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ARE we inclined, in these days, to place too much stress upon the necessity of a knowledge of the *times of the Christ*, in order fairly to understand the work and teachings of the Christ? So some think, and, in consequence, they divorce almost entirely these words and teachings from the historical connection in which they had their origin. Thus separated an interpretation is offered which is at times boldly literal, at times wholly mystical. The student does not, in all cases, realize how much is dependent upon a settlement of this question. What is to be said?

THE life of the Christ was both human and divine. His divinity is best appreciated and most firmly established by approaching it through the study of his humanity. This evidently was the method of the early disciples. The humanity of Jesus can not be adequately understood without a careful consideration of his environment. Nor, indeed, can his divinity. That he is not a product of his times can be best seen when the influences and forces of these times have themselves been carefully measured. In the life of Christ is discovered an effect for which no sufficient cause can be found in surroundings or natural causes. A careful study of *the times of the Christ* is one of the best refutations of naturalism, and one of the strongest evidences for the supernatural, as revealed supremely in him.

THE times of the Christ were truly cosmopolitan. Emphatically we find in them "the fullness of time." Palestine felt extensively the play of Greek and Roman life. The influences coming down from the Hebrew past were met by influences almost equally potent, which were the product of the Greek past and the Roman present. Jesus cast his life, as living grain, into soil containing these mingled elements. No one can clearly understand the birth and early days of Christianity, the method of its development, and the character of its more mature life, without seeing this mingling—and sometimes antagonism—of living forces. Jewish customs and Greek spirit, together with Roman law, were prime factors in producing the age of the Christ. The study of this period becomes a valuable study of the revelation of the divine purpose in history.

THE period between the Old and New Testament has been greatly neglected in popular religious instruction. The literature, outside of the Old Testament apocryphal books, produced by the Jews during this period, both in Aramaic and in Greek, was extensive, and its contents are most valuable as representing the tendencies of the times. The disciples of Jesus were under the influence of potent religious ideas, which are mirrored forth in this literature in remarkable fashion. Only by contrast with these existing thoughts can the ideas which came forth from the mind of the Christ, and were implanted by him in the thinking of his followers, be clearly seen and appreciated. His education of these men consisted in the removal of bias and prejudice and lower views, through the entering in of the more universal, the higher and the spiritual. Thus were they untrammelled of their Jewish past and of the narrowness of their legal present by the sharing of the mind of the Christ. The literature of the New Testament is the revelation of this mind of Jesus as received, reflected upon, and held forth by these disciples. The New Testament writings are therefore best interpreted by him who is well acquainted with the times of the Christ, as disclosed in their religious ideas and tendencies.

THE relation of the Christ to world tendencies and forces was much more intimate than that of his Jewish contemporaries, not perhaps so much in detail as in essence and spirit. In no sense, it must be insisted, were his ideas an eclectic product from the teachers of the past. Yet with these, in their greatest moments, he is always found in closest touch. He who believes that all truth is of God is not surprised to find the Divine Man naturally showing forth, in his utterances, expressions of truth which stand in close relation to the noblest truth which had preceded, while far outreaching this truth in clearness, distinctness, and vital power. That thought of the times of the Christ which was most markedly non-Jewish sheds a bright light, both by comparison and by contrast, upon the essential teachings of the New Testament. The best of Pagan thought is emphasized in these pages, while, at the same time, it is elevated, corrected, and surpassed. Christianity, through the living mind of its Master, took up into itself all the good of the past, and crowned with the better of the present, while it pointed toward the best in the future. The study of the times of the Christ is a lesson, well worth the learning, of the inclusive, rather than the exclusive, character of the religion which he founded

AUGUST DILLMANN.

By the REVEREND GEORGE L. ROBINSON,
Berlin, Germany.

The loss sustained by Germany through the death on July 4, 1894, of the renowned Æthiopic scholar and Old Testament exegete, DR. AUGUST DILLMANN, deserves comment both on account of his philological investigations in Semitics and of the numerous and valuable works of which he was the author. What Franz Delitzsch was to Leipzig and Abraham Kuenen to Leiden, August Dillmann was to Berlin. We can here give but a sketch of his life and writings.

Christian Friedrich August Dillmann was born on the 25th of April, 1823, in Illingen (Württemberg). Having received his gymnasium training in Stuttgart and Schönthal, he entered at seventeen the University of Tübingen, and there devoted himself for five years to the study of philosophy, theology, and especially oriental languages. He was the pupil of Heinrich Ewald, one of the greatest orientalisists and biblical exegetes that Germany ever produced. On leaving the University he entered the ministry and preached from October, 1845, till May, 1846. He then returned to Tübingen and in May of 1846 obtained the degree of Ph.D. Through his love for Semitics, the summer of 1846 found him in Paris in the interests of Æthiopic. In the autumn of the same year he went to England, and spent from September, 1846 till April, 1848, searching among the Æthiopic manuscripts in the British Museum of London and the Bodleian library at Oxford. Here he found numerous manuscripts and not only became interested himself in their decipherment, but succeeded in enlisting the interest of the librarians also. Returning to Tübingen in July, 1848, he became *Repetent* in Semitics. In the autumn of 1851 he was made *Privat-docent* in theology, and in February, 1853, *Professor-extraordinarius*. From Tübingen he was called in October, 1854, to succeed Justus Olshausen in Kiel in the philosophical faculty. On Dec. 2, 1859, he was made

Professor-ordinarius. Three years later the degree of Dr. Theol. was conferred upon him by the University of Leipzig. From Kiel he was called to Giessen in April, 1864, as Professor of Theology. Here he lectured (having among others B. Stade under him) until October, 1869, when he was called to Berlin to succeed E. W. Hengstenberg in the chair of Old Testament theology. He remained in Berlin twenty-five years, indeed until the time of his death. During this period he was Rector of the University in 1875-76; and at his death was Dean of the theological faculty. He was also in 1881 president of the Fifth International Oriental Congress. During his professorial life he received and declined calls to Marburg, Zürich, Halle, Vienna, and Tübingen (three times). He was also a member of numerous Academies and scientific and oriental societies.

As an orientalist, Dillmann was preëminently an Æthiopic scholar. He gave a large portion of his time to the language of Abyssinia. In his inaugural address on entering the Academy of Science in Berlin in 1877, he declares that for over thirty years he devoted more than one-half of his time to the study of this interesting but quite forgotten language. For more than 150 years *Geez* (or Æthiopic as it has been called since the sixteenth century) had been entirely neglected by the oriental scholars of Europe and the Occident. In his study therefore, Dillmann was practically without the helps which a student of other Semitic languages has at hand. The only source from which he could obtain any real assistance was the work of Hiob Ludolf who died in 1704. At first he stood quite alone as few were able to follow him. Oftentimes, he says, he could not resist the thought that he was devoting himself to a laborious work to no purpose. Recently, however, Semitic scholars have begun to recognize the value of Æthiopic literature and history. Dillmann himself was first led into its study by purely theological investigations. His primary aim was to discover and publish the book of Enoch. This took him to France and England in search of possible manuscripts. Thus by discovery, fields of Æthiopic literature were opened up to him. He at once set to work to catalogue the various manuscripts, and by doing so not only secured for him-

self fame, but set the direction of his life's work. These catalogues were published in 1847-48. Three years later appeared the book of *Enoch* in Æthiopic, and in 1853 the same translated and explained. Not long after appeared also his *Octateuchus Æthiopicus*, and in 1857 his *Æthiopic Grammar*, which for more than a quarter of a century remained the standard. The book of *Jubilees* followed two years later, and in 1865 his greatest work a *Lexicon* of the Æthiopic language in Latin. (He apologizes in the preface to his Grammar for writing in *German*.) These two works, viz., his Grammar and Lexicon, Ernst Curtius designated, when he received Dillmann into the Academy of Science in Berlin, as "Monumente deutscher Geisteskraft." Following these there appeared in 1866 his *Æthiopic Chrestomathy*, in 1871 the books of the *Kings*, in 1877 the *Ascension of Isaiah*, in 1878 the *Abyssinian Manuscripts* of the Royal Library in Berlin, and in 1894 his last published work, just completed a few days before his death, the books of the *Apocrypha*. But in addition to this library of Æthiopic literature, Dr. Dillmann has contributed other works quite as valuable, and through which he is better known to the theological world. These are his five famous commentaries on the Old Testament, namely, "Genesis," "Exodus and Leviticus," "Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua," "Isaiah," and "Job." For thoroughness of scholarship these commentaries are among the very best. Those on the Hexateuch are, to use the words of C. H. H. Wright, "among the most important biblical works of modern times." In addition to these Dillmann wrote numerous articles for encyclopædias, and for religious and scientific periodicals. As an Old Testament critic Dillmann (with Kittel) stood quite alone, having been for several years past the most formidable antagonist of the Grafian school. His position in criticism is, therefore, important and worthy of more than the following brief exposition.

1. *His position with reference to the Hexateuch.*

Dr. Dillmann sets forth his views on the Hexateuch in the *Dissertation* which closes his "Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua." Not being able to accept the unity of the Pentateuch

as maintained by Hengstenberg, and believing thoroughly in a historico-philological science of biblical criticism, he followed the leadings of his philological training. In his commentary on Genesis he gives his reasons for analyzing the Pentateuch into distinct codes. They are chiefly these: 1. There are in the book of Genesis all kinds of conspicuous and needless repetitions. 2. Many accounts are not necessary for strengthening the story. 3. There are accounts which oppose and exclude each other, because the event can have happened only once or in one way. 4. There are also irreconcilable statements. 5. Others, standing where they now are, are a riddle. 6. Especially certain time-reckonings cannot be harmonized with oneness of authorship. On these grounds Dillmann proceeds to analyze the Hexateuch. His nomenclature is as follows: *A* is the *Grundschrift*,¹ or Priester-codex as it originally was, or *P* of others. *B* is the *Elohistic* code, or *E* of others. *C* is the *Jehovistic*, or *J*. And *D*, as commonly, is the original kernel of Deuteronomy.

The determining factor in Dillmann's critical position is his disposition of *P*, which he assigns to the period *before the exile*. He holds that such laws as are found in *P* were possible in the ninth century, for the prophets furnish us with polemics against the overestimation and alienation of the cult, which shows that already the cult was built out in this direction (*Num.*, *Dt.*, *Josh.*, p. 662). That a hierarchical system was then in vogue is self-evident, and Deuteronomy furnishes nothing against it (*id.* pp. 652, 659). Also the promise of "eternal possession of the land" in *Gen.* 17:8, he considers, more appropriate to pre-exilic than to post-exilic times (p. 667). Furthermore, *P* contains a list of statutes and laws, which for the post-exilic times were unpractical, *e. g.*, the territories of the twelve tribes, concerning the Levites and the cities of refuge, laws of war and right of booty, the ark of the covenant, *Urim* and *Thummim*, and the anointing

¹ Dillmann distinguishes, as Wellhausen, Kuenen, and others, different strata in *P*.

(a) For example, his *Grundschrift*, *A*, is the same as *Q* of Delitzsch and Wellhausen, and *P*^a of Holzinger (*Einleitung in den Hex.* 1893), and *P*² of Kuenen and Cornill.
 (b) And his *Sinaigesetz*. *S*, which consists chiefly of the holiness laws of *Lev.* 17-26, is the same as *H* of Klostermann, *P*^h of Holzinger, and *P*¹ of Kuenen and Cornill.

of the high priests which did not begin in that time and which were not used after the exile (p. 670f.). He therefore is convinced that P is pre-exilic, and is probably best to be assigned to a date circa 800 B.C. (as Nöldeke). At this time the legendary history was, as Hosea and Amos show, at an end, and a chronological system was in vogue (p. 661). He also investigates P and finds that the holiness laws of P^h (S) are older than the original *Grundschrift*, P^g (p. 644). The laws of P^h, he thinks, are known and used in P^g (p. 654). He maintains that the prophet Ezekiel lives and moves in P^h and presupposes everywhere these laws (pp. 645-647), though he finds it difficult to say which laws were known to Ezekiel, and finds like difficulty in analyzing the laws of P^h (p. 640). At the same time he is sure that the laws of P^h are older than these of P^g (p. 644), and older also than Deuteronomy, as Deuteronomy seeks to restore a host of older customs through certain expressions (p. 646 comp. p. 605). He is convinced that Deuteronomy presupposes the laws concerning leprosy, and of clean and unclean animals, and claims that this arouses a favorable prejudice for the remaining laws (p. 647). He holds it as very unlikely that the priests in the literary period of the kings noted nothing of their statutes, and so he disputes vigorously on these grounds that the codification of the laws of P^h began first in the exile. On the other hand, he admits that P^g contains laws which in the historical life of the people first came into use after the time of Ezra (p. 651). He finds by further investigation that the laws of Deuteronomy are not used in P^g which, on the contrary, shows strong deflections from P^g. In proving the priority of P^g to Deuteronomy it is of great weight (p. 655) that in P^g all polemic against Deuteronomy is wanting. He therefore makes the proposition that Deuteronomy is dependent on P^g. Comparing further P^g with J he attempts to show, though with evidently less conviction, that there is a dependence of the *Ur-geschichte* in J on P^g. For example, the history of the creation and the flood in P^g is older, he thinks, than that in J (p. 656). He also claims that E is older than J (p. 655f.) as J borrows from E and is evidently dependent on E. In this Dillmann agrees with Schrader, Kayser, and Reuss, and opposes

Wellhausen, Kuenen, Stade, Budde, and others who maintain that J is older than E. Dillmann's analysis of Deuteronomy is also interesting and instructive. He lays great stress on its being a prophetic law-book, and reclaims as much for the original kernel as possible. What Wellhausen and Cornill consider a secondary introduction, Dillmann claims belonged to the original Deuteronomy. He allows that the book passed through the hands of a redactor, R^d, who made certain changes and transpositions; *e. g.*, 11:29-32 is removed from its original place after 27:1-3 and has been glossed over; 11:26-28 stood originally behind chapter 28 (p. 288). In Deuteronomy 1:1-4:40 he distinguishes at once 4:1-40 and 1:1-3:29, and shows that they have no important relation to each other. The historical archæological notes in 2:10-12, 20-23; 3:9-11 sound very strangely in the mouth of God or Moses. Hence he holds that they are better explained as a reported introduction, and argues that R^d in uniting Deuteronomy to the other previous books has shifted an original historical introduction of Deuteronomy, and made it into a speech of Moses in order to avoid a simple repetition (pp. 227, 683),—a procedure which he also accepts, on account of v. 8, for the explanation of Joshua 22 (p. 576). All contradictions brought up by other critics between the historical introduction and chapters 5-26, Dillmann thinks can be satisfactorily explained, *e. g.*, 2:14f. which conflicts with 5:2f.; 11:2-7, shows the hand of R^d who created contradictions through trying to harmonize two accounts.

Regarding the redaction and uniting of the different codes of the Hexateuch, Dillmann maintains the following order¹: 1) P^g+E+J. 2) P^g E J+D. 3) P^g E J D+P^h. He recognizes the close relation between J and E but holds that it was not J+E and then J E+P^g, but immediately P^g+E+J; that is, P^g, E and J were united all at the same time (p. 677). There is likewise a bond of union between J E and P^g, indeed they are so closely worked together that only a sharp criticism can discern the seams which separate them, *e. g.*, P^g and J in Gen. 6:9-9:17; chapters 13, 16, 34, etc.; and P^g with E in Num. 20:1-13 (p.

¹The Grafian-Wellhausen order on the contrary is: 1) J+E. 2) J E+D. 3) J E D+P.

677f.). Dillmann claims that the idea of a supplementary unifying of P^ε with J E raises a series of difficulties which are easily solved by the supposition of a unification of all three sources *at the same time*. A proof of this is, that in Gen. 21:1-7 it might well be understood how in E J, vss. 3-5 have been inserted later or supplemented out of P^ε; but it is not possible to see how vs. 16 (P^ε) is added to vs. 1a (J) which is identical; and neither is it possible to see how the reference in vs. 26 (P^ε) has been changed so as to refer back to 17:21 (P^ε) and not to 18:14 (J). Hence the later working in of P^ε into J E is impossible (p. 678). Moreover, there are cases where the *harmonist* in uniting E and J made use of expressions in P^ε; and there are also cases in which the harmonist of J, E and P^ε used expressions belonging to J. Dillmann, therefore, argues that J and E are better understood when we consider J and E as two separate sources lying before the redactor who united E, J and P^ε (p. 679). Also he claims that to the Deuteronomist E and J still lay as two separate and independent compositions. Hence he places the joining of E, J and P^ε as *subsequent* to the composition of D. For the postponement of it till the time of the exile there is no reason at hand, as any hint of this event is entirely wanting (p. 680f.). The redactor of P^ε E J on the contrary knew D, he thinks, and hence he concludes that P^ε, E and J were united in the twenty or thirty years before the exile. A second stage of redaction took place in the early part of the exile, when D was added to P^ε E J, or rather as he prefers to think, D was completed through P^ε E J (pp. 682-684). Later in the exile also, the remaining traditions of the cult, existing groups of *Torah* now found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers (P^h) were collected and added to P^ε E J D making P^ε E J D P^h, by which time a further production of law was impossible (pp. 685-689).

Dillmann's view of the Hexateuch may be briefly stated, therefore, as follows:

1) The oldest code is E (B), written by a prophet of Ephraim, about 850 B.C.

2) The next oldest is P (A), written by a priest of Judah, about 800 B.C.

- 3) The third oldest is J (C), written by a prophet of Judah, about 750 B.C.
- 4) Following these is D, dependent on P, and written in the time of Josiah.
- 5) Following the composition of D,—twenty or thirty years before the exile,—P^r, E and J are united.
- 6) Then early in the exile P^r E J are added to D, enlarging and completing it.
- 7) Finally in the latter part of the exile P^h (S) is added to P^r E J D and the law of Ezra is practically complete. The text was, however, not yet fixed, as the Samaritan and Septuagint variants show. That Dillmann's view of the Hexateuch, especially his idea that P is of pre-exilic origin, is not nearer the truth than that of the modern school, remains yet to be shown.

2. *His position concerning Isaiah and other Old Testament books.*

In his commentary on Isaiah, Dillmann refuses to go to the extravagant extremes of Duhm and Cornill, who assign parts of Isaiah's prophecies to the Maccabean age. He is unable himself, however, to assign more than twenty-two chapters with certainty to the prophet Isaiah. He dates the non-Isaianic portions as follows: 21:1-10 was composed not far from 549 B.C., 13:2-14:23 not long after 21:1-10 in the last half of the exile; 23:1-18 from the beginning of the fifth century; 34 and 35 are towards the end of the exile; 36-39 are by a deuteronomist from the books of Kings; 24-27 are from the first sixty or seventy years after 536 B.C.; 40-66 are a *unit*, and for the most part after 546 B.C., the last section being probably between 546 and 538 B.C.

In the case of Job, the subject of the book is "*das Leiden des Gerechten.*" He rejects the speech of Elihu on account of its long-drawn-out sentences, and the lack of the regular strophes common to the clear, short sentences of the other parts, and concludes that it has been added by a later hand,—by one who, after reading the book of Job through, put into Elihu's mouth what Job had failed to say concerning righteousness, thus improving the book. He acknowledges that the book shows traces of

redaction, but rejects Cheyne's idea that it is a compilation of six smaller books. He assigns it to the period between 596 and 585 B.C. as being the most probable date. That the book is post-exilic, Dillmann considers "unthinkable"; that it was written in the Greek period, "foolish." Concerning the other Old Testament books, Dillmann, in his lectures on *Introduction* (not likely to be published; though he had hoped to write a commentary on the Psalms), held that none of the Psalms is Maccabean, that Joel is pre-exilic, that Zechariah 9-11; 13:7-9 is by a contemporary of Isaiah, that Obadiah and Zechariah 12:1-13:6; 14 are out of the end of the exile, that Jonah is a book of history out of the Persian times, that Ecclesiastes is also out of the Persian period but very late and at a time when the name *Jahwe* was considered too sacred to be used, that Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah are a unit and the work of one author, that Daniel was composed between 175 and 168 B.C., or before the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and, that Esther is the latest of all the canonical books of the Old Testament.

From this brief survey of the life and work of Dr. Dillmann, it is not difficult to form an opinion of the breadth and depth of his scholarship. In Æthiopic he was a *discoverer*. He unearthed a buried language, opening up to the world by his volumes, especially through his *Grammar* and *Lexicon*, a new field of history and literature. His work in this department has called forth the praises of scholars on every hand, even in Abyssinia. His fame has reached her distant cloisters, and Dr. Dillmann is held, according to the traveller Schweinfurth, "the first authority in the language and literature of the *Geez*." But Dr. Dillmann was more than an Æthiopic scholar. He was also a *Hebraist* and a *critic*. In order to do valid and lasting work in criticism, he felt that a knowledge of comparative Semitics was indispensable. He was therefore, as O. C. Whitehouse remarks, "*par excellence* a Semitic philologist. His commentaries are unrivalled for learning, acumen, lucidity and conciseness. . . . Every ray of light from the firmaments of archæology, philology, and eastern travel is focussed, as by a powerful lens, upon the Hebrew text" (*Expositor*, February, 1888). His method in Old Testament criticism and

exegesis was the historico-philological which he learned in the school of Ewald. Those who sat under him were wont to pronounce him above everything else an *exegete*. Two other prominent characteristics were *thoroughness* and *punctuality*. He never hurried, yet he was always prompt. Slowly and carefully he explained everything in its proper order and place. He had a method and followed it. No pains were spared to throw all the light possible on the dark portions of the Old Testament. He used the Septuagint freely, but recognized its fallibility. He could make nothing of Wellhausen's Q, Q₂, Q₃, J, J₂, J₃, E, E₂, E₃, but "hypotheses due to embarrassment." In a word, he was characterized by independence of judgment and clear, good, common-sense.

In May, 1893, the faculty and students of the University of Berlin celebrated his seventieth birthday anniversary by holding in his honor a "*grossen Jubelkommers*." Fourteen student *Vereins* took part. Of the faculty, among those present were the Rector of the University, Professor Virchow; and in the theological department Professors Kaftan, Pfeleiderer, Harnack, Lommatzsch, Kunze, Müller, v. Soden, and Titius. A song was composed and sung in his honor, and speeches of congratulation and praise were made by many of those present. Dr. Dillmann's own words on this occasion give a clue to the motives which governed his life's work. He said: "I have always endeavored to hold myself aloof from all hypotheses; and in giving instruction, to give the youth a solid ground of truth on which to stand. '*Vorwärts*' has been my watchword, but not forwards into the wild streams of the day, but rather into what science has recognized as true. I have always endeavored to promote the morality and work for the best interests of the students under me." Such also is the verdict of all who knew him.

For ninety-two consecutive *Semesters*, or since 1848, Dr. Dillmann lectured, and (as university tradition adds) without missing an hour. His last exercise was in *Seminar*, June 23, in which for two hours he discussed the first six verses of the last chapter of Malachi, emphasizing the thought in vs. 1 that, "the Lord shall *suddenly* come to his temple," and closing with vs. 6a "for

I am the Lord, I change not." Unusually pale and fatigued he dismissed the class with his usual remark, "*das Weitere das nächste Mal.*" This was, however, his last exercise in the University he so much loved. After a brief illness of eleven days, he died, falling peacefully asleep. He leaves a wife, two sons and three daughters. In his home Dr. Dillmann was a patriarch. All who ever had the good fortune of having been invited by him to *Abendbrod* know how kind and hospitable he was in his home. Though given to hard and laborious study he always had time to entertain friends, or help those who needed his assistance. His study door was never closed to his family. He was a man of broad sympathies and a great heart.

That Dr. Dillmann is considered an extraordinary loss to the thinking theological world, the floods of letters which have come in to the family since his death clearly show. Letters from Professors and Court-preachers,—Steinmeyer, Dryander, Frommel, and many others,—in Berlin, from the theological faculty of Giessen, and from prominent orientalists the world over; from Kautsch of Halle, Köhler of Erlangen, Smend of Göttingen, Stade of Giessen, Gregory of Leipzig, Budde of Strassburg, Bezold of Heidelberg, Glasser of Saaz in Böhmen, Hommel of Munich, Reinnisch of Vienna, Riessel of Zurich, Matthes of Amsterdam, Halévy and Zotenberg of Paris, Carlo of Rome, Pereira of Lisbon, Cheyne of Oxford, Adam Smith and D. R. Alexander of Glasgow, Francis Brown of New York, Curtiss of Chicago, and many others, all mentioning with praise the "maturity of his criticism," the "earnest self-examination of all his researches," his "scientific investigations in theology," his "labors in Æthiopic," the "nobility of his family," his "warm religious life," his "blameless Christian character," and the "calamity his death brings to Old Testament research."

BERLIN, August, 1894.

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF DILLMANN.

[The following notes giving a memorandum of his life and writings were left by Dr. Dillmann to his family in his own handwriting, and by special permission are allowed to be used here. A translation is not necessary.]

Christian Friedrich August Dillmann, geb. 25. April 1823 in Illingen.

1828–Nov. 1832 wurde er bei seinem Vater unterrichtet in Deutsch u. Lateinisch.

1832–35 war er in Dürrmenz bei Pfarrer Kern in Pension.

1835–36 besuchte er die VI. Classe des Gymnasiums in Stuttgart.

1836–40 besuchte er das sogenannte "Niedere Seminar" von Württemberg in früheren Kloster Schönthal.

1840–44 im Seminar in Tübingen. Sept. '44 Erstes theolog. Examen bestanden mit I.—Gewann in '44 den ersten katechetischen Preis.

1844–1845 studierte er als Stipendiat der Stadt in Tübingen.

Sept. 1845 Theolog. Preisaufgabe über die Bildung des alttest. Kanons gewann.

Oct. 1845–1 Mai 1846, war er Pfarr-Vicar in Sersheim in der Nähe seines Heimatsorts.

14. Mai 1846 promovierte er in Tübingen zum Dr. phil.

Juni–Sept. 1846 befand er sich auf einer wissenschaftlichen Reise in Paris.

Sept. 1846–April 1848 hielt er sich in London u. Oxford auf.

Von Juli 1848–Sept. 1851 war er Repetent in Tübingen. Während dieser Zeit las er alle alttest. Collegien ausserdem orientalische Collegien.

Seit Herbst 1851 war er Privatdocent der Theologie in Tübingen.

In Febr. 1853 wurde er Prof.-extraordinarius hon. in Tübingen in der theolog. Fakultät.

Seit 1 Oct. 1854 war er Prof.-extraordinarius in der philosoph. Fakultät in Kiel für Altes Testament, Hebräisch, Arabisch, Syrisch, Äthiopisch u. Sanskrit.

Am 2 Dec. 1859 wurde er Professor-ordinarius.

1862 ward er zum Dr. theol. hon. causa von Leipzig ernannt.

Am 1 April 1864 ward er Prof. der Theologie in Giessen.

Am 10 Oct. 1869 trat er seine Professur in Berlin an.

1875–1876 war er Rektor der Universität Berlin.

1881 Präsident des V. internationalen Orientalisten-kongresses.

Während seiner Lehrthätigkeit erhielt er Berufungen; in Kiel: nach Marburg, Zürich u. Halle; in Giessen: nach Wien u. Tübingen; in Berlin: nach Tübingen (zweimal); hat sie aber alle ausgeschlagen.

1) Correspondent der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen seit 10 Nov. 1857. Auswärtiges Mitglied seit 7. Dec. '72.

- 2) Auswärtiges Mitglied der K. bayrischen Academie der Wissenschaften in München seit 25 Juli, 1872.
- 3) Ordentliches Mitglied der K. Academie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin seit 28 März 1877.
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THE CHILD PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.
ISAIAH VII: 1-IX: 7.

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The historical background of the Child Prophecies. The theories as to the fulfillment of the prophecies.—Details of the actual fulfillment, with the faith of Isaiah's prophetic messages of this period.—The occasion and utterance of the subsequent prophecies by Isaiah of the same import.

The historical background of the Child Prophecies of Isaiah is the Syro-Ephraimitish war. The origin of that war was as follows: It was the custom of the Assyrian kings, after ascending the throne and consolidating their domestic affairs, to make large foreign expeditions, generally westward. Tiglathpileser III.¹ (745-727) was now the reigning sovereign. After one or two campaigns in the east, he directed his operations against Arpad and Hamath in Syria, the former of which had been the center of a hostile coalition which included Uzziah, king of Judah. Syria and Israel lying in the line of these western expeditions were the first to suffer from invasion (2 Kings 15: 29). During the earlier period of the disruption the political relations between these two kingdoms were greatly strained, but now they sink all local animosities and join hands to resist a common danger. They had frequently made incursions into Judah by which it had become greatly weakened and demoralized (2 Kings 15: 37); and when Ahaz ascended the throne, Rezin and Pekah saw in his characteristic timidity a grand opportunity to force him to an alliance with them, against which combination of powers Assyria could not possibly succeed.²

¹For an account of his reign see Driver's "Isaiah," p. 7 *et seq.*; "Records of the Past," (New Series), Vol. V., p. 115. Since the discovery by Pinches ("Guide to the Nimroud Central Saloon") of a Tiglathpileser II., among those who preceded Assurnatsirpal, he is now known as Tiglathpileser III.

²From Isa. 7: 6, they clearly intended to put upon the throne one who would be entirely subservient to them. The name appears to indicate that he was a Syrian. For other incursions, especially by Rezin, see 2 Kgs. 16: 6; 2 Chron. 28: 17f.

Israel, also, probably knew that there was a strong Assyrian party in Jerusalem which favored an alliance with this great eastern power, and since this would mean inevitable defeat for the North, they strove to make Judah a vassal of themselves. Ahaz, although thinking to invite the assistance of Tiglathpileser long before this, at last determined to do so (2 Kings 16:7), thus "following the precedent set by Menahem." This step was successful for Judah for awhile,¹ but was only a step towards the great captivity at last. It also "cost Ahaz his independence." and a large amount of treasure. for he had to strip the temple of its sacred vessels, and give them to the Assyrian king (2 Kings 16:8). The confederacy, then, between Rezin and Pekah has been formed, and the final march against Judah begun. The alarm was so great in Jerusalem that the "king's heart shook, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest shake before the wind (Isa. 7:2). Isaiah, becoming aware that Ahaz had appealed to Assyria for help, went out, according to an express command. with his son Shear-Jashub, and meets Ahaz who is arranging for a supply of water in case of a siege at "the conduit of the upper pool."² This is the first time that the prophet is brought into personal contact with the king. Full of confidence, he says, "Ahaz, be quiet, don't fear; these two kings of the North are only the stumps of smoking firebrands, there is no fire in them, they cannot do you any harm. God has said that their purpose shall not stand nor come to pass; yet if *you* do not believe, *you* shall not be established."³ Ahaz hesitates. Jehovah replies through the prophet, "Ask a sign in the heights or in the depths, that what I have said is true." The king hypocritically answers, "I will not thus tempt the Lord." Isaiah, righteously indignant that this descendant of David's house and ruler over God's heritage should so madly invite destruction for Judah itself, cries out, "You count it of little importance

¹ Tiglathpileser attacked the confederate forces in the rear, thus diverting the attack on Judah.

² Isa. 7:3; cf. Hezekiah, on a similar occasion, 2 Chron. 32:3; also Isa. 22:9.

³ There is a forcible play on words in the Hebrew. Some one has compared an old North-of-England expression: "If ye have not faith, ye cannot have staitth."

that you vex and weary me by your foolish policy, do you count it a small matter to weary my God? His purpose shall stand, and inasmuch as you have declined to ask a sign, he will himself give you one and this is it: A maiden¹ shall bear a son and call his name 'Immanu-el' [God (is) with us], and so reduced will his country be when he arrives at years of discretion that his only food will 'be curdled milk and honey.' Why? Because by this time the land (*viz.* Syro-Israel) of the two kings whom thou hatest shall be forsaken (*vs.* 16). But in addition to this, O Ahaz! the destroyer that is to effect their ruin, *viz.* Assyria, shall come against thee and thy people and thy father's house, and the days shall be unlike any since the disruption of the kingdom. You have hired a razor to shave Judah of its foes, but that same razor will by and by despoil you (*vs.* 20)."

And Isaiah's predictions came true, for, about thirty years afterwards, Sargon met Hanno of Gaza and Sabako of Egypt at Raphia on the very borders of Judah "and the land itself was terribly devastated by the wild Assyrian soldiery."²

But in spite of these dangers which threaten Judah, Isaiah is still full of hope. He expressed it first in the sign "Immanuel," he now does it in a second more popular sign. Jehovah instructs him to take a large tablet of wood covered with soft wax and write upon it in bold characters, "For Maher-shalal-hash-baz" (spoil speedeth, prey hasteth), a two-fold prophecy of the rapid success of the Assyrians against the confederacy. To prepare against any disputes in the future, he has two men, Uriah and Zechariah, witness the act. About a year afterwards, his second son is born whom he is commanded to call by the above name, "for before the boy shall know how to cry, my father, and my mother, the riches of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria shall be carried away before the king of Assyria." (Isa. 8:1-4; *cf.* also 7:16).

The pith of both prophetic messages thus far is, the North

¹ It is generally agreed that *almā* signifies a young woman of marriageable age.

² Driver's "Isaiah," pp. 34, 44. "Sabako" is called "So" in Herodotus (ii. 137), and the Bible (2 Kings 17:4). See Schrader's "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament, under this passage.

shall not succeed in their campaign, for God is with us; both children are signs, the first of God's presence according to the ancient covenant; the second of the speedy overthrow of the northern confederation by Tiglathpileser.

But in this overthrow Judah, also, was to suffer. That terrible stream, about to envelop Rezin and Pekah, was to sweep over Judah itself, stretching out its wings over "thy land, O Immanu-el," but should reach only to the neck, for its "invisible Lord" (Immanu-el) would protect it from entire destruction (vss. 5-8). This last thought fills the prophet with new courage who calls upon the nations outside to do their worst, yet they shall not prosper, for, Immanu-el. (vs. 10)!

But the powerful Assyrian is still moving onward, and amid the deepening darkness Isaiah offers a prayer (1) that his teaching may be permanently preserved, and (2) that it may accomplish its purpose, for he and his children are for signs (vss. 16-18). This prayer is followed by a warning not to resort to necromancy, but to the religious instructions of the prophets, otherwise, when it is too late, they will look to the earth, but only darkness; to the heavens, but only deep darkness; Zebulon and Naphtali and the region beyond Jordan, says the prophet, though now dishonored by being taken into captivity by Tiglathpileser (734) shall be glorified, however, in the latter time; instead of the present "darkness," a "great light"; instead of the present sorrow, the "joy of harvest"; instead of the present captivity, freedom from the "yoke"; instead of war and bloodshed, all implements of war destroyed; instead of Tiglathpileser, a child who is yet to be born, and whose names shall be "Wonder of a Counsellor" (T. was a counsellor, but this child is to be a "wonder of a counsellor"), "Hero of a God" (T. was a hero, but this one is to be a "Divine hero"), "Father of Eternity"¹ (in sharp contrast with the mortal life of the Assyrian), "Prince of Peace" (T. was rather a prince of strife). This child is further to be of

¹Others (Hitzig, Knobel, Kuenen) "Father (*i. e.*, giver) of Booty," but, as Cheyne observes, this "is against the parallelism and out of harmony with the religious character of the passage." Orelli translates, "Eternally Father," on the ground that "Father of Eternity" "gives too metaphysical a turn." So Gesenius, Delitzsch, Dillmann (Der Prophet Jesaja).

David's line, and to sit on David's throne; his empire is to be peaceful and growing, and to stand upon the eternal foundation of righteousness; and so important is this work in the divine economy that in spite of any obstacles, human or satanic, the undying energy of the Divine Nature will surely bring it to pass.

Such, briefly, is the historical situation of the Syro-Ephraimite war, and the child-prophecies of Isaiah which grew out of them. But how were these child-prophecies fulfilled? These discourses certainly had an application then and there, they were intended for the times in which they were delivered. Let the Bible and the monuments tell their story.

First, as regards *Syria*. It was predicted, "Behold, Damascus (the capital) is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap."¹ The fulfillment reads, "And the king of Assyria went up against Damascus and took it, and carried (the people of) it captive to Kir and slew Rezin."² The Assyrian accounts which we possess of the fall of Damascus and the death of Rezin are very meagre. There is a mutilated inscription in the British Museum from which we learn that Tiglathpileser entered Syria at the head of an army, and fell upon Rezin, who was defeated and fled to Damascus, where the Assyrian king besieged him for two years, at the end of which time he was taken and slain.³

Secondly, as regards *Ephraim*. As we have seen, the prophet foretold, in several ways, its overthrow. The narrative reads, 2 Kings 15:29,30, "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglathpileser, of Assyria, and took . . . , Gilead and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali (all situated in the N. and N. E. of Israel), and carried them captive to Assyria." In his annals the king says, "The land of the House of Omri⁴ the distant,

¹ Isa. 17:1; cf. also Amos 1:3.

² 2 Kings 16:19.

³ Rawlinson's "Ancient Monarchies," Vol. ii., pp. 131, 132; Schrader, in 2 Kings 15:37, where the passage from the inscription is given; also, his "Sammlung," Band ii., p. 31 (foot-note). Tiglathpileser says, "bît abiou sa Rasuni mât Gar-Imêrisuæ . . . alvî aksud=the house of the father of Rezin of the country of Gar-Imêrisu (=Damascus-Syria) . . . I besieged, I took. The date is 732 B. C.

⁴ "mât Bît Humrû," the Assyrian title for Northern Israel.

the whole of its inhabitants, together with their possessions, to Assyria I deported. *Pekah*, their king, I slew." Though Israel lost this large territory and population in 734, yet Samaria, its capital, did not fall until captured by Sargon, 722, twelve years later.

Judah, though seriously weakened for the assistance she received, was left unmolested for the present, "and the danger which Isaiah feared passed, for a time, away (Driver)."

But who was this child Immanuel that so filled the prophet's imagination and inspired him with such continuous hope? And here I can do no more than mention the various theories, without entering into the arguments *pro* and *con*.²

1. The old orthodox Jewish opinion² was that it referred to Hezekiah, soon to be born, or already born, to Ahaz, and employed by the prophet as a sign of Jehovah's presence. It is regarded by the opponents of this view as a sufficient answer to it that Hezekiah was, according to any chronological scheme, already eight or nine years old.

2. Others³ hold that Immanuel refers to a son soon to be born to the prophet himself, viz., Mahershalalhashbaz, and Isa. 8:3 et seq. is quoted in proof. It is important to remember, however, *a*) that while the child's mother is called a "maiden," the prophet's wife is called a "prophetess"; *b*) that Isaiah does not speak of the birth of his second son with that peculiar solemnity with which he, on every occasion, refers to Immanuel.

3. That Isaiah *supposed* this case to indicate a mere "note of time"; but this does not comport with the emphasis which the prophet puts upon the *child* as a real personage.

4. The *ideal* view, held by Eichhorn, Driver, and practically, Cheyne. Canon Driver says (p. 41), "The language of Isaiah forces upon us the conviction that the figure of Immanuel is an *ideal one*, projected by him upon the shifting future—upon the

¹ See a good summary in Smith's Bible Dictionary, art. "Immanuel."

² Specially the earlier Rabbins. See also "Journal of Biblical Literature," Vol. IX., 1890, Part I, where Professor C. R. Brown argues strongly for this view.

³ Such as the later Rabbins, Kimchi, and Abarbanel; also, Gesenius, Hitzig, and Knobel.

nearer future in chap. 7, upon the remoter future in chap. 9, but grasped by the prophet as a living and real personality, the guardian of his country now, its deliverer and governor hereafter." "It is the Messianic king, whose portrait is here for the first time in the Old Testament sketched distinctly."

5. That of the great body of Christian interpreters who regard it as a direct and exclusive prophecy of our Saviour. This opinion, it will be seen, leaves out of view entirely the fact that the child was to be a "sign" then and there to Ahaz of deliverance from the threatened danger.

It is difficult to tell, of course, whether the child existed ideally or not in the prophet's mind; but it seems to involve less difficulties to hold that Isaiah had in view a particular maiden and child who thus became *types* of the virgin Mary and the Child Jesus. Though fulfilled partially at the time, yet the prophecy only received its fullest and grandest accomplishment in the Incarnation.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN THE EARLY STORIES OF GENESIS.

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The language of these chapters—The text—The literary form on the supposition of Mosaic authorship—The literary form on the supposition of composite authorship—The immediate purpose of the material—Obscurities and difficulties—Some differences and discrepancies—Alleged scientific inaccuracies—The close connection of parallel stories from outside literatures.

In this article an effort will be made to present briefly those facts and considerations which bear upon the human element in the early Genesis stories. It is understood that in the remaining articles (11 and 12) the "divine element" in these chapters will be presented. The reader will therefore remember that at this time we are dealing with but one side of the question, and that consequently the representations of the other side are not to be expected in this treatment.

The question may fairly be asked whether it is necessary at this time or at any time to lay emphasis upon the human element in these chapters. Is it not true that men are only too willing to magnify the human element in the Scriptures, and would it not be better to pass this by? In answer to this question it is to be noted (1) that every statement of a case requires the presentation of both sides, (2) that the number of persons who have too largely ignored the human element is not small, and (3) that the better we understand the human, the clearer will be our conception of the divine element.

1. *The language of these chapters.*—We say to ourselves, and the statement is a true one, the Bible is the Word of God, and consequently these chapters as a part of the Bible constitute a part of that word. But many, in saying this, lose sight of the fact that although the Word of God, it is in the language of man, and that the language of man, no matter what particular language it may be or by whom spoken, is at best a very imperfect and

frequently misleading medium of communication. Moreover, the transfer of divine thought, however communicated to the speaker, into human language must be attended with serious limitations, the character of which will be more and more appreciated as they are contemplated. Still further, the larger part of our material comes from a period of the language or languages of which we know nothing. We may grant that the conceptions come from antediluvian times; they are, nevertheless, at present in a new dress. The names Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, are at best translations of what was earlier used. We may grant the existence of an Adam, but his name could not have been Adam. It is necessary, therefore, in making up our estimate to take into account the inefficiency of language under the most favorable circumstances, and the greatly multiplied difficulties in this regard attending material which comes from or treats of a really prehistoric period.

Something deserves to be said in this connection in reference to the Hebrew. It will be remembered that, whatever may be the original language of the times which our material describes, these stories, if they passed through Abraham's hands, and if we thus assign them the earliest possible date, must have existed, at some time in their transmission, in the language spoken by Abraham when he left Ur of the Chaldees.

But Abraham when he reached Canaan gave up his own language, whatever it was, and adopted that of the Canaanites or Phoenicians. This material, therefore, is now in what may be called the Canaanitish language. And thus another transfer has been made. If we stop to think of the significance of all this, we shall begin to see more of the human element and feel more keenly its influence.

But this is not all. The fact is that the Hebrew language in which our stories are written, when compared with other Semitic languages, for example, the Arabic, is grammatically very indefinite. To cite a few facts: (1) while the Arabic has a case system and a modal system which enable it to express most accurately the nicest shades of thought, the Hebrew has almost entirely lost both case and modal systems. It will be said that the English

language has likewise deteriorated, but in the English language a large number of particles, including prepositions and auxiliaries, have been developed to take the place of the lost case and modal systems, while in Hebrew this has not happened. The fact that the same Hebrew word as written could be translated "he will kill," "he must kill," "let him kill," "would that he might kill," or as a passive with these same variations, or as an intensive active or passive with these same variations, or as a causative passive with these same variations, will give some idea of the unsatisfactory character of the Hebrew language as a medium for expressing exact thought. The fact that the verbal form, which in ordinary prose expresses a future idea, may be, and often is, translated as a present or even as a past, and the fact that the verbal form, which in ordinary prose expresses the past, may be, and often is, translated as a present or future, indicates also the indefiniteness of expression which characterizes Hebrew thought.

All that has been here said applies of course to the entire Old Testament. It must, however, also be considered in any final estimate of these stories.

2. *The text.*—This, likewise, is a general consideration and one which has to do with the question under discussion. We may, at all events, note the following points:

(1) The text as we have it is corrupt in many particulars. There are words which cannot be translated because, in their transmission, they have come to be misspelled. Indeed, there are entire phrases which, as we find them, can scarcely be translated with any degree of satisfaction. This is probably true of Genesis 6:3, for which so many possible renderings have been proposed, none of which can be absolutely established. The changes which have crept into the text are better appreciated when one compares two editions of the same passage preserved in different portions of Scripture. As examples of this there may be cited the duplicates, Psalm 18 and 2 Samuel, chapter 22; also Psalms 14 and 53. In the former passage one word in every four or five has suffered change. It is true that not all these changes are to be charged to the corruption of the text. Some

of them, doubtless, are intentional on the part of the later editor, but such intentional changes carry with them implications as difficult to explain as the assumption of the corrupt text. The text of the Pentateuch in general is, to be sure, the purest of any part of the Old Testament Scriptures. But even here there is evidence, gathered from the study of the phrases, that the form in which we find the material has suffered change.

(2) The text is rendered more or less uncertain by the deliberate changes which have been introduced. As an example of such change we may cite the dates given in the fifth chapter, the summary of which, according to the Hebrew text, gives a period of 1556 years from the creation to the coming of the deluge, while the Samaritan makes a period of 1307, and the Septuagint one of 2260 years. It matters not which of these three calculations is correct. If we decide in favor of the Hebrew, it remains true that the translators of the Septuagint, living a century or a century and a half before Christ, in a time of great formalism, did not hesitate to introduce changes. The fact that, in the case of five of the patriarchs, the age according to the Septuagint is just 100 years longer than that assigned by the Hebrew text, is sufficient indication of deliberate change.

(3) The text as we have it is in an alphabet, not ancient but very modern. In Ezra's time there was adopted the present square alphabet. In the transmission of the material from the earlier alphabet to this later form, errors were made, as close comparison shows; just as in the translation from one language to another the original must suffer, so in the transcription from one alphabet to another the risk of introducing error is increased. As every one knows, the oldest Hebrew manuscripts now in existence are comparatively modern, coming from the ninth or tenth century A. D. The ancient versions, especially the Septuagint, the Peshitto, and the Vulgate, the last of which is at least five centuries older than our oldest manuscripts, give certain evidence of resting upon manuscripts which differ in many particulars from the manuscripts now in our possession. The point to be remembered is that in these words which have come down to us misspelled and consequently unintelligible, in these phrases which

have undergone so much change as to be at least uncertain, in the changes which have been made in the versions, and perhaps in our text, in the transcription from one alphabet to another in Ezra's times, in the many differences between our text and that which lies back of the various ancient versions, we have indications of the presence of the human element. In other words, the Holy Spirit did not in his wisdom see fit to place such safeguards around the original manuscripts of the Old Testament Scriptures as to preserve them from the same injurious influence which has been exerted in connection with other ancient manuscripts. They were placed in the hands of men and have been subject to the disadvantages which naturally follow. Whatever they may have been in the beginning, the divine influence has not preserved them in their original form. All this is an indication of the human element.

3. *The literary form on the supposition of Mosaic authorship.*—Let us assume that the traditional view as to the Mosaic authorship is correct. On this supposition, however, the following points must be conceded :

(1) The material of the Book of Genesis is a compilation from documents. No one advocates the theory that the material of Genesis was spoken by God in the ear of Moses and taken down by him. It is everywhere agreed that several distinct documents have been put together, and that, as thus put together, they constitute the Book of Genesis. The question then suggests itself, what is the source of these several documents? and whatever theory of the stories we adopt we are compelled to admit a large amount of human element.

(2) There is a lack of what may be called proportion of treatment or perspective. It is difficult to see a divine rather than a human purpose in the fact that the creation of the entire world is described in thirty-one verses, while the story of the deluge receives ninety-seven verses. Was the deluge, in the divine mind, of so much greater importance than the creation of the world? Or is this after all due to a peculiarity of the writer? Again, it is difficult to explain why, when so brief an account is given of the origin of the universe (thirty-one verses),

so much space should be occupied in a comparatively meaningless repetition of routine phrases such as we find in Gen. 5, or in Gen. 11:10-26. Is this lack of perspective something in which there is to be noted a divine purpose, or is it a defect which is to be connected with the human authorship?

(3) No one will fail to recognize the redundant and repetitious character of, say, chapters 5, 11:10-26, and the four chapters which recount the story of the deluge. It is safe to say that every idea in chapters five to eleven, inclusive, could be expressed in one-half the number of words. If this is true, and no one can well deny it, do we not recognize in it the human?

(4) There are also to be seen in these chapters, on the supposition of the Mosaic authorship, some peculiar methods of composition. The use of Jehovah and Elohim is conceded to be as yet inexplicable. The representations on the same subject are to some extent at least different. The style in one chapter is different from that in another. Are now these differences to be attributed to the divine influence, or are they characteristic of the original documents of which the material is composed, or are they to be attributed to the peculiar method of thinking of the compiler of the material?

4. *The literary form on the supposition of composite authorship.*—If now we grant that the analysis of the Book of Genesis shows two or three distinct writings which have been brought together at a date comparatively modern, we find, (1) that different writers give us widely varying accounts of the same event. It is not understood that the statements differ more widely when separated than when joined together. The separation, however, removes the necessity for the forced interpretation which has been pressed upon them for so many centuries. These variations, which are by no means small, are surely indicative of the human element.

(2) That the material has been transmitted to some extent in oral form, and there is no reason to suppose that a divine Providence miraculously controlled the oral transmission, in view of the fact that no such miraculous influence is exerted after the material has taken written form.

(3) That the narratives are in some cases centuries later than the events narrated in them.

(4) That the narratives are colored in form and augmented in material by the thought of the times of the writer. This is seen in the familiar usage of the word Jehovah in the earliest chapters of Genesis, although we are told (Ex. 6:3) that the name was first revealed to Moses at the time of the Exodus; also in the full conception of sacrifice which, according to some of the representations made, existed even as early as the days of Cain and Abel.

(5) That the joining of the original narratives by a redactor has not been accomplished without changes, omissions, and insertions. Here, certainly, although we may assume the divine guidance of the redactor, as well as of the original writer, the human element involved is not inconsiderable.

5. *The immediate purpose of the material.*—The reader who examines these chapters with any sort of care will soon perceive that the purpose of the writer or compiler is not an historical purpose. He does not collect this material simply to record certain great events of which in some way he has become informed. The chief thing in his mind is not a statement of facts. One sees, on the other hand, that the purpose is, at least in part, philosophical, inasmuch as an effort is made to explain existing facts and conditions. It is not the creation itself of which he writes, but the order and purpose of creation and the spirit that ruled in all creative work. It is the significance of the divine acts in their relation to man which is made prominent. The writer sees about him on every side differences of language. This is to be explained as a punishment for sin. It is a barrier which will prevent men from combining for wicked purposes. And so with all the other stories. It is also in large part didactic and intended to show the enormity and the fatal consequences of sin, the power and the gracious providence of God. Material therefore is selected which will illustrate these great teachings. Events of the most important character, from the ordinary historical point of view, are entirely omitted because they will not throw additional light on these teachings.

No one will fail to see how great the influence of such a purpose will be on the form and the material. There is a sense, as we shall see later, in which this purpose is inspired of God; there is also a sense in which it is the human interpretation of divine acts and of events taking place under divine guidance. In this latter sense, the element is a human element.

6. *Obscurities and difficulties.*—From time immemorial men have made an effort to explain the sacred Scriptures. When we consider the number of volumes that have been written to make these scriptures clear, we are at times tempted to think that it must have been a part of the purpose of the divine author to make them obscure; at any rate, notwithstanding all that has been written, the obscurities and the difficulties—especially those found in the earlier chapters of Genesis—are most numerous. The very fact that they have needed so much explanation is a fact which proves the existence of obscurities and difficulties.

Their character is varied. Sometimes it is a word of which no one knows the meaning; sometimes it is a verse which seems to have no logical connection with what precedes or follows; sometimes it is an historical allusion; at other times it is a reference to some archæological custom; many entire books are obscure as to the meaning which they were intended to convey. Those who have studied the first chapters of Genesis realize how much there is in these chapters which seems to be inexplicable. Now were these obscurities and difficulties a part of the original plan? If so, what was the purpose of introducing them? But if they were not a part of the original plan, are they not clearly defects, and therefore do they not furnish testimony of the human element? No one today will pretend to ascribe these difficulties to the Holy Spirit. They are due to the fact that the words were originally written centuries ago, under circumstances entirely different from those in the midst of which we live. Many things were known to the people to whom these words were first uttered, in the light of which they had a plain meaning. To us, however, who are unacquainted with the circumstances, there is much that is dark and inexplicable. Here, certainly, is evidence of the human element.

7. *Some differences and discrepancies.*—Our study of these stories has furnished us evidence of the existence of differences and discrepancies; it is possible perhaps on the basis of certain assumptions to explain some of these, but in spite of every explanation many remain. These differences relate to grammatical usages; to the use of words; to rhetorical style; to historical references; to the particulars of the various stories which are related; to the theological conceptions which characterize the writers.

It is clear that on the supposition of two or more writers the significance of such differences is minimized. We expect to find differences in the statements of three witnesses to the same events, and of three writers about the same subject. The difficulty of explaining them is greater if we are compelled to suppose that the material all comes from one hand.

Much here also depends upon our conception of the final editor and his work. If his purpose was a purely historical one, we are at a loss to know why he should place side by side accounts of the same event so different from each other. If, however, his purpose was a religious one, viz., to teach certain great religious truths, and if these stories are cited as illustrations of the truths, then the whole question assumes a new aspect. In any case there are some points which ought to be remembered: (1) That the material of these reports comes from an ante-scientific period, that is, a period which antedates the birth of that scientific accuracy and critical spirit which today rule the world. In this period, we ought not to expect to find that which might be expected today. (2) That the work is actuated by what may be called a non-scientific purpose; this has already been mentioned. (3) The sources are given us and these, as modern investigators appreciate, are very much more valuable than any digested material which our editor might have left us. Instead of regretting that he chose the policy of placing side by side these reports from different sources, although they do not agree with each other, let us rejoice that he was led to give us the original sources which were within his reach, rather than the results of the attempted reconciliation. (4) There are no dif-

ferences and discrepancies for which parallels may not be found in the Books of Kings and Chronicles, which traverse the same historical periods. One need only make a verbal comparison of two passages as given in Kings and Chronicles to find exactly the same kinds of differences and discrepancies as those which we have noted in these chapters. The same explanation will hold good there and here. (5) A still more interesting field for comparison is that furnished by the Gospels of the New Testament. Here the difficulties and differences are even more numerous and more perplexing. It is evident to a candid student that in all this we see the human factor. It cannot be disguised, it ought not to be ignored. If we grant a large human element all is explained. If we deny it, we certainly assume a grave responsibility in attributing to the Holy Spirit that which is dishonorable and degrading.

8. *Alleged scientific inaccuracies.*—From the point of view of one who takes the position that has been taken in these papers, the alleged scientific inaccuracies are not to be called inaccuracies. If a writer attempts to write a scientific treatise and his statements do not harmonize with the teachings of the science which he represents, we may call these statements inaccurate. It is not right, however, to apply the test of scientific accuracy to statements never made for the purpose of teaching science, but which, written for another purpose, made use of the scientific or unscientific idéas of the times. Biblical apologists will find it much safer to refuse altogether to compare the scientific implications of the early chapters of Genesis with the results of modern science. It has been seen that the writers of these chapters (1) believed in a creative day of twenty-four hours, and represented creation as having taken place within six of these days; (2) represent the light as having existed before the creation of the luminaries; (3) represent the creation of the luminaries according as they appeared to the eye; namely, the sun, the moon, and the stars; (4) seem to represent the serpent as of different form and character before the curse pronounced upon him. It has been seen that the representations made concerning the garden of Eden, its situation and its rivers, are ideal repre-

sentations; that at no period in the history of investigation has it been possible to determine the details; that the elements in the representation are found in the same forms in other ancient accounts; that these do not accord strictly with geographical science. It has been seen that the great ages assigned to the patriarchs are not borne out by history, and are contrary to the teachings of physiological science; that a table of nations is given which purports to be ethnological and to include all the descendents of Noah, in which, however, many omissions are to be found—a table which, indeed, omits certain great races altogether, and which, therefore, cannot be called a scientific table. These are a few of many important variations between what seem to be the implications of the narratives and the results of science. Now, so far as these differences exist, we must acknowledge that they indicate the human side. In explanation of them we may call attention to two things: (1) the circumstances and surroundings of the writers which made it impossible for them to have written otherwise than as they did. Correct scientific statements would have been utterly confounding in those days. There is as much ground for expecting the Holy Spirit to have given to the ancient writers a different language from that which they ordinarily spoke, or a different vocabulary, as to have expected him to have given scientific conceptions different from those of the times. Those days were days in which science was unknown, scientific methods yet unheard of. At all events, it must be conceded that if the Holy Spirit undertook to reveal a scientific knowledge of things to men of those days, the revelation made was of a strange and peculiar character. Really it is nothing short of blasphemy to attribute these things to the Holy Spirit.

(2) The purpose and plan of the writer. Here, after all, is the important consideration. If these writers were attempting to teach science; if it was their purpose to indicate certain representations as revelations from on high, the case, in view of all the facts, would be most serious. But no one can show that this was their purpose. It is clear that they had in mind, as we have so frequently shown, a purely religious purpose, and that,

in the carrying out of this purpose, they used material of every kind which came within their reach. This relieves them from the charges which may otherwise be made against them, and, above all, it relieves the Author of the religious ideas which filled their hearts, from the charge of having been ignorant of the facts of the universe of which he himself was the creator. The difficulties which exist, if the human element is ignored, are many and insuperable. But these difficulties, upon the recognition of the human element, vanish in a moment.

9. *The close connection of parallel stories from outside literatures.*—Perhaps a larger share of our attention in the preceding papers has been given to this division of the subject than to any other, and rightly so, in view of its tremendous importance. Any attempt to explain the early stories of Genesis without at the same time consideration of the outside material will, of course, prove inadequate. The matter seems to present itself as follows:

(1) Stories covering exactly the same ground included in the early stories of Genesis are found in all of the more important literatures of antiquity. These outside stories treat of the same subjects—the creation, paradise, the beginning of sin, the fratricide, the fall of angels, the deluge, etc.

(2) Some sort of connection of the outside stories with the Hebrew stories is universally acknowledged. That they stand related no one denies.

(3) A careful investigation of the question shows that the outside stories cannot be traced to the Hebrew story in each case as the original. There is overwhelming evidence that, at all events in some instances, the outside story is older than the corresponding Hebrew story.

(4) It seems certain, notwithstanding the representations of an influential school of modern criticism, that the Hebrew stories are not derived from any of the outside stories, at least in the form in which these outside stories have come to us.

(5) It seems to be a just conclusion that the Hebrew and the outside stories are sisters from one source. The question at once arises, What is that source?

(6) That source is not on the one hand a naturalistic myth,

as some would persuade us to believe; nor on the other hand, as it has commonly been taught, is it an objective revelation from heaven. The facts favor neither of these hypotheses.

(7) That source in each case is an *objective historical fact*, which impressed itself upon the minds of many nations, and which in its religious implications was correctly represented *only* by the Hebrews. And in all this the human factor is of course tremendous. Just where the line will be drawn, how much is human and how much divine, we must confess our inability always, or perhaps in any case, to determine. Whatever else is true we are confident that *the hand of man* is seen on every page, yes, in every line.

Our conclusion, and it is a conclusion which follows naturally, is threefold:

- 1) The human element in these early stories is clearly to be found.
- 2) This human element presents itself in great variety of forms; and
- 3) This human element is of most pervasive character.

The discussion, this time, has been altogether one-sided. No consideration whatever has been given to the existence of the divine element. This one-sidedness, as every reader will concede, was a necessity of the case. In the two papers which follow an effort will be made to present more fully the divine element. Will the reader kindly hold in abeyance any judgment which he is impelled to form, on one side or another, until both sides of the question have been presented?

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

By REV. PROFESSOR J. S. RIGGS.
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IV. SAMARIA.

Samaria's imperishable interest—Its physical configuration—Openness of the country—Fertility of the land—Views from Ebal and Gerizim—Historic spots and associations—Work of Palestine Exploration Society.

From the fact that the Land has its chief interest in its associations with our Lord, the traveler, as he turns his back upon Jerusalem to go northward, has generally in thought the hills and sea of Galilee. The vivid story of the Synoptic Gospels makes these the object of desire after Jerusalem. Samaria, with one possible exception, seems merely so much country to be passed over in order to reach Galilee. Before, however, the journey is finished, there is ample reason to acknowledge that this part of the land has its own imperishable interest on account of its physical configuration and consequent historical associations. If some of the identifications of the Palestine Fund explorers hold, New Testament events add their part to the long, varied record of scenes enacted amid the plains and on the hills of this region. We can do no better in entering the land than to follow the modern itinerary, for it carries us through the heart of the country and brings us face to face with its distinguishing marks. Over roads that are utterly unworthy of the name, we travel northward to Bethel, and the scenery is yet the same as that described in our study of Judea. Barren hills with narrow valleys and, here and there some cultivation, mark our way. We are still in the border-land. In a few hours, however, after leaving Bethel the scenery has more variation. The mountains are yet rugged, and the roads are stony enough, but the valleys begin to open. There are more olive groves. What looked from the coast like a solid wall of rock forming one continuous sky-line with the mountains of Judah, proves to be far less impenetrable and austere. We are coming into the home of the old tribes of Ephraim

and Manasseh. Josephus does, indeed, describe Samaria as "entirely of the same nature as Judea, since both countries are made up of hills and valleys," but the description is very general. It is the different disposition of hills and valleys which has so much to do with the peculiar history of this central portion. Samaria, Shechem, Bethshan—one must know the spots upon which they stood to appreciate fully their power and glory, their trials and disasters. The natural boundary between Judea and Samaria is the present Wady Deir Ballût—a watercourse which rising at Akrabeh (the Accrabi of Josephus) runs westward in a deepening ravine and empties into the Anjeh river.¹ Eastward the boundary passed north of the Kurn Surtabeh ridge—the northern boundary of the lower Jordan plain—and ended at the Jordan. The northern boundary was the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon and a line extending to the Jordan close to Bethshan or Scythopolis. The following outline will give the position of these marks:



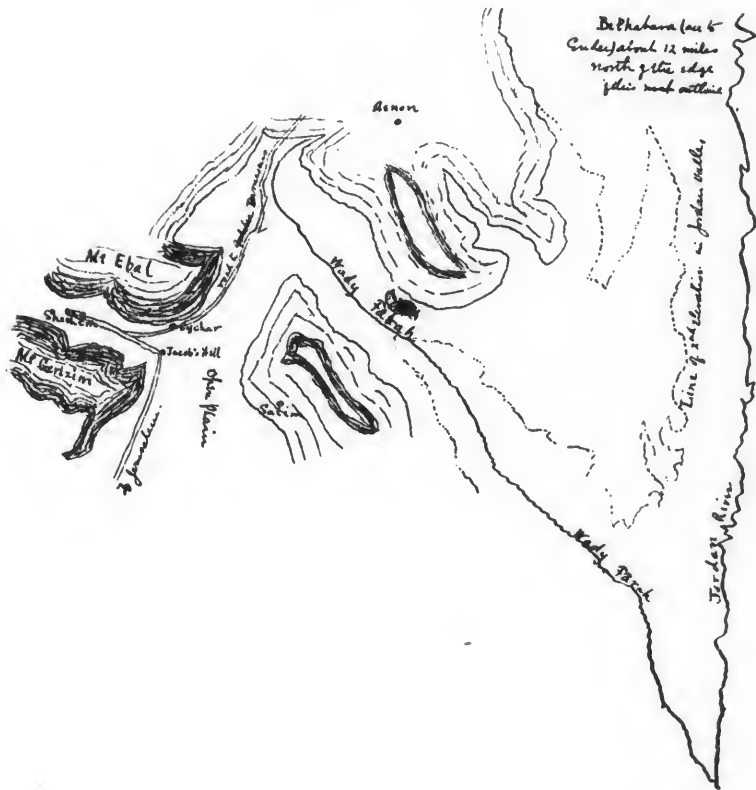
Within these boundaries, excluding Carmel, a space of 1,405 square miles was included. Prof. Smith, in his "Historical Geography of the Holy Land," has emphasized the "openness

¹Cf Quar. Statement Pal. Exp. Fund, 1876, p. 67.

of Samaria as compared with Judea. As the traveler comes out upon the broad valley leading up toward Shechem or enters the valley of the latter city itself, or rides about the great mound of Samaria this feature becomes very striking. The road from the southern boundary, of which we have spoken, to the northern frontier, is nearly all of it through these broad valleys, which are well tilled and very fruitful. With only little climbing one passes from plain to plain up through the whole land. It is an easy road by the way of the plain of Dothan through into the plain of Sharon. No steep defiles render perilous the entrance of an enemy from the east or the west, and the hills in many places slope gently to these plains. This feature of the land has had much to do with its troubled history. Take for instance the position of Shechem. It lies in a valley which sweeps up from the plain of Sharon past Samaria, and is thus open on the west. On the east the Wady Fârah opens in like manner a broad way to the Jordan. Beautiful as the position of the ancient city is, it is practically defenseless. Hence the choice of Tirzah, and Samaria and Jezreel as places of abode by the kings of Israel. About the strongholds in or near these broad valleys so liable to invasion have been enacted many of the most stirring scenes of the land's history. Samaria, on its mound some 300-500 feet above the broad valley in which it stood, both invited and resisted the attacks of armies from the east and the west.

At least three of these easily ascended valleys run down to the Jordan on the east, while the gentle descent of the hills on the west makes access to the plains behind them in no way difficult. When war departed from them they quickly responded to the hand of the husbandman, and gave to the land the appearance of great fertility. The picture is now vivid in the writer's memory of the field of grain that covered the plain east of Jacob's well; of the long lines of olive trees up the sides of the valleys and of the vineyard with their promise of rich fruitage. Samaria is a goodly land. We think of it, perhaps, too often as the home of the hated rival sect of the Jews, or it is linked with the memory of the extreme deeds of the Israelitish kings. Its very physical character made it, as one has said of it, "oftener

the temptation than the discipline, the betrayer than the guardian of its own," and so on one side the picture is of fair fields and fine olive groves; on the other of beleaguered cities and desolating struggles. The best point of view for a wide outlook over the land is from the top of Mount Ebal. Its towering summit reaches above the outline of the plateau seen from the coast, and tells one at that distance the position of Shechem, which for beauty and attractiveness is unsurpassed. Mount Ebal is 3,077 feet above the sea level, and 1,200 feet above the valley. What Neby Sammil is for a prospect over Judea, this noble mountain is for Samaria. On the north one can see to the high hills of Galilee on the left beyond the Sea of Galilee, and back of them the snowy height of Hermon; on the east beyond the Jordan gorge stretches the broad plateau of the Hauran; on the south are the mountain heights above Bethel; on the west the maritime plain with the flourishing cities of Ramleh, Ludd, and Jaffa, and beyond the blue sea. Nearly the same prospect can be had from Mount Gerizim, though it is not quite as full, as the mountain is some 200 feet lower. The places of historic interest are too numerous to note in an article of this length, but we must stop long enough to mark a few that have especial interest in connection with our Lord's ministry. Just below us in the valley is the site of Jacob's well—one of the two or three spots in the land where one can feel that he is actually upon a place made sacred by the known presence of our Lord. Dr. Thomson has called our attention to the very few places connected with the Master's life and work which can be positively identified. Tradition tries to mark the spot of every notable event, but, as if to render impossible at least, to intelligent pilgrims the temptation to idolatry of places, the exact position of nearly every one is obscured or lost. We must content ourselves with general views and fasten our thought rather upon Him. It is therefore with deep interest that one looks down into this deep well of Jacob; sits upon the curb and recalls that great discourse which fell upon the astonished ears of the Samaritan women. Jewish, Samaritan, Christian and Mohammedan tradition agree about the site and it remarkably



answers to all the demands of both the story of the Old Testament and that of the New. The well is now 75 feet deep but was much deeper, since the bottom is filled up for many feet with stones, thrown in by passing travelers. We had a drink of its cool refreshing water and coming to it about the same time of day "the sixth hour," after a long, warm ride we were able fully to enter into the description in John. One lifts the eye now upon the fields in the plain of Moreh giving promise of the harvest and imagination readily pictures the scene of the Samaritan woman, the wondering disciples and the curious people hurrying over from the near town of Sychar. This lies about half a mile away on the south east slope of Ebal. It is a simple enough picture, but what wide-reaching truth was declared that day by this humble well! Criticism in its eagerness to prove that John could not have written the fourth gospel thinks it finds indisputable proof here in this very scene for there is "a very significant mistake," we are told, about this town of Sychar. It is not known to us as in Samaria. Ever since the time of the Crusaders there has been confusion about the names Sichem and Sychar. But the early Christians placed Sychar a mile east of Shechem and Conder shows us how the Samaritan chronicle clears up the difficulty regarding the identification of the modern name "Askar" with that of Sychar.¹ Every consideration argues for the present identification, and here, as in other instances, it may turn out that John is accurate to a nicety in all he says concerning topography. At any rate here in this open valley under the slope of Gerizim with its Samaritan temple Christ declared that high truth about worship which shall yet do away with all exclusive temples and priestly ritual. This one spot has the deepest interest for the modern traveler and well it may. Its natural setting, its clear identity, its high associations give it worthy honor in the thoughts of all who are privileged to visit it. But there are possibly still earlier gospel associations in this region. If one looks up the valley to the north east, the eye falls upon the upper slope of the Wady Fârah which broadens and deepens as it flows toward the Jordan. There are copious

¹See Quar. Statement Pal. Explor. Fund, 1877 p. 149.

springs in this valley and here has been located the place of John's baptizing mentioned in John 3:23: "And John also was baptizing in Aenon near to Salim, because there was much water there." The last phrase is manifestly a necessary part of the description. It certainly would be superfluous to speak in this way regarding the Jordan. Arnim (identified with Aenon) is about four miles north of the head-springs, and Salim three miles south. The proximity of these two places points to the Wady Fârah with its broad valley and abundance of water as the place where John sounded his trumpet call to repentance and baptized those who came. The common conception of John the Baptist's ministry is that it was near the wilderness and by the Jordan in the plains of Jericho. Thousands of pilgrims go each year to the supposed site of the baptism of Jesus across the plain from Jericho. Tradition has fixed upon this site and for all that we know it may be the true one, but in John 1:28 we are met with the puzzling statement that "these things," John's testimony and baptizing, were done in Bethabara (A. Vers.; Bethany, R. Vers.) beyond Jordan. Where was this Bethabara? Was this also in the plain of Jericho? The difficulty in that case is that Jesus was present on "the third day" in Cana would be obliged to accomplish a journey of at least 60 miles in one day. Captain Conder argues carefully for the site on the Jordan just above the entrance of the Nahr Jalud into the river. It is somewhat remarkable that the name "Abara" should cling to just this one ford of the Jordan. He suggests that "Bethany," the most approved reading may refer to Batanea on the east of the Jordan. The site cannot be accepted without question, but as placed it would well agree with the Scripture statements and show another important move in the active ministry of John the Baptist. There certainly is as yet no reason to hurry to the conclusion that the author of the fourth gospel is again making a mistake. We subjoin an outline which will give the relative position of these events recorded in John's gospel. They are worthy of study in view of the plausible criticism that tries to use them against John's authorship. These same valleys which have engaged our attention for a moment, saw at their early coming the glad hosts

of Israel and they might well rejoice in the land God had given them as they marked its springs and water courses, its fertile valleys and noble hills. Here on these very mountains over Shechem, they listened to the reading of the law and echoed their earnest "amens" and then went forth to struggle for the mastery of the land.

Much interesting work has been done in Samaria by the Palestine Exploration society. It has supplemented the vivid description of intelligent travelers by careful detailed work and settled more than one important question. Were it not that it is more to our purpose to give a general idea of the land and its relations to the New Testament story, it were pleasant to linger about the interesting ruins of Bethshan in the valley of Jezreel; about Samaria with its broken columns and ruined church; about Gerizim with its manifold sites Samaritan and Christian; about Antipatris, Cæsarea, Megiddo and other places rich in history. That history, as we have said before, is but a reflection of the conditions of the land itself. In her stern mountains, Judea held her own and waited the coming of her Lord; Samaria heard over and over the tramp of foreign armies and was in possession of a "mixed" race when the Star rose over Bethlehem, but in her midst was declared the truth which is yet to break down all dividing lines forever.

The Bible in the Theological Seminary.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE IN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

By the REV. GEORGE W. GILMORE,
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Rabbi Gottheil once made the laughing remark that "theologians are proverbially behind the times." Without affirming what the rabbi jestingly asserted, it is the purpose of this article to enquire whether, at least in one respect, the theory upon which the education of candidates for the ministry is conducted is fully abreast of the times. To reach a conclusion we have to traverse certain facts.

(1) First among these we must notice the changing condition of things which the academic degree of B. A. represents. A generation ago the graduate who was a "Bachelor of Arts" was, more or less, a scholar in Greek and Latin. Probably no college in the country, certainly no influential one, bestowed its degree upon a man ignorant of the classics. That was not culture which was ignorant of Plato and Xenophon and Cicero and Horace. A knowledge of the writings of those masters was considered as essential as of the propositions of Euclid. The conditions are now greatly changed. Some of the leading colleges require neither Latin nor Greek for entrance or graduating examinations. The baccalaureate degree at present carries with it no guarantee of proficiency in either of the classical languages. And from those very colleges men are knocking for entrance into the theological seminaries and are seeking for admission to the ranks of the ministry.

Our seminaries are as yet unresponsive to this change in educational theory and practice. The curriculum now in force, the requirements yet demanded, are the same as under the old regime, or, if anything, are even more rigorous than ever before. The basis of theological education is the same to-day as it was fifty years ago. It must also be remembered that men who have perhaps had a collegiate education and have gone into business, and later have desired to enter the ministry, are also barred by the necessity for proficiency in Greek and ability to master Hebrew. It is likewise the fact that men of splendid promise, apart from linguistic ability, are turned back from the ministry by the bugbears of Hebrew and Greek.

This is the first set of facts to be looked at.

(2) We have next to call attention to the fact that for probably seventy-five per cent. of the so-called educated ministry, the English Bible is the Bible not only of the pulpit but *also of the study*. By this we mean that

sooner or later, and generally it is sooner, the majority of ministers drop first their Hebrew and afterward their Greek texts for the English version.

The writer had an experience of several years as examiner in the original languages in one of our largest presbyteries. In his service with the examining committees, it was his experience that hardly any of his associates admitted any proficiency in Hebrew, and some not even proficiency in Greek.

The common testimony of experienced pastors was that the exactions of busy pastorates made impossible maintenance of acquaintance with the ancient languages. The young minister found his time for the first year fully occupied in hammering out his two sermons a week, in making preparations for the prayer-meeting, and in getting acquainted with his parishioners. And by the time the first year had passed, his academic habit of referring to the original Hebrew and Greek had passed away, to be resumed in very few instances.

A statistical verification of this is possible. Indeed since the idea of writing this article occurred to the writer, out of thirty-seven ministers of average parishes met and questioned by him, *only one* made any claim to habitual reference to and study of the Bible in the original. Some even regretted the time spent in learning Hebrew and Greek.

(3) We wish to put over against this last fact another set which thus becomes significant. During the first year, indeed we may say the first year and a half, the energies of theological students are devoted to mastering the elements and gaining a vocabulary of the languages of the Bible. Of course this applies with special force to the Hebrew. The time for exegesis in the seminary is therefore necessarily limited. And even after the first year, a large portion of the time allotted to exegesis is necessary for "getting out," *i. e.*, translating the lesson. In the light of this fact it is seen that the greater portion of the seminary drill is devoted to the rudiments of the languages. And when we remember that in many of our seminaries work on Hebrew and Greek stops with the first half of senior year, how little exegesis proper comes into the work becomes at once evident. With the hardest work it is not possible to get much more than an introduction to scientific and practical exegesis.

While the above applies particularly to Hebrew, it is to some extent true of Greek. The professors of New Testament Literature and Exegesis constantly complain of the inadequacy of knowledge of Greek on the part of the students.

Of course the writer is aware that a remedy is proposed by demanding of students who enter the seminary a more extended knowledge of Greek and at least an elementary knowledge of Hebrew, with the idea of saving time in the seminary course. That would be well were it practicable. But do not the proposers of such a course forget a very important fact? The college curriculum is becoming each year more and more crowded and the standard more advanced. The age of graduating students is yearly advancing. Knowledge

is becoming more complex. So that while a few students find time to take preliminary drill in Hebrew during the college course, the rank and file of theological candidates have to postpone the study of Hebrew to the seminary course. And these conditions are likely to continue rather than to cease.

(4) This brings us to consider what is the real state of Bible study in the seminaries. It shows us how small a proportion of the total seminary work is spent upon the *content* of the Scriptures. To this we have already made incidental reference. But the difficulty has not been adequately set forth.

For the first year in most seminaries the study of Hebrew usually occupies four or five hours a week. During the second year about three hours is devoted to that study, and generally two hours during the *first half* of the third year. Now remembering that during the first year all the time is devoted to the language in itself, that is, to grammatical drill and to the acquirement of a vocabulary, and that in the second and third years a large portion of the time devoted to this branch must still be given to the work of translating, we see that all of exegesis that is gotten is a *part* of three hours a week for a year and of two hours a week for half a year. Also, keeping in mind that, at a low estimate, seventy-five per cent. of ministers seldom or never use their Hebrew text, we find ourselves face to face with the question, Is all this study worth while? Does it pay? A still more pregnant question is: do the men in this way gain familiarity with the Bible which they are to use, which will give their teaching authority? Can they by this method become saturated with it, steeped in it, as is necessary for a preacher of the Word? Does it become a tool the use of which is to them second nature?

Here lies what we consider the real strength of the position we take. It is by the lack of familiarity with the English Bible, by the absence of the power of accurate quotation and ready reference that some of our young pastors are characterized.

Is it proposed, then, to abandon the study of Hebrew and Greek in the seminaries? Do we advocate refusal to give the opportunity to learn Hebrew and to study Hellenistic Greek in the seminaries? By no means! But what is proposed is *to introduce the English Bible into the theological course of study*, alongside of the Hebrew and Greek.

We advocate making the English Bible an elective and the Hebrew and Greek Bible equally an elective. We propose that time equal to that given to the study of Hebrew and Greek be given in the English course to exegesis on the basis of the Revised Version; and, *pari passu* throughout the course, for every hour given to the Bible in the original let an hour be given to the English Scriptures, to exegesis, introduction, history of the canon, etc. And at the end of the course and at any time thereafter we have no fear that the teachers of the English Bible will have cause to blush for their pupils, and no apprehension that those pupils will fail to do effective work for the Master.

If it be objected that there are topics to be treated, questions to be raised,

which cannot be adequately discussed on the basis of the English version, the answer is that such questions are exceedingly few and comparatively unimportant. There is no important question within the range of preparation for the gospel ministry which cannot be treated in the study of the English Bible. Even the documentary hypothesis of the Pentateuch can be luminously discussed by the teacher and apprehended by the class. Experience has proved the truth of this statement.

If, again, the objection be raised that contact with the originals is worth much to the preacher, the answer is—granted! But alongside of that we put the actual status, the almost absolute neglect of the original tongues by the average minister. In the light of this the objection carries but little weight.

Once more, we hear the plea that many commentaries are closed books to the student ignorant of Hebrew and Greek. To this the reply is, this is true of some commentaries. But in these days of multiplication of aids to Scripture study, when the best scholarship of the world is speedily made available in English, for the work of the Christian ministry the helps on the basis of the English Bible are so numerous and so excellent that no real damage or loss need result.

We appeal then for the introduction into the seminaries of the English Bible as the basis of study. Let there be two courses, one founded on English, one on the original tongues. And to carry this out successfully there must be no discrimination between the two courses. To discriminate in favor of either is to prejudice in the other both the class of students who will enter and the work they will do. Let the graduating certificate or degree be on a par as to value, equal application having been required. *Also let separate teachers be appointed for this department.* It will not do to call upon the teachers of Hebrew and Greek to teach English also. To ask them to do this is to kill one course or the other. This has been done in one of our seminaries. Inevitably, unless the departments are distinct, no matter how conscientious the teachers may be, one of the courses will feel neglect.

We believe that this movement, which is already in practical working, is founded not only on common sense, but on a deep-seated need of the times. It will work well. It will produce an educated ministry, for there is to be no letting down in requirements, only a substitution. And the result will be a ministry whose familiarity with the Bible of the masses will not have to be gained after graduation.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

Testimonies of Recent Writers to the Value of the Study of Religions.—It is still a habit among a certain class of newspaper religionists not only to look upon non-Christian religions as beneath notice but to regard their study as corrupting and dangerous. They are the "vile and filthy teachings of the Orient." It is refreshing to call attention to two utterances of distinguished writers who have recently referred to the importance of this line of study and the spirit with which it should be undertaken.

The Donnellan Lectures for 1889-90, recently published in London, were written by the Reverend T. S. Berry, D.D., on the subject of *Christianity and Buddhism; a Comparison and a Contrast*. In his first lecture Dr. Berry calls attention to two dangers into which students of other religions have fallen. Some praise them too highly, and become strangely unjust towards their own. Others go to the opposite extreme. They fail to see beauty, light, or good in any but their own creed. They apply false standards of comparison, and adopt untrue conclusions. As an illustration of the latter position he instances Spence Hardy's words that "the priests of India are encumbered by weapons that may be wrested from their hands and used to their own destruction. When it is clearly proved to them that their venerated records contain absurdities and contradictions, they must of necessity conclude that the origin cannot have been divine; and the foundation of the systems being thus shaken, the whole mass must speedily fall, leaving only the unsightly ruin as a monument of man's folly, when he endeavors to form a religion from the feculence of his own corrupt heart, or the fancies of his own perverted imagination." Hardy was a missionary for many years, and Berry remarks that "it would not be hard to estimate the result of the work of a missionary who should adopt this line of thought." In commenting on the teaching of the Prologue to John's Gospel, in this connection, our author reveals his own position when he declares: "So far then from feeling any difficulty when we find truth and beauty in Buddhist teaching, rather should we recognize therein a proof of the universality both of the Fatherhood of God and of the diffusion of that Divine Light which, though in varying degrees of brightness, does shine in some measure upon all the sons of men." Further he declares of these Indian thinkers: "The intense earnestness of these men cannot fail to claim our admiration; their toilsome, patient searching after truth, their longing desire to rise above the material and transient to the spiritual and eternal, their devotion and whole-hearted effort for what they regarded as the noblest end of life and being. . . . Surely we may trace even in this strange develop-

ment of human thought, part of that divine discipline by which this race of men was being tutored and trained for higher life and fuller revelation."

The second witness is the learned and devout Bishop of Durham, Dr. Brooke Foss Westcott, whose recent work, *The Gospel of Life*, is concerned with "thoughts introductory to the study of Christian Doctrine." One chapter is entitled "The Work of the præ-Christian Nations towards the Solution of the Problems of Life." Typical and significant statements in this chapter are as follows: "Christianity is the complete answer to all our questioning, so far as we can receive an answer at present, an answer which we are slowly spelling out through the growing experience of the life of the Church. But before this complete answer was given other answers were made, partial and tentative, which offer for our study the most solemn aspect of ancient history. . . . We turn to the long records of the past to learn how men have solved or rather have tried to solve the problems which must meet them more or less distinctly in the course of life. . . . The religious character of man is to be sought, not in speculation first, but in the actual observation of the facts of his continuous development. This consideration alone must be sufficient to impress upon the student of Christian theology the necessity of striving, as opportunity may be given, to understand the essential ideas of faiths, however strange and repulsive, in which his fellow men have lived and died. These faiths all show something of what man is, and of what man has made of man, though God be not far from each one. The religious history of the world is the very soul of history; and it speaks to the soul. . . . A belief in God constrains us to hold that the office of working out different parts of the total inheritance of mankind was committed in the order of Providence to different races. And in every part, in every fragmentary realization of man's endowments and powers, religion has a share. . . . This progress, achieved, at least in thought, on a large scale by the noblest among Gentile teachers, is part of the 'testimony of the soul naturally Christian,' the revelation of the soul's wants which the absolute religion must meet. This is one side of the great lessons of the Gentile religions." Bishop Westcott then proceeds to a study of the thoughts of the religions of China, India, and Persia.

That such a recognition of the place occupied by non-Christian theologies in the investigation of Christian theology is given by such a careful and orthodox scholar is profoundly significant. The time is surely coming when a knowledge of the teachings of religions other than Christianity will be sought by every theological student, and no missionary will be regarded as fully equipped for service until he has a broad and thorough acquaintance with that system of religion which he purposes to fulfill and supplant with the Gospel of Christ. Our Lord was trained in the faith of Judaism, and he therefore knew so well how to reach and rescue those who were seeking for life and salvation in its teachings. What He was as a missionary, all his followers must fain strive to become, not merely in great basal elements, but in all details and qualities which can lend power and point to the work for which,

in the full sense of the word, he gave his life—a life of long preparation, earnest thought, unwearied energy, and total consecration.

New Opportunities for Intending Missionaries.—The Department of Comparative Religion in the University of Chicago seeks to make itself useful to those who are intending to enter the work of Foreign Missions by affording them opportunities, not only for studying the religions of non-Christian peoples but also for laying a foundation in the knowledge of the languages of these peoples. It offers in the Winter Quarter of the present year, 1894-5, a three-months' course in *Hindī* under the direction of the Reverend Fulton J. Coffin, M.A., Hirsch Fellow in Comparative Religion in the University. Mr. Coffin has enjoyed the advantage of practical mission work among the people of India for several years, in the missions in Trinidad, W. I. The statement concerning the course is as follows :

COURSE IN HINDĪ

(for beginners).

- (1) This course will include a careful study of the grammar of the Hindi language, both *literary* and *provincial*; the ordinary rules of syntax; exercises in Hindi composition and conversation; the writing of the language in the native character (both Nāgarī and Kaithī); the reading and translation of easy prose, especially selected portions of the Gospels (in Hindi). Special attention will be given to pronunciation, and, by the use, so far as possible, of the language in the class room, to accustom the ear to the sounds of the spoken language.
- (2) During a three-months' course, a student, with average attention and ability to acquire languages, should become proficient in the elements of the grammar, be able to read easy prose (say the Gospels), in the native character, fluently and correctly, translate simple English into Hindi readily, and carry on a connected conversation with considerable ease.
- (3) Books required :
 - (a) The Hindi Manual, by Frederic Pincott, M. R. N. S.
 - (b) Hindi Grammar (latest edition), by Rev. Dr. Kellogg.
 - (c) Hall's Hindi Reader.

These books are prescribed by Civil Service Commissioners, to be studied by candidates for the Indian Civil Service. All Hindi students should have at least the *Manual* and *Grammar* published by W. H. Allen and Co. and Trübner and Co., London.

Intending missionaries will also require the following :

Hindi Dictionary (Sanskrit character), by J. D. Bate (Trübner and Co.).

Hindustani Dictionary (Hindustani and English, Romanized) by Duncan Forbes (W. H. Allen and Co., London).

The Old and New Testament (in Hindî) (published by the Bible Societies).

- (4) The importance of this course to intending missionaries and others :
- (a) Hindî is the vernacular of the masses in British India and dependent states, from Bengal to the Panjab, and from the foot of the Himalayas to the borders of Madras. No one language in India is spoken or understood by so large a number of the people. It is the *living Aryan* speech which is the actual vernacular of the great mass of the Hindu population. It agrees in grammatical form with the Urdû, and thus an acquaintance with Hindî is an acquaintance with the Hindustani (or Urdû) except in the matter of vocabulary—the latter using many words of Persian and Arabic derivation. The Hindî is the medium of instruction in all Hindu schools, and to its study the student or missionary must first direct his attention. It is the avenue to the proper understanding of the great epic poems of India with which it is so necessary to be somewhat acquainted to get a proper understanding of Hindu life and thought.
- (b) An elementary knowledge of Hindî as this course proposes to give will be of special importance to intending missionaries. Such an acquaintance will enable the missionary to enter upon practical work almost immediately upon arrival in the country. The tedious waiting so trying to the new comer and the struggle with the elements of the language under trying circumstances of climate, etc., will be largely avoided. Expenses to Mission Boards can be thus greatly reduced and the initial work of the missionary's life rendered much more pleasant, by being in a position to grow much more rapidly into sympathy with his new surroundings.

Besides the course in languages, opportunities for the study of the historic religions and for comparative investigation into the doctrines and practices of the world's faiths are offered by the professors in the department.

The Reverend John Henry Barrows, D.D., is the holder of the Haskell Lectureship in Comparative Religion, which was established the past year by the gift of Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell, in honor of the Parliament of Religions, of which Dr. Barrows was chairman. Professor Barrows delivers his first course of lectures in April, 1895, on the subject of *The Relations of Christianity to the other Religions*.

Professor G. S. Goodspeed lectures throughout the year upon the general subject of *The Semitic Religions*. During the first quarter the religions of Egypt, Assyria-Babylonia, Phenicia, etc., will be studied; in the second quarter, the religion of the Hebrew People; in the third quarter, Mohammedanism.

Accompanying the work of the first quarter, a careful reading of W. Robt. Smith's "Religion of the Semites" will be undertaken.

The Department also offers a course in *Buddhism* to students who may desire to study by correspondence, and announces lectures for University Extension classes by Mr. Edmund Buckley, Hirsch Fellow for 1893-94, on *Shinto, the Ethnic Faith of Japan, and the Science of Religion*.

Synopses of Important Articles.

HEBREW AND GREEK IDEAS OF PROVIDENCE AND RETRIBUTION. By C. G. MONTEFIORE, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1893. Pp. 517-590.

The Greek and the Hebrew have been the two chief contributors to modern civilization. A comparison of the ideas held by both peoples concerning God's rule of man affords some instructive parallels. These may be noted in contrast with some presuppositions which are recognized in all modern thought about the relations of God and man.

(1) Neither Greek nor Hebrew began his religious history with the doctrine of the absolute goodness of God, *i. e.*, the view that God can only desire the ultimate good of His creation and nothing for Himself. The common conceptions were (a) divine envy or jealousy of man; (b) divine infatuation, or God's incitement of man to a sin which He afterwards punishes. The former plays a great part in Greek literature, especially in Herodotus, where it appears in such statements as "the Deity is altogether envious and apt to disturb our lot" and is illustrated in the lives of Cræsus, Polycrates, and Xerxes, among others. It appears less in the Old Testament and yet is found in the story of the Fall and the Tower of Babel, where the divine jealousy is aroused against men for fear of what they may become. The two literatures come together in the view that those who are in high station are naturally inclined to pride, and pride is sin against God (cf. Isa. 2:12-17; Herod. 7:10). Thus the idea is partially moralized. Temperance is the true Greek attitude; humility, the true Hebrew spirit. A similar moralization of the doctrine of divine infatuation appears. At first it is presented in a bald form. God wishes to punish; He incites to sin and then punishes it. The most notable instance in Hebrew literature is the Davidic census (compare Chronicles); another is Rehoboam (1 Ki. 12:15). Æschylus has this line, "God plants guilt among men when He desires utterly to destroy a house." A higher form is found in the view that God urges a sinner on in his career that his fall may be more rapid and sure. Thus Isaiah's preaching only makes the people's heart fat (Isa. 6:9, 10, etc.). The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart. Xerxes was divinely helped to his ruin because of his insolence. The ruin of both men was also providentially determined in the interests of the particular nation exposed to the insolence. So Æschylus says: "When a man is hastening to his ruin, the god helps him on." Divine jealousy and wrath play into each other, the one roused against human achievement, the other against pride and sin. Calamities to individuals or communities, such as disease or earthquakes, drought, etc., are by both Greek and

Hebrew assigned to God's anger. Yet the best thinkers in both peoples rose above this view to the essential goodness of God. Plato and Aristotle assert it. "God is good and the good can never have any jealousy of anything. And being free from jealousy, he desired that all things should be as like himself as they could be." "The wicked are miserable because they require to be punished . . . that God, being good, is the author of evil to anyone is to be strenuously denied." (Plato, *Rep.*). Ezekiel for the Jews laid down the doctrine that God's pleasure was not in the death of the wicked but in his repentance and amendment.

(2) Neither Jew nor Greek adequately recognized religious individualism. The solidarity of family and race was a cardinal doctrine of both Greek and Hebrew, as their literatures abundantly testify. The Greek thought even accidental and temporary association with sinners might prove fatal to the righteous. It needed the piety of an Abraham to obtain the pardon of Sodom even if but ten righteous men were there. Fathers' sins are visited on succeeding generations. Solon says: "Now he taketh vengeance straightway and again he tarrieth; but if they who do wrong escape . . . yet it cometh all the same hereafter; the guiltless pay for their deeds, their children and their seed after them." So in the Old Testament the same delay of punishment appears and it is even looked upon as a mercy of God thus to postpone it (cf. 2 Ki. 23:26; note the rejection of this doctrine in 2 Chron. 25:21, 22). A postponed punishment of communities and states appeared justifiable to ancient thinkers. Thus the captivity of Israel was on account of the guilt of preceding generations. Isocrates said that cities ought to practice deeds of virtue far more than private persons, for the latter may die before they pay the penalty for their sins, but cities do not die and hence are liable to punishment in future ages. Yet the doctrine is attacked as early as Theognis and modified to teach that the descendants of a wicked ancestor inherit the tendency to sin which if fostered produces guilt. Ezekiel attacked it in Israel and the truth began to be emphasized in both nations that the individual, whether small or great, will receive the reward of his deeds, whether good or bad.

(3) Neither Greek nor Hebrew had highly developed notions of good and evil. Each identified outward adversity with divine punishment. Calamity meant (a) sin, (b) punishment. God takes retribution upon the bad and rewards the good. His measure of return is just and proportionate, "tit for tat." Æschylus says: "For words of hatred, let hatred be the recompense, and for each deathful stroke, let the striker be struck to death. That he who does must suffer is the utterance of an immemorial saying." Neither Greek nor Hebrew ever made a direct attack on this elemental principle of justice, but in the face of calamity falling on the good and prosperity blessing the bad, some explanation must be found. In the search for an explanation appeared the higher moral conceptions. (a) Outward suffering was regarded as disciplinary. Thus in Plutarch and the Proverbs the punishment of children

for paternal sin is transformed into correction of inherited tendencies. The problem of Job's suffering is approached from this side by Eliphaz and Elihu. Plato goes deeper and explains the prosperity of the wicked as a real calamity. "The doer of unjust actions is miserable in any case—more miserable, however, if he be not punished and does not meet with retribution, and less miserable if he be punished and meets with retribution at the hands of God and men." The righteous man is not petted by God, says Seneca, he is tried, hardened, and thus fitted for God. (b) Neither outward prosperity nor adversity are the most important things of life: the only real good is moral, spiritual, religious; the sorest evil is ignorance, sin, separation from God. Greece develops this more fully than Israel. In Proverbs the praise of "Wisdom" is above rubies, and in Psalms 36 and 73 God is proclaimed as the supreme good—but these passages are about all. But Plato presents them fully and adequately in his *Phaedo* and *Gorgias*. "It is a greater evil to do than to suffer injustice." "No evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death." Yet when these facts are established, rewards of outward prosperity and punishments of adversity are admitted, since rewards are the consequence not the stimulus of virtue, and punishment is not inflicted for the glory of God, but for purification or warning. The Stoics went further and declared that on the rack the philosopher might be happy. (c) Another palliative lies in the view that evil is the shadow of good, scarcely more real, yet as inevitable. There can be no good if there be no evil. Or, you must consider evil from the point of view of the whole. This appears among the Stoics. This is the meaning of God's questions hurled at Job. Explain the whole and you will understand the parts. This is a higher and truer theory of solidarity and allows room for resignation and self-sacrifice. All contribute, some purposely, some unconsciously, some with good ends, others with evil purposes, working together to make up the universe. It was the Hebrew who reached the highest point of self-sacrifice here, in the conceptions of Isaiah 53 of him who poured out his soul unto death for the sake of others, that they might find their ultimate peace through his sacrificial sufferings—a conception which "has sunk deep into the heart of the human race." (d) Another form of the preceding view is that sin and evil are inseparable from free will. This is an ancient Greek view taken up by modern theology. "Remove the freedom," said Simplicius in 520 A.D., "and with it you destroy the possibility of virtue."

(4) The Greek and Hebrew had inadequate ideas of human progress in this life and in the life to come. The Hebrew indeed had his ideal of future Israel on which his indomitable optimism depended, at first apart from a hope in immortality, after the Maccabean age, in connection with the belief in resurrection. It differed from modern ideas in being restricted to Jews and in the miraculous method of its advent and its finality. It is a stimulative doctrine. The Greeks did not have even this. The absence of hope and of an ideal of progress characterizes them. Plato seems never to have expected that his

ideal Republic would be realized. Epochs of universal ruin followed by restoration of similar conditions was all that these thinkers could see. Immortality was held earlier in Greece than in Israel and its influence on the doctrine of divine providence was similar in both nations. Calamities are less trying. Compensation will be made in the other life. The wicked will be punished. Both Plato and the Psalmists emphasize this. Plato developed the doctrine of metempsychosis, which enhanced the horror of evil though it merely prolonged the problem to be solved. Immortality to him is also educational. In the other life the wicked are purified, the wise become wiser, the good better. This is an approach toward the modern doctrine of heaven.

Thus the progress and purification of old and unsatisfactory views of these fundamental questions went on among Greeks and Hebrews. Neither sounded the problem to its depth and both were too often content with inadequate explanations. The Hebrew stuck too closely to the mere disparity between prosperity and desert. The Greek taught that outward adversity might be a means of ethical progress, without seeing that often it stunted or crushed the possibility of growth. The problem is immensely wider in these days, *e. g.*, the question of the suffering of animals enters into the indictment against divine justice. The Greek solutions were in some respects farther advanced than the Hebrew. The latter clung to the law of reward and retribution, but the Greek modified it. The problem has not been solved; if it be solved, where is the need of faith—faith which is surely one of the most glorious of the varied capacities and endowments of man?

A most illuminating study in comparative theology. Research along similar lines would be exceedingly serviceable for divinity students, giving them breadth of knowledge, independence of judgment, and reverence for human nature and for divine revelation, to a degree unattained in the accepted subjects of investigation which are confined to one field—even though that be the supreme level of Christian theological thought.

G. S. G.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JESUS CHRIST ACCORDING TO ST. PAUL. Inaugural Address of EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL, D.D., Professor of Graeco-Roman and Eastern Church History in the Hartford Theological Seminary, in the *Hartford Seminary Record*, June and August, 1894.

The current belief that Paul knew few of the details of the earthly career of Jesus is an unwarranted and hasty inference from the apostle's statements. Paul certainly had a knowledge of Christ's death and resurrection—the greatest facts in His life. Did he not really know the man Christ Jesus?

Before answering this question we must seek answers to some prior questions: (1) Who was St. Paul? (2) What are our sources of information

concerning him, and how far are they trustworthy? (3) What opportunity did he have of knowing Jesus of Nazareth, and what constitutes knowledge of the life and character of an historical personage?

Five theses may be laid down: (1) We have trustworthy and full information concerning the life and character of St. Paul. (2) This documentary evidence proves St. Paul to be a competent witness concerning the life and character of Jesus of Nazareth. (3) St. Paul's portrayal of the life and character of Jesus is clear and remarkably full. (4) The Christ of St. Paul is essentially the Christ of the four Gospels. (5) St. Paul's epistles accordingly furnish us an entirely independent and a complete documentary proof of the historicity of the personal life of the Christ of the evangelists.

The method of the investigation is historical rather than exegetical—the study of historical documents. Conclusions are to be drawn, not from a few passages, but from the whole Pauline literature except the pastoral epistles, and cannot be vitiated by proof that any passage is an interpolation. Every utterance of Paul concerning Jesus presupposes a well-grounded knowledge of Him and His person. Taken all together his utterances and allusions give us the representation of Christ.

The dates of the composition of these epistles can be determined from the documents themselves. (1) The *terminus ad quem* of the epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans is evidently 69 A. D., because [a] the primitive church at Jerusalem is still flourishing; [b] the Jewish people of the Dispersion still enjoy their political privileges, which began to be lessened about 66 A. D.; [c] the epistles presuppose the conflict of Christianity with Judaism, and Gentile with Judaistic Christianity. (2) The earlier of these epistles, those to the Thessalonians, were written at least as early as 54, and the latest, Philemon and Philippians, before 64–5. These results may be gained by a study of the development indicated by the various epistles themselves, and the references made in them to the facts of Paul's life. Thus the latest epistle was written within thirty-five and the earliest within twenty-five years after the crucifixion.

These documents also tell us much concerning their author. (1) He was a Hebrew by birth and a strict Pharisee. (2) He was originally and notoriously hostile to Christianity, and had conducted persecutions in Judea—which is equivalent to Jerusalem. (3) He was converted to Christianity by an indisputable revelation of the risen Jesus, that was at once without and within him, and with this revelation came the knowledge that Jesus was the Messiah. This revelation was made, probably, in the region of Damascus. Three years later he went to Jerusalem to make the acquaintance of Peter, and there it is inconceivable he should not have learned some of the details of Christ's life. For the next eleven years he was in Syria and Cilicia, and at the end of that period he visited Jerusalem again, where he received no new conception of the gospel. This second visit was made before St. Paul set out on his first missionary journey. Therefore, still using data in the epistles, allowing that

six years elapsed between this visit to Jerusalem and the letter to the Thessalonians, we find the apostle was converted within three or four years of Christ's crucifixion. Now during these years, filled probably with persecution, St. Paul must have learned much concerning Jesus. (4) From the epistles we are able to make a comparatively full outline of the apostle's missionary journeys until he is imprisoned at Rome. We further learn that he preached the gospel of Christ as the power of God unto salvation to both Jews and Gentiles. And, finally, these epistles give us many personal hints, especially in regard to his mode of thought and his intense zeal for the gospel. Above all they show that he made God in Christ the central article of his faith.

This leads to the further question: What were the chief elements in St. Paul's conception of God? [a] St. Paul conceived of God as the Father, in a unique sense, of Jesus Christ. [b] God is also the Father of those who accept the Son. [c] God is also the Father of the race. [d] God is always assumed as the creator of the material world, but no cosmogony is given. [e] Jesus, through his death and resurrection, demonstrated the love of God for his sinful children. Christ is therefore to the apostle no more imaginary than God himself. The Jesus he saw near Damascus was the Jesus of Peter and the other disciples.

To summarize: we know St. Paul better than we know any of the other disciples of Jesus. We further know that St. Paul never doubted that he preached the same Christ whom Peter and the twelve preached. And further, it may be affirmed that St. Paul knew Jesus perfectly—knew his mind, his heart, his disposition. To suppose that St. Paul originated the Christ he preached is to impugn his devotion to truth. Therefore we may reaffirm the five original theses.

Professor Mitchell has given an admirable illustration of the purely historical method of dealing with the Pauline documents. His examination of the epistles, unbiased by the attempt to harmonize their contents with the account in Acts, gives us a positive historical basis for the study of that work. It appears, however, that in the author's summary of the conclusions to be drawn from his criticism, affirmations are made which must certainly be based on evidence not adduced in the address before us. The main question, "What did St. Paul know about the man Christ Jesus?" can be answered finally, not by arguments as to what must have been, but by the positive presentation of facts and allusions. Pfeiderer [*Paulinism*, I., p. 1, Eng. trans.] states a position that is at least not untenable: "The teaching of Paul regarding Christ is not founded on an historical knowledge of the details of Christ's life," and [*Ibid.*, p. 125] we can expect to find in Paul's Christological teaching only "*a free Christian speculation regarding the contents of the Christian consciousness.*" In opposition to this extreme view, Professor Mitchell has certainly established a presumption that Paul could not have failed to know the facts of Christ's life. From a note appended to the address we are led to hope that the establishment of this presumption, which was the natural office of this Introduction, is to be followed by a positive "portrayal of the Life and Character of Jesus Christ according to St. Paul." In this portrayal it is to

be expected that Professor Mitchell will distinguish sharply between the "essential" Christ and "the concrete conception which filled the apostle's mind when he looked up into the face of Jesus Christ."

S. M.

MODERN BETHLEHEM [*Das jetzige Bethlehem*]. By P. PALMER, in Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins. Band XVII., Heft 2.

Bethlehem is two hours from Jerusalem, on the road to Hebron, and is built on two considerable hills, one of which reaches an elevation of 825-830 metres. These hills, with their intervening valleys, give the town something of the appearance of an amphitheatre. The town itself is about 1,000 metres long by 500 wide, and is situated in the midst of an exceedingly fruitful region, in which olives, figs, grapes, and almonds have been until recently considerably cultivated.

The more modern part of the town is well built, but the older portions consist of mere huts, many of them quite ready to fall to pieces. The chief street, which runs from the northern gate to the Church of the Nativity in the southern part of the town, is partly paved, but the other streets are mostly narrow and practically impassable in the rainy season.

Bethlehem has 8,035 inhabitants, classified as follows: Roman Catholics, 3,827; Greeks, 3,662; Mohammedans, 260; Armenians, 185; Protestants, 54; Copts and Syrians, 47. There are few immigrants. For twenty years not a single new family has settled in the town. Jews are not allowed to live within the gates, but there are a few English and German families.

Besides agriculture, the chief occupation of the inhabitants is the manufacture of pictures of the saints, rosaries, and ornaments from mother-of-pearl. They also make drinking cups from the stones found on the shores of the Dead Sea. The number of establishments engaged in such manufacture is about ninety. Many take these and other wares to foreign countries, especially to America, and in some cases have returned with a considerable property; but the great majority of the people are poor, because of the decay of the farming class, and heavy taxes.

The chief object of interest in the town is the Church of *St. Maria a Praesepio*, with the Chapel and Grotto of the Nativity, and three monasteries, besides the so-called Milk Grotto or Grotto of the Mother of God. There are eleven other churches and religious institutions. The Christians and Mohammedans live in tolerable peace, but the Greek, Latin, and Armenian Christians are frequently at strife over their claims upon the Chapel of the Nativity.

Bethlehem is the headquarters of a Turkish *mudir* or sub-governor, who maintains an establishment consisting of four policemen and twenty-five infantry soldiers. The numbers of the latter are considerably increased at Christmas in order to maintain order during the feast. The town itself is divided into eight sections, and is ruled by fourteen magistrates.

Attempts have been made to make Bethlehem the market town for the tribes living south of the Dead Sea. It has good water, and a large market-place, and is visited by great numbers of foreigners and pilgrims. But despite these advantages and attempts, Bethlehem seems to prefer to remain what it has been for centuries—a crowded, dirty village.

This article gains value from having been written by a citizen of Jerusalem who has had the opportunity to make personal investigations in the town. The author has done good service in furnishing us with facts that are not generally deemed important by mere visitors to the Holy Land.

S. M.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED
LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD.

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

October.

- Seidel—*In the Times of Jesus*, pp. 1-93.
Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 1-138.
BIBLICAL WORLD (July) Geography of Palestine.
(August) Editorials and Geography of Palestine.

November.

- Edersheim—*Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 93-192.
Seidel—*In the Times of Jesus*, pp. 138-295.
BIBLICAL WORLD (September, October) Editorials.
Geography of Palestine.

December.

- Harmony*—Parts I., II., III.
Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 1-149.
BIBLICAL WORLD (November, December) Geography of Palestine.
Introduction to Gospels, I.

January.

- Harmony*—Parts IV. and V.
Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 149-298.
BIBLICAL WORLD (January) Introduction to Gospels, II.
Teachings of Jesus, I.

February.

- Harmony*—Part VI., and Chapter XXV. of Part VII.
Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 299-402.
BIBLICAL WORLD (February) Introduction to Gospels, III.
Teachings of Jesus, II.

March.

- Harmony*—Part VII., from Chapter XXVI.
Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 403-491.
BIBLICAL WORLD (March) Introduction to Gospels, IV.
Teachings of Jesus, III.

April.

- Harmony*—Part VIII.
Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 493-776.
BIBLICAL WORLD (April) Teachings of Jesus, IV.

May.

Harmony—Part IX.

Hanna—*Life of Christ*, pp. 777-861.

BIBLICAL WORLD (May) Teachings of Jesus, V.

Bushnell—*Character of Jesus*.

June.

Brooks—*Influence of Jesus*.

BIBLICAL WORLD (June) Teachings of Jesus, VI.

Local Chapters—Wherever possible local chapters of the Guild should be formed. These may be in connection with churches, Sunday-school teachers' meetings, or, better, independent of any organization. If only two persons can be found ready to commence the course let them read and meet at regular intervals to discuss their work.

Chapters may meet weekly, but in most places a fortnightly meeting will be more practicable. The organization of a Chapter should be as simple as possible. Only two officers, a president and a secretary, are desirable, and of these only the second is required, in order that he may be the medium of communication between the Chapter and the office of the Institute. It is well to put the preparation of the programmes for meetings, and the general direction of the reading of a Chapter in the hands of an executive committee, who shall serve not less than two months. If a good committee is secured a year is not too long for such an appointment, in order that unity may be given to the work.

For the benefit of those Chapters which are not fully organized and for those who prefer not to prepare their own programmes for October, the following topics are suggested. Care should be taken to select such subjects as will make a complete and rounded programme, that is, touching every side of the subject. Not more than five subjects and a map drill should be upon any one programme.

1. Methods of calculating the time in which Christ lived.
2. The Roman Empire as an agent in the propagation of Christianity.
3. The Religious Condition of Heathendom at the Advent of Christ.
4. Skepticism, Epicureanism, Stoicism—the Roman substitutes for a decaying religion.
5. The home and home life of the Gentile.
6. The public life of the Gentile.
7. Reading from Ben Hur (to be selected).
8. Judea—situation—places of interest—the life of its people.
9. Samaria (ditto).
10. Galilee (ditto).
11. Character and work of Herod the Great.
12. The Roman procurators in Palestine.
13. Herod Antipas in his relation to Jesus and John the Baptist.
14. The relations of Jews and Gentiles in the land.

15. A week's Journey in Palestine (imaginary sketch).
16. Taxes and customs.
17. Jerusalem, the Holy City.
18. An ancient Jewish town.
19. Jewish family life.
20. Maxims from the Book of Proverbs concerning the training of children.
21. The Jewish mother.
22. The education of a Jewish child.
23. Subjects of study in the Jewish schools.
24. Literary work among the Jews.
25. The Jewish school system.
26. Map study. The situation of Palestine with relation to the ancient world.
27. The climatic divisions of Palestine.
28. The effect of the geographical peculiarities of the land of Palestine upon the lives of the people inhabiting its different parts.

Additional Reading.—For the benefit of those who would like to do additional reading, reference to the following books will be found helpful :

Ewald—*History of Israel*, Vol. VI.

Stanley—*Lectures on the Jewish Church*, Third Series.

Edersheim—*The Temple and its Ministry*.

Thomson—*The Land and the Book*.

Stanley—*Sinai and Palestine*.

Merrill—*Galilee in the Time of Christ*.

Smith—*Dictionary of the Bible*.

A relief map of Palestine which gives the configuration of the land will throw much light on the life of the people. Such a one is published by F. J. Burgi & Co., Rochester, N. Y.

A person of some ingenuity can manufacture a map of this character from paper pulp, formed by mixing a little glue with newspaper which has been soaked in water several hours. The pulp is then perfectly pliable, and may be spread flat upon a board. The mountains, valleys, rivers, and plains can easily be modeled by a deft use of the fingers, and the towns may be indicated in ink. A careful study of the illustrations and descriptions in Professor Riggs' articles in the BIBLICAL WORLD will provide the necessary data for this map.

Chapter rates for books.—Although the prices of the books have already been placed much below that of the publishers, a still further reduction will be made to Chapters ordering all the books at once. Five or more sets of books, including the BIBLICAL WORLD, will be sent to one address for *seven dollars* each, and for *five dollars and fifty cents* each without the BIBLICAL WORLD.

Already it has been discovered that many desire to become members of the Guild, who cannot afford to buy the books. Should any such come to the

notice of our members, would it not be wise to suggest to them that the Sunday School Library might, with good results, be requested to place one or more sets upon its shelves. Also, in any town of sufficient size to support a public library, the librarian will probably be glad to receive so well selected a list for addition to the library.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

The work of the Institute is increasing to such an extent that it has become necessary to appoint a field secretary. Rev. Herbert L. Willett has been chosen for this work. He will devote much of his time to traveling about the country, organizing clubs and chapters, arranging for Institutes, Lecture Courses, and awakening an interest in Bible Study in all its phases, both scholarly and popular. Mr. Willett is himself a biblical specialist, having received his training in this subject in Yale, and at the University of Chicago.

A special feature of the work for the coming year will be the award of the *College Prizes* in Hebrew, New Testament Greek, and the English Bible, for the best examinations on these subjects, from an undergraduate student. A first prize of one hundred dollars, and a second prize of fifty dollars will be offered in each subject. The prizes in Hebrew are offered by the Sinai Congregation of Chicago. In New Testament Greek they will be awarded by Mr. J. G. Batterson of Hartford, Conn. The name of the person who will offer the prizes in the English Bible cannot yet be announced. A special circular giving necessary instructions to those who wish to prepare for the examinations will be sent to all colleges.

The financial support of the Institute has seldom been alluded to in these pages. It may be of interest to some however to know that its income from fees is inadequate for even the most necessary expenses. In addition, it is advisable to expend large sums in introducing the work in new fields. Each year good friends of the cause have, by their subscriptions, assumed something of the financial responsibility.

Increasing success only brings greater expenses, and more frequent calls for an enlargement of the work. Ten thousand dollars should be used in the extension and propagation of the courses this year. A subscription list is now in circulation among the special friends of the Institute.

It is possible that there are others whose names are unknown to us who yet have a great interest in the work. Subscriptions of large or small amounts from such will be as helpful and as welcome as from any other source. Such subscriptions should be sent to the Principal of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill.

An endowment list containing the names of all who have subscribed to this amount will be published from time to time.

The formation of Bible Study Unions in large cities is a step which the Institute will be able to take in the near future. The object of such a local

ganization will be to band together the Bible clubs, members of the Guild, and all others working under the direction of the Institute, in order that by uniting their resources, they may secure each year a good lecture course upon a Biblical subject which shall be mutually agreed upon.

No other organization for Christian work has laid so much stress upon the value of Bible Study, has had so many and so large Bible classes, has considered it so vital a part of their work as the Y. M. C. A.

It is safe to say, however, that most of this work has been governed by the idea of *immediate* use in evangelistic work. The fact that the Bible should be studied for the sake of personal growth and grasp of truth in Christian living, has not been sufficiently emphasized. It has therefore been especially difficult to persuade the members of Young Men's Christian Associations to take up Institute courses. At last the Association in Brooklyn, N. Y., leads the way with several clubs in the Central Association and the prospect of others in branch associations.

On the other hand, the Young *Womans'* Christian Association have unhesitatingly accepted the guidance of the Institute in their Biblical work for the coming year. They will publish in their organ, the *Evangel*, a series of studies provided by the Institute, and will everywhere at conventions and in official correspondence recommend the Institute Outline Bible Club Course for Christian organizations.

The Christian Endeavor Society, as an organization, has many times indorsed the Institute Club Course, but certain unions also have taken special action upon the question. These are, up to date, the State Unions of Michigan and Illinois, the State Union connected with the Friends' denomination in Iowa, and three Colonial Unions in Australia.

Book Reviews.

Apologetics, or Christianity Defensively Stated. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis, Free Church College, Glasgow; Author of "The Training of the Twelve," "The Humiliation of Christ," "The Kingdom of God," etc. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892. Pp. xvi, 514. (International Theological Library.)

This volume of apologetics is unique, not only in that it contains no systematic treatment of such matters as the Existence of God, Inspiration, Miracles, but also from the fact that it is an attempt at rewriting apologetics with special reference to recent criticism. Its aim is not to present a completely rounded discussion of religious difficulties and their answers, but rather to make "an apologetic presentation of the Christian faith with reference to whatever in our intellectual environment makes faith difficult at the present time." It therefore deals with "burning questions," giving no or little attention to "subjects which formerly occupied the foreground in apologetic treatises."

After an Introduction, in which the tendencies of modern free thought are shown, and the sphere of apologetics is defined in a somewhat pedagogic fashion, Professor Bruce considers in some detail (Book I.) Christian and Anti-Christian Theories of the Universe. His method in this presentation is in itself strategic. The Christian facts as they centre about Jesus are first considered, and not until these are clearly expounded are the chief anti-Christian theories—pantheism, materialism, deism—considered. The discussion of these various philosophical explanations of the universe is of necessity rapid, but on the whole is fair and in good perspective. The exposition and criticism of materialism is especially good, the distinction between science proper and a materialism that attempts to monopolize the results of science being sharply drawn. It would be difficult to better the author's exposure of the purely dogmatic position of materialistic philosophy and the crudity of its ethics.

Naturally no discussion of religious theories would be complete that did not consider the two residual claimants of deism and materialism—speculative theism and agnosticism. The essential distinction between theism and deism lies in "that the former conceives of God's relation to the world as one of *immanence*, and the latter as one of *transcendence*."¹ While between the two, there can be no hesitation in choice, certain theists, like Theodore Parker, attempt to combine the two conceptions. The result is dangerously near pantheism. Parker seems to shrink at ascribing personality to God. Prayer,

¹ P. 134.

in any sense other than blessing, must be excluded. Such a theistic conception is satisfactory neither on the side of speculation nor on that of religion. At best it is in unstable equilibrium between pantheism and deism, and utterly incapable of satisfying the religious craving of mankind.

The agnostic position of modern philosophy is next considered. If this be established, the end has come to the Christian doctrine of God. At this point Professor Bruce puts the theistic argument upon what is doubtless its strongest ground. The Christian doctrine of God is a sort of hypothesis which all we know tends to verify. What then can be adduced in support of the hypothesis? Professor Bruce examines and rejects the cosmological, the teleological, and the ontological arguments for the existence of God as final, preferring to "abstain from all attempts at proving the divine existence, and, assuming as a *datum that* God is, to restrict inquiries to *what* He is";¹ in other words, to verify the hypothesis from what it is admitted may be known. Such verification is found in the accordance of the evolutionary teaching as to the development of man with Christ's teaching concerning the similarity between the divine and human natures; in the scientific position that force—power—is behind the universe, for this power may very well be that of a will.

Professor Bruce next considers [Book II.] the Historical Preparation for Christianity, which he finds above all in Jewish history. This naturally suggests a question as to the attitude of the apologist towards the prevalent critical views as to the authorship and dates of the various books of the Old Testament. The answer is at once conservative and unprejudiced. Because of the uncertain results thus far gained by criticism, the apologist must refuse to commit himself, avoiding carefully anything like dogmatism on either side. His position should certainly not be hostile to critical inquiry. Further, the apologist should begin with that point which critics of greatest authority regard as certain, *i. e.*, with the religion of the prophets, rather than with that of the law. In the former is to be found the prophets' own ideas of religion and of their nation.

It is in the development of this view of the religious position of the prophets, that Professor Bruce passes over into the discussion of some of the most vital of the difficulties suggested by modern criticism. His purpose is far less polemical than constructive. Jehovah's election of Israel, so clearly a postulate of prophecy, is after all not opposed to the modern view of ethnic religions, since the election of Israel was supplemented by a larger process of preparation among the Gentiles. "Some light even for pagans; heathenism nevertheless, on the whole, a failure; its very failure a preparation for receiving the true religion—such are the influences suggested by the method of election."² Mosaism, the first stage in the life of the elect people is historical, and the Decalogue must date from that stage. The question of the relation

¹ P. 158.

² P. 207.

of the ritual to Moses, Professor Bruce disposes of in a rather summary fashion. "The hypothesis that the Deuteronomic and priestly codes are post-Mosaic, does not necessarily mean that their true authors *invented* their contents and imputed them to Moses. It only means that religious customs, mostly ancient, though in some particulars new, were then reduced to written form and ascribed to Moses, not so much as author, but rather as authority."¹ In a footnote he more explicitly defines his position as follows: "I find it difficult to believe that Moses was the author of the elaborate system of ritual in the middle books of the Pentateuch."² Moses was rather a prophet than a "person of priestly spirit," essentially in harmony with the prophets of later days in their elevation of morality above ritual, in their passion for righteousness, and in their unique grasp of the difficulties and grandeur incident to a belief in a divine government of the world.

It is somewhat disappointing that Professor Bruce does not here develop fully the apologetic bearing of such a position. Just at present this is a vital question for many Christians. They do not fear the results of criticism, they simply are searching for the common ground on which their belief in both inspiration and redaction may rest. Such discussion as he does give is introduced later in the chapter upon Old Testament Literature, and may be stated thus: the Old Testament is a record of revelation, not itself revelation. This fact it is that gives its peculiar value to the Old Testament literature; it has grown up "around a historical revelation of God in Israel."³ While this involves perfection and infallibility, it does not involve verbal infallibility, or absolute accuracy in particular statements. It is enough if the general impression made by the history of God's dealings with Israel as a peculiar and elect people be correct. It is upon this general position that Professor Bruce bases his consideration of how the religious value of the Old Testament is affected by criticism. The matter is resolved into two questions: assuming the correctness of these views, what value have the writings for men ignorant of the results of criticism; and, second, what for those who accept such results? The answer given the first of these questions can very well be forestalled. The unlearned reader will lose something through his ignorance of criticism, but the religious impression he gets from his reading is true. "The difference between him and the critic is this: the critic says the law grew out of Mosaism, the plain man says the law was given by Moses."⁴ The incorrect view of "the plain man" must be removed by the popularization of the results of critical study. The answer to the second question is not quite so near at hand. Professor Bruce is ready to admit "a crude morality" in the Hebrew editors. They "mix up things old and new, ancient laws with recent additions; report the sayings of the wise, with editorial comments not distinguished as such,"⁵ etc. And yet "God may inspire men who commit what we deem literary sins, for books of the Bible in which their so-called literary sins are committed

¹ P. 221.² P. 222 n.³ P. 302.⁴ P. 307.⁵ P. 309.

bear all the marks of inspiration—the divine in us bearing witness to the divine in them.”¹ The test of canonicity is similar. It is a book’s “*organic function*,” that is, its fitness to serve some peculiar purpose in the literature of revelation.

It may appear that Professor Bruce here has given over his case to the enemies of a theory of inspiration in any sense the successor of that of most symbols. But such an impression is certainly illegitimate. The position taken by Professor Bruce is practically the core of all theories of inspiration, and would remain intact if even more radical critical views should prevail than now seems possible. The severest criticism that can fairly be made of the author’s treatment, is its silence in regard to the mass of testimony from recent discoveries tending to strengthen confidence in the historical accuracy of the Old Testament. The fact is, that, since the question of inspiration is being taken out of the court of *a priori* philosophy into that of archæology and history, we may rightfully expect in an apologist a knowledge of the results of these sciences. It certainly seems as if a treatise on apologetics should not be content merely with establishing—be it never so admirably—a point of view.

In his treatment of the Christian Origins [Book III.] Professor Bruce enters upon a field in which he has long been a leader, and concerning which his views are well known. To him Jesus is an historical person “welcome for his own sake”—His history one not of inspired imagination but of memory, and He Himself known through and not apart from His history. His resurrection was physical, though mysterious. The conversion of Paul cannot be explained without recognizing in it the hand of God; but his writings are by no means the sole source of Christian doctrine, and his own influence has been exaggerated. Primitive Christianity contained from the start a germ of universalism and was by no means utterly Judaistic. In this respect Professor Bruce is opposed to Pfeiderer quite as much as to Baur.

Coming to the great critical questions of the New Testament, the interrelation of the Synoptical Gospels and the authenticity of John, Professor Bruce narrows the field of apologetics to that of historicity, and avoids, as far as possible, mere controversy. But controversy, as can be easily imagined, is here unavoidable. Pfeiderer and Baur in their tendency-theory have reduced the evangelists to mere special pleaders not altogether scrupulous in the handling of facts, and the apologist is forced to combat their arguments. Professor Bruce’s method here does not differ materially from that of most champions of the historicity of the New Testament, but it gains new power from its substantiation of the presuppositions and first impressions with which the investigation began.

In dealing with the Fourth Gospel Professor Bruce manifests a most commendable frankness. He acknowledges that it “presents the hardest

¹P. 310.

apologetic problem connected with the origin of Christianity,"¹ and he admirably distinguishes the vital part of the problem: is the Christ of John the Jesus of the Synoptists? Here again the chief interest in the author lies not so much in the presentation of positive evidence as in establishing the proper view-point and attitude of the apologist towards critical questions. Granted that there are differences, even discrepancies, between the Fourth Gospel and those of the Synoptists, how far do "the alleged phenomena affect the religious value of the Fourth Gospel as a source for the knowledge of Christ. . . . Can we say that this Gospel as a whole, in its general drift and tendency, is indeed true to the spirit of Jesus, as we have become acquainted with it by aid of the first three Gospels?" The answer that Professor Bruce gives to these questions is not unqualified. Certain differences in presentation certainly do present themselves, but they are not sufficient to weaken the respect and confidence due the Fourth Gospel. They are the necessary attendants of the character of the Gospel as supplementary to the three Synoptic Gospels. Christ is the sum of the four, and through them is He seen to be the Lord of all, and Christianity the absolute religion.

It is obviously impossible to reproduce the entire argument of a profound work like this of Professor Bruce. Only a careful study can show the singular accuracy and grasp of thought that mark every page. One is impressed constantly by the spirit of fairness and the determination to discover truth. Perhaps as a result of this impartiality the work has not proved satisfactory to all shades of religious thinkers. The conservative may very likely be disappointed at any readiness to give weight to the conclusions of criticism, and the followers of Wellhausen or Pfeiderer may very well be troubled over the vigorous treatment accorded their masters. But nevertheless the work is the natural outcome of an age of transition, and will be exceedingly helpful to the man who has accepted few or many of the results of criticism, but is yet anxious to maintain his faith in the supernatural, and above all in an immanent and self-revealing God. To others it will at least bring the assurance that truth has nothing to fear from criticism, and the conviction that the Christian religion has no need of any support that is not true.

S. M.

From Malachi to Matthew. Outlines of the History of Judea from 4404-B. C. By R. WADDY MOSS, Tutor in Classics, Didsbury College. London: Charles H. Kelly, 2 Castle Street, City Rd., E. C. Pp. xiv., 256.

This little handbook attempts "to do nothing more than outline the history of Judea in the centuries that elapsed between the prophecy of Malachi and the event that forms the first theme of the New Testament."

The author has rigidly kept to this aim, refusing to be led off into details, and, on the whole, has maintained a very good historical perspective. The

¹P. 466.

treatment of the confused days of the later Maccabees is especially successful.

There is undoubtedly need of some such work as this. Few, even among intelligent students of the New Testament, are acquainted with the events of the fierce epoch that gave birth to so much of the Messianic hope of the time of Jesus. The large works are too tedious, and there are few smaller works that cover the period in sufficient detail for the popular taste. The present work avoids the two dangers, and is at once scholarly and interesting. It possesses the further merit of an arrangement that is chronological rather than topical.

It is at least questionable whether the book does not lose somewhat in usefulness from its failure to give references to the literature on the period. For careful students, at least, this is a distinct loss. Apart from this, however, the book is to be recommended to those who do not care to use the larger works of Grätz and Schürer.

S. M.

The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans. By the late BENJAMIN JOWETT, M.A. Third edition, edited and condensed by LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D. Vol. I., Translation and Notes; Vol. II., Essays and Discussions. London: John Murray.

The first edition of Jowett's Commentary was published in 1855, and aroused a storm of indignant protest. Its free handling of Paul's eschatological views, and its position—at that time advanced—upon the whole matter of interpretation, gave great offense to many English scholars. The second edition published in 1859 did not greatly mend matters and was long ago out of print, for the busy life of its author forbade further revision. The present edition is, however, published with his assent, and, to a certain degree, with his coöperation.

The editor states that he has not changed "a single line" of the work. His office has been (1) to substitute a more recent text for that of Lachmann which Professor Jowett originally used; and (2) to make certain omissions and new arrangement. It is worth notice that the omission of certain characteristic outbursts of the author against a "crude phrase of contemporary theology," and the *excursus* on the *Conversion of St. Paul*, have been omitted by Professor Jowett's own decision.

The value of these commentaries, apart from the somewhat unusual insight possessed by a scholar of Jowett's type, lies not so much in the introduction, and in exegesis, as in the various discussions on subjects connected with the text. Thus, in his introduction to the Galatian Epistle, Professor Jowett settles in a single sentence the location of Galatia, but adds a striking essay upon the *Character of St. Paul* and another on the *Quotations from the Old Testament in the Writings of St. Paul*. The exegetical purpose of the first volume is, in fact, quite subordinate to the critical and theological.

Most of the essays of the second volume are also suggested by the Epistles interpreted, but are more general in character. Probably the most valuable among them is that on *The Interpretation of Scripture*, which is full of the scholar's contempt for allegorizing and dogmatic methods of interpretation, and of demands that the Scripture be interpreted "like any other book."

Altogether the two volumes contain much that a generation of readers and students has declared to be of permanent value. Now that exegetical methods have in a fashion overtaken Professor Jowett, we may perhaps feel a little less sharply the force of some of his criticisms; but none the less are the essays stimulating reading. They cannot fail to make even more self-evident the need of a critical and historical background for all exegesis.

It seems a pity that the editor should not have seen fit to print the Greek text; and astonishing that two such handsome and otherwise admirably made volumes should lack an index.

S. M.

Christianity and Evolution. By JAMES IVERÁCH, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Exegesis of the Gospels in the Free Church College, Aberdeen. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Pp. viii., 232.

Evolution in Religion. By WILLIAM W. MCLANE, PH.D., D.D. Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society. Pp. 266.

These two works illustrate the progress Christian thought has made since the days—not so far distant—when evolution and religion were thought to be deadly enemies. The plans of both are somewhat similar, except that the view-point of *Christianity and Evolution* is rather more of formal comparison, while that of *Evolution in Religion* is more apologetic. Both agree in the incompleteness of Herbert Spencer's derivation of religion, both alike regard the Christian character as itself capable of evolution, and both also maintain the possibility of substantiating, through the teachings and assumptions of science, the Christian teachings of God and immortality. The work of Professor Iverach is especially valuable from its wide use of literature and its clear and simple style. No one can fail to be benefited by the study for which these works are fitted to serve as introductions.

S. M.

Church Work, its Means and Methods. By THE RIGHT REV. J. MOORHOUSE, Bishop of Manchester. London: Macmillan & Co., 1894. Price \$1.25.

Bishop Moorhouse has embodied in this volume the series of addresses which he delivered to the clergy of his diocese upon the occasion of a late general visitation. The addresses are full of practical advice, and deal almost wholly with parochial questions and difficulties which suggested themselves during his visitation. He gives advice on preaching, catechizing, Institutes,

Sunday Schools, etc., and does not fail to touch on some of the pressing social questions of the day. The book is full of hints from a broad minded and practical man, and will be of great value to some, and may be of some profit to others even though out of sympathy with some of the Bishop's views.

C. E. W.

Bishop Lightfoot. Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review* with a prefatory note by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co., 1894. Price, \$1.25.

This sketch was published in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1893. It is a loving and reverent tribute from one who evidently knew the Bishop well, and deserves to be preserved in this graceful and attractive form. It is especially valuable for the picture of the later years of the life of this great and good man—the years which were spent in the active work of his bishopric. It thus shows him both as a man and as a student, though probably the first is the more prominent because it was the more impressive. The prefatory note, by Dr. Westcott, the life-long friend of Bishop Lightfoot, adds an interesting feature.

C. E. W.

The Christian Ministry. Its present claim and attraction, and other writings. By THEODORE C. PEASE, Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1894. Price, \$1.25

This is a memorial volume of Professor Pease, who died when about to enter on his first course of lectures at Andover. The title of the volume is the subject of the inaugural address which he delivered on accepting the chair of Sacred Rhetoric in the Seminary. The volume is made up of this inaugural, some lectures on homiletics, sermons, a study of Dante's *Inferno*, and some scattering poems and hymns. It contains an introduction by Professor E. C. Smyth and a biographical sketch.

The book is a beautiful tribute offered to him whose usefulness and goodness it perpetuates by the publication of much of the best and maturest of his thinking.

C. E. W.

Current Literature.

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Weddigen, Otto. Was ist die Bibel? Der Wahrheit die Ehre! Kritische Betrachtungen zu Nutz und Frommen für das deutsche Volk. (Berlin, P. List, 1894; 21 pp., 8vo.) 60 d.

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Rogers, Arthur Kenion. The Life and Teachings of Jesus. A critical analysis of the sources of the Gospels, together with a study of the sayings of Jesus. New York, G. P. Putnam, 1894; v+354 pp., 12mo.) \$1.75.

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