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WELLHAUSEN.

II.

THE decade that followed Wellhausen's translation to Halle was devoted mainly to Arabic studies. Here too he was actuated by the same high ideal that inspired all his work. The end, which he kept steadily in view, was broad historical construction, with a just sense of the religious motive of the history. But the means to the end was exact scientific study of the original documents.[1] The firstfruits of this appeared in a series of valuable editions and translations of Arabic texts.[2] The harvest was garnered in the *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (1887)—a work of first importance in the field of Comparative Religion, which has inspired, among other notable productions, Robertson Smith's Burnett Lectures on *The Religion of the Semites*—and the more recent studies on the origins and development of Islam.

The *Reste* claims to be but a collection of remains of old Arabic heathenism from the original sources, "gathered and explained" by the author. As such, it displays a fulness of knowledge and first-hand mastery of the subject-matter which have drawn from the veteran Arabist Nöldeke

[1] An interesting glimpse of Wellhausen's ideals of work is obtained in the Introduction to his *Muhammed in Medina*, pp. 24 f.

[2] The first of these was the *Muhammed in Medina* (1882), an abridged translation of Vakidi's *Kitab al Maghazi* (*Book of the Campaigns of the Prophet*), mainly from an unpublished manuscript in the British Museum. This was followed, after the interval of a few years, by a *Heft* (No. 4) of *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, containing a history of Medina before Islam (from Arabic sources), a translation of Mohammed's laws for the government of Medina and its community, and an edition and translation of his letters and embassies (1889). Meantime he had written a first sketch of the history of Islam in his Article *Mohammed and the First Four Caliphs* (*Encyc. Brit.* 1883), and edited and translated the interesting *Lieder der Hudhailiten*, the only extant collection of Arabic tribal poetry (1884). The translation of these songs admirably reflects the rush and clash of battle, and the pride of victory, mingled with the wail of the mourners and the homeless, of the old Arabic poetry.

the judgment that the author "has put himself as completely into the life and thought of the old Arabs as though he had been an Arabic scholar, and nothing else, all his life."[1] But the book is far more than a mere collection. It is a scientific and philosophical study of ethnic religion of singular power and insight.

The "necessary and most characteristic sign of an Arab place of worship" Wellhausen finds in the sacred stone (*nuçb* or *mançab*), which served as altar, but was really the house of the god worshipped there (*beth-el*). Near the stone were usually found the outside appurtenances of a "god's house": the sacred pit or cave (*ghabghab* or *'ab'ab*), where the blood of sacrifices was shed and dedicatory gifts kept, and usually too a sacred spring or stream, and a sacred tree, on which other gifts were hung. The space enclosing the whole—bounded by other sacred stones (likewise called *nuçb*)—was the sanctuary (*himà* or *haram*), the special haunt of the god. This *himà*, and not the stone, was the original sacred place; for the god had his "haunting-ground" before he had a definite "house" set up.

At these sacred places the gods were worshipped chiefly by kissing, stroking and pressing the stone—in order to receive holiness from the contact—but the most significant rite in the old Arabic cultus was the procession round the stone (*hagg*), which took place at the special festivals (especially at Ragab, the spring festival), and was accompanied by joyful shouts (*tahlil*), and at certain sanctuaries by the throwing of small stones on a sacred heap (*gab*). The worship was usually accompanied by offerings to the god, in thanksgiving for past mercies or to woo his favour. Among these offerings were found arms, (especially swords) and clothes, which were suspended on the sacred tree, also hair, which was laid upon the stone; but the principal

[1] Review in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1887, pp. 707 ff.

offering—the sacrifice, in the strictest sense—was the blood of slaughtered animals, which was either smeared on the stone or poured into the sacred pit. Here too Wellhausen finds, in part, the idea of a gift to the god; but the dominant idea is that of the establishment of a covenant, or bond of brotherhood, between the worshipper and the god. Among the Arabs, as among all Semitic peoples, blood is the "cement of the closest bond of brotherhood." In sacrifice, therefore, when he sheds blood upon the stone or into the sacred pit, the Arab worshipper brings himself into—or maintains—the closest relation of friendship, indeed union of life, with his god. Here Wellhausen finds the root idea in all Semitic sacrifice.[1]

In later sections of the book, the author deals with other significant personalities and rites of ancient Arabic religion: the priest (*kâhin*), the keeper of the sanctuary, who also declared the oracles of the god; the seer (also called *kâhin*), the ecstatic, supposed to be indwelt by a god or demon, who foretold the future and interpreted the unknown—the spiritual ancestor of both the prophet and the poet; the rites connected with holiness and purity; the significance of the name, as bearing the full potency of the personality; the notion of the next life as that of a feeble and shadowy existence, from which there was no hope of salvation; and the strange superstitions associated with the world of lower heathenism, the common substratum of ethnic religions.

Even this meagre sketch will show the importance of such researches for the adequate understanding of the history of Israel. Many of the most characteristic elements of Hebrew ritual are evident analogues—corresponding not only in practice, but even in name—of similar rites in the old heathen cultus of Arabia. In a closing summary Wellhausen compares them in detail, and traces both sets

[1] Cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, *passim*.

of practices back to one common origin in primitive Semitic conditions. The last chapter of the book, in which he traces the development of Arabian religion, is also full of suggestion for the student of Israel's religion.

For long ages before Mohammed the chief objects of Arab worship were the heavenly bodies—or rather the spirits that dwelt in these. The connexion between these bodies and specific "sacred places" was explained by legends of the descent of the gods from heaven to earth. In reality, the localization of worship points back to an earlier stage when these sacred places were supposed to be the haunts of demons or genii (*ginn* and *ghûl*), towards whom mortal men stood in vague terror. The worship of the higher powers was an upward step in the religious history of the Arabs. The ascent synchronizes with the giving of names to the gods. Nameless gods were beyond men's worship. For among the Arabs, too, the name of the god expressed "the whole content of his manifestation." The gods they could name were gods they knew and could approach in worship. With this, religious life—in the full sense of communion with the powers above—began. This stage of Arabic religion, however, was grossly polytheistic. Worshippers of the same heavenly powers worshipped them at different places and under different names. Accordingly, *quot gentes, tot dii.* But as time went on, the practice of pilgrimage to the great centres of worship, like Mecca, created a tendency towards Monotheism. Thus, even before Islam, Allah—a name expressing the general idea of Godhood—came to be recognized as the supreme God of the Arabs. The same epoch saw a general breaking up of the old heathenism. The worship of the gods was neglected, and even scoffed at. The festivals became mere occasions for jollity and gain. Religion, which had never had much moral influence over the heathen Arabians, lost what little it had. The only real faith was

a fatalism which, with the Arabs, was no doctrine of slothful indifference, but on the contrary "the spring of desperate energy." But the life they lived was wholly in the world and for the world.

The age before Islam saw a stirring of the spirit. The nobler souls were "divinely discontented" with the present state of existence. Many were overwhelmed and driven almost to despair by a deep sense of the vanity of all human effort and the inevitable fate of death and dissolution. Out of the depths they cried for something real and enduring, some worthy end and aim in life. At this time of transition, when the old order was passing away, but the new had not yet come to take its place, Jewish and Christian influences began to be felt. The Jews had long had colonies in Arabia. These were not aggressive, yet they scattered seeds of spiritual influence around them. In the North, Christianity—in its Nestorian or Monophysite form—had also made ground, and was exerting a silent influence on the thought and culture of Arabia far beyond its direct results. "Had Islam not intervened," Wellhausen believes, "in all probability the whole of North Arabia, from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, would within a short time have become Christian." As it was, there was found in Mecca a body of Hanife ("seekers after truth"), who were diligent students of the law and the Gospels, and—while they attached themselves neither to Judaism nor to Christianity—were yet full of sympathy for the higher faith. And this was no isolated phenomenon, but "the symptom of a mood which was wide-spread over Arabia, and had laid hold of many of the noblest spirits."

Wellhausen controverts the current idea that the real roots of Islam are found in Judaism. He acknowledges its influence, especially in the Moslem ideal of the theocracy. But he derives the dominant principles of Islam—its moral monotheism, its severe asceticism, its insistence on personal

responsibility, and its cardinal conceptions of judgment, heaven and hell—from Christianity, as represented by the Christian ascetics of the desert. Christianity was the leaven, though "much of the meal which was afterwards added came from Judaism." But while Islam owes thus much to influences from without, it is none the less the true and full end (*Abschluss*) of the inner development of Arabic religion. It stands, indeed, in strong contrast to the polytheism and profanity of life of the old heathenism. But it has its roots there, and works up the past into the texture of its own life. "The Allah of Muhammed only helps the Allah of the old Arabs to realize all that is involved in his own being."

In recognition of the eminent services he had thus rendered to Semitic scholarship, Wellhausen was called in 1892 to succeed de Lagarde in the chair of Oriental languages in Göttingen. The following year he signalized his definite return to Old Testament studies by his *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* (1893). This opens a series of characteristic Commentaries on books of the Old and New Testaments. Without a word of preface or introduction—only a simple dedication to his younger colleague and friend, Rudolf Smend—the author introduces his translation of the prophets, followed by short notes. The translation is done in Wellhausen's own style: simple, fresh and terse. The plainest and most direct words are used. Expressive colloquialisms are freely admitted. Instead of thus marring the "words" of the prophets, the renderings are full of force, and often singularly appropriate. For, after all, these men of God were also men of the people, who spoke to the heart and mind of the people. In the notes, the author works along lines he had laid down years before in an interesting review of Delitzsch's *Job* (*Th. Ltzg.* 1877). There he maintains that it is not the part of a good commentator to try to explain every-

thing, far less to gloss over difficulties by plausible, but unreal, "explanations." His ideal ought rather to be "to sharpen the conscience." In dealing with uncertainties in the text, the confession *non liquet* is often a duty. Instead of explaining away, the commentator ought to bring the difficulty clearly to view, thus allowing more light to be shed on it—perhaps only after many days. The Commentary on the *Minor Prophets* is an admirable illustration of this principle. There is no pretence of solving all the difficulties. Wellhausen does his honest best; but he is not ashamed to leave *lacunæ* in the text, with the confession that the difficulties are to him insoluble. He is careful, however, to give reasons for his failure, and to suggest the general lines of a true solution, so that we often learn more from Wellhausen's ignorance than from some other scholars' "omniscience." But even apart from this, he makes no attempt at completeness. All that is self-evident is studiously omitted. Much even that we would fain find, we miss. Wellhausen gives only what he feels he can give with profit. Within these limits the Commentary is full of learning, insight and suggestion, as well as acute criticism. The author's exact scholarship appears on every page. He already turns his Arabic reading to good account in throwing light on obscure Hebrew constructions and ideas. But the finest parts of the Commentary are the appreciations of the prophets' literary style, and especially their religious and prophetic character and experience.[1]

[1] He has some fine remarks on Amos' literary style, which appeals strongly to his own bent of mind (pp. 67 ff.). He has also placed the exposition of Joel, for the first time, on a sound basis. As he saw, Joel is not really an early prophet, but the first of the apocalyptists. "Here we have genuine eschatology, already dogmatically fixed in its main outlines." (pp. 219 f.). But perhaps the finest pages in the book are those in which he deals with the tragedy of Hosea's life. Here he works out suggestions he had already made in his edition of Bleek's *Einleitung*, which are now universally accepted as the only satisfactory explanation of the mystery. The experience shadowed in chaps. i. and iii. is no

For Wellhausen never allows us to lose sight of the real personality of the prophets in the minute study of their works. For him they are living men who heard the word of God, and can make known that word to us. And the chief end of his Commentary is to make their message more clear and convincing.

The following year saw the publication of the great work to which all his previous studies had been preparatory: *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (1894). This book is an acknowledged classic, alike in conception and in expression. It is distinguished from other Histories (like Kittel's and Stade's), at the first glance, by its freedom from critical and other learned material. Wellhausen had already laid his critical foundations in his *Prolegomena*; now he gives his whole strength to the superstructure. This undoubtedly adds to the impressiveness of the work. But its real greatness is seen in the presentation of the subject-matter. The narrative is concise, and often rapid; characters are drawn in a few graphic strokes; the whole history of Israel is set forth in some four hundred pages. But the hand of the master is evident throughout. His learning is wide and accurate; his historical judgment we feel to be sound, even where we differ from his

parable, but a dire reality. Hosea did marry a wife, Somer bath Diblaim, who afterwards proved unfaithful to him, but whom he still loved with an unquenchable love. It was this tragedy of the heart that enabled him to feel something of the love with which Jahve loved His people in spite of their sins, and so made him specifically the prophet of Divine love and mercy. Thus he felt that Jahve had called him to pass through the sad experience for this very end. Only he was not conscious of all this when he was first called to be a prophet. In writing down the record of his call, he has read into it all that he afterwards found to be involved in the experience. But though Hosea understood the full meaning of his call only after the lapse of several years, it was all present to the Divine intention from the outset. In this sense, he could represent Jahve as really saying to him: "Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom; for the land doth commit great whoredom, departing from Jahve" (pp. 105 ff.)

conclusions; he has a just sense of proportion, and a true feeling for the glory and the tragedy of Israel's history. The style is that which we already know—brought by practice to a fine perfection. The author writes directly from the fulness of his mind and heart. On this very account, the language is far more adapted to the movement of the wonderful drama than the most ambitious rhetoric. At the great moments it rises to the height of real eloquence—the outcome of fine feeling worthily expressed.

Wellhausen is seen at his best in dealing with the religion which was the real soul of Israel's history. He eliminates the miraculous; but he has a true sense of the spiritual and Divine.

The early religion of Israel was not far elevated above that of its neighbours. The main features of its cultus were the common stock of the Semitic nations. Certain inveterate popular practices—like necromancy and divination—were relics of still older heathen superstitions. Other elements came from the Canaanite nations among whom Israel's destiny was cast. Even Jahve may be likened, in many respects, to the gods of Ammon and Moab. He was the God of Israel, whose worship and moral authority and grace were confined to the bounds of His own people. Yet even at this early stage there were vital distinctions. As the motive of conduct, religion was nowhere so pure and strong as in Israel. And Jahve, the God of Israel, was from the beginning a living God, who revealed Himself through living men to living men. In this vital principle Wellhausen finds the potency of the whole future development. Through the living Spirit of God that dwelt in it, the religion of Israel rose clear above the undergrowth of superstition and sensuality that threatened to choke it, burst the narrow bonds of nationalism that would have involved it in its own destruction,

and became in the fulness of time completely developed ethical monotheism.

The personalities of the prophets— who led this movement—are portrayed with sympathy and power: Moses, the "guiding spirit," without whom "the creation of the nation under the aegis of Jahve" cannot be understood; Elijah, "the most colossal figure in the gallery of Bible heroes" (*die grandioseste Heldengestalt in der Bibel*), who so nobly championed the cause of Jahve as "a Lord, with whose service that of no other lord was compatible," who was the very "antithesis in principle" of Baal and all foreign accretions, and who —though the God of Israel—yet "had His own eternal nature quite independently of His people, and was not identified with their passing wishes and aims"; Amos— whose dirge-like notes struck such discord into the joyful strains of the worshippers of Bethel—the prophet of righteousness, who proclaimed that "right is right and wrong is wrong, everywhere and always," and that Jahve demands "righteousness, and nought but righteousness," and would vindicate the right even amid the ruins of His people; Hosea, the prophet who heard the voice of Jahve in the shame and sorrow of his home, and was led by the love he still bore for his sinful wife to be the messenger of Divine love and mercy to Jahve's sinful people; and Isaiah, the commanding statesman-prophet, who, "with a certain tragical joy and heroism of faith," piloted the little state of Judah safely through the storms that overwhelmed her sister, and thereafter, by his ideals and personal influence, laid the foundations of the new Judah that was to be—the "remnant" that should emerge from the fires of trial a "holy seed" consecrated to Jahve's purpose.

But the gem of all is the portraiture of Jeremiah, "the last and in many respects the greatest of the prophets." "In him Amos and Hosea came to life again; only he

united in himself the qualities by which they were distinguished. He shattered without mercy the illusions of the popular faith; with angry scorn he unmasked the hollowness of the prophecies of peace—stolen from foreign models—which his fellow-prophets delivered to order. So far, indeed, did he carry his opposition to them that he laid down the rule that the true prophets had always been, from the beginning, prophets of calamity—that and nothing else. In his struggle against the fanaticism of the popular patriots he shrunk not even from appearing a traitor to his country. But, with the iron spirit of defiance with which he thus confronted kings and princes, priests and prophets, and populace in the name of Jahve, he yet felt deep and warm sympathy for his people. His heart bled when, in the name of Jahve, he had to shut the door against the community that prayed so pathetically for rain, and threaten them with yet worse calamities than famine. He almost broke down when he saw, floating always before his vision, the desert into which the flourishing land was soon to be changed, over which no bird flew, and in the weary waste of which no sound of the mill-stones by day and no glimmer of light by night gave sign of life. He suffered, even to despair, under the sense of loneliness—not spiritual alone—in which his knowledge of the truth involved him. He cursed his birth, because his fellowship with Jahve cut him off from every other fellowship. His inner life was a constant conflict of soul, a constant overcoming of himself—his human wishes and sympathies—through Jahve. Willingly, at times, would he have thrown down his commission; but ever again was he 'enticed' back by an irresistible impulse. When Jahve's words were found, he did eat them; and they appeared unto him a joy and the rejoicing of his heart."

The spiritual results of his life-work are thus described. "The more he called, the further they fled from him; they

would not, they could not, be converted. His earnest efforts to fill up the gulf that separated Jahve from His people but made a deep cleft between himself and them. His labours upon the people were all in vain. But for himself they were not in vain. Through the failure of his prophecy he was raised above prophecy. The message he had to declare for Jahve might bring him despite and persecution; yet the fact that Jahve spoke to him sustained and revived him. That he suffered for His sake was comfort to his soul. When rebuffed by men, he fled back for refuge to Him who had chosen him as His messenger, and thus opened for him the way of approach to Himself. His despised prophecy became for him the bridge to an inward communion with God. From his public vocation as mediator between Jahve and Israel there arose—since Israel would have none of it—a private and personal relation of religious intimacy between himself and Jahve, in which he was not the mere channel through whom Jahve revealed Himself to Israel, but in which rather he unbosomed himself, in all the fulness of his human nature, before Jahve. This habit of conversation with Jahve, in which his soul poured itself out, was not confined to moments of enthusiasm, but became the abiding necessity of his nature, the bread on which he lived. Amid sorrow and travail was born the sure conviction of his personal fellowship with God, and thus the inmost essence of religion came to the light with him. . . . His experience continued to reproduce and repeat itself in the experiences of the pious after him. That which moved and exercised his soul moved and exercised the souls also of the noblest spirits in Judaism: the suffering of the righteous, and the working of the power of God in the hearts of the humble and despised. He is the father of true prayer, in which the poor soul expresses alike its overwhelming (*lit.* subhuman, *untermenschliches*) sorrow and its superhuman

confidence, its fears and doubts and its immovable faith. Without Jeremiah the Psalms would not have been composed. The language of the pious in after ages was moulded after his, and many images of spiritual poetry were chosen from the tragic fortunes of his life. Thus from prophecy was evolved not only the Law, but at the end also personal religion." [1]

The chapter on the Jewish piety of the post-exilic period shows the same delicate insight into spiritual experience. "In the chaos of the world-empire, in which the separate nations, with their religious faiths and systems of morality, were dissolved, the faithful servants of Jahve stood fast, like a rock in the sea," believing that their God would not forsake them in old age, but would yet restore them to glorious life and power, and make even their sufferings to work out their good and the salvation of the nations. The disillusionment of the Restoration only quickened and intensified their hope. God would not leave them under the heel of their heathen oppressors, but would come from heaven and establish His Kingdom in their midst, and make them lords over their oppressors. But the "salvation of Jahve" came not; the heathen continued to lord it over them, and many even from within the community of Israel joined the ranks of "the wicked." At the same time, their faith in God's moral government was exposed to many a rude shock. The quintessence of Jewish faith was: "God helps and saves the righteous, and destroys the wicked." But they saw the righteous suffer and the wicked flourish.

[1] I remember, several years ago, consulting the late Professor Davidson about Jeremiah literature. He told me there was more in these few pages from Wellhausen than in everything else that had been written on the subject put together. I was therefore much interested, in the course of a conversation with Wellhausen in Göttingen the following summer, to hear him say that he considered this the best bit of the book. The subject, he said, had been long simmering in his mind; then he wrote it off; and, while he was continually altering other parts, "this I cannot improve."

And with all their persistence in faith and prayer, the lots were not reversed. "Where then," they could not but ask at times, "was the righteousness of God?" "They tried in all possible ways to twist and force experience into harmony with their dogmatic principle. They gave away the cause of the pious brother whose life ended in misfortune, and counted him in consequence a godless man. In their own hours of need and affliction they took the whole blame upon themselves, in order to impute no wickedness to God and still acknowledge His righteous rule. They even exaggerated the universal sinfulness of men in order to rescue the principle." "But the principle could not be rescued thus. The evidence of experience was on the side of the wicked. The martyrdom of the righteous could not be denied, and thus became a real problem of religion." Heroic attempts were made to solve the problem; but it could not be solved. Yet from the depths of doubt and almost despair the soul rose to a new sense of fellowship with God. "The subjective experience of fellowship with God became for the righteous a power by which they defied all the facts of outward experience. Thus the despised and stricken servant of Jahve triumphed over the world, the crushed and broken heart was inspired and filled with the life and power of God Almighty in the heavens."

At the close of the chapter, Wellhausen compares the God of Jewish monotheism with the God of Greek philosophy. "The line the Jewish spirit thus followed converged with the line the Greek spirit took from about the sixth century B.C. In both we find a pronounced opposition to heathenism. To call Empedocles or Aeschylus or (above all) Socrates a heathen would be to rob the word of all meaning. . . . In a certain sense, too, monotheism itself is philosophy, as being the result of a vast spiritual abstraction. The only marvel is, that to the Jews their God never became a mere abstraction, but remained the most living of

personalities. Thus they kept alive their religion, as a might which laid hold of and influenced their whole being, dominating their convictions and conduct, in a very different way from the philosophy of the Greeks, which usually showed a remarkable tolerance towards the ordinary popular belief in God."

The chapter on "The Gospel" is pervaded by a spirit of true reverence for Jesus' character and work. In the few sentences we can quote, Wellhausen writes: "He lives a simple and open life, free from all earthly care; in the poetry of the South, not in want and degrading poverty. His meekness is coupled with severity; He can be angry as well as gentle. By the sharp sting of His irony, He lets His enemies feel His personal superiority; He sometimes loses patience even with His disciples. He delights in children, birds and flowers. He learns from everything. He finds in nature the secrets of the Kingdom of heaven. He reads them also in His own heart and in the hearts of others. He has never studied in the schools; He is master of the Scriptures without having learned them from the Rabbis, and He preaches like one called, and not as the scribes. He needs not to spend long time in meditation, nor to wait for inspiration from above; the Spirit is always with Him, ideas and words come to Him unsought, and in every word He utters His whole personality is expressed. His speech is not the excited utterance of the prophet, but the calm language of the wise. He gives expression only to what every honest soul must feel. What He says is no strange doctrine, but plain truth,—as He believes, nothing but what is found already in Moses and the prophets. But His charming simplicity distinguishes Him from Moses and the prophets, and separates Him whole worlds from the disciples of the Rabbis. He is not oppressed by the burden of the past, under which the Jews groan. Deep under the rubbish

that has accumulated above it, He finds the living spring whose waters have gathered through the deposit of centuries of spiritual experience. He rejects all that is adventitious, caricatured and dead, and focuses the eternally-valid, the Divine-human, in His own individuality. *Ecce homo*—a Divine miracle at such a time and in such an environment.[1] . . .

"The influence of Jesus on His disciples was so deep and abiding that His being was woven into their lives, and became their new, better Self. To Him they ascribed all that was due to His inspiration, convinced that there was nothing good in them that came not from Him. They needed not to direct their lives by painfully striving to follow His example. He lived in them, and His Spirit led them into all truth. The life they had received from Him propagated itself in others as well, and thus the Spirit of Jesus became the unity in which many spirits were bound together. It is the greatest example of the creative power of the soul. In this region, moral precepts, warnings and rebukes have no effect; a living example (*Vorleben*) is the one thing needful. What the Law cannot do, the individual type does. The character of God cannot be apprehended in a barren idea; men of God are His revelation—through their words and deeds, their joys and sorrows." Such were the prophets; but Jesus "was more than a prophet; in Him was the Word made flesh."

Wellhausen has a just sense also of the importance of Paul as "the man who really understood the Master and continued His work," and a fine paragraph on the influence

[1] "Jewish scholars try to explain away the difference, or rather the wrathful opposition, between Jesus and the Pharisees, by asserting that all that He said is found also in the Talmud. Yes, and *a great deal more*, πλέον ἥμισυ παντός. Jesus' originality consists in this, that He perceived and brought to light and expressed with the strongest emphasis the true and eternal that lay concealed in the chaotic waste of Judaism." (Author's note.)

of Christ on His Church and human society. He closes the chapter by the following interesting confession of a believing spirit: "Man does not live by bread alone; the means of life are not its end. Culture is tyranny intolerable when it refuses to recognize the individual and the hidden secrets of his heart. The progress of the race is, beyond a certain point, not the progress of the individual—happily not. I am not a mere part of the mass of mankind, a product of my time and environment, as science proclaims in tones of triumph—as though there were cause to triumph in that! In the centre of my being I touch the eternal. True, I must win and unfold this inner life for myself. And to this end I must, above all else, *believe* in it; I must believe that *I* do not perish in the mill in which I am driven about and bruised, but that GOD stands behind and above the mechanism of the world, that He can work upon my soul, can draw it upwards to Himself and help it to reach its own ideal, and that He is the living bond of an unseen and eternal fellowship of spirits. 'Man does not live by demonstration, but by faith.' Faith in freedom and faith in God are one and the same. Both freedom and God are found only by faith. But faith need not be troubled. Faith is certainty."

No one can read the *Geschichte* without feeling that we are here in contact with a man of fine spiritual insight and sympathy, the outcome of a living faith in God. And this is the true Wellhausen. He has indeed advanced beyond the orthodoxy of his earlier years. He lost it "without a pang." But he is a deeply reverent and religious man, who "has never lost his faith in the almighty, righteous and gracious God," nor doubted that He has really revealed Himself to His children. And this faith has been the inspiration of his life work on the history of Israel. For in that history he finds the living God unfolding His mind and character and will to men. God not only spoke through His servants the

prophets, but in the whole forward movement of the spirit in Israel He was expressing Himself and leading men on to know Him as He is. And the end of all Wellhausen's work is to set forth this revelation with convincing clearness. But he has an open eye also for the revelation of God among other peoples and in other ways. This is the real meaning of a strange statement in Schaff's *Lexicon of Living Divines*, that Wellhausen's religious faith is "monotheism and polytheism at one and the same time." By this he means: "God has revealed Himself in Israel, but among the Gentiles as well. Likewise, the Good (*das Moralische*) is sovereign, yet the Beautiful, in all its manifold variety, (*die Mannigfaltigkeit des Aesthetischen*), has also its right, which ought not to be so severely repressed by the moral element as it is among the Jews. *Et hic sunt dii*, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως." [1]

The most conspicuous quality in Wellhausen's personal character is, perhaps, his downrightness. He is a man who hates, above all things, cant and unreality. But for all that is honest and true he has sincere respect. In spite of certain hard words spoken and written in the heat of conflict, he is among the most generous of men. Old students remember him with affection as one of the kindliest, as well as most inspiring, of teachers. He has all the modesty and simplicity of the truly great. We take the liberty of quoting a sentence from one of his letters: "A day-labourer, who used to work in my father's garden, made me his heir. Of all the honours that have fallen to me, this inheritance is the one of which I am proudest."

Since the publication of the *Geschichte* Wellhausen has been pursuing his studies with the same unremitting devotion, and sharing the fruits of his ripe knowledge and reflection with the world. Of late years his interest has been

[1] The quotations on this page are from private letters of Wellhausen to the writer.

turning more and more round two main centres: the origins of Islam and the Gospel.[1] May we hope for two great books on these supreme subjects? A history of early Christianity from the pen of Wellhausen would be a real event in theology. It would not, indeed, satisfy orthodox standards; but it would be serious, reverent, and full of light.

ALEX. R. GORDON.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST ACCORDING TO ST. MARK.[2]

XXXIV. THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, XI. 1-11.

WHEN the blind man had obtained the boon he sought, and had fallen into the train of Jesus, the company moved on, impressed and excited by the fact that the title "Son of David" had been publicly given to Jesus and publicly accepted by Him, and that His claims had been confirmed by a miracle. In time they came within two miles of Jerusalem to the slopes of the Mount of Olives in the neighbourhood of two villages called Bethany and Bethphage. The distance from Jericho to Jerusalem is about

[1] In his own department of Old Testament, his most important recent work is his edition of *Psalms* in the *Polychrome Bible* (1895), with translation in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (1898), and further *Notes* in *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten, Heft* vi. (1899). On Islam, after various preparatory studies, he has published *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (1902)—a vivid sketch of the first great act in the wonderful drama of Islam. To New Testament scholarship he has contributed a *Skizze* on the "Son of Man" problem (in the same *Heft* as the *Notes* on the *Psalms*), and within the last two years characteristic commentaries on Mark, Matthew, and Luke. But we cannot here enter on any just estimate of these works.

[2] These studies do not profess to be an adequate historical and doctrinal account of Christ, but are an attempt to set forth the impression which St. Mark's account of our Lord would make on a reader whose only source of information was the Second Gospel, and who knew nothing of Christian dogmatics.