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THE
CHURCHMAN

JUNE, 1891.

ART. I.—THE STORY OF GERGESA.

IN matters of religious belief, polite acquiescence is becoming less and less fashionable. The day is gone by when a ready-made creed was accepted without examination. And as contrasted with a silent indifferentism, it may at least be said that Christianity has in open scepticism a foe whose measure she can take. Nor should it be overlooked that an attack is seldom made upon any of her defences, but the completeness of the reply leaves her doctrinal position unshaken. The believer retires from the conflict to re-read his Bible, and while perhaps having to correct many crudities of purblind exposition, and having to erase from between the lines not a little that he has, through the tyranny of conventionality, been led to *read into* the text of Scripture, he finds his faith in that text itself deepened and strengthened, at the same time that it has grown more discriminating, wiser, humbler, and so worthier of the name.

In religious circles loud are the lamentations over the advancing scepticism of our day. If, indeed, our lamentations have reference only to the attacking party, they are reasonably called for. "Woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." But if regard be had only to the cause that is thus assailed, there is less room for apprehension. Truth has an immortality within itself, and asks leave of none to let it live.

It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the precious heritage of dogma which has come down to us is, *as such*, largely the outcome of controversy. In Apostolic times the doctrines of the faith were held, so to speak, in solution. Analysis had not yet taken the place of synthesis. It was under the pressure of conflict that the creeds of the Church were precipitated, and thus the science of theology came into being.

The incident referred to in the heading of this paper has lately supplied the *causa belli* for an attack upon the historical basis of Christianity in the pages of a well-known review. That this wider issue is to be regarded as involved in the narrower one, proper to the incident in question, is stated in no equivocal language by Professor Huxley himself. Writing in the March number of the *Nineteenth Century*, he thus measures the importance of the question of the miracle in its bearing upon the question of the faith which is pledged to its acceptance :

Therefore, behind the question of the acceptance of the doctrines of the oldest heathen demonology as part of the fundamental beliefs of Christianity, there lies the question of the credibility of the Gospels, and of their claim to act as our instructors, outside that ethical province in which they appeal to the consciousness of all thoughtful men. And still, behind this problem, there lies another—how far do these ancient records give a sure foundation to the prodigious fabric of Christian dogma which has been built upon them by the continuous labours of speculative theologians during eighteen centuries. . . . Whether the twentieth century shall see a recrudescence of the superstitions of mediæval papistry, or whether it shall witness the severance of the living body of the ethical ideal of prophetic Israel from the carcass, foul with savage superstitions and cankered with false philosophy, to which theologians have bound it, turns upon their final judgment of the Gadarene tale.

The above passage is interesting, as showing how important, in the opinion of the writer, is the defence of the miracle in the field of Christian apologetics. It is interesting also for another reason. Behind the doctrines postulated by the story lies, we are told, the question of the claim of the Gospels "to act as our instructors, outside that ethical province in which they appeal to the consciousness of all thoughtful men." It will be observed that here is a distinct admission of the claim of the evangelic records to "act as our instructors" within the ethical province. Keeping this before us, we shall probably experience some surprise to find Professor Huxley directing his attack against the ethical aspect of the part enacted by the chief Actor in the scene. Ground which he has conceded to the Christian he is hardly acting within the restrictions of that concession to invade. His allegation is that our Lord, causing the destruction of the swine, was inflicting loss upon innocent persons. Gadara being substantially a Gentile town, the inhabitants were exempt from blame in keeping these animals, and consequently the act by which they were deprived of them was immoral.

Overlooking the inconsistency between the character of this assault upon the history before us, and the acknowledgment of the ethical value of the history as an integral portion of the Gospels, we may notice that this line of argument is one from which the great majority of opponents of revelation have

almost invariably shrunk. The supreme beauty of the moral character of the human Jesus as portrayed in the records of the Evangelists has been recognised by most of those who rejected His high claims, or in one way or another impugned the authority of the New Testament accounts of Him.

A broad glance over the pages of Professor Huxley's contributions to destructive criticism reveals, roughly speaking, three positions, with which the present paper may seasonably deal. The space allowed forbids more than a rapid treatment of each in turn. These three positions may be stated thus: First, that the act of Jesus Christ, issuing in the destruction of the swine, involved a violation of the rights of property, and was therefore immoral; secondly, that while it is of no consequence to which of the three rival places—Gadara, Gerasa, or Gergesa—we assign the supposed miracle, the balance of probability leans strongly towards Gadara; thirdly, that the universality of a given belief (*e.g.*, demonology) tends to invalidate that belief.

These positions shall be taken in the order given, though the first in a measure depends upon the second, the question of the ethnical nature of the population of the district materially modifying our views regarding the intention that lay behind the action of Christ. For the present, therefore, let it be assumed that the contention that the people of the place which was the scene of the transaction were wholly or mainly Gentiles, and that consequently the rearing of swine in their case was not culpable, is a well-grounded one. Assuming this to have been the case, are we shut up to the inference that their destruction was unjustifiable, and that in permitting it our blessed Lord's conduct was open to grave exception?

One other concession we are less able, for the purposes of our argument, to make. In considering the moral question, Professor Huxley, of course, reasons from the postulate that the chief Actor was an ordinary man. His Divinity is not debatable. Without this it is readily granted that the task of defending the action of Jesus Christ under the accepted circumstances would be less easy, inasmuch as His personal authority would without this be immeasurably depreciated.

We touch here a subject of no little complexity, and it befits us to tread with the utmost reverence. In the eyes of a Christian, the character of Jesus Christ appears so infinitely sacred a subject that he can hardly persuade himself the very defence of it is not akin to profanity; yet while it needs not our defence its detractors may.

It is necessary carefully to bear in mind that, though the Son of God, stepping down into the human sphere, submitting to the inevitable limitations inseparable from that sphere,

accepted as His general rule of conduct the code of morality previously imposed upon men by Divine sanctions, the dual relationship, represented by His personality, looking Godward through His Divinity, and manward through His humanity, introduced elements into His conduct which necessarily traversed that code along certain lines.

God is good, and goodness, which is the essence of all true morality, flows from Him as its Source, and the moral law is but the Divine character codified. Notwithstanding, there are attributes of the moral character of God which cannot be predicated of a good man; and, on the other hand, there are moral qualities in a good man which cannot be thought of as resident in God. For virtues may be divided into relational and non-relational (these adjectives more exactly express our meaning than "relative" and "non-relative"); and of these, while the latter, such as holiness, truth, are proper both to the Divine and the human natures, the former, being the moral outcome of variable relationships, can only be common to both natures, in so far as the relationships which beget them are common to both. Amongst ourselves, a virtue may conceivably be turned into a vice by mentally altering a relationship. It is a military virtue in a soldier serving in the ranks to yield obedience to his superior officer. It would be a military vice for a superior officer to obey, in place of commanding, the private. As the Supreme Being, it is not competent for us to think of the human virtues of humility, obedience, submission, patience (in the sense of self-restraint in suffering or endured wrong), as essentials to the Divine character. For in virtue of His omnipotence God is raised above the field of action to which these essentials of human morality are proper. Patience presupposes passibility. Where there is none to defer to, submission has no place, nor obedience where there is none to command.

With thus much of reservation are we obliged to accept the dictum of a prominent modern freethinker: "I will never bring myself to think of that as good in God which is not good in man." The little that is offered in the foregoing paragraph is enough to persuade us that, so far from all the elements in human goodness being equally good, when conceived of as belonging to God, there are elements which not only cease to be good when imported into the idea of God, but are subversive of other elements indispensable to that idea.

With these considerations before us, let us now turn to the subject of the so-called "rights of property." I say advisedly "so-called," because no human rights are absolute; and all social codes are drawn up with the understanding that they

are not absolute. I own a piece of ground, but the rights vested in that ownership are strictly limited. If it be a freehold, those rights are as nearly unlimited as they can be; but still they are far from absolute. In a score of directions I may attempt to exceed my rights, and be hedged in from doing so. Deterioration of neighbouring property, "ancient lights," the safety of adjoining premises, by-laws of the place where the freehold is situated: one or more of these deterrent considerations may give me a very palpable sense of the strictly limited nature of my rights of ownership. It is not lawful for me to do whatever I will with mine own. For I may not sink a mine, I may not erect a powder-magazine, nor an "Albert Gate" mansion, nor even a shop perhaps, upon my land. Moreover, another and a higher ownership impinges upon mine, and might any day most legally absorb it. Theoretically, every citizen is the property of the State, and hence all that belongs to him is the property of the State. If Parliament adopted communism to-morrow in its extremest form, the holding of private property would immediately become illegal, and any attempt to retain it would become criminal. Individual sufferers by the change might complain bitterly of the hardship it inflicted upon them, but none could allege its illegality, for the rights of the State acting through its legalized channels of legislation override those of the individual.

It is evident, therefore, that absolute ownership is not to be found amongst us. What, then, becomes of this when used as a plea against the exercise of His power whose lordship over our persons and our goods is absolute? Our tenure of life itself is entirely dependent upon the Divine will, which is the fount of all law. The frequent wholesale destruction of property permitted in the providence of God may at times perplex us. But we believe that such destruction is perfectly capable of vindication, and that when and where that vindication is vouchsafed, neither the wisdom nor the goodness of God will be found to have failed. Substitute the impersonal abstraction of a Providence for the act of the personal Jesus, and a natural for the supernatural instrumentality, and the attack is at once shifted from a single act of an individual agent to the wide subject of the moral government of the universe, a field which we may well be excused from entering.

Further, it would be quite open to us to urge that Jesus Christ did not destroy the swine, but the evil spirits. True, He permitted the spirits to have their wish and work their will upon the herd. But can Christ be said to do all He permitted? Can God be said to do all He permits? He permits sin. Does He therefore sin? He permits us to be

tempted. Does He therefore tempt? Surely it is only with the wildest confusion of misstatement that God can be said to do all He permits others to do. Again, how much better is a man than a beast, or than a herd of beasts? In the heat of his assault upon the morality of the permitted death of the brutes, Professor Huxley has nothing to say about the beneficence of the cure of the wretched demoniacs. "Is not the life more than meat?" Let all the beasts of the forest and the cattle upon a thousand hills—all of them, on the Psalmist's authority, Jehovah's possessions—go to purchase deliverance, if need be, for a single one of Satan's captives. Let all lesser beings die for the sake of that being for whom the highest of all beings, God Incarnate, Himself died.

Let this much suffice by way of meeting the ethical charge.

II. I venture to take exception to the acceptance of Gadara as the presumed scene of the incident. Professor Huxley registers his opinion in a footnote (*Nineteenth Century* for March, 1891, p. 456) that the true identification of the place "is of no consequence." Considering that the whole weight of the evidence for the prosecution is made to rest upon its identity with Gadara, as opposed to the other two suggested spots, it is difficult to see how the question of the place can be so immaterial. Whether as an abstract inquiry it be of much moment is another matter. But it certainly would appear to be of very considerable consequence to an argument the coherence of which is involved in the choice of one of the three, and is destroyed by the selection of either of the other two.

There are two replies possible to the reasoning based upon the presumption that the event took place at Gadara. We may meet this by the denial that it took place here, or granting that it did take place here, we may deny that the population was exclusively or mainly Gentile, and that, therefore, the keeping of swine was a legitimate occupation. This latter method of reply has been adopted by Mr. Gladstone in his article on the subject in the February number of the *Nineteenth Century*. He expands at considerable length this reply, enforcing it by the aid of wide reading. At the same time he does not ignore the force of the former reply, viz., the direct denial that Gadara was the scene. As, however, his paper contains but a passing approach to this inquiry, it may prove useful to accentuate this denial. To an unbiased mind the counter-evidence brought forward in this article must appear all but conclusive. With this before us, it seems to me impossible to accept Professor Huxley's contention that Gadara was Gentile in such sort that the swine-owners must themselves have been Gentiles.

But we turn now to the other question. Is there any strong ground for believing that Gadara was not the place where the event occurred?

The evidence from the manuscripts is conflicting. Alford adopts "Gadarenes," "Gergesenes," "Gerasenes," in the three Gospels respectively. The revision of 1881 reads "Gerasenes" in St. Mark and St. Luke, altering "Gergesenes" in St. Matthew into "Gadarenes." Epiphanius read "Gergesenes" in St. Mark and St. Luke, and "Gadarenes" in St. Matthew, adding, however, that "certain copies" of this Gospel had the reading "Gergesenes." The Alexandrine Codex has "Gadarenes" in St. Mark and St. Luke, while the concurrence of the Vatican and Codex Bezae—a combination always to be respected—pleads strongly for "Gerasenes" in those two Gospels. The Sinaitic reading in St. Luke, and, as corrected by its latest hand, in St. Matthew and St. Mark, is "Gergesenes." On the whole, the bias of the great uncial manuscripts appears in favour of "Gadarenes" in the first Gospel, "Gerasenes" or "Gergesenes" in the second and the third. The testimony of the manuscripts is not much assisted by the older versions, these being also divided.¹

In weighing the evidence for a particular reading, every textual student is aware that it is necessary to take into consideration to which side the probability of alteration leans. And the question here is by no means a hopeless one: which of these three contending words is the most likely to have crept into the text? Gadara was an important town, and gave its name to a wide district round. And it is clearly more likely that the better-known than that the less-known of two places should have been substituted for the other. It is harder to believe that, had Gadara been the original word in all the synoptists, Gergesa or Gerasa should have replaced it, than that, Gergesa or Gerasa being found in the original copies, Gadara should have replaced it.

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that the name of no town is mentioned by any one of the Evangelists. The phrase used to describe the locality is in each case a vague and general one—"The country of the Gadarenes," or "the

¹ Professor Huxley has scarcely made sure of his ground in his note on page 456 of the March number of the *Nineteenth Century*. Without quoting any particular Gospel, he cites Professor Porter, that "the most ancient and credible testimony *clearly* pronounces in favour of Γαδαρηνῶν. This reading is adopted by Tischendorf, Alford, and Tregelles." Does the above evidence amount to so clear a testimony for this reading, while in two out of the three Gospels the "most ancient and credible testimony" pronounces against it? By a similar oversight Professor Porter has misread his editors. He is correct in citing each of the three to the extent of one Gospel out of three. Tischendorf and Tregelles both have Γερασηνῶν in St. Mark and St. Luke.

country of the Gergesenes." Such an expression might cover several villages, or even towns, the principal town dominating in terminology the rest in the district.

Now, modern travellers have discovered a spot on the east side of the Lake of Galilee which exactly meets all the topographical requirements of the narrative, which certainly cannot be said of the site of the town of Gadara itself. Along the eastern side the hills recede to half or three-quarters of a mile from the shore, except at a single spot between Wâdy Fîk and Wâdy Semakh, where they approach within forty yards of it. Here there is no broken cliff, but a steep, even slope. At this spot the mere impetus of a mad rush downwards would suffice to carry the animals into the water. Mr. Macgregor,¹ who carefully examined this part of the shore in his canoe, thus describes the place:

Here for a full half-mile the beach is of a form different from any other round the lake, and from any I have noticed in any lake or sea before. It is flat until close to the edge. There a hedge of oleanders fringes the end of the plain, and immediately below there is a gravel beach inclined so steep that when my boat was at the shore I could not see over the top, even by standing up, while the water alongside is so deep that it covered my paddle (seven feet long) when dipped in vertically a few feet from the shore.

A mile to the north of this spot, at the mouth of Wâdy Semakh, the ruins of an old town may be seen, to which the Bedawin give the name of Khersa or Gersa. The existence of this town was known to Origen, to Eusebius, and to Jerome. Origen, indeed, boldly suggests that Gergesa is the true reading, and though Professor Porter² disparages this as a "mere conjecture," it has commended itself to such authorities as Weiss, Volkmar, Farrar, Tristram, Stanley, Thomson. The last-named traveller, who spent twenty years in the country, makes out a strong case for Gergesa. He writes:

In this Gersa or Chersa we have a position which fulfils every requirement of the narratives, and with a name so nearly resembling that in the Authorised Version of St. Matthew as to be in itself a strong corroboration of the truth of this identification. It is within a few rods of the shore, and a mountain rises directly above it, pierced with tombs. The lake is so near the base of the mountain that the swine, rushing madly down it, could not stop, but would be hurried forward into the water and drowned.³

Dean Stanley's account agrees substantially with Dr. Thomson's, though he inclines to the opinion that the Wâdy Fîk, a little south of the Wâdy Semakh, satisfies the necessities of the history better.

¹ "Rob Roy on the Jordan," p. 424.

² Kitto's "Biblical Cyclopædia," ii, p. 51.

³ Dr. Thomson, "The Land and the Book," part ii, chap. xxv., p. 376 (edit. 1876).

Turning now to the site of Gadara, we encounter insuperable topographical difficulties. Accepting Um Keis, on the hills south-east of the lake, as its modern equivalent, we look in vain for the required conditions. The place is sixteen miles from Tiberias, situated near the river Jermuk, the ancient Hieromax. Three hours' stiff walking is needed to cover the ground between the south end of the lake and this spot. How such a place could have been described by St. Luke as "over against Galilee"¹ it is not easy to see, and still less to invest the possessed herd with such powers of endurance as would be needed to carry them down a mountain gorge for an hour and a half, across the deep Jermuk at the bottom, and then, with such remnants of the supernatural impetus as were left them, along a level plain for several miles, in order to reach the lake in which the Gospel narrative requires them to find their grave.

If anyone cares to urge that St. Matthew tells us that the swine were "a good way off from them,"² and that accordingly we may place them at Gergesa, while retaining Gadara as the scene of the cure of the demoniacs, I can only remind him that according to the Twentieth Article it is not lawful "to expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another;" and that St. Mark informs us that the herd "was *there, nigh* unto the mountains"—*i.e.*, the mountains where the demoniacs lived; and that St. Luke relates how the townspeople met and conversed with the swineherds in the place where they found Jesus Christ and the men He had healed.

III. The methods by which Professor Huxley endeavours to attach discredit to what he pleases to call "the heathen demonology" of the story before us call for some remark. In treating of the subject he has free recourse to the arts of pleasantry and banter, sheltering himself behind the plea that though "assuredly, ridicule is no test of truth, it is the righteous meed of some kinds of error." We must, however, be allowed to place such appeals to the sense of the ridiculous amongst those "rhetorical artifices" which, he assures us, "have long ceased to take effect" upon men of science.

Such a manner of approaching Scripture cannot be deprecated too strongly. Nothing is easier than to weaken a cause in the eyes of a reader with the slightest prepossession in favour of destructive criticism by turning the laugh against received beliefs; and no expedient is better worn than that of concealing the weakness of one's position by the deftness of

¹ Ἦτις ἐστὶν ἀντιπέραν τῆς Γαλιλαίας.

² μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

one's use of sarcasm. The "gravity of the problems ultimately involved in the discussion" of this subject, to quote Professor Huxley's own phrase, ought surely to restrain us from the use of these methods in dealing with it.

If the pursuit of science, of which he is so prominent a representative, teaches one thing more than another, it tends to strengthen the conviction of the circumscribed limits within which our researches move. It fosters what we may call a wholesome agnosticism in the scientific sphere. And it has to be noticed that the whole subject of demoniacal possession lies in a plane along which science has made next to no advance. While the physicist tells us much of physical life, and the psychologist tells us less of psychic life, what has either to say that is other than speculative about the links that connect the two, and the laws of action and reaction by which reciprocal influences are maintained between them? And if we are thus ignorant of the nature and working of the laws which govern this union as it exists in ourselves, are we in a position to decide that a spiritual agency, foreign to ourselves, cannot work upon us through the spiritual part of us, which (*quod* its psychic nature) may be presumed to offer scope for its operation?

It must be admitted that the main difficulty of the story before us is to be found in the action of the devilish nature upon the bestial. But, as Archbishop Trench writes, "perhaps we make to ourselves a difficulty here, too easily assuming that the lower animal world is wholly shut up in itself, and incapable of receiving impressions from that which is above it. This assumption is one unwarranted by deeper investigations, which lead rather to an opposite conclusion—not to a breaking down of the boundaries between the two worlds, but to the showing in what wonderful ways the lower is receptive of impressions from the higher, both for good and for evil." And the same writer adds in a note:

How remarkable in this respect are well-authenticated cases of clairvoyance, in which the horse is evidently, by its terror, extreme agitation, and utter refusal to advance, a partaker of the vision of its rider. With what electric swiftness does the courage or fear of the rider pass into the horse; and so, too, the gladness or depression of its master is almost instantaneously reflected and reproduced in his faithful dog. It is true that we might expect, as we should find, far less of this in the grosser nature of the swine than in those creatures of nobler races. Yet the very grossness of these animals may have been exactly that which best fitted them for receiving such impulses from the lower world as those under which they perished.¹

It is to be apprehended that many amongst us who accept

¹ Archbishop Trench, "Notes on the Miracles of our Lord," p. 187 (edit. x.).

revelation in its entirety are hardly prepared to regard the personal agency of the spirit-world, that of angels bad or good, as so extensive as the Bible appears to warrant our believing it to be. Herein we have a distinctly personal activity recognised as at work beneath almost everything that affects the condition and course of men through life. Job is afflicted: the Bible lifts the veil, and shows us the agency in operation behind this affliction. His children are killed: the same agency is discovered behind the elements. The Assyrian host lies dead on the plain before Libnah's walls: an angel's hand had done it. St. Paul is troubled with some unknown physical trial—epilepsy, or weak sight, or impaired utterance: in his view this trouble is "an angel of Satan." Other passages need not be added, though these are but few out of many of a like import. And it will not do to say that this angelic agency was part of a miraculous dispensation, and proper to no other. On the contrary, it is represented as running parallel with nature. In fact, we are called upon to hold that there is nothing natural but has the supernatural at its back. Nature is merely the gorgeous drop-scene which hides the real actors from our sight—a drop-scene which may at any moment be lifted, to reveal the mighty drama of the spirit-world playing out its awful rôle.

And, after all, this acceptance of lower spiritual agency is prepared for by the belief in a personal First Cause, if not actually embraced in it. Referring primary causation to a Person, we may, without undue tension upon probability, refer intermediary causation to a similar agency.

We pass now to the points made much of by Professor Huxley—that the belief in demoniacal possession was formed by the Jews in Mesopotamia, and after the Babylonish captivity "completely interpenetrated the Jewish mind, and thus became inseparably interwoven with the fabric of the synoptic Gospels." It is startling to find that so careful a thinker should have fallen into so serious an error of judgment as to take the Gospels to supply a rescript of the popular creed of the day in which they were produced. So far from their teaching coalescing with Jewish modes of thought, that teaching traverses those modes at almost every turn. The first utterances of Jesus Christ, as recorded in St. Matthew's Gospel, astonished His hearers on the ground that He taught with originality and the authority of an original thinker, "and not as the scribes." Every sentence of the Sermon on the Mount is a home-thrust at some popular prejudice or canon of Scripture interpretation. And as time went on it became more and more apparent that, however "completely interpenetrated" with popular conceptions His hearers were, He

Himself was perfectly independent of them, and ready, wherever they prejudiced His mission or obscured His message, to ride roughshod over them. To instance two common errors of the day: a superstitious Sabbatarianism and the lowered conception of the Messiah: how much of the public teaching of our Lord was taken up in combating these. How much of the open opposition which He had to encounter is explained by the tenacity with which the Jews held to these errors? It is clear that in the utterances of Christ there is no servile echo of current sentiments. In place of this there is a remarkable independence of existing modes of thought.

And yet we find distinct references to spiritual agency on the lips of Christ. He spoke of the woman bowed with a spirit of infirmity as "bound by Satan those eighteen years."¹ This expression respecting a suffering woman, who did not fall within the class of strictly-called possessed persons, instructs us to see the dark handiwork of hostile spirits even in the more ordinary of bodily visitations. On the other hand, there are allusions to Satanic dominion over men which imply even a worse thralldom than that of these madmen of Gergesa. Note those portentous passages, here relating to the Twelve Apostles: "Satan asked to have you, that he might sift you as wheat;"² there relating to the lost soul of the traitor: "One of you is a devil;"³ and that later awful statement of the Evangelist, who reclined nearest to Christ and drank deepest of His spirit, in which is described Judas's completed moral and spiritual wreck: "After the sop Satan entered into him."⁴ In these cases, though no external mania, no tumultuous frenzy, betrayed the hell that ruled within—though the sound body waited on the sane mind—yet the inner citadel of the spirit had been voluntarily yielded to the foe in unconditional surrender; the man was in reality in worse case than had he been raving in the clutches of demoniac possession. The foe was in his case satisfied to leave him in undisputed keeping of the lower departments of his being, only because he was so sure of his hold upon the higher—his body unlashd, his intellect unmaddened, because he had his heel upon that to which both are subordinate, the soul.

But the transition from the working of evil spirits upon the highest department of man's being to their working on the lower is no violent one. We may expect beforehand that the latter powers would be included in the former. By parity of

¹ St. Luke xiii. 16.

² Revised Version of St. Luke xxii. 31. The margin even, "obtained you by asking," is warranted by the Greek, ἐξηρώσαο ὑμᾶς.

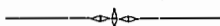
³ St. John vi. 70.

⁴ St. John xiii. 27.

reasoning we find it possible to overstep the barrier between the human and the brute nature. The Creator has put all beasts of the field in subjection under man's feet. Setting his foot upon the most lordly part of the lords of creation, how easy may not the great Adversary find it to subdue to his will the creatures that have been rendered subject to those fallen lords!

As to the objection that belief in demoniacal possession is encountered among all nations, however far sunk in superstition, we have yet to learn that the universality of a tenet's acceptance invalidates that tenet. We have rather leaned towards the persuasion that such elements as all false faiths possess in common may be reasonably regarded as survivals of a primeval revelation, and that accordingly the characteristic of universality in any given belief affords at least some presumption of its truth, rather than any confirmation of its falsity.

ALFRED PEARSON.



ART. II. — GENUINENESS AND AUTHENTICITY
OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

(Concluded from page 430.)

HAVING fulfilled the task of tracing the pedigree of the witnesses on both sides of the disputed question, we proceed to examine the minor points of evidence in the same order as before. Those of an external character claim our first notice.

1. The place which the Book of Daniel occupies in the Hebrew canon. It has been shown that the Scriptures of the Old Testament were divided into three classes—the Law, the Prophets, and the Holy Writings; and that Daniel was not reckoned, as we should have supposed, in the second, but in the third class, and that this is a proof of a depreciation of the value of the book. The reasons that have been adduced to account for this arrangement are various. It is urged that Daniel was not officially a prophet; but this would have excluded Amos also, who tells us that he was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. Again, it is advanced that Daniel was an interpreter of visions and dreams, and not a prophet in the strict sense of the word; and many modern critics are of opinion that the subjective character of the book is more suited to a place among the "holy writings" than among the

prophets proper ; and, further, its position in this class, midway between the poetical and the historical members of the class, is the most befitting place for it to occupy. All this is very specious and plausible ; but inasmuch as under any circumstances there is abundant proof that the Jews esteemed the "holy writings" as inspired and authoritative, and that whenever this division of the Scriptures was completed there was no doubt or discussion about this book, the decision of the question, if it could be arrived at, would not affect our argument in the main. Still, there are some stubborn facts to be accounted for. It is well known how the early Church defended the faith against the Jews by reference to the prophecies of Daniel : how great must have been the temptation, therefore, in their minds to depreciate the authority of the prophet ! Have we valid proof that the original classification of Daniel was in the third division of the Scriptures, and not in the second ? Is the arrangement of the synagogue a sufficient guarantee that the present order was from the beginning ? It is a fact that the Latin Vulgate places Daniel with the prophets immediately after Ezekiel ; such is the position in the Peshitto Syriac, the three prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, concluding the books of the Old Testament. Josephus reckons Daniel with the great prophets. Our Lord distinctly entitles Daniel as the "prophet," endorsing the same arrangement ; and the LXX. version allots him the same post of honour. Does not such important and consentient evidence outweigh that of the Jewish tradition, that was so likely to be warped by the controversies that were prevalent in the early days of Christianity ? However, under no circumstances, we repeat, is the authority of the book impugned. If it belonged to the third section, it was neither rejected nor disputed by the Jews, but accepted as canonical ; and surely they would not have received a recent forgery inside the sacred canon ? And if, on the other hand, the book originally belonged to the second division, of which there are no mean proofs, then there is no room for doubt or debate about the genuineness and authenticity of the prophecies of Daniel.

2. It was brought forward that the Book of Ecclesiasticus, written somewhat later than 300 B.C., in an enumeration of the famous fathers of Israel, omits all mention of Daniel, hence the inference is drawn that the writer must have flourished at a date posterior to this book. The argument from silence is seldom to be depended upon, and in this case it is worthless, because there are other proofs forthcoming of the existence of the book already. The catalogue itself is not compiled according to any rules of systematic order or exhaustive comprehension, for many mighty men of ancient times are left in

oblivion; and other names of note, even among Daniel's contemporaries, such as Ezra and Mordecai, are omitted. This argument considered *per se* would be as fatal to the books of Ezra and Esther as to Daniel. But though it must be conceded that no direct mention is made of Daniel in this book, some critics have thought that references to the Book of Daniel are traceable in Ecclesiasticus (see chap. x. 13-20, and xvii. 17), and if they are correct, then the Book of Daniel must have existed before the Son of Sirach, and must also have been regarded by him as authoritative and canonical.

3. The testimony of the Targum, like that of Ecclesiasticus, is that of a silent witness, and may for that reason be reckoned of like value. It is quite true that Jonathan has omitted the Book of Daniel in his Targum, but it is equally true that he has also omitted the contemporaneous books of Ezra and Nehemiah. He, however, quotes and applies the prophecies of Daniel when dealing with other prophets, so that it is evident that he recognised his authority. It is not improbable that as so large a portion of Daniel is in the Aramaic dialect, the Targumists did not think it necessary to provide a paraphrase.

4. The theory of the negative school, that this and other books were put forth under the parade of a great name to win them acceptance, is a position which its originators feel they must explain and account for. They state that the Book of Daniel was written by some pious scribe in the time of the Maccabees, when the barbarities of Antiochus Epiphanes were at their height, and the people needed to be braced up and encouraged to bear their trials with patience, and face even death itself for the sake of their religion; hence the writer seized on some traditional and exaggerated accounts of the woes of their fathers under the Babylonish captivity, and clothed these germs of truth with the gilded ornaments of romance and dramatic representation, much in the same way as Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott have selected some critical incidents in our own history, and adorned them with the colouring of their own imaginative genius that has won the admiration and applause of all after-times. Thus viewed, the Book of Daniel is a drama based upon some floating traditions; and the name of one who was reputed to be a prominent actor on the scene in those days was appropriated to give the composition weight and win it acceptance with the people. But how is it possible that this assumption of a false name can be defended and justified?

It is pressed on our attention that such pseudonyms were not unfrequent in those days, and the examples produced are chiefly such as the second part of Isaiah, which was pinned on the skirts of the great prophet of that name; Zechariah,

whose book has been mutilated in like manner; Ecclesiastes, which professes to be by the pen of Solomon; and "Wisdom," the deutero-canonical book, which claims the same authorship. But will any of these examples bear testing? The question of the dual authorship of Isaiah has been already dealt with in these papers. No proof of any validity has been forthcoming for the severance of Zechariah; Ecclesiastes, whatever may be the value of the tradition about its authorship, does not use the name of Solomon, but prefaces the work with a figurative title—a title of the feminine gender, showing that it is a figurative expression; the proof of authorship does not depend upon the title in any way, or upon any direct assertion of the name. With respect to the Book of "Wisdom," the title is separate from the book itself: the three chief manuscripts of the LXX. ascribe it to Solomon; but in the book itself such a claim is only inferential from a few passages. But even here is it not likely, or at least possible, that we have some relics of Solomon's wise sayings, which served the compiler of this book as a substratum for his work? We learn from Prov. xxv. 1 that the proverbs which follow were copied out by the men of Hezekiah; and as it has been suggested in another paper, these were probably proverbs which were devised by Solomon after his fall, and consequently some doubt might be entertained respecting their inspiration and authority. All such passed under the examination of Isaiah and his disciples, who are presumably identical with the men of Hezekiah. Those proverbs which were approved by this body of revisers were inserted in the canonical book of the Proverbs; but is it not likely that many others—and perhaps some even of those that were doubtful in the estimation of Isaiah and his staff, for reasons of which we are ignorant—were preserved and handed down, whether by oral tradition or writing, though not canonized? And it is far from impossible—at least, there is room for a fair suggestion—that these proverbs fell into the hands of the pious Alexandrian Jew, who was both a scholar and a divine, who rescued these relics from oblivion, and made them the groundwork of his book; so that even if the title were regarded as an integral portion of the book, the name it contains would not altogether be called a pseudonym or a forgery.

Having thus disposed of the objections raised against this book from *external* evidence, we take up those that are gathered from *internal* evidence:

1. The first indictment is on the score of language. It is asserted, as stated above, that the Hebrew and Aramaic are corrupt, and that Persian and Greek words are found, all which facts prove that the book is of a much later date than that which tradition teaches us.

It is well known that the Book of Daniel is written in two languages, Hebrew and Aramaic. The commencement, from chap. i. to ii. 3 inclusive, is in the former tongue, and the portion that follows, from ii. 4 to vii. 28 inclusive, is in the latter. From this point the Hebrew recommences, and is continued to the end of the book. In other words, the portions that refer directly to the Jewish people or their concerns are in Hebrew, and those that relate to matters connected with the world and worldly matters are in Aramaic. Now, inasmuch as the Book of Ezra presents us with the same peculiarity, which is admitted to be a work of the Captivity, this may be claimed as a strong argument that the Book of Daniel is of the same date. The occurrence of an Aramaic passage in the midst of the Hebrew Book of Jeremiah (x. 11) has been accounted for by the paraphrase of the Targum having been substituted for the original text, probably by an accident; but is it not much more likely that, as the people when at Babylon would have adopted the Aramaic dialect, this protest or prophylactic warning against the gods of the heathen was provided for them in the tongue that would then be in general use among the people? Be this as it may, the capability in the author of this book to write in two different languages, and that at the very time that the Jewish nation is known to have been in a state of transition from the one language to the other, is a decisive proof that he must have lived and written when this juncture of circumstances took place; for the Jews must have passed through a bilingual state before they settled down to the adoption of the Aramaic altogether, and it was at that particular time that this bilingual book professes to have been produced.

Further, as to the poverty of style and the weakness of the Hebrew found in Daniel, is not this the very thing we should have anticipated when we reflect that Daniel was taken from his native land in early youth, and was nurtured in the court where Aramaic was spoken? Would not the Hebrew of his childhood and early boyhood naturally become deteriorated, especially as his companions with whom he was engaged in daily conversation were in a like condition? In a similar way, could we expect that one who hitherto had been a stranger to the use of Aramaic, and had acquired it as a foreign tongue, would have the same natural fluency and accuracy as one who spoke it as a vernacular? Surely, the known circumstances of Daniel's time, so far as the philological argument is concerned, exactly coincide with the bilingual use of, and the consequent imperfections of style in, both languages which is traceable in this book. If the facts had been the very opposite of these, there might have been room for an objection; but as they are, there is none. Moreover,

the Aramaic of Daniel is very different from that of the Targum, and also of the Talmud. It does not belong to the age of either; it must have been written long before both of them. Neither, for other reasons, could it have originated in the Maccabæan period, as recent critics maintain; for then no portion could have been in Hebrew, because that language would have been unintelligible to those for whose benefit they plead that it was written, and the Aramaic portions would have presented the form and complexion of a much later age. The theory is altogether untenable.

But the presence of Persian words is advanced as a proof that the book must have been composed after the Persian domination over the Jewish people; and this will post-date the work, and so cancel its predictive character. Of the words that have been confidently asserted as derived from a Persian source, many will not answer to the test; at most, the origin is doubtful, and they are as likely to have sprung from a Semitic as from an Aryan parentage. But granting that some Persian words are certainly discernible in Daniel, surely the position taken by the opponent is strange. It seems to be assumed that because locomotion was not so rapid as in our days, there was no communication kept up between different countries. What was there to hinder trade and traffic between the Babylonians and the Persians? If Persian words are found in Daniel, Persian words are found also in the works of all that lived and wrote at the period of the Captivity. The mixture of such words in this book is not so large as has been suspected; but so far as the argument built upon this goes, instead of being a witness against the genuineness of the book, it is, on the other hand, in its favour. A great fusion of nations, as we may gather from the third chapter, took place at this epoch, and the fusion of their languages was a necessary and natural consequence, as we may also infer from some of the nations being designated "tongues" in chap. iii. 4.

As to the Greek words. In the early days of the rationalistic attack upon the Book of Daniel, the philologists of that date thought they had traced about ten words of Greek use or derivation. Improved scholarship reduced that number to four, and more recent research to three, as the word translated "sackbut" is now admitted to be of Oriental origin; and the Greeks received it from the East, and not the East from them. Still, it was doubtless an instrument in use among the Greeks, and the suggestion may be made from the instruments of Grecian use rendered "harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer" being grouped together, that this collocation was caused by the fact that that portion of the band was composed of musicians who were either Greeks, or in some way were under Grecian in-

fluence; and it is consistent that instruments that had been invented or adopted to form an integral department of the orchestra should be in close vicinity with each other, and that the performers should be arranged accordingly. And what room is there for the shadow of a doubt that a city such as Babylon was, so noted for the wide extent of her commerce, should have communication with Greece? Tyre, the mart of nations, would provide a point at which their traders might meet, and find a ready channel through which a mutual exchange of merchandise might be effected. Moreover, there seems to be good ground for believing the Babylonians to have been a musical nation; and if this art was a popular study and pastime among them, the curiosity and desire to obtain foreign instruments would be most natural, and the engaging of a special company of skilled artists for the purpose of introducing the novelties at so grand a function as the dedication of the image that was intended to symbolize their kingdom would be exactly what might be expected; and, further, the bringing together of representatives of all countries, with their national music and favourite airs, would be a very popular act on the part of the Babylonish monarch, and one that would commend himself and his rule to all the various nationalities that were assembled together.

2. Another charge was that of *self-praise*. The same objection was raised against the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, and the same reply may be in substance given here. The manners and customs of our age and country and those in vogue in the East two millenniums and a half ago are totally different. The question is not, Who penned these laudatory phrases, but, Are the statements true? This no one will deny; and for a man to speak the truth concerning himself is not regarded, in many characters portrayed in Scripture, as a blemish; neither should it be in this case. Nehemiah, who flourished about the same period, furnishes a familiar example. At the same time, there is reason to believe, as observed above, that this book was edited by the members of the Great Synagogue, of whom, although Daniel was one, yet it may well be that in the process of editing these praises might be retained and inserted by Daniel's co-editors and admirers in exactly the same way that Ezekiel had already sounded forth his excellencies. At all events, from the standpoint of Scripture and the style of ancient Eastern composition, the presence of such a form of self-praise is neither on the one hand a sign of impropriety, nor on the other a proof of alien authorship.

3. The next indictment is a very serious one. The author is denounced as having made a number of historical inaccuracies and mistakes, which either show the weakness of

ignorance or the wickedness of deception. So wide a field is covered by such accusations as these, and many of the questions are so intricate and involved, that in a paper like this it would be impossible to include them; but one or two general and wide-embracing rebuttings of the above charges may be made. The history of those times and places is sparse and fragmentary, and was more especially so until the unearthing of the cuneiform tablets, by which much information has been added to the previous stock of knowledge; but much more remains to be recovered from these sources. The discrepancies both before and since these discoveries have been emphasized; sufficient allowance has not been made for the intricacies of the subject. Moreover, the amount of evidence even now in our possession must not be looked upon as final and conclusive, but rather as an earnest of a future harvest, and as stepping-stones on the pathway of discovery. We may also add that it is very unfair to assume that if there are two narratives, the one sacred and the other secular, seemingly not in accord one with the other, the sacred must be always wrong and the secular must be always right. It should be remembered that each narrator would only record the circumstances that concerned himself and his own nation and people most, and would leave the rest untouched or only briefly adverted to. But it must not be supposed that these remarks are evasive, or a confession of defeat. They are only intended to place the points of evidence upon a fair footing. The defenders of Daniel have no occasion for fear, for the recent light that has been shed upon this subject by the deciphering of inscriptions goes far to clear up several difficulties which had previously, and up to our own day, served as stumbling-blocks. When a little more patience and study have been expended, perhaps all the clouds will disperse and there will be the light of noonday. But the most convincing argument against the late date assigned by some critics to the book is found in these so-called inaccuracies, contradictions, and omissions; for if the composition of this work had been made some hundreds of years after the characters described had lived and passed away, there would have been ample time for research and inquiry. Any errors that might have crept in would have been rectified, obscurities cleared, contradictions removed, and all stumbling-blocks taken out of the way of the reader, whose acceptance of the truth of the narrative was the one thing desired by the author. The fact that he only fastened on the incidents that most concerned the purpose he had in view, the utter disregard he shows for any mechanical adjustment of perplexities, the persons and periods that he passes by without mention or comment, confirm the conviction that he

lived and laboured in the times when all he says and all he omits to say were well known. He never took the pains to remove objections that might be raised in after-ages, but did not exist at the time he committed his record to writing.

4. The miracles and prophecies detailed with so much precision in Daniel form the substance of another charge. Any miracle, it is asserted, if by that we are to understand an interruption in the course of universal law, is contrary to experience, and does not come within the range of the possible. Prophecy is near akin to miracle, for it is utterly incredible, according to the same authorities, that a man should foresee events that will happen in the future. A shrewd guess, a calculation of a result from present active forces, a conclusion that certain lines of conduct will produce certain ends, all this is a matter of daily experience; but the fixing of times and seasons, the mapping out of intricate plots and plans, the foreknowledge of individual men, their names, their designs, and their doings, all this is either a history written after the events or a pure fabrication. In such extravagant pretensions this book abounds, and therefore by the verdict of experience it must be rejected.

Those that raise such objections are in the habit, it is to be inferred, of isolating cases of the supernatural, and not regarding them as component parts of one whole solid system. Miracles are performed at the foundation of some new dispensation, or some special crises in the spiritual scheme, but not at all times. The incarnation was the one central purpose of God. All forces converge to that focus-point. Miracles intervened in the history of the nation from which the Redeemer should take flesh; the preservation of the nation was necessary to that end, and hence supernatural means were employed when called for. The Incarnation itself is the climacteric miracle of all. Grant the truth of that mystery, and all else is credible; deny it, and all Divine interference and revelation fall to the ground. The same may be said of prophecy. If the Redeemer was to come—and it was necessary that He should be acknowledged by those who should partake in the benefits of His salvation—a specification of the times and seasons was necessary also, among other proofs, for His identification. Hence the period of the first Advent was revealed, that no mistake might be made; the date of the second Advent is not revealed, because the knowledge of that day and hour is not necessary to salvation. The first Advent appealed to faith, where a mistake was possible; the second will appeal to sight, where a mistake is impossible. This objection to the miraculous would not only destroy the Book of Daniel, but every book of both the Old and New Testa-

ments; the seal of the former is the Incarnation, the seal of the latter is the Resurrection, and all other miracles are subordinate and ancillary. The objection to definite dates in prophecy would also do an extensive work of demolition: *Genesis* must be discarded, for it says that 120 years should intervene between the prediction and execution of the deluge; *Numbers* would have to follow, for it predicts a wandering in the wilderness for forty years; *Jeremiah* must be set aside, for he foretells that the captivity at Babylon should last for seventy years, and others might be added to these.

It is remarkable how Providence from time to time furnishes us with unexpected proofs which incidentally establish the truth of Scripture. An example may be selected: A main objection against Daniel, among these "preposterous" narratives of his, has always been the gigantic proportions of the golden image set up on the plains of Dura. The reader will find a deeply interesting article in the *Expositor* (third series, vol. i.), where the measurement of a monstrous statue of Rameses II. is given. This wonderful relic has been unearthed, and it is suggested that it might have been seen by Nebuchadnezzar himself, and prompted in his mind the imitation of its bulk and proportions. The height of this colossus when raised upon its pedestal was 115 feet from the ground. This discovery will silence at once all opposition to the narrative of Daniel, on the score of the marvellous in the achievements of the artisans of Babylon.

Neither are the main features of the visions in Daniel peculiar to him alone. It is noteworthy that the vision of Nebuchadnezzar represented the four kingdoms of the world by the four different sections of the symbolic statue. The same fourfold character of the world-kingdoms is set forth by Zechariah, another prophet of the exile period, under the figure of four horns (chap. i. 18), and perhaps by the four chariots (chap. vi. 1). And a like parable appears in Joel (chap. i. 18), under the form of four different kinds of insects, or, rather, four different stages in the growth and development of the locust. The latter interpretation is the most suitable, because though these kingdoms were diverse as kingdoms, they were all one as corporate members of one system—"the kingdom of this world." This identity of fact under a variety of figures shows that one thread of thought ran through and united the minds of these prophets; and if the date of Joel is an early one, according to general opinion this revelation was not one of modern growth; and if Joel prophesied, as some critics teach, nearer the times of the exile, this harmony between him and Daniel will only serve to prove that the latter belonged to the same period, and certainly not to the later age of the Maccabees. It may be noted here

also that in the Maccabæan period there is no mention of miracles. The nation, in its own estimation, was forsaken and forgotten of God; the faith that was left among them rested on the former dealings of God with His people in the days of old, and no claim is made for the existence of miracle or prophecy. It is needless to point out what a contrast there is here between the Book of Daniel and the First Book of the Maccabees, and how distinctly it proves that the state of things was quite different when the two books were written.

5. Lastly, the introduction of angels as guardians or patrons over the nations is said to be a doctrine derived from the Persians, and the use of appellative or personal names to distinguish them is attributable to the same source, whilst the frequency and familiarity with which they appear upon the scene prove that the doctrine was of no recent growth, but must have been in vogue for a considerable period.

It is quite true that the names and the ministry of angels is a prominent feature in this book, but it is not confined to this book alone. We find in the earliest portion of Genesis the Cherubim acting as guards of the Garden of Eden, and their representations both on tapestry and in carved work in the tabernacle and the temple symbolized the same office. The sons of God appear in heavenly places in Job. The Seraphim sing the praises of the Most High in Isaiah, and in Ezekiel the "living creatures" execute the behests of God. Angels find mention in the Psalms, and in Zechariah the office of the angels forms no small part in his visions. Daniel does not therefore stand alone in his doctrine of angels; and as to their names, if Michael and Gabriel had been adopted from a Persian origin, why are the names pure Hebrew, and seemingly taken from well-known passages of the Hebrew Scriptures? In this connection, the close relationship between the Angel of Jehovah, who, according to the universal consent of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, was the pre-incarnate Son of God, and Michael must not be overlooked. In the earlier books he is the revealer of God and of His will to the people of Israel, their prince, their guide and deliverer; and in Daniel Michael is the "great prince that standeth for the children of his people," or, in New Testament language, "the King of the Jews." The parallel between the prophecy of Daniel (chap. xii. 2) and the "voice of the archangel" (1 Thess. iv. 16) has been already referred to. The archangel infers the existence of subordinate angels, and the sovereignty of the Angel of Jehovah in heaven above and earth beneath stands out with the greatest clearness throughout the Old Testament Scriptures. Neither is His mediation between God and man, nor is the service of "the ministers of His that do His pleasure"

any late adaptation of Persian angelology, but a revelation made by God to His ancient people from the beginning.

Sufficient attention does not appear to have been paid to two other features in the Book of Daniel which furnish convincing evidence that it was written in the midst of Babylonian sights and surroundings, and consequently that the date of its composition is fixed during the days of the Captivity. The world-kings in other books are described under the figures of locusts, smiths, horses, and chariots—ordinary objects in natural history or everyday life; but in Daniel they are represented by a colossal statue, or by composite animals which have no existence in nature. The discoveries of buried figures of Assyrian design and execution of gigantic size, and the fantastic combination of diverse creatures, such as the body of an ox with a human head, or the body of a beast with the head of an eagle, exactly correspond with this imagery. In like manner Daniel exhibits a peculiar talent for fixing times and seasons, and mathematical and astronomical researches had their headquarters at Babylon; but in Palestine and among the Jewish people neither symbolic statuary nor arithmetical calculations found much place or favour. The sight of such statuary would be familiar to Daniel in Babylon, and mathematics would form a branch of his education, as the book itself tells us of his training in the “learning of the Chaldeans” (chap. i. 4). Here is, therefore, no small proof of the authorship of the book, and of the time when and the place where it was written.

One word must be added here to give further consideration to the theory of reconstruction that has been suggested by modern critics to account for the *raison d'être* of the work and the beneficial purpose the writer had in mind. The book originated, they say, with a pious Jew in the time of the Maccabees. The sufferings endured under the tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes were such that the people stood in sore need of a tonic to strengthen and revive their drooping and desponding hearts, and with that intent the author drew up this romantic drama, in which Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar were impersonations of Antiochus, and Daniel of the afflicted Jews. The people would read the stimulating story and learn how to bear their sorrows, and entertain the hope that they should at length prevail. Such is the theory. Is it really worth the task of examining its claims on our credence?

Could such a romance have been at all competent or likely to achieve the effect said to have been contemplated by the author? What testimony have we that such a design ever entered the mind of any Jewish writer of ancient times? Can any parallel example be produced? and will the theory, if entertained for a moment, satisfy the demands of the occasion?

For, simply, what are the facts of the case? A people are labouring under sore oppression, a whole nation is ready to perish; they have seen thousands of their brethren slain, and they are daily expecting the same fate themselves. They are told to take comfort from a legend, a drama, a tale made up for the occasion. How could these stories, if true—and perhaps they were false—furnish a sufficient impulse to arouse these wretched Jews to action and deeds of daring? Was such a time of “Jacob’s trouble” a likely or fitting time for the nation to take to novel-reading?

Besides, where was the point of similarity between Antiochus Epiphanes and Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, who are supposed by the theory to be life-drawn likenesses of himself? Antiochus cruelly treated the Jews because of their religion; the King of Babylon, on the contrary, fostered their royal youths in his palace, and raised Daniel to the highest honours, and confessed his God. Belshazzar also admitted Daniel to his presence, accepted his interpretation of the mysterious scroll, and advanced him in the kingdom. Antiochus died in remorse and misery, and Nebuchadnezzar was restored from his temporary affliction to health and to his kingdom. Further, the consolatory portions of the book, whatever the time of their utterance, must have had their fulfilment after the death of Antiochus; but the Jews were then in safety, and had no need of encouragement, and how could anyone have announced at that period that directly the tyrant was no more the dead should arise and all people submit to Jewish dominion? Moreover, at the date of the death of Antiochus the canon of Scripture must have been closed: what influence could possibly have been at work to break the seals of the canon and introduce this fabulous and fictitious volume? The proposition is utterly incapable of proof, and can only come to an *ad absurdum* result.

There is one other point of unspeakable solemnity and importance which must be pressed before we close these papers. It is unquestionable that the Jews had, and have, an expectation of a Messiah. Whence did they get this from, except from the Old Testament Scriptures? It is equally clear that some of that nation accepted Jesus of Nazareth as that Messiah, in which they were followed by the Church; and why did they accept and believe in Him? It was because He fulfilled the requirements laid down in the same Old Testament Scriptures, to which He Himself appealed. Now, if the so-called criticism of our days were to succeed in uprooting the Messianic prophecies from the ancient Scriptures, or, what is practically the same thing, hiding them under the veil of a mere ideal, and if the Church is willing to follow these guides, what

stands in the way of a rejection of Christ altogether? How do we know that a Saviour was to come at all if there are no definite promises to that effect? and how do we know that Jesus is the Christ, if the Scriptures which the Church from the beginning has pointed to as proof positive of His claims are evaporated into dramatic romances and idealizations? If this position is granted, the door is open to denying the claims of the Lord Jesus altogether. How do we know that this is He which was to come? Should we not look for another? If the foundation-stone is rejected and dislodged from the corner, the whole superstructure of Christianity must come down with a rush. Let us look to the end to which this logic is leading.

The various points of objection have been stated and met, it is hoped, with fairness to both sides, and the jury of scholars and honest men may be left to find a verdict. The issue can hardly be doubtful when we recall to mind the standpoint of the negative school, the history of the rise, suspension, and revival of the assault; and, on the other hand, remember the unbroken pedigree of the defenders of the fortress, including prophets and Apostles, the synagogue and the Sanhedrim, the Church and the Church's Lord. The upholders of the ancient faith maintain with one mind that the arguments from external and internal evidence should be compared and weighed on both sides, and the demands of criticism be duly examined and their true worth tested, and the proposed plan of reconstruction traced in all its bearings and followed up to the results, and they challenge the adversary to the battle. If this scrutiny is carried into effect, do the besiegers really flatter themselves of success in the warfare? Do they present an unbroken front, or are they dissentient among themselves, and constantly changing their position? Is it true that the exigencies of philological and grammatical laws make it impossible for any skilled Orientalist to controvert the claims of modern criticism, or are the contents of the book so irreconcilable with truth and credibility that they can by no possibility have a place in the canon of the Church of the future? He would be a bold critic and a venturesome scholar who would have the hardihood to maintain these propositions upon their own ground. The several objections that have been raised can be disposed of, but the foregone conclusion is the real and only invincible stumbling-block. The sum of the whole matter is this: Lay down the law like that of the Medes and Persians that *prophecy is impossible*, and Daniel must be surrendered again to the lions; but believe the testimony of Jesus Christ that *Daniel is a prophet*, and he will again come out of the den unhurt, and will "stand in his lot at the end of the days."

F. TILNEY BASSETT.

ART. III.—ALPHONSE GRATRY.

THERE is at all events a fair basis for the opinion which would assign to Newman and Döllinger two out of the three foremost places of the Roman Catholic writers of recent times. Even omitting the practical part of their lifework which caused them to become leaders of men and often in men's mouths, the learning, thought, and literary ability of their works will always save their names from decay. But who was the third? Is there one at all? or is it true that Newman and Döllinger stand so high on the ladder that the next two or three rungs below have not been grasped? Possibly it may be so, and possibly, again, there are a score of hands clutching at the next step; but, in any case, no one need ignore the claims of Alphonse Gratry. Considered they must be, and, as many will think, accepted.

And it is remarkable that these three men seem to show us the three most prominent types of modern religious thought. Newman before all things represented the spirit of obedience to dogma and a strong belief in hereditary externals; the name of a thing was almost as much to him as the inner reality of the thing itself. He represented the minds that prefer being dictated to, if they think that the speaker can pronounce correctly.¹ But the great German, like a still greater one, represented mightily the spirit of the right of private investigation and personal satisfaction. Unless a man could satisfy his own faith and reason that what he was told was correct, he was not in a fit state to receive it. One represented Socialistic Christianity, but Socialism governed by an autocrat; the other Individualistic Christianity, but Individualism regulated by brotherliness. What does Gratry show us? The spirit of Christianity, the spirit of possession by a Saviour, the spirit of moving forward because one is impelled by an internal force, rather than because hereditary spiritual legislators direct you, or your own wideawake faith advises you. Newman was a Roman Catholic because he drifted inevitably into it; Döllinger was a Protestant, in truth if not in name, because he chose to be so; and Gratry, even if, as a voice of one crying in the wilderness of semi-heathen

¹ Even Newman, however, in 1870 (in the famous letter which found its way into the *Standard*), confessed that he looked "with anxiety at the prospect of having to defend decisions which may not be difficult to my own private judgment, but may be most difficult to maintain logically in the face of historical facts." Archbishop Manning was not so much concerned with the facts of history. He wrote (in his *Pastoral*): "It is not, therefore, by criticism on past history, but by acts of faith in the living voice of the Church at this hour that we can know the faith."

France, he cried ostensibly as one who was a Romanist, was yet a voice, and nothing else. Like St. John, he gives us the words of the Word. He breathes the very breath of the Bible, as fresh as if it had not blown during nineteen centuries, and over deserts of heresy, controversy, and schism.

There are strong minds which seem to animate weak bodies in such a way as to be independent of them—to shine through them and obliterate the grosser elements. Such was Gratry's religious mind in its religious body: the spirit was everything, the mould in which it was cast was very little, and though it happened from force of circumstances that the body wore a Roman Catholic dress, yet the mind was as uncoloured, and its tendency as free from bias, as could well be. He worshipped the Father "neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem," but in spirit and in truth.

Gratry was born at Lille on March 30, 1805. His home was not a religious one. His father and mother used no religious observances, and especially despised the Roman Catholic faith; but, as is so often the case, they were not unwilling that their son should be taught to pray, and be confirmed. For themselves, they were content with a religion of nature. Later on they were saddened, almost desperate, when he became a priest. But he himself was never without some inklings of higher things, and the inattention and repression they met with at home only rendered them more absorbing. We say "never" advisedly, for even at the age of five he could recall an energetic and profound impression of God. "I recollect," he says, "in my earliest childhood, before the time which is called years of discretion, feeling one day a lively impression of Being. A great effort against a heavy mass exterior to myself, whose unyielding resistance astonished me, made me utter these words, 'I am!' I thought of it for the first time. Surprise soon passed into the deepest astonishment and the keenest wonder. I kept on repeating, 'I am! To be! to be!' Everything that lays the foundation of religion, poetry, and thought in the soul was awakened and stirred up in me at that moment. A penetrating light, that I seem to see still, enveloped me."¹

And thus he says even then he received the impression of man's mysterious life, and of the God who is at once exterior to him and yet floods his soul with light and love.

Perhaps it was this and other similar incidents which gave Gratry his peculiar reverence and tenderness in speaking of the religious impressions of children. He ascribes to their new young minds, as yet unspotted by the world, an almost

¹ "Connaissance de Dieu," vol. ii., p. 168.

intimate connection with God. "Their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven;" and not only, he thinks, did God call prophets with an internal voice, but He thus speaks to all children. Every child born into the world is a focus of light and glory. He writes with a certain bitterness that those who forget to say to any child what the high-priest said to Samuel, "Go, and if He call thee again, thou shalt say, Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," act like those savage tribes who flatten physically the heads of their new-born. No doubt he thought of his own youth, when cravings after God's truth were stifled, both at home and at school, and were for a time, at all events, completely put to rest. For he passed his early youth, not in any vice or sin, but in religious apathy, and in that indifference which is more numbing than dislike. His chief delight was in his school class-work, to take a good place, to compose good Latin exercises, and to go every Sunday with his father to dine at a friend's house where they sang Béranger's songs at dessert. As for his school, "they lived in a sewer!" he cries. And like so many French boys, he was almost used up before life's race really began. Not quite, however, for he was never altogether without religious impressions. When the only decent master at his school urged him to communicate—"I don't say I don't believe in it; I only say that I won't," he answered. So he passed his life; his brain busily employed, his heart bitter and empty, and his soul asleep. He became fond of solitude, and passed whole days alone. All priests inspired him with scorn, all religious expressions with disgust. But one day, he writes, there came to the school a new master. And he happened to tell his pupil in conversation that his stay at the school was only temporary, that he had consecrated his life to the service of Jesus Christ. This, says Gratre, was the first time in his life (he was then fifteen years old) in which he had heard our Lord's name pronounced with firmness, intelligence, and faith. What does it mean? he asked himself. Full of an uneasy excitement, he sought out his strange master and asked him what he meant by those words, "to consecrate his life to Christ's service." And then followed a conversation which was the beginning of life to the poor morbid youth, longing for he knew not what, and walking in the dark. It is wonderful to notice in what a state of heathenism the boy was. Bit by bit his master showed him the plainest and most manifest Christian truths, received as if they were unheard-of revelations. We translate some of the conversation:¹

Master. We should show men the truth, and make them better.

Gratre. Yes, yes! but where is the truth?

¹ "Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse," p. 67.

M. In our Lord Jesus Christ.

G. Yes, it is a noble name—a fine name ; but I haven't a trace of faith in it.

M. You have more than you think ; go on, the rest will come.

G. No ; I can do nothing but from the conviction of truth. Impossible to make a single step without seeing it. I live by light, or, at least, I wish to, and cannot go by chance.

M. You wish for light ? Well, we will talk of it. You see the masses which load the earth, those ant-heaps of men who live without knowing why—are they in darkness or in light ?

G. In the deepest darkness.

M. And if you separate yourself from them to live face to face with God, to seek only truth, and to do good to them, will you be in darkness or in light ?

G. In light, most certainly.

M. To love God above all things, and men as one's self for the love of God, to consecrate one's life to that alone, is that to go by chance and follow a religion of doubt ?

G. No, no ; it is to enter an infallible religion, necessarily and absolutely infallible—as certain as Euclid.

M. It is. Well, Jesus Christ is the Head, the Master, the Model of men who have thus lived, or will live.

And in such a strain the conversation proceeded, with remarks on one side of an almost commonplace type of Christianity, on the other of a yearning quest after satisfaction. But when it was ended, and the master had gone, Gratry fell on his knees and cried towards God. And, as he says :

"God speaks. He always speaks. And when we pray "sincerely and anxiously, we must be an atheist or a fool to "think that He does not answer. He does not speak with "words, but He works in you what He wills."¹

From that time his days of deadness were over, and he had passed into life. Struggles and temptations he still had, but with them there was always faith. As a wound will generally smart more when it is healing, so he, in getting rid of his scepticism, was often liable to keen depression.

I thought in fact that I was rejected by God, lost, damned. I experienced something of the sufferings of hell. I said to myself, No child of God has ever experienced that. It must be a certain sign, or rather it is the very beginning, of eternal reprobation. But the fact that every idea of heaven was taken away from me, was, perhaps, even more frightful. I could not conceive such a place. Heaven did not appear to me worth the trouble of going there. It was like a void, a mythological Elysium, a sojourn of shadows, less real than the earth. I could attribute to it no joy, no happiness. Happiness, joy, light, perfection, and love, all these words were now without meaning. A painted sky over a naked rock, such were my eternal and my present resting-places !²

This is a terrible description. But must not such minds, in their inquiry after the infinite truth, feel from the mere labour

¹ "Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse," p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

of the spiritual search as much fatigue as men's bodies undergo in a toilsome and long walk, each according to their degree? They have felt the fatigue-pangs of their wanderings, but where despair and vacancy have been unknown, it is because no true search has been made, and the soul could not miss what it had not learnt to miss. What finally solved (as far as finally can be applied to human weaknesses) Gratry's distresses was a deep appreciation that was borne to him of the marvellous third chapter of the Lamentations. Here he seemed to see his own state and his own hope. God, he says, restored life to him, and he breaks out into a pæan of mystical joy that rings through one's head as an anthem sounds at the far end of a cathedral nave. Henceforth his own words may be applied to himself, "Blessed is the man of good-will who knows his mission, who knows his God, and walks in His true way with an invincible perseverance, breaking down the barrier of vice which arrests most men in the wonderful development of which all might be capable!"

He left the Polytechnic, winning many prizes, and after spending some years at Strasburg and Bischenberg, became a priest. But his life-work was mainly of an educational type. From 1835 to 1847 he was Director of the "College Stanislas"; from 1847 to 1851 Almoner of the Normal School. In 1851 the Oratory was founded, he himself taking a large share in its establishment, and becoming attached to it. He was a Professor in the Sorbonne, and a member of the Academy.

A man's influence consists of his thoughts projected through his actions, or by his words. Gratry's lifework was threefold. He acted sympathetically and devotedly upon the young men with whom his educational duties placed him in contact; he was a marvellous preacher; and a writer of a literary style that is akin to Newman's in its excellence, though in most things else widely asunder. Both, however, developed slowly their literary skill; Gratry published nothing till forty-two years old. He might to a certain extent be more nearly compared with Edmund Burke, in the manner in which he treated his subject, even although their subject-matter was different. Burke was a philosopher-politician, Gratry a philosopher-preacher. In each there is the same striving to find out the broad causes of the things on which they write; the same comprehensive view; the same keen desire to sweep away the sand of isolated facts and reach the bottom of hard truth. Burke tried to explore the natural history of political phases, Gratry of religious emotions and experiences. Thus his works form a striking mixture of personal piety and quasi-professorial apologetics. They are like an encyclopedia of philosophic and moral science, interleaved with prayers and

hymns, or like an arsenal of religious weapons in which also Divine Service is conducted. It is not as if he took up the attack, and for the time being feigned to lay aside his friendship for his faith, but as if his personal piety whirled him through a sea of opponents, surrounding him continually with its protecting airs. You never lose the impression that it is a matter of life and death with him; his breath is coming and going through his vivid and impassioned sentences, so that the reality of the conflict is contagious.

His most important books are "La Connaissance de Dieu" and "La Connaissance de l'Âme." These sufficiently explain their scope by their titles. The former, which was published in 1853, is a theological treatise, in which the author recounts the strongest arguments for God's existence, and examines the problem of the relations between reason and faith. The latter is of necessity somewhat psychological; the author, first studying the soul in itself, portrays it in its relations to God. It is a physiology of the soul, treated with as much originality as thoroughness. Other works are—"La Logique," a treatise on the laws of thought, containing also an attack on the philosophy of Hegel; "Les Sources," "Lettres sur la Religion," "Étude sur la Sophistique Contemporaine," "La Morale et la Loi de l'Histoire," "La Philosophie du Credo," "Commentaire sur l'Évangile selon St. Matthieu," and others, including two which have been translated into English, "Henri Perreyve" and "Méditations Inédites." We should not forget to mention a very characteristic little work, published posthumously, "Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse."

Through all these runs the thread of a mystic apologeticism. He defends the Christian faith, not to ward off the blows of inveterate railers, but to make plain the infinite perfection and love it enshrines. His ardent convictions are united to a still more ardent affection; he wishes to use no violence; he seems to try to show in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, not only absolute truth, but also, and especially, absolute love. With this object are welded together metaphysics, moral philosophy, morals connected very wonderfully with politics and history, polemics against materialism and atheism, most original expositions of Scripture, and pious effusions of a chastened soul. It is not too much to say that "ce penseur éminent, cet écrivain original, exprimait ses pensées dans un langage digne des Platon et des Malebranche."¹

For it is his style that is so attractive. After all, it is the manner, and not the matter, that tells; and Gratry's style makes his thought like the clear brook under the sunshine,

¹ Bishop of Autun.

whose course you can trace from meadow to meadow with undoubting eye. Pure, connected, and plain, it is as different as possible from the, unhappily, too common style in which the obscurity tries to hide in a mist the raggedness of the thought. No padding, no verbiage, but original and brilliant ideas clothed in felicitous and harmonious language. And so humble, too, for as he says himself: "He who has received inspiration is humble, because he has few efforts to make. He who is not inspired is sensible of the extreme efforts that he makes to appear so, and estimates his work according to the trouble it gives him."¹

If he does labour under a technical fault it is that there is a tendency to repeat ideas, and even phrases; but this is often due to the hurry and heat of his writings, and he always remains original, trying to express great things simply.

He died in 1872, at Montreux, in circumstances of much pain and affliction, from a tumour in the neck.

What can be said as to the nature of Grättry's life-religion? If it could be labelled in one word—which perhaps is impossible—the word would be "Mystic." That is to say, that people have agreed to call by that name, for want of a better, those opinions which are concerned as little as possible with the details, applications, and dogmas of religion. We say of a person in consumption, often, that his mind or his soul can be seen through his body. There is such a case in religious belief, where the animating principle is supremely manifest, while the accompanying sequences are almost exanimate. This may not perhaps be a truly healthy form of Christianity, even as consumption is not a sound state of the body, but it has its uses. To take another simile: the form of Christianity professed by most men is somewhat dependent upon their nationality and their training; but Grättry's might be termed *cosmopolitan*. His writings are a kind of Christian "volapük;" he is a spiritual dragoman. True, he was professedly a Roman Catholic priest, but he was born in France. Every man's belief must to some extent be dependent upon its surroundings for its exterior colouring. His was thus influenced as little as possible. Of the order, the system, the autocracy, the network of dogma, that attracted Newman so greatly and Döllinger so little, he seems to have made small account. Nay further, even if his mind were Roman in its colouring, there is no reason to think it was not the reverse in its essence. His opposition to the Papal Infallibility decree is well known.² He only yielded unwillingly, and then, by

¹ "Meditations," p. 33.

The first letter of the famous Oratorian was a pungent criticism on the Archbishop of Mechlin's brochure in favour of Infallibility, and on

drugging his convictions. We learn from himself that in his youth, before the priest-master attracted him, he thought that "pure Christianity must be found in Protestantism."¹ But whether or no, and it is bootless to fight over his label, for you cannot label a voice, it is something for France to have seen in a man of high talents, of eminent learning, oratorical power, and literary skill—supremely a man of *soul*.

A very good example of his controversial writings is to be found in his "Lettres sur la Religion." It is a series of letters (some of which originally appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*) written in refutation of a book by M. Vacherot, called "La Religion." This was conceived in a positivist vein to show that all revealed religion would eventually disappear before science. Naturally the good father is at a white heat the whole way through his arguments, finishing up by an appeal to the stars, and a question as to what their inhabitants would think when they saw lies crawling about on the earth!² The book shows all his powers of style, imagination, and learning, as well as his defects of occasional tautology and repetition. The main idea running through the defence is the very true one that it is arrogant for natural science to assume to itself alone the name and nature of science. Of course Auguste Comte denied that title to psychology even, let alone religion, and Gratry shows very plainly that he and his followers, in relying on nothing but the evidence of the senses, must first abolish Reason. This is the chief task that he sets himself to prove in his "Lettres." Before quoting some pages from his opponent's work, he writes :

Comme ces pages sont assurément parmi les plus curieuses, les plus instructives, et les plus extraordinaires qui existent dans la littérature française, j'espère que le lecteur, s'il consent à les étudier, se trouvera dédommagé par le spectacle inattendu d'un aussi prodigieux phénomène dans l'ordre intellectuel, savoir l'entreprise positive et directe à abolir la raison et la logique humaine, par la suppression des axiomes.

He then proceeds on that hypothesis, combining very

his gross misrepresentations of the history of Pope Honorius. Gratry also exposed the Roman falsifications introduced into the Breviary. See "Quirinus" on the Council, 1870, pp. 164, 249.

¹ "Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse," p. 71.

² Compare the following anecdote: "Un jour, pendant le Concile, l'abbé Martin de Noirliu avait invité à dîner le P. Gratry, le P. Hyacinthe et l'abbé Michaud. Tout à coup, au beau milieu des discussions sur le dogme de l'infaillibilité, le P. Gratry se leva et dit: 'La science vient d'établir une loi d'après laquelle les planètes comme la nôtre ne peuvent être habitables moins d'un milliard d'années. Nous ne sommes donc que dans la première enfance de l'humanité.' Il se consolait du dogme avec cette découverte."—Séché, "Les Derniers Jansénistes," vol. ii., p. 379.

skilfully attacks on contemporary positivism with a refutation of the philosophy of Hegel, which he accuses M. Vacherot of using.

We may also refer to Gratry's method of defining the Church. Naturally, in his opinion, its visible expression to mankind's sight is Roman Catholic. But it is not at all necessary for the men who compose the true Church which he knows of to be Romans.¹ It is broader and truer than that. The universal Church is the light-giving part of humankind. It is the assembly of men, known or unknown, who are united together with God; men united on earth in His name, to whom nothing will be refused. Not only priests and learned men, but all souls dedicated to justice and truth, all inspired saints, and even all those truly wise men who have created sciences by their genius and industry. All that light, Divine and human together, constitutes true Christian science; all that assembly is the Catholic Church. And again: "All such are in God; God is in them and lives in them. They are joined in that Divine life which is higher than man's, and is his true life. That assembly is universal, eternal, of all times and all places. Many are in the visible Church who are not in the real Church. Many are out of the visible Church who make a part of the real Church."²

All who love justice and truth as revealed in God form part of this society; were it not that some men abuse their liberty, this universal assembly would be as wide as humanity itself. "The universal assembly is humanity, but not all men. Some men are outside humanity. There are heretics to humankind."³ But Gratry can hardly limit the spiritual fellowship and unanimity of "holy and humble men of heart." To him the communion of saints is a very present help. "I unhesitatingly reaffirm that it is time for science to give heed to phenomena which are so numerous and so well established, however strange. I mean the direct spiritual communication which exists between souls; an order of facts as common as marvellous, which the rude carelessness of false science and the trivialities of life succeed in forcing men to disregard."⁴

In fact his conception of the Church is as mystic as himself. But, at the same time, it is nothing if not practical. He places, as indeed we all do, the true remedy for the social evils of to-day in Christian fellowship and the working together of men knit in Christ's love. It is difficult to reform society in a lump—easier to reform it through individuals. Christ alone

¹ "Lettres sur la Religion," p. 227. ² *Ibid.*, p. 298.

³ "Les Sources," p. 107. ⁴ "Henri Perreyve," Eng. trans., p. 95.

reforms individuals. "Ne pas voir les immenses progrès "implicites, moraux, intellectuels et sociels qu'a déposés le "christianisme dans le monde! Ne pas voir l'opération du "Verbe qui cherche à tous éclairer, en tout temps, en tout "lieu! Ne pas voir dans l'âme, l'image de Dieu, et la capacité "de posséder Dieu! Ne pas aimer d'amour toutes les âmes! "Ne pas voir que Jésus dit et a dit à chacun: Je t'aime! Je "veux verser mon sang pour toi!"¹

Perhaps the foregoing extracts and remarks will give an idea, necessarily incomplete, of the tone of the religion of the curious Abbé who combined medieval mysticism with present-day practicalism. He is one of those who seem to see the eternal Reason so clearly themselves, that they are sadly puzzled to find It hidden from others. This wondering, yearning love colours all his apologetic writings. He tries to add up the causes of human scepticism, and cannot prove his answer. Joined to this passionate longing for the safety of others is such a bright sense of his own as makes his sorrow radiant and his attacks charitable. Of all the successors of the Liberal-Catholic theology founded by Lamennais, none is so liberal as he. Montalembert, who called him "*plus qu'un prophète*"; Lacordaire, the famous preacher; Ozanam, the literary critic; Perreyve, the gentle recluse—these perhaps may equal him in some of his mental gifts, but not in that love which thinketh no evil, nor that life which is not of this world alone. For these reasons we are perhaps justified in thinking that his life-lesson should prove of great value, if dispassionately observed, in the poor distracted country he loved so well.

It appears to be a rule that when a strong mind once wishes to uncouple itself from the siding to which it has been attached in the beginning, the degree of force which is necessary to overcome the initial dead-weight will impart an impulse which cannot at the last be withstood. The brake cannot act until what was perhaps the original mark has been overshot. In our own Church this was the case with Newman. And still more would the soul in France which was chilled with the sterile callousness of materialism probably fly for warmth to the luxury and languor of the Church of Rome. It would be like stepping from a wind-swept desert into a hothouse. But there *is* a medium, if only it could be seen; if the mind could be directed from outer things to inner things, from inner things to higher things. Surely, then, the voice which called aloud that there is something even better than a procession of spiritual directors

¹ "Souvenirs de ma Jeunesse," p. 150.

—however arithmetical—namely personal possession by a living Saviour, if it is not the voice of a prophet, is *as* the voice of one of the prophets. If it does not summon to the baptism of Paul, it does to that of Apollos.

W. A. PURTON.

ART. IV.—THE "RANSOM."—MATT. XX. 28.

(Concluded from p. 408.)

I ENDEAVOURED in my former paper to show that, in the saying, "the Son of Man came to give His life a *λύτρον* for many," the word was used in the sense of *kopher* (atonement) or *keseph kippurim* (the price of atonements); and that our Lord referred to the thirtieth chapter of Exodus, where Jehovah claimed as *kopher* the sum of half a shekel from each male Israelite on being enrolled among the congregation of Israel, that there might be no plague among them when they were numbered. Moses was directed to take the money thus raised, and called by Jehovah the price of atonements, as an offering to Jehovah Himself. It is called an offering to Jehovah in verses 13, 14, and 15, and Moses was directed to appoint it for the service of the tent of meeting, that it might be for a memorial of the children of Israel before Jehovah, *i.e.*, before the immediate presence of Jehovah, who was pleased to dwell upon the *kapporeth* between the cherubim, to make atonement for their souls.

If, then, our Lord's hearers, who we must never forget were Israelites, perceived that He thus connected Himself and His life with the sin-offering with which atonement was made on the great Day of Atonement on the *kapporeth*, we must be careful to understand the word "ransom" in the simple Old Testament sense of *kopher*.

It was by taking *λύτρον* in its classical rather than in its Biblical sense, that Origen got the notion that the *λύτρον* was Christ's life paid to the Evil One in exchange for the souls of mankind whom he held in bondage; but if, as we have seen, Jehovah Himself claimed the *λύτρον*, it must have been paid to Him and not to the devil. Clearly it cannot have been paid to both.

Leaving the Pentateuch, can we find any hints of a bargain between the Son of Man and Satan in the New Testament?

I. Can we find in the Gospels any passage in which our Lord speaks of the devil receiving His own life in exchange for the souls which the Lord came to rescue out of his power?

It certainly seems very improbable that we should find such

passages, because Jesus in all His teaching keeps, so to speak, on the lines laid down in the Pentateuch, as they were gradually developed and explained in the Psalms and the Prophets. How often in St. Matthew is He represented as saying "it is written," as if the Old Testament writings and the revelation they contained about Himself were the very guides of His conduct, and supplied Him with His very deepest motives for action? "So it must be, for so it is written," was an ever-present thought to Him whose meat was to do the will of His Father and to accomplish His work.

If He found anything there about giving His life as a *λύτρον* to Satan, why is there not some allusion to it in His first struggle with the Evil One in the wilderness? The devil himself proposed a bargain to Him there. He came, as we all know, to restore fallen man, in spite of sin, to the high destiny for which God had created him. He came that the kingdoms of the world might become the kingdoms of Jehovah and His Christ, *i.e.*, His own. In the first conflict between Christ and Satan, the devil offered those kingdoms to Christ if He would only do homage to him for them. "All this power will I give Thee, and the glory of them; for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will I give it; if Thou wilt fall down and worship me all shall be Thine." Would Christ have dismissed the devil's offer with the words "Get thee hence, Satan; thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve," if He had already bargained to give him His life? Would Satan have made so foolish an offer? Surely here, when, if anywhere, we might have expected it, there is no hint of such a bargain as Origen implies?

Is there the slightest hint that our Lord was about to give His life as a "ransom" to Satan, in His denial that He cast out demons in the power of Beelzebub; or in the parable, by which He exposed the fallacy of the notion that His miracles were wrought through collusion with Satan? "When the strong man armed (Satan) keepeth his palace, his goods (the kingdoms of the world, and the souls of men) are in peace; but when the stronger than he (the Son of Man) shall come upon him and overthrow him (*νικήσῃ*), He taketh from him his whole armour wherein he trusted, *i.e.*, his power over mankind in consequence of their fall, and distributes (*διαδίδωσιν*) his spoils." Surely the idea of any compromise with the vanquished Evil One is totally at variance with this teaching?

Where is there any notion of such a bargain in the words spoken at the close of His ministry, "Now shall the prince of this world be cast forth outside; and I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me"? Does not the passage

imply that the Evil One would be utterly defeated, even though his defeat cost the Victor the death of the cross?

Do not the last words of the Son of Man on the cross, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My Spirit," prove that He did not give His life a "ransom" to the devil, but to the Father Himself?

Could He have said with truth, the evening before His crucifixion, "The prince of this world cometh, and in Me he hath nothing,"¹ if Satan had a lien on His soul?

Could He have said, "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him," when the hour was come for Him to give His life, according to Origen, to the devil?

II. Can any passages in St. Paul's writings, or any of the other writers in the New Testament, be fairly said to sanction this notion of Origen?

Of course the passages that seem to make for his idea are those wherein the word *λύτρον* is present in the composition of the words used by the Apostle. I propose, then, to consider the passages in which the verb *λυτροῦσθαι* and its compounds, and in which the words *λυτρωτής*, *λύτρωσις*, and *ἀπολύτρωσις* occur, to see whether it is necessarily implied from any of them, that Satan really received a *quid pro quo* when the Son of Man, by His death and resurrection, deprived him of his power over the souls of men.

The simple verb occurs in Luke xxiv. 21. It is there used by the two disciples, on their way to Emmaus, who told their companion—the risen Lord—about His own execution by the rulers of the Jews, and added: "We trusted that it was He who *μέλλον λυτροῦσθαι* Israel." They simply used the word in the Old Testament sense of deliver; or, if any notion of a *λύτρον* entered into their heads, it was connected with their Lord's words, "The Son of Man came to give His life a ransom for many," and so with the sacrificial sense of the term, and with the *kopher* paid to Jehovah.

The simple verb is again found in Titus ii. 14: "Who gave Himself for us, that He *λυτρώσεται* us from all lawlessness." There is no necessity to read any payment to Satan into this passage any more than in the verse of Psa. cvii. 2: "Let the redeemed of Jehovah say so, whom He hath redeemed from the hand of the adversary," though perhaps, as in the former case, the notion implied in the sacrificial *kopher* may give a deeper spiritual sense to the words.

The third occasion is 1 Pet. i. 18: "*ἐλυτρώθητε* not with perishable things, with silver and gold . . . but with the

¹ "Hic ostendit non creaturarum sed peccatorum principem diabolum?" (Aug., *ad loc.*)

precious blood of Christ." Here St. Peter is evidently comparing the half-shekel paid as *kopher* by the Israelites to Jehovah when Moses numbered them, with the blood, or life, of Christ, the Son of Man, by whose death on the cross the true expiation for our souls was effected. There can be no possible allusion to a "ransom" paid to Satan here.

These are the only instances in which the simple verb occurs in the New Testament.

λύτρωσις occurs (1) Luke i. 68: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for He visited and wrought *λύτρωσιν* for His people . . . that we *ῥυσθεντας* from the hands of our enemies might serve Him without fear." The word for "deliverance" is the same as that used in the Lord's Prayer, "rescue (*ῥύσαι*) us from the Evil One." There is no more notion of a "ransom" being paid to Satan than in Moses' song, "Thou in Thy mercy hast led Thy people whom Thou hast redeemed; *γαύθηα*."

(2) Luke ii. 38: Here we read of those waiting for "lutrosis" in Israel—who looked, that is, for the promised Messiah, and all that His coming should involve.

(3) Heb. ix. 12: "Having obtained eternal 'lutrosis.'" The allusion is here plainly, as shown by the context, to the work of the high-priest on the Day of Atonement, who on that day alone entered into the Holy of Holies, and made atonement with the blood of the sin-offering on the front of the *kapporeth*, and so in the very presence of Jehovah. This act of the high-priest prefigured the entrance of the Son of Man with His blood, into the presence of His Father in heaven itself. There can, then, be nothing more intended in this passage than was intended in the atonement as wrought by the sin-offering itself. At any rate, there can be no allusion to Satan.

The word "lutrotēs" is found only in Acts vii. 35, where the words show that no payment to Satan can be meant. "This Moses whom they refused, saying, Who made thee a ruler and a judge? him hath God sent to be both a ruler and a *λυτρωτήν* with the hand of the angel which appeared to him."

The word *ἀπολύτρωσις* occurs ten times in the New, but not once in the Old Testament.

(1) Luke xxi. 28: Our Lord is here speaking of His future presence, and uses the word in respect to the deliverance of believers from their enemies. "When these things come to pass, then lift up your heads, for the *ἀπολύτρωσις* draweth nigh."

(2) Rom. iii. 24: This is the passage in which the word is explained by Origen as a ransom paid in Christ's blood to Satan for the release of his captives. While on the other hand Gregory of Nazianzen says: "Now if a ransom goes by

right to him who holds that which is to be ransomed, I ask to whom was the ransom paid in this case, and for what reason? If you say it was paid to the evil one—shame on the injurious thought! What! the robber receive not merely a ransom from God, but God Himself as ransom. Truly a monstrous compensation for his tyranny, to oblige him to spare such creatures as we are."¹

Let us now consider the passage itself, "For all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God; being justified freely by His grace, by means of the redemption (*διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως*) that is in Christ Jesus, whom God set forth as *ἱλαστήριον* (*kapporeth*) by means of faith in His blood."¹ St. Paul had shown in the seventeenth verse of the same chapter that all, Jews as well as Barbarians, were the slaves of sin. In the present verse he is showing how, by God's free grace, all believers had been restored to a state of covenant relationship with God, by means of the "redemption" which is in Christ Jesus. In other words, the believers had been delivered from the state of slavery in which, so long as their sins were unforgiven, they were held bound (here is the *ἄπο*), and they had been brought into a right relation with God, and restored to His covenant; the *λύτρον* being the life of the Son of Man offered to His Father. "The Son of Man came to give His life a ransom for many." That this is the meaning of the passage we may see from the following words, which at once connect the apolutrosis with not only the hilasterion, or kapporeth, but with Christ's blood, *i.e.*, His life. "The apolutrosis that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth as hilasterion through faith in His blood." The life of Christ was poured out on the cross when He said, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit," for Christ's spirit and soul no more died than His soul's type, the blood of the sin-offering, was considered dead; and the life of Christ, the antitype of the blood of the sin-offering, was presented by the ever-living Lord when, in His glorified body, He rose from the dead, and stood living at His Father's right hand. Thus the *ἀπολύτρωσις* that St. Paul speaks about is the deliverance of believers from the slavery of sin by the *λύτρον*, or *kopher*, offered by Christ in His own person and presented by Him on the hilasterion in the heavenly presence itself. The whole passage has in view the sin-offering on the great Day of Atonement, and, if read in connection with Christ's words in St. Matthew, identifying Him with the *kopher* of Exod. xxx., contains no notion of Christ having paid the "ransom" to Satan."²

¹ *Vide* Norris's "Rudiments of Theology," p. 303.

² Bishop Westcott in a note about the meaning of the simple verb in the LXX. says that "It is obvious from the usage of the LXX. that the idea

(3) Rom. iii. 23: The Apostle is here showing how believers, in spite of the possession of the Holy Spirit, are distressed in themselves, while they are waiting for the public manifestation of their adoption to sonship by resurrection of the body. "Waiting for the deliverance of our bodies." The *ἀπολύτρωσις* is the deliverance of that which we call our body from its present state of corruption into the likeness of the glorified body of the risen Christ.

(4) 1 Cor. i. 20: "But of Him (God) are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and *ἀπολύτρωσις*. The Apostle is here showing that our acceptance in God's sight is entirely owing to our union or fellowship with Jesus Christ. And as in Rom. iii. the reference is to the delivery from bondage to sin by the *keopher* offered in the person of the Son of Man to God, the language being built upon the sin-offering by which atonement was made on the mercy-seat, we may view it much in the same light here. As in the type the peace-offering denoted the covenant relation between Jehovah and His people—righteousness, the burnt-offering, the necessity of the life of His people being devoted to Jehovah's service—sanctification, and the sin-offering, the necessity of the removal of the unholiness which barred all approach to Jehovah's presence—*apolutrosis*, so in the antitype the lessons of the three kinds of sacrifice were combined in one person, even in the Son of Man, Jesus, who was made unto us righteousness, sanctification, and *ἀπολύτρωσις*. The passage contains no teaching that is not implied in the Pentateuch.

(5) Eph. i. 14: "The Holy Ghost is the earnest of our inheritance unto (*εἰς*) the redemption of the possession." The allusion is to the message sent by Jehovah through Moses to the children of Israel before the covenant was made at Sinai with sacrifice. Exod. xix. 5: "Now therefore, if ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me." Out of all the numerous kingdoms of the earth, the Israelites were to be God's costly possession. The LXX. has *laos periousios*, and in Mal. iii. 17 the Hebrew word is translated *περιποίησις*, as it is here. The believers, then, are God's own possession, and the *apolutrosis* that they look forward to is the actual emancipation from the last effects of sin, which will take place when

of a ransom received by the power from which the captive is delivered is practically lost in 'lutroushai.' The conception of redemption lies in the history of Israel. The deliverer of Israel from Egypt furnished the imagery of hope. To this the work of Christ offered the perfect spiritual antitype. It cannot be said that God paid to the Egyptian oppressor any price for the redemption of His people."—"Epistle to the Hebrews," p. 296.

the body is glorified together with the spirit. "Everyone that beholdeth the Son and believeth on Him hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day."

(6) Eph. i. 7: "In whom, *i.e.*, Jesus Christ—the beloved—we have *apolutrosis* by means of His blood, the forgiveness of the trespasses." This passage, by the use of the word "blood" in connection with "redemption," and also the phrase forgiveness of transgressions, as explaining the redemption by means of His blood, is clearly connected with the sin-offering on the Day of Atonement, on which I have touched so often as the figure of the atonement effected by the Son of Man. The Hebrew *kopher* explains it sufficiently without the aid of the Greek or Latin words.

(7) Eph. iv. 30: "And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye were sealed unto the day of redemption." The day of *απ.* signifies here the day of the *απ.* of the costly possession spoken about in Eph. i. 14.

(8) Col. i. 13, 14: In this passage the Apostle first speaks of our deliverance from Satan by Christ, who rescued (*ἐρύσατο*) us by His strong arm, as a mighty Conqueror from the arbitrary power of darkness. This deliverance needed no *λύτρον*, and so the word is the same as that in the Lord's Prayer: "*ῥύσαι* us from the Evil One." As Jehovah rescued the Israelites from Pharaoh, so the Son of Man rescued us from Satan's kingdom. And as, then, before the Israelites could be enrolled in Jehovah's kingdom, they had to offer a *λύτρον*, or *kopher*, to Jehovah, that they might partake in the atonement made at the *kapporeth*; so, before believers could be removed into the kingdom of the Son of His love, a *lutron* or *kopher* was required of them, and they possess it in the person of Christ, who is our "ransom," so that by His offering we have our sins expiated, and so removed from the sight of the Holy God, "Who rescued us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of the Son of His love, in whom we have deliverance, the forgiveness of our sins."

(9) Heb. ix. 15: "And for this cause He is the Mediator of a new covenant, that a death having taken place for the *apolutrosis* of the transgressions." This passage, and the *apolutrosis* of which it speaks, is connected with Christ's atonement, as prefigured by the sin-offering, as clearly appears from the context, so that the *lutron* can only be that spoken of in Exod. xxx. and alluded to by Christ Himself, when He said that "The Son of man came to give His life a 'ransom' for many."

(10) Heb. xi. 35: "Others were tortured to death not accepting their *απ.*" Here the word only refers to deliverance from torture.

I have set before my readers all the passages where the idea of λύτρον is implied, and I can see no hint in any of them that the λύτρον was paid to the Evil One; on the other hand, as we might naturally have expected, they are all built upon the teaching of the Pentateuch, so as to be readily understood by those acquainted with its teaching, and at the same time are so worded as not to mislead those heathen readers who understood *lutron* in the same sense that we ordinarily attach to the word "ransom."¹

I cannot help thinking that the way to learn to grasp the idea of the atonement is by the careful consideration of Jehovah's own teaching on the subject contained in Exod. xxx., where atonement money, λύτρον, is connected with *icopher*, and, secondly, with *icapporethi*, the *ἱλαστήριον* on which Jehovah was pleased to dwell, and so, thirdly, with the sin-offering, or rather the blood or life of the sin-offering, with which once in every year; on the great Day of Atonement, expiation was made for the souls of the Israelitish nation and their sins which barred their approach to the Holy Jehovah were covered.

Christ by His use of the λύτρον (*icopher*) certainly meant us to do so. And so doing we see at once that He, our "ransom," having poured out His life on the cross: "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit," offered Himself to Jehovah, and not to Satan. And if you ask why did He thus offer Himself as a "ransom," still we must go to Exod. xxx. for our answer: "For the service of the tent of meeting, and that it may be a memorial before the Lord for the children of Israel, to make atonement for your souls."

In that chapter we have the Divine teaching about atonement, the type and figure of the true atonement, and by

¹ As regards the truth underlying patristical explanation of the classical meaning of "lutron," Bishop Westcott says in "The Epistle to the Hebrews," p. 296: "The discussions which have been raised on the question 'to whom the ransom was paid' are apt to be misleading. The deliverance of man from the debt, the captivity, the bondage of sin—however we express the image—could only be through the satisfaction of the claims of a violated law. These claims, regarded under the light of punishment, present a twofold aspect. To him who rebels against the Divine law they are simply pain; to him who humbly submits himself they are a salutary discipline. The first aspect includes the truth which was expressed by the patristic conception that Christ paid the ransom of man to the devil; the second includes the truth expressed by the later view that the ransom was paid to God. Each view, however, is essentially incomplete, and it is perilous to attempt to draw conclusions from limited interpretations of Scripture."

There is a very excellent note on the subject of Christ's redemption, as viewed in relation to the dominion and works of the devil, in Dimock's "Death of Christ," p. 123.

carefully getting at the idea contained in the words for service and for a memorial of the children of Israel before Jehovah, for both *ziccaron* (memorial) and *abodah* (service) have their meanings connected with sacrifice, we may obtain a more practical and faithful notion of the atonement than we can derive from the classical meaning of the word "ransom."

ROBERT HELME.



ART. V.—THE IGNATIAN EPISTLES.

(Concluded from page 441.)

OUR first observation here is that the eagerness with which Ignatius invited martyrdom rather represents the fanatical spirit of Tertullian and the Montanists than that of the immediate successors of the Apostles. It is in direct opposition to the doctrine laid down in the letter on the martyrdom of Polycarp, in the words, "We do not approve of those who voluntarily offer themselves, for this the gospel does not teach us to do" (C. iv.). We have no earlier instance of the contrary teaching than that of Tertullian, represented in the tractates "*De coronâ militis*" and "*de Fugâ in persecutione*," both the products of his new Montanistic teaching. This, and the extraordinary knowledge of angels and supercelestial beings, and the resemblance of the acts of Ignatius' martyrdom to those of St. Perpetua and Felicitas, who are admitted both by Roman Catholic and Protestant critics to have been Montanists, lead us to conclude that a Montanistic spirit pervades the Ignatian legend, and that so great a departure from the Apostolic principles could hardly have been made immediately after the Apostolic age. But the edict of toleration which had been published by Trajan at the very moment when Ignatius' persecution began, presents no less a difficulty, as this must have been in as full force at Antioch as in Rome, and in all the cities which Ignatius is said to have passed through during his journey to Rome. The personal controversy which he is alleged to have had with the Emperor bears also a suspicious affinity to those which St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John are described, in their spurious acts, to have maintained with the emperors Nero and Domitian. In all these apocryphal writings, some king or ruler is brought face to face with the martyr, and the fiction of a personal tribunal takes the place of the regular courts of the empire. All intermediate jurisdictions are passed

over in order to present the grand spectacle of a member of the most despised sect of the then civilized world confronted with the supreme majesty of the empire; and in the case of Ignatius, at a time when the emperor was preparing for the most gigantic and perilous expedition he ever undertook. Such a picture is ideal rather than real, and needs much corroborative evidence of an independent character to sustain it, ere we can admit its credibility. Nor was Trajan in any respect a cruel man, as his act of toleration very clearly indicates. The whole course of his life, as its historians represent it, would have made the declaration of so cruel a sentence by himself, and in his own person, a violation of the principles of all his life.

But the events and incidents of the journey present no less serious difficulties. The object of the narrator, which is scarcely disguised in any part of his relation, is to exhibit Ignatius, as a second St. Paul, traversing Asia Minor, visiting the churches during his progress, and writing letters to them with the same freedom and with the same supreme authority as that of the Apostle whose mission was immediately from Christ, and extended to the whole world. After a journey greatly resembling one of St. Paul's progresses, he is described as reaching Puteoli, and desiring thence to go on foot to Rome, that he might exactly tread in the footsteps of the great Apostle—a passage corresponding with the wish declared in the Epistle to the Ephesians (ch. xii.), "that I may be found in his footsteps." Here, as everywhere, the letters and the acts are in such close agreement as to strengthen Dr. Baur's conclusion that they must stand or fall together.

We next observe the inexplicable fact, or rather miracle, that under circumstances of such severe restraint, in the hands of guards whom he compares to leopards, and whose cruelties towards him increased daily during his journey, he was able to exhort all the churches through which he passed, and to dictate letters to them which were faithfully delivered by his friends. Exhortation was, indeed, possible, however difficult, on such occasions as these, for the faithful doubtless gathered round the martyr during the different stages of his journey. St. Chrysostom, however, though frequently referring to these oral communications, makes no mention of the fact that they were immediately followed up by letters. Nor, indeed, is it usual to enforce exhortations, when fresh upon the minds of the hearers, by means of letters, even when the opportunity exists. The epistles of St. Paul, though he was a free agent, did not thus immediately follow his visits to the churches. And Ignatius, in chains and under the severest captivity, could have little opportunity of thus recording his recent

addresses, and certainly could not have had any necessity for so doing. It was far more likely that the words spoken were recorded from memory by those whom Athanasius couples with Ignatius, but whose names he does not give, comprising them in the suggestive description, *τινὲς τῶν μετὰ Ἰγνατίου διδασκάλου*. The "Acts of the Martyrdom" make very slender reference to the written letters, though they dwell much upon the verbal exhortations. Here the account of Hege-sippus is fuller in its details, both enumerating the letters and the places from which they were written. That these were unknown at Antioch, even in the age of Chrysostom, appears from the great value he attaches to the translated relics of the martyr, while he makes no mention of his posthumous writings. The profound silence which reigned in the Church during this period, in regard to the Ignatian letters, gives us a clue to the inquiry into their real origin.

We recall the fact that the words of the Martyr are almost always referred to as sayings—even the words which are now embodied in the letters, one of which St. Chrysostom describes as uttered in the hours of his martyrdom, and which, therefore, could not have been recorded in his life-time. We are led from this, and also from the different versions of the letters and their infinite varieties of reading, to conceive that the letters in their earliest type were attempts to put together the scattered utterances of Ignatius in a written form. That they grew on rapidly under the influence of Hege-sippus and Papias, the great depositaries of the most doubtful of the traditions of the Church, we may as readily conjecture. To the Nicene period we must assign the introduction of a more precise and technical theology than could possibly have existed in the Apostolic age, while to the conflicts of jurisdiction which arose after the connection of the Church with the State, and to the anti-episcopal movement of Aeri-us, we must assign that assertion of the almost pontifical character of the episcopate which, to the advocates of the Epistles of Ignatius, has ever been their most captivating feature.

In the letter I addressed to the Bishop of Worcester (then Dean of Peterborough), I urged the argument that no necessity, or even occasion, could have arisen for the assertion of so autocratic an authority, which could be only justified by the fact that a general rebellion had arisen against the episcopate, and that one Order in the Ministry had come into collision with another, as the heads of the diaconate did with the presbyters in the days of St. Jerome.

But no question had arisen or could arise at this time on the relations between one Order or another in the Christian

body. This is a preliminary historic difficulty which does not seem to have been weighed by the advocates of the authenticity of the Ignatian letters. If we compare their teaching with that of the exquisite Epistle to Diognetus, which is held by the greatest divines of every Church to be a document as early as the close of the second century,¹ a contrast of the most striking character presents itself to the most ordinary reader. This early picture of the Church of Christ is as far removed in spirit from the fanatical sensationalism of the Ignatian letters as it is in the actual features it exhibits to the eye. It represents the Church as in a pilgrim state, agreeing herein with the inscription of the Epistle of Clement—"the Church sojourning in Rome"—having no local delimitations, and being rather in a wayfaring than in a settled state. In direct opposition to this view of it, we find in Ignatius a Church established and localized, a resident hierarchy, and even diocesan divisions. For he speaks of *ἐπισκόποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὀρισθέντες* (Eph. iii.), and addresses bishops as having fixed sees, as though *jurisdiction* and *order* had become distinct powers in the primitive Church. Similar anachronisms to this were pronounced to be fatal in the case of the Interpolated Epistles, in which the lesser orders of the ministry are described as fully developed in the Apostolic Church. They were fatal in their results upon the Donation of Constantine, the Decretal Epistles, the Apostolic Constitutions, the Dionysian and countless other forgeries. Why should we refuse to apply the same critical tests to the Ignatian Epistles?

The attempt to rehabilitate writings which by the consent of the whole Church have been adjudged to be spurious or apocryphal, is one which has been often made before, but never with any permanent success. We have already referred to the quotation from Ignatius in the pages of the pseudo-Dionysius, and the difficulty which this occasioned even to the less critical minds of the seventh or eighth century. In the beginning of the last century an energetic effort was made to establish the Dionysian writings, and a work appeared at Rome in 1702 by a man equal in erudition to the modern advocates of Ignatius, Father Laurentius Cozza, a work *multæ eruditionis refertum*, as the reviewer of it in the "Acta Eruditorum" of Leipzig (a. 1703, pp. 401-10) admits.² In learning and in controversial skill this production, though

¹ The learned Dr. Lipsius, of Jena, writes to me of this Epistle: "Ich glaube dass sie aus dem ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts stammt." No other age can be assigned to Ignatius' "Letters," and yet how diametrically opposite is their testimony.

² "Vindic. Areop. Clementi XI. P.M. inscriptæ."

much shorter, is not unequal to that of the lamented vindicator of the Ignatian Epistles. But the very dedication of the Dionysian writings to his "fellow-presbyter Timothy" places as great an obstacle in the way of their genuineness as Dr. Baur detected in the inscriptions of the Ignatian letters, while the quotation from Ignatius is reluctantly surrendered as a manifest anachronism, and therefore admitted to be an interpolation. The interpretation of the famous words of Ignatius, *Amor meus crucifixus est*, is alleged by the learned reviewer to allude to the crucifixion of the flesh and earthly affections to the Spirit, and thus to be equivalent to the Pauline idea of a crucifixion to the world: whereas in the Dionysian passage it is alleged in regard to Divine love, and to Christ as its great exemplar. The host of authorities which Cozza—who held the offices of Reader in the Province of Rome, Synodal Examiner of the Diocese of Viterbo, and Consultor of the Congregation of the Index—brings in defence of his position is far greater than any which can be marshalled in defence of the letters of Ignatius. In fact, he is able to appeal to the continuous tradition of many centuries, from St. Maximus to Bellarmine, Baronius, Schelstrate and Natalis Alexander. Yet all their arguments fell pointless and lifeless before the attacks of Luther, Cajetan, Erasmus, Casaubon, Morinus, Usher, Pearson, and the most learned of that critical age. We have already indicated the suggestive affinity between the Ignatian and Dionysian writings. We may observe, hereupon, that the mystical work of Dionysius, "De Cœlesti Hierarchiâ," was most probably founded on the lines of that earthly hierarchy which is planned out in the Ignatian letters.

Before we close these lines we may remind the reader that a comparatively recent forgery was palmed upon the Church with considerable success by Higuera, a Spanish Jesuit, professing to be the Chronicle of Lucius Flavius Dexter, a writer of the end of the fourth century. This was heralded into the world supported by a vast array of learning, which fills a large folio volume of some 500 pages. In this the forger too successfully followed the lead of Annius of Viterbo, who was a *falsarius* of still greater boldness, having produced imaginary works of Manetho, Megasthenes, Fabius Pictor and other ancient authors. The Chronicle of Dexter occasioned a controversy in the Church of Rome, which enlisted many eminent critics on both sides—a proof that such forgeries need only skilful advocates and ingenious theorists to give them a specious appearance of authenticity.¹

¹ Lucii Flavii Dextri Chronicon, ed. Fr. Bivarius. Lugd., 1627 (fol.).
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Inventions of this kind, when they assume the name and authority of mere secular writings, are comparatively harmless. But when they claim a sacred character, and are put forth as the works of the great heroes of Christianity, they cannot be too strictly examined or too severely tested. Especially is this duty incumbent upon us when the claim is in behalf of writings which distort all the proportions of faith, and undermine the first principles of the Gospel—when an institution which was designed to protect the great doctrines of our faith is made destructive of them, and a particular form of government which developed itself naturally, and from the analogy of monarchical institutions, is turned into an article of faith, in some sense *de necessitate salutis*. If the advocates of such a doctrine would but seriously follow it out into its results, they could not but see that instead of “prophesying according to the proportions of faith,” they are advocating a system so distorted and deformed as to realize the words which the great Italian poet puts into the mouth of St. Peter :

O buon principio
A che vil fine convien che tu caschi !

In the earlier conflicts of our Church with the Puritans, the watchword of the Episcopal party was “No bishop, no king.” It was a foolish saying, as experience has since proved ; for bishops flourish as greatly in republics as they do in monarchies. But the Ignatian letters represent the far more serious assertion, “No bishop, no God,” for this is the quintessence of the Ignatian teaching.

“We are to follow the bishop as Christ followeth the Father” (Ad Smyrn. c. viii.).

“We cannot be subject to God unless we are subject to the bishop” (Ad Ephes. c. v.).

“We ought to know God and the bishop” (*ibid.*).

“The bishop is to be to us in the place of God, and we ought to regard him as the Lord Himself” (Ad Ephes. c. vi.).

“No baptism or Eucharist is valid unless celebrated by the bishop” (Ad Trall. c. iii.).

“No assembly of the church is legitimate without him” (*ibid.*).

“All who belong to God and Christ are with the bishop” (Ad Philad.).

“We are to concur in the opinion or judgment of the bishop” (Ad Ephes.).

“Whatever the bishop approves of, that is approved by God” (Ad Smyrn.).

“He who honours the bishop is honoured of God” (*ibid.*).

“Attend to the bishop as God attends to you” (Ad Polyc.).

"The bishop presides in the place of God" (Ad Magnes.).

"When you subject yourselves to the bishop as to Jesus Christ, you seem to me to live not after the flesh but after the Spirit" (Ad Trall. c. ii.).

Of such a teacher (and the texture of his teaching is the same throughout) we might well say, "This man seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods" (Acts xvii. 18). But we at least have a more sure word of prophecy—even that word which saith of all true believers in Christ, whether they be Pontifical, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist—or by whatever name they may be called or miscalled, "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of My hand" (John x. 28).

R. C. JENKINS.

Notes on Bible Words.

NO. IX.—"DOCTRINE" (TEACHING).

TEACHING, in the N.T. διδασχῆ.

(1) *That which is taught.* Matt. vii. 28, "were astonished at His teaching (τῆ διδασχῆ αὐτοῦ) ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων"; Mark i. 27, "What new doctrine is this?" John vii. 16, "My doctrine (the teaching which I give) is not Mine"; Rom. xvi. 17, "contrary to the doctrine which ye learned." Acts xvii. 19, "this new teaching is, which is spoken by thee?" Acts xiii. 12, "astonished at the teaching (τοῦ Κυρίου) of the Lord;" *about*, concerning, as in Heb. vi. 2. But cf. 2 John, verse 9, "teaching which is Christ's"—has Christ for its author (as in Matt. vii. 28).

(2) *Instruction*, the act of *teaching*. Mark iv. 2, "and taught . . . and said (ἔλεγε) unto them in His teaching," ἐν τῇ διδασχῇ. Acts ii. 42, "in the Apostles' doctrine," A.V.; "teaching," R.V.

Similarly, διδασκαλία. [On the probable distinction between διδασκαλία and διδασχῆ see Bishop Ellicott, 2 Tim. iv. 2.]

(1) Ephes. iv. 14, "With every wind of doctrine"; Matt. xv. 9, "teaching for doctrines," διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας. 1 Tim. i. 10.

(2) Rom. xv. 4, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδ., "for our learning," A.V.; *instruction*; that we may be taught. 2 Tim. iii. (10 and) 16, "profitable for teaching" (Plumptre); *pour enseigner*.

Dean Burgon, in "The Revision Revised" (p. 199), says:

Διδασχῆ occurs 30, διδασκαλία 21 times, in the N. Test. Etymologically, both words alike mean "teaching," and are therefore indifferently rendered *doctrina* in the

Vulgate.¹ . . . But the Revisers have well-nigh extirpated DOCTRINE from the N. T., (1st) by making "teaching" the rendering of διδάχη (reserving "doctrine" for διδασκαλία,² and (2ndly) by 6 times substituting "teaching" (once "learning") in places where διδασκαλία occurs.⁴ This is to be lamented every way. The "teachings" of our Lord and of His Apostles were the "doctrines" of Christianity. . . . And if the warning against being carried about with "every wind of doctrine" may stand in Eph. iv. 14, why may it not be left standing in Heb. xiii. 9?

The "teaching" of the authorized διδάσκαλος, the received (2 Tim. iii. 14) instruction, is to be noted. Tit. i. 9, 1 Cor. xiv. 6 and 26.

Short Notices.

New China and Old. Personal Recollections and Observations of Thirty Years. By the Ven. ARTHUR E. MOULE, B.D., C.M.S. Missionary in Ningpo, Hangchow and Shanghai, and Archdeacon in Mid-China. With thirty-one illustrations. Pp. 310. Seeley and Co.

THIS is a truly welcome work, full of graphic descriptions, sensible and suggestive, likely to do good service in the missionary cause. The author has laboured in China for thirty years, and he tells English people what he has seen, noted, and inferred. Among thoughtful and truth-seeking readers his remarks on Buddhism and Taoism, and on Christian Missions—candid and of present-day freshness—will have weight: to the general reader class, doubtless, the sketches of Chinese life and manners, junks, opium smoking, the Shanghai police, shops, country life, weddings, and so forth, will prove especially attractive. In tendering thanks to the esteemed Archdeacon, we may observe that his book has several illustrations, and is admirably printed.

The Literature of the Second Century. Short Studies on the Evidences. By F. R. WYNNE, D.D., J. H. BERNARD, B.D., and S. HEMPHILL, B.D. Pp. 260. Hodder and Stoughton.

The lectures in this volume, a note informs us, were read to a popular audience at the Alexandra College, Dublin, and are now published at the request of the Christian Evidence Committee of the Y.W.C.A., under whose auspices they were delivered. It may be hoped they will be read and prove useful. Many persons will not look at learned treatises, with Latin and Greek quotations, and yet they are aware of what is being urged in sceptical circles, or flippantly laid down in periodicals, and are by no means unwilling to be taught the truth. Canon Wynne's lecture on the Growth of the New Testament Canon, and Professor Hemphill's on Early Vestiges of the Fourfold Gospel, may be welcomed by such persons. "The Miraculous in Early Christian Literature," by Archbishop King's Divinity Lecturer in the University of Dublin, is also interesting.

¹ Except in 2 Tim. iii. 16, where προς διδασκαλίαν is rendered *ad docendum*.

² Except in Rom. xvi. 17, where they render it "doctrine."

³ And yet, since upwards of 50 times we are molested with a marginal note to inform us that διδάσκαλος means "Teacher,"—διδασκαλία (rather than διδάχη) might have claimed to be rendered "teaching."

⁴ Viz., Rom. xii. 7; 1 Tim. iv. 13, 16, v. 17; 2 Tim. iii. 10, 16; Rom. xv. 4. [These four footnotes are, of course, the Dean's.]

The Teaching of Christ: Its Conditions, Secret, and Results. By the Right Rev. J. MOORHOUSE, Bishop of Manchester. Pp. 160. Macmillan and Co.

The second discourse in this volume, "The Limitations of our Lord's Knowledge," which appeared in a newspaper some time ago, was made the subject of comment by Canon Meyrick in the *MAY CHURCHMAN*. Many of our readers doubtless will be glad to read it as now published with other sermons. The title gives the key-note of the whole.

Order and Growth, as involved in the Spiritual Constitution of Human Society. By the Rev. J. LLEWELYN DAVIES, M.A., Chaplain to the Queen, Vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, formerly Fellow of Trin. Coll., Cambridge. Pp. 140. Macmillan and Co.

An ably-written and interesting book. We cannot always follow Mr. Davies, but what he advances is always suggestive and strong.

The Epistle to the Thessalonians. By Rev. G. G. FINDLAY, B.A., Professor of Biblical Languages in the Wesleyan College, Headingley. University Press, Cambridge.

An average volume of that excellent series—"Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges."

Short Readings on the Acts of the Apostles. By E. M. Wells, Gardner and Co. Exeter: Eland.

A good specimen of "Studies in Holy Scripture" for household reading. Two of these suggestive volumes we confidently recommend.

Questions Suggested by so much of the Lambeth Judgment as deals with the Subject of the North Side Rubric. By an English Presbyterian. Part I. Possibility of Obedience, Intention, etc. Part II. Savoy Conference, Last Revision, etc. Maidstone: W. S. Vivish, 28, King Street.

These two publications—large-page pamphlets—represent research of singular merit. The learned "Presbyter," to whose labours the Church of England is greatly indebted, some years ago contributed a paper to this Magazine, as to which Dr. Swainson, no mean judge, said "few men could have written it." His present work shows equal ability and judgment. We regret that we are at present unable to review these important pamphlets. But we earnestly commend them to the attention of those of our readers who are interested in such studies.

Proverbs. Exposition by Rev. W. J. DEANE, M.A., Rector of Ashen, and by Rev. S. T. TAYLOR-TASWELL, M.A., Rector of Wetherby. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

This volume of the "Pulpit Commentary" is in some ways equal to the best representatives of that valuable series. The exposition is good, and the homiletics as a rule up to the average.

The Arab and the African. Experiences in Eastern Equatorial Africa during a Residence of Three Years. By S. TRISTRAM PRUEN, M.D. With illustrations. Pp. 332. Seeley and Co.

This book is dedicated to Sir Charles Euan-Smith, so well-known at Zanzibar, now Minister at Morocco. It is both interesting and informing; in some respects unique. Dr. Pruen describes the ordinary life of the natives of those districts in Central Africa which have recently been

brought under British influence, and in his descriptions he has limited himself, as a rule, to what he has actually seen and heard. He has not written about Uganda, partly because the Waganda differ largely from other East African races, and partly because they have been so fully described in Mr. Ashe's book, "Two Kings of Uganda." Two chapters are devoted to "The Slave Trade," and two to "The Missionary."

The *Cornhill* is excellent. "The White Company," as we said last month, is exceedingly clever, and full of incident. "Eight Days" keeps up the interest very well. Apart from the stories, *Cornhill*, wonderfully cheap, has always much that is readable and informing (Smith, Elder and Co.).

We heartily recommend *The Gold that Wouldn't Go*, and five other Stories, by Rev. P. B. Power; one of the cheap "popular" series now being published by the S.P.C.K.

In *Murray's Magazine* Mr. Gladstone reviews "A Publisher and his Friends."

Mr. Bullock's little work, *The Strangest Thing in the World*, a reply to Professor Drummond, deserves to be widely read ("Home Words" Office, 7, Paternoster Square).

The *Religious Review of Reviews* for May has a paper on Dr. Pressensé, and a sermon by Dr. Farrar.

We have pleasure in recommending a cheap edition of Bishop Boyd Carpenter's work, *The Permanent Elements of Religion*, a well-printed and handy book (Macmillan and Co.).

Disloyalty to our Lord; or, The Sin of Rome, is "a plain reason against Secession," by Rev. Arthur Brinckman, late assistant priest, All Saints', Margaret Street (J. Masters and Co., 78, New Bond Street). The author has not the slightest difficulty in proving his case, and it is possible that his quotations may induce some Ritualists on the verge of secession to think and inquire. Dr. Littledale's work, probably, did real service in that way. Liguori's "dreadful" teaching is formally approved within the Roman Church, and his "Glories of Mary," in English, is strongly recommended by Cardinal Manning. If this pamphlet should reach a second edition, Mr. Brinckman might strengthen his preface by a quotation or two from Canon Meyrick's paper in the February CHURCHMAN.

From Messrs. T. and T. Clark we have received two works running on similar lines. The first, *Pseudepigrapha*, "an account of certain Apocryphal sacred writings of the Jews and early Christians," by Rev. W. J. Deane, M.A., Rector of Ashen, and the second, *Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, being a critical review of Apocalyptic Jewish literature, by J. E. H. Thomson, B.D., Stirling. Mr. Deane's work consists mainly of a reproduction of magazine papers. He handles the Psalter of Solomon, the book of Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the Book of Jubilees, and others, including "The Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs," a very full account of which, by the Dean of Gloucester, appeared in the April CHURCHMAN. We do not like the title of Mr. Thomson's book, but he writes with ability and judgment, giving the result of considerable research.

The last *Quarterly Review*, from Mr. Murray, did not reach us till we were going to press, and we were unable to print any remarks about it. It is not too late, however, to notice one *Quarterly* article, that which will have an especial attraction for readers of the CHURCHMAN, viz., "The Lambeth Judgment." We earnestly invite the attention of

our friends to this excellent article (though probably all of them have read it before now) as a singularly clear statement of the facts of the case, with searching criticism and judicious counsel. On the learned writer's wit and point we need not touch; but his examination of certain portions of the Judgment (he wisely limits himself) seems to ourselves, we must say, not only remarkably able, but in all ways admirable. It is a pity that the Judgment has been so little criticised. To Mr. Tomlinson's pamphlet (noticed in the April CHURCHMAN) the *Quarterly* writer, we are glad to see, does justice, though he points out its defects. In a weekly journal where one might expect to see such a sneer, this pamphlet is referred to as "by one Mr. Tomlinson or Tomkinson," but this is impertinence. Mr. Tomlinson is a critic of undoubted learning, and he has detected, as the *Quarterly* admits, "some important mistakes." Not a few members of the Evangelical School, far from satisfied with the Judgment as regards either its historical or its legal aspects, have refrained from criticism, we believe, out of respect to the Court, and also in a spirit of tolerance, with a view to peace. Such Churchmen will read, however, with much satisfaction this *Quarterly* paper, courteous and truly "moderate," but outspoken and strong. With its criticism, as well as its counsel, in the main, they will probably agree.

On a single point we quote the *Quarterly* as follows:

"The Archbishop, though he indicates its doubtful value, makes a bold attempt to get useful evidence of practice from the engravings which, in former times more than now, used to adorn Prayer-books, books of devotion, and similar works. We confess that we can attach no weight to this sort of evidence. Just as it was considered essential in artistic treatment that people should appear in classical robes, so all sorts of other conventions were adopted which defy calculation, and make these pictures valueless for this purpose. It is impossible to separate the matter of fact from the artistic imagination. The Judgment itself gives ample verification of this view. Two illustrations of a book *Ἐναντιος* are produced, one of which represents 'the lengthwise position of the Table, with the two ministers standing respectively on the long north and south sides of it,' while the other 'indicates the position looking eastward.' The Judgment adds, 'There seems to be here a simple effective evidence of contemporaneous diversity, living and tolerated.' But it so happens that the book is a Catechism, from which at an earlier page of the Judgment, and in another context, the following extract is made:

"Q. Why does the priest stand on the North side of the Table?"

"A. To avoid the Popish superstition of standing towards the East.

"It is plain, therefore that the picture indicating 'the position looking eastward' was not intended by the author to be taken literally. As this case is one of those relied on by the Archbishop and his Assessors, it may fairly be taken to show the entire unsafety of this class of so-called evidence.

"It only remains to quote the words of Lord Cairns and the Privy Council in the Ridsdale case, in which he expressed a decided opinion adverse to that entertained by the Archbishop:—

"It seems extravagant to put on the word 'side' a sense more limited than its strict and primary one, for the purpose of suggesting difficulties in acting upon the rule, which for two centuries were never felt in practice, and which would not arise if the strict and primary sense were adhered to."

THE MONTH.

THE May Meetings seem to have been on the whole very successful, though the attendance was somewhat disappointing. Of the C.M.S. anniversary, the Bishop of Exeter, who has now attended forty, says it is the best.

On the C.M.S. platform the Archbishop of Canterbury referred to the death of the Archbishop of York, Dr. Magee, and the illness of Canon Cadman. His Grace said :

With the Archbishop of York I have been united not only by the admiration that all had for his extraordinarily brilliant gifts of mind and speech, and for that zeal which has shown itself indeed in public, but which those who knew him in private knew to be burning with a most ardent flame at the bottom of his heart ; but I have also been united with him for many years in a warm friendship. Then the dear name which has just been announced to you is the name of one of my closest-loved and most affectionate chaplains.

Canon Cadman died on the 12th. The Archbishop of York died in London after a short illness.

At the Bible Society Meeting, the chief speakers were : Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Rev. J. E. C. Welldon, Rev. Dr. Dale, and the well-known Missionary Rev. W. G. Lawes.¹

The Lord Chancellor presided at the anniversary of the Church Army, and made a very encouraging speech.

The Land Purchase Bill has taken up nearly the whole time of the House of Commons.

The influenza epidemic has been, and still is, serious.

The *Guardian* gives good advice to Tithe-owners :

An attempt is being made in many parts of the country to frustrate the essential purpose of the new Act, to retain tenant farmers as conduit pipes of landlords, to render the tithe-owners' sacrifice nugatory, to replace in the hands of agitators their ancient weapon. A solicitor, for instance, writes to a tithe-owner on behalf of the landlord, suggesting that it would save trouble to all persons concerned if the tenant farmer paid the tithe rent-charge as heretofore. We think that such applications should be in all cases refused, and that all tithe-owners should stand together by the new Act.

The Bishop of Peterborough has conferred the Chancellorship of the Diocese upon Mr. G. H. Blakesley, of Lincoln's Inn, a son of the late Dean of Lincoln.

The Bishop of Lichfield, Dr. Maclagan, is appointed to the Archbishopric of York.

¹ The progress of toleration in Spain was illustrated (we quote from the Madrid correspondence of the *Daily News*) by the presence of reporters from the principal Madrid papers of all shades at the opening of the new depôt of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Rev. John Jameson showed his Spanish guests copies of translations of the Bible in 200 languages and dialects. He was able to tell them that the Bible had been translated into Basque, Kalo, Catalan, and other Peninsular and colonial dialects of their own nationality, and that 70,000 Bibles, Testaments, and tracts had been sold or distributed in Spain during 1890 by the Bible Society's agent.