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because of this entire and self-less absorption in their mighty theme, the result is literature.

Is there no history in the Bible? Why, some of the most competent and unprejudiced critics have declared that there is, in its own *genre*, no finer piece of historical writing in the world, than that part of David's career recorded in 2 S 9–20. And are we to discount the Book of Acts as literature, because it happens to deal with the beginnings of the Christian Church? Or shall we not allow this wooden estimate to be corrected by the thrilling story of the shipwreck in chapter xxvii.?

Is there no oratory in the Bible? To say nothing of the magnificent and impassioned eloquence of prophets like Amos and Isaiah, is there in all the world a more moving speech than that in which Judah pleads before Joseph that Benjamin be permitted to return to his aged father?

Is there no poetry in the Bible? One of its very oldest poems, the song of Deborah, is one of the greatest of war-ballads: one of its dirges—the lament of David over Saul and his beloved Jonathan—stands conspicuous as one of the noblest tributes ever paid to human worth. The so-called Song of Solomon is now recognized to be a charming collection of love-songs, associated with the wedding-week. And what shall we say of the Book of Job, that incomparable drama of a soul's struggle from doubt through despair to resignation and trust?

It seems almost idle at this time of day to labour so obvious a point; but obvious as it seems to be to those trained to an appreciation of literature, it is a point that thousands of those who love the Bible intensely have clearly failed to grasp. It is true, of course, that the Bible is dominated from end to end by a deliberate religious purpose—'these things are written, *that ye may believe*.' It is true that while its voices are many, its voice is one. But that voice, or those voices, spoke through all the literary forms of those ancient days—how indeed else could it speak?—and through the sheer simplicity of those forms it continues to speak to men for ever.

St. Paul and Aeschylus.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, LITT.D., LL.D., MANCHESTER.

IN discussing, some time since, the question of a possible acquaintance on the part of St. Paul with the greatest of the Greek tragedians, we tried to show that the words of reproof which rang through the mind of the Apostle at the time of his conversion, and warned him that the yoke of the Gospel was already on his neck, and that further resistance was useless, were in reality a Greek proverb, of which traces could be found in Æschylus and elsewhere.

So the question was raised as to the Apostle's acquaintance with the *Agamemnon* or the *Prometheus Vinctus*, in which the proverbial terms about 'kicking against the pricks' are involved.[1]

The proof was far from complete. Objection could be made that the voice from heaven spoke to Paul in Hebrew, and that, in any case, neither the Greek language, nor any particular Greek author, had a monopoly of the figure of speech employed. Let us see, therefore, if we can find another instance of the influence of Æschylean language on the Apostle's thought and expression.

In reading the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, I was struck with an apparent echo from the tragedy in the Pauline letter to the Philippians. In the closing scene of the play, which is surely one of the most sublime in the whole of the Greek dramatic literature, we have a representation of a great reconciliation which has taken place between the Erinyes or Furies, who stand for the ancient law of the vendetta, and the Athenian people, who are set, in jury, to try Orestes for the murder of his mother.

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[1] Cf. Euripides, *Bacch.* 794–5:

θύοιμ' ἂν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ θυμούμενος
πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζοιμι, θνητὸς ὤν, θεῷ.

Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 94.

Apollo has come on the scene to defend Orestes, and initiate sweeter manners and purer laws. Athena is there, too, first as representing the authority of the All-Father Zeus, where Apollo has expounded the Father's mind, and second, as the warden-goddess of Athens, for whom she desires a harmonious civic life, alien alike to the despotisms of the past and the threatening anarchies of an unquiet and factious populace.

In the hand of Æschylus, Athenian politics are transmuted, by a fine alchemy, into conformity with the fundamental precepts and claims of religion. In this closing scene, then, the Erinyes, or Eumenides, have accepted the subordinate position which Athena has assigned them, and are being led away in a splendid procession, with lights and songs, to the place appointed them, under the Areopagus. The chorus refrain begins :

> *χαίρετε, χαίρετ᾽ ἐν αἰσιμίαισι πλούτου,*
> *χαίρετ᾽ ἀστικὸς λεώς, ἵκταρ ἥμενοι Διός.*

to which Athena replies with a speech that begins :

> *χαίρετε χὐ εἶς,*

and the chorus responds :

> *χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ᾽ αὖθις, ἐπανδιπλοΐζω*
> *πάντες οἱ κατὰ πτόλιν, δαίμονές τε καὶ βροτοί,*
> *Πάλλαδος οἶκον νέμοντες.*

It was natural that one should be struck with the assonance of this first line of the antistrophe of the chorus, with the verse in Philippians (4^4) where St. Paul, drawing near to the close of his letter, says :

> *χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ πάντοτε· πάλιν ἐρῶ, χαίρετε·*

for the *ἐπανδιπλοΐζω* of Æschylus (whatever be the correct form of the curious word) might very well be explained by a Scholiast as *πάλιν ἐρῶ*. When I had satisfied myself as to the substantial equivalence of the contrasted sentences, it was interesting to see that the same parallelism had been noted (i) by Lightfoot and (ii) by Verrall. Both of these writers explain that *χαίρετε* has a double meaning, ranging from 'rejoice' to 'good-bye,' and both give the Philippian reference; but neither appears to take the matter any further.

For example, Verrall says on l. 997 :

> *χαίρετε*, both *fare well* and *farewell*.
> St. Paul, *Philipp.* 4^4;

while Lightfoot says :

> Phil. iii. 1, *χαίρετε*] *farewell*. At the same time the word conveys an injunction to rejoice :
> Phil. iv. 4, *πάλιν ἐρῶ*] compare Æsch. *Eum.* 1014 : *χαίρετε, χαίρετε δ᾽ αὖθις, ἐπανδιπλοΐζω.*

Neither of these writers seems to have recognized that the language to which they refer is a dominant and recurrent note both in the tragedy and the epistle. It has long been observed by spiritual writers that *χαίρειν* is a fundamental note in the Epistle to the Philippians (*e.g.* Lightfoot quotes Bengel as saying 'Summa epistolæ *gaudeo gaudete*': with equal truth it might be said of the Eumenides, 'Summa tragœdiæ *χαίρετε, χαίρετε*.'[1])

Perhaps this will come out clearly, if we turn to Verrall's translation and notes, and we begin with the choric refrain, when the procession is being formed by Athena to conduct the Erinyes (now accepted as the guardians of Athens) to the lower regions :

> *Chorus.* Farewell, O well may ye fare, in duly divided wealth. Blessings on the folk of this city, who sit nigh Zeus, who are loved by the Virgin beloved, who are coming to wisdom at last. Ye are under Pallas' wings, and the Father regardeth you.
>
> ATHENA. To you likewise blessings and farewell.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Emprison there whatever may do Athens hurt; and, whatever may profit her, send forth to make her victorious. . . . Between fellow-citizens, let there be good-will towards what is good.
>
> *Chorus.* Farewell and (twice be it said) again farewell, all ye in this country, who inhabit Pallas' town. To us, here dwelling with you, be pious, and your lot in life shall give you no discontent.

The translation brings out clearly enough, that the closing passage of the great drama has for one of its notes the definitely repeated *χαίρετε* of the Pauline Epistle.

But this is not all. The drama is a religious appeal for concord and unity among Athenian citizens, and the action between the gods and goddesses fair, and the dark divinities of the underworld, is a moral lesson to Athens itself, whose citizens have been united in winning a great war, but are unskilled in building the foundations of a great peace. There is a noble exposition of this call for concord in the Introduction to Verrall's work, where his language, under the influence of the sublimity of the tragedy, becomes almost Biblical. 'Superlatives' (he says) 'are hazardous; but nothing in art will easily be found more beautiful, in the simple and popular sense of the word, than the closing scene of the *Eumenides*, from the conversion of the Erinyes to the exit. It is the very perfection of concord, of harmony, of solemn joy and rapturous awe, happiness that provokes no fear, and fear that is no burden on happiness; of that peace and that union within and without, which the world does not offer, nay, seems to forbid, but which yet must be hoped, dreamed, supposed, believed, as an ideal possible and existing to thought and faith, if the struggle of life and travail of creation is to have purpose and meaning—all this enhanced by contrast with the sharp and persistent discords which precede.'

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[1] The repetition of *χαίρετε*, without the explanation that there is a repetition, would be insufficient proof of influence. It is natural in Greek as in English to repeat the greeting; *e.g.* we may compare Eurip. *Hippol.* 63, 1455.

One can imagine some person reading this passage, detached from the *Eumenides*, to which it is a preface, and saying that he has found a new commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians (with Verrall also among the prophets). For here also there are repeated appeals for the cessation of discords and the establishment of abiding peace: appeals to the community and to particular individuals to be of one mind, to practise mutual forbearance and sweet reasonableness (τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν, 4^5), to stand together in one rank in the spiritual warfare, and to do everything without murmurings or disputings. Here also men are reminded of the value of the citizenship which they enjoy, for the Philippians also were an ἀστικὸς λεώς, whom the Apostle urges to make the ascent from a terrestrial πολίτευμα to a heavenly. Write Philippi for Athens, and a large part of the Drama of Reconciliation can be re-enacted. Verrall, too, is almost apostolic and quasi-Philippian in the summing-up which he makes of the underlying politics of Æschylus, who is 'for the middle way, neither tyranny nor anarchy; and above all things, preaches respect for the law and internal concord, to which, as a final object-lesson, the whole play leads up.'

We started our inquiry with the observation of a curious coincidence in language: we conclude by expressing the belief that St. Paul knew this great play, either by reading or by scenic representation, and that his own moral lesson to the Philippians was under the influence of the great appeal which Æschylus had made to the Athenians, five hundred years before.

The suggestion that Æschylus's play was known to the Apostle either by reading, or by scenic representation, need occasion no surprise, for both methods of dramatic culture were available in the more important Greek cities. For instance, we may compare Alexandria with Tarsus, and Philo with Paul. One might read treatise after treatise of Philo without discovering that Hellenic culture had reached his mind by any other road than the study of philosophy. But when we come to that noble tract the *Quod omnis probus liber*, we not only have a dissertation upon Stoic philosophy, decorated with quotations from the Greek poets—pearls from Æschylus, Euripides, and others—but a story of his own experience in the theatre at Alexandria, where a play of Euripides, the *Augē*, now lost, was being performed. Here is his account:

> 'And it happened not long ago, when some actors were representing a tragedy, and repeating those iambics of Euripides:
>
> "For e'en the name of freedom is a jewel
> Of mighty value; and the man who has it
> E'en in a small degree, has noble wealth."
>
> I myself saw all the spectators standing on tiptoe with excitement and delight, and with loud outcries and continual shouts, combining their praise of the sentiments, with praise also of the poet, as having not only honoured freedom by his actions, but having extolled its very name.' [1]

Here we see one of the greatest of Jews following, with intense interest, the representation of a play of Euripides. Surely then, we need have no hesitation in admitting that a tragedy so noble as the *Eumenides*, read or witnessed, and especially its closing scene, may have exercised a profound influence upon the mind and speech of St. Paul.

[1] Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, c. 19 (tr. Yonge).