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The Individual in the Old Testament.[1]

ONE does not quite understand why it has been thought necessary to publish this *brochure* in the form of a Beiheft to the *Z.A.T.W.*, seeing that it fills no more than 36 pages. But it was well worth publishing. We have all fallen into the habit of seeing the wood, and taking no account of the trees which compose it, of accepting unquestioningly such statements as Robertson Smith's, that the subject of religion, amongst the Semites, is the community, not the man. Löhr has therefore made it his business to point out that when Israel is in question, the dictum may be applied too unreservedly. He quotes Giesebrecht's assertion that in ancient Israel it was not conceivable that God should recompense a man according to his deeds, Smend's remark that a single person's affairs could not be brought before Yahweh with the same confidence as those of the whole nation, and Stade's that in the Religion of Israel the relation is between the people, not the individual, and Yahweh. And he endeavours to show that, within the people, the man had a living, ethical relation to Yahweh. The value of the paper lies in its ample collection of instances. With perfect fairness it sets forth the election of Israel as a race, the dependence of the national history on the conduct of ancestors or on the behaviour of the monarch, the rewards or punishments in which a man's family were involved, the many cases in which one person's rights and fortunes are swallowed up in the fate of the community. This side of the truth can be put in a few words: the O.T. recognizes three unities, that of the nation, of the city, and of the family. But, on the other hand, the individual has a distinct position from the very beginning, and it grows ever clearer. Such men as Lot, Caleb-Joshua, and Josiah were singled out by Divine providence, and treated differently from the mass. In the most ancient legislation, Ex 21 f., the offender himself, not his family along with him, is to bear the penalty. In the 'Second Decalogue,' Ex 34, 'Thou' means the individual. Names formed with Yahweh imply His direct protection, and the histories furnish evidence that it was afforded. God was the guardian of righteousness in private and social life, Gn 16^5, etc. The establishment of the Kingdom gave an impetus to this tendency; the events of 586 B.C. accentuated it still more strongly. It is less marked in some of the prophets, Isaiah, for example, than in others. It is very evident in Jonah, many of the Psalms, and Job. Unfortunately, for reasons easily to be understood, it falls short of its climax: the O.T. does not fully reach the conception of a Communion of Saints, from every people and nation and tongue, each number of which is of infinite worth.

Dr. Löhr has done good service in entering this sober *caveat* against the exaggeration of a great truth, and his remarks are often provocative of thought on other lines besides the single one to which we have called attention.

JOHN TAYLOR.

Winchcombe.

[1] *Sozialismus u. Individualismus im A.T.* Von D. Dr. Max Löhr. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1906.

The Pilgrim's Progress.

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The Fight in the Valley.

REFERENCE was made at the end of last month's article to the Romance of Sir Bevis of Southampton. Republished by the Maitland Club in 1838, it has again been reprinted by the Early English Text Society. The original of the English Romance was a French *chanson*, but it is said that the two have little in common but the name. The hero was referred to by Chaucer's Sir Thopas, by Browne in his *Religio Medici*, and in many other English books. The tale must have been a favourite one, for we find that scenes from it were depicted on Henry v.'s tapestries, and painted

on the walls of some of Henry VIII.'s rooms. It was printed at Bologna in 1497, about the end of the times of court poetry. It is interesting as a link between the past and future ideals, for in it the figure of Arthur, which dominated the older Romances, was lost sight of in the greatness of England, although here and there a touch reminds one of the Arthur of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In its 4440 lines of swinging rhyme there is a continuous vitality and rush of action which must have fascinated John Bunyan. Whether he possessed the book, or whether he came to know it in fragments heard at some tavern or merry-making of his early days, we do not know. Mr. Froude speaks of it, without stating his authority, as the only book he possessed in his young days. Curiously enough, it is mentioned in *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* (one of the two volumes which his wife had inherited from her father and brought him as her dowry), in a list given by *Antilegon* as 'excellent and singular books against heart-qualms,' but rejected by *Asunetus* as 'vain and frivolous books of tales, jests, and lies.'

The most interesting allusion to it which we find in Bunyan's writings is in the *Treatise on the Parable of Dives and Lazarus*: '"They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them." This is the thing (to be short), My brethren are unbelievers, and do not regard the Word of God. I know it by myself, for when I was in the world it was so with me. The Scriptures, thought I then, what are they? A dead letter, a little ink and paper, of three or four shillings price. Alack! what is Scripture? Give me a ballad, a newsbook, George on Horseback, or Bevis of Southampton. Give me some book that teaches curious Arts, that tells old Fables.'

Mr. Froude's statement that it furnished Bunyan with the framework of the story of the Palace Beautiful appears to be guesswork, possible only to one who had not read the Romance. There is absolutely no trace of Sir Bevis in any detail of the passage. There are, however, other traces of Sir Bevis in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, as we shall see from time to time. The most interesting of them all are those passages which appear to have been in Bunyan's mind when he was writing this account of the fight with Apollyon. First of all, the name Apollyon occurs in the Romance. In Armenia, when Bevis falls in love with Josian, the fair daughter of the king, the condition on which alone he may have her is that he will forsake his God and take *Apolyn* for his lord, Apollyon being the dim figure seen behind '*Mahoun*' in Saracen worship. Bevis refuses, and the Saracens are greatly offended:

'Herkenyth felowes,' said a Sarzin,
'How he dispiseth Apolyn.'

But the passage which relates to the battle is one in which a fight of Bevis with a giant is described. There is the usual vaunting speech which prefaces the combat, though that is shorter than Bunyan's war of words. Then comes the account of the battle, in which the incidents of the shield flying from Bevis' hand, the unexpected blow upon the breast, and the throwing of the dart, offer parallels to the allegory too close to be merely coincidences:

Beues is swerde anon up swapte,
He and the geaunt togedre rapte,
And delde strokes mani and fale,
The nombre can nought telle in tale.
The geaunt up is clobbe haf
And smot so Beues with is staf,
That his scheld flegh fram him thore,
Thre akres brede and sumdel more,
Tho was Beues in strong erur
And karf ato the grete levour,
And on the geauntes brest a-wonde
That negh a-felde him to the grounde.
The geaunt thoughte this bataile hard,
Anon he drough to him a dart,
Thourgh Beues scholder he hit schet,
The blold ran doun to Beues fet,
The Beues segh is owene blod
Out of is wit he wex negh wod,
Unto the geaunt ful swithe he ran,
And kedde that he was doughti man,
And smot ato his nekke bon;
The geaunt fel to grounde anon.

The Valley of Humiliation.

The general meaning of this descent appears to be the first re-entering of the world after a time of special religious experience in the Church. Etymologically, this experience is simply coming to *earth* again. But there are two English words in which the Latin *humus* appears, Humiliation and Humility; and a Christian's 'coming to earth' from spiritual experience may be in either of these two fashions. Thus Bunyan wisely refrains from giving this next passage in his Pilgrim's career the character of a universal or necessary experience. The valley is there for all, but there are some who find it altogether lovely. Faithful, after a few encounters

with undesirable persons, 'had sunshine all the rest of the way through that and also through the Valley of the Shadow of Death.' The story of the pilgrims of the Second Part, and especially of Mr. Fearing, tells of this as a Happy Valley—green and beautiful with lilies, and, indeed, 'the best and most fruitful piece of ground in all these parts.' The character of the pilgrim determines his experience in this Valley. Gentle and humble souls that go softly—souls like that of Cowper or of St. Francis, have no trouble here. But this Christian is a proud man throughout, with a large claim on life and a strong sense of personal identity. To such aggressive natures Humility has to be learned by way of Humiliation. The devil they meet is the devil of their own pride, a Satan proud as Milton's, and it needs many buffets to humble them. We may take it that in the present passage the bitter conflict is connected with those slips which the pilgrim caught while striding down the hill in his new and impressive armour. That descent corresponds with By-path Meadow that leads to Doubting Castle. In Part II. we are informed that the Valley of Humiliation is a spacious valley, but that part of it where Christian's battle was fought was *Forgetful Green.*

Apollyon.

This name is borrowed from Rev 9^{11}, where it is given to the king of those fearsome locusts, by which the writer probably meant to symbolize the hosts of Parthian horsemen threatening the Western world from beyond the river Euphrates. The name means Destroyer. At this stage of his writing, Bunyan appears to have had no clear or consistent system of demonology such as was commonly framed by serious men of his time. Even in the passage itself there is confusion, for while throughout the dialogue Apollyon speaks as the Archfiend himself, yet in the verses at the end we read of 'Great Beelzebub the captain of this fiend.' *The Holy War* has, for the purposes of its story, a systematic demonology, in which Apollyon occupies a subordinate place, and Diabolus is the general and king of the forces of Hell, like Milton's Satan. Between the date of the *Pilgrim's Progress* and that of *The Holy War*, Milton had (in 1671) published his *Paradise Regained*, and in his later work Bunyan practically adopts Milton's demonology. This can hardly be a mere coincidence, and it offers us a peculiarly interesting sidelight on the disputed question of Bunyan's acquaintance with literature and his use of books.

In one of the most fascinating of modern English essays, Professor Masson's 'Three Devils,' the contrast is drawn between Milton's *Satan* and Goethe's *Mephistopheles*: 'Milton's Satan, then, is the ruined Archangel deciding his future function, and forswearing all interest in other regions of the universe, in order that he may more thoroughly possess and impregnate this. Goethe's Mephistopheles is this same being after the toils and vicissitudes of six thousand years in his new vocation: smaller, meaner, ignobler, but a million times sharper and cleverer.' In the lapse we see a gigantic parable of the degeneration of mere activity when it is without any element of reverent contemplation. In contrast with these classical and superb literary creations, we have Luther's devil, who 'was a being recognized by him as actually existing—as existing, one might say, with a vengeance.'

Bunyan's Apollyon is a blend of the poetic with the actual. No reader of *Grace Abounding* is left in any doubt as to Bunyan's literal and haunting belief in the devil as an actual personality. Many passages strongly remind us of Luther. Luther went so far, under extreme pressure of conflict, as to tauntingly suggest to the devil that if (as he said) Christ's blood was not enough, then the fiend himself might pray for him; Bunyan, upon occasion, could go so far as to wish 'either that there had been no hell, or that I had been a devil; supposing they were only tormentors; that if it must needs be that I went thither, I might rather be a tormentor than be tormented myself.' Yet there is nothing prosaic about this undisguisedly literal belief in Satanic agency and personality. The fiends of Bunyan are symbols as well as personages, and are kept lifelike by much reference to the knowledge of his own heart.

The question of personal diabolic agency is one to which too much importance is sometimes attached. The terrible destroying power of evil in the world, however explained, is unhappily far beyond dispute. Those who explain it as the work of a personal enemy need to beware of shifting upon him the responsibility for their own evil choices. Those who explain it otherwise will do well to see to it that their conception of evil is capable of producing anything approaching that sturdy and militant type of manhood which has

so often been developed in men who have viewed their own lives as a prolonged wrestling match with a ghostly foe. As a matter of fact, every earnest man has encountered many devils, both without and within. He would be a bold dogmatist who, in the present stage of thought upon such subjects, should deny the possibility that these experiences are indeed the work of sinister agencies and malicious personal will in the unseen world. He would be equally hardy who should insist upon this as an essential element in saving faith, as if belief in God were not enough without it. He will be wisest who, upon either theory or none, shall remember the certainty of the coming conflict with evil, and the fact that his spiritual armour is not given him to make a show of or to talk about; and who shall act upon the sage's cry, 'In God's name fight the devil!'

The description of Apollyon, 'striding large and leisurely across the low green ground,' is in strong contrast to the magnificent fiend of *Paradise Lost*, or the aged man in the wilderness of *Paradise Regained*. Bunyan's devil never appears as an angel of light. Strange, uncouth, and repulsive imaginations are lavished upon the picture. To find the origins of these we would need to go back to such monsters as the goblin of Frithjof's Saga, or the scaly sea-monster of Beowulf, with all that lies behind such conceptions drawn from the battles of primitive man with Nature, in the hot slime of the Persian seashore, or in the forests and morasses of the West. In every respect he is the extreme opposite of all that is human. Fish-scales, bear-feet, dragon-wings, lion-mouth—these suggest the reptilian mixture of cunning and cruelty, the swiftness and the silence of temptation. The fire and smoke may well stand for that blaze of passions in the heart which sets life on fire and plunges it in thick darkness.

Both the fascinating and the hideous representations of the devil are true to actual experience. The sin that tempts a man and fights with him for his soul is not always alluring of aspect. The case is but too common in which a sin known to be not only sinful, but deadly dangerous, tempts a would-be victim. The lust of drunkenness, and other lusts of the flesh, are often followed when there is neither magnificence nor any real hope of pleasure in them, but only a fierce and hideous strength before which the will of the tempted one goes down. Nothing in life is more tragic than this victory of evil over those who have no illusions, but who yield to what they see clearly in all its naked ugliness.

Christian's courage is well revealed, but never narrated. It is a witty touch in which we are reminded that no armour had been provided for his back, so that to turn and run away would be the most dangerous of all courses. Here Bunyan is at his favourite doctrine, but this time it is discretion, as at other times it is usually honour, which condemns the recreant. As usual, he is true to life. The assaults of temptation are always more dangerous to those who avoid than to those who face the battle. Christian is all for open combat and no quarter. This part of the allegory will be read with head-shaking by some who would fain be on good terms with evil for the sake of peace. Meredith has thrust hard at them in his *Farina*, where the merchant of Cologne is so angry against those who have insisted upon fighting Sathanas: 'He hurt us not. We were free of him. Cologne, I say, is cursed! The enemy of mankind is brought by you to be the deadly foe of Cologne.' It is a word to the wise and to the foolish!

The War of Words.

The conventional combat of the old Romances of Chivalry was prefaced with a high-sounding argument between the combatants. A typical example of this is furnished by that story of Sir Bevis to which we have already referred. Nothing could be more apt for an allegory of temptation, with its two stages of suggestion and passion. In *The Holy War*, where the military system is complete and elaborate, we have Apollyon as the devil, not of force, but of craft. Here he stands for both. In the first part of the conflict, the war of words, we discover the cleverness of the devil. This is a familiar idea. In Mephistopheles it is proverbial. Milton's Satan is intellectually a great figure, worth a great many of the commonplace Adam. It may be taken as a rule that the cleverer a man is, the more subtle will be the devil that tempts him. It is part of the price that must be paid for genius.

The conversation which follows is a rare study of temptation as an exercise of mind. Its arguments may be detailed as follows:—

1. *A Claim.* The king of hell is in search of his runaway and wayward liege. 'When Christian forgot himself as a pilgrim, the devil remembered him as a deserter,' every man being valuable to the

devil as well as to Christ. We all know those times in which we are acutely conscious of the twofoldness of our moral nature—the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde within. And there are times, when the spiritual lights of life are low, in which we feel as if the lower nature had the stronger claim. In the light of modern evolutionary theories, this claim has come by some to be regarded as the obvious scientific one, and a man's spiritual nature is burdened with a terrible handicap when he feels that he is essentially of the earth, looking back for the truth of himself instead of forward.

Christian's first answer is that though he was born in the City of Destruction, he is going to Mount Zion. Whatever the past of the individual or the race may have been, it is open to each man to repudiate it in favour of the present and the future. He who has once seen the spiritual and moral possibilities of life may claim them as his inheritance, and go forward to realize them in spite of all claims that the flesh may urge.

The second answer is that Christian had tried the apparently natural service of Apollyon, and found it did not pay. The wage was not a living wage. It was not enough to keep a man's soul alive. In Rudyard Kipling's *Life's Handicap* the tale is told of a man who had paid for his sin his best possessions of faith in man and woman. '"What return?" says he, catching up my last words —"why, strength to live as long as God or the devil pleases, and so long as you live my young master, my gift." With that he puts something into my hand, though it was still too dark to see what it was, and when next I lookt up he was gone. When the light came I made shift to behold his gift, and saw that it was a little piece of dry bread.' There is a twinkle in the pilgrim's eye as he repudiates the claim of the devil in the name of common sense. It would have been a stupid thing to serve for such poor wages, and he had done but as other considerate persons do.

2. *A Promise.* Here Apollyon speaks like a prince, and for a moment we are reminded of Milton's lordly fiend. The promise is the same as that of Christ's third temptation, and the answer is the same—a reference to God's claim. It is not wise to linger over the promises of temptation and argue with them one by one. It is safer always to cut the matter short. 'I have let myself to another'; and, that being so, even to discuss such promises were treachery.

3. *A Plea for Reconsideration.* To our weak flesh and wavering spirit it seems at times that all nobler choices are the exchange of a bad for a worse. To have made the venture of faith and found it vain is to be indeed in sorry case; and there are moods when that seems to be the truth of our experience. Just then, backing the temptation, comes the remembrance that it is ordinary to go back. We shall not be alone if we take the line of retreat; it is the most crowded of all life's highways. No words are more absolutely devilish than those which Mephistopheles said to Faust regarding Marguerite, 'She is not the first.' Few men have courage to brave the conspicuousness of originality in sin. The remembrance of the crowd in which they may lose themselves is an appeal to all that is basest in tempted souls.

The answer cannot be a denial, for 'Here the father of lies utters a most awful truth.' The point of honour is the only answer. 'I have given him my faith' is the talisman which closes doors irrevocably behind, and blocks the open lines of retreat.

4. *A Reminder of Inconstancy.* When the devil says, 'Thou didst the same by me,' he seems to be opposing his own point of honour to that which had been quoted against him. It is strange, too, how generally he has managed to get his point of honour valued most. A gambling debt comes before the payment of tradesmen; a promise to boon companions cancels a promise to wife and children. In a thousand ways men feel it more incumbent upon them to keep faith with the devil than with God. It were well if we could all remember that there is only one absolute criterion of honour, and that treachery to the devil is the only ultimate good faith.

There is another point in this temptation, however. It is a reminder of the man's previous inconstancy, and so an appeal to shame.

The answer is one of the finest passages in the book, and needs no comment. With its repudiation of young folly, its trust in Christ's forgiveness, and its frank avowal of his heart's choice of his Saviour, it is worthy of a place in all books of devotion. The directness of its personal speech, and the evident heart that is in it, remind us of Christian's speech to Prudence, 'And to tell you the truth, I love him.' There is a peculiar winsomeness about such personal turns in Bunyan's writing which it would be difficult to match elsewhere.

5. *The Silence of God.* Evil can boast of more practical resources for the help of men in straits than good can show. We no longer expect miracles to happen, but every fraudulent business man knows tricks that can work deliverance of a sort. And behind all this is a deadly sense of the silence of God. The devil says in the hearts of many, that Christ 'never came from his place' to help them. The doubt is well expressed in Browning's *Fears and Scruples*. Through the life-long voyage of this storm-tossed life Christ seems ever, to some, 'asleep on the pillow.'

Against all such thoughts faith sets its one assurance of a Love that is certain as life itself. He who wholly believes in and trusts that Love, may leave the mysterious silence and the apparent indifference to wait their explanation when Love shall find language in God's good time.

6. *Accusation.* No one has been more fully nor painfully aware of this backsliding and treachery since he pledged himself to Christ than John Bunyan. *Grace Abounding* is full of such revelations, and the history of Mansoul in *The Holy War*, after its capitulation to Emmanuel, is sad reading. It was with a pen dipped in his own heart's blood that Bunyan wrote Apollyon's detailed accusations of Christian's unfaithfulness.

But no one knew better than he the true and wise answer. Christian pleads guilty to everything, and even enlarges the accusations under which his conscience smarts. But all these things only serve to increase his hatred of Apollyon, who has wrought such shame in his Christian life, and to magnify and endear the Saviour who has forgiven so much. Thus sin becomes a means of grace in him, and conscience by its very wounds brings healing.

Contributions and Comments.

Biblical and Theological Courses for Women

(Especially at King's College, London).

The great and rapid advance in women's education during the last quarter of a century is a fact too obvious for remark. A commonplace, also, among those concerned with the subject, is that biblical and theological studies among women have not advanced at an equal rate. It is not, however, so commonly discerned that the causes of the progress and of the deficiency are intertwined in the net of circumstances, so that improvement or completion needs to be sought with special thought and care. The case is hardly one in which the balance is sure to right itself in course of time.

Before, however, we examine into this apparent paradox, I wish to define somewhat the deficiency of which complaint is made. We are not here concerned with the fact that no women have attained to eminence, and few to ripe learning, in theological studies. Nor yet have we to complain of any conspicuous want of practical religious principle among women of a younger generation. Nor, again, are we prepared to say that the average woman of ordinary education is more confused and crude in religious conceptions than the average educated man. The matter for regret—or, from another point of view, the motive to a new effort—lies in the fact that girls and young women, in spite of better school and college teaching, have seldom a really intelligent conception of the religion in which they are brought up, and have seldom or never devoted as much time and attention to the various books of the Bible as to the recognized works of their ordinary subjects of study. To those who consider that study of the Bible ought to figure largely as an element in liberal education, so that the less recondite parts of it might be 'taken as read' by the religious, and even the literary, teachers of all persuasions, the prevalent indifference or confusion of mind is deplorable.

I have said that the causes of the evil are to be found in the causes of that educational progress which have made the evil conspicuous. Girls' education has improved, in substance and method, because they have had better teachers—women, as a rule, who have studied in various kinds of colleges, and who have chiefly devoted their energies to acquiring some special kinds of knowledge. Now, religious and biblical knowledge have generally formed part of the curriculum in