

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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FROM every side come reports of increased interest in the courses of Bible study offered in connection with the many summer gatherings. The courses, during the present summer, have been more numerous than ever before, and at the same time of a distinctly higher character. In a score of prominent centres throughout the country, lectures have been given, and classes have been organized by men who have prepared themselves especially for this work. If the question should be asked, What is meant by work of a higher character? the answer would be (1) work looking toward the impartation of proper methods of study, (2) work intended to bring forth important principles connected with a particular subject under consideration, (3) work conducted in such a manner as to stimulate the student to a more extended and minute examination of the ground, (4) work conducted in such a manner as to furnish definite results. There are doubtless other characteristics of high-grade work which might be mentioned, but these will suffice. The evidence is abundant that never before in summer meetings has the same amount of work been done in as many important places and with a constituency as broad-minded and intelligent.

FROM the testimony of others and from personal observation, things have been noted in connection with this work, some of which are encouraging, others decidedly discouraging. It is a

source of gratification to see men and women who have once secured a taste of real Bible instruction, become ravenously hungry for more. And it is noticeable that in those places in which such instruction has been accustomed to be given, the nucleus is composed of those who have before enjoyed the privileges of such study. The fact that these classes, including as many as two and three hundred members, are made up for the most part of laymen is also noteworthy. It is not true that the occupants of the pews are blind to their best needs. The absence in a large measure of clergymen, and the sad and frequent testimony of the parishioner that the minister is not interested in any work of this kind, furnish the dark side of the picture. It is easy to exhibit a lack of appreciation even when an effort is made, but whether true or not, the feeling is widely spread in the minds of the common people that the minister does not possess or care to possess an intelligent understanding of the book which is supposed to form the basis of his work. As a matter of fact the confessions of ministers themselves touching their ignorance of this book, and the exhibitions of ignorance which they make on all occasions where such ignorance may be detected, are sufficient to confirm what is rapidly coming to be the popular impression.

A SERIOUS drawback in connection with the summer courses of Bible study is the fact that the work does not continue long enough to make a strong impression. If, in all the schools offering such work, the courses could be expanded to six weeks the results would be in a measure satisfactory; for in six weeks, if one gives his attention to a single subject, something really considerable can be accomplished. When, however, the instruction is offered for only two or three weeks, and when the pupils are in some cases not present at the beginning of the work and in others unable to continue to the end, the work is not only insufficient but fragmentary. Still, has it not often happened that in a single hour one's whole attitude of mind has been affected? The presentation of one prophetic address from the historical point of view, or the exposition of a single passage of a New Testament

epistle, may exhibit methods and ideals of work which a sensitive mind will receive and henceforth adopt. The strongest impressions are not always the outcome of an influence extending over a long period. These few hours, even when interrupted at the beginning or the close, may and do incite the student to something not only far higher than that which he had been accustomed to do, but also far different. A new atmosphere may be created. There is testimony that in hundreds of instances this new atmosphere has been created, and that the Bible has become to the student an altogether new thing, a thing of life instead of a dead thing. It remains true, however, that so far as possible, the work should be so expanded as to be on the one hand more complete, and on the other at least fairly comprehensive.

A MORE serious difficulty is the lack of teachers for such work. It is surprising to note how few persons there are who can make instruction in the Bible at all interesting. It has therefore been next to impossible to supply the demand for teachers in the various schools to which reference has been made. The explanation of this dearth of teachers is not a simple task. One would certainly suppose that a Christian country like America would be full, even to overflowing, of men and women able to conduct this kind of work. A most rigid search and a large number of experiments have, together, shown that this not the case. The successful teacher of the Bible is a rarity. The country has hundreds and thousands of men and women who have by long effort prepared themselves to teach the English language, mathematics, or the modern languages; but where are the men and women who have undertaken special preparation to enable them to teach the Bible? No one should suppose for a moment that he is ready to teach the Bible unless he has made the same amount of special preparation which would enable him to teach any other difficult subject. Here, it must be confessed, is our greatest difficulty. If the interest already aroused in the summer schools does not increase, the reason, without question, will be the lack of teachers to carry on the work satisfactorily.

LACK OF
CAPABLE
TEACHERS

Is it not true, moreover, that this same difficulty exists in all of our churches? Nine-tenths of the teaching in the Sunday school is, as teaching, a farce. The work of many of these so-called Sunday school teachers, if judged upon the standard of ordinary principles of pedagogy, is ludicrous and at the same time criminal. It is ludicrous to call such work teaching. Their work is criminal if it is looked at from the point of view of the innocent pupils who suffer from it. For a long time people have engaged in this work, and have compelled their children to continue it because of a sense of duty. Already many parents have withdrawn their children from contact with such work because of a sense of duty. Ordinarily, the only person connected with the church at all capable of giving instruction in the Bible is the minister, and too frequently he is the last man who feels an obligation resting upon him to do it. That which is most fundamental to the interests of the church, which is, indeed, the most vital part, he generously turns over to a few uneducated, unskilled and sometimes unconsecrated teachers, and does not even trouble himself to see that these teachers associate themselves to help each other. The condition of things in most of our churches is in fact appalling, when we remember that in these days the Bible is not studied in the family as in former days, and when we come to understand the character of the instruction which is furnished as a substitute, we need not be surprised at the pitifully meager results. Nor is this all. Our ministers fail not only to teach the Bible, but also to preach it. The average sermon contains less and less of biblical material and more and more of that which comes from outside the Bible. This is due in part to the ignorance of the minister himself concerning the Bible and in part to the indifference on the part of the people with respect to it. This ignorance is in some cases a phase of the individual's general ignorance; in other cases it exists even where large attainments have been made in outside subjects. It may be said without fear of sustained contradiction that the membership of our churches is gradually becoming less and less familiar with the contents and teachings of the sacred Scriptures. This fact explains the new and increasing demand

for such instruction in the summer assemblies of various kinds. The people in these assemblies testify almost universally that they cannot obtain the instruction at home; that the minister is indifferent or incapable. They are, therefore, driven to obtain it elsewhere. The eagerness with which it is received is sufficient evidence that in too many cases there has been starvation. Something, therefore, is needed in the churches.

IT IS EVIDENT that there must be more teachers of the Bible; that is, more men and women who will give their lives to this work. Here, in fact, is a *new calling*. The min-

HERE IS A NEW
CALLING

ister cannot and will not perform this function. The work cannot be done by those who have not prepared themselves by long and severe training. There are needed teachers of the Bible for this summer work; for our colleges and institutions of learning which have long neglected this, the most important part of their work; for conducting lecture courses on Bible subjects in various places throughout the year; for regular instruction in the churches. The time will soon be at hand when hundreds of men will be needed for the summer and institute work; other hundreds for college work; and thousands for the work of Bible instruction which must be done in the churches if Christianity is to grow and prevail. This is, indeed, a *new calling*. The man who follows it will be in some cases a public lecturer, in others a college professor, in others a Sunday school superintendent, in still others an assistant pastor. His work will be simply and solely to teach the Bible,—a new calling, and, truly, a glorious calling.

IT CANNOT be said that this is a work which the minister can perform. It is doubtless a work which at one period in the history of the church he did perform; but times have changed. The inclination of the minister is in other directions and his education really unfits him to do this work. Of the man who enters the ministry without a theological education, nothing of this kind can be expected, for there is no group of subjects the preparation for which is more rigid than the subjects which make

up the Bible. Of the man who enters the ministry after having taken a theological course, not much can be expected in this line, for the theological curriculum of the present day not only permits but compels such superficiality as entirely to unfit a man for serious scholarly work in biblical lines. The curriculum is in most cases prescribed and the theological student must include in his course a given amount of work in five or six different departments each largely different and separate from the other. The result is just what might have been expected, namely, (1) inability on the part of the student to secure a satisfactory acquaintance with any particular subject; (2) a lack of special interest in any particular subject; (3) a general indifference to all the subjects; (4) a readiness at the earliest moment to give up intellectual work; (5) a tendency to die intellectually between the ages of forty-five and fifty. A course of instruction which leads to these results is not fitted to prepare men for the *new calling* of Bible teacher. Indeed, the reason why the modern preacher does not make use of the Bible to any larger extent is to be found in the preparation which he has had for his professional work. He has been taught to ignore the Bible, and in most instances has been given a conception of it which in itself was fatal to any real intellectual progress in connection with the matter.

WHAT preparation then can be suggested? Having in mind now that this new calling will be one of highest rank and dignity, and realizing that the work will make the most severe demands upon those who undertake it, we suggest the following plan: (1) A thorough college course, including Greek; (2) a graduate course of study which shall include the languages of the Old Testament and cognate languages; (3) an acquaintance with the Old Testament literature in its various forms of legislation, prophecy and wisdom; (4) a knowledge of the origin and growth of the canon, of the texts and of the principles of Old Testament interpretation; (5) a familiarity with the history of the Hebrew religion and the development of the theological

THE
PREPARATION
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ideas of the Hebrews; (6) a study of the documents of the New Testament texts and the principles of textual criticism; (7) the history of the New Testament times in Palestine in the Greek and Roman world; (8) the history of the apostolic age of the Church; (9) the life and teachings of Jesus Christ; (10) such other departments or divisions of biblical work as will be found of special interest. It may be suggested that such preparation is the preparation required of one who is to teach the Old or New Testament in a theological seminary. This is true, and the same preparation is required for doing the work described above.

ARE there not men and women in college today who have been looking forward to Christian work of one kind or another who may be induced to enroll themselves in the membership of this *new calling*? Is there any work of higher character? Is there any work more greatly needed?

THE NATURAL AND THE SUPERNATURAL IN CHRIST.¹

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THE question which we have to discuss may be regarded either as one in philosophy and criticism, or as one in religion and history. If the first alternative be taken, then we are at once confronted with the problem as to the existence of the supernatural, or as to the possibility and the credibility of miracles, and are required to determine whether and in what sense they could have happened; how far and under what conditions they can be believed. This is a perfectly legitimate subject for discussion, though perhaps not so urgent today as it was a generation ago; and as it is less urgent I may the more reasonably ask leave to be allowed to assume that miracles are both possible and credible. That after all is not such a very large assumption to ask to be allowed to make. The late Professor Huxley conceded the possibility; he denied the credibility. Yet the two questions are most intimately related, and their common root is in our view of the universe or the collective order of things. If that view excludes God, there can be nothing miraculous, no supernatural, only a rigorous naturalism; but if our view includes God, then the most stupendous of all possible miracles is conceded. For to say, God is, is also to say, he has created, and it means that nature as it exists to the senses is not the whole of being, but that before it lived and above it lives the Perfect Reason and the Almighty Will through whose action and by whose power nature was and is. The late Matthew Arnold used to say, in his sharp and oracular way, things that were

¹ An address delivered at the University of Chicago, August, 1895.

sharper than profound and more brilliant than true. And one of these was his famous axiom: "The unfortunate thing about miracles is that they do not happen." But the remarkable thing is, miracles have happened. This wonderful world, beautiful in all its parts, is now, but once was not, and beside the fact of its creation or coming into existence, every later event that could be termed miraculous must seem small. The mind we call Man once was not, but now is; and from however mean a beginning, or in however low a form, mind may have begun to be, it is, when compared with all prior and lower forms of existence, a thing so wonderful as to be entitled to have its origin named miraculous. If, then, we believe that God is and that creation has been, the question as to the supernatural is at once decided. Where he is the very medium in and through which all things have their being, there is something which transcends the nature of naturalism, and this something can only be described as spirit.

But we may leave aside for the present these large philosophical and critical questions—the one touching the possibility, the other touching the credibility of the miracles—and try to look at the whole subject as a matter of religion and history. By that I mean that it is a question that concerns the greatest religious personality which history makes known to us. I ask, then, is it possible to approach the question of the supernatural through the person of Christ instead of through the idea of nature? In other words, our problem is, whether Christ's person may not become more concrete, real and credible by his miracles, and whether these miracles may not be made more historical and actual by being viewed through his person? The two—the person and the miracles—looked at in their intimate inner and reciprocal relations and in their significance for each other, is, then, the theme of this address.

I.

The supernatural viewed through personality is one thing, and the supernatural viewed through nature another and a very different. These are two opposite points of view, though also complementary when placed in their proper sequence and

relation. Nature is the realm of necessity; personality of freedom. The note of the one is uniformity; the note of the other is reason and will. In nature, what is termed causation reigns; but personality is itself a cause. It follows that there is a great contrast between nature read through man and man read through nature. In one sense the latter is a thing often attempted, but a thing that never has been and never can be achieved. Nature, taken as the method and measure for the interpretation of man, means that he is, through the necessity that is thought to reign everywhere, to be construed as part of a universe which knows antecedence and sequence but no rational causation, a universe of coördinated but not connected being. Man in such a system appears as a succession of dissimilar or similar phenomena but never as a concrete, coherent, continuous, self-identical person. His thoughts, his feelings and his actions are regulated by laws as absolute as those that determine the ebb and flow of the tides, the moulding of the tear or the dewdrop, the movements of the planets or of the stars. But change the point of view; look at nature through personality, which is really the only way in which you can ever reach it or get to know it, and then see how all is changed. The categories in which you interpret it are those of spirit, of thought; the terms in which you seek to explain its existence become intellectual and ethical, *i. e.*, they take a complexion from the medium you consciously employ, though there is no other medium you can possibly use. For it is impossible for man to reason concerning things in nature unless he starts with mind, or with ideas and forms mind supplies. There is no one single idea on which science prides itself which we could receive from nature alone. Take in illustration the famous argument against miracles formulated by Hume. Remember this: Hume was a pure skeptic because a purely empirical philosopher, *i. e.*, one who regards man as a product of the nature around him. He was to Hume made up of two things: (*a*) Impressions, which are sensations due to the direct action of nature through sense, and (*b*) ideas, which are remembered impressions, *i. e.*, their faint image or echo. He argues that you can never find yourself without an impression or an idea; that

you are, therefore, nothing but a series of impressions and ideas ; that other than this you never are and more than these you can never know. It follows, then, that as you can never have an impression of cause, you can have no idea of any such thing. Nor can you have any impression or any consequent idea of so vast a thing as space, or of so multitudinous a thing as time. The ideas of self, causation, space, time are all unrealities, begotten of the tendency to feign, *i. e.*, they are mere fictions of the phantasy. All that comes to man, coming to him from without, must be given in individual impressions, and can only legitimately remain as the echo of these in single or associated ideas.

Now let us take this method and apply it to the ideas or beliefs which underlie Hume's famous argument against miracles. Miracles, he says, have two things against them : they are impossible, for they imply a violation of the order or the laws of nature, and they are incredible because they contradict our human experience. Well, let us subject the first argument to Hume's own method of criticism. We begin with the idea of nature. Where did we get it ? and what does it mean ? Had any man ever an impression of nature ? How could he ? He may have an impression of single things, say, of cold, of heat, of taste, of smell, of light, of sound. But of nature as a connected and coherent whole, it is impossible that any man can have an impression, and therefore of nature he can have no idea. How then can you say nature is ? Still more, how can you tell what nature is, if no man ever had a direct impression of nature ? Why, nature means an immense number of things. The total infinite multitude of impressions which make up the world without us, and the whole army of associated ideas within which we mistake for ourselves, but which is only a stream, or series, or succession of units in perpetual flow, moving and changing with inconceivable rapidity, and these as all bound into a system by some principle not understood. There can be no such thing, therefore, as an idea of nature, for of nature we can have no impression. Hence, all reasoning based upon it is illicit. Take next the idea of order : can we have any idea of it ? Here difficulties of another kind meet

us: for order implies time and its sequences. And so to have a notion of order we must be ourselves continuous, but we are on Hume's premises only a series of ideas and impressions, with no existence save such as they can give. If, then, we are to receive an impression of order we must have the whole infinite series summed up in one single sensation, which would imply a sensory as vast as the universe. As the thing is so manifestly impossible we can have no conception of order, and, therefore, cannot reason as if we had. Again, take violation; how can we have a conception of violated order if we have no notion of the order said to be violated any more than we can have any conception of nature or self, when both nature and self have been dissolved? Therefore, to argue that miracles are a violation of nature is to assume a multitude of ideas which science never gave, which psychology can by no physiological process discover, and which man could never have unless he first gave them to nature. The result is that Hume's argument is so fundamentally antagonistic to his own first principles in philosophy as to be broken, split, and forever ended by the very criticism he himself brought to bear upon personal identity, upon causation, upon space, upon time, upon the very ideas on which his argument against miracles rests, and which gave to it all its apparent validity.

This means then that the interpretation of nature must begin with personality, not the interpretation of personality with nature. And this again further means that if nature is to be understood, we must place it in relation to the mind to which it is and through which it is, and from which no art or science of man can ever divorce it. But the nature which has no existence save to mind expresses mind, and the mind which caused can never be separated from the effect. For my part I forever object to nature being conceived as independent of God, or to God being conceived as outside nature. He is omnipresent and cannot but be everywhere. How then can he be outside anything? He is permanent in his activity; acted from eternity; acts still; how then can he ever be conceived as idle or inoperative? I utterly refuse to represent the action of God in nature as intervention. I will not have it defined as interference. The

very notion of his universal presence and power makes his efficiency the condition of knowledge, the very idea of his ubiquity involves his activity in the entire realm and sphere of nature. As nature is read through finite personality and by it explained, so nature is positively created through infinite personality and by it caused; and in all its operations and in all its parts he is the supreme factor, the ever-living cause of all that is and proceeds. God is universal, the infinite operative personality; who never intervenes or interferes, but ever acts. Nature cannot be without him; and he can never be put outside it.

II.

But now, if these two principles, the one negative and critical, viz., that you cannot through any mere empirical philosophy of sense get the ideas that constitute the nature known to science; the other positive and determinative, viz., that you can never dissociate God, the infinite personality, from the nature he produced, be assumed by me and granted by you,—for they have not been here discussed,—we shall then pass in the light of them as just stated to deal with the personality of Christ. And here our positive principle may be stated thus: The personality is the interpretation of his history and of his action in history. DeQuincey made an important distinction between the miracles essential to the gospel and those accidental or incidental. The essential miracles were those that centered in the person of Christ, viz., the incarnation and the resurrection. The incidental miracles were those that came in, as it were, by the way, as the natural and appropriate expression of the essential. Hence, we may add, if we find the essential, the incidental will become credible. What is natural in me, obedience to the order of nature, becomes supernatural in him. What is, as the fit or proper expression of his personality, natural in him, *i. e.*, the exercise of supernatural power, will then seem supernatural to me, whose personality lives within the terms of the natural. The normal act of the person miraculous by nature is the miracle.

If this then be our point of view, how shall we proceed to its discussion? The simplest method will be to start from the oppo-

site point, and see what would follow if we regard Christ as a strictly common and natural man. How, then, does science interpreting the common and natural man proceed? If he be great, it seeks to find out the conditions that gave him birth, through which he was and by which he is to be explained. What then were the conditions in the case of Christ? First, race is determinative and vital. He is a Jew. And what is a Jew? He was then narrow, sectional, exclusive, conceiving himself not so much as God's vassal as the possessor of God. God was, as it were, owned by him and granted to the world on terms which he defined. To be exclusive through religion is ever to be governed by a narrower and more expulsive spirit than even the spirit of nationality. And such was the Jew, and Jesus was a Jew by race. What was he as to time? It was a time of decadence and of alien oppression, when the priest had lost his ascendancy and had become a mere negotiator between the turbulent Jewish people, on the one side, and, on the other, the jealousy of imperial Cæsar and his still more jealous procurator. It was, too, a time of formalism when the rabbi made rigid and elaborately maintained the rule of the letter. It was a time when the prophetic spirit had died out and all the world was looked at on the one side from the standpoint of sacerdotalism, on the other from that of ceremonialism. As to family—he was poor. Was his family not known, and was he not described as the son of Joseph the carpenter? What knowledge had he? Did they not ask, "How knoweth this man letters? His father we know and his mother we know, and we know that he has never learned letters." Without letters, what contact could he have with the wider world? The philosophy of Greece he knew not. Search his words and there is no trace of any knowledge of it. The polity and power of Rome came not within his experience; in a word, all that is signified by the civilized world or the culture of the peoples lay outside his range. As to the length of his life, what was it? Brief, nay, his is the very briefest public life of any serious consequence on record. At the longest possible estimate it was barely three years. And what was the prior preparation for it? Life in the carpenter's shop;

toil, pursued without making him sordid, or without creating the feeling of shame for poverty. And where was it lived? In a mean town, despised even in narrow Judea as lying outside the circle of religion and light. What kind of living human material had he to use? What was esteemed the very poorest. No priest was his friend. The Pharisee regarded him as only a kind of upstart, a sort of hot-headed fanatic who needed but to be questioned to be ended; one only fit to be snared in a catchy argument. The men who gathered around him were poor, unlettered, even as himself. They came from the fisherman's cot; they came from the receipt of custom. They came without pride of blood or culture or office; they were, one and all, in the scornful opinion of men who were judges in Israel, sorry men, yet entirely proper companions for their Master.

Such, then, were his outer conditions. Now what ought he to have been? Even such as they were. But what was he? Can we try him by the standard appropriate to a creature of such conditions? Let us make an attempt or two. Take first his speech. Speech expresses thought. In the region of intellect it belongs, as it were, to the very essence and spirit of the man. In it he lives, as it were, incarnate. But his speech, what was its order? It was simple, excessively simple in outward meaning, but profound, vast, infinite in inner content. Had it eloquence? Nay, it is in form broken, familiar, colloquial; the speech of daily life. Was it carefully preserved? Nay. He is never said to have written save once when to hide his offended modesty he stooped to write upon the sand. On paper or parchment he wrote no word, nor do we know that he ordered any word to be written. He spoke what he had to say into the listening air; and the air, as it were, stood still and received and heard his speech, preserved it and let it fall into the hearts and upon the pages where it is recorded for all time. In quantity, how great is it? The quantity is so small that selected from their context of history and event all his words may be read in an hour or at most two. They may be written on a few pages and carried in the smallest pocket. Yet take the words he has spoken, as to their intrinsic worth and power, and

where will you find their fellow? They have lived for centuries and in every century in which they have lived, they have been like the very presence of God, as it were the quick and quickening speech by which he created the worlds. They have taken men, often the ignorant and the base, and made them saints and holy. They have entered depraved and brutal nations, and have built them up into honor and wisdom, into order and enlightenment. They have no peers amid all the words ever spoken by men. Vital, living, breathing the very quickening breath which God breathes into man that he may become a living soul, they continue to live and to behave as if they were the corporate personality of the speaker, incarnating for all men in all time the spirit of his mind. For they live wherever they go, and in every life they enter they create a responsive Christ-like spirit within the souls of men.

But let us take, secondly, his moral action; his will as expressed in conduct; his being as realized character. Character is a subtle note distinctive of the inmost man. Now one thing marks universal character, a sense of sin, a consciousness of defect, and the higher the man the more is he marked by this consciousness. The great saints of the world have been the men most conscious of defect. The feeling of sin has so entered into the soul of man as to be, as it were, the hunger for God in him, driving him to the God for whom he hungers. But now here is the remarkable thing. Christ is not conscious of sin. He does not know it, he never confesses it; and what is even more extraordinary, his own want of consciousness is reflected in the judgment of the enemies who surround him. They do not see sin in him, and are silent in the face of his challenge to convince him if they can. Here now enters another element. If his words can only be described as a kind of intellectual miracle, what shall we describe his character as being? Is it not as character transcendent? It rises above the normal, the ordinary, the common. What name shall we give to it but the name of a miraculous character, having no fellow in the entire race of man? For this character shows its power by forming character. Can you give me one single instance in the whole history of the race that

may be precisely matched with Christ, where the character becomes a sort of norm or law, a standard which through the most distant times and amid the most dissimilar races men feel they ought to measure themselves by, containing the qualities they ought most zealously to imitate? Goethe, surveying the ages, said there was one thing we could never transcend—the moral loveliness exhibited in the gospel. We might imitate it but we could not surpass it. What is it that amid a critical, jealous, envious race makes the character so transcendent? Think of the imperial Roman with the conqueror's contempt for the men he conquered, bending in reverent homage before the very Jew his own procurator had crucified. Think of the proud intellectual Greek with the scorn of the cultured for the uncultivated and the barbarous, acknowledging the perfect sweetness and unsullied light of this Jew from Nazareth. Think of the man with the merchant's vanity and calculating instincts, pregnant with dollars and believing without irony and with the simplicity of a faith which feels that it cannot be questioned in their almightiness, face to face with this moneyless peasant and carpenter, forced to feel that of all things that have arisen in time, the sublimest is his character, the moral majesty embodied in his divine humility. Do you not think there are marvels here as inexplicable on natural grounds as any miracle?

But take a third case. His social idea. Social schemes, real and Utopian, had fermented in the world before him as they are fermenting in the world today. States have been built by many and great men, but mark the extraordinary peculiarity of Christ's idea. It was a kingdom of God. It was a kingdom composed of men. It was a kingdom which left every man in the political society where he stood, but changed the man and by changing him changed the society. It was an idea of wonderful originality, a kingdom of heaven as distinguished from all the kingdoms of the earth, of God as distinguished from all the kingdoms of evil. It was a kingdom within men. It was a kingdom around men. It was a kingdom in which men lived. It was a kingdom constituted of little children. It was a wonderful kingdom, ethical, spiritual

through and through, where every man loved God supremely and his neighbor as himself; where every man was the brother of all the rest and did to him as became a brother and as a brother alone. The marvelous thing is that he did not simply formulate this idea, but proceeded at once to realize it. And could you conceive what must have seemed a more prosaic attempt at realization? Fancy had you confided it to Alexander or to Plato, to Cæsar or Augustus, how would they have proceeded? Or, had you with your modern genius as builders of great cities undertaken it, how would you have gone to work? The warriors and statesmen would have followed the old methods of violence and craft, using force by preference, and craft only when force failed, building authority on wrong and creating order by means of lawlessness, with the certain result that the authority would endure only so long as the force was irresistible and the order live no longer than the repressive strength of the imperial hand continued unimpaired. And the philosopher would have dreamed out a system fit only for the schools, which might have had there a perennial being as an ideal, but never could have anywhere, or in any state have achieved reality. And you with your modern faith in the might of gold and the still greater might of the greed for gold, would have given it lavishly and summoned men from the ends of the earth to join the new community which promised best for the next world by making the most of this. But Christ went to work in a way which looks in contrast one of almost grotesque simplicity. He walked round the sea of Galilee, found and called Peter, Andrew and John; passed the receipt of custom and called Matthew; met Paul on the way to Damascus, and called him, and out of these men whom the statesmen of today would have classed with the residuum, or men of culture have described as the dregs of society—for they were men who were by their own day and people despised as publicans and avoided as sinners—Christ made his society. And what in his hands did they become? He changed Peter, the fisherman, into the man who founded churches and gave his name as saint and patron to the proudest of historical societies. And John he

made into the writer of the greatest history that ever came from the pen of man. And Paul he made into the great apostle and missionary, father of the Gentile churches and author of epistles whose spirit and speech are almost as quickening as the words of the master himself. These he took and out of them made the men we know, but his power was not exhausted when they were enlisted and disciplined for service. Nay, it continued, became, as it were, a permanent, moral energy, indestructible yet ever convertible, which embodied itself first in these apostolic men, but did not pass with their passing, but age by age, generation by generation, re-incorporated itself in new men and new institutions, behaving as becomes a power almighty, invincible, capable of creating the kingdom Christ founded, of realizing the idea he proclaimed.

III.

Now take this Christ and attempt to explain him by his historical conditions and circumstances. Where do you find in these conditions and circumstances any cause or factor capable of appearing even as an endeavour at a show of an explanation? Take his intellectual creations, his moral character, and his social idea, all as tested and elucidated by his action and function in history, and then ask where in his society, in his time, in his place, in his people, in a word, in his whole environment, have you factors to account for the total result? Before him there had lived prophets of a sublime monotheism, priests of an elaborate worship, around him lived rabbis of varied schools, leaders of many sects, but what man with the winsomeness of character, the universalism of mind and aim, the transcendence of idea and motive you find in him? Before he can be held the child of his age, the age must be proved capable of being his father, but the remarkable thing is the degree in which the effect transcends in all the elements of personality all the qualities that can be discovered in the cause. What is necessary is to explain how the Supreme Person of history comes out of meanest conditions, yet how can a mean and narrow environment be the factor of universal supremacy? Let us reverse the position and look at a man of perennial achievement both in thought and in religion

who may be explained by his conditions, Plato. He is a man of supreme literary genius giving the highest philosophical speculation in a form impressive to the imagination of all cultivated men, whatever their race or age. He is a man of purest religious genius, penetrated through and through with a passion to create the holy, with a desire to achieve the good. He is a man with a great social idea, the wish to build up in Greece, but for all time, a republic, which shall yet be a society governed by divine laws, imitated from the divine. He is the superlative genius in philosophy of his people, and they were of all peoples the foremost in speculative power, and his age was their golden age in philosophical and literary achievement. Before him there had lived many philosophers, everyone of whom contributed elements to his thought, and these he preserves and glorifies. Before him poets had lived, the classical poets of all time—epic, lyric, tragic—giving, in poems so perfect as to be immortal, expression to the multitudinous emotions and aspirations of the men of Greece. Before him Greek art had made actual the ideal of beauty, shaping with plastic hand out of cold and dark marble a form so divine that men felt as they looked upon Pheidias' head of Zeus,—Lo! we have beheld God face to face. Before him there had happened those great political events that had fused the scattered and independent Greek cities into a single united Greek people, and had made them conscious of a mission far beyond their own borders. And in his own Attic land the splendid genius of Pericles had made Athens illustrious forever, and created the most brilliant society the world has ever known. Conceive, then, this society as it stood, imaginative, literary, æsthetic, religious, which was as it were the mother from whose fruitful breast the young Plato sucked the milk of culture. Here was an environment which could educate; yet even with it he was not content. He wandered through Greece and forth into larger realms, into more ancient countries, stood face to face with their wisdom, the wisdom of Egypt and the further Orient. And he came back to Athens, drew around him a band of distinguished disciples, who gave almost as much as they received, and while he was the quickening center, they were a sensitive and stimula-

tive circumference. And in their creative fellowship, breathing the crystal air and feeling the high inspiration of his own famed city, he lived a long, happy and productive life, reaching a ripe and honored age. And what did he accomplish? Great things, nay, the very greatest possible in philosophy, yet in philosophy that is, as it were, the clarified spirit of religion. This he bequeathed in books, in dialogues, which have so enriched the literature of the world that it has never allowed them to die, but has treasured them for their truth, admired them for their beauty and imitated their form. And so this man may be said to have created a philosophy which has helped to civilize man, and a literature which the world, so long as civilized will neither forget nor ignore.

Yet compare the man of whom all these high and proud things can be said with this Jesus who issues untought, unfamed, from obscure Nazareth into a world narrow, limited, and through it to the throne of intellectual and moral supremacy over man. Compare them, or rather, contrast them; for how can the two be placed in comparison, when in every respect,—birth, rank, education,—Plato is a splendid contrast to Jesus, while in historical function and achievement Jesus is a still more splendid contrast to Plato. Now let me put this question to you: Suppose on the day of Christ's death you had asked Pilate, or later had inquired of the orators of Greece, or of the philosophers of Athens,—do you think there is any similarity between Socrates who drank the hemlock, or Plato, who speculated concerning the ideal truth and society, and this Jesus? How do you think your inquiry would have been met? Can you imagine the scorn, the dazed wonder with which your question would have been received? Nay, could it ever have formed itself in any human soul, especially if souls were then as they are today? Yet now, when eighteen centuries have had time to consider and deliver judgment, what is their verdict? That this Plato with everything in his favor that time could give, is good for scholars and great in literature; but that this Christ is supreme in history, necessary to its order and so needful to man as to be

the very star of his hope, and the very light divine amid the darkness of his mortal being.

IV.

So far then we have been dealing with Christ in relation to his time and through it. And we have seen the miraculous contrast between him and his circumstances, between the actual condition in which he appeared and lived and the actual deeds which he has performed. And before I come to what seems to me, the inevitable deduction, I wish you to observe some of the features which he bears in the evangelical histories. The evangelists describe him in twofold terms, terms that are entirely natural, and terms as distinctly supernatural. He appears as the child of Joseph and Mary, humble inhabitants of Nazareth, as growing in wisdom, in grace, in stature, in favor with God and with man. He is represented as hungry, as thirsty, as suffering, as dying, as dead. But he appears also in an entirely different character, as a great worker of wonders, a doer of mighty deeds, and after the death of the cross, he appears again as one who arose from the dead. Now we have to mark this: There is a remarkable sobriety in the miracles that are ascribed to him. There is a wonderful sanity in them. It is more remarkable because in this region imagination when allowed to work freely never works sanely. What kind of miracles does he do? He creates joy at a wedding by ministering to innocent pleasure. He heals the blind, the halt, the lame, the sick of the palsy; he brings comfort to the widow who has lost a son, to the Gentile nobleman who mourns a child; he creates joy in the heart of the woman who had sought counsel of many physicians and only grew the worse for all their healing. He goes through life like a kind of organized beneficence, creating health and happiness. Now take the religious miracles of the ordinary type and you will find them to be in all their most characteristic features the exact reverse. They reflect a morbid temper, a fantastic and even childish imagination, such a temper as made a late distinguished Oxford scholar, whose biography is in process of appearing, turn the common blessings of life, like the water he drank and the food he ate, into means of penance and ministers of melancholy.

Or take the extravagant miraculous legends of the Middle Ages or of Buddhism as typical of the fantasy which creates and delights in the marvelous and the supernatural. Thus there is the tale of the culprit about to be hanged, who prays to the virgin, and when the rope is around his neck she comes and so holds him up that the rope has no chance of effecting its purpose. If we contrast this characteristic insanity of the common religious miracle, with the remarkable sanity that distinguishes all the miracles of Christ, we can hardly fail to feel the difference between the sobriety of history and the topsy-turvydom of dreams.

But here another point emerges, the extraordinary discrimination which the evangelists made between what we may term the personal and the altruistic acts of Christ. They represent all his miracles as worked for others, never as for himself. There is not one single self-regarding miracle attributed to him. That is not what one would *a priori* have expected, for it is not what we have been accustomed to find in mythical narratives. But let us observe how intrinsic the matter is to our gospel histories. There is the temptation, which we may assume represents a fact. For the mind of the Messiah must have passed through a great intellectual crisis or conflict of ideals when the consciousness of his mission first became clear and imperative within him. Now what was the first temptation? "Make these stones bread." What did it mean? "Do for yourself what you have power to do for others. It cannot be wrong to do for yourself, the greater person, what it is right to do for the infirm, who are the less important. You are to feed the hungry. Feed yourself. Use your miraculous power for your own ends and good." But why does he regard this as a temptation and how does he meet it? "Man," he says, "does not live by bread alone." If he had performed this miracle for himself, it would have signified that he took himself out of the category of manhood; that he surrendered the act of sacrifice. It would have meant that that great act was not of obedience, but purely an act of personal power. So the temptation is rejected, and he says man shall not live by bread alone. Now take the second temptation: "Cast thyself down from this pinna-

cle of the temple, for it is written, he shall give his angels charge over thee." What did that mean? Exactly the opposite. "Treat yourself as so much an object of care to God that if you throw yourself down from here, God will intervene, act as he acts in no other cases, and miraculously save you." And what is his answer? "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." And why such an answer? If he had dealt with himself in his own case as a special object of care for God, here again isolation from man would have been evident; manhood would have been surrendered, and he would have ceased to be our brother, made in all things like unto his brethren. Yet so deep is the belief in the hearts of men that miraculous power where it exists is power, meant expressly for one's own purpose and one's own person, that the very ideas and suggestions present in the temptation reappear in the mockery which affronts the tragedy of the cross. Thus: "He saved others, himself he cannot save." They hold that as he does not save himself he cannot be possessed of divine power. Or they say, "Come down from the cross and save thyself and us," which is just the tempter's first suggestion in another form. Or, "He trusted in God, let him see if God will have him," which is only a revised and adapted version of the second temptation. The very same idea underlies these several sayings, and it is this: If he has supernatural power he will use it in his own behalf and for his own ends. This was man's idea, but it does not represent Christ's mind or will. In his whole life and in all his actions he never exercised his miraculous power for himself; always and only for men. Now mark, this is something entirely different from what the religious legends which embody popular expectations and beliefs express and reveal. For example, when Mohammed fleeing from Mecca was hotly pursued by his foes, he is represented as taking refuge in a cavern, and as soon as he has entered a spider comes and weaves its web over the mouth of the cave. When the pursuers come they see the spider's web and say, "He cannot have entered here, for this web could not be so quickly woven" and so they ride on. It is a rule then that men who write the histories of religious persons whom they credit with miraculous power, give them the power in the first instance

for their own behalf, and only as a second and later purpose on behalf of man. But Christ, from first to last, in all his acts and in all his doings, disclaims and refuses to exercise miraculous power for himself. In his mind it is man's, not his own; to be used always and only in the service of those who need and who suffer, never for personal interests or aims.

V.

But there is another point of view from which this power must be viewed: in its bearing on his moral character and his moral relations to men. Have you ever considered what a tremendous gift miraculous power would be. What a tax it would be upon moral restraint and all the qualities men must see and believe in that they may trust! Consider how a man is affected by power which other men may not challenge and are unable to resist. It tends to brutalize to de-humanize, to make the man lower in moral tone and character than his fellows. Indeed, there is nothing that depraves like the possession of absolute power. Two ends of society are the points at which you find the deepest and worst crime: Up at the very top, down at the very bottom. Two things are calamities; being so high exalted as to be above criticism, being so far depressed as to be below it. Be thankful that there is criticism around you; the keener the better. Man needs it. He can best bear it who is the best man. For unless associated with a goodness truly divine, absolute power can only deprave. What an awful record is the record, for example, of the imperial court of Russia. What a record of sin, of crime, of the beastliest vice. Despotism is hard on the victims who are below it, but hardest on the victim who is above, the despot himself. And if you enlarge the principle and imagine a being possessed of miraculous power alive in the world, you will at once perceive what a moral tax such a possession involves; to be able to heal man, to smite men, to have a knowledge which makes them seem transparent globes whose inner secrets the tongue may falsify but cannot reveal, to have hidden energies which can be used for personal advantage or neighborly spite,—what a nature of absolute godliness is

needed in order to guide and in order to control such an awful and ominous power. Were Satan for one moment to ascend the throne of the Almighty, would not, in that moment, the work of all eternity be undone? Satan transformed for one hour into God would mean that the universe were a universe no more. But here is Christ with this marvelous power, and he is never corrupted by its use. Men believe that he possesses it, and they see him exercise it, but they never distrust him, never suspect him or feel that his presence or his purpose is other than beneficent. It does not divide him from men; rather they are turned the more to him; they presume the more upon him that they believe him to be supernatural. Consider this remarkable fact: His enemies do not deny his miracles, but go to him and say, "Thou doest these things by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils." And what does this mean? They confess that he did the things, but ascribe them to devilish power. Now if they had believed that the power in him was the devil's would they not have spoken him softly and called him the gentlest names they knew? Would they not have flattered him until they got out of his reach, saying to him "kindly devil," while all the time they thought him a devilish devil. And if these men dared to come into the presence of Christ, acknowledging his power, and yet saying, it is by Beelzebub, did they not thus pay the greatest tribute they could give to his purity, to his divine gentleness, to his sovereign control over himself? Such they seem to think is the marvelous strength of the grace he impersonates; that they can even dare to presume upon it and name him what they know he is not, and cannot possibly be.

Here, then, we have a unique miracle of the moral kind, power absolute, that does not deprave. While the power is so absolute, still the grace is greater; for the men who have acknowledged the power venture to presume upon the moral control of the character. But this is not all: We have next to look at some literary questions which are here involved. The evangelists became his historians, and in their histories they perform this remarkable feat, they wed the person they believe supernatural to an actual world, they describe the

life he actually lived. Now, I am speaking to people who live in a literary age; to men who know the conditions of literary work. Let me set you then a problem: Suppose you had to represent the career of a person possessed of the miraculous power attributed to Christ, in what terms would you write his history? Suppose you were told he is a person who had power to heal the sick, cure the blind, and even raise the dead; how would you proceed in representing him? Or take another case: Suppose you had set as the text the eighteen verses of the first chapter of John, "In the beginning was the word and the word was with God, and was God." "And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us." "No man hath seen God at any time, but the only begotten Son, who is the bosom of the Father; he hath declared him." This then is your text, and you are required to write a history as a sermon to this text. What kind of deeds; would you give him; what kind of character would you ascribe to him? What sort of words would you put into his mouth? You would not dare to make him feeble and weak and suffering and dying. No, you would have to keep him as remote as possible from commonplace humanity. You would feel bound to represent everything on a gigantic scale; stupendous, abnormal, unnatural, not merely supernatural. But look what the gospels do; you step from the highest speculation to the simplest history. Christ walking by the sea and calling his disciples. Christ going to the wedding; Christ meeting Nicodemus—Nicodemus coming by night, coming, in deference to his conscience, coming by night, in deference to the Jews. Jesus, not standing on his dignity, but receiving the man who comes in the darkness, yet speaking to him as if all mankind stood in that one man before him. Look at him again with the woman of Samaria, tired and thirsty, asking water to drink; speaking to her, not as if she were an outcast woman, but as if in her all mankind did live. How marvelous it is, the humanity, simple, common, everyday, yet the great background, never forgotten, never absent one moment from the evangelist's thought, and underneath all there is the great idea—man is the image of God, and so the fittest vehicle for the revelation of him whose image he is. We may say,

then, were the gospels inventions, whether mythical or designed, they were the most marvelous literary creations on record. They contradict all other mythologies, for they do not make the miracle a power for personal good. They contradict all literary art, for they found a common familiar history upon the most marvelous of all conceptions as to the person whose history it is. And under all the history lies that great sense of the supernatural. "He is the light of the world; he is the life of the world;" through its darkness he shines; by his death it is redeemed from mortality.

How, then, did they understand this person? There are two interpretations that are allowed to stand side by side in the gospels. There is a strict naturalism represented by Pilate, represented by Caiaphas, represented by the Romans and by the Jews. The naturalism is this: "Jesus of Nazareth is a troublesome person, a carpenter, the son of Joseph and Mary. Let us put him to death." The other view is the supernaturalism of the evangelists: "He is the Son of God; he is the Son of Man. He is the Word made flesh. He is the light of the world. He is the life of the world. He has been in the bosom of the Father. He has come forth to speak unto men." These two views stand side by side; but we can now bring them to the bar of history and ask, which is the truer? If you had lived then you would probably not have doubted one moment that the truth was with Pilate when he said, "I have power to crucify thee and I have power to release thee." But dare you now say that the truth is with Pilate? Whether is the natural or the supernatural the more reasonable and the more philosophical explanation of the facts of history? Was not the evangelical interpretation of his person a marvelous prophetic forecast which all history has tended to justify? This is the question which I leave to make its appeal to you as unto reasonable men. Which of these alternative explanations offers the best solution of the problem? The person must contain the sufficient reason for all the effects he has produced, and where the effects are so extraordinary can the person be less than divine?

WHAT THE HIGHER CRITICISM IS NOT.

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AT a first glance it would appear to be a much easier task to say what a thing is not than to define it accurately and minutely. The sphere of the negative is much larger than that of the positive and one can draw out of it more easily the materials for his negative answer. But this is a delusion. For a negative answer framed of materials out of the broad sphere of negations about anything would possess little value if any. The object of the negative question is not, after all, to secure a mere negative answer, but to approach as nearly as possible the positive definition. The most satisfactory way of securing this end, it must be evident at the outset, is that of distinguishing the object negatively to be defined from certain other objects with which it is liable to be confused. There are two classes of objects with which anything may be confused, and from which it is always necessary to distinguish it. These are first objects of the same kind or genus and second objects of a different kind but associated with it in the relations of cause, effect, time or space. Without trying to keep these two classes separate in our answer to the question, What the Higher Criticism is not, we will endeavor to enumerate some out of each class with which experience has proved that the Higher Criticism is being constantly confused.

1. The Higher Criticism is not the criticism of the literary characteristics of the Bible. Whether a book contains good poetry or elegant prose; whether its style is that of a master or of a novice; whether it is beautiful or indifferent, it is not the task of the Higher Criticism to pronounce. Not that it does not take cognizance of or deal with these peculiarities, but that it does not concern itself with them for themselves, but for the light they throw on a different set of questions, viz., those of the

origin, composition and value for the purposes for which the writings were intended. For this reason the common statement that the Higher Criticism is an unfortunate term and that the title "Literary Criticism" would better describe the thing meant, is not altogether true. The phrase Higher Criticism may be an unfortunate one, but the phrase Literary Criticism would be quite as objectionable. It would suggest the criticism of the biblical books as literary productions, which whether legitimate or not, is not what the Higher Criticism sets out to do. It asks not what are the beauties or defects of these productions from the æsthetic point of view, but what are the facts as to their authorship, construction, unity, time and place of composition, literary form and credibility as history or authority as ethics and religion. When it has found answers to these questions, its work is ended.

2. The Higher Criticism is not a philosophical principle or mode of viewing the Bible and its contents. There is a system of interpretation which begins with the denial of the possibility of miracles. When this system comes across the account of a supernatural event, it sets to work to explain it away. It assumes that the account is either in whole or in part the result of error or deception. When it is impossible to do this, it resorts to the denial of the genuineness or authenticity of the book in which it is found. By putting an interval of a generation or a century between the occurrence of the alleged supernatural event and the recording of it, it aims to allow for the growth of the belief in the miraculous nature of the occurrence and relieve its alleged eyewitnesses from the charge of deception or error. This is the rationalistic system of interpretation and criticism in which the philosophical assumption that miracles are impossible precedes conditions and determines the results. Sometimes these results are given out in the name of the Higher Criticism. Transparent as is this effort of the rationalist to claim the authority of a scientific method for his views to the expert, it is not easy for the inexperienced and the layman to see the distinction. He cannot too strenuously insist on the necessity of keeping apart the method of research and the rationalistic postulates

on the basis of which it is used by some. In the early days of the science of geology some atheists tried to palm off the atheistic conclusions which they drew from the discoveries of geologists as the inevitable results of geological investigation. They had carried their atheism into geology as postulates and could take from geology atheism as a result. But geology and atheism were not and never became synonymous. Thus criticism and rationalism should not be allowed to become synonymous, but as soon as possible, and as sharply as possible, distinguished from one another.

3. The Higher Criticism is not a theory of inspiration. The mistake of identifying this phrase with some theory of inspiration (generally a loose one and such as tends to annul or destroy the faith of believers in the divine origin of the Bible) arises as follows: Theories of inspiration may be built either on (1) the *statements* of the Scriptures regarding their origin and nature as as a rule of faith, or (2) on the *facts* as to the human origin of these Scriptures discovered by investigation apart from what they say of themselves. If the first of these methods be adopted exclusively the result might be one, and if the second it might be altogether different. The Higher Criticism may be taken as a guide in determining what the facts are and the second method may be adopted upon the basis of the facts thus found without reference to the claims of the Scriptures for themselves. Or, these claims may be explained away consistently with the view formulated apart from them without any modification of the view in the light thrown on the subject by them. In such a case the Higher Criticism will appear to lead to a specific view of inspiration. This has caused many to think that there is a radical theory of inspiration to be associated with the Higher Criticism and to speak of this theory as the Higher Criticism. That this is also a mistake the above analysis of the case will suffice to show.

4. The Higher Criticism is not a set of views as to the books of the Bible. It has been said above that it aims to find answers to certain questions. When those answers are found to the satisfaction of an individual critic or of a school of critics they are

not to be called the Higher Criticism. They may be true or false; this has nothing to do with naming them. They are simply results. It would be as reasonable to call the piece of work that has been fashioned by some machine by the name of the machine as to call certain views reached by it by the name of the Higher Criticism. At this point the offenders are not merely the inexperienced and laymen, but some of the most prominent men in this field. Their prominence should not condone the offense of confusing a mere tool, a mere method, with the results which they have obtained by its use. It is a serious offense. It has led to an intense dislike for the name of criticism which interferes with its lawful progress. These results, crude and unsatisfactory for the most part to others, have been put forth as "the Higher Criticism." The indiscriminating public has taken the name in good faith and reasoned that if that is Higher Criticism it would have none of it. Specifically we may name two popular forms of this mistake. (1) That which makes the Higher Criticism a series of analytic results. That the Pentateuch was composed by four or more writers; that Isaiah is not one book but at least two and perhaps five or six produced at different times between the days of the prophet of that name under Hezekiah and the latter part of the exile; that Zechariah was composed by two or more authors; to hold these views is according to this form of the error, to be a "Higher Critic." (2) The second form of this error does not limit the Higher Criticism to analytic views but to views differing from those that have been believed in the past. The opposites according to this form of it are "Tradition" and "Higher Criticism" and these are mutually exclusive. To be a Higher Critic is to deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; to assign the book of Ecclesiastes to later than Solomon's date and authorship; to ascribe the book of Daniel to the Maccabean period and in general to attach different dates to the biblical writings than those currently accepted in the Church. Whether the scholar has reached these results by patient investigation or by bare and bald conjecture it makes no difference to the one who labors under this error; as long as he holds these views regarding the books of

the Bible he is a Higher Critic. On the other hand no matter how carefully and patiently one may have labored upon an inductive basis to reach answers to the questions of criticism, if he has not come to believe that tradition is all wrong about the Bible, he is not a Higher Critic.

Is it not high time to rescue the name and with it the science and method of investigation from this confusion and abuse?

THE USE OF MYTHIC ELEMENTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. II.

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It seems plain, therefore, that some of the Old Testament writers made use of myths and semi-myths in illustrating and enforcing the message committed to them; and that they did so is not anything surprising. Everyone admits that a myth is capable of teaching very important moral and spiritual truth. The story of Prometheus, for example, contains some of the profoundest truths connected with the fall and redemption of man, set forth mostly in broken light and shadow, it is true, yet the really devout among the Greeks must have had their minds made accustomed to the idea of divine mercy as well as divine wrath, substitution,¹ or sacrifice of one person for another, and the final adjustment of wrong by the overcoming power of good.

Is it said that these ideas were very dim? Yes, so they were, and yet let us bear in mind that even in the education of the Jews dim ideas were the starting point of many a glorious enlightening truth in the subsequent years and ages. In the Bible, as in nature and in history, God makes use of every material. Nothing really ever "walks with aimless feet." The divine music of revelation is given forth by a harp of a thousand strings.

We all willingly admit that the Spirit in his revealing the mind and heart of the Father, from the moment when the morning stars sang together over the creation of man till the angels sang together over the birth of the New Man, made use of some very weak and erring men and women, as to both life and character. Why should we fear to admit that erring thoughts and

¹ *Voluntary* substitution, I mean, for that is wherein Chiron's releasing Prometheus radically differed from the common idea of involuntary sacrifice to appease the wrath of some god.

imaginations of the heart were also used? Over and over do we find that the tree of life grows in the same garden, has its roots in the same soil, as does the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Again and again do we find that, in the divine economy and conservation of truth, new increments of revelation are additions to the old. God uses the language of men, language they can understand, not unintelligible dead speech, nor a manufactured article. Men were not to be drugged, but fed; not to be overwhelmed by blazing illuminated texts written on the sky, but to be bidden hear and interpret the non-vocal day unto day uttering speech, and the silent night unto night showing knowledge; not to be made to stand forever before the thundering Sinai, but to be gently led by unseen hands into green pastures and beside still waters. Every advance in knowledge has revealed the fact that past knowledge has been mixed with error; and, moreover, that the very error has been of some help, sometimes seemingly the only help, to the advance. This is true, I repeat, of God's revelation to men. God had to teach *men*; and to teach men means that wrong ideas are not all to be got rid of at once and forever. Every parent knows, every true teacher knows, that errors cannot be corrected wholesale; but that inadequate ideas, even wrong ideas, are to be gently disentangled from the true, and even treated as true for the time. That there has ever been this adaptation of revelation to men as they could bear it, this wise accommodation of truth to the hardness of men's heads as well as to the hardness of their hearts, we have not only the word but the practice of the Christ; and so, if one will think of it, he will recognize that many of the leading truths of revelation were *actively* prepared for by the "thoughts and imaginations," as well as by the work and by the experience of peoples other than the Jews. As an illustration, consider the incarnation of the Christ.

Many peoples, especially the Greeks and those taught by the Greeks, have in a variety of ways conceived of unions of divine and human beings, incarnations of gods who have lived and wrought among men. The world was thus made *familiar* with the thought of that possibility. Shall I therefore conclude that

the incarnation of the Christ was only *one* of these many conceptions? I think not, but rather that these *imaginings* were real preparations for the reception of the true incarnation. Is it not a significant fact, I ask in this connection, that the very nation to whom this thought was the least familiar (the Jewish) was and has continued to be the least ready of any people to accept Jesus as the incarnate Christ? Speaking after the manner of men we may say reverently that God could not have saved men had the conception of some sort of incarnation of deity never been formed in the minds of men till the angels announced the fact just outside of Bethlehem. It would not have been believed.

Again everyone knows how liable figurative language is to be misunderstood, nay, to misrepresent the truth, and yet no book in the world is fuller of figures of speech than the Bible. It is as full of figures as is human speech itself. In spite of the fact that every figure is at best but a half-truth, more often but a very small fraction of a truth; in spite of the fact that to this figurative use of speech is due the most, yes, nearly every misunderstanding and error as to the meaning of the Bible, here the Bible is with all its figures. With sublime trust in itself the record of God's revelation is given just as it is. Slowly, under the promised guidance of the Spirit, its meaning is being made clear; and the more it is understood the better we are coming to see that just as the entire round of human character and experience is represented, so all shades of thought and feeling are brought into subjection to the grand ruling motive that has collected under one cover specimens of nearly every kind of writing written by men. Christians are more and more seeing that the very things which show that men, subject to like passions as themselves; men under the influence of their times and still superior to them; men with earnest purpose making use of all their knowledge and experience; men with little culture and men with much culture; men with the calm, unruffled trust of the author of that idyl *Ruth*, and men capable of the pessimism professed in the confessions of Koheleth the doubter—the very things, I say, that show that *men* wrote the books of the Bible are the very best

proofs that they wrote when moved by the Holy Spirit. Every fresh evidence of the human element only serves, if rightly interpreted, to enhance the presence and value of the divine; and, therefore, as it seems to me, the presence of what may justly be called mythic elements in the Old Testament not only adds to its historical and philosophical interest and riches but also brings out more clearly than ever the overruling power of the divine Spirit, who has used them to the glory of God instead of leaving them for the mere æsthetic pleasure of men.

Shall we, therefore, make haste to create or multiply evidences of the human in the Bible that proofs of inspiration may abound? Not at all, we are not to make haste in any attempt to understand the Scriptures, but at the same time we are not to shut our eyes for fear, or raise presumptuous hands to steady what seems to us the tottering ark.

The evidences that along the lines of the revelation recorded in these writings God is slowly but surely working out the salvation of men, are altogether too well established to be lessened by evidences of imperfections in the earthen vessels bearing the heavenly treasure.

This brings me to consider three peculiarities which mark the Old Testament use of these mythic elements. These peculiarities not only distinguish the Bible from all other books of the same or about the same age in this particular, but also save the Bible from any harm arising from the fact of such use.

I have already incidentally mentioned one peculiarity, the complete absence of all stories about the gods, and as a consequence the reducing to very narrow limits all reference to the mythic or legendary, or use of the same. Granting all that can with reason be claimed, the number of references is surprisingly few. The decided monotheistic trend of the writers and compilers seems to have checked mere fancy and to have solemnized their imaginations to an unusual degree.

Again the moral purpose of every reference is so plain that no one can mistake it. This is true even in allusions to so insignificant creatures as fabulous birds and beasts. The supremacy of the Lord Jehovah is insisted on at every turn and in all rela-

tions. For the most part, as we have seen, ancient mythic beliefs and folklore are used merely as *illustrations* by poets and prophets, with no indications, *necessarily*, of the writer's own belief or disbelief in them. Indeed, we find the author of Job, with a *naïve* indifference that is refreshing, attributing to the Lord himself references to mythic beliefs for the purposes of instruction. In Job (38:33) mention is made of that ancient belief of astrology, the well nigh universal idea that the stars have an influence over the lives and destinies of man, and over other affairs on the earth. The Lord thus addresses Job out of the whirlwind:

"Knowest thou the ordinances of the heavens?

Canst thou establish the dominion thereof in the heavens?"

It is the Lord also who refers to loosing the bands of Orion, to leading forth the Mazzaroth in their season, and to guiding the bear with her young, everyone of which ideas were mythic in origin. For this reason no one need be disturbed even if there were evidence of ten times as many mythic elements as there are. No one ever was or could be led astray by such use as is made of them in the Old Testament. The very great superiority of the Hebrew narratives, in this respect, over similar accounts by the Greeks is seen at almost every point when we bring the two into the light of reason and an enlightened conscience.

It is with no carping spirit that I call attention, by way of example, to the admixture of earthen elements in two of the pregnant Greek accounts. I believe, with Hawthorne, that any coarse and vile features which may be found in these Greek myths, are excrescences, parasitical growths, which drop off of themselves the moment you attempt to get at the essential parts so as to tell them to innocent children. I also believe, with Emerson, that "the voice of fable has in it somewhat divine. It came from thought above the will of the writer." These gropings after the truth are, according to a greater (in this sphere of thought) than even Hawthorne or Emerson, feelings after God and are to be treated as such.

The gold and the silver of Nebuchadnezzar's image were

none the less gold and silver albeit resting on brass and iron, at the same time, we cannot refuse to remember that the gold and the silver, the brass and the iron even in that imaginary image all rested on feet partly of iron and partly of clay.

The outlines of the first story, the introduction of evil into the world, are that Hephæstus was instructed to make a figure of clay, in which Zeus breathed the breath of life, and upon whom all the gods and goddesses showered their several gifts so that she became Pandora, a human being, radiant with all the fascinating charms of womanhood. This beautiful being, gifted with all gifts, was first sent to Prometheus to entrap him, but, foreseeing the trap, he refused the gift. Pandora was then taken to Epimetheus, to whom had been committed the jar or box containing all the future ills of mankind. Pandora, though warned and forbidden to open the fatal box, yielded to curiosity and lifted the lid whence escaped all diseases and troubles of mankind; but she shut down the lid in time to keep hope from flying away.

It is plain that the points of similarity between the Hebrew and Greek accounts are striking. The starting points are the same, hidden and forbidden knowledge— forbidden by the divine, desired by the human—in both the female is the first transgressor (perhaps because the writers in both cases were men); in both evil results follow immediately upon the act of disobedience; in both hope remains with the guilty pairs.

But the points of contrast are far more striking; and, were there time, it would be easy to show in detail the very great superiority of the Jewish over the Grecian story in a certain naturalness, in artistic perspective, and in philosophic insight. It may be noticed in passing, however, that in the Jewish account the knowledge is, so to speak, worth knowing. It appealed to a legitimate hunger of the human mind. To become as wise as God or the gods was worthy of a being created in the image of God; the motive in the case of Pandora was a woman's whim, mere vulgar curiosity to know what was in the closed jar. We may pass by the device of enclosing all ills, diseases and troubles in a jar; which is somewhat clumsy, to say the least (unless we choose to see in it an unconscious discovery or prophecy of

the modern germ theory of disease); but we cannot fail to notice that the *sin* of disobedience, which stands out so sharply in the Jewish account as the *root* of all evil and death itself, is scarcely outlined in the Greek tale: indeed it has to be almost read into the story before one can find it at all.

The second example, the story of Prometheus, is, perhaps, the noblest, most profound and spiritually suggestive of all the Greek myths. Briefly, the story in its most ancient forms was that Prometheus, for the benefit of mankind, but against the wish and command of Zeus, stole fire from heaven or the sun and gave it to men. As a punishment he was chained to the rocks, and a huge bird was appointed to prey upon his perpetually renewed vitals. Finally, Hercules was permitted to slay this bird of vengeance and torment; and the stern, invincible, and self-forgetting champion of humanity was, afterward, released from his chains by Chiron, the immortal Centaur, who voluntarily took his place, thus meeting the vicarious condition of that release fixed by Zeus himself.

I confess great reluctance in calling attention to the defects in this grandly pregnant myth; for, if the human reason and imagination, and may I add heart, ever came near to the central truths of our faith, they did so in beauty loving Greece in this story of Prometheus: and yet, beautiful and grand and significant and *true* as it is, the light that comes from it is a broken light after all—the lenses are defective. Prometheus gives men fire, at the certain penalty to himself, out of disinterested love for man, so far as man is concerned; but he also braves the anger of a disobeyed Zeus out of revenge and hate to Zeus himself. Zeus, out of a kind of pity and even mercy, permits Hercules to do a brave deed of compassion; but Zeus hopes thereby to win from his otherwise unconquerable defier the secret which Prometheus alone can divulge, and the possession of which Zeus knows to be indispensable to his permanency as ruler of gods and men. Chiron, the wise and loving teacher of the best Greek heroes, *vicariously* takes Prometheus' place in chains on the bleak rocks of Caucasus; but he does it avowedly to escape from an undeserved but immortal wound unwittingly inflicted upon him by his

renowned pupil Hercules. Thus selfish and interested motives appear in what seem to be acts of pure mercy and love. The light is not white but colored. The water is not the water of life from heaven, but is bitter with the salts of earth. God could not yet reveal to and through these old Greek poets and sages the severely simple truth brought to light in the life and work and death of Jesus, the Jew—God *so loved* the world that he *gave* his only begotten son—; and hence, while thankful for what these old seekers after God did see and did give us of truth, we turn unfilled and unsatisfied to those who, for some reason, were permitted to catch and transmit the truth of eternal life.

There is still another peculiarity which is even more striking and significant than the two already mentioned. I refer to the almost complete absence of what may be called pure personification. The only exceptions, I can recall, are the personification of wisdom in Proverbs, and the personification of Jerusalem, or that for which Jerusalem stood, and a few others of similar nature. Of course if we take the ordinary definitions of personification, or the loose use of the term ordinarily employed, we can find an almost endless number of examples in the Old Testament; for certain qualities or activities of persons are ascribed to well-nigh every kind of inanimate as well as animate objects. Floods and springs, trees, mountains and hills clap their hands and shout for joy, yea, they also sing. Hear the Psalmist:

Praise ye him, sun and moon:
 Praise him, all ye stars of light.
 Praise him, ye heavens of heavens,
 And ye waters that be above the heavens.

* * * * *

Ye dragons, and all deeps:
 Fire and hail, snow and vapor;
 Stormy wind, fulfilling his word:
 Mountains and all hills;
 Fruitful trees and all cedars:
 Beasts and all cattle,
 Creeping things and flying fowl;

and thus the whole round of nature is called upon to do what

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 Stormy wind, fulfilling his word:
 Mountains and all hills;
 Fruitful trees and all cedars:
 Beasts and all cattle,
 Creeping things and flying fowl;

and thus the whole round of nature is called upon to do what

only a person can do: but in all this there is no real personification in the sense in which the Greeks understood and used that term. Even that remarkably beautiful expression, "the eyelids of the morning," summons before us no radiant figure like Phœbus. There is a spirit, a life in all these things, but it is the spirit of God who causeth the grass to grow and sendeth forth the springs. We search in vain in the Old Testament for any hint of hamydryads or dryads or naiads or nymphs. Metaphor and simile and apostrophe follow one another in quick succession on the sacred page but no bodying forth, no proper personification. "The sun is *as* a bridegroom coming out of his chamber and rejoiceth *as* a strong man to run a race;" but the earth is not our mother, nor the sky our father. The moon is not the swift huntress, nor the pale goddess of night, nor the pallid goddess of the under world.

If any one wishes to realize the radical difference there is between the Old Testament way of attributing personal qualities and activities to physical phenomena and the personifying of these same phenomena in Greek mythology, let him read the rhapsodies of St. Francis, who addresses the rain as his sister and the wind as his brother, thus uniting Greek mythology with Jewish, or I should rather say, with Christian theology. We are constantly personifying nature, for example, but, in so doing, we follow Greek thought and not Hebrew.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, this absence of real personification in the Old Testament sets the writers apart in their use of the mythic element, and shows conclusively that they were the masters and not the slaves of their imaginations; and that they were the masters was because they wrote not by or through themselves alone, but as they were moved by Him who ruleth over all.

Indeed, I must go farther than this and say that, had I found in the Bible no use made of what has played so important a part in the development and training of human thought and character, these writings would have been to me somewhat less than the full revelation of the mind of the Father, the Eternal Lover of men, to his children.

Aids to Bible Readers.¹

THE EARLIEST LETTERS OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.

By ERNEST D. BURTON.
The University of Chicago.

I. THE FIRST LETTER TO THE THESSALONIANS.

AT THE head of the Gulf of Salonica lies today the city of Saloniki, next after Constantinople the most important city of Turkey in Europe. Beautiful for situation, admirably located for maritime commerce, the southeastern terminus of a railroad, recently completed and connecting it with central Europe, it seems destined to be with every passing decade a place of greater importance. Twenty-four centuries of continuous history are behind it, through twenty-two of which it has borne substantially the same name. For the modern Saloniki is but the abbreviated form of the name Thessalonica, which Philip of Macedonia is said to have given to his daughter in commemoration of a victory over the Thessalians won on the day of her birth, and which when this daughter had grown to maturity her husband, Cassander, gave in honor of his wife to the city which he built on the site of the ancient Halia.

Three centuries and a half after Cassander named it Thessalonica, Paul the Apostle visited this city bringing to it the message of the gospel. He was making his first preaching tour through Macedonia (his second missionary journey as we commonly reckon the missionary journeys), and had just come from Philippi and the evil treatment to which he had been subjected there (I. Thess. 2:1, 2).

His labor here, or at least his success, was chiefly among the Gentiles, and these indeed not proselytes of Judaism either in the stricter or the looser sense of the term, but worshipers of idols. Paul and his companions Silas and Timothy spoke the word with power and the Holy Spirit, and with much assurance, confident that God had in that

¹Under this head will be published from month to month articles intended to furnish help in the intelligent *reading* of the books of the Bible *as books*. They will aim to present not so much fresh results of critical investigation as well established and generally recognized conclusions.

city a people for himself; and when the Gentiles heard them they turned from their idols to worship a living and true God and to wait for his Son from heaven (I. Thess. 1:5-10). The book of Acts speaks indeed only of work in the synagogue; but this, in view of Paul's own definite statement, cannot be regarded as a complete account of his work in Thessalonica.

Driven out after a time from the city, Paul and his companions continued southward. The next point which is mentioned in Paul's letter is Athens (3:1), but Acts tells of a visit to Berea preceding that at Athens. But though engaged in efforts for the inhabitants of these latter cities, the apostle's heart yearned over the converts whom he had left in Thessalonica, comparatively inexperienced in the Christian life, exposed to persecution from their Gentile neighbors (2:14), and with no mature Christian to instruct or encourage them. Disappointed in his own repeated attempts to visit them (2:17, 18), Paul at length sends Timothy back to Thessalonica to learn how it is going with the young Christians there, remaining himself alone at Athens (3:1). In the interval of Timothy's absence Paul apparently left Athens and went to Corinth; and there Timothy, and at about the same time Silas also, joined him, the former bringing news which on the whole was reassuring and comforting to the apostle concerning the steadfastness of the Thessalonian Christians (3:6-8; *cf.* 1:1). There are, indeed, indications that they needed some admonition and instruction from the apostle—it would have been strange indeed if converts so lately emerged from heathenism had not needed both. They were exposed to persecution (3:4) and temptation (4:1-8), and their not wholly intelligent expectation of the coming of the Lord had made them mourn unduly over the death of their friends (4:13). Yet while a portion of the letter is occupied in instructing and admonishing the Thessalonians concerning these things, taken as a whole it makes the impression of being a spontaneous outpouring of the apostle's heart to a church which he loved with deep affection, and in whose well-being he was profoundly interested.

The course of the apostle's thought is apparently as follows :

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| I. SALUTATION. | Chap. 1:1. |
| II. REMINISCENCE AND NARRATIVE; the apostle recounts his relations to the church of the Thessalonians up to the time of writing. | 1:2—3:13. |
| 1. Reminiscences of his first preaching to the Thessalonians. | 1:2-10. |
| 2. Review of his unselfish and sincere labor among them. | 2:1-12. |
| 3. Thanksgiving to God for their acceptance of his message. | 2:13-16. |

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| 4. His desire to visit them. | 2:17-20. |
| 5. Timothy's visit and Paul's joy at the news he brought. | 3:1-10. |
| 6. Benediction. | 3:11-13. |
| III. INSTRUCTIONS AND EXHORTATIONS. | 4:1-5:24. |
| 1. Exhortation to pure and upright Christian living. | 4:1-12. |
| 2. Comfort and exhortation concerning Christ's coming again. | 4:13-5:11. |
| <i>a.</i> Comfort concerning them that fall asleep. | 4:13-18. |
| <i>b.</i> Exhortation to watchfulness and sobriety. | 5:1-11. |
| 3. Sundry brief exhortations. | 5:12-22. |
| 4. Benediction. | 5:23, 24. |
| IV. CONCLUSION. | 5:25-28. |

II. THE SECOND LETTER TO THE THESSALONIANS.

The second letter to the church in Thessalonica is manifestly closely connected with the first.

The very occurrence of the name of Silas in the salutation of both letters tends to connect them in time, since there is no intimation in Acts or the letters of the apostle that Silas was with Paul except on his second missionary journey. The situation at Thessalonica depicted in the second letter also reminds one at once of that which the first letter presents. In certain respects it is nearly the same. As in the first letter he gives thanks for their work of faith, and labor of love, and patience of hope, so here he mentions with thankfulness that their faith is growing exceedingly, and that their love to one another abounds (1:3). The persecutions which the first letter mentions still continue, but they are enduring them with patience and faith (1:4). The coming of the Lord is again the subject—indeed the chief subject—of instruction. But in respect to this the situation is considerably changed and the instruction quite different from that of the first letter. While in the former letter Paul had occasion to comfort them in their grief over the death of some of their number by the assurance that they who thus fell asleep should suffer no disadvantage at the coming of the Lord, he now finds it needful to correct a tendency in the church to restlessness and perturbation of mind under the influence of the thought that the day of the Lord is already present (2:1, 2)—apparently in the sense, not that the Lord had come as predicted in I. Thess. 4:16, but that the period to which this event belonged had already set in. He also reproves those, seemingly only a small part of the church, who are disposed to be idle and disorderly (3:6-13). This last evil is indeed mentioned in the first letter (4:11, 12; 5:14), but much more briefly and less emphatically. It would seem that it had increased in the

interval between the two letters. Neither letter directly associates this tendency to idleness with the expectation of the coming of the Lord, but the suggestion is obvious that the two were in fact connected. It would be easy to reason that if the Lord was speedily to come, if indeed the period of his coming had already set in, all labor for this world's goods was useless toil. So only they could obtain bread from one day to another from those who still had something to spare, this was enough, and daily labor was needless.

The apostle writes, accordingly, chiefly to correct these two errors, one of doctrine and one of life. Concerning the day of the Lord, he assures them that it is not, as they suppose, already present, but that certain things must occur before it comes. His language concerning these antecedents of the day of the Lord is to us now extremely obscure, and has given rise to varied interpretations which it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss.² The idlers and busybodies he sharply reproves, bidding them work with quietness and eat their own bread. The total effect which the letter seems intended and adapted to produce is to steady and quiet the immature and easily excitable body of Christians at Thessalonica. The lessons it teaches are of permanent value, and in the main clear, independently of the difficult problems of interpretation, the key to which we have possibly lost. Courage and faith under persecution, calmness, quiet industry in the presence of the greatest expectations — these are duties that never grow obsolete.

The plan of the letter is simple, about as follows :

I. SALUTATION.	Chap. 1: 1, 2.
II. THANKSGIVING FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH AND COMFORT TO THEM IN THEIR PERSECUTIONS.	1: 3-12.
III. ERRORS CONCERNING THE DAY OF THE LORD CORRECTED.	2: 1-17.
1. Exhortation not to be disturbed by the false notion that the Day of the Lord is already present.	2: 1, 2.
2. Events that must precede it.	2: 3-12.
3. Thanksgiving that the Thessalonians were chosen unto salvation.	2: 13, 14.
4. Benediction.	2: 16, 17.
IV. CONCLUSION.	Chap. 3.
1. Request for their prayers and prayer for them.	3: 1-5.

² The student who wishes to grapple with the problem of the interpretation of this passage will find needed help, through a confusing variety of opinion, in the commentaries on the epistle. *Alford's Greek Testament*, Vol. III., Introduction to II. Thessalonians, gives an account of the various views that have been held.

2. Instructions concerning disorderly busybodies. 3:6-16.
3. Autograph salutation and benediction. 3:17, 18.

III. THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

It is always a matter of interest in studying a letter to know as much as possible concerning both the writer and the persons addressed, especially of their relations to one another; and since a knowledge of the time and circumstances of the writing of the letter frequently helps in defining to us the situation from which the letter came, it becomes desirable to determine these also. In the case of Paul's letter to the Galatians there are special difficulties in the way of determining these things. We know the writer, indeed, and much of his history. But we cannot determine with certainty who the persons addressed were, or when the letter was written, or where.

Our uncertainty with reference to these matters springs from an uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the term Galatia as used in the salutation of the letter.

Three centuries before Cæsar wrote his Commentaries, in which he described all Gaul as divided into three parts, certain members of those tribes which the Romans included under the general name of Galli, left the territory in western Europe where they had lived, and turned eastward and southward seeking new lands to conquer. In 390 B.C. they came into Italy; a little more than a century later they—or to speak more accurately, their descendants—were repulsed at Delphi, and at about the same time (278 B.C.) a detachment of the same stream came into Asia Minor. For a time they overran the whole peninsula, but about 230 B.C. Attalus, king of Pergamum, inflicted a decisive blow on them and confined them within a territory in the interior of the peninsula, somewhat north and east of the center. Thus there was produced in the heart of Asia Minor an eastern Gaul, or as the Greeks called it, Galatia. Forty years later (189 B.C.) Galatia shared the fate of the rest of the peninsula and fell under the power of the Romans, who however left to the Galatian kings a certain degree of independence. Still later, in the latter part of the first century B.C., the Romans granted to the last of these vassal Gallic kings gifts of territory lying further south and west, including Lycaonia, Pisidia, Pamphylia and a portion of Phrygia.

From this act of generosity, or of prudence, on the part of Rome springs our present perplexity. For, on the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. the Romans converted what had been the kingdom of Amyntas

into a Roman province under the name of Galatia. The word thus had—to say nothing of its possible reference to the Gaul of western Europe, which the Greeks commonly called Galatia also—two possible senses as applied to territory in Asia Minor. It might designate the whole of the Roman province, or it might describe the northern portion which was inhabited by the Asiatic Gauls.

Now, if when Paul wrote to the churches of Galatia, he meant by the term to designate the Roman province, he undoubtedly included the churches which he established on his first missionary journey in Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe (Acts, chaps. 15 and 16); indeed for reasons that need not be given here, we must conclude that he refers to these alone. But if he used the term to designate the territory inhabited by Gauls, the churches above named are excluded, because they lie in the non-Gallic part of the province. Where the churches addressed were located we can in this case only conjecture, since the apostle never names them separately, and the book of Acts likewise uses only very general terms (Acts 16:6; 18:23).

From 1863, when the English scholar, Lightfoot, published his commentary on the epistle, maintaining that Acts 16:6 refers to a journey into northern Galatia, and that the letter is addressed to the churches established on that journey, there was until lately, among English and American scholars especially, but little dissent from this theory. Recently, however, Professor W. M. Ramsay, having accumulated fresh evidence by exploration in Asia Minor, has propounded anew the theory which had previously been maintained by some but without gaining many adherents, that the Galatian churches of the New Testament were those at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe. According to this theory, we know nothing of churches in the Gallic portion of the province. Acts 16:6 is either a recapitulatory statement of the journey through the southern part of the province, or refers to a rapid journey from Iconium, Antioch, or other point in that region, to the place at which the roads to Bithynia and Troas parted; and Acts 18:23 describes a journey through the southern portion of the province.

Deciding where the churches were located decides also when they were founded, and in part when the letter was written. The churches of southern Galatia were established on the first missionary journey (Acts, chaps. 13, 14). If there were any churches in northern Galatia established by Paul, he planted them on the second journey, at the time indicated by Acts 16:6. In the former case, since according to

Gal. 4:13 Paul had been in Galatia twice and only twice when he wrote the letter, the writing must have occurred after the journey narrated in Acts 16:1-6, and before that referred to in Acts 18:23. But if the letter was addressed to churches in northern Galatia, the letter must have been written after the journey of Acts 18:23.

These questions are still in dispute, and an altogether certain conclusion does not seem as yet attainable. At present the probability seems to lie on the side of the South-Galatian view, though perhaps not in precisely the form advocated by Ramsay.

But while we are thus unable to locate the letter exactly in the life of the writer, or even to determine to whom it was written, we are fortunate in being able from the letter itself, to determine with a good degree of definiteness, the previous relations of the writer and his readers, the circumstances which gave rise to the letter, and the purpose for which it was written.

The Galatians to whom the letter was written were Gentile Christians, converted from heathenism (4:8), and evidently under the preaching of Paul (1:8, 9; 4:13; cf. 3:1 ff.). Paul's first preaching to them was occasioned by illness on his part (4:13). Apparently he had intended to go in some other direction, but was led by illness either to go to Galatia, or being on his way through it to tarry there. He proclaimed to them Jesus Christ and him crucified, preaching salvation through him by faith apart from works of law (3:1, 2). He had evidently imposed no Jewish ordinances, but had taught a purely spiritual Christianity (3:4; 4:8-11; 5:3, 4). The Galatians had received him and his gospel with enthusiasm (4:12-15). They had been baptized (3:27) and had received the gift of the Spirit (3:2-5). Paul had visited them a second time, as is implied in his speaking of "the former" visit (4:13). Possibly before the second visit there had been false teachers among them (1:9), but if so the defection had not been serious (5:7). More recently, however, a serious attempt had been made to draw them away from the gospel as Paul had preached it to them (1:7; 5:12). This new doctrine opposed to Paul's, was of a judaistic and legalistic type. Its advocates endeavored to win the Galatians to it by appealing to the promises of the Old Testament to Abraham and his seed, evidently teaching them either that salvation was possible only to those who were, by blood or adoption, children of Abraham, or that the highest privileges belonged only to these. Though the letter makes no definite statement on this point, it easily appears from the counter argument of the apostle in chapters 3 and 4. (See

especially 3:7, 9, 14; 4:21-31). They had laid chief stress upon circumcision, this being the initiatory rite by which a Gentile was adopted into the family of Abraham. Though they had cautiously abstained from endeavoring to impose the whole Jewish law, or from pointing out that this was logically involved in what they did demand, they had induced the Galatians to adopt the Jewish feasts and fasts (4:10). That they denied the apostolic authority of Paul was a necessary consequence of their denial of all the distinctive doctrines of his preaching. This denial seems to have taken the form of representing Paul as a renegade follower of the Twelve, a man who knew nothing of Christianity except what he had learned from the Twelve, and had perverted this. This appears from the nature of Paul's defense of his independent authority as an apostle in the first two chapters of the letter.

This assault of the judaizers upon the Galatians was upon the very point of succeeding when Paul learned of the state of affairs. They were already removing from the gospel which Paul had taught (1:6); he feared that his labor on them was wasted (4:11); yet in a hopeful moment he was confident in the Lord that they would not be carried away (5:10).

Such is the situation that gives rise to the letter. If it seems to have a double purpose, partly to defend himself, partly to defend his gospel, this is only in appearance. The defense of himself is forced on him by the relation in which the question of his authority stands to the truth of his gospel. Considerable space is necessarily devoted at the outset to this matter, since it was of little use to argue, and of no use to affirm while his readers doubted his claim to be an authorized expounder of the gospel. The apostle carefully guards his doctrine from certain specious but false and mischievous inferences from it (5:13 ff), and a few other minor matters are touched upon. But the one central purpose of the letter is to arrest the progress of that perverted gospel of salvation through works of law, which the Galatians were on the very point of accepting, and to win them back to faith in Jesus Christ apart from works of law,—the gospel which Paul himself had taught them and which he believed to be the only true gospel of Christ.

Incidentally the letter affords us most important information which we cannot suppose to have been any part of the apostle's plan to transmit to us, but which is not on that account the less valuable. Thus no other letter contains so full and objective a piece of autobiography as that

which he has given us in the first two chapters of this letter. Not less valuable is its contribution to the history of the apostolic age. It carries us into the very heart of the controversy between the narrow, judaistic conception of the gospel, and that more enlightened, broader view of which Paul was the chief champion in the first age of the church. The story is told indeed in part in Acts; but in the letter we have not so much an account of the controversy as a voice out from the conflict itself. The information is first hand; the colors have the freshness and vividness of nature. Not least important for us today is the testimony which the letter bears to the limits of that controversy. A just interpretation of the second chapter shows most clearly not that Peter and Paul were in sharp antagonism to one another, representatives of opposing factions, but that while they did not see altogether alike, and while, especially, Peter lacked the steadiness of vision necessary to make him stand firmly for the more liberal view, yet neither he nor even James opposed Paul. The opponents of Paul were certain "false brethren privily brought in . . . to spy out our liberty". They had indeed influence enough with the Jerusalem apostles to lead them to urge Paul to pursue a compromising course; but when Paul refused, the pillar-apostles virtually took his side and gave to him hands of fellowship, recognizing the legitimacy of his mission to the Gentiles.

From a doctrinal point of view the letter lacks the fullness and balance of the letter to the Romans. Yet its very heat and impetuosity give it a value of its own. There are doctrinal passages in this letter which, on the points of which they treat, have no equal in any other letter of the New Testament.

The first task of the student of the letter, however, is not to cull out the biographical matter of the letter or to master its doctrine, but to gain a clear conception of its course of thought. This is in the main easy to do. Such obscurities as exist pertain to details only. The plan of the letter is as follows:

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| I. INTRODUCTION. | Chap. 1:1-10. |
| 1. Salutation, including assertion of apostolic authority. | 1:1-5. |
| 2. Indignant rebuke of the Galatian apostasy, virtually including the theme of the epistle: The gospel which Paul preached the true and only gospel. | 1:6-10. |
| II. APOLOGETIC (PERSONAL) PORTION OF THE EPISTLE. | |
| The general theme established by proving Paul's independence of all human authority and direct relation to Christ. | 1:11-2:21. |

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| 1. Proposition: Paul received his gospel not from men, but immediately from Christ. | 1:11, 12. |
| 2. Proof: drawn from various periods of his life; including also in the latter part an exposition of his gospel. | 1:13—2:21. |
| <i>a.</i> From his life before his conversion. | 1:13, 14. |
| <i>b.</i> From his conduct just after his conversion. | 1:15—17. |
| <i>c.</i> From his first visit to Jerusalem. | 1:18—24. |
| <i>d.</i> From his conduct on a subsequent visit to Jerusalem. | 2:1—10. |
| <i>e.</i> From his conduct in resisting Peter at Antioch. | 2:11—14. |
| <i>f.</i> Continuation of his address at Antioch so stated as to be for the Galatians also an exposition of the gospel which Paul preached. | 2:15—21. |
| III. DOCTRINAL PORTION OF THE EPISTLE. | |
| The doctrine of justification by faith (the distinctive doctrine of Paul's gospel as against the judaizing heresy) defended on its own merits, chiefly by showing that the "heirs of Abraham" are such by faith in Christ, not by works of law. | |
| Chaps. 3, 4. | |
| 1. Appeal to the early Christian experience of the Galatians. | 3:1—5. |
| 2. Argument from the fact of Abraham's justification by faith. | 3:6—9. |
| 3. Argument from the curse which the law pronounces. | 3:10—14. |
| 4. Argument from the chronological order of promise and law. | 3:15—22. |
| 5. The temporary and inferior nature of the condition under law. | 3:23—4:11. |
| 6. Fervent exhortation, appealing to the former affection of the Galatians for Paul. | 4:12—20. |
| 7. Allegorical argument from the two branches of the family of Abraham. | 4:21—31. |
| IV. HORTATORY PORTION OF THE EPISTLE. | |
| 1. Exhortations directly connected with the doctrine of the epistle. | |
| <i>a.</i> To stand fast in their freedom in Christ. | Chap. 5.
5:1—12. |
| <i>b.</i> Not to convert liberty into license. | 5:13—26. |
| 2. More general exhortations. | 6:1—10. |
| V. CONCLUSION. | |
| 1. Final warning against the judaizers. | 6:11—18. |
| 2. Appeal enforced by his own sufferings. | 6:11—16.
6:17. |
| 3. Benediction. | 6:18. |

Comparative-Religion Notes.

PRINCIPAL FAIRBAIRN ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

The high expectations cherished in respect to the visit to the University of Chicago during the Summer Quarter of Principal A. M. Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Oxford, have been quite satisfied. For six lectures in two consecutive weeks nearly the whole University—students of theology, science, language and history alike—gathered to hear the latest word on what probably alone would have called together so mixed an assembly—religion. An old theme to be sure, and yet so rapid and successful has been the recent application to the old theme of the new method—the inductive and historical—that probably nine-tenths of the audience heard things as new to them as they were interesting and vital. One thing certainly the students must have learned, namely, that, though they had never yet visited it, there existed a whole continent of thought, named by the terms history, science and philosophy of religion, that this continent was being progressively explored, and that even the latest word spoken on it might prove not to be the last. The lecturer stands so eminent in his specialty, and faced some of its chief problems so squarely that those interested in progressive thought will expect some indication of the chief positions taken.

After an introductory lecture on the scope of philosophy of religion, and a second one on the philosophic basis of the same, in which latter theistic spiritualism was advocated, the subject proper was treated in substance as follows:

Archæology and ethnology can never show more than the origin of *religions, i. e.*, of the specific qualities of religions, while to philosophy must be reserved the problem of the origin of *religion* (singular), as generic to the human race. Quite similarly the origin of languages must be investigated by comparative philology, while that of language belongs to philosophy. "He who fancies imitation the basis of speech simply shows philosophic incompetence. No sound becomes speech until a mind stands behind it." Ethnology has done good service in proving—contra the superficial observations of such travelers as Sir R. Burton and Sir S. Baker—that all peoples possess a religion. Empiricism, on the other hand, errs when it seeks to trace the rise of religion in man previously uninformed by religious ideas. Renan says more truly that religion sprang up because man was man. When Mr. H. Spencer, the last of the great empiricists, brings together religious data without distinction of space and time, as he invariably does, he lies open to the charge of ignoring his own cardinal doctrine that environment counts for as much as organ-

ism. Nor can Mr. Spencer be allowed his thesis that the modern savage represents primitive man, until he bring those savages into historical connection with present civilized man. Indeed this lack of space and time relations sharply distinguishes anthropology from history. The former is merely graphical and individual, the latter nothing less than biological and organic. This Mr. A. Lang himself regrets. The successions in religious stages are therefore only imaginary, and can constitute no philosophy. No one has yet discovered a savage passing to a civilized faith. Not those at the source, but those near the mouth of the Nile are significant for human culture; not the Esquimaux, but the Greeks tell the story of man.

Study of the philosophy of religion arose about the end of the fifteenth century. The causes that led to it were: (1) The expansion of man's knowledge of the world, which raised the question of the relation of heathen to God; (2) The Reformation, which detached God from church polity, so that Zwingli could say that he expected to meet sages like Socrates in the future life; (3) The Renaissance which showed that the Greek possessed really noble thoughts. Cudworth was among the first to occupy this comprehensive viewpoint. Per contra A. Ross of Aberdeen berated Mohammed as an incarnation of the devil, an opinion which Voltaire approached, while Gibbon's epigram construed the famous dictum, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet," as combining an eternal truth and a necessary falsehood. Similarly Bishop Butler defamed nature when, to redeem revealed religion from its supposed injustice, he charged the same upon natural religion, thereby trying to make two blacks equal one white. A new and better "analogy" is needed and can now be supplied by our improved knowledge of nature.

Three salient phenomena of our subject are: (1) the universality of religion, (2) the permanence of religion, and (3) the multiplicity of *religions*. Note that permanence differs from immutability. Indeed the death of religions forms the condition of the life of religion. What Homer loved Plato outlawed, but not therefore did religion die in Greece. Men grow, religions must grow with them.

Now the universality implies a common cause, while the multiplicity implies particular causes leading to varieties. Hence arise two chief problems: (1) What is the cause of religion? and (2) What are the causes that tend to varieties in religion?

But first a definition of religion will be necessary. Among the definitions given by empiricists, Comte's is abstract and does not distinguish existing religions, Mr. Lubbock's definition involves two concepts which cancel each other, Mr. Spencer's "seraphic wisdom" and Mr. Lang's definition alike fail, and Mr. Tylor's amounts to nothing more than an expression of his own idea as to primitive animism.

Among the philosophers, Kant, Schelling and Fichte reduced religion to morality, Fichte making God the moral order of the universe. Similar to

these views was Gautama's doctrine, and in recent times Mr. M. Arnold's "Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." But the history of religion has recently made all such definitions useless by showing that religions were by no means always moral.

Another set of philosophers make religion consist entirely of feeling. So the famous Schliermacher in reaction from the Kantian rationalism. But no feeling of dependence can arise without a *thought* of some one on whom man depends. In fact religion involves both thought and feeling and action. "Religion is therefore, subjectively, consciousness of relation to suprasensible being; objectively, expression of that consciousness in custom, institution and action." Note that God receives no mention here, and that of purpose, since the object of religion ranges from the trifling fetish to the absolute God. Religion further implies belief in a similar relation of the suprasensible being to man, and thus revelation correlates with faith. Such revelation must not be considered restricted to religions recorded in a book.

Besides defining religion we must define evolution. This is an old idea—both Eastern and Western, both Indian and Greek, whether under form of emanation or incubation. Hegel devised a development in logical process. "Darwin contributed minute observation of phenomena, setting in sensuous terms a great metaphysical idea."

Now evolution is always only modal as distinguished from causal, and, therefore, can never really conflict with theism, which may always ask where is the arena, what the end, and who the cause. But Tyndall's famous phrase, "matter the promise and *potency* of all life" would constitute evolution a causal fact. Per contra evolution has peculiar value for theism in that it directs attention to the end in order to learn the significance of the beginning and middle. The beginning is quite a different thing from the cause. The latter must be learned from inspection of the whole course, with increasing attention as progress prevails and most of all at the culmination. No doubt religion began, in part, as man in nature, but neither remains there. Both are fully explicable only through their end.

Having defined religion and evolution, we are now prepared to consider the three factors in the evolution of religion, which are the material, the formal and the ideal. The material factor supplies the *content* or body of the religion, and consists of man; the formal factor supplies the particular *form*, and consists of nature; the ideal factor *unifies* and directs the other two, and is God. The three stand in organic unity. Man can live and think only by nature, and God acts on man through nature.

More particularly as to the material factor it must be a primary cause, since it is to explain a universal fact, religion. It cannot be fear, or chance, or personifying tendency, priestly or kingly intrigue, or misinterpreted dreams, rather the material factor of religion arises as a necessity of man's nature. Hence those that reject one form of religion must devise another. Thus J. S. Mill took as a religious object his deceased wife, Schopenhauer took will, von

Hartmann took the unconscious, Spinoza took substance, and Mr. Spencer takes force. The material factor is ever creative and progressively realized. Thus the moral-player's deity is far surpassed by God as conceived by Milton.

The formal factor is the nature that surrounds man and the history behind him, and this it is that causes the variation in religions. Thus in the Rigveda names for the deities are derived from nature. Brahm grows into the gods, men and things. From this results pantheism and a lack of certain ideas, much to the surprise of Westerners, such as duty and individuality. Per contra the Semitic religions arose amid a desert nature where life could not well be conceived as immanent. Hence names for power and the emotions it evokes are used for the deities. This conception is transcendent and never allowed pantheism to arise as a native Semitic product. Averroes reached it only in touch with Aristotle, and the pantheism of Spinoza is akosmism—God alone, no world—whereas in Brahmanism the world is God.

A second component in the formal factor is nature as qualified by history. The more primitive man, the greater the influence of *nature* upon his conception of deity; the longer his remembered past, the greater the influence of *man* upon that conception. Thus Vedic deities are conceived as simultaneous, each independent of the other, just as spheres of nature were supposed to be, while the Homeric deities were conceived as successive in accord with the Greek social fabric. Each of these viewpoints dominates everything else in the religion. Thus images in India are symbolic, in Greece anthropomorphic, and, provided the *ἀνθρωπος* be good, such anthropomorphism can only benefit. Again, pantheism in India made future existence take place by metempsychosis, while in Greece, the more the deities were anthropomorphized, the more continued personal being became conceivable. In Homer the shades are unhappy, with Socrates and Plato much improvement is made.

The third element of the formal factor consists of society and the state. The Semitic social unit of the family with the patriarch supreme led to a conception of deity as absolute, and made theocracy native to the Semite. Per contra, Indian society was divided into castes with the priestly Brahmanic caste at their head. The hymns and sacrifices of these Brahmans were necessary to the success alike of warriors and workmen, and hence they and their Brahma with all the logical consequences of the same, have endured through the ages while conquerors have entered India and left it again.

A fourth element in the formal factor is personality. This comes later in development and is very potent. In non-Semitic religions the personal element is rare, in Semitic common. India, the most religious of lands, has yet rarely presented a great religious person. Gautama Buddha is notable, but his power is explicable rather by later imaginings. Zoroaster and Confucius exhaust the list outside the Semitic race, while within it we find David, Moses, Isaiah, Paul and Mohammed. Christ stands in the same order. Here plainly a transcendent god favors transcendent personality. Pantheism leads to necessity and moral indifference. Transcendent religions afford freedom

for the god, though perhaps only necessity for man. Thus Islam presents a necessity of human will in subjection to the divine, but in Hinduism the necessity is inherent in matter. Ethical ideas can enter religion only through this transcendent element. Thus the ethics of Jesus the Christ and of Gautama the Buddha are kindred, because both center in a great personality.

Finally, the constant relation of the material and formal factors implies a great will working throughout history. This ideal factor appears especially in the creation alike of the great persons and their environments. The process culminates in Jesus of Nazareth who combines the truth both of immanence and transcendence, in that equally as veritable man and veritable Godhe stepped forward to enlighten groping humanity.

While criticism of these valuable lectures will not be attempted here and consequently no proofs advanced, a warning on two very general points may prove useful to those not conversant with the new science of comparative religion. First, the inductions made are based on data drawn from but four peoples, the Indians, Greeks, Hebrews, and Arabs. Other students of the science would require inclusion of the remaining peoples of these same Indo-Keltic and Semitic races, and of the peoples of the third great historic race, the Mongol, as also of the several savage races. Second, the rise of religions is traced wholly to naturism (nature-worship), whereas other students would require inclusion of the phenomena of animism (spirit worship). For a masterly statement of the respective merits of naturism and animism, and of the need to include *all* human phenomena among *all* peoples in the inductions of the science of religion, consult Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*.

E. B.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE GOSPEL AND THE GOSPELS. By DR. BERNHARD WEISS. Translated in the *Hartford Seminary Record*, April, 1895, by OZARA S. DAVIS.

The earliest records of the apostolic church—the letters of Paul—give but few historical facts from the life of Christ and but very few quotations from his words. Likewise the writings of the other apostles are void of all narrative of fact or of quotation. It is certain, therefore, that the earliest Christianity was not spiritually nourished by narratives from the life of the Lord, nor by his words. The gospel of the apostles was *the fact* of the death and resurrection. The apostolic conception of Jesus was not that he came to bring new knowledge in the field of religion or morals, but to realize the religio-ethical ideal which had long lived in Israel as the belief and the hope of all pious men, but which could be worked out in humanity only through the promised Saviour from the power of sin and death. Christianity is not founded on traditions from the life of Jesus, but on faith in the apostolic saving message in “the gospel without the gospels.” “If now we find in this faith of the apostles all that our sinful souls thirsting for peace with God crave, all that furnishes us in our moral weakness a power victorious over the world, and in all earthly sorrow an external consolation, what, indeed, shall we do, except to believe what they believed and confess what they confessed?” Vital, saving belief, *i. e.*, unshaken trust in the free gift of God in Christ, is no conviction of any facts whatever, no assent to any teaching whatever. But when one is once in possession of the faith, the very joy in it changes to joy in the facts which the faith presupposes.

Every historical tradition is open to criticism. It is possible to conceive that the gospel narratives grew up necessarily from the *a priori* ideas concerning the history of Jesus which resulted from faith in his person. And yet if Christianity lived for thirty or forty years until the gospels were written, fed by only such preaching as we find illustrated in the epistles, it is impossible that a faith born of such preaching would ever have needed to imagine any facts whatever. If naught but the epistles had been left us, our faith would be none other than it is today. No exact, dated records of the deeds of Christ's life is possible. The gospels are not dry chronicles, but only another form of the gospel which the apostolic epistles make known unto us. We believe the gospels because they show how the apostles apprehended these facts in faith and attested their truth for the foundation and increase of the faith of the churches. Faith in the narratives is primarily a faith in the credibility of the witnesses.

The gospels had their beginning in Jerusalem among his disciples and companions. But even here no interest was taken in completing them, but only in inculcating them as the unchangeable foundation of the life of the community. This original document was a simple collection of the words of the Lord. Another document of a slightly different character was written in Rome. Both of these documents Luke used. And last in Ephesus the apostle John wrote, raising the history of Jesus out of the narrow, national grounds in which it rooted, and showing us the form of the world-Saviour as he moves through the history of the church.

One must not go too far in simplifying the gospel for the sake of making it more comprehensible. To many dogmatic speculation is unintelligible because there seems to be nothing *real* in it. But many will be aided by a study of Jesus' life and motives to appreciate in him these same peculiar doctrines of Christianity and to understand in general their real significance.

This is a very timely discussion. The argument rests on the capability of the Christian consciousness to verify the testimony of the Scripture that faith has as its object a real and living person. Thus the emphasis of the argument is transferred from the credibility of the narrative to the credibility of the experience, and here Christianity is a unit unchanging from the beginning to the end of the Christian era. Christian theology has sometimes erred in emphasizing specific doctrines, but it has not erred in building its faith on the apostolic conception of Christ's work and teaching, verified by ever renewed Christian experience.

C. E. W.

"THOU HAST SAID," "THOU SAYEST," IN THE ANSWERS OF JESUS. By PROFESSOR J. HENRY THAYER, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Parts I. and II., 1894. Pages 40-49.

The former phrase is the reply, according to Matthew, to the question of Judas at the Supper (26:25) and to the adjuration of the high-priest at the Trial (26:64). The latter is the response to Pilate, according to all four Evangelists (Matt. 27:11, Mark 15:2, Luke 23:3, John 18:37). This answer in both its forms has been understood by the great majority of modern interpreters to be a solemn and emphatic affirmation. And the correctness of this interpretation is thought to be shown by the fact that Mark's account (14:62) of the scene before the Sanhedrin employs, instead of Matthew's "Thou hast said," the unequivocal words "I am." Where further corroboration of this interpretation is attempted, we are for the most part told, in general terms, that the like formula of affirmation occurs in Greek and rabbinical writings.

But the inadequacy of the supposed classical parallels adduced by Wetstein (on Matt. 26:25) has been exposed by Lücke (on John, vol. ii., p. 741 n.). And the rabbinical parallels adduced by Schoettgen (on Matt. 26:25) are quite surely erroneous. Neither Lightfoot, Wagenseil, Buxtorf, Meuschen, nor any Hebrew specialist I have consulted, attempts to shed light upon the expression from rabbinical sources. Wünsche, after quoting the

phrase from Matt. 26:25, merely remarks: "To an ensnaring question, the Rabbins were wont to give an ambiguous answer." Pieritz, also, denies that the phrase is an affirmation (in *The Gospels from the Rabbinical Point of View*). The Greek Old Testament and Apocrypha seem not to contain the phrase or its equivalent; and the early versions, from the nature of the case, furnish little or no aid in determining its meaning.

As to the internal indications of the meaning of the phrase, the first thing that strikes us is the uniform presence of the pronoun "Thou." In every instance the form of the question is such as to indicate that special significance of some sort attaches to the pronoun in the answer. As for example the question of Judas "Is it I, Rabbi?" Jesus' reply "Thou hast said" is no mere "yes," but a "yes" from the mouth of the *questioner*. "Thine own lips have answered the question which thy suspicious conscience could not refrain from asking." And the pronoun has a similar force in Jesus' response to the high priest's adjuration and Pilate's inquiry. Still stronger indications that these phrases are not to be interpreted as simple, though solemn, affirmations arise from the fact that the phrases will not always bear that meaning, as in John 18:37, Luke 22:70, and at the arraignment before the Sanhedrin.

In short, the absence of any conclusive evidence that the formula we are considering was current as an unequivocal affirmation, and the embarrassments we encounter on attempting to apply it in that sense to the biblical narratives warrant us, as it seems to me, in discarding that view of it. It seems to be far more naturally taken as equivalent to such phrases in our vernacular as "So *you* say," and the like. The context, the tone, the circumstances of the case, must determine its exact meaning in a given instance. As an answer to Judas it is unquestionably an affirmation—and an admonition besides. As a reply to Pilate, it is non-committal, and indicates self-respecting reserve.

This view of these formulas is not an innovation. For instance, it was the view of Origen in the third century, of Victor of Antioch in the fifth, of Radbertus in the ninth, of Theophylact in the eleventh. Since the sixteenth century, mainly because of Grotius' support, and that of Schoettgen and Wetstein, the simple affirmation interpretation has held the field. But there occasionally has been doubt of it expressed, and Westcott very emphatically rejected it, saying on John 18:37: "The Lord neither definitely accepts nor rejects the title. He leaves the claim as Pilate had put it forward."

Professor Thayer has done well to revive this less common interpretation. The case as he presents it is a fairly strong one, and should receive due consideration. If it does not clear up all the difficulties connected with the phrases, it seems to accomplish much in that direction. It also has the merit of being a natural meaning for the words—the one which would first occur to the reader if the pronoun were italicised as in the Greek.

C. W. V.

Notes and Opinions.

Demoniacal Possession.—In connection with the review of the book of Dr. Nevius in this issue, it may not be uninteresting to add the testimony of another foreign missionary as to the common understanding of the matter in China. In *The Independent* for 1894 (p. 207) Rev. John Ross narrated an instance of the cure of a case of apparent possession. In reply to a letter from one of the editors of this journal asking for more detailed information, he writes declining from lack of time to comply with the request, but adding the following statement: "All mental derangement Chinese divide into (1) idiocy, (2) madness, (3) demoniacal possession. The former two are constant, the last intermittent. In the former two the individual is always the same and shows his own personality; in the last he seems to be an entirely different being. Several have been cured of the last by faith in Jesus. I have not heard of any other mode of cure. The Chinese now believe that the religion of Jesus can cure such cases. For the case of which I wrote I can vouch, and for its permanent cure, and for one other peculiar one. That numbers are suffering from this peculiar and intermittent trouble I am also well aware; as that the Chinese invariably ascribe that trouble to demoniacal possession. I have, however, never allowed myself to theorize on the subject, as I have not with sufficient observation satisfied myself of all the conditions."

The Book of Deuteronomy.—Dr. Driver's estimate of the Book of Deuteronomy may be seen in the preface to his recently published commentary on the book, where he says: "Deuteronomy stands out conspicuously in the literature of the Old Testament; it has important relations, literary, theological and historical, with other parts of the Old Testament; it possesses itself a profound moral and spiritual significance; it is an epoch-making expression of the life and feeling of the prophetic nation. I have done my best to give due prominence to these and similar characteristic features; and by pointing out both the spiritual and other factors which Deuteronomy presupposes, and the spiritual and other influences which either originated with it, or received from it a fresh impulse, to define the position which it occupies in the national and religious history of Israel. Deuteronomy, moreover, by many of the observances which it enjoins, bears witness to the fact that Israel's civilization, though permeated by a different spirit from that of other ancient nations, was nevertheless reared upon the same material basis; and much light may often be thrown, both upon the institutions and customs to which it alludes, and upon the manner in which they are treated by the Hebrew legislator, from the archæological researches of recent years. Nor is this all. The

study of Deuteronomy carries the reader into the very heart of the critical problems which arise in connection with the Old Testament. At almost every step, especially in the central, legislative part (chs. 12-26), the question of the relation of Deuteronomy to other parts of the Pentateuch forces itself upon the student's attention." "As a work of the Mosaic age, Deuteronomy, I must own, though intelligible *if it stood perfectly alone*—that is, if the history of Israel had been other than it was,—does not seem to me to be intelligible when viewed in the light shed upon it by other parts of the Old Testament; a study of it in that light reveals too many features which are inconsistent with such a supposition. The entire secret of its composition, and the full nature of the sources of which its author availed himself, we cannot hope to discover; but enough is clear to show that, however regretfully we may abandon it, the traditional view of its origin and authorship cannot be maintained. The adoption of this verdict of criticism implies no detraction either from the inspired authority of Deuteronomy, or from its ethical and religious value. Deuteronomy marks a stage in the divine education of the chosen people: but the methods of God's spiritual providence are analogous to those of his natural providence: the revelation of himself to man was accomplished not once for all, but through many diverse channels (Heb. 1: 1), and by a gradual historical process; and the stage in that process to which Deuteronomy belongs is not the age of Moses, but a later age. Deuteronomy gathers up the spiritual lessons and experiences not of a single lifetime, but of many generations of God-inspired men. It is a nobly conceived endeavor to stir the conscience of the individual Israelite, and to infuse Israel's whole national life with new spiritual and moral energy. And in virtue of the wonderful combination of the national with the universal, which characterizes the higher teaching of the Old Testament, it fulfils a yet wider mission; it speaks in accents which all can still understand; it appeals to motives and principles which can never lose their validity and truth so long as human nature remains what it is; it is the bearer of a message for all time."

The Sources of New Testament Greek.—The excellent book bearing this title which has recently appeared from the pen of Rev. H. H. A. Kennedy gives a careful discussion of the influence of the Septuagint on the vocabulary of the New Testament. Dr. Hatch has said in his *Essays in Biblical Greek*: "The great majority of New Testament words are words which, though for the most part common to biblical and contemporary secular Greek, express in their biblical use the conceptions of a Semitic race, and which must consequently be examined by the light of the cognate documents which form the LXX." (p. 34). And again, "Biblical Greek is thus a language which stands by itself. What we have to find out in studying it is what meaning certain Greek words conveyed to a Semitic mind." The main facts as to the vocabulary of the New Testament as given by Mr. Kennedy are these: (1) The whole number of words used (excluding all proper names and their deriva-

tives) is about 4800. (2) About 950 of these are post-Aristotelian, of which over 300 are found also in the Septuagint. (3) There are about 150 words in all which are strictly peculiar to the Septuagint and the New Testament. (4) There are, roughly speaking, about 550 words which may be termed "Biblical," that is, found either in the New Testament alone, or, besides, only in the Septuagint. That is, about 12 per cent. of the total vocabulary of the New Testament is "Biblical." (5) About 30 per cent. of the total number of "Biblical" words in the New Testament occur in the Septuagint. (6) About 32 per cent. of the words found in the New Testament alone with special "Biblical" meaning occur in the LXX. The facts as gathered by Mr. Kennedy indicate that Dr. Hatch's statements were too strong and too inclusive.

The main conclusions of the book are thus summarized: "The LXX. is the first entire group of writings composed in the colloquial language of everyday life. Seeing that it is a literal translation of Hebrew books, and that it has been carried out by men of Jewish birth, it has been deeply impregnated with Semitic characteristics. Yet these do not prevent it from exhibiting clearly the condition and tendencies of the popular Greek of its time. On the one hand, it has many elements in common with the writers of the Common Dialect; on the other, it is often a transcript of the vernacular. But the predominant features in its vocabulary are: (1) the creation of a theological terminology rendered necessary by the original of which it is a translation; and (2) the expression in Greek form of special Jewish conceptions and customs due to the same cause. There can be no question that its vocabulary has influenced that of the New Testament. The earliest Christian writers, in proclaiming the new faith, had to express in words deep theological ideas, unheard of in the old world. It was natural that, in making this attempt, they should take for their model a vocabulary already formed. These writers, moreover, were Jews. Their whole view of things was penetrated with Hebrew modes of thought. Accordingly, they could not fail to make copious use of a type of language already adapted to their special requirements. But the influence of the Septuagint on the vocabulary of the New Testament must not be exaggerated. Caution is necessary in determining that which is to be regarded as *usage* in biblical Greek, seeing that the LXX. is a translation done by unskilful hands, and that ignorance of Greek or ignorance of Hebrew is often responsible for phenomena of vocabulary which are peculiar to the biblical language. When we consider the exceptional importance of the Greek Bible to the New Testament writers, the astonishing fact is that its influence on their vocabulary is not incomparably greater than it is found to be."

"That which really sets the LXX. and New Testament, as Greek books, in a class by themselves, is the colloquial language in which both are written. Though the vocabulary of the New Testament moves on a higher plane, it is essentially "popular" in character, and both groups of writings acquire, from the linguistic point of view, a unique importance, as the only literary monu-

ments extant of the vernacular Greek of the post-Alexandrian period. But, besides, this popular spoken language, as exhibited by the LXX. and New Testament, is of exceptional value for another reason, inasmuch as it connects the "oral tradition" of the past with the ordinary vernacular of today, and reveals with startling clearness that wonderful organic unity which makes the language of Greece, through all its complex developments, a living, undivided whole."

The Conservative View of the Bible.—A series of five articles upon "The Holy Scriptures and Modern Criticism" have been recently contributed to the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* by Professor Volck, of Dorpat. They set forth in a most able way the present position of the reasonable conservative school of biblical scholars. The *Independent* gives an admirably prepared synopsis of Dr. Volck's views, which we take the liberty to reproduce here as worthy of the widest dissemination:

1. The Old Testament Scriptures are the documentary reports (*Urkunden*) of the divinely conducted history of Israel, the monuments of the revelations and providential guidance of God preparing and paving the way for future redemption, and as such they are the Word of God for the people of God in the process of the development of this redemption, which is the complete revelation of God in Christ Jesus. This then is the thesis that determines the relation of the Scriptures to the Word of God.

2. As the history of Israel, because its aim is to prepare for the coming of Jesus Christ, differs specifically from the history of all other peoples, thus, too, the literary monuments of this history, namely the Old Testament Scriptures, differ from all other literary productions which are products of extra-Israelitish life.

3. The origin of the Scriptures of the Old Testament is to be ascribed to the coöperation of the same factors which held sway in the historical development of Israel's history—namely, on the one hand, the free unfolding of the divine Spirit within the communion of believers selected by God—*i. e.*, the people of Israel—and, on the other, the free activity of the human factor over this divine revelation. This self-manifestation of the Spirit of God in and within the sacred writers, who still maintained their individual freedom and peculiarities, is called inspiration.

4. In the collecting and the canonization of the sacred Scriptures we must recognize a continuous activity of the same Holy Spirit to whom we ascribe their origin.

5. Like all literatures of antiquity, the Old Testament Scriptures also are the legitimate objects of critical investigations. But the background out of which these writings grew is that of the historical unfolding of the plans of God for the salvation of man; and this must be recognized in passing judgment upon them, and he who judges them "must himself be a participant in

that spiritual life which the Old Testament revelation and its historical records have brought forth and have perfected in the New Covenant."

6. The investigation of the Scriptures, in the first instance, pertains to the text. The principles and methods of this process are learned from the science and history of textual criticism.

7. The second purpose of biblical investigation is the determination of the historical surroundings conditioning the different parts of the collection of sacred writings, the answer to the questions as to when, for whom, and by whom they were written, under what circumstances they were composed, and the purposes in view. The freedom of such an investigation dare not be curtailed by traditional views on these subjects, nor by marking out of the results to be secured as the outcome of the study, *e. g.*, through a presupposed opinion as to the authenticity or integrity of a book. The results of modern criticism are to be conscientiously investigated, and what is found scientifically settled is to be accepted; and, in general, the fact of a human mediumship in the transmission of the divine revelation is not to be lost sight of, but is to be estimated at its proper valuation.

8. If the Scriptures are, in their essence, the documentary evidences and reports of the communion between God and man, as this fact is prepared in the Old Testament phase and completed and perfected in the New Testament stage; then, when we are considering the contents of these writings—*i. e.*, determining the various steps in the gradual development of revelation in word and deed—all the particular data in the contents of the Scriptures are to be judged in their relation to the historical development of the plan of salvation. In relation to this fundamental idea and scheme individual data are to be estimated as the sure word of God. On the other hand, absolute inerrancy cannot be claimed in those cases where matters are mentioned that either do not belong to the domain of the historical development of God's plan of salvation, or, as unessential, in nowise affect the substance of this process; or in regard to such that pertain to the secular sciences, *i. e.*, in reporting which the sacred writers draw only upon their observation of their natural powers and faculties.

9. Although the collection of the sacred Scriptures did not take place without the guidance of the Holy Spirit, yet in this work the human factor was active to the greatest degree, and accordingly here the possibility of an error is all the more possible.

10. If the investigation of the Scriptures in accordance with these principles, their claim to be recognized and accepted by the Church, is the business and duty of a scientific theology which cannot be dispensed with, then, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the faith placed by the Church in the Scriptures as the authoritative Word of God precedes this scientific investigation, which latter can produce only the *fides humana*, but never the *fides divina*.

Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR CHARLES J. LITTLE, D.D., has been made President of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., to succeed the late Dr. H. B. Ridgaway.

THE new critical edition of Josephus' Works, by Professor B. Niese, of Marburg, is now complete in six volumes, of which the first four contain the *Antiquities*, the fifth contains the *Against Apion*, and the sixth the *Jewish War*.

BYINGTON'S Chart of Jewish National History (Philadelphia, Wattles, \$1.00) in size six by three and one-half feet, printed in five colors and mounted on rollers, is another fairly successful attempt to exhibit certain features of biblical history to the eye. The names of the more prominent individuals and events of the history appear in places where they are commonly understood to belong, and the names of the historical books appear opposite the places where the history recorded by them is indicated in the color-line. Only three dates are given, 1000 B. C., 500 B. C., and 70 A. D. It makes no attempt to give more than an outline, and of course exhibits only the surface of the history.

A COURSE of general lectures, six in number, upon the *Philosophy of Religion* was given at The University of Chicago during July, by Principal A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., of Mansfield College, Oxford. The titles were as follows: (1) Philosophy of Religion; its Ideas, Methods and Scope. (2) The Philosophical Basis of Theism applied to Nature and History. (3) Anthropology and the Origin of Religion. (4) The Idea and History of Religion in Modern Philosophy. (5) The Factors of Evolution in Religion. (6) The Causes of Variation in Religion. In addition to these, two other lectures were given, one upon *The Natural and the Supernatural Christ*, the other upon *The History of Oxford*.

THERE has begun in Paris (Firmin-Didot & Cie.) the publication of a new edition of the writings of the Syriac Church Fathers, under the title *Patrologia Syriaca*. The work is edited by Dr. F. Graffin, Professor of Syriac in the Catholic Institute of Paris. The first volume, now ready, contains the Homilies of Aphraates, first part. One volume is to be published annually, at \$6.00 per volume, until the work is complete; how many volumes there will be in all remains to be seen. The type to be used for this edition has been especially made for the occasion, with the vowel points cast on the same body with the consonants, and is a reproduction of the finest known forms written in Western Syriac characters. This new work is to be a companion series to Abbé Migne's Greek and Latin Patrologies, which contain all the Greek and Latin works of ancient Christian literature, of which the Latin portion alone contains two hundred and twenty-two volumes, and is sold ordinarily for about three hundred dollars.

PROFESSOR SAMUEL HARRIS, D.D., LL.D., who has for many years occupied the chair of Systematic Theology in the Theological Department of Yale University, has found it necessary on account of advancing years to withdraw from class-room work. The two volumes published during the course of his Yale Professorship, *The Philosophical Basis of Theism* and *The Self-Revelation of God* will, however, continue his teaching for many years to come. Dr. Harris has hoped to publish a third volume, a companion to these first two, a treatise on Systematic Theology. It will be the earnest wish of every student of theology that this hope may be realized. The chair thus left vacant in Yale Divinity School has been filled by the appointment of Professor George B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., who previously occupied the chair of New Testament Interpretation. At the same time that Professor Stevens assumes the new position he issues a volume pertaining to the new department, entitled *Doctrine and Life: A Study of Some of the Principal Truths of the Christian Religion in their Relation to Christian Experience*.

THE Presbyterians of the Maritime Provinces of Canada held their first Summer School of Theology at their college in Halifax, N. S., from July 16 to 26. About forty ministers and a number of laymen were in attendance. The forenoons were devoted to lectures, followed by discussion; the afternoons to recreation, and the evenings to conferences on congregational work. The lectures were given by the four professors of the college: Pollok, Currie, Gordon and Falconer; Professor MacGregor, of Dalhousie University, Halifax; Principal Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, and Dr. McCurdy, of Toronto University. While the conferences were opened by leading ministers of the Maritime Synod, Principal Pollok delivered four lectures on "The Covenanting Age of Scottish History;" Dr. Currie, four lectures on "Pentateuchal Criticism;" Dr. Gordon, three lectures on "Revelation;" Professor Falconer, three lectures on "The Trustworthiness of the Historical Books of the New Testament;" Dr. MacGregor, one lecture on "Science and the Argument from Design;" Principal Grant, three lectures on "Comparative Religion," and Dr. McCurdy, three lectures on his special subject, viz., Lecture I. "Domestic Relations of the Hebrews and their Significance." Lecture II. "Leading Motives of Early Hebrew History." Lecture III. "Hezekiah, Sennacherib and Isaiah." So successful was the school felt to be that it was unanimously voted by the members to have another next summer.

A PROPOSAL was made by Professor J. H. Thayer, D.D., of Harvard University, at the last meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, which has met with favor. It contemplated the establishment at some convenient point in Palestine, presumably at Jerusalem, of an American School of Biblical Research similar to those which have been founded at Athens and lately at Rome for classical studies. Professor T. F. Wright, U. S. Secretary of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, warmly supports the project in the *Biblia* for July, and says: "It has been for years the wish of the Protestant Syrian College at Beirut to establish such a school, and it has offered marked

advantages to students; but that city is not in Palestine, and is generally visited by travelers only as a port of entry or departure, especially the latter. Such a school would certainly draw to itself young men who will thus complete their preparation for the ministry or for professorships. Some of the seminaries already have fellowships which would find new value in this way, and all of them will appreciate the opportunity thus afforded. Hitherto such men have gone to Germany and have gained much linguistic lore, but they have failed to make the acquaintance of the Oriental mind and have failed to gain that glowing interest in Bible facts and incidents which makes preaching and teaching vivid and forcible. I hope and believe that the time has come, now that our countryman Bliss is so nobly leading in the work of exploration, when Americans will establish this needed school and make it helpful in all the ways which will be open to it, especially in the study of language and geography, and in the field of exploration."

AN INFORMING article upon the climate of Palestine by Dr. Thomas Chaplin is in substance reproduced editorially by the *Expository Times* for June. It has been recently maintained by some that the climate of Palestine is undergoing a change—that the "latter rains" are being "restored," the prophecies relating to them are being fulfilled, and so a new era of fruitfulness and prosperity is dawning upon the land. All this Dr. Chaplin denies, claiming that a restoration of the "latter rain" is surely impossible if it has never been taken away. The Jewish civil year, which begins in September or October, is divided by the weather into two parts. There is first a long rainy season which covers about seven months, and then there is a long dry season which lasts for about five months. During the rainy season of seven months there fall three "rains;" (1) the early rain, which moistens the land and fits it for the reception of the seed, and is consequently the signal for the commencement of plowing; (2) the copious winter rain which saturates the earth, fills the cisterns and pools, and replenishes the springs; (3) the latter or spring rain, without which the harvest would be a failure, for it enlarges the ears of corn and enables the wheat and barley to support the dry heat of the summer. The early rains begin in October or November, and continue until the middle of December. The heavy winter rains begin about the middle of December and continue well into or even to the end of March, and then follow the latter or spring rains which continue until April or May. These three "rains" are referred to in Jer. 5:24, which should read: "Let us now fear the Lord our God, who giveth *geshem* and *yôreh* and *malkôsh* in its season." So also in Hos. 6:3 and Joel 2:23, 24. The *geshem* is always the winter rain (cf. Song of Sol. 2:11, 12). There is no indication that the climate of Palestine has changed since the days of the prophets. Since 1861 accurate measurements of the rainfall in Jerusalem have been made. From 1861 to 1876 the average rainfall was 22.26 inches. From 1876 to 1892 the fall was 28.20 inches, showing an increase of 5.94 inches. But this variation gives only a slender basis for believing that the climate of Palestine is changing.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

GENERAL NOTES.

Although four of the Institute summer schools are still in progress as this number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD* goes to press, it is possible to give reports of some interest from all. The work at Chautauqua, N. Y., is now in its eighth year as regularly organized Bible work distinguished from the college work. The six weeks of the school have been divided into two sections of three weeks each. All the work has centered about Hebrew History, in order that it might be most helpful to the Sunday school teacher. One hour a day has been devoted to the study of Hebrew history, covering the entire period from the Judges to the Exile. This class has had an average attendance of ninety; the work in the New Testament has been made to harmonize with that of the Old in subject. It has been equally well attended. The instructors in these courses have been Professor Ira M. Price of the University of Chicago, Professor Frank K. Sanders of Yale University, Professor R. F. Weidner of Chicago, Professor Rush Rhees of Newton Centre. President Harper has given a course in the Psalms, taking up the psalms belonging to different periods of Israelitish history. The work in Hebrew and New Testament Greek has been carried through the entire six weeks. The beginners in Hebrew have accomplished a sufficient amount of work to enable them to receive credit for a year's work in Hebrew in a seminary. This is remarkable progress for six weeks, but when one considers that the student of Hebrew is expected to spend five hours a day at least in his study and recitation, the result is not to be wondered at. Nearly 200 students have been enrolled in the various classes. They represent almost every occupation in life and nearly every religious denomination. The work at Chautauqua has from the beginning been in the hands of the best teachers. The foundation, therefore, which a teacher finds for work with the classes at Chautauqua is exceptionally good. Many of the students return from year to year, and the classes may thereby be carried along on the basis of work done in previous years.

In the University of Chicago the summer courses of the first term which has just been completed have been under the charge of President Harper, Professor R. F. Harper, Dr. Breasted, Mr. Votaw, Professor Mathews and Dr. Arnolt. The work in this institution differs from that in other summer schools in requiring regular university work under university restrictions on the part of the students. While the requirements for admission are not so rigid as in the other quarters of the year, the standard of work is not lowered,

and therefore the constituency of the classes is necessarily higher than in other summer schools. In the beginning Hebrew work there have been twenty students enrolled and in the advanced work in Hebrew a still larger number. Nine persons have also been studying Arabic and eight have taken up Assyrian. A course has been given by Professor Shailer Mathews on "The Social History of New Testament Times," and the New Testament Courses by Mr. Votaw. The lectures of Principal Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Oxford, aroused much interest and enthusiasm. The largest hall available on the campus was crowded daily. The subject of the lecture was "The Philosophy of Religion." Professor Bruce of Glasgow commences with the second term two courses of lectures, one on Agnosticism, and the other on "The Historical Foundations of Faith." Professor Gregory of Leipzig begins his work in New Testament Greek with the second term.

At the Bay View Assembly two instructors were present, Professor Frank K. Sanders of Yale, and Professor Edward L. Parks of Atlanta, Ga. Two courses were given by each instructor,—a general course by each on methods of Bible teaching and study, and a special course on Old Testament history and literature from the book of Job. The enrollment (twenty-eight) was large in consideration of the fact that a tuition fee corresponding to the fees in other departments was charged. This is one of the few assemblies where biblical instruction is placed on the same plane with other instruction. Free biblical instruction has unfortunately come to be expected as a matter of course. Several open conferences on the work of the Institute were held.

The Central New York assembly is still in session. Rev. Dean A. Walker is presenting the subject of Messianic Prophecy in a course of ten lectures to a general audience, there being no organized school at this place.

At the Silver Lake Assembly Mr. Walker gave eighteen lectures on the Christ in Prophecy and Fulfilment, and on the Life of Christ. Notwithstanding a most unfavorable hour of the day and amid many other attractions, Mr. Walker succeeded in holding a good number of students and establishing a permanent interest in systematic Bible study at the Silver Lake Assembly.

At Lake Madison, South Dakota, Rev. Edward L. Parks gave ten interesting lectures on the Bible from an Educational Point of View. Although this is one of the smaller assemblies, the Bible work has been conducted systematically for some years and the attendance was as good as at some of the larger assemblies.

Professor Lincoln Hulley of Bucknell University conducted both the Lakeside, Ohio, and Monteagle, Tenn. Schools. The latter of these is still in progress and no reports have been received. This is the first season of Institute work at an assembly so far south as Monteagle. An effort will be made to add other southern assemblies next season. The work at Lakeside is in its third year, and has been constantly growing in interest. Hebrew as well as the English Bible is taught. There is an average daily attendance of

200 in the English Bible classes, and on special days there were as many as 600 present. The audience at Lakewood expressed its approval of the Institute work at that assembly by a rising vote upon resolutions of approval which were presented by one of the class.

At Ottawa, Kas., Dr. Charles F. Kent organized the first work of the Institute in connection with that assembly. His lectures upon Hebrew History were attended by several hundred people daily. No regular class work was introduced, as so many were anxious to hear the lectures that they were necessarily made public. The work was so successful that it will be continued from year to year.

At Winfield, Kas., the Rev. H. L. Willett, Field Secretary of the Institute, gave two courses of study; one in the Old Testament and one in the New. Here, as at Ottawa, the work was most enthusiastically received. These two assemblies represent the best element of the West. They are well established, Ottawa being one of the oldest Chautauqua assemblies. The people who attend them are enthusiastic, but with an enthusiasm which lasts. And there is no question but that Bible study in western towns will receive a great incentive from the work done at these assemblies this year.

Work is now in progress at Macatawa Park, Mich., under the direction of Rev. H. L. Willett, and before this journal reaches its readers, a school at Howell, Mich., covering one week of work with Professor Charles F. Kent and Mr. C. W. Votaw will have closed. Looking back over the summer there seems to be many facts to inspire the Institute workers, and steady healthful growth which promises much for the future.

As the summer work closes, we turn with interest to the work of the winter which will spread itself from Maine to California and through many foreign lands. Five thousand people were last year receiving instruction in their homes through the Institute. It is surely not too much to hope that this number may this year be doubled. Announcements of all departments of the work are now ready and will be freely sent together with other literature helpful in arousing an interest in Bible study, to all those who address the Institute. The work of the Bible Student's Reading Guild and of the Study course for Young People's organizations commences October 1. Let every one inform himself concerning these courses before that time by addressing the American Institute of Sacred Literature, Hyde Park, Chicago.

Book Reviews.

The People's Bible History. Prepared in the light of recent investigations by some of the foremost thinkers in Europe and America: Illustrated copiously and beautifully and accompanied by portraits of the several authors. Edited by REV. GEORGE C. LORIMER, D.D., with an introduction by RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. Chicago: The Henry O. Shepard Co., 1895. 4to., pp. 1241.

This much heralded book is a sumptuous affair from the point of view of printer and binder. Its paper is thick and lustrous; the type large and clear; the press work admirable; the engravings and wood cuts well chosen and executed. As a parlor decoration or library ornament it bears comparison with any other achievement of the publisher's skill that has appeared in recent years.

This is not all. There is not a little good work put into the book. Of course fully half of the writers have no scholarly position entitling their words to authority. The names that attract a scholar are the following: Professor Sayce, Professor Curtiss, Dean Farrar, Professor Beet, Professor C. R. Gregory. Names standing in a somewhat different circle, but yet in a sense attracting attention from the student are: Mr. Gladstone, Dr. E. E. Hale, Professor Wilkinson, Dr. J. Monro Gibson, though none of these gentlemen is writing on a subject which has hitherto engaged his chief activity. The other writers may be excellent compilers, clear thinkers, good narrators, but one cannot feel that their work has added anything to the special usefulness of the volume.

The book contains the narratives of the Bible retold in modern style with instructive and edifying comments. The line followed in the progress of the story is chronological. The material is rearranged from the historical point of view. Such a plan is eminently desirable. Its achievement in these pages deserves considerable praise. No one of the "people" for whom it is prepared can read the matter furnished here without a larger and more accurate knowledge of the Bible and the history of which it is the record, without a broader view of the character and purpose of the Sacred Volume, and without a deeper sense of spiritual enlightenment and elevation. The editor, Dr. Lorimer, in his organization of this volume, has done the cause of popular religion and of popular biblical knowledge great service.

The matter contained in the book cannot be exhaustively surveyed here. We can only point out some characteristics of it:

- (1) Much liberality is displayed in the attitude toward biblical criticism

and in the interpretation of difficult and disputed points. For example, the analysis of the Pentateuch is considered by the editor as a not unreasonable idea and it is definitely accepted by more than one of the writers. Again the moral difficulties of the Old Testament are fairly faced, and the view is presented that they are best explained on the basis of a low moral state in Israel. The standing still of the sun and moon is dismissed as no miracle but as contained in a poem never intended to be taken literally. Uzzah is "struck by lightning." Again the narratives of the birth and infancy of Jesus are said to be both truth and poetry. Other positions similarly broad and in harmony with the best scholarship are taken and might be mentioned did space permit.

(2) On the other hand there are some extraordinary inaccuracies of detail in a book professing to be "prepared in the light of recent investigations." Some of the more "popular" clerical writers in the volume have done a good deal of cramming in preparation for these tasks, and the material has not had time to undergo a process of digestion. The literature on which they have depended is secondhand, and the results are in some cases amusing. Dr. Geikie's "Hours with the Bible" has formed the staple on which several of our authors have drawn and without acquaintance with Dr. Geikie's authorities they have sometimes gone astray. We call attention to the results of a hasty survey of some parts of the Old Testament History as rewritten by Drs. Capen, Gunsaulus, Pentecost, MacArthur, Bristol and others, and suggest some revision in future editions. In ethnological matters we hear of the "Indo-Hindus"; "Hyksos is made equivalent to Hittite; Canaanite to Phœnician; Phœnician to Hittite; and all are "Turanian" or "Hamite." Dr. Pentecost's treatment of the "table of nations" is absurd. In chronology, Abraham goes down into Egypt under the Hyksos kings; Solomon is made contemporaneous with Homer and Cheops (!); or, again the Mesha stone was written before Homer; Zephaniah, Habakkuk and Obadiah are prophets of the exile; Malachi is the last word of revelation. In historical matters may be noted the following errors: Jeroboam I. favored Shishak's invasion; the latter's army was chiefly Ethiopian; Pul and Tiglath Pileser are two different persons; Sennacherib carried off two million (!) Samaritans into captivity; Tyre was captured by Nebuchadnezzar in 577; the last king of Assyria was Assur-ebil-ili. Amusing identifications are Cyaxares with Ahasuerus, and the Pseudo-Smerdis with Artaxerxes. Some misprints are Barsippa, for Borsippa; Kōning, perhaps for Kōnig. Of some examples of ignorance, perhaps the most glaring, are the high encomium given to Sennacherib by Mr. Bristol, and the worthless description of Egyptian and Babylonian religion, swarming with errors, from Dr. Pentecost. The latter writer argues at great length for the immense antiquity of the Book of Job, while as to the Book of Daniel Professor Sayce regards it as proved to be Maccabaean and another writer argues strenuously for its origin in the time which it describes.

In a heterogeneous mass of material from so many writers one must expect diversity of opinion about disputed points. It should have been possible to avoid errors in matters of fact, however, and the work of these unlearned compilers should not have been allowed to stand beside that of Professors Sayce, Beet, Curtiss and the others without having undergone a careful revision under the hand of a competent scholar. G. S. G.

Demon Possession and Allied Themes, being an inductive study of Phenomena of our own time. By REV. JOHN L. NEVIUS, D.D., for forty years a missionary to the Chinese, with an Introduction by Rev. F. F. Ellinwood, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York and Chicago, 1894. Pp. x. + 482.

There are two classes of persons to whom the question of the nature of the phenomena of demoniacal possession as recorded in the New Testament presents no difficulty. There are those who hold it as a consequence of the authority of Christ and of the inspiration of the New Testament that every statement of the gospels and all the implications thereof are strictly true. They believe therefore that neither on the part of Christ nor of the New Testament writers can there be either accommodation to the current conceptions of their day (on many matters of course imperfect or incorrect, as is true in greater or less degree of the popular ideas, not to say the scientific "certainties" of every age thus far), or any degree of participation in those ideas except so far as they were true. Such persons of course find in the New Testament clear evidence that the demons were actual spiritual entities, that acquired a certain degree of control over the bodies of men, and even in some cases of animals, to the great damage and discomfort of the possessed. There are others, some of them materialists, some very far from accepting the materialistic philosophy, yet both alike so far influenced by the trend of modern discovery showing that many phenomena formerly attributed to the activity of demons, etc., are simply cases of brain disease, as to accept the conclusion that all phenomena apparently due to demoniacal influence, so far as they are not pure pretense or illusion, are the result wholly of an abnormal physical condition upon the part of the subject.

These two classes of persons find no difficulty with demoniacal possession. But there are those to whom the matter is not so simple. On the one hand the *a priori* argument concerning the nature of the New Testament testimony is not wholly convincing. It seems to them necessary to determine the precise nature of inspiration and the possible extent of accommodation from the ascertained facts rather to determine beforehand what these must be on any *a priori* grounds. On the other hand they remember that there is on record a great multitude of psychic phenomena, both from times long gone by and from our own day, some of which have certain elements closely resembling those of demonism, and many of which have as yet been but very imperfectly

explained. These persons feel themselves deterred by such facts from pronouncing too hasty a judgment on the nature of the phenomena recorded in the New Testament. They conceive it possible that the first view mentioned above may be correct, though they are not convinced by the deductive argument from somewhat insecure premises. They are ready to accept the conclusion that demoniacal possession involves the existence of no second spiritual entity but is purely a matter of diseased brain and nerve tissue, when that is proved. But the evidence thus far adduced seems to them to fall far short of proving this, and the argument for it strangely to ignore a large mass of evidence apparently pointing in another direction. They are compelled to regard the question as one that is still open to investigation, and they look with interest to see whether the careful study of phenomena recorded in history, or still better discovered in our own day, where the investigator may deal not merely with a past record but with the actual phenomena themselves, will throw any light upon the problem of the precise nature of the facts presented in the gospels.

To persons of this third class especially, this book of Dr. Nevius will be deeply interesting, particularly for the facts concerning demonism in China, presented in the first seven chapters and in the appendix. The careful student will often wish that he could have been present on the ground to inquire more carefully into all the facts than seems to have been done by the Chinese observers untrained in scientific observation. Yet this testimony has a certain value just because of the source from which it comes, and no reader of the New Testament can fail to be struck with the close parallel, undesigned it would seem, between these modern Chinese instances of possession and those narrated in the gospels. Of course the paralleling of the phenomena does not itself settle the question of their nature; in a sense it leaves the problem exactly where it was—we have more instances but no new elements of the problem. Yet this is not quite the whole truth. The duplication of the phenomena in modern times is itself a fact of significance, tending to confirm the accuracy of the New Testament record so far as it pertains to the phenomena themselves, viewed simply as such, and to limit the problem to the discovery of the nature and causes of the phenomena. Moreover, if the testimony of this volume is in all respects trustworthy, and no one can doubt its honesty at any rate, it tends to exclude certain explanations of the facts which the New Testament records did not so certainly enable us to exclude. Thus one of the striking parallels between the New Testament instances and the Chinese cases is that the demoniacs seem to have knowledge of matters of which, aside from the fact of their "possession," they were wholly ignorant. The demoniacs mentioned in the gospels are said in repeated instances to have cried out, Thou art the Son of God, and this at a time when, according to the gospel record, there had been no general recognition of Jesus as the Son of God or Messiah. The Chinese demoniacs are in a number of instances reported as knowing things in their demonized state of which they knew

nothing when in their normal state; in several instances they declare that Jesus is the Son of God, though showing fear of him or hostility to him; and there is even one instance in which a possessed woman talked continually of God and Christ and the Holy Spirit, yet "so far as we could reason," the narrator cautiously says, "the woman had never had any opportunity whatever of learning the doctrine." These are certainly interesting parallels; perhaps they are much more than this; they must, to say the least, be included in that mass of modern testimony on this and kindred topics which must be considered by the scholar who would solve the problem of the nature of that which has been in ancient times and is today in certain quarters known as demonism.

When the book passes beyond the presentation of testimony from China, and comes to deal with the explanation of the matter, it becomes of less interest, and we are inclined to think of less value. The discussion of the teachings of Scripture is far from satisfactory. Far too little allowance is made for the difficulty of conveying to men of the first century a correct idea of the real and exact nature of demoniacal possession, supposing only that it may have been something else than the common popular theory made it, and of the consequent possibility that a distinction is to be made between the literal sense of the language used and the actual significance of the facts. The argument for the accuracy of the evangelists based on the agreement of their several accounts strangely ignores the fact now almost undisputed, that these agreements are in large part due to the derivation of the several accounts from one source. In the discussion of the biblical doctrine of Satan, poetical language is treated as if it were perfectly sober prose (pp. 267, 268), and the evidence afforded by both Old Testament and New Testament that different conceptions existed of the function of Satan in the divine economy, is wholly disregarded. The discussion of modern theories will be informing to one who has not given special attention to the subject, but it will not obviate the necessity of another and more exhaustive treatment of the matter.

We heartily commend this book to the attentive and discriminating reading of students of the Bible who wish to have an intelligent opinion on the question of the nature of the demon-possession spoken of in the New Testament. No other book known to us is so really informing upon the subject as this. Especially would we urge those to read it who have been accustomed with easy skepticism to dismiss the subject on the ground that science has proved that there are no such things as demons. This book does not settle the difficult question. It does make some contribution to the subject. It is to be hoped that before very long we shall have a still better book based on a still wider and more penetrating study of the whole subject.

The bibliography added by Henry W. Rankin, Esq., is a most valuable addition to the book.

E. D. B.

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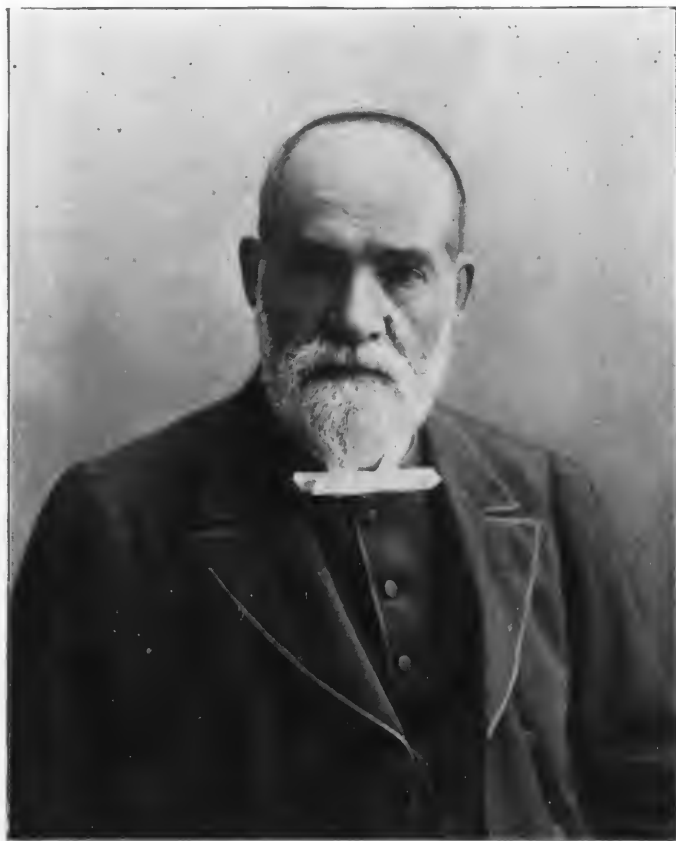
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