousia*, *aion*.

This, however, would be far more important if the Bible were a scientific treatise or a legal document. Next I became interested in the "study of the Bible by books." This must ever be a source of endless delight. But both these methods lead up to a "study of periods," in what is at the same time a historic evolution and a divine revelation. To know the formative periods in Judaism and the birth-period of Christianity is to apprehend, with ever growing distinctness and ever increasing joy, Christ himself.

W. H. P. F.

CHRISTOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

By the REVEREND PRESCOTT F. JERNEGAN,
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The appeal to the authority of Christ in pending questions of biblical criticism.—Four possible views.—Christ knew the historical facts involved and revealed them.—Or, He knew them but withheld them.—Or, He did not know them nor pass upon them.—Or, He did not know them, but taught the current views about them as final.—Traditional conservatism holds to the first view. Liberal criticism holds to the second or third view.—The second view to be preferred.—Christ was justified in not correcting erroneous views on these matters.—His apparent justification of traditional views of the Old Testament can be explained.—Partial knowledge is not absolute mistake.

Our conception of the development of the Old Testament Scriptures involves weighty Christological conclusions, either as postulates or as inferences. One's view of the composition of these writings is largely determined by or determines one's doctrine of the Christ-mind. Either the traditionalist is right in his assumption that Christ pronounced authoritatively on questions of criticism, or the radical, in his inference that Christ's knowledge was either naturally limited or voluntarily withheld. The frequent appeal to the authority of Christ as the final test of critical questions has too often failed adequately to discriminate the elements of the problem. The present discussion is an attempt to analyze the implications of this appeal and to consider one of them in detail.

Our Lord either knew or did not know the critical facts in question. In the first case he either revealed or concealed the truth; in the second he was either ignorant or mistaken. Thus four views of his teachings are possible:

(1) If Christ knew the precise historical facts, and his recorded statements literally and adequately represent these

facts, the traditional conceptions of Christ and of criticism are justified.

(2) If Christ knew the facts to be such as the advanced critics suppose, yet withheld them, the critics are approved, but Christ is to be vindicated.

(3) If Christ had no primary knowledge of the facts but taught the current views, though not regarding them as necessarily final, there is no high court of appeal. The problems of criticism must, in that case, be settled by purely literary canons.

(4) If Christ regarded and taught as final conclusions the views traditionally accredited to him, and these views are incorrect, an appeal to his authority is obviously idle, and our conception of his nature must be greatly altered.

The last three possibilities are almost equally repugnant to the conservative critic. Concealment, ignorance, or error he is loth to attribute to the great Teacher. But if we assume that the conclusions of liberal criticism are essentially true, we are compelled to choose one of these three explanations. Practically the choice lies between the hypothesis of silence and that of ignorance, as seen in "(2)" and "(3)," since either adequately explains the alleged variance of Christ's assertions with the facts, and is less antagonistic than "(4)" to the accepted views of our Lord's nature. The hypothesis of ignorance is, perhaps, most favorably received by a majority of those who feel compelled to accept the more revolutionary conclusions of historical criticism, but that of silence is here presented as offering an easier solution to many minds, and being in general worthy of more consideration than it usually receives.

The question at issue lies almost equally in the field of exegesis and that of ethics. We shall undertake to show, first, the legitimacy of silence on Christ's part in view of certain general characteristics of his mission and teaching; and, secondly, the adequacy of this explanation in the crucial case of the whole controversy—Matt. 22:41-46.

I. Was it justifiable for Christ to leave uncorrected erroneous views of the details of the authorship and composition of the Old Testament? Here are two questions: (1) Was it obliga-

tory to communicate all the truth? (2) Was it right to confirm error by maintaining the accepted views?

In reply to the first question we should say that there is no reason for attributing to Christ any subordinate aims not directly contributory to his main purpose. His life was, perhaps, the most concentrated in aim ever lived. His ministry was brief, his diversions few, his extraneous teaching practically *nil*. His activity was centered in the impartation of the essential principles of his kingdom.

The historical setting and theological implications of this concrete religion were but dimly shadowed forth by the Savior. This is well said by the author of *God in His World* (pp. 148-9): "We see the God in Christ in the fact that he never suggested enigmas of Providence, free will, foreknowledge, the origin of evil. The problematic situations presented to him in the cases of the tribute money, the sinful woman, the woman who had seven husbands, did not elicit from him any discussion of them or any attempt at their solution. He taught through parables, and the parable is an evasion of mental analysis."

Christ's immediate and pressing aim was to authenticate himself and his teachings as Messianic. It is chiefly for this purpose that he refers to the Old Testament. For this end two things were essential. First, that the book should be from God; and, secondly, that it should prophesy of him what he claimed.

Assuming still the truth of liberal criticism, is not the Old Testament as divine in origin if written by one hundred men as by thirty? Is it not equally from God if a copy of a compilation or a duplicate of an autograph? Is it not as really, though differently, from God if we regard it as a final revelation in substance, though not in form, as if we attempt to stamp human words with a mechanical divine imprint?

Opposed to this view stands only the illogical assertion that if the Bible be false in any particular, it is untrustworthy as a whole; a statement as true as that a man, to know anything, must know everything. Such is the state of our knowledge that the most

we can say is, that if any part of the Bible falsifies history or betrays our fundamental convictions, that part is not from God. The facts concerning details of authorship, composition and exegesis might have been widely different from what the Jews of Christ's day supposed, even such as would have destroyed their faith in the divine origin of the Bible, yet its essential teachings have come from God. If this be possible, it cannot be considered necessary that Christ should have vindicated every detail of its literary development. The naked assertion of its divine authority was both intrinsically true and sufficient for the Jews, who were already convinced of the fact.

Equally consistent with the results of liberal criticism is the Messianic character of the Old Testament. If Christ transcended the prophetic descriptions of himself why should not the latter equally surpass, in their content, the intelligent vision of the prophet? "Prophecy is not history written beforehand." Rather is it ideal anticipation with historical fulfillment. As Lyman Abbott has recently expressed himself: "History is greater than prophecy, because God's providence is greater than man's inspired imagination." Let it be granted that the primary reference of the prophecies was as much to contemporaneous as to coming events; to an earthly as much as to a divine ruler; if they still contain the potent germ of a Messianic hope there would seem to be no reason why Christ should vindicate to the Jews the details of the inspiration and deliverance of these oracles. His object was that they should accept his word and should do so only from a just belief in the authority of the Old Testament. Provided that belief had a legitimate objective basis it was not of paramount importance that its subjective ground be just in every detail.

II. Will this theory satisfactorily explain the actual instances of Christ's apparent justification of traditional views of the Old Testament?

A case containing every essential element of the problem before us is found in Matt. 22:41-46 (cf. Mark 12:35-37; Luke 20:41-44):

Now while the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them a question, saying, What think ye of the Christ? whose son is he? They say unto him, *The son of David*. He said unto them, How then doth David in the Spirit call him Lord, saying,

The Lord said unto my Lord,

Sit thou on my right hand,

Till I put thine enemies underneath thy feet?

If David then calleth him Lord, how is he his son? And no one was able to answer him a word, neither durst any man from that day forth ask him any more questions.

The traditionalist view of this passage is represented by Bishop Ellicott: "What we may deduce from this passage is this, first, that the psalm was written by David ; secondly, that David was here writing by direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost; thirdly, that the reference to the Messiah is so distinct that David may be regarded as consciously speaking of him."¹

We undertake to show that if this psalm were neither of Davidic authorship nor conscious Messianic reference, Christ might still have used it as he has, and be justified in the resulting confirmation of error.

The incident in Matt. 22:41-46 occurred on Tuesday of passion week. The day seems to have been largely occupied in discussions between Christ and his enemies in Jerusalem, of which this instance is the culmination. The order and spirit of these scenes is significant:

1. The withered fig-tree, Matt. 21:20-22.
2. Christ's authority questioned, Matt. 21:23-27.
3. Three parables against the Pharisees, Matt. 21:28-22:14.
4. Question concerning tribute money, Matt. 22:15-22.
5. Question of the Sadducees about the resurrection, Matt. 22:23-33.
6. Question of a lawyer as to the "great commandment," Matt. 22:34-40.
7. Christ's question in return: "What think ye of the Christ, whose son is he?" Matt. 22:41-46.

The temper of the Pharisees is indicated in Matt. 22:15:

¹ *Christus Comprobator*, London, 1892, p. 174.

"Then went the Pharisees and took counsel how they might ensnare him in his talk." His last word in his discussion with the elders about his authority was: "Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things." The three parables were directed against the Pharisees. Of his reply concerning the tribute money we read: they "were not able to take hold of the saying before the people." The Sadducees were summarily silenced. The lawyer was so treated that "no man after that durst ask him (Christ) any questions."

Thus, on the one side there is an attempt to entrap Christ by puzzling queries, and on the other a refusal to respond or a baffling reply as ingenious as honest. The contrast between the statements: "a lawyer asked him a question tempting him," and "Jesus asked them a question," brings out the retaliatory nature of Christ's words. It suggests that Christ will confute the Pharisees with their own logic. Every proposition of the Master's is one which they already hold. He simply shows them the conclusions that should be drawn from what they, at least, regard as established premises. He demonstrates their inconsistency in not admitting that the Messiah is greater than David. This only was essential to his immediate purpose. The passage is a lesson in logic not in criticism. There are three facts premised, and a conclusion drawn:

- (1) The Christ is David's son.
- (2) A Jewish father would not address one who was *merely* his son as his superior.
- (3) David does so address the Messiah ("my Lord.")
- (4) Therefore the Christ is more than merely a son of David.

Our Savior appeals to the general testimony of Scripture respecting the ancestry of the Christ; to its particular testimony as to David's address to the Messiah; and to a social custom grounded both in their Scriptures and their life. His attitude is not that of assertion or explanation; in other words, his language is neither dogmatic nor exegetic. The fact that his evident purpose is to confound the Pharisees, and that he is so careful to throw the burden of the premises upon them is sufficient to com-

pel us to refrain from drawing any positive conclusions from this passage as to what Christ would teach on the questions of biblical criticism involved.

It is not desired, however, to represent this contention of Christ's as having for its sole purpose the discomfiture of the Pharisees. We may well regard this scene as being implicitly one of the final declarations of Christ's Messiahship, as was his triumphal entry two days before. Possibly we may go still further with Godet, who says that this passage is a "purposed anticipatory refutation of the later charges of the Sanhedrin that he was guilty of blasphemy in making himself the Son of God." Such an aim, if it be granted, does not, we judge, materially affect the question of Christ's attitude towards the Scriptures.

It will still be inconceivable to many that Christ should have appealed to David and his prophetic insight were it not actually the case that David wrote Psalm 110, and wrote it with a conscious anticipation of the Messiah. Suppose, then, that Nathan was the author, and referred, by "my lord," to David. It might still be maintained that David was a type of the Messiah, though the prophet was not conscious of the fact. The prophecy would be seen, however, to find its historical and complete fulfillment in Christ. He brings to light that salvation which the prophets had sought in vain to understand, though they themselves prophesied concerning it. It is not necessary to demonstrate this supposition. Its bare plausibility excludes an unconditional appeal to the authority of Christ. We are compelled to hold him responsible only for the essential truth of his interpretation of the Psalm. This aim seems equally well realized in the critical as in the traditional view.

We have still to consider more explicitly whether Christ could justly confirm error. Our view here will depend on our ability to discriminate between partial knowledge and an absolute mistake. Had the Jews conceived that the Old Testament did not prophesy of a Messiah this would have been unqualified error. But assuming that David did not write Psalm 110, how far was the belief in the Davidic authorship erroneous? Entirely so from a formal point of view. But this relative error must be

judged in relation to its bearing on the religious life of the hearers. Faith in Jehovah and his eternal promises was the end sought in all their knowledge. Their conviction that David was the author of this Psalm deepened their faith in God. Nor was this conviction of the Davidic authorship of the Psalm an error in relation to their moral and religious life. The ideas suggested to their minds by the thought of David writing this Psalm were, on the whole, correct, and calculated to promote a reverence for God and his truth. As they dwell on this thought they see God speaking to man; they see the piercing ken of divinity parting the veil of human ignorance; they see the divine hope that is the illumination of our race shining so bright as to divert attention from the human medium. Religiously speaking, it is of relatively small importance who the Hebrew seer was, provided we have good evidence that the Psalm arose in the order of God's revelation, and bears the stamp of Jesus Christ and of history for the justification of its essential teaching. The end of religious instruction is not to create and carry along an accurate understanding of every detail. The mind is not so constituted, either in its individual or its national development, as to perceive immediately any great truth in the perfect exactitude of all its relations. To have attempted to readjust radically the views of the Jews regarding the composition of the Scriptures would have involved an inevitable sacrifice of the possibility of influencing the broad current of this moral and religious thought. Christ came to save, not to educate. It was better that his hearers should be left in life-long error as to details than that their lives should go astray for lack of essentials.

Christ said: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now" (John 16:12). He said again: "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given" (Matt. 13:11). That he had an exoteric and an esoteric doctrine is further exemplified in the parable of the sower by his private explanation of his public teaching. Not that his teachings on the one hand to the passing crowd and on the other to his disciples were contradictory, but that the latter were more explicit; less

veiled with figure and less obscured by silences. He leaves uncorrected, not to say confirms, erroneous impressions, as that virtue resided in or was transmitted through the hem of his garment (Mark 5:25-34). Inevitable and innumerable misconceptions of his character and doctrine arose, but the instances where, as in the case of the death of Lazarus (John 11:11-14), he corrected a mistaken interpretation of his language are conspicuous by their infrequency. Why, then, he should have attempted to convey to his hearers critical facts respecting the Old Testament that did not contribute materially to his main purpose, that were not inconsistent with the essential truth and religious significance of the current views, that would have excited needless opposition, that were, finally, beyond the intelligent comprehension of an undeveloped historical sense, it is impossible to see.

The view of the Great Teacher here presented is believed to be an exaltation of his wisdom and goodness. It is the doctrine not of Jesuitism but of common sense. It is one of the two reasonable solutions of the Christological difficulties resulting from the conclusions of modern biblical criticism.

A HEBREW POLITICAL ROMANCE.

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The neglect of the Apocrypha and what is lost by it.—A Jewish novel in the book of Judith.—Date and plan of the book.—Historical material adapted in the plot.—The story of the book.—Its influence on the national history of the Jews.—Its teachings as to Jewish thought and theology of its time.

In the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and also in some copies of our English Bible there are certain books called collectively the Apocrypha. These books, because, perhaps, they are regarded as not belonging to the canon of scripture by protestant Christianity, have been little read or studied, and generally considered worthless, as though the Jewish mind could produce nothing of worth from a purely literary point of view. In maintaining this attitude toward these books I think that we have deprived ourselves of a great deal. The Apocrypha may have very little value as far as immediate religious matters are concerned, but it has very great value, a value altogether too lightly esteemed, in other directions. The books composing it are valuable as the literary remains of a great people during an exceedingly important period of their history. But for these writings nearly four hundred years of Jewish history would be wrapped in almost impenetrable obscurity. They contain history, traditions, and almost, if not quite, all the romance written by the Jews. We have here especially a revelation of the public mind; the inner thought of the people during these "four centuries of silence."

The historical books of the Old Testament give us a very vivid, and, at the same time, very accurate account of Jewish history. The prophetic books are filled with the highest ideals of the greatest Jewish thinkers. The Old Testament as a whole may, I think, be justly termed the Israelito-pædia, or the education and training of the Israelites from the childhood of the

race. But about four hundred years before this nation is finally scattered to the four corners of the earth, the canon of the Old Testament closes. It is very important for the student of history, and especially of religious history, to learn something of this period. We can learn from various sources how the Jews were acted upon. We know from other history how, for a long time, Palestine was between the upper and the nether mill-stone. But what were their thoughts, and feelings, and hopes, and fears during these four hundred years, while this grind of contending armies was in progress? The Apocryphal books partly answer this question.

In looking over these writings, we find some things for which we are hardly prepared. We have not been in the habit of thinking of the Jew as a novelist, and yet here in the heart of the Apocrypha is without doubt a Hebrew novel, called the Book of Judith. The writer, as is frequently the case in Jewish writings, is unknown. The book has another peculiar Jewish trait in that it is without date. Many efforts have been made to determine the time at which it was written, but as there are great difficulties connected with whatever date is assigned, none has, up to the present time, been agreed upon. My own opinion is that it was written during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. This strange character, who was called indifferently the illustrious or the crazy, was one of the most bitter enemies the Jews ever had. Not only was he their political enemy, but what was far worse, he was the determined opposer of their religion. His avowed policy was to endeavor to force the Jews to abandon the worship of Jehovah. This, of course, aroused the nation as nothing else could do. The Maccabean war shows how the whole nation felt on this subject.

There had been a great literary revival among the Jews. The sacred writings were more widely read, and more devoutly pondered than they had ever been before. The minds of the people were filled with the traditions of the race. What was more natural than for one, more gifted perhaps than others, to undertake to write a political romance, based in a measure upon the old-time stories, with ideal names, and yet so plain to those

who read it that they could easily see the meaning, and possibly be led to undertake to repeat the acts of their great ancestors who had subdued armies far outnumbering their own? I believe this to be the key to the Book of Judith.

Twice, at critical periods of Israelitish history, woman played an exceedingly important part. Once, in the early history of the nation, Deborah, the energetic Bee, a woman of great sagacity and of unusual courage stirred up the frightened people to make war on their enemies. The battle was successful. Another woman, by a subtle subterfuge, slew, in her own tent, the leader of the opposing host, and the names of Deborah and Jael were embalmed in song, and held ever after in high esteem.

At another time, when the life of the nation was in great jeopardy, Esther, the beautiful star, by her beauty, her sagacity, her charming manners, her fidelity to the interests of her people, succeeded in having the decree for their destruction annulled. It is not strange, then, that one who wished to write a story for the purpose of stirring up the nation to strike for both civil and religious liberty, should make it the story of the prowess of a woman, and should make that woman a composite of Deborah, Jael, and Esther.

The theme of this story is the victory over an all-conquering king through the strategy of a woman. The prominent figures are Olophernes, the commander of the forces of Nebuchodonosor; and Judith, a beautiful Jewish widow. The minor figures are the chief men of Betulua, the home of Judith; an Ammonite prophet named Achior; the maid who waits on Judith; the townsmen and soldiers.

The historical happenings, which seem to have been worked up by the writer into this story, are the defeat of Sisera, and that defeat of the Assyrian host so graphically poetized by Byron. Like the Rabshakeh sent to the gates of the city to demand a surrender to the Assyrian king, and who declares that no power has hitherto been able to stop the army of his master, so Olophernes boasts here of the greatness of the conquests of Nebuchodonosor, and declares that the Jews shall likewise be forced to submit to him. The writer, with due attention to

details, and yet without wearying the reader as some modern novelists have done, vividly depicts the siege. He speaks of the refusal to submit to the demands of Olophernes; of Balaam-like utterances of the Ammonite prophet; with just enough of the condition of the besieged to keep the interest fully alive. Gradually, and quite artistically, the climax of the story is reached. The inhabitants of the town come before the chiefs and tell their piteous tale. The water supply has been cut off, the most terrible thing that could happen to the city. Each day brings added suffering. What can be done? Final surrender seems inevitable, and, since this is the case, why not surrender at once, and not add the pangs of hunger and thirst; the sorrow of seeing children die of starvation, to the pangs of an all-too-certain slavery. The matter was duly considered, and it was determined to wait five days longer, and if relief was not afforded in some way to surrender the town.

In this dire extremity, like Deborah, and Esther, Judith appears. She is described as a beautiful widow, who, after the death of her husband, had lived a very pious and secluded life, and had evinced her devotion to the memory of her dead lord by wearing only the coarsest kind of clothing. She does not reveal her plan to the chief, but induces him to trust the whole matter to her, and declares her willingness to undertake to save her people. Her scheme is a woman's. It is, however, the scheme of a woman who is fired with fanaticism, and who firmly believes that any deception practiced against those who are laying siege to her town; or who are the avowed enemies of her faith; or any deed, however atrocious in itself, if levelled against her enemies, is entirely justifiable. She discards her coarse raiment, and after perfuming herself after the manner of her people, arrays herself so as to set off her attractive person to the best advantage, and armed only with her beauty and her sagacity, goes forth to conquer the great army of the great king. Ah! Olophernes, as thou art a man, verily is thy danger great! What weapons of war have ever yet been forged of material strong enough to conquer the marvellous might of beauty!

Taking her maid with her, Judith goes out of the city gate,

and on down into the camp of the hostile army. Representing herself as one whose purpose it is to deliver the Jews into the hands of their enemies, she gains entrance to the tent of Olophernes. The man of war is at once taken captive by her beauty, and eagerly listens to all she has to tell. By prudence, she completely disarms whatever suspicion might have been awakened, and on the third night, while the commander is in a drunken stupor, like Jael of old, she murders him, and carries his head in triumph to the city. The morning dawns. The besiegers learn what has taken place, and are filled with such terror that they are easily defeated, and Israel is once more free. Judith is praised by all the people, and lives to a good old age, dies in peace, and is mourned for publicly by the entire nation. Such is the brief outline of this very interesting Hebrew romance.

If my theory of the time of its composition is true, who knows how much it might have had to do with the great uprising of the people under the Maccabees? We know what part Uncle Tom's Cabin played in the history of the late war, and it is more than a mere fancy that sees in this novel a power to stir the hearts of the people of Israel.

As to the value of this story as a reflection of the national mind, it shows the depth of that patriotism in which the Jews have ever excelled. Never has the world seen a nation possessed of deeper devotion to their race or to their native land. It is true that the ideas of God possessed by the heroine were both crude and erroneous, yet the story calls attention to one fact that shows that in the heart of the nation there lay a great truth. Achior, standing in the presence of Olophernes says that the Israelites can never be conquered by his army unless they have committed some sin, for which it may be necessary for them to suffer. Judith, when she visits the commander makes the same statement. The nation felt during these last years the truth spoken by the prophets in other years, that the real cause of Israel's suffering was Israel's sin, and if as a nation they maintained their integrity, maintained national purity, and a faith in God that revealed itself in outwardly noble lives, then the perpetuity of the nation would be secured.

Thus this Hebrew Romance telling of the triumph of Judith who possessed the beauty of Esther, the wisdom and sagacity of Deborah, and the stern unwomanly heart of Jael, throws light back upon the history of Israel, and throws light within that period of time during which the Jews became a nation in a sense in which they had never been a nation before.

THE "SUFFICIENT REASON" FOR ISAIAH XL-LXVI.

By the REVEREND T. S. POTWIN, D.D.,
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Analysts' view overlooks facts and conditions.—Fate of Northern Israel: Impending fate of Judah.—Necessity of encouragement for the faithful.—Such encouragement in accord with the prophetic method.—Isaiah the one naturally to be looked to for encouragement at such a time.—Mention of Cyrus by name no objection.—Uselessness of such encouragement if coming at end of the exile.—Influence of such an early prophecy on Cyrus.

Those who refer the last part of Isaiah to an author or authors different from Isaiah, do so, in the main, from the fact that the standpoint taken is that of the captivity as actually existing, and that consolation is offered the people in the promise of deliverance. They claim that there is an utter incongruity in presenting consolation under a calamity which has not yet occurred, and almost an absurdity in threatening a punishment for sin and in the next breath comforting those who are to suffer it.

If this is a complete and fair statement of the matter from the historical point of view, it cannot be denied that the argument is with its advocates.

But we maintain that this representation of the case overlooks facts and conditions which are vital in their importance, and are quite sufficient to reverse our judgment. If it can be shown that there was a "sufficient reason" for Isaiah's having written all that has been traditionally attributed to him, this logical principle debars all reasoning *a priori* such as that to which I have referred.

What then were the conditions which were potent enough to call forth in the time of the prophet the last twenty-seven chapters of the book of Isaiah?

In the first place, the prophet had distinctly declared that conquest by Babylon and captivity were surely to be visited upon the nation. The effect of this announcement upon the God-

fearing in Jerusalem, who could not doubt the authority and the word of the prophet, can hardly be exaggerated. Exile had often been conditionally threatened against the people, but now for the first time was a definite sentence pronounced. They now know that their children's children were to be torn from their homes, and made prisoners of war to the hated and idolatrous monarch of the East. Every personal, patriotic, and religious feeling or aspiration must have combined to depress their hearts, and fill them with the direst forebodings. What had become of the promise of God himself, uttered even by Isaiah, that the throne of David should never lack one to sit upon it? What had become of the promise of God to Abraham that in him should all nations be blessed? Where now could their hopes of a Messiah rest?

To add to the poignancy and alarm of their grief, there was the fate of Israel ever before their eyes. Nearly a generation before "the Lord had been very wroth with Israel, and had begun to remove them out of his sight."

The heathen had been transplanted into the land of promise, and the ten tribes had entered upon an exile in the East so "lost" that the world has not yet ceased to wonder after them. With the prospect, therefore, that the two tribes were to follow the ten, all pious hearts must have sunk, and God must have seemed to them to have left himself without witness of his faithfulness. This must have been the feeling as the fated days drew on. And when the captivity actually occurred, and the people found themselves in hopeless bondage, what was to hold them together and to their God? What could their patriotic impulses feed upon if left only under the curse and calamity? By this time, their brethren of Israel had become inseparably mingled with the heathen, and no other expectation could have been theirs if we suppose them left without divine promise and support.

The lamentations of Jeremiah are the scripture evidence of what the imagination easily paints for us. "How hath the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud in his anger, and hath cast down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Israel." . . .

"Thou hast utterly rejected us, thou art very wroth against us." "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people."
"Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow."

But it was not the purpose of the Lord to cast away Judah as Israel had been cast away. The nation was not to perish, the blessing of Abraham was not to fail. The Messiah was not to be cut off from saving his people, and being a light to the Gentiles. What now shall bear up the hearts and the hopes of the godly among the people? What keep their eyes fixed upon a more distant and glorious future? What hold them in patriotic unity and separateness? What make them resolved to trust in Jehovah that they may yet be the vehicle of salvation to the world? What but a prophetic word as clear and positive as that under which they had experienced judgment and affliction?

And there was what we may call a prophetic law for such a word. From Moses and Solomon to the last seer before the captivity, no prophet uttered threatening of such an event without at some time offering hope of mercy and return, either absolutely or conditioned upon repentance and prayer. Notably was this true of Jeremiah and Amos. The former even was authorized to announce the term of seventy years as limiting the exile. Therefore, if Isaiah had not offered such consolation and ground of hope, he would have been an exception and a violator of the divine method.

Besides, as it had fallen to him to pass beyond general and conditional warnings, and announce a definite and surely approaching calamity, to him certainly did the pious in Judah look to know if any hope and salvation remained. To him "the remnant" must have turned.

If the two tribes were not after all to be "lost" as the ten were, by whose mouth should the glad word of comfort come, if not by Isaiah's? And the need of support which this remnant felt, even beyond the darkness of the future, can be understood by the behavior of the proud and rebellious later in the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The party, which put their trust in political combinations and the fortunes of war, must have been largely in the ascendant, and their boasting and their scoffs were an

additional affliction to those who revered the word of Jehovah. If ever a crisis in the history of God's people called for the intervention of merciful and assuring promises, this one did. And, as we suppose, God did then and there direct his prophet Isaiah, himself, to utter the abundant consolations of these latest chapters. They were addressed to hearts which were at once patriotic and God-fearing. Though Israel were hopelessly lost, Judah was not so to be. The nations of the earth were yet to be blessed, as declared to Abraham, the Messianic hopes of all true souls were not to be mocked and rendered vain. Hence the largely Messianic character of these chapters.

Now, if all this had been deferred till late in the exile, it had probably been too late. Despair would have done its work. What more than a century of captivity had already done for Israel would have been the index finger pointing to the doom of Judah. Unsupported by a divine word disintegration and assimilation to those about them would have done their work upon the captives from Jerusalem. The return never could have been achieved.

In speaking "Comfort" by Isaiah, God simply used means adapted to his ends.

But the mention of Cyrus by name, say our critics, makes history and not prophecy of these chapters. But did that mention require any more provision than the announcement of seventy years by Jeremiah as the term of the exile? Or, any more than in the case of Amos, when he declared that the house of Jacob should not be utterly destroyed, but that the tabernacle of David which had fallen, should be raised up? Or, any more than the fortelling the doom of cities and nations again and again by the prophets of Judah and Israel?

Jehovah makes it a part of his glory, according to Isaiah himself (42: 8, 9) to declare new things and tell his people of them "before they spring forth." Of this glory the critics are ready to rob him, if it consists in calling the name of a monarch yet unborn.

But there are other things to be said regarding this calling Cyrus by name. Why should such emphasis be laid on the fact

of calling his name, if it were by a contemporary? Surely, there could have been nothing particularly noteworthy in naming an existing monarch well known in the time of the writer. But if it were a prophetic feature, the emphasis is accounted for.

Again, the act of Cyrus in permitting the return of the Jews was a very remarkable historical event, perhaps entirely without parallel in the history of the world. As historical students, how shall we account for it? In his decree, Cyrus attributes his action to Jehovah, the God of the despised captives. This knowledge of Jehovah must have come, it would seem, through the Jewish sacred writings brought to court by Daniel, or some fellow among the Hebrews, who have always known how to make themselves felt at the seats of power as Ezra and Nehemiah at the court of Artaxerxes. But which would be most likely to gain the attention of the monarch, the contemporary utterance of his name by his suffering subjects, or by being shown that the God of his captives, or rather the God of the captives of his old enemy, the Babylonian king, had pointed him out as the deliverer of his people long before. The re-establishment of the Jews would thus be made to appear as a part of Cyrus' victory and righteous vengeance over Babylon.

Yes, it was the part of Isaiah to do for the days of trembling and discouragement preceding the exile what Ezekiel did during its actual period. And their methods were not unlike. Both mingled terrible warnings against the proud doers of iniquity with sweet promises for the Godly remnant. And both conclude their missions with a glorious picture of Jehovah, returning to dwell among his people and going forth from Zion to bless and save mankind.

We must say, therefore, that there was not only a sufficient fitness in Isaiah being the author of these chapters, but a discernable necessity in the divine plan to bind the faithful so firmly together and to the worship of the true God, that all the luxury and allurements and all the idolatry of Babylon could not corrupt them and bring to naught the work of God in and through them.

THE SONS OF GOD AND THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN: GENESIS VI.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER.
The University of Chicago.

Prophecy of the future, the present, the past.—Introductory questions relating to the story of the sons of God and the daughters of men.—The sons of God, who were they?—Other important scriptural expressions in the passage.—The outside material in reference to angels, demons, giants.—The results of the comparison.—The purpose of the introduction of this story.

The word "prophecy," it should be remembered, is of wider meaning than is usually accepted. The great aim of the prophet was to communicate to the people about him divine instruction. In each case he had received the principles which as a prophet he was to teach the people of his time. In conveying to them these great religious truths, different methods were employed. At times he tells them of the future consequences of sin, the future rewards of a life in accordance with the divine will; he pictures what will surely happen to them as individuals and as a nation if this or that course of conduct is continued. His words of promise based upon a knowledge of the divine will communicated to him were intended to encourage or deter. All this was prophecy in the realm of *the future*.

At other times he was the reformer of his day, dealing with the present situation and imploring the people to accept righteous government instead of corrupt, a policy of charity rather than of injustice. When he pleads the cause of the widow and the orphan,

¹The literature: *Dods*, Genesis; *Kalisch*, Genesis; *Dillmann*, Die Genesis; *Delitzsch* (Franz), Genesis; *Lange*, Commentary on Genesis; *The Pulpit Commentary*, Genesis; *Lenormant*, Beginnings of History, chapters 5, 6; *Schrader*, The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament; *Harper and Green*, The Pentateuchal Question, Genesis i-xii, Hebraica, Vol. V; *Ewald*, History of Israel, Vol. I; *Budde*, Die biblische Urgeschichte; *Geikie*, Hours with the Bible, Vol. I, chapter 12; *Goldziher*, Mythology among the Hebrews; *King*, Akkadian Genesis; *Smith*, Bible Dictionary, articles on the various names in the chapter.

when he rebukes the drunkard, when he forces out of office a corrupt official, when he utters stinging words against the monopolist, we have what may be called prophecy of *the present*. At still other times the prophet's preaching takes up events of the past. These are selected and arranged in such a way as to present most forcibly the message given him to teach. It is from this point of view that the patriarchal stories have been transmitted to us. Each narrative is a prophecy, a story written to convey religious truth; the example of an honored ancestor is held up to the people of a later time, and according as his conduct was good or bad the great lesson of religious truth is taught. There is more of prophecy of the past in the Old Testament by far, than prophecy of the future. If it were possible for us to realize that the narratives of Genesis, Exodus, Judges, Samuel, Kings were prophecies of the past, many difficulties would be removed and the great purpose of these writings more clearly appreciated.

All this bears directly upon the narrative of *the Sons of God and the Daughters of Men* in Genesis 6:1-8.

I. Some of the preliminary points to be considered are:

1. *The sources of the material.*—Here we must include, besides the prophetic story itself, all references in the Old Testament to angels and giants, and all traditions among outside peoples relating to these subjects.

2. *The structure and character of the passage.*—It is to be noted, (1) that verses 1 to 4 form an introduction to the Deluge, while verses 5 to 8 also serve as an introduction; (2) that in verses 1 to 4 we are given the origin of the Nephilim, who are living at the time of the Exodus (Numbers 13:33), and of the heroes, one of whom was Nimrod; and yet there shortly follows the deluge, in which all mankind except Noah's family perish.

II. *The Biblical Material.*—1. The period in which the event occurred was "when men began to multiply," (the word "men" being indefinite, and including both Sethites and Cainites) and when "daughters were born to them" (v. 1). To whom; to men of both lines?

2. Who were the sons of God? There is perhaps no more disputed verse in the Book of Genesis. Among other sugges-

tions we may note the following: (1) They were simply *men*, called "sons of God" because created in the image of God. (2) They were descendants of Cain who called themselves "sons of God" because of their "commercial enterprises." (3) They were persons of high rank (*cf.* Psalm 82:6), and the sin lay in the corruption by the higher ranks of the wives and daughters of their dependants. This is a favorite Jewish view, as seen in the Targums, and in the writings of Aben Ezra, Rashi, and Kimchi, but it cannot be shown that the phrase ever has this meaning, and the contrast between men of high rank and women of low rank is not justified. (4) They were a non-Adamic race who were sons or worshipers of the gods, *i. e.*, idolaters. (5) They were the "sons of Seth," and, although men of a godly line, were ensnared by women of the wicked line. They were called "sons of God" because they had adhered to the service of the true God. This view was held by Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, Luther, Calvin. It is urged in its favor that it is a natural view, not a monstrous one; that it is scriptural, not mythical; that it is in accordance with the designation of the pious; that the phrase "Take in marriage" refers to an actual and lasting contract; that Seth was regarded by his mother as a son of God. In opposition to it we are told that this interpretation introduces too early the idea of the fatherhood of God; that the phrase "Daughters of men" must include all women of both lines; that the term "sons of God" is in contrast with the "daughters of men," the two terms being exclusive; that the marriage of godly men and ungodly women would not account for the birth of mighty men of renown. (6) The "sons of God" are angels, who, moved to envy by the happiness they see on earth, take human form and marry the daughters of men. In favor of this interpretation we are told that the ordinary meaning of the phrase is "angels" (*cf.* Job 1:6, 2:1, 3:7-8, Ps. 29:1, 89:7); that the daughters of men must be those mentioned in v. 1; that the offspring of the marriages is monstrous and abnormal; that ordinary promiscuous marriages could not account for the deluge. As in favor of this view there are cited Philo, Josephus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and others of the fathers; the apocryphal Book of

Enoch, and it is thought to be implied in Jude, vss. 6-7,¹ and II Peter, 2 : 4.²

Among the modern authorities who have adopted this view are Gesenius, Ewald, Kalisch, Delitzsch. Against this view it is urged that angels could not have had carnal intercourse with women, and that the whole idea is an apocryphal fable. According to Kalisch the idea would be as follows : "The angels discarded their pure and ethereal nature and abandoned themselves to despicable depravities. They left heaven in order to corrupt the earth and themselves, and it is but natural that their wicked sons, excluded from the abodes in heaven which their fathers had enjoyed, should attempt to force access to it by a desperate and flagitious assault."

3. "*My spirit shall not strive with man forever.*" In this phrase the meaning of the word "spirit" will be determined by the general sense taken of the passage. By some it is understood to mean the vital principle breathed into man which distinguishes him from the animal; by others, the Holy Spirit. There is perhaps no more doubtful word in the Book of Genesis than that which is translated "strive." One of the greatest of Semitic scholars has pronounced it inexplicable. There is good authority for the translations "act," "dwell," "be low," and "prevail" or "rule."

4. "*For that he also is flesh.*" Here again we have a most difficult phrase. With this translation it would seem to mean that man had become identical with flesh, and this taken ethically would indicate sensuousness. An entirely different translation gives the thought, "in his going astray man chose to be entirely sensuous." The idea, however, is practically the same in either case.

5. "*His days shall be an hundred and twenty years.*" According to Josephus, Ewald, and many others, the limit of life is now

¹ "For if God spared not angels when they sinned, but cast them down to hell, and committed them to pits of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment, etc."

² "And angels which kept not their own principality, but left their proper habitation, he hath kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them, having in like manner with these given themselves over to fornication, and gone after strange flesh, are set forth as an example, suffering the punishment of eternal fire."

reduced. From this time forward the outside limit of human life shall be one hundred and twenty years, in striking contrast with the hundreds of years which the patriarchs have lived. But according to the Targums and Luther one hundred and twenty years was not the limit. Did not Sarah live one hundred and twenty-seven, Abraham one hundred and seventy-five, Isaac one hundred and eighty, and Jacob one hundred and forty-seven? The whole context here refers to the deluge. The phrase should be interpreted to mean that one hundred and twenty years is given as a respite and time for repentance. The ideal character of the number is seen in that it consists of three times forty, the latter being the number symbolical of waiting and transition.

6. "*The Nephilim were in the earth in those days.*" The persons referred to are generally understood to have been giants or fallen spirits; according to Luther, "tyrants." The sense of the passage is, that while creatures of this class existed before the marriages referred to, some of them owe their origin to the intermarriage of the sons of God and the daughters of men.

7. "*Mighty Men.*" Here we should note the existence of heroes in the Hebrew tradition, the word translated "mighty men" being susceptible of this rendering, and with these we may compare the heroes of Homer and Hesiod. They belong to the earliest age and they are men of renown, much talked about, "famous in popular legends." "These are the men who are popularly called the heroes and about whom all the well-known stories are told." Here we may ask the question raised by Lenormant; is this allusion intentional? is the writer endeavoring to shift responsibility? is it made in order to exhibit caution? is he now merely the recorder of a human tradition? And it is not unfair to quote from Plato the statement, "Do you know that the heroes are demigods? All of them spring either from the love of a god for a mortal woman or of a mortal man for a goddess."

III. *The Outside Material.* It seems necessary under this head to summarize the more important references. Every one is familiar with the Chaldeo-Babylonian system of heavenly and

earthly spirits. In the Persian traditions, Ahriman and his evil spirits entered creation, corrupted the purity of the world, defiled nature, deformed beauty and filled the earth with crime. Before Zoroaster came there was great corruption of morals, but he dashed to pieces the bodies of the angels because they had engaged in amatory dealings with earthly women. Djemshid married the sister of a demon, and the offspring were monstrous giants, black and impious. Among the Hindus the children of illegitimate marriages are always false and wicked. Greek and Roman mythology sings continually of loves between gods and women. Herodotus makes the statement that the Egyptians are the only people who do not believe this. Into the details of demonology among the Assyrians and Persians, it is impossible to enter. The material which relates to giants is so large that only brief mention may be made of the more important items. We are told that "among the Hindus the giants are the enemies of the Gods, polluting their sacrifices, some, like wild beasts, eager for blood and human flesh, haunting the forests and cemeteries; pious hermits are incessantly compelled to invoke against them the assistance of intrepid heroes." Their number is also increasing,—since the souls of criminals are compelled to enter them at death. Among the Chinese they are the authors of crime and rebellion "who long waged war against virtuous kings." Among the Greeks primitive men were regarded as giants; the traditions of a race of giants in the island of Rhodes are found and the *Odyssey* refers to Eurymedon as king of the giants.

Classic poetry seems to take it for granted that the early heroes were giants. The Chaldean traditions make the first men giants and allow them to remain such until after the deluge. Arabic traditions also make the first inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula giants. The fourth book of *Ezra* tells us that the stature of man has been growing less ever since the deluge. The *Talmud* tells us that Adam was a giant of prodigious size. This idea was taught by Augustine. Are all these traditions fabulous? Science informs us that since history began the human race has not changed its form. Men have lived who were eight or nine feet high, but no nation of such men has existed.

The Jews of early ages believed, as did all other nations, in the existence of giant nations. We should not be surprised at this fact. It was the common belief of antiquity. In the classic stories we seem¹ "to come into view of dim traditions exaggerated through the mist of dim ages of pre-Hellenic barbarians, godless, cannibal, skin-clothed, hurling huge stones in their rude warfare. Giant legends of this class are common in Europe and Asia where the big and stupid giants have often every token of uncouth native barbarians, exaggerated into monsters in the legends of the later tribes who dispossessed and slew them."

IV. *The Results of our comparison.*

1. It seems probable that the biblical story of the sons of God and the daughters of men has a common origin with outside stories which relate to the angels coming into relation with women, to demonology and to giants.

2. The difference between the Hebrew story and the outside stories is very evident. According to Delitzsch, our writer has reduced to their germ of fact the obscene stories heathen myths depict. He degrades to sons of god, the gods of the heathen myths.

3. The character of this material. It seems quite certain that the story which we have studied is not history; that it does not contain scientific material. The story is something which our writer finds at hand. As he finds it, it is a legend. He purifies it. But more than this, he transforms it; still further, he refuses to acknowledge it; he merely cites it and that with caution. "He does not set forth a history of a positive character, but makes use of the widely spread legend to bring it into relation with the great truths he has been trying to teach.' Israel's stock of material was of two kinds: institutions and ideas. The institutions of slavery and polygamy, the ceremony of circumcision, the law of the clean and unclean, the various festivals, seasons,—all this came to Israel from outside nations; all were purified and regulated. In just such a manner stories, in existence before Israel was a nation, come into Israel's possession. These stories exert either a good or a bad influence. Those who

¹ Encyclopædia Britannica.

were divinely commissioned to lead forward the nation in its religious work must deal with these institutions and these ideas; consequently the story which we have been considering was introduced.

4. *Its connection with what precedes and follows.* It is introductory to the story of the deluge. It tells as nothing else could tell the corruption and sin which filled the world; for which the world must suffer.

5. *The purpose.* The following statement is a condensation of the material of Kalisch and Lenormant. The superstition contained in this story is admitted by the narrator for a moment in order forever to subvert and eradicate it. Men had been sinning because of the example of the angels, but these angels are destroyed by the deluge, and henceforth man has no such example of vice; temptation will come from himself. The Hebrews had many such heroic legends, similar to those of outside nations, as, for example, that of Nimrod. But these are studiously avoided by the sacred writers. Genealogical tables are given in order to keep out these heroic legends. The stories of the heroes are rejected, yet they exist, and Israel must be warned against them. The heroes are, therefore, referred to in this story and in the references, stigmatized with reprobation. Those whom the popular legend admires, calls *men of glory*, our writer shows to have incurred the displeasure of God, and to have been a source of the world's great calamity. One of the essential traits of these heroes among outside nations was the fact of their springing from the loves of the gods and mortal women. But with the monotheistic conception which dominated the Hebrew mind, and which assured to Jehovah an incontestable predominance over the strange gods which were associated with him by many of the people; with the manner in which Jehovah, even when the idea of his purely spiritual essence was overshadowed by the obtrusion of impure and gross elements, stood distinct from all the gods of the nations in his character of a god without a spouse, who was said never to have entered upon the conjugal state; with the special characteristic of the religious spirit of Israel—the divine loves whence issued the heroes of the Pagan peoples, are trans-

ferred into the world of beings intermediate between God and mankind, namely, that of the angels created by him, and of much purer and higher nature than man. It is gods who beget the heroes, the giants, in the Pagan world; it is angels only in the Hebrew conception.

However we understand it, and let us not be so lacking in candor as to deny the extreme difficulty of the whole story, three or four things seem to be true. (1) There is nothing here to contradict the Bible conception of angels, for they are everywhere described as impure in comparison with God. (2) There is nothing here to throw discredit upon the biblical conception of God, for the writer is careful to avoid all reference to the Deity. (3) There is here a passing reference to the idea common to antiquity, undoubtedly familiar to every Hebrew, an idea most degrading in its character, most ruinous in its influence. It is necessary that it be touched; touched lightly to be sure, yet in such a manner as to show most clearly the baneful and injurious nature of the belief. (4) It is taken as the form through which to express a truth of great importance. It furnishes the explanation of that great catastrophe, the deluge. It is another example of the consequences, the terrible consequences of sin. Could anything be more awful? Shall not men see and fear? This was the way in which it came to be introduced. This was the lesson it was intended to teach. Have men shut their eyes, and, because of a self-imposed blindness, a blindness that will not see, failed to read in this strange story this great truth? Then they are responsible and not the prophet who wrote it, nor the God who guided him in the writing of it.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

A Collection Illustrative of Religion.—The department of Comparative Religion in the University of Chicago has at present the advantage of a large loan collection of cultus-implements illustrative of Japanese Shinto, and Buddhism, and of Hinduism, made, during a long residence in the East, by Mr. E. Buckley, now a fellow in the University. It deserves a special mention as a model for other collections. The chief characteristic of the collection is its inclusion of the smaller cultus-implements, which are usually neglected in favor of the more artistically impressive idols. Such cultus-implements, especially those of folk-religion, are usually of quite insignificant intrinsic value, but can be secured only by visits to the temples, or localities, where they are in use, and are intelligible only to those familiar with the use made of them. These include phalloi, in great variety, kenes, shells, mandrakes, mirrors as sun-symbols, pails for water-cult, fuses for fire-cult, sacred plants, spirit-boats, gods of luck, charms of many materials and applications, divining rods, sacred pictures, votive gifts, food-offerings, and the like, to mention first the articles belonging to Shinto, where idols are conspicuous by their absence, with the single exception of the above-mentioned gods of luck which form an isolated group of mixed and modern origin. We have positive grounds for the assertion that this Shinto collection is both complete and unique. The Musée Guimet at Paris and the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford each contain only a few Shinto articles, while no other, except possibly the Leiden Museum, contains any at all. To the Buddhist collection belong, besides articles similar to the above mentioned, the more artistic idols, in the production of which the Japanese are at present *facile princeps* among all peoples. There are many reasons for comparing the art and religion of the Japanese with that of the ancient Greeks, and *mutatis mutandis* the idols of the former people must be judged as wonderful as the highly esteemed ones of the Greeks. The Zeus of Japanese Buddhism is Amida Nyorai, and the gigantic and superb bronze idol of that deity situated at Kamakura, once in a temple but now *unter freiem Himmel*, may be fitly compared with the famous idol of Zeus executed by Phidias. It is the idols of this people that above all others adorn that peerless collection of idols *et cetera* found in the the Musée Guimet, Paris, the best of the five museums of Asiatic religions in the world, the others being those at Calcutta, Florence, London, and Oxford. These collections are mentioned, not for comparison with the loan collection under consideration, but to suggest to some one possessed of that rare combination, wealth and scientific culture, the extreme desirability of furnishing America with the means of placing itself at least on a respectable footing among

civilized peoples in respect to a museum of religions. The writer knows of two unique collections, one in Egypt, and one in Japan, which must soon pass from their present owners' hands, which ought to be secured for some educational centre in the United States before Europe adds another element to its attractions for serious American students. Both collections could be purchased for about fifty thousand dollars. No more fitting location for such a nucleus of a religious museum could be found than the city honored by the presence of the first Parliament of Religions, and no location more useful than the city including two universities and five theological seminaries, each and all among the largest in the land. A complete catalogue of the Shinto articles has been printed, and copies of it can be secured from Professor F. Starr, of the University. Its purpose is to afford to friends abroad a typical collection to serve as guide in selecting articles, which it is hoped they will kindly secure, for the University Museum.

E. B.

The Eleusinian Mysteries.—In a recent discussion M. Foucart has maintained that there were Egyptian elements in the mysteries of Eleusis. The cult of Isis and of Demeter had been identified by the Greeks; their attributes are similar. Both are goddesses of the lower world, both guardians of agriculture and civilization. The concealment of the name of the deity which appears in these mysteries and also in some forms of Roman worship was regarded as an evidence of Egyptian influence. The identification of the name and the being of the god is original in Egypt.

Tiele on the New Theory of the Avesta.—In the January-February number of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* Professor C. P. Tiele expresses his opinion respecting M. Darmsteter's view of the origin of the Avesta, a resumé of which was given in the BIBLICAL WORLD for March, 1894. While acknowledging the great acuteness, literary ability and wide learning of the author of the hypothesis in question he cannot give his assent to it on the following grounds: (1) the two stories of the destruction of the sacred books by Alexander are neither identical in essentials nor proofs that all the sacred literature was destroyed; (2) the document, which suggests a neoplatonic origin for the Avesta, is too late (8th cy.); (3) the historical circumstances and allusions do not necessarily demand the late date; (4) the date of the Gathas, as given by Darmsteter, is inadmissible, for it does not allow sufficient time to elapse for the popularizing of the deities in the Gathas as they appear in the later parts of the Avesta and in Greek writers; (5) no argument can be made in favor of the dependance in form or matter of the "Zoroastrian question" upon the Old Testament; (6) if the Avesta were thus composed after Alexander, in a language long dead, of which no documents remained as models of imitation, the work would have been most difficult, if not impossible, and the achievement the most imposing forgery on record. M. Tiele also adds that he is astonished at the servile dependance of M. Darmsteter upon the traditional interpretation of the Avesta. The philological attain-

ments of the translator were brilliant and solid enough to permit him to move boldly forward in a new path, the path which has already been followed in the interpretation and translation of the Old Testament and the Vedas. That this has not been done will make it necessary to use the translation of M. Darmsteter with, to say the least, discrimination.

A New Lectureship in Comparative-Religion.—The readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD will be interested to learn of the foundation of a lectureship in Comparative-Religion in the University of Chicago. This has been made possible through the gift of twenty thousand dollars by Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell, of Chicago. Mrs. Haskell's letter accompanying the gift was as follows:

CHICAGO, May 5, 1894.

PRESIDENT WM. R. HARPER, D.D.:

My Dear Sir,—I have been informed that Professor G. S. Goodspeed, and others associated with the University of Chicago, have expressed the earnest hope that the friends of the University, recognizing the great interest aroused by the Parliament of Religions, would endow a lectureship on the Relations of Christianity to the Other Faiths of the World. I take pleasure in now offering to the trustees of the University of Chicago the sum of Twenty Thousand Dollars, to establish and perpetuate a lectureship of Comparative-Religion, by which at least six lectures shall be delivered annually, before the students, teachers and friends of the University, under such conditions and specifications as shall be determined by Professor G. S. Goodspeed and yourself.

I am in hearty agreement with the conviction that the immense interest awakened by the wonderful Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in September, 1893, makes it eminently desirable that the students in the University and the people generally shall be given wise instruction on the most important of all subjects; and I learn with satisfaction of your strong desire that this lectureship should be held first by the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D.D., whose energy, tolerance and catholicity of spirit and prolonged laborious devotion, gave to the Parliament of Religions, in so large a measure, its remarkable success. I remain yours faithfully,

(Signed) CAROLINE E. HASKELL.

This lectureship thus founded, with no hampering conditions such as have made the Gifford lectureship and others of that type so difficult to fill with the right men, and so limited in their scope, will, it is hoped, give a salutary stimulus to the free scientific study of this great subject. The trustees of the University have elected the Reverend John Henry Barrows, D.D., of Chicago, Chairman of the Parliament of Religions, as the occupant of the Lectureship. Dr. Barrows will deliver his first course of lectures on the "Relations of Christianity to the Other Faiths of the World" in April, 1895.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE EPISTLE OF CLEMENT.

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED,
Royal Museum, Berlin.

The well-known first epistle of Clement has hitherto been supposed to exist only in two Greek manuscripts, the better of which was discovered and published by Bryennios of Nicomedia nineteen years ago, and in a Syriac version published by Lightfoot in 1877. Now, however, comes the surprising intelligence that, in the "Seminarbibliothek" at Namur, there has been discovered a Latin translation of the epistle. As no such translation is ever mentioned in old church literature, the discovery was entirely unexpected.

The translation dates from the second century, and carries us nearer to the original than any of the manuscripts above mentioned. The evidences of its age are: (1) It is not combined with the later pseudograph, the so-called second epistle of Clement; all the above manuscripts are so combined. This combination was made before the time of Eusebius. The Latin version, therefore, agrees with the testimony of the fathers before the time of Origen, none of whom know any second epistle of Clement. (2) The Latin it offers is substantially that of the Itala. (3) The translation shows no knowledge of the church terminology which was current later; for example, *πρεσβύτεροι* is regularly translated "*seniores*." (4) The translation rests upon a remarkably pure original. Harnack remarks, "On the basis of the (above) four witnesses, the text of this oldest writing of the Roman church can be more reliably reconstructed than that of any archaic Christian memorial, with the exception of a few Pauline epistles."

One of the most interesting peculiarities of the new-found translation is a modification of the original to suit the later spirit of the Roman church. It must be borne in mind that the author of the epistle was, in the opinion of the church of the middle ages, the pupil of Peter and his successor as Pope of the early church. The passage in the Greek original, where the good Clement prays that all believers may subject themselves in humility to the powers of the civil government, has been so altered in the translation that it states precisely

the opposite; that is, Clement now prays that all princes and rulers may now subject themselves to the church. Of course, the second-century translator could not have made this change as such ideas were at that time entirely unknown. But in the ninth or tenth century during the transmission of the document, at a time when the supremacy of the papacy was asserted, some one took the liberty of supposing that Clement never could have offered any such prayer, and the suitable alteration was made.

The discovered manuscript is a copy of the eleventh century, and was discovered by Herr Morin, Presb. et Monach. Ord. S. Benedicti at Maredsous.

The Bible in the Sunday School.

THE SPIRITUAL VALUE OF INDUCTIVE BIBLE STUDY.¹

By Rev. EDWIN M. POTEAT,
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Inductive Bible study is the study of the Bible as revelation, *and as literature*. The Bible as revelation is progressive. (See Exodus 6: 2, 3, and 1 John 4: 8, 16.) The Bible as literature is a record of life, thought, religious experience, and it discloses a progressive unfolding of these through centuries. To assume an identity of life, and thought, and religious experience, and vocabulary in men of the year 800 B. C. and men of 70 A. D., and therefore, an identity of revelation through them, is not only to ignore facts, it is to belie history and the method of God's revelation to men.

God reveals himself to us in the Bible, *i. e.*, in a literature, the literature of a uniquely religious people. It has been widely suspected that because inductive study puts emphasis upon this fact it sacrifices the spiritual benefit. It is the purpose of this article to suggest that in order to make the right use of the Bible as revelation we must regard it as literature. For if revelation in the Bible is progressive, is conditioned by the age and by the spiritual capacities of men, its value can be estimated only when we have made a careful study of each particular period and of the general progress of the people of God. But this study is historical and literary. It follows that the highest spiritual benefit is impossible except upon the recognition of the Bible as literature as well as revelation. Devotional Bible reading yields its best results only when it is informed by minute knowledge of the soil and atmosphere in which the fruit it enjoys grew.

1. Inductive study saves many of us our Bible. Great mischief was done by the division of the Bible into chapters and verses in the thirteenth century: the detachment and numbering of the sentences was a mutilation. Then came the Concordance to complete and confirm the mischief. An index to a great volume is convenient. But the Concordance made possible and encouraged a talismanic use of the Bible; a manipulation of its contents to secure certain ends. A sacred book loses its sacredness, if it is thus degraded to a spell in the practice of curious arts.

Few men on reaching their intellectual majority can entertain or instruct themselves or inform and elevate their spiritual life by the manipulation of

¹ From the *Baptist Teacher*.

the words and sentences of a book which, in their youth, they were taught to reverence as a revelation from God. If such a use is insisted upon, one of two results will follow—either they will reject the book, or the God who is said to reveal himself in it. In other words, the refusal to recognize the Bible as literature may, and often does, entail a rejection of both the book and God, whom the book reveals, while the recognition of it as literature saves us the precious volume to be our companion through life.

2. Inductive study begins by regarding the Bible as literature, and leads on to the heartiest, most intelligent, and most fruitful recognition of it as revelation. There is no virtue in calling an unknown book divine; still less in applying that designation to a book the character of which is fatally misconceived. To reverence the Bible beyond all other books, we need only to know it for what it is. By inductive study the uniqueness of the Bible is seen to be in the book itself, and not to depend upon any theory concerning it. We love it, because we know it. We reverence it, because, now that we know it, we hear in it the very words of God, and by it hold high converse with the mind and heart of God.

3. Inductive study promotes the reverence which it thus begets, by allowing the Bible to say what it wants to say. Perceiving the Bible to be a revelation from God, the student waits in silence to hear its utmost word. "My soul, be thou silent unto God." Let him speak. The method calls us to repentance for the sin of employing the Bible to support our views; for the impertinence of insisting that the Bible should teach what we think. The vice of forcing God's revelation into our mould of doctrine cannot be over-estimated. Our precious Bible was given us to be heeded, not to be thus employed. And when it is allowed to give its own testimony, it is seen to be greater than all the systems of thought and theology that have been deduced from it.

The Bible is more than all interpretations of it. And it is only when we leave these behind, in a large and absorbed endeavor to explore this vast continent of divine truth, and personally to see and know it in its own forms, that we perceive what a divine book is, and how divine this book is. The spiritual value of inductive Bible study may then be stated to consist: (a) In the reverence for the sacred volume, which it insists upon and cultivates; and (b) in the unmediated converse it makes possible with the mind of the Holy Spirit, who moved holy men of old to write its pages.

Notes and Opinions.

THE LOCATION OF THE GALATIAN CHURCHES.

To what churches did the Apostle Paul address his Galatian Epistle? The all but unanimous view has been that they were churches founded by Paul upon his second missionary tour, after his revisitation to the churches founded upon his first tour in Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe; that the towns in which they were located were Ancyra, Pessinus, Tavium, and others, in a district north from the district of the first tour; and that Paul had, as it were by accident, founded those particular churches, inasmuch as he had intended to go directly to Ephesus for new work on his second tour (cf. Acts 16:6); but, providentially turned aside from that purpose, he had started north through this region, and being detained by sickness (Gal. 4:13 f) had spent time in founding these Galatian churches to whom he afterwards wrote the Galatian Epistle. One difficulty with this view has always been admitted, viz., the strange silence about these churches otherwise, when we are made personally acquainted with many of Paul's churches. But the Acts history does not attempt a complete detailed account of Paul's work, and the writer has not had at hand, or has not seen fit to give, further information about the district or churches of Galatia. It was, of course, acknowledged that a Roman province called Galatia had been organized previous to Paul's time, which included the district in which Paul's first tour was made; but in view of the quite clear and explicit statements in Acts 16:1-8, it seemed more probable that Paul and the author of Acts used the term Galatia in the earlier and more restricted signification of the district lying to the north of that which was the scene of the labors of his first tour.

This view, ably advocated by Bishop Lightfoot in his Commentary on Galatians, Conybeare and Howson in their *Life of Paul*, Smith's Bible Dictionary, et al., had remained undisturbed (except for an occasional opponent as Renan and Lipsius) until a year ago, when Professor Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire* agitated the matter afresh, attacking the prevailing theory and advocating an identification of the Galatian churches with the churches at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, which Paul had established upon his first missionary journey. The author had made a thorough investigation of the geography of Asia Minor, and of the literature connected with Asia Minor in the first Christian centuries. His opinion was therefore felt to carry much weight. But this theory seems to be in conflict with the narrative in Acts 16:1-8, and a defense of the prevailing view was

immediately made, resting upon the plain language of this passage. This defense was prepared by Principal F. H. Chase, of Cambridge, and it appeared in *The Expositor* for December, 1893. He simply undertook to show that "a careful examination of the narrative of St. Luke (Acts 16 : 1-8) leaves no room whatever for doubt that he uses the term Galatia in the popular, not the political, sense; and that, consequently, the North-Galatian theory holds the field." To this effective article Professor Ramsay made reply in three numbers of *The Expositor*, January, February, and April, 1894. A rejoinder from Principal Chase in *The Expositor* for May seems to close the discussion as far as these two gentlemen are concerned.

What is the result as regards the location of the Galatian churches? One feels that Professor Ramsay's case is in a shattered condition, as respects his handling of Acts 16 : 1-8. And, according to his own admission, if this passage does not support his view, then his view has no basis whatever, since he says: "If Mr. Chase is right, Part I. of my book is hopelessly wrong." (*Expositor*, p. 43, and elsewhere to the same effect).¹ It might be possible for the South-Galatian theory to be held in spite of Acts 16 : 1-8—there are good arguments for it, but this discussion has proceeded upon the exact trustworthiness of this Acts passage—the case has been rested upon it.

Professor Ramsay maintains: (1) that the phrase τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (Acts 16 : 6) means, and can only mean, "the country which is Phrygian and Galatic, a single district to which both epithets apply, in English most idiomatically rendered the Phrygo-Galatic territory" (cf. *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 77-79); (2) that the movement of the apostolic party recorded in Acts 16 : 6, "they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia" (R V.) is a geographical recapitulation of the journey which is implied in the two preceding verses. "These two verses (4, 5) describe the conduct and action that characterized the entire journey through South Galatia, both the journey to Lystra and Derbe, already mentioned from the geographical point of view in verse 1, and that to Iconium and Antioch. Verse 6 then continues the geographical description from verse 1, and describes the journey from Lystra onwards; it led through the country which is Phrygian and Galatic, a single district to which both adjectives apply" (*Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 77-78). This overlapping of accounts in Acts 16 : 1-8 Professor Ramsay explains by a hypothesis of two different documents recording the itinerary of Paul's tour, the ragged edges of which come together at verses 5 and 6. (3) That the anarthrous aorist participle

¹ The aggressive and pungent personalities (see, for example, pp. 43-45, 137-139) in which Professor Ramsay indulged, and from which Mr. Chase was not entirely free, constitute to the reader no part of the argument, and editors of magazines should spare the public such disagreeable remarks. If individual authors cannot discuss matters without such accompaniments, such authors at the least should be willing to allow the editor to run his blue pencil across the objectionable passages before the copy goes into type.

κωλυθέντες in the passage διήλθον . . . κωλυθέντες (Acts 16:6) may be interpreted to indicate an action coördinate with and subsequent in time to the action of the principal verb διήλθον, so that it is simply equivalent to another finite verb connected with the first by καί. He says: "It has been contended that the participle κωλυθέντες gives the reason for the finite verb διήλθον, and is therefore preliminary to it in sequence of time. We reply that the participial construction cannot, in this author, be pressed in this way. He is often loose in the forming of his sentences, and in the long sentence in verses 6 and 7 he varies the succession of verbs by making some of them participles. The sequence of the verbs is also the sequence of time: 1) they went through the Phrygo-Galatic land; 2) they were forbidden to speak in Asia; 3) they came over against Mysia"; and so on (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 89; see also *Expositor*, pp. 337-338).

To these three points Principal Chase replies as follows: (1) The phrase τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (Acts 16:6) refers to two separate districts which Paul successively traversed, namely Phrygia and then Galatia. The word Φρυγία is used as a substantive. So Luke uses it in Acts 18:23, τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν; and also in the only other passage where Luke refers to that country, Acts 2:10, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν. Bishop Lightfoot took Φρυγίαν as an adjective in Acts 16:6, but of necessity as a noun in Acts 18:23, a separation of the passages which cannot be justified. Professor Ramsay's objection that the "vinculum of the common article" forbids the taking of Φρυγίαν as a substantive referring to a distinct district in the phrase τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν is met by saying that "the two words Γαλατικὴ χώρα coalesce so as to express respectively a single idea." So in Mark 1:5 ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα means Judea merely. Such compound names are frequent, arising from the fact that originally the proper names were all used adjectivally. It is therefore a compound noun, and we have two separate districts mentioned. As Wendt renders it, "Phrygien und das galatische Land." This is a construction found frequently in Luke, τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρίᾳ (Acts 1:8), τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν (Acts 19:21; cf. also Acts 8:1; 9:31; 15:3; 27:5). (2) The sequence of the clauses in Acts 16:1-8 wholly refutes Professor Ramsay's theory. In verses 1-4 Luke tells us definitely of Paul's visit to Derbe and Lystra, and by the use of the phrase τὰς πόλεις (v. 4) seems to imply that St. Paul visited the other chief cities of the district. He next records the *sequel*, which he introduces by the particle οὖν. (For this οὖν of historical sequence cf. Acts 1:6; 2:41; 5:41; 8:4, 25; 9:31; 10:23; 11:19; et al.). This sequel has two parts, which Luke clearly marks off by the use of μὲν (v. 5) and δέ (v. 6). In the first place (v. 5) Luke traces the fortune of the churches which Paul and his companions had just visited (αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι). In the second place (v. 6), Luke follows the movements of the travelers (διήλθον δέ). After they had left the

cities of Lycaonia and Pisidia they journeyed northward, traversing successively Phrygia and the Galatian district. The objection of Professor Ramsay that *μὲν οὖν* does not always indicate a strict sequence of clauses might be valid if there were no following *δέ*, but there is (v. 6), and that seems a sufficient answer. The fact that a paragraph is made between verses 5 and 6 in the Revision and in the Westcott and Hort text does not at all break the sequence or negative the logical arrangement of the clauses, but simply articulates the different stages of Paul's journeys. Can any reason be given why in Luke's rapid summary of Paul's movements, verse 6 should give a recapitulation of what has been already related in verses 1-4, while nothing is said of the northward journey between Pisidia and the point "over against Mysia" which Paul has reached in verse 7? Professor Ramsay explains that it is a repetition due to the fact that two distinct accounts of Paul's movements overlap at that point—a shrewd explanation in the interest of a theory, but one that does not elicit much confidence. (3)

The position taken by Professor Ramsay regarding the anarthrous aorist participle *κωλυθέντες* (see above), cannot possibly be admitted. It is impossible to believe that Luke, in a short and simple clause, where there could be no anacoluthon, wrote *διήλθον . . . κωλυθέντες* when what he really meant would have been easily and naturally expressed by the words *διελθόντες . . . ἐκωλύθησαν*. "Hard pressed by a very simple and decisive grammatical argument, Professor Ramsay has taken refuge in the desperate expedient of maintaining that a Greek writer can vary 'the succession of verbs by making some of them participles.' This seems to me as if a chess-player, somewhat suddenly checkmated by the combined action of a bishop and a knight standing in certain relative positions, were to plead that, in this particular game, the action of the chessmen 'cannot be pressed in that way,' that, in fact, a bishop and a knight are interchangeable, and may be transposed. A player, holding these views, would play on fearless of defeat." Can *κωλυθέντες*, an anarthrous aorist participle, indicate an action coördinate with and subsequent in time to its principal verb *διήλθον*, so that it is simply equivalent to another finite verb connected with the first verb by *καί*, thus *διήλθον . . . καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν*? Professor Ramsay maintains this to the last, but *fatally omits* to cite *one single instance* of such a usage in the New Testament. In a Greek sentence, when an anarthrous aorist participle agrees with the subject of an aorist indicative, the participle expresses an act *either* coincident in time with, or prior to, that which is expressed by the indicative (cf. Winer, ed. Moulton, p. 430). Professor Ramsay felt the strength of this position, for, in his second article, he wrote: "I shall, in due course, proceed to show that the South-Galatian theory is perfectly consistent with taking *κωλυθέντες* in Acts 16:6 as giving the reason for *διήλθον*" (*Expositor*, p. 139, note). This was a very important thing to do, but the promise was never fulfilled. Is it fair to suppose that it was found impossible? One cannot see how it could be done.

Principal Chase, therefore, closed his first article, and reiterated the statement at the end of his second article, with these words: "The verdict, then, which, as I believe, any Greek scholar who goes into the evidence supplied by Luke's language, must pronounce on the South-Galatian theory, is that it is shipwrecked on the rock of Greek grammar."

Let us examine this last point first. Can an anarthrous aorist participle indicate an action coördinate with and subsequent in time to its principal verb, so that it is equivalent to a second finite verb connected with the first by *καί*? It must be said that Professor Ramsay has not succeeded in his defense. He shifted from side to side under Principal Chase's arguments, which arose from a much better knowledge of Greek and a much fairer—because disinterested—spirit of interpretation, until one lost confidence in his guidance. It seemed certain that he was trying to extricate himself from a very difficult situation. No one in England arose to defend his extraordinary and novel view of the use of the anarthrous aorist participle. Nevertheless, the discussion of this point may not yet be closed. Professor E. D. Burton, in his recent work *New Testament Moods and Tenses* (Chicago: University Press), pp. 65-6, cites in illustration of this alleged usage, Acts 16: 23; 22: 24; 23: 35; 24: 23; 25: 13, and says of them: "In all these cases, it is scarcely possible to doubt that the participle (which is without the article and follows the verb) is equivalent to *καί* with a coördinate verb and refers to an action subsequent in fact and in thought to that of the verb which it follows. These instances are, perhaps, due to Aramaic influence." The passage, Acts 25: 13, is cited as a typical instance of this usage, Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Βερνίκη κατήγγησαν εἰς Καισαρίαν ἀσπασόμενοι τὸν Φῆστον, *Agrippa, the king, and Bernice arrived at Caesarea, and saluted Festus.* Now, if this reading were unquestioned, it would be a very clear instance of the alleged usage, and a few other similar instances would decide the case in favor of Professor Ramsay. But the aorist participle in this passage is very much questioned. The Textus Receptus reads ἀσπασόμενοι, a future participle instead of an aorist, and so the A V. reads "came unto Caesarea to salute Festus." This reading, though not supported by any uncial manuscript, is found in 61, and most of the other cursives, a catena, the Latin Version of E, the Vulgate, the Peshito and Philoxenian Syriac, the Armenian, Chrysostom, and Theophylact in one form of his commentary. It is also the reading understood by Winer (ed. Moulton, p. 429), and Buttman (ed. Thayer, p. 296). The Revisers were forced by manuscript authority (Sin., A, B, both Ethiopic versions, *et al.*) to adopt the aorist form ἀσπασόμενοι. But they were doubtful whether it was legitimate to translate it as the equivalent of a finite verb of subsequent action, so while their text reads: "arrived at Caesarea, and saluted Festus," their margin reads: "Or, *having saluted.*" The Westcott and Hort text, determined by the weight of manuscript evidence, has the aorist ἀσπασόμενοι, but a marginal reference to the Appendix leads to the words: "Some primi-

tive error not improbable." Dr. Hort wrote, in a note on this word: "The authority for ἄμενοι is absolutely overwhelming; and, as a matter of transmission, ὄμενοι can be only a correction. Yet, it is difficult to remain satisfied that there is no prior corruption of some kind" (*Select Readings*, p. 100). It will not, of course, be forgotten that our earliest manuscripts only go back to the fourth century, so that some three hundred years intervene between the original manuscript of Acts and our present texts of the same. There is no reason to think that the scribes, who copied the New Testament *before* the fourth century, were different in character from those who copied it *after* that time, *i. e.*, all the copyists were liable to error of transcription. There are, doubtless, many points at which the best text which we can reconstruct from the earliest manuscripts in our possession, will depart from the original apostolic text. It was inevitable that three hundred years of copying should have introduced minute textual errors. This aorist participle seems to be such an accidental scribal variation for the future participle which Luke probably wrote. This is what Dr. Hort means above by a "prior corruption of some kind." For instances of exactly similar errors in the N. T. manuscripts, see Whitney's *Revisers' Greek Text*, Vol. II., pp. 128-9 (Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co.). It is quite evident, therefore, that this instance of the aorist participle in Acts 25: 13 is too doubtful to serve as a base for so important a grammatical principle as that involved in this discussion. A detailed examination should also be made of the other passages in Acts cited by Professor Burton in support of the alleged usage. Space forbids such an examination here, but the judgment may be expressed that they are all ambiguous or uncertain, with possible choice between two or more renderings. No instance of the alleged usage has been found in classical Greek. Whether further investigation and discussion upon the point will reveal something more substantial in its favor may not be confidently asserted, but, as the matter now stands, Principal Chase seems certainly to be secure in his position. Professor Ramsay's case has not been made out, and must be rejected until better evidence is adduced.

The reply, made by Principal Chase to Professor Ramsay's first point as given above, seems reasonable. If Luke uses Φρυγίαν twice out of three times as a noun, as is true beyond question, it is a fair inference that he so uses it the third time, unless something else stands in the way of that conclusion. The objections against Φρυγίαν as a noun in Acts 16: 6 on the ground of the "vinculum of the common article" do not seem sufficient. The cases cited from Acts to show Luke's customary form of expression (see above), argue strongly that he, in 16: 6, τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, speaks of two distinct and separate districts successively traversed, the one called Phrygia, the other called the Galatian region. It impresses one as far-fetched to make Luke speak here of the Phrygo-Galatic region as a region which was a single unit, and which could be called Phrygia, or Galatia, with equal truth. But even supposing that Φρυγίαν were an adjective instead of a noun, might not

Luke have so spoken of the Phrygian and Galatic region without making Phrygia and Galatia identical, simply associating them in thought and expression as a single region in his description of Paul's extensive movements?

The second point of the discussion—the bearing of the sequence of clauses in Acts 16: 1-8 upon the South-Galatian theory—seems fatal to it provided the Acts account is to be allowed to decide the question. Professor Ramsay is forced to adopt a strange and improbable hypothesis to explain the sequence of clauses in this passage. Who would ever think that the incidents of v. 6 were *identical* with those of vs. 1-5, rather than *subsequent* to them—that the writer, at this place, retraces and repeats for no assignable reason instead of going on with his summary narrative. How avoid the evidence from *οὐν* and from *μέν δε* for a progression in the story right through vs. 1-8? The "travel-document" hypothesis may have its part to play in explaining the composition of the book of Acts, but Professor Ramsay has so ingeniously applied it to help him out of his difficulty at v. 6, that a lively suspicion is aroused regarding it at this point. No, the South-Galatian theory is inconsistent with this passage in Acts. That seems an entirely safe and final conclusion resulting from this recent discussion in England.

But it does not necessarily follow that the South-Galatian hypothesis is therefore overthrown, notwithstanding Professor Ramsay's hasty statement to that effect. There are many difficulties with the North-Galatian theory which could thus be removed, much light could thus be thrown into obscure places of the Acts' history and Paul's life. Perhaps there may still be shown sufficient reason for a change to that view, and it would certainly be gratifying if that result might remain to Professor Ramsay as a fruit of his labors which, though barren on the grammatical and contextual side, may yet be rich on the side of history and archæology. The inconsistency of the Acts' narrative could then be explained as arising from its brevity and evident second-handedness at this passage. Rev. F. Rendall, in an article in *The Expositor* for April, takes it for granted that, in some way, this change of opinion will come about, and so he writes of the Galatians and their epistle from that standpoint. The main question, then, as to the two rival theories—whether the Galatian churches were the first churches founded by Paul in Asia Minor, namely, those at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe of the first missionary tour, or churches in the province to the north of this district, whose chief cities were Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium, and founded on Paul's second missionary tour five or six years later—in other words, the South-Galatian, or the North-Galatian theories, are still open for discussion. But it should be understood that Acts 16: 1-8, as far as it has influence, militates against the South-Galatian theory, and supports the present accepted North-Galatian theory. Professor Ramsay's hypothesis must find some standing ground outside of Acts 16: 1-8, with arguments so strong and conclusive as to override the objections resting in a fair interpretation of this passage.

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THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD OF THE AMERICAN
INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

General Scheme. The aim of the members of the *Bible Students' Reading Guild* is to obtain a better knowledge of the revelation of God, his relation to and desires for mankind, as embodied in the books of the Bible. For the accomplishment of this purpose, they will pursue a four years' course of reading which will include the entire New Testament, such portions of the Old Testament as bear most directly upon the subject under consideration, and those books about the Bible which seem best adapted to make clear its facts and teachings, and are at the same time suited to the average student, both as to character and cost.

The work is designed for (1) mature people who, having read the Bible more or less from childhood, have nevertheless but a confused idea of the bearing of its many separate parts upon its unity of purpose; (2) those who, having reached maturity with no intimate acquaintance with the Bible, would like to investigate its claims in an intelligent manner; (3) those who are familiar with the scope and purpose of the biblical writings, yet wish to keep in touch with the best literature upon the subject.

The course will be presented in four distinct subjects, viz.: *The Life of Christ*. *The Foreshadowings of the Christ* (Old Testament History and Prophecy); *The Founding of the Christian Church*, and *Old Testament Literature*. Each year will be independent, forming a unit in itself. Thus students may enter with any year, and all members will study the same subject at the same time. Members of the Guild are expected to read the recommended books in accordance with the suggestions which are provided by the Institute. Although not required to do so, it is hoped that they will report their work to the Institute as often and in such manner as reports shall be requested.

The Work for 1894-5. The course on the Life of Christ is now ready and will constitute the work for October 1894-July 1895. The books have been selected with reference to (1) the historical, geographical, and prophetic background; (2) the life as actually lived, narrative and comment; (3) the character of Jesus; (4) the influence of Jesus; (5) the teachings of Jesus. (For enumeration of particular books see paragraph on *Expense*).

Helps Provided. A direction sheet giving general suggestions for the reading of the year will be sent to students immediately upon enrollment. At the beginning of each month from October 1 to June 1 bulletin assigning the reading for the following month and giving specific directions for the work of the month will be mailed to each member. No work will be assigned for July, August, and September of each year, although

the books and the general direction sheet will be ready and may be secured July 1st.

In April of each year a question paper containing fifty questions, making a comprehensive summary of the year's work will be issued. Members of the Guild, while not required to answer these questions, will be urged to do so for the sake of the value of the work to themselves. Duplicate copies of the paper will be supplied in order that one copy may be retained for reference.

Recognition of Work. At the end of each year a certificate will be awarded those who have read the required books and the required readings in the BIBLICAL WORLD. A special "Honor Sign" will be placed upon the certificates of those who return the question paper with all the questions answered. In entering the Guild no pledge of continuance is required; but students accomplishing the four years reading and securing an "Honor Sign" for each year will receive some special recognition of their work.

Time Required. It is believed that the work can easily be accomplished in from twenty minutes to half an hour a day. Should students wish to give more time, other books upon special phases of the subject will be recommended and other work assigned, for the performance of which special credit will be given.

Expense. A membership fee of fifty cents to cover the expense of correspondence and helps provided by the Institute is required. The books for 1894-5 are as follows:

1. In the Time of Jesus, Seidel, - - -	\$.90.
2. Sketches of Jewish Social Life, Edersheim, -	1.00.
3. Harmony of the Gospels, Stevens and Burton, -	1.25.
4. The Life of Christ, Hanna, - - -	1.25.
5. The Character of Jesus, Bushnell, - - -	.60.
6. The Influence of Jesus, Phillips Brooks, -	1.00.
7. THE BIBLICAL WORLD, July 1894-1895, - -	1.50.

By special arrangement with publishers the cost of the books has been placed much below the published prices. If desired at the prices given they should be ordered by members of the Guild through the Institute office. Students are not, however, *required* to buy books through the Institute, if they can secure better terms elsewhere.

So much has been written on the life of Christ that some may wish to substitute other books upon the same subject for those recommended. In the case of certain books upon the course such substitution may be allowed if necessity seems to require it, but students are strongly urged to procure and use the indicated books.

*This is a special price to members of the Guild and can be obtained only through the Institute. The subscription price to all others is \$2.00.

How to Become a Member. Fill out the application form, which may be procured from the Central Office, and send it with the membership fee of fifty cents to the office of the Institute. (For address see below).

If books are desired consult the list given in this circular and indicate clearly which books are needed and the number of copies of each. Subscriptions to the BIBLICAL WORLD should in all cases be sent to the Institute. The general direction sheet will be ready in July and will be sent to all members immediately upon enrollment. The monthly postal bulletin will not be issued until October 1st, when the working year properly begins.

Students may enroll at any time, but those entering later than October, 1894, will be required to make up lost work during the year. The work is assigned for nine months, and students entering late will be able to catch up during the summer months.

Chapters of the Guild. Local chapters of the Guild may be formed wherever there are two or more members. Only individual members are responsible to the Institute. Chapters will elect their own officers and appoint meetings according to their own convenience. As the subject of the present year (1894-5) is identical with that of the International lessons, Sunday-school teachers and adult classes would find chapters helpful in schools where regular teachers' meetings are not well supported.

The Biblical World. The BIBLICAL WORLD is the official organ of the Guild. Beginning with July, 1894, it will contain each month two articles, the reading of which will be required of members of the Guild. With September, 1894, a special department for the Guild will be introduced. It will contain programmes for chapter meetings and special items of interest to the members.

The Bible Students' Reading Guild is open to everyone of whatever denomination or faith. Questions in regard to it will be freely answered. Circulars in large or small quantity may be obtained. Correspondence should be addressed to the American Institute of Sacred Literature, William R. Harper, Principal, Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill.

Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR W. W. WHITE, formerly of Xenia, Ohio, has recently become one of the permanent teachers at Moody's Bible Institute in Chicago.

THE department of Biblical Languages and Exegesis at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ills., has been strengthened by the promotion of Rev. Charles Horswell, B.D., Ph.D., from a position as instructor to a full professorship.

AN ENTIRELY new and revised edition of *Winer's Grammar of New Testament Greek*, in the original German language, is being published at Göttingen. The editor is Professor Dr. Schmiedel, of Zurich. The work is to be issued in two volumes, the first treating of forms, the second treating of syntax. Volume I. has now appeared.

THE chair of Systematic Theology at Chicago Theological Seminary, made vacant by the resignation of Professor George N. Boardman, D.D., LL.D., has not yet been filled. Rev. James Denney, of Broughty Ferry, Scotland, was invited, this year, to give a course of lectures in that department, and these, ten in number, were delivered during March and April. They were well received, and, for the most part, heartily approved. The only serious exception taken to them, was in regard of his very liberal view of the inspiration of the Bible. However, that was not regarded as an obstacle to his appointment, and he was duly tendered the Professorship of Systematic Theology at the Seminary. Mr. (now through the bestowment by the Seminary of the degree of Doctor of Divinity) Dr. Denney, however, after full consideration, thought it necessary to decline, preferring his home field in Scotland.

IT is a pleasure to repeat the announcement made by Messrs. T. and T. Clark that they are about to publish a new work by Professor A. B. Davidson, of New College, Edinburgh. It is not, indeed, what we were waiting for—the promised volume in the International Theological Library, edited by Professors Briggs and Salmond, upon the *Theology of the Old Testament*. That will still continue as an eager expectation, quickened by the advanced articles upon the Theology of Isaiah now appearing in the *Expository Times*. It is not a work which will have so wide an interest and use. Yet, it is a very important production in its department, that of Old Testament language. The work, then, is *A Syntax of the Hebrew Language*. He has long desired to issue this volume as a companion to his *Hebrew Grammar*, and all Semitic

students will be grateful to him for his accomplishment of the task he had set himself.

Two of the instructors in the Chicago Theological Seminary were advanced to full Professorships at the Commencement in May. Rev. Edward T. Harper, Ph.D., was made Professor of Assyriology and Comparative Religion. He was graduated from Oberlin College in 1881, and from this Seminary in 1887. In 1890, he was pursuing Semitic studies at Leipzig, received his doctorate the next year, and then accepted an appointment as instructor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation in the Seminary. In 1892, he was made Assistant Professor in the same department, and now, after two years, is given a full Professorship. Rev. Fridolf Risberg, a graduate of the University of Upsala, Sweden, in 1874, came to this country, in 1885, to give instruction in the Swedish Department of the Chicago Theological Seminary. He is now made Professor of Biblical and Systematic Theology in that department of the institution.

THE following attractive list of papers were upon the programme for the May meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, held at the School of Theology of Boston University: Professor N. Schmidt, On the Text and Interpretation of Amos 5: 25-27; also, On Immortality and the Hadad Inscription. Dr. I. H. Hall, Some Recent Works on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament (Scrivener, Harris, Gregory). Professor C. H. Toy, The Text of Ezekiel 8: 17. Professor L. B. Paton, The Relation of Lev. 20 to Lev. 17-19. Professor D. G. Lyon, Palestine before the Exodus. Professor M. Jastrow, Jr., On *bosheth* in Hebrew Proper Names. Mr. M. M. Skinner, The Text of Job 19: 25-29. Dr. C. C. Torrey, Notes on the Book of Amos 5: 26; 6: 1f.; 7: 2. Professor G. F. Moore, The Origin of the Vision of Hell in the Apocalypse of Peter, and Its Relation to Latter Infernos. Dr. W. H. Cobb, An Examination of Isaiah 14.

THE death of Rev. William M. Thomson, author of *The Land and the Book*, took place April 8th. He had lived to the venerable age of eighty-eight years, and had spent nearly half a century as a missionary in Palestine. Born in Ohio in 1806, he was educated at Miami University, being graduated in 1826, the year when he was converted, and devoted himself to foreign missions. He took a theological course at Princeton Seminary, and in 1832 set out for the Holy Land to begin his labors. He soon became an authority in biblical archæology and the interpretation of Scripture. Several articles and books were issued from time to time, until, in 1859, there was published, in New York, the work which was to make him famous, *The Land and the Book*. It was extensively circulated. Probably no description of Palestine has done more toward the awakening of interest in, and the spread of knowledge concerning, the land of the Bible. He recast the entire work during the years 1880-6, so that it was enlarged to three volumes, which were

handsomely illustrated and published by Harpers, New York. Since his retirement from missionary work, in 1876, he had spent his closing years in New York and Denver.

A NEW and important chair of instruction has been created at the McCormick Theological Seminary in this city, made possible by a further gift from the family who gave the institution financial existence, and whose name it bears. The new chair is that of Biblical Theology, and its first occupant is Professor A. C. Zenos, D.D. Dr. Zenos came, a few years ago, to the Seminary from Hartford Seminary, where he had held the chair of New Testament Interpretation, to accept the Professorship of Ecclesiastical History. From this position he was transferred to the newly-created one, a sphere in which he will work with probably increased delight and efficiency. The advance, thus made by the Seminary in recognizing and providing for this latest and most vital department of biblical instruction, will elicit approval. The chair of Ecclesiastical History, left vacant by the transfer of Dr. Zenos, was filled by the appointment of Rev. J. R. Stevenson to that post.

ANYTHING which looks toward monotheism among the Oriental peoples earlier than 2000 B. C., is of large interest. Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, recently discussed, at a meeting of the Victoria Institute in London, some results of his researches among the Babylonian tablets. He first reviewed the attributes of the thirteen gods of the Babylonian Pantheon, each of which claimed to be Aa or Ya of the gods. Then he quoted tablets of about 650 B. C., in which the king used the word "god" as a monotheist would. Going back to the third millenium before Christ, he stated that he found tablets using the same expression in the same sense. Mr. Pinches is led by this, and by much accumulated evidence, to regard the Babylonian Pantheon as really one god. In the discussion which followed, it appeared that, as in the earliest Egyptian records so now in the early Babylonian records, there is evidence of a primitive monotheism. The Victoria Institute is gathering further evidence upon the subject, and will, in due time, publish the results of the investigation.

IT IS safe to say that there is no current literature of greater interest and value than that which appears at intervals in the symposia upon important subjects published in *The Independent*. The issue of May 3d contained a symposium upon "Modern Discovery and the Bible," which brings together a mass of recent information, from the best living authorities, such as cannot be found elsewhere, and the reading of which might give one a liberal biblical education. There are eighteen columns of matter, which would make over fifty pages of an ordinary book. Following are the authors represented in the symposium, with the subjects upon which they have written: Professor W. H. Green, D.D., LL.D., Pentateuchal Analysis a Failure. Benj. W. Bacon, D. D., The Consensus of Scholarship on the Pentateuch Question.

Professor D. G. Lyon, Ph.D., Palestine before the Exodus. Professor Ira M. Price, Ph.D., Assyrio-Babylonian Light on Israel's History. Wm. H. Ward, D.D., LL.D., Biblical Discoveries in Palestine and Adjacent Countries. Professor H. M. Scott, D.D., Recent Discoveries of Early Christian Writings. Professor W. M. Müller, Egyptology and the Bible.

ANNOUNCEMENT is made of the publication in the near future of an important work in Assyriology, being an *Assyrian-English-German Concise Dictionary*, compiled by Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt. The design is to supply the lack of a lexicographical work which the average student can afford to own, and which will serve him in the study, especially, of the historical texts. At the same time, there will be presented to the student of comparative Semitic Grammar a survey of the Assyrian vocabulary. It is not the author's plan to make the glossary embrace the whole cuneiform literature thus far published, nor even to compile a concordance of the texts represented in the Glossary, but to register all the important words occurring in the texts that are read by all beginners. Further, some texts, read and used by most Semitic scholars, will be completely indexed. The work will also contain a complete index to Delitzsch's Assyrian Grammar. The *Dictionary* will be arranged alphabetically. The publishers of the work are Messrs. Reuther and Reichard, Berlin. The American representatives are B. Westermann & Co., New York City. The printing will be done by Drugulin, Leipzig. The volume will contain about six hundred pages, small quarto size, the price not to exceed M. 40. It will appear in eight parts, Part I. to be ready soon, the whole work to be complete within two years.

FOR more than thirty years Rev. James Strong, S.T.D., LL.D., has been engaged upon a vast and most important work which is now at last in print. The complete title may be given as the best description of the character and contents of the volume: *The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible; Showing Every Word of the Text of the Common English Version of the Canonical Books and Every Occurrence of Each Word in Regular Order; together with a Comparative Concordance of the Authorized and Revised Versions, including the American Variations; also Brief Dictionaries of the Hebrew and Greek Words of the Original, with References to the English Words.* Throughout the Concordance the words are arranged in the order of their occurrence in the Bible, a return to the method of Cruden as against the analytical and topical method adopted by Young. The volume contains about 1800 quarto pages, and is, therefore, about the size of a classic Greek or Latin lexicon, or of an unabridged English dictionary. The publishers are Hunt and Eaton of New York. The above description is a faithful account of what the work contains. It is to be regretted that the Version of 1881 might not have been the basis rather than the Version of 1611—probably this is the worst fault of the production. It is a work for Bible students, and Bible students use the Revised Version. It is exceedingly tiresome to work with a King James Version con-

cordance, and a new work ought to obviate this difficulty. It is probable that Dr. Strong's *Exhaustive Concordance* will take the first place in its department, even above Young's *Analytical Concordance*, though that remains to be seen. It is a monumental work, which will, for many years, perpetuate the scholarship, energy, and devotion of its author. Subsequent editions should certainly be printed on paper better adapted to the character of the work.

ONE would think that, out of the extensive list of works upon the Life of Christ which are now in print, a person might find a volume suited to any class of readers and fairly adapted to any kind of religious historical study. That this thought is a mistaken one appears from an advertisement now appearing in many of the religious papers, offering the sum of one thousand dollars for the manuscript of a new Life of Christ, which shall be successful in the competition for that prize. The work is to be about fifty thousand words in extent. It must be "not merely a descriptive life, but a story in which the experiences of the supposed characters bring them into intimate relations with Christ and his disciples, his circumstances, experiences, and teachings." That is, any number of fictitious personages and fictitious incidents, and presumably fictitious teachings to suit the whole, may be introduced, to make the life of Christ attractive and helpful. This is the extreme case of the biblical novel, and is deplorable and reprehensible to the last degree. Any treatment of the Gospel records of the life of Christ which introduces imaginary elements, mixing the historical with the fictitious, from no matter how good a motive, must be condemned. Do the *Sunday School Times* and *The Independent* intend, by publishing this advertisement, to encourage that sort of literature, that manner of dealing with the New Testament history of the life of Christ? Isn't it painfully near the kind of license that gave rise to our worthless Apocryphal Gospels, which, in their time, misled the people, and gave currency to fabrications which soon were not distinguished from the real recorded facts? Of course, the purpose of the solicited work is a good one—"to make the life and teachings of Christ as real and practical as if he lived and taught in our streets to-day." But the means employed to this end, as recommended in the preparation of this work, are short-sighted, unwise, and ultimately harmful to the cause to which the service is tendered.

THE Gifford Lectures of Edinburgh are designed for the discussion of topics in natural religion. The series of 1894 was provided for by the appointment of Professor Otto Pfleiderer, of Berlin, to the lectureship. The theme of the course was the Philosophy and Development of Religion. It being an established judgment of Professor Pfleiderer that all religion is natural religion, that there is no such thing as supernatural or revealed religion, it followed quite naturally that, at a certain point in his lectures, the occasion came for him to state his opinion that natural religion was the only religion, and, furthermore, to give his grounds for this opinion. This involved an explaining away of the miraculous element of the Bible, a thing which

Professor Pfeiderer conscientiously essayed to do, and with so much learning and skill that quite a sensation was created. It is still an open question whether the Berlin professor was guilty of a breach of courtesy in thus attacking supernatural religion at its centre, or whether he was justified by the appointment to the Lectureship in saying whatever the discussion of his theme, chosen within the limits of the provisions, involved. However that may be, not a little tempest resulted from the free speech. That the lectures rest upon false assumptions, and upon principles and findings of criticism which have now been generally abandoned, is certainly true. But the Edinburgh audience was hardly equipped for self-defense against so learned and brilliant an adversary. What Professor Pfeiderer actually had to say upon the subject we too shall soon know, for his lectures are about to be published in full, in two volumes, by William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh. It is, of course, an embarrassing feature of the situation that the foundation of the Gifford Lectureship does not admit of any defense against this assumed annihilation of the miraculous element in the Bible, since it is only for discussions in the field of natural religion. In lieu of this, the next best thing was done, namely, to summon the best of the Edinburgh theologians to give lectures in reply to what Professor Pfeiderer had said. Principal Rainy gave an introductory lecture upon *The Issues at Stake*. Professor Orr inquired, *Can Professor Pfeiderer's View Justify Itself?* And Professor Dods lectured upon *The Trustworthiness of the Gospels*. These conservative replies are of great interest and value. They have been brought together into a small volume, entitled *The Supernatural in Christianity, with special reference to statements in the recent Gifford Lectures* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh). In this form they are accessible to the public, and it would be well to inform one's self of the whole discussion, for the questions involved are fundamental to our conception of the Christian religion.

THE annual meeting of the American Oriental Society was held at Columbia College, New York, during March 29th-31st. The session was the best attended, and, in material, the most interesting of any since the foundation of the Society, fifty-one years ago. A vote was passed inviting the International Congress of Orientalists, which meets at Geneva, Switzerland, September 3th, 1894, to meet in this country in 1897 under the auspices of the American Oriental Society. It was thought wise to have the annual meetings come at the same time and place with those of kindred societies, so that the next meeting was announced for Christmas week of 1894, at Philadelphia, provided other societies would cooperate. President D. C. Gilman was reelected for the coming year; Professor E. D. Perry, of New York, was made corresponding secretary. It was announced by Professor F. F. Wright, honorary secretary for America of the Palestine Exploration Fund, that the raised map of Palestine, 7 x 4 feet in size, which Mr. George Armstrong has been preparing for the Fund, is now completed, and copies of the map in plaster can now be

obtained in this country. Attention was called to the very important results of the digging at Niffer in ancient Babylonia. Mr. Haynes, who continues Mr. Peters' work there, has, in ten months, unearthed eight thousand inscribed clay tablets and fragments, beside other objects. He has dug below the levels of the debris from the time of Sargon I. (3800 B. C.), and has found inscriptions in this deeper stratum. So that we may expect revelations of a still earlier period of Babylonian culture. There were, in all, forty papers presented at the meeting, devoted in the main to the Semitic and Indo-European fields, and nearly equally divided between the two. Of the Indo-European papers, twelve were devoted to Sanskrit and related topics, four to Persian, one to Greek, and one to the field in general. Professor W. D. Whitney, of New Haven, presented an important criticism of the recent attempt of Jacobi and Tilak to date the Rig-Veda back to 4000 B. C., on the ground of astronomical data contained in the writings. He affirmed that the interpretation, put upon these passages by those gentlemen, was erroneous, that no scientific conclusions could be based upon the dates and phenomena of the Hindu literature, and that the astronomical system in vogue was not native but imported, most likely from Babylonia, and was freely dealt with in adapting it to the Hindu ideas. The view of Jacobi and Tilak was defended by Professor Bloomfield, of Baltimore. Dr. W. H. Ward, of New York, made a useful contribution to the knowledge of certain antiquities in his paper on the Classification of Oriental Cylinders. Professor D. G. Lyon, of Cambridge, in connection with his paper on the Recently Discovered Tablet of Ramman-nirari, exhibited and explained the original, an alabaster slab, 10 × 13 inches. It commemorates the restoration of an Assyrian temple about 1400 B. C. Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore, read a paper upon the obscure but interesting subject of the Rivers of Paradise. Assuming that Gen. 2 : 10-14 refers to a specific region, Cush is Ethiopia, the river Gihon is the Nile; the land of Havilah is South Arabia; the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea are part of the remaining unknown river, the Pishon. According to this, Eden would be in the region of the Caspian Sea. A somewhat extended account of the meeting, by Professor Lyon, of Harvard, is given in *The Independent* of April 12th, 1894.

Book Reviews.

The Epistles of St. Peter. The Expositor's Bible Series. By Professor J. R. LUMBY, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1893. Pp. xxiv+374. Price, \$1.50.

The literature upon the two Petrine Epistles is comparatively small. There is as yet, no large, standard commentary upon them, such as are Lightfoot's and Westcott's on the other Epistles. Professor Johnstone's volume on First Peter approaches such a work, and Huther's commentary on the Epistles in the Meyer series is good. Professor Plumtre's contribution in the Cambridge Bible Series is excellent as far as it goes, which may also be said of Professor Salmond's treatment of the Epistles in the four volume Schaff Commentary on the New Testament. But we yet need something more comprehensive, thorough, and final than any of these. Professor Lumby does not furnish us with such a work—the nature of the Series to which he contributes this volume precludes that. But he makes an attractive and valuable addition to the class of literature which we already possess upon the Petrine writings. His discussion of the authorship problem, especially as it concerns Second Peter, is scholarly and candid, carrying weight toward a continuance in the traditional belief that Peter really wrote both Epistles. The difficulties are not minimized or slighted, but counterbalancing evidence seems sufficient. The exposition is throughout clear, temperate, forceful, and inspiring. Of the many commentaries the author has prepared, this is one of the best.

C. W. V.

The Biblical Illustrator. Hebrews, Vols. I and II. James. Edited by Rev. J. S. EXELL, M.A. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1894. Pp. xv, 653; 685; viii, 514, respectively. Price, \$2.00 per volume.

The design of this extensive, not to say interminable, series is to furnish "anecdotes, similes, emblems, illustrations, expository, scientific, geographical, historical, and homiletic, gathered from a wide range of home and foreign literature, on the verses of the Bible." That the compiler of this work has carried out his programme no one who has seen the volumes will deny. The type is brevier, set solid, and a paragraph occurs on an average about once in three pages. To the Epistle of Hebrews, 1,361 pages of this sort are devoted, that is, 105 pages to each chapter. The amount is just the same for the five chapters of James. The complete set of volumes upon the New Testament, will be, at this rate, thirty-five or forty in number, or about 24,000 pages. To read one page with profit could not take less than fifteen minutes, so that it would require some 6,000 hours to go through the work once. Pro-

digious! But presumably one is not supposed to *read* it, but only to *refer* to it. The selections which it contains are certainly excellent, taken from the best homiletical writers of our time. Of its kind, this series has no equal. For the preacher who depends wholly upon others for his thoughts and expressions and illustrations, nothing could be more convenient and useful than such volumes as these. They would form an economical library, too, for such a man; he would need scarce anything else—possibly not even a Bible. The effect of using such literature is to destroy any originality or individuality that a preacher may have. Of course if he has neither—but that is an impossible supposition.

C. W. V.

The Kingdom of God: A plan of study in three parts, I. The Kingdom in Israel, II. The Kingdom in the Synoptic Sayings of Jesus, III. The Kingdom in Apostolic Times. Series of Bible Class Primers, edited by Professor Salmond. By Rev. F. H. STEAD, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. Pp. 78+78+94. Price, 60 cents.

This little book is the outgrowth of actual work with a Bible Class upon the theme treated. It is arranged with reference to coöperative study, for the use of Bible Study classes and guilds. Specific directions are given for both the private study and the general meetings. The great theme which runs through the whole Bible, binding all its parts together, is the KINGDOM OF GOD—its principles, its characteristics, its development, its consummation. To exhibit the Kingdom of God in these various aspects has been the task that Mr. Stead has set himself, and he has accomplished it in a bright, fresh, truthful way. Beginning with the foundation of the nation of Israel through Moses, he traces the course of the Kingdom through the Old Testament, finding it principally in the activities and teachings of the Prophets, who are made to appear as living characters and mighty preachers of God. The treatment is admirable. The author adopts the approved findings of present day biblical criticism, and shows in his pages the great gain which results therefrom. The post-exilic period and the inter-testament literature are briefly but effectively handled. It is Part II, naturally, the Kingdom as set forth in the Sayings of Jesus, that is the most vital portion of the work. The collection and classification of the Synoptic material bearing upon the Kingdom of God is skillfully and wisely done. The study of this theme is of the highest importance to every one, and our author is here a trustworthy and informing guide. Pages 63-78, which give a summary of the Synoptic teaching on this subject, are very valuable. The apostolic period, with its deeds and literature, receives a similar exposition. Much attention is given to the doctrinal and ethical teaching of Paul. Appendix I. gives a collection of opinions from the eminent men of the Christian Church upon the kingdom of God, and Appendix II, indicates the witness of imperial history to the kingdom. The book is an

introduction to Biblical Theology on its practical side, and is deserving of admiration, confidence, and use. It ought to be adopted by many teachers as a basis for the instruction of many Bible classes. Yet let the teacher not be too sure of his own ability to deal with the subject through Mr. Stead's presentation. There will certainly be much for both teacher and class to learn. But that is the kind of work to be undertaken if one has any desire for growth in character, knowledge, or grace.

C. W. V.

The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. By HANDLEY C. G. MOULE, A.M., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son. The Expositor's Bible. Price, \$1.50.

The writing of this commentary has been to the author a sacred task. He puts it before the world with the single remark that his mind is occupied only "with an ever deeper reverence and wonder over the text which he has been permitted to handle, a text so full of a marvelous man, above all so full of God." It is needless to say that the character of the commentary is in harmony with the profound reverence of this remark. The book is an exposition of the most profitable and delightful kind—an exposition, not by paragraphs, but a running commentary, phrase by phrase, and sometimes word by word, with a general division of the Epistle into well-marked sections, each with a distinctive caption. The style is charming, and the book reads like a connected sermon. The reader is carried along altogether unconsciously, wholly uninterrupted by the introduction of the phrases and sentences of the text, which fall into place as naturally and logically as the comment itself. The thought of the Apostle is clad in flesh and bones; it is made a living, moving progression of wonderful realities. No attention is paid by the author to critical questions. The whole purpose is to reproduce Paul, what he felt and thought while writing this incomparable epistle. And the purpose is vigorously accomplished. To be sure, to introduce the language of the text so unpretentiously into the commentary, the author has had to take some liberty in the wording of his translation; but in this he has been entirely justified because the translation has been made with special reference to the passage under discussion and entirely without consideration of the general style of the epistle.

The book, in fine, makes the impression of being the entirely natural expression of the thoughts and meditations of a profound and reverent student, as he pondered, word for word, the mind and teaching of the great apostle. Probably no greater compliment could be paid the author of an Expository Commentary.

C. E. W.

Untersuchung urgeschichtlicher Zeitverhältnisse der Genesis. Von DR. NETELER.

This pamphlet is an attempt by a Roman Catholic scholar to show that the chronology of Genesis is not incompatible with the data supplied by other Oriental authorities. The flood is dated 2896 B.C., after the figures in the

Samaritan Pentateuch, which are pronounced on very slender grounds to be the most reliable. Tyre is supposed to have been founded in 2760 B.C. and Babylon about 2500 B.C. Menes may have reigned in Egypt about 2782 B.C., a result arrived at by a very free manipulation of the list of dynasties in Manetho. Elam can be traced back to 2270 B.C., and Chinese history is supposed to have begun in 2637 B.C. The tract represents wide reading and considerable labor, but the reader's confidence is grievously shaken by some of the statements. The location of Paradise in the Himalayas, the remark that the Chinese *Shin-nong* reminds us of Shem, and the hint at some possible connection between the name Dodanim or Dardanim and the name Druid are, to say the least, very startling.

Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Von F. BLEEK. Sechste Auflage besorgt von J. WELLHAUSEN.

The student who expects to find in this volume an exposition of the distinctive views of Wellhausen on the origin of the Pentateuch will look in vain. From this edition, as from its predecessor, the section inserted in the fourth edition has been removed and the original text restored. With the exception of pages 1-4 and 523-627 the book is a reprint of a work written more than thirty years ago. Professor Wellhausen considers it in bad taste for an editor to be continually contraverting the statements of a deceased author and perpetually trying to repair his material. This may be true, but as it is the almost invariable custom of a German editor to deal in this manner with the work of another the statement on the title page is calculated to mislead the unwary. Professor Wellhausen also enunciates a surprising proposition. He is well aware that much reprinted in this volume is now considered obsolete, but he defends its republication on the ground that it is a suitable book to put into the hands of the young theological student, especially as it is often selected by advanced critics for refutation. The hundred pages which have been added to the work of Bleek and Kamphausen include about twenty pages from the pen of Kuenen. The history of Pentateuchal criticism has not been brought down to the present time. In fact, this sixth edition seems to be little more than a reproduction of the fifth, with the addition at the end of the preface of a second and later date.

W. TAYLOR SMITH.

Current Literature.

BOOKS.

GENERAL.

Bonhöffer, A. Die Ethik des Stoikers Epictet. Anhang: Exkurse über einige wichtige Punkte der stoischen Ethik. (Stuttgart, Enke, 1894; viii + 278 pp.; 8vo.) M. 10.

Frankfurter zeitgemässe Broschüren. Neue Folge, herausgeg. von *J. M. Raich*. xv. Bd., Heft 1-3. (Frankfurt, A. M., Foesser Nachf., 1894; 8vo.) M. 1.50.

Geschichte, die heilige, alten und neuen Bundes in ihren Schriftworten. Nebst einem Worte für des evangelischen Volkes Recht auf Wahrheit gegenüber dem neuen Testament der Bibelgesellschaften. (Dresden, Jaenicke, 1894; 8vo.) M. 1.

Hilfslexikon, theologisches, bearbeitet unter Leitung der Redaktion von Perthes' Handlexikon für evangelische Theologen. 2 Bände. (Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1894; 8vo.) Bound, M. 28. Contains: 1. Chronologische Tafel. Kirchlicher Kalender. Synchronistische Tabellen. Neutestamentliches Wörterbuch. Alttestamentliches Wörterbuch. (pp. iv., 493, 256, 56 and 93). 2. Kirchengeschichtliches Ortslexikon. Kirchenstatistisches Lexikon. Statistische Tafeln. Vereine und Anstalten der innern Mission. Liturgische Tabellen. Verwaltungstabellen. (pp. iv., 419, 173, 72, 104, 95 and 36).

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