THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

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IT is a fact beyond dispute that there is today an interest in Jesus of Nazareth more universal, more intelligent, more reverent than ever before. It is also a fact that the historical records that contain the life of Christ have, during the last century, been subjected to a criticism untrammeled in its freedom and unprecedented in its severity. To *opinions* of the Christ this criticism has been pretty thoroughly destructive, so that Dr. Keim in his "Jesus of Nazara" can say: "Our century has cancelled the judgment of the centuries." But it seems that in direct proportion as this and that opinion of the Christ has been undermined, to just that extent has that which is permanent and essential in his character and teaching been accorded a wider and more rational acceptance. When we speak of interest in Jesus of Nazareth, we do not mean simply the interest of the intellect, for it will be conceded that the life he lived, and the truth he taught, are being practically applied with a thoroughness and persistency never before known. If it be answered that this acceptance of Christ takes place in spite of this criticism and not because of it, it is sufficient to note that his domain today is broader than christendom, and his authority as a religious teacher is recognized outside of any church or sect.

THIS prominence of the Christ is the more extraordinary inasmuch as the gospel literature, through this criticism, has had its human element made more and more conspicuous. The gospels have been studied side by side with the records of the other religions of the world; the methods of investigation have been the same, and applied with impartial rigor. So that if there is as a result a tendency to exalt the Christ, it has been by a humanizing of the records that contain his life. This idea is summed up in a dictum of Matthew Arnold: "Christ was above the heads of his *reporters*."

THIS apparent paradox manifests itself in the fact ever becoming more apparent, of Christ's indifference to the matter of preserving any written record of his words or deeds; an indifference not only affecting his own personal attitude in the matter, but also manifesting itself in the choice of his disciples (who were not, and were not destined to be scribes), and reproducing in them a similar indifference. Granting that the Gospels of Matthew and John issued directly from the apostolic circle in the form in which they now appear, there is no indication that these apostles were delegated by Christ to perform this work. That the work of these two records is incomplete, and that it was made more complete by two writers who were not immediate followers of Christ, shows that the personal indifference of Christ to a written record, created a general indifference to it on the part of his followers. If Paul became Christianity's first theologian, it has never been claimed for him that he was in any sense the biographer of Christ. It is the absence of reference to the historical life of Christ that is conspicuous in the writings of Paul. There seems to be on Paul's part a similar indifference to putting in written form the main body of his own teaching. Paul taught his communities in person orally; that oral teaching is lost. His letters were an expedient, adopted for the maintenance of his authority over churches formed while he was elsewhere founding in person other churches. His letters do not contain the history of Christ, or the content of Christ's teaching. Neither do they contain the body of Paul's teaching. They are

the letters of a pastor; they contain corrections, suggestions, amplifications of statements previously uttered.

THIS indifference on the part of the disciples finds further confirmation in the gospels, and in the traditions bearing upon the origin of the gospels, inasmuch as they go to show that the suggestion of writing, the initial impulse came not from Christ or from the person writing, but from outsiders whose interest had been quickened by the spoken word. Eusebius quotes a tradition from Clement of Alexandria in regard to Mark which says: "The cause for which the Gospel of Mark was written was this: When Peter had publicly preached the word at Rome, and proclaimed the gospel by the spirit, many who were present requested Mark, as he had followed from afar and remembered what he had said, to write down what he had spoken; and when he had composed the gospel, he gave it to those who had required it of him. When Peter learned of this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it."[1] The Muratorian fragment relates the origin of the Gospel of John as follows: "The author of the fourth among the gospels is John, one of the disciples. As his fellow disciples and the bishops exhorted him (to write) he said to them, 'fast with me these three days, and we will mutually relate to each other what shall have been revealed to each one.' In that same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John should relate everything in his own name, all the others revising (his narrative)." Luke in his preface draws a distinct line between the "eye witnesses," that is, the apostles, who simply "handed-down" the facts and the "many who attempted to draw up a connected narrative." These attempts he modestly disapproves of and gives as a reason for the writing of his own gospel, his interest in Theophilus and his better equipment for the task.

WHEN we consider then that we have no written word from Christ, that, in the selection of his disciples, their ability to become historians was not at all a condition of discipleship;

[1] Eusebius, Book VI., 14.

that from only two of the twelve has there issued for us any written records; that from ten outside of the circle of immediate followers there have come written records that largely supplement the records of Matthew and John, we are in a position to appreciate the fragmentary character of the material that has been preserved. For proof of this the gospels themselves furnish most abundant evidence. Each one of these gospels contains material peculiar to itself; and in the case of Matthew and Luke as compared with Mark or with each other, or in the case of John compared with the other three, the amount of this material is very considerable. Each gospel too is conscious of teaching and activity that lie outside the sphere of its own statements; for example, in Mark one of the most conspicuous features is a repeated reference to the fact that *Christ was teaching*, that his work was primarily that of teaching; but what he taught, the content of his instruction, we are not told. Christ taught and was interrupted in his teaching by the demands for healing. The author, especially in the earlier part of the gospel, gives us in detail an account of the interpretations rather than of the teaching. The few sayings of Christ which he records are brief, sententious utterances, proverbial in form and striking in character, and for the most part array Christ in sharpest contrast with the teachings of the scribes. These utterances would be, in the very nature of the case, most readily remembered. Teaching other than this we do not have until the author comes to the parables. If in the Gospel of Mark only there was reference to teaching not recorded, we might feel that Matthew and Luke have recorded what Mark refers to. But the Gospels of Matthew and Luke which are much fuller than Mark, also call attention to activity and to teaching that is summarized but not recounted by them. In the case of the fourth gospel the content is almost entirely outside of the sphere of the synoptics, and the author of it is conscious that he is selecting his material to contribute to a desired purpose, omitting much that he does not require. In the early part of this gospel the connection of events is very close. It gives us the work of successive days. In chapters thirteen to seventeen there is recorded the sayings of a single

night. When we take into account the amount of material narrated in this gospel drawn from the activity of a few days, and further consider that at the author's own statement, the work of even these few days is but partially given, we must be ready to admit that we have in the four gospels by no means a complete account of the life of the Christ. It is not the completeness and perfection of the records, but the completeness and perfection of the character partially described that is borne in upon us.

One other feature that characterizes the modern treatment of the gospels is worthy of mention. Under the pressure of the mechanical theory of inspiration, biblical scholars in the past have felt it incumbent upon them to harmonize all the varying standpoints and statements of the four records into one concordant and consistent picture, to make them tell one story and the same story. It has not been their purpose to "exhibit the differences between the several gospels as fully and as fairly as the resemblances." For the historical study of the gospels there will ever be a demand for an arrangement of the material that will conveniently group the contents of the records as to time and place and theme; that is, a harmony in the sense of an arrangement of data that will facilitate a scientific investigation of the literature. In any other sense the effort of harmony belongs to the past. "Our knowledge of the details of the Lord's life is far too fragmentary to justify us in an endeavor to make a complete arrangement of those which have been recorded." Energy formerly expended thus in apologetics is now being directed to the discovery and development of the literature as a literature having its origin, its lines of growth and fruitage, to ascertain which gospel was written first, under what circumstances it had its origin; what are the distinctive features of it; what its emphasis. Then to discover which gospel comes next, what are the lines of development; wherein is the picture changed, and what was the occasion of the change. It is in this direction that biblical scholarship during the last century has done its most successful work. To recog-

nize that the Gospel of Mark was written first; to see what it was in the Christ which first interested men, first impressed itself upon men; to see how the later gospels, while holding to these first impressions, modified them to some extent and added other significant features in their portrayal of Christ, places one in the most advantageous position for an appreciative study of the literature and at the same time for a comprehension of the chief character in the literature.

SIDE by side then with a process of criticism of the gospels, exacting, unsparing, and revolutionary in its results, it may be safely asserted that the authority of Christ as a religious teacher has been steadily on the increase, extensively and intensively. Jew and Gentile, churchman and non-churchman, are coming more completely under his sway. His teaching is being applied to the social and political fabric with a vigor and boldness that makes it look as if the heretics and martyrs of the coming age would come from the ranks of social and political reform rather than from the church. Paul long ago recognized that the "treasure of the gospel was in an earthen vessel." The searching criticism of our century has undoubtedly discovered and made more prominent the earthen character of the vessel. Its chinks and imperfections are ever more apparent; but through them, and because of them, there exhales with more perfect freedom and fullness, the fragrance and aroma of "Him who was the way, the truth, the life."

THE PSALMS OF THE PHARISEES.

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Importance to Christians of a knowledge of Pharisaism.—Difficulty of gaining this knowledge from extant sources.—Value of the Psalms of Solomon as a source.—Editions.—Origin of the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties.—Crises in the history of their conflict.—The Psalms of Solomon the product of the decisive period of this history.—Two fundamentals of Pharisaism: Messianic Hope and Law.—Remarks on free will, Messiah, resurrection.—Good and bad elements in Pharisaism.

The end of the historical study of the Bible is to give an account and explanation, as complete and exact as possible, of the beginning of Christianity. The crucial question is, How far was the Christian religion the outcome of a development, and how far the creation of Christ? What was old and what was new in the teaching and work of Jesus of Nazareth? On the answer to this question even one's religious profession depends. If Christianity was a natural product of Judaism, in the direct line of development, and Jesus was only one, even if the greatest, of Israel's prophets, we ought to call ourselves Jews, unless, indeed, we renounce the religion of the Bible altogether. If we ascribe a greater degree of originality and a final perfection to the teachings of Jesus we may claim to be Unitarian Christians. If we are Evangelicals it should be because we find in the words and person of Christ such a new word of God, such a new life from God, that we are bound to believe in a unique and supernatural deed and manifestation of God in him. So much is involved in the question, What is new and what is old in the religion of Jesus? To its answer all Old Testament and all New Testament studies essentially contribute, but in the nature of the case an especially direct and decisive contribution should be expected from the study of Pharisaism in the time of Christ. A few obvious considerations will justify this statement.

Christ came denying the legalism, but reaffirming, though in a transformed sense, the Messianic hope of Pharisaic Judaism. It was in an important sense through Pharisaism that the conceptions and the phrases, Son of Man, Kingdom of God, Eternal Life, were ready and fitted for his use. We cannot know what he meant by them unless we know what they meant to those to whom he spoke. We cannot know what was new in his use of them unless we know what was old. On the other hand, it was Pharisaism that fostered that religious mind and heart in Judaism which revealed and condemned itself by the rejection of Christ. If Christianity was a fulfilment of one element of Pharisaism, it was a protest against another, and that the prevailing element, of which Rabbinism and the Talmud were the fulfilment. But contrast contributes as much as agreement to the answer of our question. The Pharisees were the first foes whom Christ encountered. Their opposition to him must essentially have influenced the forms of his teaching and the lines of his activity, as it still more clearly determined the outward course and end of his earthly life. After the resurrection it was to Pharisees that Christianity was first preached; it was Pharisaic objections and attacks that gave occasion to the first argumentative formulations of the new faith, and that called forth its consciousness of independence. A Pharisee became the apostle of Christ to the Gentiles, and Pharisaic tendencies within the church, Pharisaic denials of his gospel and apostleship, were the chief—not, of course, the only—occasion for the letters that bear the name of Paul.

If the importance of a knowledge of Pharisaism be conceded, it must be said that there are serious obstacles in the way of securing it. The New Testament is the most important source, and gives us vivid, deep-going impressions, but still leaves us in the dark at many important points. It gives few details of Pharisaic doctrine, and no account of the origin of the party. The Old Testament throws light on the beginnings of that division within Judaism which led, though not until after the Maccabean wars, to the formation of the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties. But the earlier division was not identical with the

later. We need to understand the process intervening between those beginnings and that outcome which the New Testament writers and Josephus knew. The Talmud and other rabbinical writings are in a sense the final testament of Pharisaism, and Jewish writers generally insist on their adequacy as a historical source. But one rightly hesitates to use with implicit confidence sources from two to seven centuries later than the period he is studying, however strongly the integrity of Jewish oral tradition is urged. In fact, the picture of the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties drawn from these books is now known to be, in essential respects, unhistorical. We are thrown back upon the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings. Such books as II Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, perhaps Enoch, perhaps the Assumption of Moses, quite certainly the Book of Jubilees, may be used as sources of Pharisaism; yet hardly one of them has a well determined date, and the question how far they were really representative of the party, how far the product of individual reflection or fancy, is hard to answer.

These considerations will serve to explain the eagerness and satisfaction with which the historian turns to the book of eighteen Pharisaic Psalms, called the Psalms of Solomon. That they are Pharisaic is unquestioned even by Jews. Almost as certainly were they not a mere individual performance, but were written by various men in the name and spirit of the community, for use in the common services of the synagogue, so that they must have expressed the ideas and feelings of the party as a whole. The date of the book is established, not by traditional evidence, but by unmistakable historical allusions in the Psalms themselves to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem (63 B. C.), and to his death (48 B. C.)[1] The book, therefore, fulfils every requirement of a first-rate historical source, and gives sure footing in a most interesting region where there is much trying insecurity.

The Psalms of Solomon are no new discovery. They stand in many manuscripts of the Septuagint, having been regarded by some circles of Christians as belonging to the Old Testament

[1] Wellhausen gives as the dates of the Psalms, 80–40 B. C., Schürer, 63–48 B. C., Ryle and James, 70–40 B. C.

canon. They were not received into the Hebrew canon, which was indeed already closed, nor were they valued by the later rabbis, since after the destruction of Jerusalem the conflicts out of which they sprang and the hopes they voiced were things of the past. The original Hebrew was therefore lost. The Greek misses the original sense often enough both to betray the fact that it is a translation and to offer numerous difficulties to the reader. The comparative neglect of the book has been due, however, not to its difficulty, but to the failure to put it in its proper historical position, and to appreciate the importance of its historical testimony. This was first done, I believe, by Wellhausen, who gave a critical study of the Psalms, with a translation and notes, in his brilliant book on the Pharisees and Sadducees.[1] The book has been hardly accessible in English. Dr. Pick's text and translation in the *Presbyterian Review*, October, 1883, did not adequately meet the need of an English edition. A worthy treatment of the book at last, however, appeared, by Prof. Ryle, and Mr. James, of Cambridge,[2] a book of admirable scholarship, though somewhat overweighted with critical details. The general historical significance of the book in connection with the history of the Pharisaic party is still clearest in the pages of Wellhausen. In attempting a brief sketch or suggestion of the historical bearing and significance of the book, I wish to be understood as aiming chiefly to send the reader to the Psalms themselves, and give him some points of view from which to approach them.

The differences between the Pharisaic and Sadducean parties were formerly supposed to be doctrinal. The Pharisees accepted and cultivated the traditional law; the Sadducees acknowledged only the written Pentateuch. The Pharisees believed in divine predestination as well as in human responsibility; the Sadducees, only in freedom. The Pharisees believed in the resurrection,

[1] Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer. Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte. Pp. 164. Greifswald, 1874. Out of print.

[2] Psalms of the Pharisees, commonly called the Psalms of Solomon. The text newly revised from all the MSS. Edited, with Introduction, English Translation, Notes, Appendix, and Indices, by H. E. Ryle and M. R. James. Cambridge Univ. Press, 1891. Pp. xciv., 176; $3.75.

and in angels and spirits; the Sadducees denied both.[1] It has been shown, however, especially by Wellhausen and Schürer, that these differences of opinion over which the Pharisee and Sadducee of the time of the New Testament and of Josephus disputed, were of a secondary character, and that the original contrast was not between diverging doctrinal tendencies but between a secular and political party on the one side and a religious and churchly sect on the other. More precisely, the Sadducees were the adherents and supporters of the Maccabean kingdom and the high-priesthood of the Maccabean princes; the Pharisees were those who, on religious grounds, protested against both. The Asidæans had supported Judas at first, but deserted him when they saw, as they thought, that personal or political ambition was making him unfaithful to the law.[2] They did not sympathize with the effort to establish an independent state, for they would know no king but God; and they were strenuously opposed to the assumption by the Maccabean rulers of the office of high priest as itself illegal and as involving a constant profanation of the most sacred office. This double protest against the worldly kingdom and the unlawful high-priesthood of the Maccabees, made of the Asidæans a party of dissent. They were "Separatists" not primarily from the common mass who knew not the law, but from the ruling national party. It was about the existence and character of the Maccabean kingdom then that the two parties divided. The Sadducees were simply the Maccabean party, who assumed or were given the name of Zadok, the traditional ancestor of the Jerusalem priesthood. Their fortunes were inseparably bound up with those of the Maccabean kingdom. During the one hundred years of its existence they were in the ascendency; with its fall they fell, though as long as a remnant of political power remained in the hands of the priestly party it could maintain a semblance of its former significance. The two chief crises in the fall of the Sadducees were the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, 63 B.C., which ended the

[1] Josephus. *Bell. Jud.* II., 8:14. *Ant.* XVIII., 1:3, 4. Mk. 12:18 and *par.* Acts 23:8.

[2] See I Mac. 2:42; 7:1ff, esp. 12-14; from the Sadducean standpoint.

Maccabean state, and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, 70 A.D., which practically ended the political existence of Judaism. The first event left the Sadducee with only the shadow of his former dignity and significance; the second led to his speedy extinction.[1] The first gave Pharisaism the upper hand; the second left it in sole possession of the field. The first event ended the first great contention of the parties in favor of the Pharisee, but the rivalry and hatred continued, and the conflict waged about secondary matters. Our chief sources, the New Testament and Josephus, reflect the relations of the parties after this change. It is because they do not take us back of Pompey's victory that they do not enable us to understand the original and fundamental character of the conflict.

It is therefore most fortunate that the Psalms of Solomon are the product of just the decisive period in the history of the parties. They express the fundamental conviction of Pharisaism in the hope that God will overthrow the godless kingdom, and in the joy of triumph when by the hand of the Roman he has done it. This was the vindication of the Pharisees' faith and effort. It was in a considerable measure their own deed. For Roman interference was made necessary by the struggles, rising at times to the point of civil war, between the ruling political and the ruling religious parties. During the century of Maccabean rule the Pharisees, the religious, the righteous, had been the despised and persecuted. Though their growing influence among the people had forced occasional favors from the rulers, yet, on the whole, they had been oppressed and abused by their enemies, in whose hands were riches and honor and power. The Psalms of Solomon breath the very spirit of this struggle. The long hatred finds expression, the loud complaint, the exultation in the coming of judgment at last. The Roman is God's instrument for the overthrow of the sinful kingdom. "He brought him that is from the end of the earth, him who strikes mightily" (2:16). True, the Romans went beyond their divine commission. "They brought reproach upon Jerusalem by treading her

[1] Rabban Jochanan ben Sakkai, 70–80 A.D. is the last Pharisaic rabbi who disputed with Sadducees.

under foot." "They mocked, and spared her not in their wrath and anger and vengeance." "They did it not in zeal but in lust of soul" (2:20, 25, 27). So that the religious sense was not satisfied until Pompey was seen, "that insolent one, lying pierced upon the high-places of Egypt . . . . his dead body corrupted upon the waves in great contempt; and there was none to bury him"; because "he considered not that he was a man. . . . . He said, I will be lord of earth and sea; and perceived not that it is God who is great . . . " (2:30–35). Nevertheless Pompey's deed is a righteous judgment of God upon the Maccabean rulers. "Thou didst recompense sinners according to their works, according to their sins that were wicked exceedingly" (2:17). It is a vindication of Pharisaism—a fulfilment of the Pharisaic curse against "the profane one who sits in the sanhedrin, when his heart is far removed from the Lord;" "his hand is first upon the sinner as though he were full of zeal; yet he himself is guilty in all manner of sins." "Let God," cries the Psalmist, "destroy them that live in hypocrisy in the company of the saints." "Let dishonor be his portion, O Lord, in thy sight; let his going out be with groaning and his coming in with a curse; let his life, O Lord, be spent in pain, in poverty and want; let his sleep be in anguish and his awaking in perplexities; . . . . let his old age be childless and solitary until his removal (Ps. IV.).

The protest against the Maccabean rulers who were "lifted up to the stars" in prosperity and pride, but whose "transgressions were greater than those of the heathen before them," made the party of the Pharisees. This protest was based on two principles of the religious specialists of Judaism: belief in the Messianic Hope, and a scrupulous regard for the Law. They opposed the kingdom of the Maccabees because of their faith in the coming kingdom of God. The effort by war and politics to reëstablish a human kingdom of Israel was a denial of the Messianic Hope. "God is King," that is their watchword (2:34; 17:1). The assumption by the Maccabees of the throne of David is arrogant usurpation. They opposed also the high-priesthood of the Maccabean princes because it was a violation of the Law. It

was for the sake of Alcimus, whom they thought the lawful high-priest, that the Asidæans first withdrew from the cause of Judas. The first serious break with the rulers happened, according to Josephus, on the occasion of their demanding of Jonathan that he resign the high-priesthood, and be content to be prince. It was while Alexander Jannaeus was officiating as high-priest that he was insulted and attacked by the Pharisaic multitude, an event issuing in civil war. The Psalms of Solomon frequently reflect the horror inspired in the Pharisaic mind at the spectacle of the princes coming with hands profaned by intercourse with Gentiles, or by contact with the dead in war, and with hearts defiled by unjust judgments and immoral lives, to perform the most sacred offices of the temple. "The holy things of the Lord they utterly profaned" (1:8). "They defiled the holy things of the Lord, and polluted the gifts of God with iniquities" (2:3). "The holy things of God they took for spoil; and there was no heir to redeem. They went up to the altar of the Lord from all manner of impurity" (8:12, 13).

The Pharisees, then, believed in the Messianic Kingdom of God; the Sadducees believed in the existing kingdom of the Maccabees, which they could indeed describe in thoroughly Messianic language.[1] They were bound to the present, the Pharisees to the coming age. And on the other hand, the Pharisee believed in the minute observance of the law at all hazard and sacrifice; to this both personal and national advantages were wholly secondary. The Sadducee believed in using the most available means for attaining political power. Such law-observance as was necessary for the order and stability of the community he would require. About laws that stood in the way of his ambitions he was not troubled with scruples. If he was conservative as against Pharisaic novelties of practice and opinion, it was the conservatism of the worldly man, interested in maintaining the existing state of things, with which his personal fortunes are connected, and untroubled by religious hopes or fears. This original contrast explains the later disputes to which I have referred. The difference of opinion regarding free will

[1] See I Macc., 14:4–15.

is simply the difference between the secular and the religious mind. The doctrine of resurrection was simply a part of the Messianic Hope, rejected as a whole by Sadducees for political reasons. Neither of these were originally philosophical or theological disputes.

Regarding theological questions in detail, I can make only two or three remarks in closing.

If we can render 9:7 thus: "O God, our works are in *thy* choice and [yet] in the power of our own souls to do righteousness and iniquity in the works of our hands,"[1] then we have an interesting parallel to the famous paradox of the Mishnah: "Everything is foreseen; and free-will is given. And the world is judged by grace; and everything is according to law"; and to Josephus's testimony: "the Pharisees ascribe all things to fate and God, and yet hold that to do right or not lies chiefly upon man, though fate helps in each action."[2]

Psalm XVII. contains, as is well known, the noblest description of the coming Son of David, the Christ, which post-exilic Jewish literature offers; its striking characteristic is the predominance of the ethical over the political elements in the Messiah's endowments and functions. The type is evidently conceived in contrast to that presented by the existing occupant of David's throne, the hated Maccabean prince.

The figure of the Messiah appears only in this Psalm and the one following; the doctrine of resurrection is clearly expressed only once, in Psalm III., which contains no indication of date. "They that fear the Lord shall rise unto life eternal, and their life shall be in the light of the Lord and shall never fail" (3:16). Ryle and James, who are too much inclined to assume a unity of authorship, regard this as the teaching of the book as a whole. It is, however, omitted in the elaborate Messianic pictures of Psalms XVII. and XVIII., and is even excluded by the benediction on "those who shall be born in those days, to behold the blessing of Israel" (17:50; 18:7). The only immortality which the

[1] Ryle and James hesitate between this and "Our works are in *our* choice, yea, in the power of our own soul."

[2] Bel. Jud. II., 8:14, cf. Ant. XIII., 5:9, XVIII., 1:3.

Psalms uniformly affirm is that of the nation, or of the community of the righteous.[1] The doctrine of resurrection was surprisingly slow in becoming an established dogma of Pharisaism.

The impression we get of Pharisaism from this book is, on the whole, favorable. The period of its early struggles and persecutions was in fact its best period. In its protest against Sadduceeism it was in the right. The political ambitions of the Maccabee did in fact endanger the religious possession of Judaism, which was by far its most precious treasure. "The Pharisees have the merit of having ruined the state of the Hasmoneans and rescued Judaism."[2] Before the fall of the Maccabean house it was not the Pharisee but the Sadducee who was the hypocrite, who used religious profession as a mask worn for selfish and worldly ends (cf. Ps. 4 : 1–7).

In the Psalms of the first and second chapters of Luke we see the survival and development of the better sides of Pharisaism expressed in a form closely related to that of our Psalms. But from Christ's descriptions of Pharisaism we learn the speedy triumph of its worse over its better elements, and those fundamental and hopeless faults which unfitted it to endure the test of popularity and success.

[1] See Psalms 7 : 1–9; 8 : 33–41; 9 : 16–20; 10 : 5–9; 11 : 8–10; 12 : 7–8; 15 : 6–15, and so probably 13 : 9–10; 14 : 1–7; 9 : 9; cf. 12 : 8.

[2] Wellhausen, p. 95.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

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III. JERUSALEM.

Need of intelligence in the visitor in Jerusalem.—A general view of the city from the slope of Olivet.—Sites which are beyond dispute.—Problems which remain.—Probable site of the crucifixion.—The permanent landmarks.

The interest of the traveler in Palestine climaxes as he goes up to Jerusalem. Eagerly he watches for the first sight of her walls and regretfully he turns away from her streets and the hills and valleys around about her. Whoever goes intelligently need fear no despoiling of his idealizations, but rather may gain that vivid realization of the natural scenery of much of the Bible story that will always give it freshness. We say "whoever goes intelligently," and that means two things, going with some conception of the present condition of the land and city, and some acquaintance with the work that has been done in recent years, helping toward an accurate determination of localities connected with the history of both Testaments.

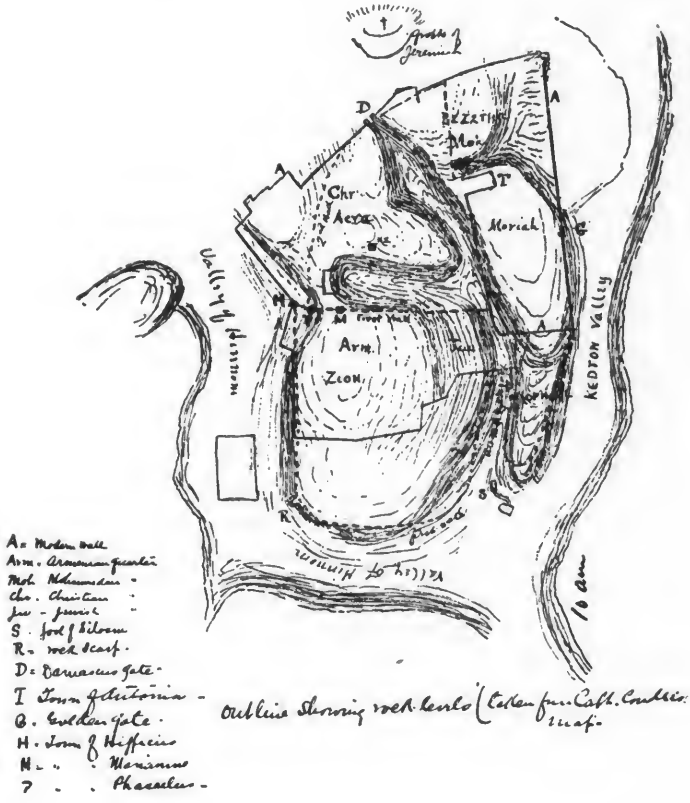
There is perhaps no place on the globe where tradition and superstition have worked so well together. The city and the surrounding hills are full of "sites," and credulous pilgrims with no knowledge of the changes which an eyentful history has brought about, kneel at impossible shrines and listen to absurd identifications. The supreme interest of the city for a Christian is, of course, in its connection with the life of our Lord, and the purpose of this sketch is, as far as possible, to mark the outline of that which was the city to Him, and to show its difference from the Jerusalem of today. To help us we have, as the result of recent excavations and measurements, the establishment of the rock-levels all about the city and the definite settlement of some points of topography which are of great value.

To get some idea of modern Jerusalem, let us imagine ourselves upon the slope of Olivet east of the city. As we look toward the west, we have immediately in front of us the large quadrangle of the mosques of Omar and El Aksa, covering about thirty-five acres; beyond to the north of this quadrangle, and partly on the west of it, is the Mohammedan quarter; on the hill at our right, and west of the Mohammedan quarter, is the Christian section; south of this, and on the highest part of the city, the Armenian quarter, and adjoining this on the east, reaching from it to the western wall of the sacred quadrangle, the Jewish quarter.

Notable buildings appear on all sides amid indistinguishable dwellings. The mixture of minaret and tower, of church, convent, and synagogue makes evident the religious difference of the city, —which is comparatively small, and as of old, "compacted together." Her streets are narrow and irregular, and not remarkable for cleanliness. There is yet no good water supply, and the inhabitants are generally poor. Nevertheless, interest deepens as one studies the view and seeks to replace in thought the Jerusalem of other days. Repeated devastations have changed the appearance of the city, in some important respects, as have also the line of the walls.

By consulting the map, which exhibits the rocky contours, one can see how the city is placed. It rests on two promontories of rock formed respectively by the Kedron and Tyropoeon valleys on one side and this latter and the Hinnom valley on the west. The Kedron starts on the north and sweeps around past Bezetha and Moriah and Ophel. The Tyropoeon begins near the present Damascus gate and runs southeast right through the city sending off an arm which reaches nearly to the Jaffa gate. Except in its lower portion, this valley is not distinctly marked, and it is not strange, for nearly fifty feet of debris fill it up. The present wall dates only from the time of Solyman the Magnificent, 1542; buried beneath the rubbish of centuries lie most of the ways of the old city.

But the work of the last twenty-five years under the direction of the Palestine Exploration Society has done very much toward



A = Modern wall
Arm. = Armenian quarter
Mah. = Mohammedan "
Chr. = Christian "
Jew. = Jewish "
S = Pool of Siloam
R = rock scarp
D = Damascus gate
T = Tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene
G = Golden gate
H = Tomb of Herod
H = " " Mariamne
? = " " Phasaelus

Outline showing rock levels (Ceded from Coll. Conder's map.)

helping us to an accurate restoration of the Herodian city with which our Lord was familiar. The following facts are now beyond dispute: the position of Ophel, south of the present Temple inclosure; the direction and depth of the Tyropoeon Valley; the name of the south-eastern hill of the city—the upper city; the position of the pool of Siloam below the spur of Ophel; the location of the royal towers near the present tower of David, in the first wall; the south-western angle of the old "first" wall at the rock-scarf in the present Protestant cemetery on the Zion Hill; the position of the Tyropoeon bridge leading to the royal cloisters of the Temple, the position of the south-western angle of the Temple inclosure. These facts, together with the description of the rock-levels, put us in the way of, at least, more intelligent discussion of the great problems yet in question—of these the greatest are these: (*a*) the extent of the old city in the time of Christ; (*b*) the area of the Temple inclosure at the time of Herod's enlargement; (*c*) the site of Calvary. If we could be sure of (*a*) we would also be a long way toward the determination of (*c*). That ancient Jerusalem was a far nobler city than that which now fronts Mount Olivet can be readily believed when we think of the glory of the Temple; of the palaces and public buildings that rose up from the high city, and of the walls with their numerous towers and battlements. In the fifth book of the "Wars" Josephus gives the course of the walls before the destruction of the city in A.D. 70. Let us follow them as far as possible. The first began near the present Jaffa gate and ran directly eastward along the northern edge of the hill of the upper city (see outline) and ended at the wall of the Temple. From the Jaffa gate it went southward along the brow of the hill facing the Hinnom Valley to the rock-scarf where it turned eastward, and "bending above the fountain Siloam" passed along the eastern brow of the hill near the line of the present wall where it crossed over and came back along the edge of Ophel. It is but right to say that the direction of the wall after leaving the rock-scarf on the south-western angle is disputed. Conder, with others, makes it cross the Tyropoeon just above the pool of Siloam, while Lewin

follows what seems the more likely conjecture which we have already indicated. The moment we attempt to draw the line of the second wall we must face the serious question of the place of the crucifixion. A second spot is coming more and more into dispute with the traditional site under the Holy Sepulchre Church—and that spot is the Grotto of Jeremiah, not far outside the present Damascus gate. Nearly all the data for determining the direction of the second wall are wanting. Josephus says that it began at the gate Gennath, which is conjecturally located near the tower of Hippicus, and ran to the tower of Antonia.

If for no other reason than the painful superstitions which crowd the whole interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, that were sufficient to make us wish to find some quiet spot like the hill outside the gate as the place where the wondrous sacrifice was made. Herr Schick, who contends for the present site, makes the second wall turn sharply several times on its way to Antonia. The rock-levels again seem to call for a course which would include the Sepulchre Church, for with a sloping hill a wall would be a weak defense in proportion to its distance from the summit—and the position of the church is below the summit of the Akra ridge.

As long as the actual remains of a wall in this region are not clear beyond question one cannot be dogmatic regarding the site of Calvary, but the evidences of an old gateway found near the present Damascus gate and the line of rock levels would well support the theory that the line of the second wall passed north from near the tower of David along the ridge of Akra to the present Damascus gate and then turned along the ridge of Bezetha to the northwest angle of the Temple area, *i. e.*, to Antonia. This would make the present site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre untrue. It must be remembered that a long time had passed after the crucifixion before this site was fixed upon and honored with a memorial, and as another has remarked it was as easy to be mistaken about this as about the location of the place of the ascension which has always been pointed out as on the top of Mt. Olivet. Furthermore the grotto of Jeremiah answers to

all the conditions of the Bible account; especially so, if the present Damascus gate marks the site of an ancient gateway on the much-traveled road toward the North. It was then without the walls, near the city, near a leading thoroughfare, conspicuous, and formed like a skull. As we stood upon the clear, quiet spot under the open sky and quite away from the noise and mummery of traditional remembrance, our earnest feelings were only too glad to second the judgment which makes this the most memorable place on earth—the actual scene of the crucifixion. As the three crosses stood upon this height, sixty feet above the road, they must have been visible from the housetops all about Jerusalem. Singularly enough Jewish tombs have been discovered near by, and though it cannot be identified, it may be that one of these was the tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa. If these conjectures are correct, we can see from the outline that the general circumference of Jerusalem in Christ's time was different from that of today. Now the southern part of the upper city or Zion is outside the walls, and its area is occupied in great part by a cemetery. Ophel is no longer included within the city and is but a barren rock. On the northeast the wall is curved further out and joins the Temple area in a straight line and the area of Akra was not quite as large. Only a broken arch, Robinson's arch, remains to show the place of the bridge which led across to the Temple area. Indeed, by the filling up of the Tyropoeon all the ancient approaches on the west side of the Temple area are obliterated. No wall now divides the city as did the old "first" wall. The brook Kedron was deeper, and all the surroundings of the city must have been more attractive than now. The Xystus stood in the Tyropoeon west of the Temple wall and the town of Antonia probably at the northwest angle of the great area. By different levels one ascended to the Holy Place of the Temple itself, and the inclosure was enlarged by Herod at the southwest angle. It is the opinion of Sir Charles Warren and Captain Conder that the northeast angle began near the present golden gate and followed the line of the ridge in a north-westerly direction.

Such are the changes that come to light by modern explora-

tion and measurement. They give us some idea of the general contour of the ancient city and that is about all. At least twenty times Jerusalem has been besieged and the rubbish, some of which existed, when Nehemiah rebuilt the walls, has been heaping up so that near the south-eastern angle of the present Haram wall, the great stones of the foundation were found nearly eighty feet below the surface. Still the general position of the city is the same as when Christ saw it; Olivet is watching above it as of old; Gethsemane cannot be far away from the traditional site. The deep valleys run yet on both sides of the steep hills, and Scopus is yet seen toward the north. There below Ophel is the Pool of Siloam; in the Kedron Valley is the old spring now known as the Virgin's fountain—connected by a tunnel with Siloam. Underneath all the city are the great caverns, whence rock was taken once for its buildings. One can look down into rock cisterns underneath the Temple area, and the broken aqueduct exists which brought water from the Pools of Solomon. Roman, Saracen, Crusader, and the different peoples of modern time have built memorials upon these sacred hills.

Estimated according to modern standards, Jerusalem has none of the requisites of a great city. It is glorious only in memory; for its associations, its interest will be imperishable. May the good work but go on which has already so greatly helped us to a clearer knowledge of its topography.

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATING TO GENESIS I.–XI.

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The stories omitted.—The unique character of Genesis i.–xi.—The questions: as to the origin of the narrative; as to the value and character of the material.—Three possible methods of procedure.—Three classes of minds.—A general review of the question of the analysis, or division into documents.—Difficulties raised by an acceptance of the analysis.—Difficulties removed by an acceptance of the analysis.

The story of the dispersion of nations and the tower of Babel will be passed over in this treatment, partly because an adequate treatment would require the use of more technical material than can with profit be published in THE BIBLICAL WORLD, and partly also in order that more space may be given to the general consideration of the material as a whole. These portions are omitted all the more willingly because, as a matter of fact, nothing really new would be contributed by them for the settlement of the general questions involved. The reader is given below a list of authorities from which he may construct his own treatment if he desires to undertake the work.

Literature:

Dods, Genesis.
Kalisch, Genesis
Dillmann, Die Genesis.
Delitzsch (Franz), Genesis.
Lange, Genesis.
The Pulpit Commentary, Genesis.
Lenormant, Beginnings of History, Vol. II.
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.
Knobel, Die Völkertafel der Genesis.
Kiepert, in Phönikisch-hebräischen Urkunde (1859).

It is perhaps appropriate to analyze the portions omitted: (1) The priestly writer furnishes a family history of Noah's sons in 10: 1–7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32, also the family history of Shem 11 : 10–26.

(2) The prophetic writer furnishes the story of the peopling of the earth from Noah's sons, 10:8, 10–12, 13–19, 21, 24–30, and the story of the Tower of Babel and the Dispersion of Nations 11 : 1–9.

The tables are evidently a continuation of the plan already indicated in the fourth chapter of the prophetic writer and the fifth chapter of the priestly writer. It is a part of the plan of both writers to preserve a chain of historical connection from the beginning down to the days of Israel. With reference to the story of the Tower of Babel it may be said: The fact was noted that diversity of language is a great inconvenience. What now is the significance of this? The teaching inculcated is (*a*) that this diversity is a punishment for sin; it is likewise (*b*) a barrier preventing men from combining for wicked purposes. The real purpose of the story was not to recount how language came to be diverse, but rather "to show the purpose served by the breaking up of man into diverse nations."

We now proceed to present a few general considerations with reference to the material of Gen. i.–xi. These are to be regarded as preparatory to a more formal discussion of the divine and human elements in these chapters which will be taken up in subsequent articles.

I. The Unique Character of Gen. i.–xi.

1. In comparison with other portions of sacred literature. One cannot find in any eleven consecutive chapters in all sacred literature, nor can one from the different books making up sacred literature, select eleven chapters which shall in any respect resemble the first eleven chapters of Genesis, the

Literature (continued):

Lagarde, in Ges. Abhandlungen (1866).
Fr'd Delitzsch, Wo lag das Paradies?
Rawlinson, The Origin of Nations.

subject thus far of our study. In what particulars do these chapters differ from all other chapters of Holy Writ? In what respect are they unique? (1) *In scope.* All that portion of the Bible which treats of general history is found in these chapters, for the twelfth chapter introduces the special history of a nation. Of the four thousand years, which, according to the accepted chronology, passed before the coming of the Christ, these eleven chapters cover one half, the remainder of the Old Testament being given up to the other half. In these chapters we find the beginnings of those things on which to-day the world's scientific and philosophic thinking is engaged. (2) *In the magnitude of the themes.* It is only necessary to mention some of these themes; for example, the origin of life, the origin of sin, the beginnings of civilization, the dispersion of nations, the confusion of tongues. (3) *In choice of selection.* We think sometimes that only a little of the lives of Samuel, Saul, and David are given us in the Books of Samuel, about fifty chapters. If the compiler of these books has omitted much material which might have been included, what shall we say of the compiler of the eleven chapters of Genesis who has, as a matter of fact, spoken of only eight or nine events in two thousand years? (4) *In relation to science.* It is in these chapters that the Bible is brought into contact with science. Here questions arise relating to astronomy, physics, geology, geography, biology, ethnology, and philology. The relation of the Bible to science will be settled by the decision in reference to these chapters. (5) *In being pre-Hebraic.* There is yet no Hebrew nation; there is yet no Hebrew language. (6) *In being pre-historic.* The period dealt with stands, as is acknowledged at least so far as concerns the Antediluvian part of it, before the beginning of history.

2. And again, one cannot find in any literature, sacred or profane, a piece of composition which deserves in any proper sense a place beside these chapters. For every story here narrated we have been able, to be sure, to find many and most striking parallels; but two things will be remembered: (1) Not one of the hundreds of parallel narratives which we have examined could in any fairness be said to compare favorably with the

corresponding Hebrew story; and what is of greater moment, (2) in no other literature is there so full and complete a collection. What here is orderly and systematic is elsewhere fragmentary and disconnected.

It is true that in the Hebrew narrative there are fragments of three works. But let us notice and weigh well (1) the fact that there are three in one literature, and (2) that there was an editor whom some great purpose or influence led to make these three already great, still greater by the union.

II. The question is not a simple one.

To undertake its discussion even with the preparation we have tried to make in the space at our command is almost absurd We may, however, state the question. Strictly speaking, there are two questions, the first relating to the origin of the narratives here combined, the second relating to the value and character of the facts narrated. It is impossible, however, to separate these questions and so we may regard them as two parts of one great question.

1. *As to the origin of the narratives.* 1) Are they like the similar stories of other literatures, wholly human in their origin, or has there entered into their composition some external, superhuman, supernatural influence, an influence which has left upon them a clear and unmistakable impress? 2) Granting that there has been present such a divine influence, what has been the method of this influence? Was the knowledge of the facts imparted by a special revelation, or did the divine influence limit itself to the guidance and direction of the author as he ascertained for himself, in whatsoever manner possible, the material here collected; as he interpreted, according to principles the purpose of the events which were transpiring about him?

2. *As to the value and character of the material.* 1) Whether of human or divine origin, is the material scientific in form and contents? Is it real Physical science or Geography or History? Or is it pure invention? Or is it in large part naturalistic myth? Or is it historical legend? What is it? 2) If we grant its divine origin in any sense and decide from the study of facts that

the material is something more than literal history, or that from the scientific point of view it is imperfect, inaccurate, how may these two things be reconciled ?

III. Possible methods of procedure.

1) *The traditional.*—In reference to these chapters and their contents, men living hundreds of years back, good and honest men; the church through all its history, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant church; our fathers and our teachers, our mothers and our preachers—in other words, *tradition* has entertained and taught a certain view. This view has been held for a long time by many great men. It has been instilled into our minds in the days of infancy. It has become a part of us. Whether false or true, it is on every side of us. It is our privilege, some think it a duty, to continue to hold it. It has answered for the past; it is good enough for the present. To reject it, even to examine into it, will make trouble, will disturb the faith of many. It is better to let well enough alone. What our fathers have taught us, that let us teach our children. Shall we adopt this method of procedure ?

2) *The a priori method.*—We know what God is; a perfect being. It is not difficult to determine the character of a revelation which such a one would make. It must be perfect. It must be scientifically accurate. It matters not what may have been the state of knowledge on any subject at the time of the original utterance. Coming from God, it must have been a final statement; a statement a least in outline, which the development of human knowledge might fill out, but which, in no particular, such growth might really change. God being what he is, his revelation must have come in a certain way, and must be of a certain character. Knowing beforehand, therefore, what it ought to be, we may reasonably be allowed to find that which accords with our expectation. If there are facts which cannot easily be explained from this point of view, we must remember that this is the word of God, and that we poor, ignorant mortals have no business to suppose that we can understand everything. A great feature of the Bible is its mysterious character. It was never intended

to be thoroughly understood until the last day of all the world. Is this satisfactory?

3) *Inductive.*—Here are eleven chapters, narrating in a certain form, with a certain spirit, certain facts. Some of us have believed these chapters to have had a supernatural origin; some have thought them merely human productions. In both cases the belief has existed apart from any thorough study of the subject. What now shall we do, in order to arrive at an intelligent and truthful view of the case? Is it not clear?

(1) Examine every story here given in the strongest light we can find, comparing everything from which there is reasonable hope of securing help.

(2) Note down the facts or considerations which seem to indicate a human origin.

(3) Note down the facts or considerations which seem to indicate a divine origin.

(4) Consider how both classes of facts may be harmonized; in other words, seek a theory which shall cover all these facts.

(5) If heretofore we have seen only the human element, have doubted the existence of the divine, take a step forward, and, if the facts warrant, recognize here the hand of God.

(6) If heretofore we have seen only a divine element, and have not appreciated the human, take a step forward—it is always taking a step forward to recognize the truth—and acknowledge the human element. Let tradition have its true force. Let our conception of God also exert an influence, but let us decide this question on the basis of the facts.

IV. Three classes of minds.

It must not be forgotten in this last part of our work, that when we started upon it there were among us those who might be divided into three classes:

1) A first class, made up of individuals who maintained an unswerving faith in the accuracy, truth, and final authority of these chapters as respects both questions of history and science, and questions of a religious character.

2) A second class, made up of individuals who were conscien-

tiously skeptical in respect both to their historical and to their religious value. Here belonged not only those who did not, but as well some of those who did, believe in a special divine revelation.

3) A third class, made up of those who were wholly indifferent to the contents or the teaching of these chapters.

In any final summing up we must keep in mind all three classes.

Some of us have, all our lives, been blind, utterly blind, to the clearest evidence of a human element. We have been guilty of bibliolatry. It has never dawned upon us that God works from the inside as well as from the outside. We have thought that a voice spoken to the ear of a man was louder, more distinct than a voice spoken to his soul. We have been literalists, realists. We have degraded the very book we were attempting to lift up. What, now, ought this study to teach us? To see that God works through men; that such work must be limited, imperfect; to see that God is not so narrow, nor so small as we would make him; to learn that he has seen fit to allow his truth to appear, at least in some form to many nations and not merely to one; in short, the work, if it has been in any sense successful, ought to have broadened, somewhat, our horizon. Of course it will raise questions which at present we cannot answer; but we must not forget that the individual in whose mind all questions have been answered, all difficulties have been solved, has, by some mistake come to the wrong world. He does not belong here. He ought not to stay here.

Some of us have, all our lives, been blind, just as blind to the evidence, just as clear, of a divine element. We have been guilty of a sin, no worse than bibliolatry, but equally as baneful. It has never dawned on us that anything exists which we cannot comprehend. We have refused to see God's hand in all this, not, to be sure, because we fancied God too small, too insignificant; but because we fancied ourselves too great, too all-knowing. We have been skeptical, largely because of our self-conceit; and yet we have been as narrow, in our way, as the other class in their way. It is narrowness of vision, smallness of conception,

which has led us to pronounce as *only* human what is also divine. What should this investigation have for *us?* A broadening of the mind.

Some of us have been indifferent. Are we still so? If these strange narrations, these fundamental themes, these heaven-born teachings do not stir our souls, and make us more alert to the thought of man and the voice of God, it will require angels from heaven, or demons from hell to move us.

V. A general review of the question of the analysis, or division into documents. What are the facts and the considerations?[1]

1. *Language.*—If we, provisionally, divide chaps. 1 : 1–12 : 5 into two portions, the division being based upon a difference of style (strongly marked), a difference of statement in the handling of practically the same material, a difference of theological conception, does this division find any support in the linguistic phenomena presented?

Let us consider the facts as obtained from an examination of the chapters (P, representing the priestly writer; J, the prophetic):

1)	The total vocabulary of the section is.....	485 words.
2)	Of the 485, those used by P alone number	118 "
3)	" " " " J "	246 "
4)	" " P's total usage is therefore.....	239 "
5)	" " J's " "	367 "
6)	" " P and J use in common.....	121 "
7)	The total occurrence of words in the section is.....	3727 "
8)	Of the 3727 P has.....	1858 "
9)	" " J "	1762 "
10)	" " R[2] "	107 "
11)	P uses 239 words in 1858 forms, each word	7.77 times.
12)	J uses 367 words in 1762 forms, "	4. 8 "
13)	P uses 239 words in about 150 verses, for each verse...	1.58 new words
14)	J uses 367 words in about 140 verses, for each verse...	2.62 "
15)	Of the 118 words used by P alone, those fairly characteristic number.....	56
16)	Of the 246 words used by J alone, those fairly characteristic number.....	104

[1] From *Hebraica*, Vol. V., No. 1, pp. 63 ff.

[2] R represents the editor who joined together the priestly and prophetic narratives.

As has before been said, the argument from language possesses the least weight. It is only when connected with the others that its real influence is exerted. It cannot be accidental that, with a change of style, matter, and theology, there is also a change of language.

The fact that P uses only 239 words in 150 verses, and uses them in 1,858 forms is in striking contrast with J's usage of 367 words in 140 verses, used only in 1,762 forms. The accidental fact that P has only 1.58 new words for each verse, while J has 2.62, accords well with P's rigid, stereotyped, verbose, and repetitious style, as over against J's free and picturesque style.

In the consideration of this point, it must be remembered that we are not dealing with a modern language, nor even with an ancient language like Latin or Greek; but with a language remarkable for its inflexibility. When it is appreciated that writings acknowledged to be a thousand years apart present few more differences than are sometimes found in the work of one man in our times, these peculiarities, insignificant as they may appear, are nevertheless very noteworthy.

2. *Style.*—If we make a rough division of 1 : 1–12 : 5 into two parts, basing it upon the occurrence, say, of twenty or twenty-five characteristic words, upon what seems to be a double treatment of the same subject, and a different conception of God, his relation to man, and man's relation to him, do we note in the division thus made any differences of style?

1) One part is found everywhere to be (*a*) systematic in the treatment of material; (*b*) chronological and statistical, not only in the character but also in the presentation of the material selected; (*c*) minute, precise, scientific; (*d*) rigid, stereotyped, condensed, in the mode of conception; but (*e*) verbose and repetitious in the form of expression; (*f*) generic, rather than individual.

2) The second part is found everywhere to be (*a*) free and flowing, without sharp distinctions or classification; (*b*) marked by the presence of stories and traditions, but lacking all numbers and dates except those of a most general character; (*c*) picturesque and poetical both in conception and expression, introduc-

ing frequently pieces of a poetic character; (*d*) highly anthropomorphic in all representations of God; (*e*) prophetic, predictive, didactic; (*f*) individual, rather than generic.

Can it be a mere coincidence that those same portions which have a given vocabulary, always have the same characteristics of style? Furthermore, is it not strange that there is so close a connection between the vocabulary of each of these writers and his style? No one would for a moment think of combining the vocabulary of the one with the style of the other. Such a combination would at once be felt to be incongruous.

3. *Material.*—If we made a rough division of 1 : 1–12 : 5 into two parts, basing it upon the occurrence of characteristic words, upon differences of style, and upon differences in theological conception, what do we find as to the material of these divisions?

1) A duplication of the same material: (*a*) In one division (1) an account of creation; (2) a genealogical table of ten generations to Noah; (3) a statement of the world's wickedness; (4) a great flood sent as a punishment for this wickedness; (5) the deliverance of one family and of representatives of all kinds of beasts; (6) covenant and promise never to inflict a similar punishment; (7) a table of nations; (8) another genealogical table to Abram; (9) the family and migration of Abram.

(*b*) In the second division: (1) an account of creation, with a story of the fall and expulsion from Eden; (2) a genealogical table of seven generations (with practically the same names as in the other division), together with the story of Cain and Abel; (3) a statement of the world's wickedness, with the story of the sons of God and daughters of men; (4) a great flood sent as a punishment for this wickedness; (5) the deliverance of one family and of representatives of all kinds of beasts; (6) sacrifice and promise not to repeat the punishment; (7) a table of nations, with a story of Noah's drunkenness and Canaan's curse; (8) traces of a genealogical table to Abram; (9) the family and migration of Abram.

2) Differences, discrepancies, and contradictions of such a character as absolutely to forbid the supposition that they have come from one hand (space need not be taken to repeat these).

It is said: If there are so many discrepancies and contradictions as to make it impossible to conceive of the work as the labor of one author, how is it possible to explain it as the work of a Redactor? Will an editor be any more likely than an author to combine contradictory matter in one piece? This question may be answered by noting (1) that an editor has done just this thing in Samuel (*e. g.* the different and even contradictory stories of (1) the desire of the people for a king; (2) the appointment of Saul as king; (3) the introduction of David at court), and elsewhere; (2) that much of the roughness was covered up by the insertions of the Redactor; (3) that in those days among all nations, and especially among the Semitic nations, there was an utter lack of that precision and scientific disposition characteristic of the present.

Can it be a mere coincidence that, in one description of a given event, there should be found one vocabulary, and one style of speech, while in another description of this same event, the style and language are different? Furthermore, is it not strange that there is such a harmony, as has been found in the language, style, and material of each division. Would any one think of putting P's material into J's language and style?

But is not this, in itself, a consideration in favor of unity of authorship? Every writer changes his style and language in treating of different subjects. Yet (1) does the same author use two vocabularies, and two kinds of style in successive chapters? Does he write one paragraph in a chapter with one set of words and in one style, a second paragraph with another set of words and in another style? Does he write one verse, or half-verse, in one way, and the following verse, or half-verse, in another? Would he keep up this sort of thing verse after verse, chapter after chapter, through several volumes? (2) Does the same writer often tell a story, or furnish a list of names, or describe an event in one vocabulary and with one style, and then tell the same story, or furnish the same list of events, or describe the same event with another set of words and in another style? (3) Does the same author repeat a story, or a list, or a description, immediately after having first given it, and in the repeated

form furnish matter so different and contradictory that for thousands of years men have believed the second statement in every case to be not a second account of the same thing, but an account of a second and different thing?

4. *Theology.*—If we separate 1 : 1–12 : 5 into two divisions, on the basis of characteristic words and phrases, style, similarity, and at the same time difference of material, we find that each division is marked also by a different conception of God (accompanied by the use of a different word), of man's relations to God, of the proper modes of worship, of God's action in History. These differences may be briefly summed up:

1) In one division we find (*a*) a rigidly monotheistic spirit, no word or expression occurring which could possibly be interpreted otherwise; (*b*) a lofty, dignified conception of God as powerful and benevolent; (*c*) a magnifying and dignifying of the supernatural; (*d*) man so far beneath his Creator as to give no occasion for any divine jealousy or alarm; (*e*) a strict adherence to an idea of progressive revelation, which shows itself in the selection of a few great legal enactments set forth in a skeleton of history; (*f*) a conscientious withholding from any reference to God as the Covenant-God (Jehovah), to sacrifice, altars, clean and unclean, or ceremonial institutions of any kind.

2) In the other we find (*a*) a spirit which can scarcely be called monotheistic in the strictest sense; (*b*) a representation of God as a supernatural being, whose rights are threatened by man's presumption, who "breathes," "walks," "comes down from heaven," etc.; (*c*) a dispensing, so far as possible, with divine aid, the heroes doing what seems the natural thing to do; (*d*) man sustaining free and confidential relations with Yahweh and the heavenly beings; (*e*) an utter indifference to the historical development of religious ideas; (*f*) the existence from the beginning of a definite ceremonial system, including altars, sacrifice, distinction of clean and unclean, etc.

We thus see that, from whatever point of view the material of 1 : 1–12 : 5 is regarded, there are such differences as to demand the hypothesis of at least two writers. Each argument by itself, with the exception of that from language, would seem to be

sufficient; but when each argument strengthens, and is strengthened by all the rest, the case becomes still more clear.

But let us look at it in another way: (1) We divide these chapters into two divisions, simply on the basis of the use of the divine names, regarding as doubtful chaps. 2, 3, which have the double phrase Yahweh Elohim; (2) we go through each division and note the language; we discover many words and phrases which occur in one but not in the other; words and phrases, too, for which, in the other division, corresponding expressions are found; it seems strange that wherever Elohim is used, it is accompanied by a certain series of words, and that it is just so in the use of Yahweh; (3) we go through again, and we discover that one division has everywhere a certain style (rigid, stereotyped, etc.), and that the other has a style quite the opposite (free, flowing, poetical); (4) we examine the passages again, and this time discover that really each division takes up the same events, the same history (creation, deluge, etc.); (5) we take it up again, and, to our surprise, notice that each division, in spite of the similarity of material, has its own peculiar and widely different conception of God, etc. What must be the result of this five-fold examination? Is this the work of one man or two?

5. *The Redactor.*—Manifestly if there were two writers, and the work of both is now one piece, some one must have joined the two. In doing this he acted in accordance with the spirit of his times, as regulated by his purpose in making the combination. His spirit is far from being a critical one. He did not hesitate to use his material in any way which would best subserve his aim. He inserted and omitted; changed and arranged. He handled the sources used as freely as if he had been the author. The question of the time, etc., of this Redactor does not belong here.

VI. Difficulties raised by an acceptance of the analysis of these chapters.

The following difficulties will arise in the mind of the student; it is only proper to face them:

1) If there is an analysis, much that is said in dictionaries and books on synonyms is valueless, inasmuch as two words which have heretofore been regarded and interpreted as expressions of different thought on the part of one author, and therefore as very significant, turn out to be merely the variant expressions of the same thought on the part of two authors.

2) If there is an analysis, interpretations based upon the sudden change of style, supposing it all to be the work of one author (*e. g.*, from a dead, rigid style to a living, vigorous style, indicative of force, or characteristic of an eye-witness), must now be dropped, since this is merely an individual characteristic.

3) If there is an analysis, the sacred record can no longer be claimed to present a perfectly accurate account of these early times, for conflicting accounts stand side by side; changes have been arbitrarily introduced into the text; insertions and omissions have been made; the material cannot be called in a modern sense historical.

4) If there is an analysis, there are two very different, though perhaps not contradictory, conceptions of God, one of which seems to border closely on polytheism. How is it possible for so low (this is the proper term) an idea of God to have been incorporated in the Sacred Scriptures?

5) If there is an analysis, one is at a loss really to know whether sacrifices, altars, distinctions of clean and unclean, the name of Yahweh, etc., existed from the earliest times or not. One writer represents all these things as in existence; the other does not. Both certainly cannot be right.

6) If there is an analysis, even these chapters furnish enough to show that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch; for if Gen. 1–12 was written long after Moses' death, it is presumable that the other portions of the Hexateuch which follow and connect with these chapters belong also to a later date.

7) If there is an analysis, and Moses did not write the Pentateuch, the New Testament authorities, among others Jesus himself. who seem to say that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or at any rate to imply this, either must have been ignorant of the

facts in the case, or knowing them, must have (1) consciously taught falsely, or (2) accommodated themselves to the literary suppositions of their day. Each of these possibilities is attended with difficulties.

8) If there is an analysis, it is probable that other Old Testament books will be found to have been put together in the same way, *e. g.*, Samuel, Kings. The discourses of the prophets, *e. g.*, Isaiah, Zechariah, may, likewise, be found to have been thrown together without much regard to time or order by later editors. The same lack of accuracy, the same proleptic method of handling material will be found to characterize many of the Old Testament so-called historical and prophetical writings.

9) If all this is true, the character of the Old Testament material, whether viewed (*a*) from an archaeological, (*b*) from an historical, and especially (*c*) from a religious point of view, must be estimated somewhat differently from the method commonly in vogue. It is not historical in the ordinary sense of that term.

VII. Difficulties relieved by an acceptance of the analysis.

While in the minds of some difficulties will arise; in the minds of others who have long been troubled, certain difficulties will be relieved. It must be noted, however, that while these twelve chapters alone suggest nearly all the difficulties which the Hexateuch as a whole, raises, a study of the Hexateuch is needed to reach conclusions which will relieve all the difficulties that have been felt by students in relation to this particular division of biblical material.

1) The material having come from two or three different writers, it is easy to understand why in this chapter a certain word or phrase (*e. g.*, "created," "God," "male and female") was employed, while in the following chapter in the same connection and in expressing the same thought used in an entirely different word (*e. g.*, "made," "Jehovah," "man and his wife"). It is true, the commentators have explained all this; but as a matter of fact their explanations occasion more trouble than did the original difficulty.

2) The material having come from two or three different writers, these sudden and inexplicable changes of style, in successive chapters, in the middle of a chapter, and even in the middle of a verse, become very clear.

3) There being different writers, the small inaccuracies, which could hardly be accounted for if one writer was the author of the whole, now have an explanation. It is not worth while to deny the existence of these inaccuracies; only ignorance of what constitutes an inaccuracy, or a perverse prejudice will fail to detect them. It is only natural that in material collected from different sources, handled by various Redactors, such should have arisen.

4) There being two or more writers, it is easy to understand how there have come down to us, side by side, two accounts of creation, two genealogical tables, two stories of the deluge, two accounts of the peopling of the earth, etc., etc. While it would be inconceivable that one man should duplicate his own material in such a way, taking pains to change his vocabulary, style, theol ogy, and even the material itself, there is no difficulty in explaining the material as written originally by different men. The harmonizing absolutely required, and as absolutely unattainable, if one writer was understood to have written all, is no longer even necessary if there are two. Besides, we have now two different accounts of the same event, in other words, double testimony; and although this testimony is not always consistent, such, under all the circumstances, could scarcely be expected. Do we expect of the early times a perfect morality? or a morality judged by the standard of our times? Then why expect a perfect historiography?

5) There being two or more writers, the different theological conceptions which are so evident in these chapters receive explanation. It is clear that the Israelites, from the beginning. did not have the New Testament theological conceptions, as most commentators have endeavored to show. Just as there was a marked imperfection in their ideas of morality, an imperfection which could only be removed by degrees, so their ideas of God, though communicated to them from Heaven itself, were imper-

fect, far short of what they afterwards attained; far different from the ideas taught in the New Testament. They could not comprehend the real truth. They were children in religious faith, and even God himself must deal with them as such and not as men. This removes the many "moral" difficulties of the Old Testament. If these people knew God as we know him, if their ideas of him were such as we to-day entertain, how could they have committed such sins as those with which they are so frequently charged? How could they so frequently have fallen into idolatry? Their shortcomings as a nation and as individuals are better appreciated when once we realize that they lived not in the splendor of the New Testament Christianity, but at the breaking dawn of Old Testament monotheism. Whatever may be said as to the relative ages of the theological conceptions of the priestly and the prophetic writers, the two, though apparently inconsistent, present God in aspects which were, are, and always will be true.

6) There being two or more writers in the Pentateuch, the method of composition being therefore compilation, we have harmony as to method between this portion of Sacred Scripture and all other portions. (*e. g.*, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and even the Gospels of the New Testament). It is true that compilation is to-day regarded as the lowest order of composition. The mere compiler is not treated as an author. It would seem to injure the character of these books, if they are declared to be compilations. Still, even the most conservative scholars have long recognized the existence of various documents (in an undigested form) in these and other books. Now if this was the method employed as far down as New Testament times, it is difficult to believe that a higher method was employed so far back as the time in which the Pentateuch is asserted to have had its origin. We must apply the same principle here as elsewhere. We do not expect to find at this early period the highest standards of morality, or the highest conceptions of God. Why then should we look for the highest form of literary composition? We know that it was the child age. To find a far more perfect form of composition than existed when the nation had become

civilized and cultured is inconceivable. A great difficulty is therefore removed by this representation.

And here, in the midst of the whole matter, we leave it. In the remaining papers we shall endeavor to show (1) the human element which forms so large a part of this material, and (2) the divine element, which overwhelms and controls the human, but without hiding it from view. The reader is requested, meanwhile, to remember that in the statement made above, an effort has been made, honestly and candidly to present the difficulties on both sides of this vexed question. The arguments for the divine character will be found to be independent of the question of an analysis. The constructive side of the question is yet to follow.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE CIRCASSIAN COLONIES AT AMMÂN AND JERASH.

By Dean A. Walker, A.M.,
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Ammân, the Rabbah, or Rabbath-Ammon of the Bible and the Philadelphia of the Grecian period, where Uriah the Hittite was treacherously exposed to death in accordance with David's secret orders, is situated about a mile below the source of the river Jabbok, the modern Zerka, whose narrow valley at this point is filled with the ruins of the town of the Græco-Roman period. Among these ruins a colony of Circassians have lately established their homes. The word seems almost a mockery here. We think of a home as a place about which tender associations have had time to gather, till the place itself becomes as much an object of affection as the members of the family whose mutual affection makes the place a *home*. But the Circassians at Ammân have hardly had time to form such associations, and the place is to them more like a place of exile than a home.

When, by the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, Turkey, assuming an authority that did not belong to her, ceded to Russia the territory of the independent Circassians in the Caucasus, they refused to acknowledge the new authority, and waged a brave and often successful war for independence. And when at length in 1864, their resistance was broken, the entire nation to the number of 500,000, rather than submit to Russian rule, emigrated into Ottoman territory, leaving a wilderness behind them. The Ottoman government quartered them in various parts of its dominion and a portion of them were located in Bulgaria. Here they had hardly had time to get settled, when the Russo-Turkish war of 1876–8 again drove them from their homes, enrolled the men in the Turkish army and sent their families as refugees to Constantinople. At the close of the war, they could not return to Bulgaria, now under Russian control, so they were again distributed and a portion of them were sent to people the ruins of Ammân, where they must hold their ground against the Bedouin Arabs as best they could. This was about the year 1878. Three years later, a second colony arrived in Moab and were located at Jerash, one day to the north of Ammân on a small brook tributary to the Zerka.

It is not strange that a people naturally brave and independent, inheriting the hardy physique of their mountaineer ancestors and now embittered by a second expatriation, should make themselves obnoxious to the people among whom they have come. Such is the case with the Circassians here. They have taken from the Bedouin a share of their business of providing safe conduct for travelers at a price, and in any quarrels that may arise, they have that ugly European habit of shooting to kill if they shoot at all, which the Bedouin considers a very ungentlemanly mode of warfare; too abrupt, and based on the mercenary idea that a man's property is worth more than the life of the man who tries to take it away from him. The orthodox way to settle the little difficulties that arise between strangers in Bedouin etiquette is for the would-be robber and the reluctant *robbee* to compare notes as to their relative strength, taking into account both numbers and equipment of the respective parties, and then whichever party is found inferior should yield gracefully, the robber abandoning his purpose if they are evenly matched, and the *robbee* giving up his goods if the count is against him. Of course there will be times when the parties cannot agree on the count; but in any case, moral suasion should never be carried beyond a few flesh wounds. To kill entails the dreaded blood feud, which both parties are loath to originate.

But the Circassian's disregard of such considerations, in which respect he is more reckless than most of his fellow Europeans, makes him a difficult fellow to deal with. In the first place, if a count is to be taken of numbers and equipment, he insists on throwing his personal courage also, like the sword of Brennus, into the scale, which often makes the price of the booty come higher than the robber cares to pay. And in the second place, he takes matters too seriously, and his gun is liable to go off prematurely, when your Bedouin is not intending to fight, but only to intimidate as a preliminary to negotiation. The superintendent of a liquorice factory at Alexandretta, for which the root is dug in the interior along the Euphrates aud Tigris rivers, sends the wages of the diggers, a bag of gold, by the hands of two Circassians, knowing that no ordinary robber will attempt to take it from them and that they will defend it with their last breath.

So these Circassians at Ammân and Jĕrash are not on good terms with their neighbors. The colonies are small; there are but few women and children. In occasional quarrels, their numbers are diminishing. They do not themselves hope that they can long hold their ground; yet they have gone to work to make for themselves homes, and poor though they are, they are realizing out there in the wilderness among the ruins of Ammân the true idea of home.

The word *home* is Teutonic; the Arabic language can come no nearer to it than the word *house*, and a house is not a home. But as we rode into Ammân, after seeing for days nothing of human habitations but the black hair-cloth tents of the Bedouin, or the bare mud-walled hovels, we seemed to have descended upon a bit of Europe transplanted into Asia. The most

striking feature was the amount of wood-work; first seen in the neat wooden casements of doors and windows, then in a wooden hay-rick; next in a large wicker-work corn-crib, with sides sloping out and plastered with clay to keep the rats from climbing its sides; and finally, we came upon a two-wheeled cart, on which a movable wicker-work top could be adjusted to convert it into a hay cart, giving a slight suggestion of the traveling van of the ancient Celts and Germans. We seemed to have come upon a European farmyard, and this, with the decidedly European features of the people and the style of dress of the women, gave the traveler a home feeling, if not a home-sick one. The dress of the men, too, though characteristically Circassian with the skirted coat and the row of cartridge pockets across the breast, was European in color and texture. Along with the cart went also the cart-path, leading up into the juniper woods near the town, where trees had been felled and cord-wood stacked and chips lay scattered about on the ground, rare sights in Moab and all suggestive of an enterprise and thrift so in contrast with the slow and shiftless life of the Bedouin as to call to mind the line:

"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

Synopses of Important Articles.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY: XIV. THE FLESH AS A HINDRANCE TO HOLINESS. By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor*, March, 1894. Pp. 189–203.

The "flesh" in the Pauline Epistles is substantially the "stubborn resistance offered by a power residing in the flesh to the attainment of that entire holiness after which every sincere Christian earnestly aspires." This resistance goes on *before* regeneration, but is carried on with a better hope of success *after* conversion. The Apostle's insight into the nature and varied manifestations of the "flesh" comes from his own experience; for the expression "I buffet my body" tells that Paul had his desperate struggles with the common forms of temptation. There is no evidence that Paul theorized on the nature of the flesh in any Philonic style; on the other hand, he would have regarded such metaphysical speculation with aversion and disfavor. For (1) the theory that matter or flesh is essentially evil is decidedly *un-Hebrew*, and Paul is a Hebrew of the Hebrews; (2) the Pauline Epistles do not regard the flesh as unsanctifiable, cf. 1 Cor. 6:19, 20; 2 Cor. 7:1; (3) the eschatology of Paul is against such a notion, for the life after death is not pictured as a disembodied one, cf. Rom. 5:12; 8:21–23; 7:14.

On the other hand, Paul did not teach that the "flesh" is simply a creaturely weakness as opposed to Divine Power, without any necessary connotation of sin. The "flesh" seems to have become to the Apostle a term of intensely sinister import. The "flesh" seems to be a *tertium quid*, something intermediate between Hellenism and Hebrewism, the creation of a very intense religious experience.

Dr. Bruce's articles have the excellent effect of showing how Revelation is, partly at least, an interpretation of the religious consciousness. Very much of Paul's teaching seems to be merely holding a mirror up to nature. C. E. W.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY. XV. THE LIKENESS OF SINFUL FLESH. By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor*. April, 1894. Pp. 265–75.

The discussion of *Romans* 8:3 raises some questions having an important bearing on the Pauline doctrine of the flesh. Was Christ's flesh, in the Apostle's view, in all respects, the same as ours? Could the epithet "sinful" be literally applied to His flesh? To the Apostle, the expression, "sinful flesh" had assumed the character of a single indissoluble idea, at least with reference to ordinary men. But with reference to Christ, all that he can

say he says in this text, viz., that Christ came in the likeness of sinful flesh to the extent of being subject to every real temptation to sin and all that may involve. The text does not answer the question suggested. The question was evidently a puzzle even to Paul. Properly speaking, the flesh as such is in no case bad. It is the inversion of the right relation between flesh and spirit that is sin. If, as the Apostle says, it is possible for Christians to have a moral triumph over temptation, it was possible *a fortiori* in Christ even in a flesh in all respects like ours. Christ's holy life in the flesh shows that for men living in the flesh bondage to sin is not the natural and inevitable state. Jesus walked in the spirit while in the flesh, and to those who believe in Him God will communicate His Spirit to enable them to do the same. And the culmination of Christ's victorious life in the Spirit in a resurrection into pneumatic manhood from which all gross fleshliness has disappeared, gives us a sure ground of hope for the ultimate redemption of our body out of the natural into the spiritual, out of the corruptible into the incorruptible.

C. E. W.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY: XVI. THE LAW. By PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., in *The Expositor* for May, 1894. Pp. 342–355.

The positive side of Paul's doctrine of justification is that righteousness comes through the imputation of faith. This does not entail a reckless criticism of the Jewish law. The law had a real, vitally significant function, and the only question requiring reconsideration was, what is the true function of the law? Paul's answer to this query is well known. It may be asked, however: (1) Is the Pauline view of the law in accordance with the function assigned it in the Hebrew Scriptures? Dr. Baur replied in the negative. But Paul's position of justification by faith is that it best interprets the Hebrew Scriptures, and that he is in close touch with the spirit of the ancient worthies. The Apostle is fighting over again with certain of the Church the battle that he had already fought with himself concerning the true value and spirit of the law. Righteousness of the law means with him, the approval of God as Pharisaically conceived, which righteousness he had strenuously pursued until his conversion. The Judge of the Pharisaic creed is the god of mere justice, the Judge of St. Paul's creed is the god of grace. It may be asked (2) are the functions which St. Paul ascribes to the law real, and are they recognized in the Old Testament? The answer is self-evident that, as time went on, the Spirit-taught men of the Old Testament saw that the law was given, not so much for life and blessedness, as for the knowledge of sin and misery, and that if any good was to come to Israel, it must be through the supersession of the Sinaitic covenant by a new covenant of grace. The prophets were on Paul's side, even if Moses and Ezra seemed to be on the side of his opponents. And (3), does the account of the law's function given

in the anti-Judaistic Epistle need supplementing? On the ethical side, the Apostle's doctrine leaves nothing to be desired; but as to the ritual law, his view is not complete. It was left for the author of the Hebrews to expound the emblematic character of the Old Testament ritual. Such a typical interpretation of the law is hinted at, however, by Paul, showing that he had no contrary view, while, at the same time, having not quite reached the same revolutionary point of view.

Such a critical appreciation of the Apostle's point of view throws a flood of light on the Epistles, as well as on the successive steps in the history of the Apostolic Church. C. E. W.

THE MOSES OF THE CRITICS. By PROFESSOR WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for July, 1894. Pp. 389 to 397.

The question is if the critics are right, who and what was Moses? The accounts concerning him are contradictory and misleading. The books which, according to the ordinary view, present a full and definite statement concerning his life and work, are cut into pieces and made contradictory. He himself is denied all relationship to these books. The view of the critics denies the divine element in the Pentateuchal books "and dates are arbitrarily assigned to documents so remote from the events recorded as to make their testimony quite unreliable. The documents are arbitrarily represented to be variant and conflicting. One or the other of them must consequently be in error, and it is only by balancing one against the other that the real truth can be elicited from these discordant witnesses." The documents differ materially in their statements and thus give divergent representations of what took place; moreover, their aim "is not to present a simple record of facts as they actually took place, for the history has been warped, either unconsciously or designedly, in order to make it the vehicle of inculcating religious ideas."

If we take up the details of the history of Moses we find it impossible, upon the basis of the documents, to discover anything reliable. According to two documents God at first appeared to Moses in the burning bush, but another writer knows nothing of the residence of Moses in Midian, or of this vision. It is in Egypt, according to this writer, that God reveals himself to Moses. According to two writers God first revealed himself as Jehovah at this time; but according to another the name Jehovah had been used from the earliest days. According to one authority three miraculous signs were given to Moses in order to secure his influence with the people; according to another no signs were given him, but a miraculous rod was placed in his hand; according to another the rod was used only in the presence of Pharaoh and his magicians. In this conflict of testimony what is to be expected? According to Wellhausen there is lack of agreement in reference to the observance of the Passover. According to Dillmann there are four distinct accounts of the

passage of the Red Sea. According to Wellhausen, Israel never went to Sinai and no law was ever given there. Other critics who do not eliminate Mt. Sinai from Israel's history, nevertheless, reduce Moses' work of legislation to a minimum. Dillmann maintains that he wrote nothing; that his statutes were delivered orally; that he organized the worship and purified the religious ideas of the people and gave them organization, and that he left them no written book of law. According to Driver the teaching of Moses is to be found in the decalogue and in the Book of the Covenant. Most of the critics would have us believe that the tabernacle had no existence in the time to which it is assigned; that the priestly privileges were not limited to the family of Aaron until the Babylonian exile; that the law with respect to a central sanctuary was not in existence before the time of Josiah. The acceptance of these views naturally carries with it a denial of supernatural revelation. This leads to the denial of the testimony of Jesus Christ. If Moses had nothing do with the narratives of the Pentateuch, what assurance have we of their truth? If we abandon Mosaic authorship, we are out upon the open sea with nothing to direct our course. Under such treatment the Mosaic history crumbles away. If this literary partition is accepted at all, there is no limit to it. "If the door be open even only a crack to admit it, all is at the mercy of what there is no means of controlling, and nothing can prevent the door being flung open as wide as the hinges will allow."

Professor Green is correct in asserting that the question at issue is more than one of literary form. The question is whether we shall accept (1) a purely supernatural theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, and consequently of the Old Testament religion — a theory which would make it purely objective and handed down as the Mohammedans understand the Koran to have been handed down, directly from the hand of God from heaven; or (2) the theory which goes to the other extreme, ruling out as it does the supernatural and making the religion and the history of Israel a purely naturalistic development; or (3) a conception which will on the one hand make full allowance for the supernatural element in the history and in the literature, and at the same time permit a gradual unfolding of the divine plan, and a growth from century to century of the plan and purpose of God in selecting Israel to be a teacher to the whole world. Professor Green would accept the first theory. His line of argument is directed most forcibly, and as it seems to us most convincingly against those who accept the second theory. He does not, however, seem to appreciate the position of those who adopt the third theory, and who believe as devoutly as he believes in the divine character of this material, while at the same time accepting the human element which is so evident at every step. W. R. H.

EZEKIEL AND THE PRIESTS' CODE. By THOMAS WHITELAW, Kilmarnock, Scotland, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for July, 1894. Pp. 437–453.

It is clear that either Ezekiel preceded the Priests' code, or the Priests' code preceded Ezekiel. In favor of the view that Ezekiel preceded the

Priests' code we are referred to (1) the circumstance that in his temple vision the prophet has incorporated a scriptural torah of his own instead of simply appropriating that of Moses. If Ezekiel was acquainted with the Mosaic law, why does he not content himself with a reference to it instead of giving instructions with respect to all the details of the service? But it cannot be shown that if Ezekiel had known the Mosaic torah he would have been obliged to incorporate it. He did not use it because he did not want to use it. He may be supposed to have known what he wanted better than a nineteenth century critic. It cannot be shown that Ezekiel's aim was to outline a new ritual for the restored theocracy at the close of the exile. His real object was by means of well known symbols to set forth views of divine truth for the consolation of his fellow exiles.

(2) The deviations of Ezekiel's torah from that of the Priests' code. Ezekiel, in the matter of worship, requires much less than Num. 28 and 29. Where is the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16)? What has become of the High Priest? In this and other matters the Priests' code is a development of Ezekiel's ideas. But (*a*) since Ezekiel is aiming merely to furnish his fellow exiles with a picture of the ideal worship, there was no reason why he should not appropriate as much or as little of the earlier torah as would be helpful to his purpose. (*b*) If he intended to propose a new scriptural rubric, and if he was guided by the same spirit that directed Moses, why should he not be allowed the liberty to take or leave of it precisely as that spirit led him? (*c*) If Ezekiel did not have the liberty to omit from the Priests' code (supposing it to have been the earlier) reference to a high priest, the great Day of atonement, etc., the author of the Priests' code, (assuming it to have been later), should not have felt himself at liberty to add these things, especially in view of the Deuteronomic admonition (Deut. 4:12; 12:32). If the Priests' code was not composed till after the exile, the Book of Ezekiel must have been known to its author. This author did not hesitate to make additions. It is not enough to say that the Priests' code is a "development," for development may proceed in the direction of diminishing dead rites rather than in that of multiplying. (*d*) In view of Ezekiel's closer affinity with the Priests' code than that of Deuteronomy, and of his divergences from Deuteronomy, why not suppose that Deuteronomy had no existence in the days of Ezekiel?

(3) The so-called degradation of the Levites (Ezek. 44:6–18) which shows that the distinction between priest and Levite was unknown until Ezekiel created it, the Duteronomic code having been doubly ignorant of Levites who were not priests. But (*a*) it cannot be shown that the division between priests and Levites was unknown before the exile. The proposition that all Levites were priests and recognized as such in Deuteronomy and other pre-exilic books is not warranted by the evidence. The brief text of this proposition (Deut. 18:1) does not imply this, and besides an examination of Josh. 21:4; 3:3; Judges 17; I. Kings 8:14; Isa. 66:21, furnishes evidences that the distinction

was not unknown in other books. (*c*) The degradation referred to in 44:6–16 was of apostate priests and Levites who were unfaithful.

(4) The occurrence in the Priests' code of words belonging to the exilic and post-exilic era. The strength of this argument seems to rest upon the occurrence of the word "rakia" firmanent, which is found, outside of the Priests' code, Psa. 19;150 and Daniel 12, exclusively in Ezekiel. But why could not Ezekiel have borrowed it from the Priests' code or the Psalter? In general, inferences as to the relative age of Hebrew documents drawn from certain words or phrases, are precarious.

On the other hand it may be urged in favor of the belief that the Priests' code preceded Ezekiel's: (1) The fact that between Ezekiel and the Law of holiness (Lev. 17:2–26), which makes a considerable part of the Priests' code, the points of contact in respect to thought and expression are both numerous and striking. (2) The fact that in the Priests' code and even in the other portions of the Pentateuch, fragments longer or shorter, occur which belong to some class of writing as the Law of Holiness, and ought accordingly like it to be ascribed to the author or compiler of Lev. 26. Now if all these fragments were put together we should have almost a complete Leviticus, and if they emanated from the same author, that author being, according to Driver, a contemporary of Jeremiah, we might infer that the Priests' code was composed before Ezekiel. (3) It is easier to explain the deviations of Ezekiel's torah from that of the Priests' code on the assumption that this was the earlier, than to account for the divergences from the Priests' code of Ezekiel on the supposition that the latter enjoyed the precedence. (4) Ezekiel is evidently acquainted with the phraseology and the institutions of the Priests' code. The fact is accepted by critics who deny the inference which is deduced from it. There is therefore not sufficient ground for holding Ezekiel to have preceded the Priests' code, but good cause for believing that the Priests' code preceded Ezekiel.

This presentation is one well worthy of study. It is beyond dispute that the position of Ezekiel is a key to the whole Wellhausen controversy. It is in reference to the date of the Priests' code that the schools of Dillmann and Wellhausen differ radically. For our own part it seems quite clear that the Priests' code is earlier than Deuteronomy or Ezekiel. The archæological evidence which has lately been discovered makes this possible; the bulk of Old Testament material makes it probable. Dr. Whitelaw's contribution lays emphasis on points which, it would seem, the critics on the other side have not fully considered. W. R. H.

Notes and Opinions.

The Antiquity of the Sabbath.—Three important questions connected with the history of the Sabbath are: (1) were there analogous institutions among the heathen nations, and if so what was their character? (2) What was the attitude of Christ toward the Jewish Sabbath? (3) How came Sunday to supersede the Sabbath in the Christian Church? To these, as well as to many other questions, answers are given by Professor S. D. F. Salmond, D.D., in the newly issued Bible Class Primer on *The Sabbath*.

As regards the analogous institutions among other nations than the Hebrew, and before that nation was founded, he says: "The idea of sacred days has existed in various forms in other systems of faith and among other nations. The name, the particular day, the relation to the week, the uses to which the institution has been dedicated, have differed. . . . . With the Druses Thursday is the sacred day. There are tribes with whom Wednesday has occupied the same position. The Mohammedans set apart Friday as their Sabbath. The Arab tribes, long before Mohammed's time, the Phœnicians, and other ancient peoples, had their stated days of religious observance. The Slavonians are understood to have had their weekly festival. The Persians are reported to have made the eighth day, and the Peruvians the ninth day, a festal day or day of rest. The Romans had their Saturnalia, a festival of remotest antiquity held in honor of the god Saturnus, whose name remains in our Saturday; and in the times of the Roman Republic one day in the month of December was specially devoted to the religious observances connected with that festival. The Greeks had the institution of a tenth day. The Egyptians at one time celebrated the tenth day, at a later period the seventh. The resemblance between those days and the Sabbath is only of a general kind, and in none of these instances of distant analogy do we find anything distinctly the same in character as the Sabbath of the Hebrews. But there is another case of a very different kind; that is the *seventh-day* ordinance which, as our authorities on Assyrian and Babylonian questions inform us, has in recent times been discovered to have existed among the ancient Chaldeans. The special interest of this lies in the fact that these Chaldeans were of the same stock as the Hebrews, and are known to have had traditions of the creation, the deluge, and other things of which we read in the Hebrew Scriptures. A list of the days of one of the Babylonian months has been recovered. It specifies the god or gods to whom each particular day is dedicated, and the offerings or ceremonies which are appointed for the occasion. In this list the seventh, the fourteenth, the twenty-first, and the twenty-eighth days are described as days of rest. They are understood to be designated Sabbaths,

the name being taken to be *Sabattuv*, corresponding to the Hebrew word for the day. Certain things are forbidden to be done on these days. The ruler of the great nations is not to eat certain meats; he is not to change his clothes or put on white garments; he is not to offer sacrifice, or drive in his chariot, or issue decrees. . . . . It is inferred from this that the Babylonians and Assyrians had their Sabbath, and that it was observed on the seventh day. It is inferred further by some of our acknowledged authorities that the institution must have been of very ancient date, and must have existed indeed in the days of the Accadians, an extremely ancient and remarkable people who preceded the Assyrians and Babylonians. . . . The [Babylonian] day of rest is connected with the natural division of the month into four periods of seven days. The division of time into weeks of seven days also existed among the ancient Hebrews . . . . long before the age of Moses (cf. Gen. 17:12; 21:4; 29:27; also 7:4, 10; 8:10, 12). And it is the opinion of our best inquirers that the week of seven days was an ancient Chaldean institution, and that the Hebrews brought it with them when they left Ur of the Chaldees, the South Babylonian town from which Abraham, the father of the Hebrew people, migrated. . . . . But the Sabbath, as it existed in Israel, had a character and a position entirely its own. It has been held by some to have been a derived institution. Even were that made out to be the case, its distinctive nature and claims would not necessarily be affected. Other things which are known to us as of sacred meaning and divine authority in Israel existed in certain forms elsewhere, and were taken over and clothed with a special sacredness and significance in the religion of Israel and in the service of the God of Revelation. Circumcision, for example, was not a practice confined to the chosen people, although with them it was made a rite with a peculiar meaning, a sign of the covenant relation between God and Israel, a token of entrance into the community of the living God."

As regards Christ's attitude toward the Sabbath "He honored it for what it was designed to be. It was his custom to attend and even to participate in the synagogue service of the Sabbath day. His observance of the Sabbath was watched throughout his public career, but no breach of the Sabbath of the Decalogue was alleged against him. But his method of keeping the Sabbath was not that of the Scribes. It was in accordance with the divine idea of the ordinance, but it was in conflict with the unauthorized additions, pedantic rules and meaningless distinctions by which a decadent Judaism had stripped it of its grace and spiritual worth. Christ asserted against it the great principles of necessity and mercy, in view of the fact that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath; it was a divine provision in the interest of man's highest good, physical and moral.

As regards the fact that Sunday observance superseded Sabbath observance in the Christian Church, Christ's resurrection upon the first day of the week (Sunday) brought in a new order and gave a new meaning to the ancient ordinance. It preserved and enlarged the purpose of the Sabbath institu-

tion, though in time it connected it with another day of the week. The Sabbath is but seldom mentioned in the Book of Acts,—is still rarer in the Epistles, and is not named in the Revelation. It was gradually being abandoned because the first day of the week, on account of Christ's resurrection on that day, was becoming a day of sacred meaning, special consecration and holy commemorative purpose (cf. Acts 2:1–4; 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2; Rev. 1:10). The New Testament thus gives us to understand that in the time of the Apostles, and in their practice if not by their prescription, the first day of the week superseded the seventh day of the week as the day of special religious observance, although Jewish Christians did not at once abandon the Sabbath, but for a time observed both days and then ultimately dropped the seventh, the Jewish one. In 363 A. D., the Council of Laodicea forbade Christians to observe the seventh day, and that finally brought it to an end.

The Second Roman Imprisonment of Paul.—This much discussed problem of the first Christian century has been given a new, thorough and unusually able treatment by Professor Friedrich Spitta, in a recent work entitled *Urchristenthum*. Somewhat to one's surprise, considering the author's previously published independent and liberal views, the treatment proves to be a vigorous defense, and a very strong one, of the historicity of the second imprisonment. The argument is to show that there was a firm establishment of the belief in the second imprisonment in the earliest Christian tradition. The question is dissevered from that of the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, but Dr. Spitta maintains that whoever wrote 2 Timothy held to the two imprisonments, a tradition not to be accounted for from the Acts or the letters of Paul. Then as to post-canonical evidence. The passage 1 Clement 5:5, must, as coming from a Roman writer, refer to a work of Paul in Spain: "Clement assumes the Spanish journey of Paul as a matter of common knowledge; and this view, generally current in his time, belonged to the traditions respecting the closing events of this Apostle's history which prevailed on the spot where his labors and life terminated." The *Muratorian Fragment* is explicit on the point of the Spanish voyage, and Dr. Spitta believes its information rests on the Roman tradition to that effect rather than upon a mere supposition that Paul's purpose expressed in Rom. 15:24 was carried out. In the *Acta Apocrypha* is also traced a clear tradition of Paul's journey to Spain: "Surveying the extant apocryphal tradition, we are justified in saying that there scarcely can be a more groundless assertion than to affirm that the Apocrypha witness against a double imprisonment of Paul at Rome. The case is precisely the opposite." The evidence from the writings of the Fathers is carefully reviewed, and shown to be very fairly in favor of the Spanish voyage and second imprisonment. The two things go together, as it is sufficiently clear from the Acts and the Epistles of Paul that he could not have gone to Spain previous to the first imprisonment. The author concurs

with Credner in the statement: "There cannot be found during the first four centuries a trace of the assumption that Paul did not travel westward beyond Rome, or that his life ended at the point where the Acts of the Apostles conclude." The tradition that Paul did not go to Spain began at Rome in the fifth century, when the recollections of Paul's activity in the west appear to have faded out, as Dr. Spitta thinks, the result of the growing tendency of the Papal See to exalt Peter and monopolise apostolic renown in his behalf. Compare the language of a decree of Innocent I.: "Cum manifestum sit in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam, Siciliam, et insulas interjacentes nullum instituisse ecclesias, nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut ejus successores constituerint sacerdotes." The original historical fact was thus contradicted for a purpose, and it is a distinct gain that we can get back to the original tradition, so strongly substantiating the Spanish journey and the second imprisonment of Paul. In the interval between the two imprisonments Dr. Spitta places Paul's visitation to Greece and Asia Minor, as planned for in the Philippian and Philemon Epistles, his mission to Spain by way of Rome, and his return again to the districts referred to in 2 Timothy. The writer does not discuss the further question whether the Pastoral Epistles constitute the Pauline literature of this period, but that is an easy step to take. The establishment of a second imprisonment, with some years of activity intervening, goes a long way toward establishing the Pauline authorship of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus. An interesting theory of Dr. Spitta's concerning the Epistle to the Romans is stated in this connection. He thinks that it may have been originally two distinct letters, afterwards joined into one, "ein grosses *corpus doctrinæ*." The second included 1:7–12; 12:1–15:7; 16:1–20, and was written after the first imprisonment when Paul had been previously at Rome and was well acquainted with the church there, and when he was on the point of revisiting the city on his journey to Spain from the east. Such an explanation of the Roman Epistle is attractive, as it would solve the difficulties comprised in the sixteenth chapter, and is not at all improbable in itself.

The Wickedness of Nazareth.—The current idea that the town of Nazareth was notoriously and exceptionally wicked is even yet reiterated by some New Testament writers, despite the fact that a much more probable and better view has been shown of the passage on which this depravity notion rests. Attention is again called to this better view by Rev. W. B. Hill in the *Sunday School Times* for August 4th. The wickedness of Nazareth is inferred from Nathanael's response to Philip in John 1:46, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" words which, without any reference to the time and circumstances of utterance, seem to give that idea plainly. But it is just the time and the circumstances of the utterance which show what the words did mean, and it is not the superficial idea that is commonly associated with them. Jesus had just presented himself publicly as the Messiah. Philip tells

Nathanael that they have found him who fulfills all the Messianic prophecies of their past history, the Messiah indeed, in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. But Nathanael was aware, as every pious Jew was aware, that the Messiah was to come from Bethlehem (Matt. 2:5; Mic. 5:2), not from Nazareth or any other Galilean town (John 7:41, 52). Hence his uttered surprise that they should connect the idea of the Messiah with a man from Nazareth. This is the natural and primary meaning of the expression. It is unnecessary and wrong to find in them a moral condemnation of Nazareth, unless there is good ground elsewhere for such an opinion of the town. But no such evidence exists. To be sure, they treated him badly when he asserted his Messiahship there (Mark 6:2–6; Luke 4:16–32), but he, in the same connection (Mark 6:4; Luke 4:24), gave the reason for it: "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house." Nazareth was no worse in this respect than any other town would have been if similarly circumstanced. If Christ's own brethren did not accept his Messianic claims (John 7:5), surely the other Nazarenes were not by reason of their unbelief proved to be "sinners above all the Galileans." There is really no evidence except the shallow misinterpretation of John 1:46 that Nazareth was a wicked town, and the injustice which has been so freely done the place and the inhabitants of that time may well be remitted.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

Bible Study Course for Organizations for Christian Work. The four years' course of study which was inaugurated last October, and is now about to enter upon its second year, promises to reach a very large membership. Already *three* Australian colonies have officially adopted the course. These will represent a membership of several, perhaps many thousands, which added to our own American thousands, will make an army. The subject for the coming year is one of peculiar interest in that it will give careful study to a line of thought yet entirely undeveloped so far as any popular work is concerned, and which is at the same time the heart of the Old Testament viz.: the foreshadowings of the Christ. The work will deal with not only the distinctly Messianic prophecies but very briefly with the entire history of the Jewish people during its divine guidance through the centuries in which the Messianic ideal was developed. An extract from the outline and direction sheet for the first month will perhaps give a clearer idea of the course. The chapter for the month covers the foreshadowings from the Ante-Mosaic age.

§ 1. Man's creation and his divine destiny. Gen. 1 : 26–30.

First day.—Read Genesis 1 : 1–30 and note that last of all man is created, everything else being preparatory. ` Re-read Gen. 1 : 26–30 and consider the endowment given man by God at the time of his creation (cf. the words "in our image after our likeness"), and the purpose for which he was created, namely, *to rule over the world.* Consider the importance of this first indication of the divine purpose as to the destiny of man.

§ 2. Man's condition of loneliness; the creation of the woman; the state of innocence. Gen. 2 : 18–25.

Second day.—Remembering that the *man* created in Gen. 1 included both man and woman, read in Genesis 2 : 18–25 the more specific statement concerning man's loneliness, before the coming of woman, the creation of woman to supply the need, and the state of innocence in which at first they lived together. Read the description of the Garden of Eden which was the place of their first abode, found in Gen. 2 : 1–17.

Third day.—Cf. the order of thought in the first two chapters and note (1) that in the first everything mentioned prepares the way for the last, the greatest act of creation, man, who occupies this, the most important position; (2) that in the second, man also is the subject of the story, and that every thing logically takes it place in relation to him; (3) that while the order in one case is chronological, in the other it is logical, but that in both everything bears upon man.

§ 3. The act of disobedience.

Fourth day.—Read Gen. 3:1–13 and consider the nature of the act performed by the man and the woman,—a simple act of disobedience. Note the ideal form in which the greatest event of all history is described. Consider the consequences of this act as the initial act of sin, and note the connection between the fall of man from his former state of innocence and the work for man of Jesus Christ.

§ 4. The punishment of the serpent. The conflict between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent; between mankind and the powers of evil, in which man ultimately will gain the victory. Gen. 3:14, 15.

Fifth day.—Read carefully Gen. 3:14, 15 and, understanding that the serpent here represents symbolically the powers of evil, consider the nature of the future conflict which is here foretold between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent. Note further that in this conflict mankind though injured will ultimately be victorious. Consider whether this victory has yet been gained, or whether every upward step taken by mankind since the fall, has not been a step in this direction. Consider also the part which was to be played by Jesus Christ in behalf of man in his conflict with evil, etc., etc.

The Reading Guild. Names are coming in rapidly for membership in the *Bible Student's Reading Guild.* Already the work has demonstrated its necessity as is shown by the variety of persons to whom it has appealed. The following occupations are representative in its membership: Minister, teacher, student, lawyer, librarian, clerk, chemist, music teacher, painter, editor, stenographer, and in addition many from that unoccupied and yet most occupied class represented by the housewife and mother. Strange to say the majority of the members thus far are people not connected with Sunday school work, showing that the work is taken up for personal improvement and not for the sake of a Sunday school class. The first year's reading commences October first.

Work and Workers.

THE Convent of Sinai still contains manuscripts of no small value. DR. FREDERICK GROTE, a German scholar, recently secured from there a number of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts, the most important of which he believes to be an old Aramaic version of the Gospels. It is written in letters somewhat similar to the Hebrew, and the old Syriac Estrangelo, and belongs to a type of Aramaic current in Syria in the first century. This document will be published. He also found an Arabic version of the Gospels, and another of the Epistles.

A VERY conservative work upon the history and theology of the New Testament, entitled *Geschichte der neutestamentlichen Offenbarung*, was recently published at Munich, the author of which is Prof. C. F. NÖSGEN, D.D., of the University of Rostock. Dr. Nösgen is at the extreme of conservatism in New Testament scholarship in Germany; indeed, it is said that he is the only theological professor in a German university who still maintains the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. Yet his work is an important one, and has a large apologetic value. It is directed against the New Testament criticism of the Harnack school.

THE Regents and Faculty of the UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA have, after much waiting, secured the funds necessary to establish a department of Semitic Languages and Literature at that institution. They feel it to be, as it certainly is, an occasion for congratulation on the part of all friends of the University. Rev. Dr. Jacob Voorsanger has accepted the appointment of Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literature. The courses of study announced, intended both for graduate students of Semitic Philology and for theological students, are as follows: (1) Elementary Hebrew, (2) Advanced Hebrew, (3) Aramaic, (4) Prophetic Hebrew, (5) Biblical Aramaic, (6) Elementary Arabic, (7) Advanced Arabic, (8) Hebrew of the Hagiographa, (9) Syriac and Biblical Aramaic, (10) Assyrian, (11) Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages. Course Nos. (1) and (2) were offered at the opening of the present academic year, while the others will be added as fast as the development of the department permits. It is expected that many students will be attracted to this work from the Theological Seminary of the Christian denomination about to be established at Berkeley, and also from other seminaries around the bay of San Francisco.

AN admirable and in every way useful edition of the Tell-el-Amarna Tablets has been prepared by Dr. CHARLES BEZOLD, and published by Luzac

& Co., London. These famous tablets, found only a few years ago in Upper Egypt, contain a collection of letters in Assyrian cuneiform which passed between Pharaohs Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., of Egypt, and their vassals in Palestine and Syria as early as the fifteenth century before Christ, in the pre-Mosaic era. Their testimony as to the condition of those countries at that time is of the utmost interest and value to us. Bezold's work is issued in two volumes. The first, entitled *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, contains the eighty-two tablets in autotype fac-simile, and forty-four of the number are reproduced photographically. They are accompanied by an Introduction, written by Dr. Budge, of the British Museum, giving a sketch of the history of Egypt and Syria at that period, a description of the tablets, and several glossaries of Canaanitic words. The second volume, entitled *Oriental Diplomacy*, contains a transliterated text of the tablets, with full vocabulary and grammatical notes. The books are, of course, text-books primarily, but biblical scholars generally are interested in them and will study them.

THE *New York Independent* makes the following statement concerning the edition of the Revised Version projected by the late Dr. Philip Schaff, which was referred to in a recent number of the BIBLICAL WORLD: ". . . . The late Dr. Schaff, some time before his death devised a plan of issuing an American edition of the Revised Version of the English Bible, with the Appendix incorporated in the text, with unmistakable Scripture references, with chapter headings in the words of Scripture, and with a mark to denote the beginning of verses. He also had arranged with a publisher to send forth the book in 1899 when the engagement of the American Committee with the English would expire. But the plan fell through because the American Committee, or rather some members of it, were unwilling to allow a copyright to be taken out for the work; and without such provision no publisher would encounter the expense. As the matter now stands, the work can be done if any one will bear the cost. It would require the unremitting labor of at least a year to prepare such a book as Dr. Schaff proposed; and we understand that one member of each company stands ready to do the work if the requisite means be secured. It is reasonable to suppose that members of the committee would be more likely to reach a satisfactory result than others." Cannot the work be at once arranged for? To say nothing of the practical religious value, it is beyond doubt that the publication would be exceedingly profitable to any man or company who undertook it.

IN the issue of August 11th the *Sunday School Times*, reviewing Notovitch's *Unknown Life of Jesus Christ* (see BIBLICAL WORLD for August), gives opinion as follows: "It is impossible to consider this a genuine find. It is full of clever touches which seem to be due to the brain of some one well versed in the ideas and phraseology of Eastern religions, and familiar with a certain type of writings in biblical criticism. It bears no comparison, how-

ever, with the canonical Gospels, and scarcely with the apocryphal ones. In the narrative of the journey a Buddhist monk of today is made to chat with M. Notovitch about the Egyptians, the Israelites, and even the Assyrians! The latter half of the chronicle is taken up with events concerning which the Buddhists of India could have had no intelligent knowledge."

A very important statement concerning the trustworthiness of this book is made by Rev. F. B. Shawe, a Moravian Missionary of Leh, the chief town of Ladakh, the very place where M. Notovitch claims to have found his document. Mr. Shawe says (1) that Buddhists do not venerate Jesus, or Issa (the Mohammedan name for Jesus) at all; (2) that his colleagues have had easy access to the very monastery named by Notovitch for forty years, and never so much as heard of such a "Life"; (3) that no one in that vicinity can be found who has seen or heard of Notovitch; (4) that the monks deny that they have any old books—least of all one 1,694 years old, or a copy of it; and (5) that Pali is an unknown language to any native of Ladakh. What then is left of Notovitch's *Unknown Life of Christ?* A pure fabrication, a deliberate falsehood, told for the unworthy motives of gain, notoriety, and destruction of Christian history. Such a piece of work is not to be dismissed by simply saying that "there is scarcely need for serious discussion of it," as does the *Sunday School Times* reviewer, nor by simply refusing to say anything about it, the method pursued by the biblical journals of England, but it calls for definite exposure and explicit condemnation. The public should be made aware of Notovitch's purposes and practices, and should further be put upon their guard against the class of literature to which this work belongs—literature which aims to destroy Christianity, and in accomplishing it has little or no regard for historical facts.

Book Reviews.

The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments. By the REV. A. H. SAYCE, Queens's College, Oxford. Second edition. Pp. 575. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: E. and J. B. Young & Co.; 1894.

THIS book has awakened much interest on every side. The book was evidently written for a purpose. This purpose was to show from the results of archæological investigation (1) that the materials which make up Old Testament books may be as old as they are represented to be in the Old Testament. In other words, that the materials may have come from the earliest times. (2) That, this being possible, we may go a step further and assume on the basis of the evidence furnished by the monuments, that the materials are in large measure contemporaneous with the events which they describe; and that (3) consequently these materials are at least in large measure trustworthy and to be accepted as a basis for historical work.

Students of the Old Testament may be divided into three classes. The first class includes those who, like Professors Green, Osgood, and others, maintain the antiquity of the materials, and who ascribe the same antiquity to the present literary form in which the materials are found. The second class includes Professors Wellhausen, Kuenen, Cheyne, and others, who advocate a comparatively late date both for materials and literary form. The third class includes a rapidly increasing number of scholars in America and in England who have assigned the materials to the earliest periods and have at the same time conceded that the present literary form may have been comparatively late.

Professor Sayce does his own work and the work of this third class of critics great injustice by using the term "higher critic" exclusively of those who belong to the second class. His own position is clearly with the third class. He accepts the literary analysis of the Pentateuch,[1] and shows, indeed, that this analysis is in accordance with the knowledge of other ancient books, for example, the Book of the Dead, the Chaldean Epic, celebrating the hero Gilgames.[2] The two accounts of creation are derived from a Babylonian origin. The biblical account of the fall gives evidence also of its derivation from Babylonia,[3] as is shown in matters of geography as well as in the details of the narrative. The tenth chapter of Genesis contains no "scientific division" of mankind into their several races.[4] There is no

[1] P. 31. [2] P. 33. [3] P. 104. [4] P. 120.

division according to color, although such a division is found among the Egyptians of the Eighteenth dynasty. The negroes, though well-known to the Egyptians, are not included. Only tribes and nations of the white race are enumerated. Concerning the Books of Chronicles, he says,[1] "we can grant the compiler a much higher degree of historical trustworthiness than critics of late years have been disposed to allow," but at the same time oriental archæology makes it clear that his statements are not always exact. We cannot follow him with the same confidence as that with which we follow the author of the Book of Chronicles. His use of the documents which lay before him was uncritical. The inferences he drew from his materials were not always sound and he makes them subserve the theory on which his work is based. He tells us deliberately[2] that Pul and Tiglathpileser were distinct one from the other,[3] when we know that they were the same. His exaggeration of numbers which appears throughout shows "that he did not possess that sense of historical exactitude which we now demand from the historian." We must remember that it (the picture of Jewish history represented by the chronicler) has been colored by the religious theory of the writer. "The Story of Esther"[4] is an example of Jewish haggadah which has been founded upon one of those semi-historical tales of which the Persian chronicles seem to have been full. The statements of the Book of Daniel are at variance with the facts in many particulars.[5] "The biblical text implies that Babylon was taken by storm, at all events, it expressly states that the king of the Chaldeans was slain. Nabonidus, the Babylonian king, however, was not slain, and Cyrus entered Babylon in peace. Belshazzar was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar, but son of the usurper Nabonidus. Darius the Mede[6] is a reflection into the past of Darius the son of Hystapes, just as the siege and capture of Babylon by Cyrus is a reflection into the past of its siege and capture by the same prince." The use of the term "kasdim" in the Book of Daniel indicates that the book belongs to a period later "than that of Alexander the Great, when the influence of Greek ideas and habits of thought was so strong in Palestine as to cause a Hebrew writer to forget the true significance of a name of frequent occurrence in his own literature and to use it in precisely the same erroneous sense as that in which it was used by the Greek of his own day."[7]

The above statements are given to show the actual position of Professor Sayce. This position is overlooked by those students who enroll themselves in the first class above mentioned, and at the same time quote Professor Sayce so frequently and so strongly against "higher criticism." It is safe to say that from Professor Sayce's own book one may show conclusively that every important position accepted by the higher critics is accepted by himself.

His view, and it is a magnificent one, is against those historians who deny the possibility of the acceptance of literary documents as early, for example,

[1] P. 462. [3] P. 462. [5] P. 526. [7] P. 535.
[2] 1 Chron. 5:26. [4] P. 475. [6] P. 528.

as 1500 B. C.; but give too prominent a position to the oral tradition and who consequently deny the historical value of the references and allusions in the earlier historical books. Professor Sayce's argument is conclusive against this class of historians. The only question is whether in accepting his argument the extremely conservative scholar does not accept something which will in the end prove more than could have been desired. The substance of the argument is this: (1) In almost every important particular there existed before the alleged date of such material in the Old Testament, literary documents in other nations which anticipated more or less closely the statements found in the Old Testament. This was true of the stories of creation, the story of the fall, the story of the deluge (which belongs at the latest to B. C. 2350), the table of nations, the invasion of Chedorlaomer, etc. (2) The existence of such literary documents among other nations, not only proves the possibility of the existence of the same material among the Hebrews, but shows the source from which the Hebrews obtained the material. (3) Inasmuch, then, as the Hebrew writers are using original documents we must treat their statements as credible and trustworthy.

This position, we think, must be accepted. It bears directly against the theory of Wellhausen which assigns Israelitish literature to a comparatively late period. The position at the same time introduces difficulties of another character which must receive treatment. The results of the final examination of the archæological material which has assumed so important a rôle in these last ten years, will be to compel us (1) to recognize that the Hebrew materials have a common origin with the materials of other ancient nations; (2) that the resemblances although many are not as important as the differences; (3) that in these differences we are to find that which is unique and peculiar to Israel. These differences in form, purpose, and spirit, constitute the divine element. Concerning the details of archæological research presented by the author there is no space to speak. Great emphasis is placed upon the Tel-el-Amarna tablets. It is not too much to say that these tablets have furnished one of the most important contributions to modern biblical research. Professor Sayce's acceptance of the Glaser position, and his attitude toward the Sumero-Accadian question are especially interesting to the technical student. A careful examination of the book will lead the candid reader to two conclusions: (1) The suspicion which a certain class of destructive critics have cast upon the general historical value of the Old Testament documents is absurd. The men who compiled these books were dealing with matters concerning which in general they had clear and definite information. (2) The difficulties which the new archæological investigations introduce are as many in number as those which they solve. The field is a complicated one. Dogmatism on every side is to be avoided. Continued research must be undertaken. Many additional modifications of our present position will have to be accepted.

W. R. H.

Plain Introductions to the Books of the Bible. Vol. II., New Testament Introductions. Edited by C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D. London: Cassell & Co.

This book doubtless fills a long-felt want. It gives in an interesting way what Bible readers so anxiously long for. The book is simple in style, but nevertheless is crowded with facts. The introductions are by such men as Plumptre, Sanday, Barry, Spence, and fairly introduce one to the writers and writings of the New Testament. The type is quite small and the pages much crowded; but, probably, considering the nature of the book, this is hardly a disadvantage. Besides giving special introductions, it gives a general introduction, discussing the canon, text of the New Testament, History of the translations, etc. It is to be recommended to every thoughful reader of the Bible. C. E. W.

The Old Testament and Its Contents. By Professor JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., University of Glasgow. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1893. 4 × 6 inches. Paper, pages 162.

This is one of the *Guild and Bible Class Text-Books* edited by Professor Charteris, of the University of Edinburg. It is one of the results of the effort of modern scholarship to popularize the best biblical knowledge of these times. The writer has in view the instruction of the ordinary Bible reader who is seeking for an epitomized statement of the facts regarding the Old Testament. The book is divided into two parts: (1) the Old Testament as a whole including mainly a discussion of the canon, (2) the books composing the Old Testament. In the first part, the author gives a readable, concise statement of the principal theories on the evidences of a completed canon, its gradual formation, and its transmission. The reader will scarcely be anchored by these paragraphs, but will be convinced of the scantiness of data on the question. Less theorizing and a few additional facts and quotations would better satisfy the average reader. The second part is made up mainly, after some introductory matter, of the analyses of the Old Testament books according to their order in the Hebrew Bible. We find, however, one chapter on the "composition of the Pentateuch." This sets before the reader the moderate critical results of the analysts in a clear yet of necessity incomplete form. The attempt to present so much in so small a compass embarrasses the writer and distresses the reader. But the users of such compends and epitomes must become lovers of statistics. PRICE.

The Second Book of Kings. By the Ven. Archdeacon F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1894. Cloth, 8vo; pages xvi and 496. Price, $1.50.

Last year Dr. Farrar gave us in this *Expositor's* Bible Series the volume on First Kings. This volume completes the history of Israel and Judah

through the fall of Jerusalem. The whole is divided into thirty-nine chapters, an epilogue, and four appendices. Almost every chapter is introduced, or keyed by one or more quotations from the Old or New Testament, some church father, Josephus, Milton, or some other literary character. Each chapter discusses a portion of the narrative, *e. g.*, chapter xxi. is occupied with 2 Kings 17 : 1–41. Of this section we have an elegant rhetorical discussion, brimful of references and hints to illustrative and similar occurrences in all history. These discussions are also interpolated with pat bits of poetry from the wealth of English literature. The foot-notes are copious and valuable, as citing points in the realms of biblical, ecclesiastical and profane history and literature. Among these are found many important critical quotations from the Septuagint, and other critical sources—valuable only for the scholar. Occasionally a paragraph or a page or more of hortatory matter follows some peculiarly applicable principle of action.

The epilogue is in part an apology for the favorable attitude toward some of the results of higher criticism. The appendices are (1) kings of Assyria and some of their inscriptions, (2) the inscription on the tunnel of Siloam, (3) was there a golden calf at Dan? (in *Expositor*, October, 1893), (4) dates of kings of Israel and Judah, as given by Kittel and other modern critics.

The author has followed up with care the best results of work on Second Kings and has given us a valuable compilation, set in his own fascinating literary style. PRICE.

Das Buch Daniel uebersetzt und erklaert. Von GEORG BEHRMANN.

The worth of this fresh contribution to Nowack's series of commentaries on the Old Testament must not be measured by its size. Although so thin as to be a pamphlet rather than a volume, the book supplies the working student with all, or almost all, he needs in order to be familiar with the present attitude of judicious criticism to the Daniel question. The comprehensive introduction is a fine piece of scholarly work. It consists of two parts, the former dealing with the character and origin of the book, the latter with the history of its text and fortunes. As regards the date of the book in its present form, Pastor Behrmann agrees with the majority of modern expositors in placing it in the Maccabean period. It was written, he thinks (his view on this point coinciding with Kamphausen's) in the beginning of 164 B. C. This date rests on the double assumption that the cleansing of the sanctuary referred to in 8 : 14 was the re-consecration of the temple about the end of 165 B.C., and that the passage was written soon afterwards. The author was one of the Chasidim, from whom the Pharisees are supposed to have been descended. Behrmann is inclined to think with Hitzig that the Essenes had the same origin and that the Book of Daniel represents the tendency which later produced this most exclusive of Jewish sects. If so, it was addressed in the first instance to "retiring circles of Judaism," that is to a select few, not to the general public, for the purpose of encouraging passive resistance to oppres-

sion. This theory which partly reproduces a suggestion of Eichhorn indorsed by König seems hardly to fit in with the subsequent history of the book. We know that it was translated into Greek before the commencement of the Christian era, according to our author as early as 100 B. C. It seems to have been used by the writer of the First Book of Maccabees who flourished not long afterwards and wrote for the nation rather than for a class or sect. In the time of Christ and the Apostles it was held in very high repute by the Jews generally, as we gather from the one reference in the Gospels and from the enthusiastic testimony of Josephus. Is it not difficult to reconcile these facts with the esoteric origin of the book about the middle of the second century B. C.? The unity of the book is advocated against Eichhorn and others. The problem of its bilingual character is bravely attacked but with indifferent success. The proposed solution is as follows: The author of the Book of Daniel was more familiar with Aramaic than Hebrew, as appears from the greater linguistic defectiveness of the Hebrew portions, and therefore, when he had once found it convenient to use Aramaic for a special reason, he went on using it, although that reason no longer applied. In that case why did he pause at the end of the seventh chapter? The key to the mystery seems not yet to have been found. The historical value of the book is more temperately discussed than by some recent critics. Behrmann finds everywhere a basis of tradition. The writer of the Book of Daniel cannot be fairly charged either with invention or adaptation. His Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar are not travesties or doubles of Antiochus Epiphanes. There are mistakes indeed, because the traditions followed were erroneous or confused on some points, but there is no conscious perversion of history. The legendary element is admitted, but it is argued that it must be put down to tradition, not to the writer. We have an instance of error in the statement about "Darius the Mede," who seems to have been compounded of Gobryas, the general of Cyrus and governor of part of Media, with Darius Hystaspis. On the other hand, several of the charges of inaccuracy which have been brought against the book, cannot, in Behrmann's opinion, be sustained. It is not proved, for example, that the writer was acquainted with only two kings of Babylon and four kings of Persia. Belshazzar may have been another name of Evil Merodach, the second of the Babylonian kings. In any case that king is meant; and therefore the mention of his death cannot have anything to do with the end of the Babylonian Empire. There is consequently no such contradiction between the biblical text and the cuniform record as some have affirmed. Even the date in the first verse, ("in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim"), which Driver pronounces "highly improbable," and Kamphausen considers to be an indication of the historical unreliability of the book, is strenuously defended. It is argued that the words of Daniel do not imply the capture and plundering of Jerusalem but only the surrender of part of the temple plate, etc., by the frightened king, whereas the words of Jeremiah (in chapter 25), which have been supposed to contradict this statement, refer to

complete destruction. It is also maintained that an attack of Nebuchadnezzar on Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim is not improbable, as the defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish which took place early in that year, left Judea unprotected. The objection that Nebuchadnezzar was not king at that time is disposed of by the supposition (which König also allows to be possible) that the term "king" is used here proleptically.

Whatever may be thought about some of the details in this part of the introduction there can be no doubt that it is a timely and able protest against the vehemence almost amounting to bitterness with which the historical chapters have been assailed. This part of our notice may fitly close with a sentence from the last page of the introduction. "There is a fairly general consensus of opinion that the book as we have it proceeds from the Maccabean age, but the acknowledgment is also gaining ground that the substance of the book is the product of another age."

Much attention is given to philology both in the introduction and the commentary. As regards the foreign words in the Aramaic text Behrmann agrees in the main with Kautzsch. Two instances of divergent opinion may be mentioned. The word *Sûmpônyā* (3:15) and *Sîpônyū* (5:10) is connected not with the Greek *sûmphonia*, but with *siphonia*, and is supposed to describe an instrument consisting of small reeds. Another word in the same context, *sabbekā* is regarded as the source of the Greek word *sambuke*, not as a derivative from it. It is suggested that it may be connected with *sabka*, which means wicker-work. The commentary as a whole is learned and suggestive and up to date. Even the *Sendschirli* inscriptions which have only been for a very short time available to scholars have been utilized. Some of the notes on phrases, ideas, and manners and customs are excellent, abounding in information of great service to the student. The exposition of the latter-half of the book runs on the lines generally followed by modern expositors. The fourth beast is, "without doubt," the Empire of Alexander. The "Son of Man," however, is explained to be the Messiah. Space forbids further illustrations of this very careful and instructive book, which well deserves to be placed in every student's library. It is not final. The problem of the Book of Daniel is not yet solved, but the labors of Pastor Behrmann will probably help to accelerate the solution. W. T. S.

Geschichte der Edomiter. Von DR. FRANZ BUHL.

A good critical summary of the comparatively few facts recorded concerning the Edomites and their country to be found in the sources of information at present available. The extent of Edom and the sites of its chief cities are minutely discussed with some rather surprising results, one of which is that Petra, (in Dr. Buhl's judgment) is nowhere alluded to in any way in the Old Testament. The scanty data in reference to social life and religion are reviewed, and the history of the people is traced down to the destruction of

Jerusalem by the Romans. An interesting feature is the careful examination of the allusions to Edom in the prophetic writings. The burden of Dumah (Isaiah 21 : 11–12) is translated and explained in a rather novel manner, use being made of the evidence of the cuneiform inscriptions; and the supposed reference of Deutero-Isaiah to Bozrah in the sixty-third chapter is called in question on the ground of the uncertainty of the text. Dr. Buhl inclines to the emendation advocated by Lagarde and Duhm *Me'adham* instead of *Mē 'edhôm*, which widens out the prophecy into a general prediction of judgment. W. T. S.

The Sabbath. Series of Bible Class Primers, edited by Prof. S. D. F. Salmond, D.D. By the EDITOR. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. Pp. 110. Price, 25 cents.

This is another volume to add renown to the Series, which already is well known and much used. Much new light is thrown upon the matter of the Sabbath, generically considered, by the incoming knowledge about the customs of Israel's neighbors and predecessors. And perhaps there is also need of a restatement of the relation of the Christian Sunday to the Jewish Sabbath, while a resumé of the Sabbath teaching and observance in both Testaments is an excellent thing. These are the three matters presented and briefly discussed in this primer. Extracts giving the substance of the material, and the author's view of it, will be found elsewhere in this number.

Professor Salmond has given the evidence concerning a pre-Mosaic Sabbath among non-Hebrew nations quite impartially, but when he comes to speak of their relation to the Jewish institution he denies it its true influence and importance, apparently for fear he will detract from the prevailing view that the Sabbath was a unique and divinely-given institution of the chosen people. He says that if the analogy were established between the Hebrew and the non-Hebrew sacred days, it would not rob the Hebrew institution of its divine origin and significance, and certainly it would not, but he affirms that the analogy is not established, and he feels much more comfortable that it is not. But is Professor Salmond surely right that some of the non-Hebrew nations, before and after Moses' time, did not have essentially a Sabbath observance in the Old Testament sense? The evidence is pretty strong, as the author himself adduces it, against the decision which he himself reaches concerning it, and in favor of an essential extra-Hebrew Sabbath. This would require a modification of prevailing views of the historical Sabbath—it would lose its uniqueness, but it would still be true that Israel had higher and larger ideas of Sabbath observance than her neighbors; that the Sabbath meant more to and did more for the Hebrews than for other nations.

The exhibit of the Sabbath, as found in the Old and New Testament literature, is excellently done, and will be found very useful. One does not know where to look for a similar exposition. The author's views as to Christ's attitude toward the Sabbath as he found it observed among the Jews of his

time, are in accord with current views, and quite likely are the true understanding of the matter. As to Paul's attitude toward the Sabbath he takes a moderate view, that Paul did not urge them to give up Sabbath observance, but not to perform it with Judaic rigor and emphasis. Others think Paul was much more radical in his idea of the Sabbath. Professor Salmond explains correctly the way in which Sunday superseded the Sabbath when he says: "No word of Christ, no decree of the apostles, is on record abrogating the seventh day and appointing the first." And had there been such, it presumably would have been put upon record. "Rather was it by a gradual way, under the sense of a divine propriety and the suggestions of apostolic practice," that the change came about.

The great majority of people need to read carefully a good historical and ethical exposition of the Sabbath, both in its Jewish and in its Christian form, and perhaps we still need to ask ourselves more precisely, what is the nature of the Christian Sunday, as derived from its predecessor, the Jewish Sabbath, and as derived from its own peculiar occasion and significance.

C. W. V.

Die juedische Litteratur seit Abschluss des Kanons. Von DR. J. WINTER und DR. AUGUST WUENSCHE. Erster Band.

This is the more important half of an anthology of Jewish literature since the close of the Canon. It is appearing under the joint editorship of a Jewish rabbi and a Christian theologian, with the coöperation of several other distinguished scholars, among whom are Dr. Fürst, the lexicographer, and Dr. Hamburger, the author of the well known Jewish Cyclopedia. As this volume deals exclusively with the literature of the Hellenistic and Talmudic periods, it is full of interest for biblical students, since that literature is throughout directly or indirectly connected with the Hebrew Scriptures. Many curious specimens of early Jewish exegesis are to be found in its pages. The extent of the ground which it attempts to cover can only be estimated by those who have gone over part of it themselves. The editors have tried to deal in this part of their work with the so-called Apocrypha, the writings of Josephus and Philo, Jewish Apocalyptic literature, the Targums, the two Talmuds, the earlier and later Midrashim, and the small tracts appended to the Talmud. The value of the book consists principally in copious translations from the Talmud and the Midrash and the literary introductions which are interspersed. Much use has been made, of course, of the Bibliotheca Rabbinica of one of the editors, but still there is much fresh matter, including specimens of Mechilta, Sifre, Sifra, Tanchuma, and Jelammedenu by Dr. Fürst. The execution is weakest, as might be expected, in the treatment of Hellenistic and Apocalyptic literature. No specimens are given from the Wisdom of Solomon. But little is quoted from the Book of Enoch, and that is reproduced from the translation of Dillmann issued in 1853, no notice being taken of the Gizeh fragment. The absence of indexes, especially of an index of texts illustrated,

is to be regretted, but may well be excused in view of the excessive laboriousness of the undertaking. W. T. S.

The Theology of the New Testament. By WALTER F. ADENEY. [The Theological Educator.] New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1894. Price, 75 cents.

This book answers its purpose well. Its treatment of New Testament Theology is for popular reading, but yet is exact and scientific in its method. Nearly half of the book is occupied with Christ's teaching, which is taken up topically, and material gathered indiscriminately from the Synoptists. The Apostolic period is treated much in the same way, each chapter being introduced by a general discussion of the author and the period, which is followed by a topical treatment of the salient theological doctrines. The plan throughout is to show theological belief in its historical development. It gathers up first the threads of Old Testament doctrines and contemporaneous history, and works them skilfully on to the beginnings of Christianity. At every step in advance a picture is given of the theological status of the period, and an estimate made of the character of its chief characters. Development of doctrine is traced even in the individual writer.

The treatment is devout, well sustained and entirely clear of any scientific dryness. In fact, the evident purpose, as may be gathered from the general plan, is to put as much color into the book as is consistent with its more or less thorough treatment of the subject. The book is strong in its simplicity and devotional seriousness. The author shows an acquaintance with all the latest and best literature on the subject. He adopts the ordinary chronology and puts all the writings of the New Testament within the first century. The fourth gospel is accepted as of Johannean authorship, but as being more or less idealistic. The book is very helpful, both for its spirit and its method, and well repays reading.

C. E. W.

Our Christian Passover. A guide for young people in the serious study of the Lord's Supper. By REV. C. A. SALMOND, A.M. [Bible Class Primers]. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. Price, 25 cents.

This primer fills an actual want in Bible Class literature. One would think from the style that the author, while writing, has a class of his own communicants constantly before his mind, and is simply talking with them in an easy familiar way, rather than endeavoring to furnish a text-book to be used in private study. It is doubtless because of this limitation that so many dogmatic statements appear in the little book It would seem, therefore, to be suitable for Pedobaptist churches, and only a certain portion of them. But aside from this, the whole subject is made so easy and luminous that the book is very well adapted to its purpose, and can be recommended to pastors or others who are conducting Bible classes. C. E. W.

The Gospel of St. John. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1894. Price, $1.00.

The chapters that make up this volume were first written as a commentary on the International Sunday School Lessons for the *Sunday School Times.* Some of them are written in Dr. Maclaren's best vein. As a commentary on the gospel they are somewhat fragmentary, because they follow the plan of the Sunday School Lessons; and though they form the lessons for half-a-year, much of the gospel is omitted. Each chapter is prefaced with the passage to be commented on, and so is even more complete than when first published. The lectures are to be commended as containing, in a permanent form, some of Dr. Maclaren's incomparable writing. C. E. W.

The Gospel According to St. Peter. A study. By the AUTHOR OF SUPERNATURAL RELIGION. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1894. Pp. 139.

Die Composition des Pseudopetrinischen Evangelien-Fragments. Mit einer synoptischen tabelle als ergänzungsheft. Von Dr. HANS VON SCHUBERT. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1893. Pp. 12+196. Price, M. 4.50.

Das Petrusevangelium, Synoptische Tabelle, nebst übersetzung und kritischem apparat. Herausgegeben von Dr. HANS VON SCHUBERT. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1893. Pp. 31. Price, M. .50.

The Gospel of St. Peter, Synoptical Tables, with Translation and Critical Apparatus. Edited by H. VON SCHUBERT, D.D. Authorised English translation by Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. Pp. 31. Price, 60 cents.

The Akhmim Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter. Edited, with an introduction, notes and indices, by H. B. SWETE, D.D. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1893. Pp. 48+34. Price, $1.60.

It is now almost two years since this fragment of second century apocryphal literature was given to the public in the *editio princeps* by M. Bouriant, and during this time it has been critically studied and investigated by every New Testament scholar. The literature upon it is already quite extensive, considering the size and importance of the document. Of valuable writings upon the subject other than these named here the somewhat radical work of Harnack and the very conservative work of Zahn may be particularly mentioned. This work of Schubert's is a third German production of note treating of the spurious gospel. Presumably the discussion is yet to be continued, but the time already elapsed admits of these works being at least semi-final.

It may be years before any considerable addition will be made to the knowledge of the subject.

The Synoptical Table of the Gospel, by Dr. von Schubert, named above in the German edition, and in the authorized English translation, is a very useful pamphlet to aid in the critical study of the fragment. It simply presents the text of the Apocryphal Gospel, and in parallel columns shows every point at which this text resembles the text of each of the four canonical Gospels, and also its relations by quotation and otherwise to the Septuagint. It exhibits in the most concise and practical form the phenomena of the fragment which are to be examined in a comparison of it with New Testament literature.

For English readers it may be safely said that Professor Swete's edition is the best. It is admirably prepared, with a portion of the Gospel in facsimile as a frontispiece, a long and exceptionally good introduction to the work, which presents the many matters of interest connected with the piece, and then the text, accompanied by thorough and scholarly notes. His point of view is conservative, and is, perhaps, as satisfactory as can be found. It is not on the more conspicuous points that the various writers disagree, for all identify the fragment with the Gospel of Peter mentioned by Eusebius, and the great majority place it at the middle of the second century. The difference of opinion is as to the relation of this spurious gospel to the canonical Gospels, and there can be no such thing as a harmony of ideas here. The views of Professor Swete are moderate and reasonable. The work by the author of Supernatural Religion is in altogether the same vein as his previous writings. Brilliantly composed, attractive in the reading, much scholarship and show of fairness, but with a determination to undermine the Christian faith and belief in the Bible as in any sense a supernatural revelation, or the record of it. The book is well worth reading for the sake of learning how the same document may appear quite differently to two men who occupy different points of view and hold different ideas of historical Christianity. The conclusion from his investigation is that "we have in it a primitive and less crystallized form of the Christian tradition." "It is neither better nor worse than the more fortunate works which have found a safe resting-place within the Canon of the Church." (Pp. 132–3). But by Professor Swete (pp. 36–37) the work is classed among the spurious, fictional writings of the second century, a working over of canonical Gospel material in the interest of docetic and gnostic teaching, to supply a heretical sect with a gospel suited to their notions. So the radical school and the conservative school will always disagree with regard to whatever affects their divergent conceptions of the history. This fragment has proved a good test and a good revealer of the true inwardness of the parties in the matter of early church history.

C. W. V.

The Resurrection of the Dead: an exposition of 1 Corinthians XV. By the late WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. Price $1.75.

These lectures appeared originally as articles in *The Monthly Interpreter* and *The Expositor*. They are published in this book form in accordance with what is known to have been the writer's intention. The discussion is very luminous in style and very attractive, because of the persuasive way in which the Apostle's thought is presented and elucidated. As indicated in the title, the author expounds in order the verses of 1 Corinthians XV., following closely the Apostle's thought, rather than giving any views of his own. The lectures are clear, candid, and manly. C. E. W.

Kuerzere Texte zur Geschichte der alten Kirche und des Kanons. Von ERWIN PREUSCHEN. Freiburg i. Br., 1893. Mohr, Royal 8vo (pp. xvi, 186) M 4.

Selections from early writers illustrative of Church History to the time of Constantine. By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN. London: Macmillan & Co., 1893. 8vo. (pp. ix, 167); bound. 4 sh.

Preuschen's book[1] is a most welcome contribution to science and literature, dealing chiefly with the relations between the early church and the Roman government. It consists of 94 short selections from writers of the first three centuries of our era, and 12 texts on the history of the canon. Until we shall get the larger work of the Royal Academy at Berlin, promised in Harnack's Early Christian Literature, Vol. I., students will do well to carefully study the primers of Preuschen and Gwatkin. It is to be hoped now that early Christian literature will be studied more extensively in Theological Seminaries and Universities than has been done hitherto. Next in importance to a knowledge of the original languages of the Old and New Testament, there are very few subjects as valuable and yet as much neglected, especially by the theological student, as the Septuagint, the chief witness to the Old Testament text, and Early Christian Literature, the main witness to the New. While the average student and minister may not be expected to read the bulk of early Christian literature, yet he will do well to peruse such carefully selected texts as given by Preuschen and Gwatkin. The latter calls his book Selections from Early Christian Writers. I doubt, however, whether Tacitus and Pliny would be willing to be voted into the pale of the Church whose members were "for their secret crimes hated by the common people." On the whole we cannot but recommend Gwatkin's selection, giving 72 short texts and extracts dealing chiefly with the history, life, and teachings of the early Church, rather than her relations to the heathen world and the Roman government. The two

[1] Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmen-geschichtlicher Quellenschriften als Grundlage für Seminarübungen, herausgegeben unter Leitung von Professsor D. G. Krüger. Achtes Heft.

books supplement one the other, and will prove a great help to the student who can devote but a short time to the study of early Christian literature. It would doubtless be a most interesting work, if some one would publish a companion volume to these two primers, setting forth the relations of the early Christians to the Roman-Greek society and the heathen world in general. This would make the circle complete. The chief objection against Gwatkin's book is the addition of an English translation of the texts on the opposite page. I consider this by no means "a benefit for such as are but mean scholars." A "mean scholar" will take the translation and never look at the original text; while, on the other hand, any student that knows Latin and Greek sufficiently well will object to the English translation for obvious reasons. Mr. Gwatkin should have published either the texts alone as Preuschen does, or simply a translation of these. In either case, he would have had abundant space to add short introductions and some critical notes to the most important texts. This is one of the great advantages of Preuschen's book. For the critical student it is of the greatest importance to know where a text is taken from. Let me illustrate this in one instance. Gwatkin prints (pp. 76–83) in plain lower case type text and translation of the 85 lines of the Fragment of Muratory on the Canon, without notes or comment. Preuschen, pp. 129 foll., tells us above all that the text is from Man. Codex Ambros. J 101, sup. saec. viii. 1 fol. 10^{ab}–11^{a}; he prints an almost facsimile text, with copious textual notes and emendations, references to to former editions, etc., where, however, we miss Laurent, Neutestamentliche Studien, 1866, pp. 195–209. Similar cases abound.

Preuschen offers some of the very latest finds, such as the inscription of *Arykanda*[1] (p. 87) and the *Acta Apollonii* (p. 28).[2] The *libelli* or certificates of orthodoxy of two libellatici,[3] and the discussion of Gerhard Ficker (of Halle) on *Abercius* of Hierapolis[4] were published too late to be inserted in either book. The reader of the extracts from Clement's letter to the Corinthians (Gwatkin, pp. 2 foll.) will be greatly interested to know that a Latin translation of this epistle has lately been discovered and published by

[1] This bilingual Inscription has been reproduced, translated into English, and annotated by A. B. Grosart in the *Expository Times*, September, 1893.

[2] On the *Acta Apollonii* see now Conybeare's book: "Monuments of Early Christianity." New York, Macmillan & Co., 1894.

[3] These two libelli were found, the one among the Brugsch-Papyri in the Berlin Museum; deciphered by Dr. Krebs, and published in the *Proceedings of the Prussian Academy of Science;* the other in the Rainer Papyri, from which they were collected and edited by Professor Wessely (*Sitzungsberichte d. K. Akad. d. Wissensch., Philol.-hist. Classe*, 3. Jan., 1894); also see A. Harnack in *Theol. Litztg*, 1894, Nos. 2 and 6.

[4] Gerhard Ficker: Der heidnische Character der Abercius-Inschrift (*Sitzungsber. der K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissen.* V, 1. Febr., 1894, 87–112; and again Victor Schultze, Aberkios von Hierapolis, *Theol. Litbl.*, 1894, Nos. 18, 19, and 30.

Germanus Morin.[1] It is to be hoped that both books will be used by many students of early Christian literature, and we bid them, again, a hearty welcome.

W. M. A.

Discipleship. The Scheme of Christianity. By the author of "The King and the Kingdom." Williams & Norgate. London, 1894.

The doctrine of this book is very novel, and the practical results deduced from its discussion are even more striking. It calls attention to Christ's emphasis on the word disciple, and makes Him to signify by a discipleship, literal following in His own footsteps. The vast mass of Christians are therefore simply believers. A large body of *disciples* then is the agency to evangelize the world, and until such a body of disciples springs into being, society and the world will never be Christianized. "The noblest of all causes is Discipleship, the next noblest is Socialism." The book has ostensibly no bias, and yet it is not difficult to see that a most absorbing bias dominates its spirit. Its non-division into topics and chapters seems to be a rebellion against the ordinary form of theological argument. The most sweeping criticism that can be made is that the author reads the gospels without any reference to the Oriental character, or regard for the manifest condition, of the society and times in which Jesus lived. The book, however, is valuable as being an evidence of the interest that is concentrating itself on the teachings of Jesus.

C. E. W.

Ecce Filius, or the Gospel of Truth and Grace, by Positive Manifestation. By JAMES OSWALD SWINNEY. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell & Co. Price $1.00.

There is much practical sense in this little book. It is written in a very readable style. It gets its freshness largely from the fact that it is a study of the self-consciousness of Christ, rather than a presentation of Pauline theology. There is very little in the book, however, that is new, although what is said is evidently the product of much original reflection. A singular feature is an introduction which combats the main position of the book. This dogmatic introduction was written at the instance of the author and seems to contemplate an audience of laymen, and to evince an intention to be fair and candid.

C. E. W.

[1] Anecdota Maredsolana. Vol. II., fasc. I. Sancti Clementis Romani ad Corinthios epistulae versio latina antiquissima. Edid. Presb. D. Germanus Morin, 1894 (XVII., 75 pp. 4.). See e.g. A. Harnack, *Theol. Litztg*, 1894, No. 6, and Johannes Haussleiter, *Theol. Litbl.*, 1894, No. 15. The letter has also been published by that eminent Latinist Professor E. v. Wölfflin: Die lateinische Uebersetzung des Korintherbriefes des Clemens.

The Supernatural in Christianity. With special reference to statements in the recent Gifford Lectures. By Principal RAINY, D.D.; Professor J. ORR, D.D., and Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D. With prefatory statement by Professor A. H. Charteris, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. Pp. 10+111. Price, 75 cents.

This is the reply of the Edinburgh professors to the attack made upon supernatural Christianity by Professor Otto Pfleiderer, of Berlin, in his recent lectures at Edinburgh upon the Philosophy and Development of Religion, delivered upon the new Gifford foundation. The exact words of that attack may be found in the second volume of the lectures of Professor Pfleiderer, published by Blackwood & Sons, London (imported by Putnams, New York). It is the most recent and perhaps the most radical elimination of everything from the biblical narrative which cannot be accounted for by exclusively natural processes. This small but important book, in defense of the supernatural in the Christian religion, endeavors to answer the objections made, and to show the inadequacy and the unhistorical character of Professor Pfleiderer's position and criticisms. That they succeed in this would not be admitted by the German doctor and his followers, but to the great majority who are not weighed down with the inveterate prejudice of this school against the supernatural the reply seems very apt and convincing. It is not in England or in America that Professor Pfleiderer can, at least at present, expect to awaken a large acceptance of his radical views—indeed, even in Germany there is a significant turning away from the extreme and rigorous theories which have been advocated during fifty years, beginning with Baur, by certain eminent scholars. Just because Professor Pfleiderer has made valuable, perhaps even invaluable, contributions to the study of primitive Christianity, his extreme ideas upon the subject of the supernatural will attract greater attention and carry greater weight than they deserve to do.

Even for those who have no access to the Gifford lectures, this joint work of the Scotch scholars will be a very helpful book to know thoroughly as an antidote for anti-biblical arguments which are current everywhere. The introductory lecture, by Professor Rainy, discusses The Issues at Stake. The second lecture, by Professor Orr, answers the question, Can Professor Pfleiderer's View Justify Itself? and the closing lecture, by Professor Dods, treats of the Trustworthiness of the Gospels. It is needless to say that these scholars have dealt with these subjects competently and impressively.

C. W. V.

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Dr. A. Dillmann.