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JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

VOL. XLV.

JOURNAL OF
THE TRANSACTIONS
OF
The Victoria Institute,
OR,
Philosophical Society of Great Britain.

SECRETARY: E. WALTER MAUNDER, F.R.A.S.

VOL. XLV.



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1913.

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HARRISON AND SONS, PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

PREFACE.

THE papers and discussions comprised in this volume—the 45th of the series—cover a wide range of investigation and thought. If topics that are specifically Biblical in their bearing predominate, it is not to the exclusion of singularly attractive subjects that have philosophical and scientific relations. In every instance the papers are worthy of being classed as substantial contributions to their particular department of inquiry and observation.

Dr. Flournoy's Gunning Prize Essay, on "The Bearing of Archæological and Historical Research upon the New Testament" is a valuable and distinctive feature of the present volume; and the same may be said of Mr. Sutton's Annual Address "From Suez to Sinai," which throws vivid and welcome light upon a great Biblical episode.

Thanks are tendered to the writers of the papers, also to those supporters of the Institute who contributed to the discussions, either by spoken or written communications. For the purposes of the volume the papers and discussions have had the benefit of careful revision and correction; and it is believed that, in a high degree, they will serve the constructive purposes of the Institute. In response to special demands, several of the papers have been given an independent circulation; while the Gunning Prize Essay has been translated into other languages, and thus has been used for the confirmation of Christian people in distant lands.

Since January last, 5 new Members and 22 new Associates have been received; and the deepening interest which has been

PREFACE.

noted in recent years has been well sustained. With the valued co-operation of Members and Associates, the Council trust that the Institute will continue to advance, and thus prove instrumental in strengthening the cause of God and Truth throughout the wide area of its influence.

During the year the Institute has been deprived of a number of valued supporters through death. Among those whose help is thus lost, are: The Earl Nelson, the Ven. Archdeacon Kaye, Mr. R. Bruce Foote, Mr. S. Joshua Cooper, Member of Council, and Mr. F. S. Bishop, Member of Council and Secretary. The last-named died suddenly in July last, after long years of practical interest in the work of the Institute and three years of unremitting labour as Secretary. He was a man of strong faith, abounding in good works; and the Institute is at the present time exerting an enlarged influence as the outcome of his work—wherein sound judgment and patient application were combined in the cheerful discharge of the known will of God.

I responded without hesitation to the call of the Committee to edit the present volume, relying upon the co-operation of the Assistant Secretary, Mr. A. E. Montague, which has made my work comparatively light.

J. W. THIRTLE,

Member of Council.

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* * * *The Institute's object being to investigate, it must not be held to endorse the various views expressed either in the Papers or Discussions.*

VICTORIA INSTITUTE.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1912.

READ AT THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, FEBRUARY 3RD, 1913.

1. *Progress of the Institute.*

It is with great satisfaction and thankfulness that the Council issue their forty-fourth Annual Report. They congratulate the Members upon the improved financial position as indicated below, and upon the additional net increase in the number of Associates during the year. This increased support of the Institute and its work is largely the outcome of the valuable contributions to its vital objects by the learned authors who have so kindly read papers on important and interesting questions of the day; but the Council desire also to acknowledge with sincere gratitude the untiring and successful work of the Secretary, to whom the good progress of the past year is chiefly due. The attendances during the year were greater than ever, and point in the direction of more accommodation than our own rooms afford being necessary.

2. *Meetings.*

During the year 1912 thirteen meetings were held. The papers read were as follows:—

- “The Greek Papyri.” By the Rev. Professor G. MILLIGAN, D.D.
(with Lantern Illustrations).
- “The Conditions of Habitability of a Planet, with special reference to the Planet Mars.” By E. W. MAUNDER, Esq., F.R.A.S., Royal Observatory, Greenwich.
- “The Historicity of the Mosaic Tabernacle.” By the Rev. Professor JAMES ORR, M.A., D.D.
- “The Real Personality or Transcendental Ego.” By SYDNEY KLEIN, Esq., M.R.I., F.L.S.
- “Difficulties of Belief.” By the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Down, D.D.
- “Some Lucan Problems.” By Lt.-Col. MACKINLAY.
- “Archæology and Modern Biblical Scholarship.” By the Rev. JOHN TUCKWELL, M.R.A.S.
- “Directivity of Life, as seen in the Structure of Plants and Animals.” By the Rev. GEORGE HENSLAW, M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S.

- “International Arbitration in the Greek World.” By MARCUS N. TOD, Esq., M.A.
- “Miraculous Christianity and the Supernatural Christ.” By the Rev. E. A. EDGHILL, M.A., B.D.
- “The Influence of Babylonian Literature on Jewish Thought.” By the Ven. Archdeacon BERESFORD POTTER, M.A.
- The Annual Address was delivered by Sir ANDREW WINGATE, K.C.I.E., who took for his subject “Modern Unrest and the Bible.”
- “Immortality.” By the Rev. A. R. WHATELY, D.D.

3. *The Journal of Transactions.*

Volume XLIV of the Institute's Transactions was issued at the end of October, and the Editor has received many expressions of pleasure and satisfaction from Members and Associates. There are 346 pages devoted to the papers, discussions and communications of the year, December 1911 to June 1912, against 307, 299 and 231 of the three preceding years.

The increase is largely in the reports of the discussions. The Council are sure that Members and Associates will appreciate this additional matter, although it adds considerably to the expenses of the year.

The new index is, this time, bound up with the volume. No alterations have been made in that published a year ago, but the contents of this volume (which are all that might have been added), are to be found together at the end, and are conveniently placed for reference.

4. *Council and Officers.*

The following is the list of the Council and Officers for the year 1912:—

President.

The Right Honourable The Earl of Halsbury, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S.

Vice-Presidents.

Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., K.C.M.G.
 David Howard, Esq., D.L., F.C.S. (*Trustee*).
 Right Hon. Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., LL.D.
 Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. L. Geary, R.A., K.C.B.
 Professor Edward Hull, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S.
 Rev. Canon R. B. Girdlestone, M.A.
 General Halliday.

Honorary Correspondents.

Sir David Gill, K.C.B., LL.D., F.R.S.	
Professor Sir Gaston Maspero, D.C.L. (<i>Paris</i>).	Professor Warren Upham, D.Sc.
Professor E. Naville, Ph.D. (<i>Geneva</i>).	Sir Robert S. Ball, F.R.S.
Professor A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D.	His Excellency Herr Fridtjof Nansen, D.Sc.

Honorary Auditors.

E. J. Sewell, Esq.		H. Lance Gray, Esq.
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Honorary Treasurer.

Arthur W. Sutton, Esq., J.P., F.L.S.

Secretary and Editor of the Journal.

Frederic S. Bishop, Esq., M.A., J.P.

Council.

(*In Order of Original Election.*)

Very Rev. H. Wace, D.D., <i>Dean of Canterbury</i> (<i>Trustee</i>).	Frederic S. Bishop, M.A., J.P.
Rev. Chancellor J. J. Lias, M.A.	A. T. Schofield, Esq., M.D.
Theo. G. Pinches, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.	Heywood Smith, Esq., M.A., M.D.
Ven. Archdeacon W. M. Sinclair, M.A., D.D.	Rev. H. J. R. Marston, M.A.
Rev. John Tuckwell, M.R.A.S.	E. Walter Maunder, Esq., F.R.A.S.
Lieut.-Colonel G. Mackinlay (<i>Chairman</i>).	Ven. Archdeacon Beresford Potter, M.A.
Arthur W. Sutton, Esq., F.L.S., J.P.	Rev. J. H. Skrine, M.A., D.D.
Professor H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc.	J. W. Thirtle, Esq., LL.D., M.R.A.S.
Rt. Rev. Bishop J. E. Weldon, D.D.	E. J. Sewell, Esq.
Sydney T. Klein, Esq., F.L.S., F.R.A.S., M.R.I.	Rev. Prebendary H. E. Fox, M.A.
William J. Horner, Esq.	Chancellor P. V. Smith, LL.D.
	Joshua Cooper, Esq.

5. Election of Council and Officers.

In accordance with the rules the following members of the Council retire by rotation, but offer themselves and are nominated by the Council, for re-election:—

The Rev. Chancellor Lias.
 The Ven. Archdeacon Sinclair.
 Dr. T. G. Pinches.
 The Rev. J. Tuckwell.
 The Right Rev. Bishop Weldon.

6. *Obituary.*

The Council regret to announce the deaths of the following Members and Associates during the year:—

The Rev. W. W. Adams, D.D., The Rev. R. Ashington Bullen, B.A., W. D. Cruddas, Esq., D.L., J.P., The Very Rev. Dean Chambré, The Rev. J. J. Coxhead, M.A., The Rev. J. L. Darling, T. Garnett, Esq., Dr. J. S. Phené and F. Beresford Wright, Esq.

7. *New Members and Associates.*

The following are the names of new Members and Associates elected up to the end of the year 1912:—

MEMBERS.—Rev. Evan H. Hopkins, Walter Henty, Esq., Mrs. Brocklebank, Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., Sidney Collett, Esq., Frank Challis, Esq., M.A., R. Maconachie, Esq., B.A., Charles S. Campbell, Esq., B.A., I.C.S., Rev. J. Iverach Munro, M.A., A. W. Oke, Esq., LL.M., Rev. David Baron.

ASSOCIATES.—Rev. J. Stuart Holden, Miss Nugent, H. R. Wyatt, Esq., Dowager Lady Pearce, Vernon Roberts, Esq., Mrs. C. S. Hogg, Prof. W. Bancroft Hill, Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., Miss C. Bramwell, Charles H. F. Major, Esq., Thomas A. Stewart, Esq., Mrs. G. Barbour, Miss Morier, Rev. D. A. Stewart, G. W. Maunder, Esq., Major H. J. H. de Vismes, Rev. J. A. Douglas, B.D., Charles E. Caesar, Esq., The Honble. G. G. Waldegrave, B.A., Miss Barker, F. R. S. Balfour, Esq., M.A., W. H. Plaister, Esq., M.R.C.S., Sir Andrew Wingate, K.C.I.E., J. B. P. Karlake, Esq., M.A., George Cartwright, Esq., John Scott, Esq., J.P., Rev. J. U. N. Bardsley, M.A., Miss F. A. Yeldham, B.Sc., Rev. J. Ridley, Henry P. Rudd, Esq., Rev. C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D., W. Duncan White, Esq.

MISSIONARY ASSOCIATE.—Professor Hechler.

8. *Numbers of Members and Associates.*

The following statement shows the number of supporters of the Institute at the end of December, 1912:—

Life Members	...	...	...	28
Annual Members	...	...	...	110
Life Associates	...	...	...	65
Annual Associates	...	...	...	297
Missionary Associates	...	...	...	20
Hon. Corresponding Members	...	...	...	88
Library Associates	...	...	...	24
				632
				632

showing a net increase, after allowing for deaths and retirements, of 16 on last year's return.

9. *Finance.*

The Statement of Receipts and Expenditure attached hereto is, on the face of it, satisfactory, and when the debtors and creditors at the beginning and end of the year are taken into account, it shows a distinct improvement in the Financial position of the Institute after the twelve months' working.

10. *Auditors.*

The thanks of the Council are again most cordially given to Messrs. Sewell and Lance Gray for their kind services as Auditors.

11. *The Gunning Prize.*

The Gunning Prize was awarded this year to the Rev. Parke Poindexter Flournoy, D.D., of Maryland, U.S.A., for the best essay received by the Council on the Subject of "The Bearing of Archæological and Historical Research upon the New Testament." It will be read at the meeting to be held on the 17th of March and published in the next Volume.*

12. *Conclusion.*

Members will have noticed that in drawing up the list of subjects for the last and current Sessions, special prominence has been given to those which, in the words of our First Object, "bear upon the great truths revealed in Holy Scripture." This the Council believe to be the highest purpose of the Institute, and they hope that it is in accord with the desires of the Members. Any comments on this or on the working of the Institute generally will be much valued and will be carefully considered by the Council.

Science to-day is tending more and more to the recognition of the Hand of God in the Universe, in its material aspects, in its varied forms of life, and above all in the development and influence of the Spirit of Man, His highest work.

Philosophy, too, may be taken to be more than ever a true servant of Christianity, claiming for its Divine Founder the position always given Him in the New Testament and by His humble and obedient disciples.

* That is, the present volume, see pp. 139-170.—Ed.

The work of the Institute, therefore, is increasingly that of taking counsel with philosophers and men of science rather than defence from open and undisguised attack, and calls for a sympathetic attitude of mind towards all honest thought and true research, great vigilance lest error creep in unawares, and above all dependence upon the Holy Spirit of God for His guidance, both in the study of His Word and of all subjects upon which it bears.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

HALSBURY,

President.

CASH STATEMENT *for the year ending December 31st, 1912.*

RECEIPTS.			
	£	s.	d.
Cash Balance from 1911			9 19 1
Subscriptions:—1 Life Member,			
½ Subscription	10	10	0
1 Member, 1911	2	2	0
97 Members, 1912	203	14	0
3 " 1913	6	6	0
3 Life Associates	31	10	0
12 Associates, 1911	12	12	0
256 " 1912	268	16	0
9 " 1913	9	9	0
	544	19	0
Sales			57 17 1
Dividend on £500 2½ per cent. Consols			11 15 8
Donations			22 7 0
Expenses Gunning Fund			10 10 0
	<u>£657</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>

EXPENDITURE.			
	£	s.	d.
Printing	175	7	6
Binding	39	15	2
Stationery	14	10	1
Salaries	228	0	4
Rent	105	0	0
Postage	44	12	1
Expenses of Meetings	9	7	7
Life Assurance	2	15	9
Gas and Electric Light	8	14	8
Library	8	17	10
Fire Insurance	0	14	6
Bank Charges	1	3	0
Sundries	2	12	0
Cash refunded	1	0	0
Cash at Bank	14	17	4
	<u>£657</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>

There is a Capital sum of £500 2½ per cent. Consols, also the Capital of the Gunning Trust Fund, £508 Great India Peninsular Railway Stock.

There are unpaid bills carried forward amounting to £188 6s. 3d. Arrears of Subscriptions are expected to realize £32 11s. 0d.

GUNNING PRIZE FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1911	58	13	2
Jan. 3rd, 1912, Dividend	9	16	1
July 1st, 1912 " 	7	3	6
	<u>£75</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>

	£	s.	d.
July 8th. Victoria Institute, Printing, etc.	10	10	0
Clerk's expenses	2	2	0
Aug. 6th. Rev. P. P. Flournoy	40	0	0
	52	12	0
Dec. 31st. Balance at Bank	23	0	9
	<u>£75</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>

We have verified all the accounts and compared them with the books and vouchers and find them correct.

H. LANCE GRAY }
E. J. SEWELL } *Auditors.*

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

VICTORIA INSTITUTE

WAS HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3RD, 1913, AT 4 O'CLOCK.

Mr. DAVID HOWARD, V.P., occupied the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were adopted and signed.

The notice calling the Meeting, and the Report and Balance Sheet, which had been duly circulated, were taken as read.

Colonel ALVES then moved the following resolution :—

“That the Report and Statement of Accounts for the year 1912 be received and adopted, the officers named therein be elected, and the thanks of the meeting be given to the Council, Officers, and Auditors for their efficient conduct of the business of the Victoria Institute during the year.”

Mr. R. W. RICHARDSON seconded, and the resolution was carried with acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN responded on behalf of the Council, Officers and Auditors.

Colonel MACKINLAY proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who replied, and the Meeting adjourned.

536TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE, DECEMBER 9TH,
1912, AT 4.30 P.M.

GENERAL J. G. HALLIDAY IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and signed.

The SECRETARY announced that since the last Meeting Mr. A. W. Oke and the Rev. David Baron had been elected Members, and Mr. George Cartwright, Sir Andrew Wingate, K.C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Karlake, Mr. John Scott, J.P., the Rev. J. U. N. Bardsley, Miss F. A. Yeldham, B.Sc., the Rev. John Ridley, Mr. H. P. Rudd, the Master of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, and Mr. W. Duncan White, Associates.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Rev. Dr. Whately to read his paper.

IMMORTALITY.

By the Rev. A. R. WHATELY, D.D.

IT seems hardly possible that the doctrine of Immortality will always occupy the comparatively subordinate position to which it is usually relegated by religious thought. God, the world, and the individual give us the ultimate terms of all our highest thinking. And the last is in a special way privileged: for the thinker himself *is* an individual, whereas he is neither God nor the world. In the long run, if *he* is ignored, the very meaning of his religion will shrivel to nothing. If self-renunciation is made the one ground-principle of the religious life—if we are taught to regard the permanence of our very existence as secondary and unessential—then self, taught to despise its own selfhood, may with consistency despise all that that selfhood contains or bears: its growth, its aspirations, its conscience, its religion. Nothing can claim an eternal significance for a being that is not eternal. If we ignore the self-regarding impulses, we cannot consecrate them. And if we do not ignore them, then they can have but one goal, a personal standing in the eternal Kingdom of God.

Let me endeavour first to set before you exactly the position which I believe this doctrine to hold in the totality of human thought, so far as I can do so in a few words. To all of us who

are assured that the belief in Immortality is thus central and essential, it cannot remain *mere* belief, but must, like our belief in God, be found to rest upon experience and intuition. That means that we must cultivate a sense of our own imperishable essence; and that we can only do in the light of our relations with God. Just as our ordinary self-consciousness is evoked and sustained by intercourse with an external world, so we must develop a higher self-consciousness correlated in like manner with our personal knowledge of God. Then only will immortality appear to us not as a mere future fact which we can infer, but as an actual quality of our selfhood. Annihilation will be not only incredible, but unthinkable. This must be the ideal. But if we consider how difficult it is for most people to realize what is meant by a direct consciousness even of God—how ready they are to confuse it with feeling—then we shall not be surprised if such a consciousness of immortality seems peculiarly difficult to make good. For God, at least, is *present*; but everlastingness is future. I have stated the problem in a form which partly meets this difficulty. The soul may be conscious of itself as an eternal entity, and if eternal then necessarily everlasting. But even so, to some people “eternal” does not directly imply “everlasting.” We need to see eternity *in* time; to view our own personal lives in the light of ultimate cosmic purpose. This leads to the crux of our problem.

In some sense, at least, the soul is *in* time, and death is in time. If we fail to do more than grasp our eternity by abstracting from time (as in more or less ecstatic conditions) then when we resume the ordinary time-thread our direct experience of our eternal being is left behind. We may still value the remembrance of it as evidence; we may even be able in some degree to reproduce it at will whenever we turn our thoughts in that direction: but, for all that, the mind may still oscillate between two mutually exclusive attitudes towards reality. The ordinary consciousness of self, as carried along with the general flow of things in this perishable world, cannot as such retain a sense of immortality which has been reached merely by rising above time and space. So it may become easy to explain away these exalted experiences, or, if not to explain them away, at least to think that they are satisfied by some theory of absorption into the universal life, with extinction of our individual being.

What we need is to fuse the two spheres of self-consciousness, the higher and the lower, self as in God and self as in the world. For each of us is *one* self, not two. Just as the one God is

both transcendent and immanent, above the world yet in the world, so it is with the spiritual man. Our regenerated self-consciousness—born anew in God—should show us that the higher self is one with the lower, embraces the spheres of common experience, and is the final arbiter in our reasonings on human destiny. For Reason itself must be its servant. Self-consciousness is essentially intellectual. It is not mere self-envisagement, but self-understanding. It is intuition; but all our intuitions are ideas, though something more, and as such they must take their place in the general system of our ideas. Note, for instance, how Mr. A. C. Benson, in his latest book, "Thy Rod and Thy Staff," takes intellectual hold of his newly won intuition of an imperishable selfhood, and makes it at home in the structure of his thought. Immortality will not be wholly rational to us unless the Immortal in us captures the machinery of Reason.

Various conditions are required for this. At present I merely want to insist that the belief in immortality need not be merely secondary and inferential, nor yet rest upon mere external authority: that it may, like our belief in God, become an inward possession; and that the reason of this is that the fear of extinction in or after death pre-supposes the *quality* of mortality—a question of present fact—and that this quality of mortality is directly excluded from the higher self-consciousness that sees self in God.

The moral and religious conditions for realizing this higher self-consciousness need not detain us now, but they must never be forgotten. To live the eternal life is the way to realize our deathlessness. Then the general problem of human destiny beyond the grave can be approached from that standpoint. But what concerns us now—assuming the presence of those spiritual impulses and ideals that our religion demands—is simply to consider what *intellectual* conditions are necessary to bring home the assured hope of immortality.

Obviously, if we are agreed so far, it will be plain that mere logic, working with definitions and abstractions, will not suffice. Nor will equally abstract discussions based on science, though they may possess a relative value. The intellect can perform two services, however. First, it can bring the idea of immortality into relation with our other religious ideas, which are also themselves not *mere* ideas, but objects, more or less, of appropriation and experience. Our ideas about God and our relation to Him must determine what we understand by our own selfhood. Pantheism, for instance, corresponds to an imperfect self-

consciousness, and lends itself to a denial of personal continuation after death. So, on the other hand, I believe it could be shown that the Christian religion not merely proclaims immortality, but so adjusts the focus of self-consciousness as to bring about its inward realization. We shall be able, I hope, to glance at one aspect of this most interesting question before it is necessary to close.* But the main point at present is that intellectual coherence, not merely mystic apprehension, is necessary for the stable and inward possession of an idea. The doctrine of Immortality, if it is really to hold us, must take its necessary place in the whole system of our thought. Then no one can pretend that it is a mere feeling, even though its roots lie deeper than the discursive intellect. Secondly, the intellect can rule out imperfect theories. There are many philosophic conceptions of personality which are untrue to the fullness of what we mean when in ordinary intercourse we say, "I," "he," or "you."

Is this the condemnation of Philosophy? Most assuredly not. A popular error prevails, that Philosophy is essentially abstract and seeks to transcend experience. In truth, its proper aim is to interpret and to deepen experience. Any philosophy that fails to do this, fails *as* a philosophy, and only Philosophy can show it its mistakes. Empirical and would-be scientific explanations of first principles offend in this way just as much as Idealism.

Following up this second line of argument it may be well to enquire why the significance of personality so readily escapes reflection when we try to reflect upon it. We may divide the theories of the soul into two main divisions, the empirical and the idealistic.

Now the word "empirical" would strictly include that direct experience of a deathless selfhood which I have maintained to be the positive basis upon which our belief in immortality should rest. Professor Royce has said that Mysticism is Empiricism carried to the furthest point. This is true, strictly speaking, but it is just when one carries a principle to its furthest point that it becomes transformed. Empiricism ordinarily means, not the actual experience of the object we want to understand, but inferences from, or combinations of, other experiences. So the "empirical self" is not the self experienced as such, but the self as supposed to be made up of a succession of psychic states. Hume treated these states as

* See paragraph near top of p. 20.

essentially distinct, however closely running into one another. There was no internal connection between them. But the late William James may be taken to represent the more modern form of Psychological Empiricism. He refuses, like Hume, to call in a soul or principle of unity to connect all our thoughts and feelings into a whole; but he considers that Hume has not done justice to the actual unity which these psychic states present.* The "Thought" of the moment makes its own connections with past thoughts. If I recognize an object as a rose, that recognition itself connects the phenomenon with the other similar phenomena. If I recall a past experience, my thought of it appropriates it as my own, because the revival of that experience is characterized by a sense of "warmth and intimacy" which do not belong to our thoughts of the experiences of other people. And yet all the time it is only the thought of the moment that makes these connections. James finds all he wants for the explanation of the unity of the Ego in the actual phenomena of consciousness as a temporal stream of psychic states. True he is more than an Associationist. He is not satisfied with any mere external combinations of impressions with impressions. The connection is more inward than that. Old impressions never do return unchanged. But the new bear intrinsic reference to them. The form and colour of a rose is not more essential to my apprehension of it than its resemblance to other roses.

So there is a unity and a continuity, but only among the thoughts themselves. He sees no need to postulate an underlying "pure Ego," or a radical "unity of apperception." He criticizes Hume and the Associationists on purely psychological grounds. They have merely observed the phenomenon of consciousness imperfectly. On the other hand, those who have argued for a soul substance have introduced, according to him, a superfluous reduplication which explains nothing, because it is itself unknown. All the unity that the phenomena possess is itself phenomenal, and no more needs to be explained *ab extra* than the discontinuity and diversity which reveal themselves over against it.

It will be well to comment on this position in a broad and general manner so that the commentary may apply to the empirical attitude as a whole. Also we shall, I hope, be brought nearer to a positive conception.

* *Principles of Psychology*, vol. i, p. 352, see ch. x, *passim*.

James' theory may be sound enough as a mere matter of introspective observation, though in that case it is hardly a theory. But it only raises questions as to the position, value, and even possibility, of a purely phenomenal psychology. At any rate, what concerns us here is the abstractness of the whole point of view, with all its appeal to experience. James seems to think that we are bringing self-consciousness up to its highest point when we try to fix before our minds the "pure Ego," and that because we fail to do so we may discard it as a scholastic fiction. But consider what this psychological introspection is, how narrow its significance, how limited its scope. When I set my own mind before me as a specimen of Mind as such, I have abstracted already from my individual personality. For personality is always specific; my essential nature does not consist simply in being a member of the class "person," but in being the particular person which I am. "I" is not really a particular, but a singular term; and as singular I am correlated with other persons, not merely by general links which science can classify, but by specific relationships, which are, in a measure, unique, as truly as the persons which they unite are unique. The differences, not merely the general *fact* of differences, are essential.

Not, of course, all equally so. We do not ordinarily think of our circumstances and surroundings as if they were such that they could not be changed without the loss or weakening of our identity. But that is because we generally think of them in sections, not as a whole. It remains true that—apart from what we become through our own free will—we are what we are by virtue of heredity and environment, and that both of these imply that we are units in a world of persons—the one from the point of view of time, the other of space. And to say "I am I," is meaningless as an abstract formula. To mean anything, it must mean I am that specific person, with specific differences from others, and with such and such a record of social life and action that is indicated by the use of my name.

Now, when we rise to the religious standpoint, which is assumed in this paper (and by no means repudiated by James himself), then this conclusion is further strengthened. It is in relation to ideals that the greatness of personality appears. And our individual differences stand out all the more strongly, when we think of all awakened humanity as travelling by different paths to the same ultimate goal, living, according to their widely different capacities and opinions, for those great ideals which are the same for us all, and are all summed up

in God. The unity of the goal brings into relief the diverse nature of those who strive towards it. In other connections James might even insist on this. But if so, there is a deeper basis of personality than the succession of psychic states.

Now, if it be true that the lower in us is meant to subserve the higher, we have a right to maintain *that the ideal for which we live gives the key to what we properly are.* Here is the real principle of unity in our lives, and the basis of our differences. Here is the sphere of true self-consciousness, the experience of self, not as a mere flow of feelings and ideas, nor yet as a mere solid atom behind all its states, but as an eternal being in a kingdom of eternal beings, an object of the personal love of God, and everlasting because that love is everlasting.

This last sentiment is sufficiently familiar to us in itself. But you see, I hope, why I have introduced it in connection with James' treatment of self-consciousness. My object is to indicate the essentially one-sided and abstract character of psychological introspection. For it is precisely by comparing and contrasting the higher self-consciousness with the narrower and more abstract, that the higher descends from the region of mist and cloud, and becomes an object of intellectual apprehension. Otherwise, though we might be dissatisfied with the narrower conception, and find the broader and higher standpoint on the whole also a much firmer one, yet this higher standpoint might seem to lack the scientific precision of the other, and to be too dependent upon mood and temperament. But now we have met Empiricism on its own ground. It has appealed to experience and to experience it has had to go. It is true that this experience is super-psychological and even super-philosophical, but Psychology and Philosophy can both serve it by revealing the abstractness of all rival theories, even when these theories conjure with the name of Common Sense.

What I have said about Empiricism in general is emphatically true of Naturalism. But all science, psychological as well as physical, is bound to ignore, in fact studiously to eliminate, the personal equation; and to eliminate the personal equation in the search for the meaning of personality is to condemn the search to futility from the outset. The Common Sense point of view is relatively concrete, for at least it deals with real persons, not with psychic streams, phases of the Absolute, or mere counters representing the class "person." But Common Sense is not the most concrete basis, because it is not the highest. Philosophy, when it does real justice to Common Sense, is higher: Religion is the highest of all. For

the religious man sees himself in the direct light of God: sees there his sphere, his possibilities, the meaning of his life.

And here appears immortality. But his religion must be a religion adequate to the purpose, and it must be *lived*. If he is not naturally a thinker on first principles, the intellectual expression of his faith may always remain rudimentary, without hurt. But if he is, he ought to learn to define his lower experiences by the higher. He ought to refuse to admit that even for his simplest and most direct introspection he is a psychic stream. He ought to perceive that the spiritual and eternal meaning of his personality is not for him an inference or a vague inkling, but belongs to the very essence of his self-consciousness. It may come late, but when it is there it is the foundation.

We are too apt, even apart from special theories, to think of the Ego as consisting in, or at least bound to, the temporal succession of ideas. This is the opposite error to that of the unknowable soul-atom. We virtually argue thus:—Without consciousness there is no animal life. Without self-consciousness there is no personal life. But all consciousness is in time. Therefore the Ego is in time. This is the implied reasoning that leads us from one extreme to the other. But, observe, if we carry it to the utmost point which consistency demands, it would be necessary to be always saying “I am I” in order to maintain the continuity of our personality. True personality cannot exist without self-consciousness, but that does mean that it expands and shrinks according as we definitely focus our reflection upon our own selfhood, in season and out of season. Take the case of sleep, and let us call it—as it is at least relatively—a suspension of consciousness. The question is asked: if consciousness can cease for an hour, can it not even conceivably cease for all eternity? If there is a gap, might there not be a total cessation? Yes, if the mere temporal continuity, the mere succession of psychic states, is the basis of personality. But, observe, though we may regard sleep as a gap in the flow of a man’s *consciousness*, we do not regard it as a gap in his *life-history*. It does not, in normal cases, break, however slightly and negligibly, the continuity of his life-history. For that life-history, though not absolutely super-temporal, is more than merely temporal. It has also a vital, logical, and teleological continuity which is the mark of its eternity.

Still more, when the temporal life is covered by that all-embracing surrender of the will which the highest religion demands. If we live for the Christian ideal, time itself is taken up into eternity. And I urge this quite apart from all sentiment.

I maintain that the Christian self-consciousness has—to use a term which I fear may arouse prejudice—a strictly metaphysical significance—that this mistaking of mere psychic continuity for vital continuity arises from the failure to make our Christian consciousness central and determinative. All we who believe that thought is the servant of experience, must see that we do not betray our highest experiences by judging them in the light of lower categories of thought, formed to work on lower ranges of life.

It is only possible to deal very rapidly with a great rival standpoint, essentially rationalistic in the strict sense of the term, I mean the constructive monistic Idealism, associated with names of Green, the two Cairds, Bosanquet, and others. I will take, as typical, Dr. Bosanquet's recent Gifford Lectures on "The Principle of Individuality and Value." It may be possible to criticize its main position in such a manner that we may be able to grasp more firmly the positive view which I am maintaining, and secure our possession of a standard which may disclose the one-sidedness of other systems, partly though not wholly dissimilar, which we cannot now pass in review.

The modern Constructive Idealist ardently vindicates those very principles which his system is supposed to deny. Individuality, Freedom, the objectivity of nature, the real existence of things, the finality of distinctions: all this is declared to be embraced in the mighty sweep of his Absolute, and there preserved—transmuted but not obliterated. Personally, I hold that the *primâ facie* view of his Absolute is the truer to logic: that these pivotal ideas, so vital both in Religion and in Common Sense, are robbed of their very essence in the monist's attempt to exalt them:—"Freedom . . . dying while they shout her name."

But the special idea that concerns us here is that of Individuality. This is just that central unit of reflection that has always been asserted against Monism: but what are we to say when we find writers like Royce and Bosanquet proclaiming it as the very core of their system? What, if the Absolute is just precisely the "Individual of Individuals"? But this need not silence us. We can enquire whether Individuality has not proved safe for the absolutist to handle, only because its fangs have first been drawn.

I lay stress on this because if we can vindicate the true idea of the individual, I am sure that the question of immortality has been practically settled. If we are units of reality,

then we can never cease to be. I have already tried to vindicate this idea against a narrow psychologism; now, on the other hand, let us see whether it does not equally vindicate itself against abstract logic.

Now since writers like Dr. Bosanquet see the necessity of explaining the individual so as to do justice to his ultimate significance, all we really need to show is that he has failed. Then the true individual emerges outside his system unscathed.

A few words, out of much that might be said. Dr. Bosanquet explains the individual in terms of System,* the co-operation of parts through which the whole finds expression. We individuals are all systems, or worlds, and systems contain smaller systems and are included in larger. The Absolute is the total System, therefore the perfect Individual. So, in reply to those who object to being pooled in the Absolute, and proclaim the fundamental individuality of the Ego, which must always remain undigested by the most assimilative cosmos, the absolutist is now in the position to reply: "Yes, but what if that very selfhood, that very individuality, which you assert, is the principle that identifies it with the Whole? Every system is individual, and we know that systems can contain systems, as the bodily organism contains the digestive, respiratory, and other sub-systems. So you, not in spite of being an individual, but *because* you are one, are contained in the absolute Individual: and the more you intensify your individuality, the more completely are you one with the larger wholes to which you belong, and ultimately with the absolute Whole." We need not pause to dwell upon the essential truth which this rejoinder contains. We are now concerned with the essential truth which it omits. All systems are individual: all individuals may be systems: true, but it does not follow from this that individuality is system.

Dr. Bosanquet's idea of a system is that of which the parts express the whole; and therefore, in the case of the Absolute, the parts, according to their degrees of reality, together express it perfectly, and there is nothing in them that is outside it. And that is perfect individuality. We have thus two ideas, both admittedly ultimate: that of System and that of Individuality. We are told that the latter means the former. The fact remains, however, that the two ideas are, in themselves, different. Define them as we may, we cannot get

* See especially Lect. ii.

further than to say that they are complementary or obverse. But that is no justification—indeed the reverse—for explaining the second in terms of the first, yet not the first in terms of the second. Now it is plain that we cannot think of concrete individuals *as such* as containing other individuals. We have to ignore them as such, and to think of them first as systems. And that only means that we have shirked the idea of individuality.

In other words, we should have to show *directly* that the Absolute is an Individual—not simply by trying to prove that there must be an absolute System. And we must be able to apply to it the term individual, meaning what it means in Common Sense, from which we first took it.

What is an individual? Whatever else it may be, it is certainly a unit for consciousness. We can never merely resolve it into its parts, even on the understanding that the parts “express” it, for we first received it not piecemeal, but as a whole. Like the mere psychologist, the absolutist forgets that individuality means this, that, and the other concrete individual. Not at all, he may say, they are concrete individual systems. But why not say as well “systematic individuals”? Individuality cannot be a mere predicate at the last analysis. It is a mistake to say that the parts even of any system merely “express” it. They also contribute to it. And we—free, responsible units of creation, as, for religion certainly, we are—can we not contribute—none the less freely because through God—to the fulfilment of His ends? Are we not his fellow-workers? Or is our freedom only the necessitated unwinding of what He has wound up in us? Can we not make choice even of eternal issues? Are we only phases of God?

Dr. Bosanquet's Absolute is no true individual, because it has no focus. It cannot be given in experience, because it *is* Experience. Christianity proclaims that God has focussed Himself for us in time and space: that he has revealed Himself *to* man and *in* man and *as* man. He is not reached as a mere idea. He is not everywhere in general and nowhere in particular.* And as we realize His individuality, so we realize our own. As we know Him through His personal approach, so in approaching Him we know ourselves. We realize our

* I think this comment is perfectly fair, though there are “degrees of reality.” For these only ascend *ad indefinitum*. I hope I have summarised fairly Dr. Bosanquet's view: at any rate the logic of his general position cannot be missed.

personal relation to the Eternal, and therefore our eternal personality. In that communion, death is already left behind.

And as our relation to God excludes all fear of mere absorption in nature or humanity, so our membership of the redeemed society, and our relationships with its other members, bar out all idea of absorption in God. Between God and the Church stands the individual, secured on both sides in the unalienable possession of his personal identity.

I had wished to take up the question of the relation of soul and body, but all that can be done now is to indicate the line that would be taken. If we are right in rejecting the idea of a mere soul-substance, separable from its manifestations, we certainly cannot build upon any extreme form of Interactionism, the sharp antithesis of soul and body. That the soul is largely independent of the body as we know it through ordinary science—the body that dies—seems to be proved by Dr. McDougall in his important and interesting book, "Body and Soul." But, after all, it is in accordance with sound psychology—here James has taught us well—to include the body in the idea of personality. But in what sense? Not, assuredly, the mere matter of which it is composed, which changes constantly, but the form and functions of the organism. Now it has been well pointed out that the more we explain the spiritual part of us in terms of its material vehicle, the more spiritual does that vehicle become, the more distinguished from common material objects. After all, what do we know of the body? Need we be so hasty in brushing aside the conclusions reached by occult investigation, whatever we may think of the philosophies associated with them? Why should we assume that the narrow range of vibrations that convey to us the sights and sounds of earth, embraces all physical reality? Surely the presumption is all the other way. If the soul always requires some sort of physical vehicle, and yet proves itself too vast for the body as we know it, have we not the right to argue from the higher to lower?

To put it another way, the more exclusively narrow and mechanical the categories employed in the study of the body, the more surely do we block *ab initio* all pathways to broader and deeper understanding even of the body itself. The more it is cut off from the personality, the more intrusive and unmeaning

* See also article, "Mrs. Piper and the Subliminal Consciousness," by E. Bozzano : *Annals of Psychical Science*, September, 1906.

must appear the hypothesis of higher grades or planes of organic functioning. Witness the still common prejudice among ordinary scientists against psychical research. But, from the broadest and deepest standpoint, the higher physical sphere is more than a mere hypothesis, more even than a theory based on investigation: rather the burden of proof lies with those who deny it.

In conclusion, let me say that the arguments I have tried to put forward suffer greatly from their necessary isolation from the wider ranges of thought to which they belong. But their main drift and moral have, I hope, been made clear. "*A celo descendit γνώθι σεαυτόν.*"

DISCUSSION.

Colonel ALVES said: On page 9, lines 1 to 3, is the implication, only too true, that the doctrine of Immortality is relegated by religious thought to a comparatively subordinate position.

Why should this be the case, seeing the great importance attached to it by our Lord and the Apostle Paul?

The answer is not far to seek. Immortality, or undyingness, is, to any mind, save that of a juggling schoolman, the same thing, manward, as future, eternal (or never-ending) life; and it is one of the monopolies of Deity, entrusted to the Lord Jesus, see 1 Tim. vi, 16.

But most of us have been brought up to believe that, will we or nill we, in grace or in wrath, we are born heirs of an immortality to be passed either in bliss or in woe. We have been taught, not by God's Word (theology) but by God's-Word-men (theologians), that life does not mean life but happiness, that death does not mean death but misery, that destruction does not mean destruction but preservation, and so on; in fact, that, in matters of Eschatology, the Bible seldom or never means what it says. Protestants and Papists alike endorse the serpent's lie—"ye shall not surely die."

When to this is added the too general Arminian teaching that for no one is future salvation a present assured certainty, can we wonder that, with people who think at all, either immortality is assumed as a matter of course, the only question being how shall I escape hell, instead of—how shall I be fit for heaven; or else the mind is revolted from the whole subject?

For all this, I believe a false psychology to be largely responsible. "Theology," save the mark, has made the natural man a spiritual and moral image of his Maker, by the "breath of lives"; but a careful study of Genesis iii, 1 Cor. xi, 7, and of 1 John iii, 9, and v, 18, must cause us to reject this idea, and to hold that the male bodily shape and corresponding mental faculties of man (*homo sapiens*) are what constitute his likeness to Deity.

After showing great mental talent in naming the animals, the first things that we hear of Adam, when he has a mate of his own kind, are moral weakness and disobedience, two witnesses that the "breath of lives" was not God's own Spirit.

I believe that the anti-scriptural idea of never-ending torment has taken away men's minds from the revelation of a glorious and never-ending, because a Divine, life. But for this false notion, which has debased the motives for preaching the Gospel from Divine to Humanitarian, viz., the baling "immortal souls" out of an endless hell, Immortality, with all the glory and blessing which Scripture connects with it, would probably have laid a much greater hold on Christian minds, and caused them to proclaim a more scriptural gospel than has generally been the case since the second century A.D., when the heresy of natural immortality appears to have first crept into the professing Church.

Rev. J. J. B. COLES said: "God, Man, and the Universe" are ultimate terms for Philosophy, Science, and Religion—but when we consider the union of God and man in the Person of the Lord Jesus Christ, and see how inscrutable a subject we have before us, when we speak of Him as an *individual* man—we see that the Metaphysics and Psychology of Holy Scripture must necessarily transcend that of all merely human systems of Philosophy.

The Bible deals with both Oriental and Western processes of thought. Take the question of personality.

The "Whosoever" of the Pauline Epistles is an individual doubtless, but not the "unique existence" of the Scottish philosopher, which is "perfectly impervious to other selves"—such is not the individual of the New Testament, for the words of John xvii, 23—"I in them and Thou in Me that they may be made perfect in One"—sets aside the exclusively Western idea of "impervious spiritual atoms," as being contrary to Christianity and psychologically false.

“It is no longer I that live, but Christ that liveth in me” reveals a Divine mysticism that transcends both Western and Oriental systems of psychology.

Dr. Whately has read a most interesting and suggestive paper, which calls for very careful and thoughtful perusal.

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD said: The key-line of the Paper is, I think, that near the beginning of p. 11—“Our regenerated self-consciousness—born anew in God.” The Author’s aim seems to be the showing that, to those who, through their personal faith in Christ, are spiritually regenerate, the strongest evidence, indeed the complete proof, of their immortality is given by a spiritual intuition—this spiritual intuition being an affirmation of the highest consciousness when in communion with God. This is a perfectly intelligible proposition, and reminds me of the words of the Lord Jesus Christ—“This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent.” It also reminds me of the belief of our late President, Sir G. G. Stokes, that all life proceeds from the action of Spirit, and therefore eternal life has its author in the Eternal Spirit. Professor Schäfer’s assertion, in his Dundee Address, that by a process of “gradual evolution” life may have originated from that which itself had not life, is a mere assertion devoid of proof, indefensible as a scientific statement.

In criticizing James’s Empirical theory of personality, the Author points out that “there is a deeper basis of personality than the succession of psychic states.” And, with all respect to one of the greatest psychologists, the Empirical theory is absurd, for it contradicts the idea which it seeks to explain. Personality is not the sum or the product of a multitude of conscious states, for the personal idea, or notion, is there *from the first*. The first state of my consciousness is as truly *mine* as is the hundredth. Nor is personality explained by Bosanquet’s System theory, for (as shown at the beginning of p. 19), the two words—“personality” and “system” —express different ideas. In fact, to *have* a system is not the same as to *be* a system.

Further, the notion of *Personality* is with us from the first. It is innate; but the idea of *System* is acquired through experience. Sleep does not make a gap in our consciousness of our existence.

Mr. MARTIN L. ROUSE, B.A., said: Although the individuality of the soul is specially dwelt upon in Dr. Whately’s paper, he

advises us to reflect upon the way in which a soul and a body together form a distinct person acting in unison. Now it has often struck me that, however young and inexperienced a person may be, or however dim may be his eyesight, he can always bring his thumb and forefinger straight to his mouth, or touch with his forefinger any particular part of his body that he chooses to think of. This he always has done without measurement or calculation, and with equal precision, doing it instantaneously. Definite thinking of the part to be touched certainly causes, by nervous telegraphy, a sensation in that part, and the sensation is instantly transmitted to the brain, whence again, as rapidly, the directive power goes forth to the hand and the finger-tip, making this touch the part. Yet this is not mechanism, unique as such mechanism would in any case be, for the movement to touch may be restrained by the will. Therefore the complete and unerring co-operation just described can arise only from an absolute unity of a non-material co-operating system—the soul.

A strong argument for the immortality of the soul is that which I first learnt from the late Joseph Cook of Boston, a famous Christian Evidence lecturer in the States. The Creator, said he, has implanted no instinct for which he has not provided a satisfaction. Now the Creator has given to every man an instinctive longing for immortality—for a happy and endless after-life ; so we conclude that He has graciously provided for men this supreme satisfaction, or has planned and told them of a way by which they may obtain it. It was this consideration, said the same lecturer, that led Professor Romanes of Oxford to abandon scepticism and become a Christian, as he himself stated in the preface to his latest book.

Mr. ARTHUR W. SUTTON said : The subject chosen by the reader of the paper, "Immortality," is one that appeals to us all and concerns us all very deeply, and I should like to join with others in thanking Dr. Whately for the able manner in which he has dealt with it.

I must confess, however, to some degree of difficulty in following the closely reasoned arguments of the paper, and should like to ask Dr. Whately to explain to whom he refers when using the word "we" on page 10, lines 4 and 5. In the preceding sentence Dr. Whately speaks of "us" as those whose belief in Immortality is "central and assured," and "must, like our belief in God, rest upon

experience and intuition." It would therefore seem that my question is already answered, and that the "we" in the succeeding sentence refers exclusively to those who possess a living and experimental faith in God.

But from the title of the paper it would not appear that the Author intended to treat of "Immortality" as the possession of those only who have this faith in God, but rather of "Immortality" in a far more general and extended sense and as that which concerns mankind as a whole.

If Dr. Whately merely intended by philosophical reasonings to adduce external evidences for the hope, or consciousness, of Immortality which, later in his paper, he rightly argues is inseparable from such faith in God as leads to a knowledge of personal relation to God, we should all be very grateful to him; but we should feel a certain sense of disappointment that in dealing with so wide a subject as "Immortality" he had not attempted to indicate whether "Immortality" was the birthright enjoyed by every member of the human family or only by those who possessed a living faith in God.

On page 11, Dr. Whately says that "the moral and religious conditions for realizing this higher self-consciousness need not detain us now, but must never be forgotten. To live the eternal life is the way to realize our deathlessness." This again seems to indicate that the author of the paper is dealing only with Immortality in a very restricted sense and as possessed only by those who fulfil "the moral and religious conditions" to which he refers. But on the other hand it may be that Dr. Whately is arguing that "Immortality" is the *possession* of every man but *enjoyed consciously* only by those who fulfil certain conditions.

Those who by the Grace of God have received the gift of faith will find in the closing words of the last paragraph on page 19 perhaps the grandest and most profound expression of their own experience that has ever been penned. "As we realize His individuality, we realize our own. As we know Him through His personal approach, so in approaching Him we know ourselves. We realize our personal relation to the Eternal, and therefore our eternal personality. In that communion, death is already left behind." But again the question demands an answer: Is the "Immortality" discussed by the author a "conditional" Immortality

possessed only by those who enjoy this "communion," or is it the property of every son of Adam ?

The next paragraph (p. 20) would *seem* to limit the Immortality under discussion to those in conscious "relation to God," and to "membership of the redeemed society," but I hesitate to think that Dr. Whately intended this, for, if so, he would scarcely have chosen for his title the word "Immortality" with all its infinity of application, but rather such a title as "The Immortality of the Christian Believer."

After a few words from Colonel VAN SOMEREN, who emphasized the importance of Christ alone being regarded as the Source of Immortality to those who trust in Him—

The Rev. H. J. R. MARSTON said: The Paper has proved that there is a natural capacity of deathlessness in man; and that proof has been strictly of a philosophical nature; and a demonstration resulting from the facts of human consciousness. It has not been a Scriptural proof; the Lecturer has kept to his proper ground, merely assuming the fundamental postulates of Biblical Religion without establishing them. Any objection to that mode of proof is merely prejudice; and an offence against the majesty of Truth which has its rights as such.

The alleged argument of Dr. Whately's critics, drawn from the supposed meaning of the Bible, are worthless because those who allege them do not understand the Greek Testament; in the Greek Testament the word Immortality occurs, I believe, only twice; that is to say, the Greek Testament is practically silent about the point; and leaves the area of discussion open.

Mr. H. DE VISMES said: God created man "very good" yet mortal; and with His life gave him in likeness to Himself free-will, in the exercise of which by eating of the "Tree of Life" he had "the power of an endless life."

The Scriptures say:—

"Whatsoever God doeth it shall be for ever," and "the thing that hath been it is that which shall be." Ecc. iii, 14, 15; i, 9.

All that man ever lost has been redeemed; a paradise lost in Genesis is the same with its "Tree of Life" regained in the Revelation, but with the life and immortality of that paradise brought to light through the Gospel (2 Tim. i, 10). God gave man life, and since His gifts and calling are without repentance (Rom. xi,

29), life is his for ever, but with power to lay it down, or if in Christ as One with Him, power to take it again (John x, 18).

We can never cross the same river twice, for it is continuously passing away and as continuously being renewed. Likewise man is for ever passing away, so far as that which is human of him, in body, soul, and spirit, is concerned. The river passes away and dies in the sea, being swallowed up of the life of the sea.

Though apparently it meets with death yet it does not die but adds fresh life to the sea, and mortality is swallowed up of life and death in victory of the living sea.

Dr. THIRTLE said: We are indebted to Dr. Whately for a paper that is rich in thought. If, at the end, we do not seem to have attained a firm foothold—if we have, after all, a fear that immortality is hardly secure as a natural expectation and a universal heritage—then that is the misfortune of the philosopher, and not the fault of the Christian theologian. Our minds have been stimulated by the paper, though the interest, in the precise sense of the word, has been negative rather than positive. As people of feeling as well as thought, as moralists as well as intellectual beings, must we not say that, on the grounds of philosophy, the assurance of a life to come is essentially weak and halting?

There were in the paper several points on which I should have liked to ask questions; but they may pass. I will content myself with the expression of my own conviction, after many years of close thought on the theme, that while philosophy may yield some measure of encouragement to the hope of a future life, it can do no more. Can we, for instance, imagine a man or woman, for the reasons given by the learned lecturer, becoming strong in hope, assured in faith, enthusiastic in devotion to the service of God? Assuredly not! If philosophy had been able, in any conceivable development, to make clear the way to God, then there would have been no need for the coming of Him Who, in the fullness of time, brought life and incorruption (*i.e.*, incorruptible life) to light through the Gospel.

A doctrine of immortality can only be considered to profit in the light of what man is in his present state and what the immortal Saviour of man has undertaken on behalf of His people. For a mortal to "realize" selfhood cannot lead to immortality; but for

such a one to "realize" the Deathless Christ is entirely different. Thus immortality is attained, not by mental process but by spiritual endowment and inheritance. In so far as philosophy sets this aside, it must yield a barren result. Philosophy deals with Time—"the things that are"; it has nothing to do with Eternity—"the things that shall be hereafter."

Communication from Rev. A. IRVING, D.Sc., B.A. :—

I have much enjoyed the perusal of Dr. Whately's able and valuable paper, and beg to offer a few remarks suggested by it.

The author rightly emphasizes *individuality* as the *crux* of the whole question. He meets effectually on its own ground the philosophy which would explain away the God-consciousness of the soul—that faculty in man which belongs to the depths of individual experience. It may lie dormant until the "venture of faith" is made, by which we understand that conscious effort of the whole personality, which, as a "tentative probation," a *testing* (Heb. xi, 1), is in reality "a struggling and fluctuating effort in man to win for himself a valid hold upon things that exist under the conditions of eternity." It "grounds itself solely and wholly on an inner and vital relation of the soul to its source."* It is "an elemental energy of the soul," which is beyond the ken of science, since no surgeon's knife nor the most refined investigations of the chemical laboratory can detect the immaterial and spiritual in us, any more than the sweeping of the heavens with the telescope can find a Being, who is Himself immaterial and spiritual. It is realized in the individual experience, as those in whom it finds exercise have that "witness borne to them through their faith" (Heb. xi, 39), which marks the stage of steady "conviction," and in this the individuality of the soul emerges—*outside any philosophical system* (p. 18), and still further outside the range of what is dealt with in Professor Schäfer's Address at Dundee—as something in consciousness which is "complementary," being neither contradictory to, nor a constituent part of, any "system" to which belong those states of consciousness which may be operated upon by the "machinery of Reason" (p. 11), and are of an inferior order to itself. Such states of consciousness (enormously increased in number and variety in a highly complex civilization) are correlated through sensory impressions and

* Prof. Scott-Holland in *Lux Mundi*.

perceptivity with the outer sphere of reality; but though they furnish elementary material for the action of *volitionally controlled evolutionary law* in developing the *character* (all that makes for the *expression* of the individual *per se*), it is to be borne in mind that "each man is a soul, not has one, and he expresses his being in his activity, his thinking, and his feeling. . . . Behind the rich variety even of a Shakespeare or a Goethe there was an unmeasured personality still unexpressed. All that *psychology* can do is to take account of so much of personality as finds manifestation in different men. But no science can penetrate into the inner self, for no man can know another's mind." (Dr. Caldecott.)*

So it seems to come to this—that any science or philosophy which makes the assumption that the individual man or woman (as such) is but a *synthesis* of those elementary factors which belong to *states of consciousness of the inferior order*, is discredited at the outset, even as Bergson has (on similar lines) discredited what he calls the "false evolutionism" of Herbert Spencer.

To the Christian believer, as his Easter Faith realizes itself in the spiritual environment of the sacramental life of the Church, with the experience of nineteen centuries of Christendom behind him, "Immortality" emerges, not as a *dogma*, but as a central fact of his consciousness, while the student of science, who is not enslaved by a materialistic philosophy, can follow the reasoning of the great Apostle, as with wonderful *truthfulness to nature and language* he illustrates from the processes of nature the doctrine of the *continuity of soul and soul-function* beyond the limits of its present relation to the material body, in that magnificent fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in which he discusses the *transcendent fact*, which, for the Christian man, has transmuted a philosophical probability into the "sure and certain hope."

THE LECTURER'S REPLY.

There is not much that need be said. I am sorry that Mr. Sutton should have been disappointed because I have not met directly the question of universal immortality, but that would have left me too little time for the discussion of the central question.

* Introduction to *The Inner Light*, by A. R. Whately, D.D.

That the Immortality of the godly person is the essential point, and that the other should be subordinated to it, is a view that I think not only sound philosophically, but in strict accordance with the perspective and movement of thought in the New Testament itself. I have therefore not even used any expression intended to indicate my views on the wider question. That I have taken "Immortality" in a "very restricted sense" is entirely a mistake. I have taken it in its deepest and fullest sense, just *because* in its narrower *application*. I do not say, for a moment, that we cannot reason from my conclusions towards the solution of wider problems. That would still have been inevitable, however I had expanded or contracted the scope of my argument.

Dr. Thirtle seems to hold the current narrow view of philosophy to which I referred in my paper. Therefore, of course, he finds that philosophical support to faith is "essentially weak and halting." For brevity, it must suffice to refer him to the paragraph on pp. 11-12, but I am afraid he has misconceived the general attitude and main point of the paper.

In conclusion, the doubt expressed, in the discussion, as to whether the present realization of our Immortality is regarded as applicable to spiritual persons only, or to the unspiritual also, is truly astonishing. The whole paper is to prove that the key to that realization lies in personal communion with God.

537TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON
MONDAY, JANUARY 6TH, 1913, AT 4.30 P.M.

THE REV. CANON R. B. GIRDLESTONE TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and signed.

The SECRETARY announced that Colonel G. J. van Someren had been elected an Associate of the Institute.

*PRESENT DAY FACTORS IN NEW TESTAMENT
STUDY.* By the Rev. Canon R. J. KNOWLING, D.D.

PROFESSOR KIRSOPP LAKE in his recent work on the earlier Epistles of St. Paul mentions three factors of present and commanding interest. The first is one which is always with us, the discussion of the literary and critical questions connected with the various New Testament Books. And in addition there are two factors, which, in Professor Lake's judgment, have not received the attention which they deserve, the study of comparative religion, and another study, which is becoming more and more pressing, the study of psychology. For to understand the history of religion we are told that we must understand the psychology of religious men. These, then, are the three factors before us.

It may indeed seem presumptuous to attempt to deal with such important subjects in such a very brief space of time, but it may perhaps awaken some interest if we can test, however briefly, the bearing of these three factors, and of other literature connected with them.

I. Let us then start with that large portion of the New Testament that is occupied with the Epistles which bear the name of St. Paul.

It has become a commonplace of liberal literary criticism, with some few exceptions, to regard at least eight of these Epistles as coming to us from St. Paul, and to contrast this with the state of things in the days of Strauss and Baur. I do not stop over the vagaries of men like Drews in Germany, or of Van Esinga in Holland, who still persist in asserting that St. Paul never wrote any of the letters referred to him and who are prepared to go further and to refuse to admit the existence of St. Paul or of his Master.

I content myself with referring to the verdict of Dr. Harnack that the man who considers himself entitled to regard the *Hauptbriefe* of St. Paul as forgeries of the second century forfeits the right to be heard in the higher questions relating to literature and history. I will only in passing refer to an admirable reply to Drews and his followers in a recent American book by Professor Case of Chicago, entitled *The Historicity of Jesus*, 1912.

But I would ask you to consider for a moment those Epistles of St. Paul which are often the subject of the most persistent attack, viz., II Thessalonians, Ephesians, and the Pastoral Epistles.

No one will accuse Dr. F. C. Conybeare of a leaning towards conservative criticism. But we turn to his *Myth, Magic, and Morals*, p. xvi, and we read: "Of the Epistles of St. Paul, very few are now disputed by competent critics. I am disposed to accept as authentic all of them, not excepting the ones addressed to Timothy and Titus." (On the next page he adds that the Epistle to the Hebrews is clearly anterior to A.D. 70.)

Another point of interest which Dr. Conybeare makes in the page before us is that he speaks of the Epistle to the Galatians as probably the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles, and in this he agrees with a growing number of scholars.

But it is strange that Dr. Conybeare should use this Epistle to show, as he thinks, how remote it was from St. Paul's purpose to learn from those who had known Jesus personally. Consider, *e.g.*, the statement of the Apostle that he had gone up to Jerusalem to visit Peter, and that he stayed with him fifteen days. Can we doubt that during this visit he would have learnt many of the details of the earthly life of Jesus? * And we need look no further than the opening verses of this Epistle to see that St. Paul's Christology, his witness to the

* See, further, Dr. J. Drummond's little book on *Paul*, p. 89.

facts of the resurrection and the atonement was the same at this early date as that maintained by the brethren who were with him, and by the Churches of Galatia, whatever that phrase may mean.

It will be noted that St. Paul in his Galatian Epistle lays stress upon the gifts of healing, and it is popular in our own day to regard Christ as a Healer of astonishing power.

But whether we take Galatians or I Thessalonians to be the Apostle's earliest Epistle, we recognize that he assigns the first place to the miracle of our Lord's own resurrection, and we do well to follow his method of procedure.

Origen long ago did the same, and he, too, laid stress, as St. Paul did, upon the moral and spiritual effects of the miraculous powers which our Lord and, through Him, His Apostles possessed. A study from the papyri enables us to see something of the function of miracles in the New Testament and it would appear that in Mark xvi, 20, the thought is not only that the signs accompanied or followed, but that the signs acted as a kind of authenticating signature to the word.*

But I do not, of course, affirm that Dr. Conybeare's somewhat unexpected avowal should be regarded as final by all schools of thought, and II Thessalonians, Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles are still keenly disputed. Personally, I think that the evidence, both external and internal, is fully adequate for their acceptance, and that that evidence has not been always realized at its full value. Thus we forget Renan's avowal that the external evidence for the Ephesians was as strong as for that of any book of the New Testament, and that external evidence has been increased by the statements in the recently recovered letter of St. Irenæus. It has been sometimes urged that the contents of this long-lost letter are disappointing, but at least they bear unmistakable testimony to the attribution of the Epistle in question to St. Paul. And yet the same old objections are raised again and again, as if they had never been answered. Professor H. A. Kennedy, writing a few months ago (September, 1912) with reference to the Pauline Epistles, remarks that he includes *Ephesians*, as the only argument which appears really valid against St. Paul's authorship is that of the *style*, and in this respect there seems to be a far closer affinity between *Ephesians* and *Colossians* than between *Colossians* and any of the other Epistles.

* Dr. G. Milligan, Inaugural Lecture in Glasgow, p. 20, 1910, and his comments on *βεβαιῶ* and *ἐπακολουθεῶ*.

Such a remark reminds us that Dr. Harnack is disposed to accept *Ephesians* as from St. Paul, because the acceptance of *Colossians* would seem to carry the acceptance of *Ephesians* with it. One of the most valuable defences of *Ephesians* comes to us from a member of the little band of Romanist writers known more or less to us in England, the veteran Dr. Johannes Belser, to whose name we may add that of the Frenchman Jacquier.

But much more unexpected is the candid statement of Professor Gardner in his recent well-known book *The Religious Experiences of St. Paul*, pp. 14-15. If it could be shown, he admits, that the whole of the third group of St. Paul's Epistles were non-Pauline, this would in some degree affect the basis of his structure. For it is precisely those parts of the Apostle's teaching which are most clearly set forth in *Colossians* and *Ephesians*, on which Professor Gardner lays special stress. But it seems impossible, he adds, that any disciple should use so exactly the thought, the manner, and even the language of the great Apostle, while yet there is no trace of such a man in history. The author of *Hebrews*, though Pauline in tendency, shows quite a distinct personality of his own. And we feel, as Professor Gardner concludes, that so great a writer as the composer of *Colossians* and *Ephesians* must have been could not have concealed his individuality completely behind that of his master.

The question of the authenticity of II Thessalonians has recently been revived by a remarkable suggestion made by Dr. Harnack in a paper read before the Berlin Academy. He argues that whilst the First Epistle to the Thessalonians was directed to the Gentile element of the Christian Church in Thessalonica, the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians was addressed to a smaller and earlier Jewish community. There is certainly remarkable language which might be quoted to support this contention, and it may be regarded as a working hypothesis, to which, as some of us will note, Professor Lake has given special attention. But anyhow it would be easy to quote many great names in support of II Thessalonians, as also of the much disputed Pastoral Epistles.

Special attention might be drawn in this connection to the defence recently made by Sir W. Ramsay of these Pastoral Epistles, and to the acceptance in Germany of II Thessalonians by writers so far removed from each other in many respects as Dr. Zahn, Dr. Clemen, and Dr. Deissmann. Nor should it be forgotten that Dr. Harnack does not refuse II Thessalonians to

St. Paul, and that he finds genuine fragments even in the Pastoral Epistles.

In this connection we may refer to the language found in that curious book republished some twelve years ago, after some three centuries and a half, *The Book of Philo concerning Biblical Antiquities*. In this the pseudo-Philo uses language and illustrations which might easily help to explain St. Paul's reference to fables and endless genealogies, whilst another curious apocryphal book, *The Book of Jubilees*, is full of the same matter, containing all kinds of legendary additions to the patriarchs' history.

Dr. Charles places this book in the second century B.C., and he writes concerning it, "The Pauline phrases, fables, and endless genealogies," "old wives' fables," "genealogies and fightings about the law," form a just description of a large portion of *Jubilees*. The "old wives' fables" may be an allusion to the large rôle played by women in it' (p. lxxxv).

One further feature of interest in the language of these Epistles may detain us for a moment. It would seem to be frequently characterized by the use of medical terms. St. Paul's acquaintance with St. Luke, and the frequent intercourse between the two men, might well account for this. Indeed, one recent writer has gone so far as to maintain that St. Luke must have been the author of the Pastoral Epistles because the medical terms are so numerous.

But quite apart from any such precarious suggestion, the use of such language becomes much more intelligible if we remember that at the time when St. Paul is maintained to have written the Pastorals he had with him St. Luke as the companion of his imprisonment.

But this consideration of the use of medical language is closely connected with recent criticism in another way.

In the *fourth* volume of his New Testament studies, when speaking of the date of the Acts, Dr. Harnack (p. 21, *New Testament Studies*) recurs to the question before us, and remarks that one of the weightiest arguments for the identity of the author of the "we" sections with the author of the twofold work, that is, for its composition by the physician, St. Luke, is the demonstration of the author's knowledge of and interest in matters of medicine. The instances produced first of all by Hobart, and then by Zahn and Harnack, have been assailed by P. W. Schmidt and Clemen. The latter of these seeks to deprive a part of them of their force, in some cases, perhaps, with success; and yet Clemen himself allows that

a good acquaintance with medical science and terminology may be ascribed to "Luke." This is quite enough for Harnack's purpose. One of a sceptical turn of mind might with reason dispute that the author of the Acts was a practising physician. If he, however, admits that this author possessed a good acquaintance with medical science and terminology, then the unanimous tradition that the author was Luke the physician receives the strongest support; for to what other Christian writer of the first two centuries can we ascribe such ground of acquaintance?

It may be noted in passing that Dr. Zahn, no less than Dr. Harnack, fully expresses his indebtedness to Dr. Hobart, and we may well be glad that English scholarship has gained such a notable recognition. We are often reminded by certain critics of the debt which we owe to the Germans. But we may fairly ask what do the Germans owe to us? They no doubt may point, for example, to many famous archæologists, to many famous investigators of the papyri and inscriptions, but we have a Ramsay, a Milligan, a Moulton, a Kenyon.

It may perhaps seem unnecessary to stop over this familiar feature in St. Luke to which we have more specially referred, but Dr. Harnack has thought it necessary to do so in the fourth volume of his series no less than in the first.

Not long ago the writer of this paper had occasion to examine very closely the medical language of St. Luke, and it was a great satisfaction to him to find that in a recent article in *The Lancet*, January 7th, 1911, the position taken up by Dr. Harnack was unhesitatingly endorsed.

One other point in connection with this use of medical language is not without interest. It has been suggested that St. Luke may well have acquired the power of shorthand writing in connection with his training in medicine, and we know from Galen that the students who attended his lectures were wont to take them down. Pliny, too, tells us of the *notarii*, or shorthand writers, who would write down rapidly from the dictation of their masters.

An additional interest may be fairly connected with this subject. In the *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* recently published by members of the University of Oxford, one of the writers, Mr. Streeter, remarks that "the sayings preserved in Q* were not taken down at the time by a shorthand writer." But we have been well reminded† that shorthand was employed by Cicero at the trial of Catiline, and great

* Q stands for the German *Quelle*, a source.

† *Hibbert Journal*, April 12th, 1912, p. 722, by Mr. St. George Stock.

improvements were made in the art just about the time of Christ's ministry.

While we are thus touching upon the Acts it is well to bear in mind how much both it and the third Gospel have been strengthened by recent investigations. It is quite recently that an inscription bearing the names of the two deities, Zeus and Hermes, was found at no great distance from Lystra. And if we turn to the Gospels it is of the highest importance to notice how two remarkable details have helped to establish the historical character of St. Luke's enrolment in the second chapter of his Gospel. It is not too much to say that indisputable and contemporary evidence now goes to show that about the date of the first census, 8 B.C., Quirinius was governing in Syria. And in addition to this we have evidence, as Dr. Deissmann so frankly allows, that it was a recognized custom, at all events in the Roman East, for people to return to their own homes or districts for purposes of the census. Other well-known Germans, as, *e.g.*, Carl Clemen, have also borne testimony to the various points of contact between the narrative of the Acts and the discoveries of recent years. Indeed, no student of the New Testament can fail to see the wonderful light which is being thrown upon the scenes, the language, the life, the topography of the several books, by the papyri, the ostraca, the letters, the inscriptions which recent years have made familiar to us. It is almost startling at first to recognize how the very titles which were used in addressing the Roman Emperors as, *e.g.*, *κύριος, σωτήρ, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ, θεὸς ἐπιφανής*, found a place in the New Testament books; and thus we may see how the Apostles must have stirred a fresh and vital interest in the minds of their hearers, and how their message of the Lord of lords, and the Saviour of the world, must have appealed to the Roman world around them.*

And if we turn from great matters to small we can see the way in which the papyri assert their use. Thus no one can fail to note what a commentary we have upon St. Paul's counsel, "Custom to whom custom is due, tribute to whom tribute," Romans xiii, 7, when we remember that 218 different kinds of dues were payable in Egypt.

Or we turn to a letter dated A.D. 41 in which a man gives the counsel to a friend who was in monetary troubles, "beware

* "Apostolic Preaching and Emperor Worship," by Professor Kennedy, *Expositor*, April, 1909.

of the Jews," probably the earliest letter in which their habitual characteristic is associated with the Jewish people.

We turn to the word *ἀρχιποίμην*, Chief-Shepherd, used of our Lord by St. Peter, and not found elsewhere, but now traced to an inscription in the Roman period, on a wooden tablet round the neck of a mummy; apparently marking the fact that the wearer was an "overseer," or master perhaps of a guild of shepherds.

But whilst conservative critics rightly lay stress upon the position taken by Dr. Harnack with regard to the authorship of the third Gospel and the Acts, we cannot say that even Dr. Harnack regards every portion of these books as historical. And this is why it is so important to be able to corroborate the statements of the earlier chapters of St. Luke by fresh evidence, or to point to the Canticles of the same Lucan Gospel as bearing the evident marks of truthfulness. "A little less and these songs would be purely Jewish, a little more and they would be purely Christian." At the same time it is only too often forgotten that there is in Germany a strong conservative school headed by men like Feine and R. Seeberg, to say nothing of the generally recognized conservatives like Zahn and Nösgen and P. Ewald.

Dr. Harnack's own most recent statement with regard to the actual date of the Synoptists is indeed sufficiently conservative, and he tells us at the close of his fourth volume of *New Testament Studies* that the second and third Gospels, as well as the Acts, were composed while St. Paul was still alive, and that the first Gospel came into being only a few years later (*Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, p. 162, l. 7).

But then we are obliged to face the further question as to what sources lie at the root of our Synoptists in their present form. The question is one which is admittedly full of the greatest difficulty. But it would seem that recent scholars ask us to recognize that there is a source Q (*i.e.*, the source common to St. Matthew and St. Luke, and with which St. Mark was also to all appearance familiar), there is the Gospel of St. Mark practically as we have it to-day, and there is a further source peculiar to St. Luke, which we may call S, containing those exquisite passages which St. Luke himself may have chosen out for special remembrance. I am not endorsing all these details, but it is necessary to mention them.

The further tendency of criticism would also seem to be to place Q very early, possibly some twenty years before Mark. Dr. Harnack in the volume to which we have just referred,

p. 125, maintains that it is earlier than Mark, and that nothing prevents it from being assigned to A.D. 50 or still earlier, so that Harnack allows that it may well have come to us from a personal acquaintance or disciple of our Lord.

Harnack, however, ridicules the argument that Q was written before the Passion because it breaks off before that event. Other critics, however, take a different view, notably Mr. St. George Stock in the *Hibbert Journal* for last April, pp. 723-4, and he asks what more satisfactory reason could there be for Q's containing no account of the Passion.

But without stopping over this, Dr. Harnack, as we have seen, is convinced of the high antiquity of Q, and in it he regards the words of our Lord in Matthew xi, 27, as authentic tradition, words which have been recently described as the greatest Christological passage in the Gospels. Wellhausen, too, and Schmiedel both regard the words in St. Matthew as spoken by our Lord.

The fullest account of the bearing of the whole passage, with an account of the literature which has gathered round it, is given by Dr. Schumacher of Freiburg (*Die Selbstoffenbarung Jesu*, 1912). It is, no doubt, quite true that Dr. Harnack does not interpret the words as many of us do, but at all events it seems certain that we cannot reject this saying, so Johannine in form and expression, as an interpolation or an accretion, but that it was actually attributed to our Lord in a document which Harnack assigns to the year A.D. 50 or even earlier. May it not be said of such a passage that it is testimony of the very highest value to the belief in Jesus and His own self-consciousness? He and the Father are separated in their essential nature from collective humanity.

Professor Burkitt, indeed, has recently made an interesting attempt to interpret the words and their context (*Journal of Theological Studies*, January, 1911). The towns of Galilee had not repented in answer to the announcement by Jesus of the Kingdom of God, and for this failure, as well as for the success in the reception of His message by the simple folk, Jesus thanks the Father. "I can stand alone," he seems to say, "unrecognized, for my heavenly Father recognizes me; I stand alone, I and my disciples, but it is we who know God and recognize the signs of His visitation." But may we not fairly ask if this explanation does justice to the words? can it be maintained that this passage places our Lord and His disciples on an equality in their knowledge of the Father?

But if Q contains no history of the Passion, the earliest

history of this, the greatest drama in the world's history, comes to us from St. Mark, which thus becomes not only as it has been called a new Gospel type, but also the transition between Q and the two later Synoptists.

With this transitional view of St. Mark before him, Mr. Streeter asks, who does not feel that St. Mark, the oldest of the Gospels we have, is the one we could best spare? And yet as we ask such a question, do not some of us feel that we could not afford to lose a single word or incident in that fourfold account of our Lord's closing hours which the Church has preserved for us? should we not miss that picture of "the Strong Son of God, Immortal Love," which in the old symbolism of the Gospels the Lion of St. Mark presents to us? should we not miss the Gospel which someone has even described as a "history of the Passion expanded backwards," so long a portion of the Gospel deals with that one last week? And as we open the closing pages of each of our Gospels we find ourselves face to face with no mere mosaic of texts, but with a matchless picture transcending the most consummate literary skill, and a true Christian science would lead us to exclaim as we stand before that picture, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

No wonder Professor Romanes could write, "True, or not true, the entire story of the Cross from its commencement in prophetic aspiration to its culmination in the Gospels is by far the most magnificent presentation in literature" (*Thoughts on Religion*, p. 160).

Before we pass to another class of literature closely connected with the Gospels, let us look for a moment at that Johannine passage in Q from another standpoint. It may be fairly alleged that more than one recent discovery has enabled us to trace the existence of Johannine phraseology at an early date in the Church.

In support of this, we might refer to passages in the *Didache* and possibly in the *Odes of Solomon*. With regard to the former, if we may place it with Dr. Sanday in A.D. 80-100, and with Mr. C. H. Turner at the same date, or even earlier still, its evidence becomes of the highest value. We have seen that Harnack places Matthew xi, 27, as early as A.D. 50, and it is not too much to add that he would also carry with him the verdict of many scholars when he maintains the likelihood that such words were known to St. Paul.*

But if it is rash to reject the early existence of Johannine phraseology, we may go further and maintain that it is

* P. Feine, *Jesus Christus und Paulus*, pp. 264, 265.

equally rash to affirm, as is so often done, that the whole historical character of the fourth Gospel is to go by the board. In England, it is true, leading utterances may still be constantly quoted on the conservative side. Thus, *e.g.*, Mr. C. H. Turner, in his *Studies in Early Church History*, p. 191, maintains that it still appears to him reasonably certain that one of the original disciples named John, whether the apostle or another, settled in Asia Minor, wrote the fourth Gospel there, and died about A.D. 100. And more positive statements still as to the authorship of the fourth Gospel by the beloved disciple might easily be quoted both in England and Germany.

But still it is often boldly affirmed that in Germany the Gospel of St. John is no longer to be regarded as a source in estimating the documents at our disposal say, *e.g.*, for a *Life of Jesus*, or for an examination of their teaching and claims. It is, therefore, well to remember in passing that one of the fullest and most thoughtful works upon St. John's Gospel in recent years comes to us from Germany. The title of the book is in itself sufficient to secure it a high place, *The Gospel of St. John as a Source for the History of Jesus*.

There is much in the volume with which we should probably not agree, but its great value lies in the fact that the writer, F. Spitta, so well known in other connections, regards the fourth Gospel as containing an original document which was the work of an eye-witness, and that this eye-witness was one of the most trusted friends of the Master, no less a person than the Apostle John.

It is worth noting that Spitta regards this portion of the fourth Gospel as still more reliable than the Synoptists as an authority and a history.

II. But no attempt to deal with the sources of our Gospels could lay claim to any fullness, unless we make some reference to those remarkable pseudepigraphical or apocalyptic books of the Jews which form in some respects a kind of background to the New Testament books.

Let us endeavour to give to some few of them a brief consideration.

The Assumption of Moses, probably dating soon after A.D. 6—the date assigned to it not only by Dr. Charles, but by Professor Burkitt—is written by a Pharisaic Quietist. He has to protest—it is in fact the very object of his writing—against the secularization of the Messianic ideal, and the growing political corruption of the Pharisaic party, against the notion so common, at all events in the middle of the century, that works were the means of salvation.

The Apocalypse of Baruch, the work of several authors, Pharisaic Jews, dating from A.D. 50–100, and containing portions to be assigned to a date before the fall of Jerusalem, again shows us in some of its sections the prevalence of a carnal and sensuous view of the Messianic kingdom, and in its dependence for salvation upon works, the need of the preaching of a Paul. If we take the passages bearing upon works and justification, it is not too much to say of them that “with every position here maintained Christianity is at variance, and Rabbinic teaching in full accord.”

The Book of Jubilees, dating, according to Dr. Charles, 135–96 B.C., is an attempt of a pious Jew, to which reference has already been made, and evidently a popular and widely read attempt, to describe the creation and the successive events in the history of Israel from the standpoint of the writer’s own times.

In doing this the writer severely condemns the laxity of his countrymen with regard to the keeping of the Sabbath, but at the same time he shows us how rigid were the requirements of an orthodox Jew, and, quite apart from the Gospels and St. Paul, what a fatal danger the spirit of Rabbinism might become. Whoever drew water or lifted a burden on the Sabbath was to die; whoever did any business, made a journey, attended to his cattle, kindled a fire, rode any beast, travelled by ship, whoever fasted, or whoever made war on the Sabbath, was to die. As we read such regulations, can we wonder that people turned from a religion which *might* become so mechanical and so devoid of spirituality to the teaching of Jesus? or that St. Paul saw in such a spirit a burden too grievous to be borne, and in the law and liberty of Christ “a more excellent way?”

In some respects the most remarkable of all these books is *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, coming to us in its Hebrew original from about the closing years of the second century B.C. This book in its later Greek form contains so many points of likeness both in thought and word with the New Testament that Dr. Charles has gone so far as to maintain that the New Testament writers were influenced by *The Testaments*, although he admits that the latter does actually contain many Christian interpolations.

But Dr. Plummer, who has written in support of the opposite view with great force and detailed examination, considers that *The Testaments* was influenced by the New Testament. It is noteworthy that by far the most of the alleged parallels to the Gospels are to be found in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and

in the sayings recorded in that particular Gospel (see to the same effect Jacquier, *Le Nouveau Testament dans l'Église Chrétienne*, p. 141, 1911).

But if St. Matthew's Gospel, as there is reason to believe, was from the first the most popular,* owing perhaps to its sayings and discourses, which would most readily strike the ear and remain in the memory, then we can account for the phenomenon mentioned. Moreover, it is very strange that these numerous similarities in thought and word should scarcely be found outside the New Testament books, in spite of their previous influence, and that, apparently, we have no *certain* evidence of *The Testaments* until the time of Origen.

One of the most remarkable features in these Jewish books is the omission, according to good evidence, of a suffering Messiah. And this becomes a matter of great importance at present, in face of the assertions of A. Drews, in Germany, that the idea of a suffering and dying Messiah was by no means unknown to the Jews.

But even in the memorable passage iv Esdras vii, 29, where we read that after 400 years, the Son of God, the Messiah, should die, such a statement has nothing to do with the great prophecy of Isaiah liii. In the passage before us there is no kind of suffering, the death of the Messiah is a purely natural one—there is no violence associated with it—not only is the Messiah to die, but all in whom there is human breath. It may even be that the writer meant to emphasize the thought of the new creation, which was to supersede the Jewish national Messianic hope (see further for this prophecy *International Journal of Apocrypha*, January, 1912).

Anyhow, the whole conception of a suffering Messiah was at variance with Jewish beliefs at the time of the Advent. All the Gospels bear witness to this, and it may be fairly said that it is not until after the fall of Jerusalem that we meet with this conception of a suffering Messiah in Rabbinical literature at all.

III. In dealing with the subject of comparative religion the relation of Christianity to the mystery religions is the question most freely discussed, according to Dr. Kirsopp Lake and Dr. Percy Gardner, in England, and they are strongly supported by Reitzenstein in Germany. But on the opposite side we have Sir W. Ramsay and Dr. Warde Fowler.†

* See Mr. C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1910.

† See his *Religious Experiences of the Roman People*, p. 467, and *The Modern Churchman*, April, 1912.

What was the thought which lay at the root of these great Eastern religions? It seems to have been that of the triumph of light over darkness, of death issuing in life, incorporated in myth and legend.

The eclectic Gentile, as Dr. Lake describes him, who would come under the teaching of St. Paul as to the meaning of the death of Jesus, would see every reason for equating the Lord with the Redeemer-God of the mystery religions. At Antioch, or Ephesus, or Corinth, or Rome, there would be men disposed to listen to the teaching which told of *σωτηρία*, which told that the soul could be raised above the perishable and the transient (as the best philosophy would hold) to an actual union with the Divine, and that this union would be effected in those "mysteries" of Christianity which promised the Gospel of eternal life.

But Dr. Lake makes a great and crucial avowal when he adds that for this salvation of the soul St. Paul's teaching would come to such a man with the advantage that this Redeemer possessed an historic character which could scarcely be claimed for Attis or Mithra.

We must omit the famous passage from Sir S. Dill, in which he contrasts the narrative of a divine life, instinct with human sympathy, with the cold symbolism of a cosmic legend. But it may be worth while to turn for a moment to Herr Gennrich, of Berlin, who has so well reminded us that the mediator whom Mithraism announced as a Saviour was but the personification of a power of nature, and the redemption instituted by such means was but a myth, devoid of any moral significance, and destined to hopeless failure when placed in the scale against the incomparable attractive power of the historical Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus of Nazareth. In Christianity that above all which separated man from God was not the unavoidable defect of a finite, earthly nature, but the personal decisive act of the human will against God (*Die Lehre der Wiedergeburt*, p. 87, 1907; see, too, on the same contrast between Mithraism with its legends and myths and the historical fact of the Incarnation, *Christus: Manuel d'Histoire des Religions*, by Professor J. Huby and other French Romanist writers, p. 396, 1912).

Once more we turn to the writer who has done more than anyone else to give us the salient points in the history and teaching of the religion of Mithra—"It was a strong source of inferiority," so he tells us, "for Mazdaism that it believed in only a mythical redeemer. That unfailling well-spring of religious emotion supplied by the teachings and the passion of the God sacrificed

on the Cross never flowed for the disciples of Mithra" (Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 195, 1912).

Compare this passage with the vague language of Loisy who has given us a summary of St. Paul's conception of Jesus Christ (*Hibbert Journal*, Decennial number, October, 1911, p. 81).

According to Loisy, St. Paul entertains the conception of a Saviour-God after the manner of Mithra. But we note that, as a matter of fact, St. Paul never calls Jesus a Saviour-God, and that it is the reverse of scientific to institute a comparison between an historical person known to Paul, and an Osiris or an Attis, originally mythological personifications of the processes of vegetation (see for this, and a full description of the mystery religions, a series of articles in the *Expositor*, 1912, of great value, by Professor H. A. Kennedy).

May we not also ask what possible connection could there be between the legendary and mythical deaths of such gods, mere personifications of the seasons and vicissitudes of nature, and the redemption wrought by Christ with its moral and spiritual and universal import.

Let us briefly take two instances to show what a totally different atmosphere we breathe in the mystery religions, and in the teaching of St. Paul. Take, *e.g.*, the famous ceremony of the Taurobolium, in which the worshipper is buried, as it were, to his former self, and rises again to newness of life, after being drenched with the blood of the bull. And what was the effect of what Cumont does not hesitate to call this barbarous ceremony? The worshipper thus strengthened and purified by such means was regarded as the equal of a deity through this red baptism, and the crowd worshipped him in veneration. And yet how different, *toto calo*, from the attitude and conceptions of the Christian worshipper: "If we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin."

Or take as a second instance—the conception of faith in St. Paul, the conception of a personal surrender to a living Person of a life lived in the flesh, and yet lived by faith, faith in the Son of God, Who loved me and gave Himself up for me. Surely it is not unfair to say that there is no conception in the mystery religions which can be compared to this, and it reminds us, too, of the thoroughly ethical character of St. Paul's mysticism: Christ in you, the source and the giver of all good things, the strengthener of all that is pure and lovely and of good report: Christ in you, the hope of glory, deepening more and more the contrast between things seen and temporal and things unseen and eternal.

With regard further to St. Paul's dependence in his teaching upon the ancient mysteries, it may be admitted that certain words, common enough in the mystery religions, are used by the Apostle. And yet even here we must be careful. When words like *τέλειος*, *φωτίζειν*, *μνείσθαι*, are alleged in this connection, we have been well reminded that the first two may be derived from the LXX and that the verb *μνείσθαι*, although a technical term, is used only once by the Apostle, and that in a purely figurative sense.

But it may be said with equal truth that other terms common enough in the mysteries are altogether omitted by St. Paul. And, in this connection, we may again refer to the list which is given us by Dr. James Drummond, which contains such words as *τελετή*, *τελέομαι*, *μύστης*, *μυστικός*, *μυσταγωγός*, *καθαρός*, *ἔργια*, and others (*Hibbert Journal*, April, 1912, and see also Cheetham, *The Mysteries, Pagan and Christian*, pp. 17, 18; and further, p. 31, as against the statements of Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, p. 203).

No doubt certain words and phrases were, as it were, in the air, and St. Paul's Gentile converts could scarcely help being acquainted with them. It was, too, quite likely that St. Paul would take up such words and fill them with a deeper and fuller meaning, as, *e.g.*, a word to which we have already referred like *σωτήρ*. But this is a very different thing from supposing that St. Paul himself learnt and taught from the mysteries. At the same time we may learn from a man like Clement of Alexandria how often an educated Christian, acquainted with pagan mythology and its cults, might love to use even technical terms proper to the mysteries, and to employ the old language in describing Christian knowledge and experience (Glover, *Conflict of Religions*, p. 269).

Ought we not, too, to bear in mind an influence to which we shall recur upon St. Paul's thought and language, that of the Old Testament, even in many cases which are assigned by writers like Reitzenstein to Hellenistic religious usage, and the documents of the Hellenistic mystery religions.

It is not too much to say that such terms as *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*, with their cognates, may be traced back to Old Testament usage. And the same may be said of two other familiar terms, *εἰκών* and *δόξα*, which are closely conjoined by Paul in I and II Corinthians. So, too, it certainly seems preferable to find a parallel for the phrase "to put on Christ," Galatians iii, 27, Rom. xiii, 14, not in the ritual and religion of Mithra as Dr. Pfeiderer did, but in the Old Testament Scriptures.

With regard to the morality of these mystery religions, we must not forget that it had its good side; it sustained a belief in the unseen, it promoted human brotherhood it helped to satisfy man's deepest cravings for a freedom from degradation and evil, although the standard of purity in some respects failed to rise above that of the pagan world. Justin Martyr (and so, too, Tertullian) is often ridiculed for his statement that wicked demons imitated the Christian Eucharist in the mysteries of Mithra. But apart from the fact that the Mithraic Eucharist was in all probability open to those only who had attained the degree of Lion, and who, therefore, were called Participants, such language shows us that the Christians would not be likely to borrow consciously from the mysteries.

At the same time we must admit, although perhaps with some qualification, that at least one of these religions, that of Mithra, aimed specially at purity, and that this distinguishes the mysteries of Mithra from those of all other Oriental gods. "Serapis is the brother and husband of Isis, Attis the lover of Cybele, every Syrian Baal is coupled with a spouse, but Mithra lives alone," and from him continence receives a new reverence (Cumont, *Oriental Religions*, p. 157, l. 7). This purity, indeed, encouraged work and action, and in its severity it attained a moral elevation which appealed to heart and mind alike.* "Above all," writes Chantepie de la Saussaye in his famous *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, II, p. 500, "the religion of Mithra was a religion of action and of moral strength." Mithra, indeed, claims the title of the "Invincible" God. And yet it is not Mithra but the Galilean who has conquered. The claim of Mithra has not been sustained, but Christ still speaks to-day of an assured and universal sovereignty, Christ, the deathless King, Who lived and died for men: "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

Before we pass on, it is of interest to note that no one has spoken more strongly as to any influence of the mystery religions upon the mind and the work of St. Paul than A. Schweitzer, whose name is already so familiar to us in England.

* Dr. Warde Fowler (see page 43) maintains that the word *sanctus* in its application to Mithra showed at least that his life was pure, and that he wished his worshippers to be pure also. But here again do we not come across the fatal distinction, so far, that is, as Christianity is concerned, between a mythical and an historical record? *Op. cit.* p. 470.

One thing is certain, urges Schweitzer, that St. Paul could not have known the mystery-religions as they are presented to us, because in their developed state they did not at the time exist. It is in considerations of this sort, Dr. Schweitzer further maintains, that a great authority like Cumont can point to the difficulties which stand in the way of the view that the mystery-religions had any influence upon the oldest Christianity, and that he specially regards it as quite excluded that St. Paul could in any way be connected with the religion of Mithra.

Schweitzer (*Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung*, p. 151) severely takes to task those who develop out of the accounts of different religions a kind of universal mystery-religion, which in such a form had never existed, least of all in the time of St. Paul. To what pressure must these myths and rites have been subjected, he exclaims, before the statement could be possible that there is present in many Oriental religions a belief in a dying Saviour-God, who dies and rises to life again? and where, he asks, do we find anything of this death and resurrection in the case of Mithra?

But here we come across an important inquiry. No one, we note, has condemned more strenuously than Schweitzer any belief in the borrowing by St. Paul from the matter of the mystery-religions. If we ask to what then does Schweitzer maintain that St. Paul was indebted, we find that he refers us to those sources which in his belief have been most neglected, viz., those apocalyptic and pseudepigraphical books of the Jews to which we have just referred. He expresses indeed, unbounded astonishment at the neglect of the Ezra-Apocalypse, which undoubtedly treats of many of the subjects associated with the teaching of St. Paul, upon sin and the fall, upon the choice of Israel, the meaning of the law, the Parousia and the judgment.

But if Schweitzer had condescended to read and study the works of English theologians he would not have failed to gain a knowledge of the scholarly and exhaustive edition of the Ezra-Apocalypse which has just been given to us by an accomplished Hebraist, Mr. Box. In the prefatory note we are told that whilst there are many points of contact with the Gospels and the Apocalypse, the most striking are the resemblances between this Jewish thinker and St. Paul, resemblances which we may ultimately trace to the school of Gamaliel, and which render the study of iv Ezra second to none in value amongst the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books in their bearing on the New Testament.

But whilst we bear in mind all this fresh and growing

material as amongst the most valued factors for New Testament study, yet we must not forget that St. Paul, especially in his eschatology, was dependent not merely upon current Jewish literature and tradition but upon the canonical books of the Old Testament, and above all upon the teaching of our Lord Himself. It is a matter of further surprise that this fact has not been more emphasized, and we are put off with the bold assertion that St. Paul knew nothing of the teaching of his Master, whereas what may well have been his first Epistle, 1 Thessalonians, is full of what may be justly regarded as reminiscences of our Lord's own eschatological discourse.

But without pressing this we may recognize in Schweitzer a strong supporter of the view that St. Paul looked to Judaism, and not to Hellenism, for his theological knowledge and teaching.

IV. We pass to a brief consideration of the relation of psychology to New Testament study. In this connection it may be noted that we have just had an able book not so much upon psychology in general as upon the psychology of the New Testament by Mr. M. Scott Fletcher, Lecturer in the University of Sydney, with a preface by Dr. Rashdall. This book contains an interesting and valuable study of one of the most epoch-making events in the New Testament, the Conversion of St. Paul. And it is of importance to note that the writer maintains that the vision on the Damascus road should be classed as objective, and not merely subjective. "The vision theory makes the appearance of the glorified Christ a merely subjective experience on the part of Paul. But the New Testament as a whole regards the spiritual world as objective. . . . The main point to remember is that the New Testament regards man as open to God on the spiritual side of his nature. The psychological explanation is not in itself adequate, although the Biblical standpoint does not exclude a psychological account of the strictly human conditions under which the conversion took place. It supplements it and does more justice to all the facts of the experience" (*The Psychology of the New Testament*, pp. 185-187).

I do not, of course, say that we should endorse these remarks *in toto*, but such an explanation stands out in marked contrast to the attempt to identify St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh" with epilepsy, and then to affirm that his "visions and revelations" were the result of abnormal psychical conditions. The question has lately been asked in Germany, "War Paulus Epileptiker?" and more than one medical man of eminence in Germany has

been concerned with an answer to this inquiry. The pamphlet, the title of which has just been given, was written by Dr. A. Seligmüller, Professor of the Study of Nervous Diseases in the University of Halle. According to Dr. Seligmüller none of the symptoms attending upon the severer form of epilepsy were present in the case of St. Paul. The Professor passes in review many of the alleged instances of epilepsy, and maintains that for some of them at all events the evidence is very slight. He concludes that one of two kinds of disease was that from which St. Paul suffered, viz., either malarial fever or *Augen-migräne*. Sir W. Ramsay, who closely examines the German pamphlet in the *Expositor*, November, 1911, sees no reason to alter his former view that malarial fever was meant, and that such a fever, as many inscriptions found in the country, and published in recent times, attest, was regarded as a direct penalty inflicted by some offended deity.

But another eminent physician has joined in the dispute in Germany, Dr. H. Fischer, Professor of Chirurgery in Breslau (*Die Krankheit des Apostels Paulus*, 1911). Dr. Fischer argues for regarding St. Paul's weakness as epilepsy, but that if so it was epilepsy of the less severe kind, and—a most important point—he adheres to the belief that St. Paul himself clearly distinguishes between “the visions and revelations” vouchsafed to him in II Corinthians, xii, 1-6, and of which he speaks with hesitation and reserve, and the “seeing” which he referred to as the basis of his claim to the Apostolic office, and which occupied the forefront of his teaching, “Am I not an Apostle? have I not seen Jesus our Lord?” (I Corinthians, ix, 1, and xv, 8).

Thus then for Dr. Fischer no special disease needs to be mentioned to account for the Conversion on the Damascus road—that was an actual event which St. Paul himself expressly differentiates from the other visions vouchsafed to him. It is an interesting acknowledgment from an accredited medical authority.

St. Paul's Conversion thus stands out as the type of a sudden conversion as contrasted with a gradual conversion, although there may well have been psychological factors which contributed to it.

But whether we class conversions as sudden or gradual, or whether we make a wider division, and classify them as moral, spiritual, intellectual, practical, yet as we study the New Testament we can scarcely fail to see their evidential value and bearing. The Church, for example, found itself face to face in Corinth with a gigantic task, with a society which had become

a bye-word for vice and licentiousness, and as we read the terrible catalogue of sins in St. Paul's exhortation to the Corinthians (I Corinthians vi) we cannot fail to be aware of something of the change which must have been involved, as men turned from such degrading vices to holiness and virtue. "And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God" (I Corinthians vi, 11).

And as we pass for a moment beyond the New Testament we are conscious of the same transformation from the power of Satan unto God. "St. Augustine," writes Romanes, "after thirty years of age, and other Fathers, bear testimony to a sudden, enduring, and extraordinary change in themselves, called *conversion*. Now this experience has been repeated and testified to by countless millions of civilized men and women in all nations and all degrees of culture. It signifies not whether the conversion be sudden or gradual, though, as a psychological phenomenon, it is more remarkable when sudden and there is no symptom of mental aberration otherwise. But, even as a gradual growth in mature years, its evidential value is not less" (*Thoughts on Religion*, p. 162).

But psychology has much to say, not only to conversion, but to the glossolalia, as Dr. Kirsopp Lake so fully reminds us in one of his appendices to his recent work on St. Paul's Epistles. What he says is sufficiently startling. The fullest investigation of the glossolalia is perhaps owing to a recent essay by an American student, E. Mosiman, an essay which he has published in German, giving us a most valuable historical sketch of the various phenomena connected with the speaking in tongues. The writer is not prepared to deny that the speaking in tongues was a gift which had its place in the opening life of the Christian Church. But still it was connected, not with the highest, but with the lowest stages of religious growth and Church life, and the greatness of St. Paul is seen in the fact that these ecstatic conditions, at all events in Corinth, were subordinated by him to those gifts of the Spirit which were the most important and the most essential; those gifts, *e.g.*, which find a place in St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, in which he notes as the fruits of the Spirit—love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance—Galatians v, 22 (*Das Zungenreden*, p. 133, 1911).

In conclusion, it is my earnest hope that this consideration, brief and sketchy as it is, of the three factors which were mentioned at the outset, and of the literature connected with

them, may serve to maintain an interest in New Testament study, and may help us to realize that in this Book of Books we have the words of truth and soberness, wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and words spoken by men of old, who spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost.

DISCUSSION.

Canon GIRDLESTONE, who was in the Chair, said it was very encouraging in beginning a fresh year to have such a paper as this. It cleared the air in these days of confusing criticism. We owe a deep debt to Dr. Knowling, and also to our Secretary for reading it.

I wish to make a few comments on the paper on points that have struck me.

(1) Page 36. This being the year of Pitman's centenary it is appropriate to consider this question of shorthand writing. It is very important, and the time may come when we shall find that shorthand is really much older than we have ever given it credit for. The Jews spoke slowly, and we may well conclude that speeches were often taken down in shorthand. The pictures discovered on walls in Egypt show us scribes with note-books and pens (?) in their hands.

(2) Page 38. The passage commencing "A little less, etc.," might be applied to the whole of Christ's teaching. It was post-Jewish but pre-Christian. No Apostle could have invented one of Christ's parables. I believe that the whole of the Gospels were brought to memory by the power of the Eternal Spirit. It is impossible that the Gospels could have been compounded out of Christian "sources." Perhaps even the mysterious Q may prove to be a fictitious personage. The Gospels bring us face to face with things which Jesus actually said and did. He is the true "Source."

(3) Page 41. The author refers to the Apocalyptic expressions in the Gospels and to the supposed influence of such writings as the Book of Enoch; these would require considerably more proof before being accepted. The dates of these works were difficult to ascertain. There were far more proofs of the dates of the books of the New Testament than of these.

(4) Page 45. With reference to the writer's use of the expression "Saviour-God." In the Epistle to Titus we have the expression "Our

God and Saviour." The word Saviour is used of Christ very few times in the New Testament, scarcely at all in the Gospels and Acts. But it is frequently used to represent God the Father; indeed the expression "Saviour-God" is practically an Old Testament term and is embodied in the name Jesus (the Lord the Saviour).

The DEAN OF CANTERBURY said: We are deeply indebted to Dr. Knowling for this excellent paper. I have had the pleasure of knowing him for 30 years; he possesses one highly important qualification in his extremely wide acquaintance with current literature on this subject. He not only knows German and reads that literature, but studied Dutch also with a view to understanding the views of Dutchmen on similar subjects. This review is very comprehensive and thorough. He has phenomenal patience, and we may rely on all he says in its more important features.

When we contrast the gigantic importance of the Gospels with the work of the critics, the latter appears but trifling. It is but scraping the bark of a mighty tree and is too often a great waste of time. Those who deny the actual existence of Christ or St. Paul, as some seem to do, can only be treated as suffering from a mental disease. Sound criticism is in danger of being misled on this question of the sources of the Gospels. All seem to recognize that St. Mark was the earliest; then comes Q, from which Luke and Matthew are said to have quoted, and great stress is laid on this. At a recent Diocesan Conference, more authority was attached to Q than to the Gospels themselves! But I would ask: supposing there is a Q, what do we know of it? If we cannot trust Luke, why trust Q? Because St. Luke quotes Johanna, wife of Chusa, do we attempt to find out what she thought? Is it not enough to take what St. Luke says about her? The authority of the four Gospels we know. Luke, for example, was a full-grown man when Christ was on earth. We must not rely upon the sources, but upon the endorsement of the sources, if they exist, by the Evangelists. But the one Source often ignored is the Holy Spirit, and I re-echo one of the author's remarks: "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Let us contrast these Gospels with current biographies; of the latter we have many nowadays, some 500 pages in length, but here the story of the greatest Life is contained in four short pamphlets, and the whole character has lived ever since. The living Christ stands before the world, arising out of the Gospels.

Some of these critics write as if they understood the Gospels. We certainly can understand much, but if anybody can fully understand them he must be as great as the Christ of Whom they tell. With reference to the author's remark that Germany owes much to English critics, I am reminded of Dr. Hobart, whose authority on the medical words used in St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts is recognized as being of the highest. The history of St. Paul's voyage has been studied by a Scotchman, Mr. Jordan Smith, who sailed over the whole course, and who says that the story can only have been written by an eye-witness and one who was a landsman. He also made an invaluable comparison of the Gospels in his *Harmonies of the Gospels*.

I should like to make the suggestion that the last chapter of St. Mark may really have been written by him, but the mass of the Gospel written by St. Peter himself. These facts, worked out by English scholars, are too often ignored to-day, but will go far to explain the difficulties which perplex us; but the general results are very encouraging. The picture of Our Lord as told in the Gospel holds its own. Every assault against their historical truth has failed. Time has been on the side of the conservative views. One great advantage in German criticism is that a later critic is invariably found to dispose of the earlier one. "The children devour their parents," but in saying this I would emphatically say that there is in Germany a devout criticism of a highly valuable order.

Dr. EUGENE STOCK thanked Colonel Mackinlay for his invitation to attend this meeting. Recently he had been making a special study of the Pastoral Epistles, and it was delightful to him as an amateur to find his conclusions confirmed by so eminent a scholar. He would like to mention one fact—the expression "Christ Jesus" is exclusively a Pauline one. There are four exceptions in the Authorized Version where "Jesus Christ" is used instead, but the Revised Version changes all these to "Christ Jesus." This phrase is found in the Pastoral epistles just as frequently as in the rest. He expressed his deep indebtedness to Canon Knowling for his paper. As to the authorship of St. John he wished to recommend a series of articles by Canon Scott Holland in the magazine of the Student Movement. He also referred to an old book by T. R. Birks called *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, which has lately been republished.

Mr. DAVID HOWARD referred to the fact that St. Paul's testimony was very important, as he was at the earlier period of his life a hostile witness, and probably resident in Jerusalem during our Lord's life. Surely St. Luke himself taught him the inner history of our Lord's teaching. The Apostles were in full knowledge, being eye-witnesses, of what they wrote. And why should we assume that St. Mark and St. Luke had not their knowledge direct from them?

If we believe, as I trust we all do, that the Gospels were written by those who were either with our Lord during His life or intimate friends of His Apostles, why should we inquire where they got their information from, in the same way that we look into the histories of Bede or Gerald the Welshman, who record events of which they could have no personal knowledge?

The CHAIRMAN proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was carried unanimously, and the meeting terminated.

Communications were received from Chancellor LIAS, Colonel MACKINLAY, Mr. SCHWARTZ, and Mr. HIGGENS.

Chancellor LIAS wrote: "In regard to the remarks on the genuineness of the fourth Gospel, I think that before the question is represented as settled, some attention should be paid to the facts, which I myself pointed out in 1875, that the doctrine found in *all* the Epistle-writers is traced to its source, the authoritative teaching of Christ, by the Apostle St. John in his Gospel, and that, in every case, its form in that Gospel is more elementary than in the Epistles. The matter therefore in St. John's Gospel must have been everywhere current in the Church, long before that Gospel was written, and must be attributed to the Lord Himself. The great doctrines of the Incarnation and the Divine Indwelling of God in the believing soul are *not* found in the Synoptists, but they are found in every Epistle, except perhaps that of St. Jude. They must therefore have formed part of that great 'deposit' of faith committed to the Apostles by our Lord Jesus Christ."

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

In reading the generous criticisms which have been made upon my paper by the Dean of Canterbury and Canon Girdlestone, it is refreshing to note the stress laid by both of them upon one factor in New Testament study, viz., the work and inspiration of the Holy

Ghost. Not long before his death, the great German classic and theologian, Dr. F. Blass, in speaking upon a sceptical pamphlet from the pen of one of his countrymen, remarked that in this little pamphlet, on the meaning of the New Testament, the greatest existing reality in the world is ignored; Scripture calls this reality the "Holy Spirit." It is the recognition of this superior factor of which no Christian can be unmindful. But in the criticisms before me I note that the historical element is by no means forgotten.

Chancellor Lias has again reminded us with great force of the evidence for the early witness of the phraseology of St. John. This is most important, and what the Chancellor has so well said falls in entirely with the remarks upon which I have ventured.

The use of the various New Testament titles given to our Lord is a theme productive more and more of fresh interest since the recovery of so many of the papyri, and it is a matter of thankfulness that Dr. Eugene Stock has so kindly drawn attention to this subject.

In the treatment of the Jewish literature, the Book of Enoch was accidentally omitted. Its numerous and independent points of contact with the New Testament will be found in Dr. Charles's *Book of Enoch*, now republished after twenty years of fresh study.

It is important to note that, as in the Psalms of Solomon, with its striking Messianic picture in Psalm xlii, so no mention is made in Enoch of a Suffering Messiah, and that the Son of Man in the pre-Christian parables shares God's throne, which is also His own throne, and that all judgment is committed unto Him, although Dr. Charles thinks that our Lord used the title Son of Man with a deeper spiritual significance.

538TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON MONDAY,
JANUARY 20TH, 1913, AT 4.30 P.M.

CHANCELLOR P. VERNON SMITH, LL.D., TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and signed.

The SECRETARY announced that Dr. Eugene Stock and the Rev. L. G. Buchanan and the Rev. W. H. Woods, D.D., Litt.D., had been elected as Associates.

The CHAIRMAN explained the absence of Mr. Urquhart, who had prepared a paper on "Prediction," and called upon the Secretary to read the paper.

THE FACT OF PREDICTION.

By the Rev. JOHN URQUHART.

THE question with which I desire to deal is one which seems to me to have peculiar claims to the serious attention of an Institute such as ours. Is it, or is it not, a fact, that events, which were still future, have been foreseen? There will doubtless be found a ready acquiescence which will confidently and loudly answer "yes"; many will as surely regard the question as almost beneath contempt. The wise, however, will weigh and sift evidence, and will allow their conclusions to be shaped by facts.

Cicero in his *Divinatio* has torn the superstitious beliefs of his times to pieces, "Why need I say more?" he asks. "Such ideas as these are refuted every day. How many of these Chaldean prophecies do I remember being repeated to Pompey, to Crassus, and to Cæsar himself! according to which not one of these heroes was to die except in old age, in domestic felicity, and in perfect renown; so that I wonder that any living man can yet believe in these imposters, whose predictions they see falsified daily by facts and results."*

That is the testimony of one of the first men of his time, who lived in days so full of change and peril that almost no price would have been reckoned too great for light upon the then future. That light was professedly given; and it was worthless. But, on the other hand, it seems to be unquestionable that the pretension to superhuman insight and foresight has been occasionally better supported. We read (Acts xvi, 16) of a damsel who was "possessed with a spirit of divination" who "brought her masters much gain by soothsaying." It seems that in this case the claim was well founded. For, after the spirit was cast out of her by Paul, "her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone." Had her claim been another instance of imposture, there was no reason why it should have been dropped at that juncture.

There are other instances which have been placed on record both in ancient and in modern times. One or two of the latter will be sufficient. Dr. Wolff, the Eastern traveller, records that, when he was at the house of the British Consul-General in Aleppo, in 1822, his host read a letter in his presence and in that of M. Lesseps, M. Derche, his interpreter, and M. Maseyk, the Dutch Consul. It was from Lady Esther Stanhope, and was dated April, 1821. It begged him, the British Consul (John Barker, Esq.), not to go to Aleppo or to Antioch, as M. Lustenau, a friend of hers, had predicted that both these places would be destroyed by an earthquake in about a year. The communication excited extreme merriment among the Consul's guests. Dr. Wolff has told at length how the prediction found a terrible fulfilment a few days afterwards. The whole of Aleppo and of Antioch and of the villages within a circuit of twenty miles was destroyed by a frightful earthquake, and 60,000 people perished.

That instance seems to admit of no doubt that the prediction preceded the event. The following rests upon the testimony of the late Colonel Meadows Taylor, and is given in his book—*The Story of My Life*.* The narrative occupies the whole fifteenth chapter of the Colonel's book, and concerns the Rajah of Shorapoor. Briefly it is as follows: The Ranee, the Rajah's mother, had her child's horoscope made out by native astrologers. It declared that he would not survive his twenty-fourth year and that he would lose his country. Great efforts were made by the Ranee to secure a different finding. These were in vain, and the prediction was everywhere confirmed. The knowledge

* pp. 391-411.

of this melancholy forecast was concealed from the young prince, and was confined, indeed, to Colonel Taylor and the Ranee's minister—a native official. The Ranee died. The young prince became a ward of the East Indian Company and was afterwards installed as Rajah. In 1857 he took part in the Indian Mutiny. After an attempt to destroy the British troops sent to Shorapoor, he fled and was captured at Hyderabad. He was tried and sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted by the Governor-General. The Rajah was to be confined for four years to a fortress, and then, should his conduct be satisfactory, his territory was to be restored to him. *This happened in his twenty-fourth year*, and the Colonel imagined that the Rajah had escaped the predicted fate. But a few days brought a further surprise. At the end of the first day's march to his new abode, the Rajah was examining the commanding officer's pistols, and shot himself—it was believed accidentally. The prediction was therefore literally fulfilled, Colonel Meadows Taylor mentions that the casket containing the horoscope came into the possession of the British officials.

It is worth remembering also that a similar prediction is said to have played an important part in bringing about the Mutiny. It was said that the foreign *raj* would end in 1857. In part this also was accomplished. The rule of the East India Company was ended in that year by Act of Parliament, but the British Government took its place.

In the *Memoires* of the Comtesse de Boigne (vol. ii, pp. 322–325) she gives a striking narrative which she received from her father, the Marquis d'Osmond (French Ambassador to Great Britain), who was intimately acquainted with the Chevalier de X . . . , of whom she writes, and who was fully cognisant of the facts. The Chevalier was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment which the Marquis joined in his youth. A man of striking personality and most amiable disposition, he was adored by his regiment; and, being a relative of the Marquis's family, the young officer and he were close friends from the first. When camping in a small German village during the Seven Years' War a gipsy was brought into the officers' saloon after dinner. At first the Chevalier remonstrated with his fellow-officers, but finally yielded and allowed the gipsy to inspect his hand; after a close scrutiny she said: "You will advance rapidly in your military career; you will make a marriage beyond your hopes; you will have a son whom you will not see; and you will die from a shot before you have reached your fortieth year."

“The Chevalier de X . . .,” continues Madame de Boigne, “attached no importance to these prognostications. However, when in a few months he obtained two successive steps, due to his brilliant conduct in the war, he recalled to his comrades the words of the fortune-teller. They recurred to his memory also when he married, some years afterwards, a young lady, rich and of good family.

“His lady being near her confinement, he obtained leave of absence to join her. The evening before he set out he said: ‘My faith! All that the sorceress said is not true. I shall be forty in five days. I leave to-morrow, and there is little likelihood of a gunshot in perfect peace!’

“He was detained on the way by an accident to the carriage in which he was travelling. He was invited by the officers of the garrison of the town, in which he was thus forced to remain a few hours, to join a hunting party, and was shot by accident. He was badly, though not mortally, wounded. While he lay under the surgeon’s care a letter came for him, saying that his wife had been safely delivered of a boy. ‘Ah,’ he cried, ‘the cursed sorceress was right! I shall not see my son!’ He was attacked with sudden convulsions. Tetanus followed; and twelve hours afterwards he expired in my father’s arms.” His friends explained the end by the effect which the remembered prediction had upon his mind. But no such explanation seems possible of the other four predicted events—his rapid promotion—his fortunate marriage—the birth of a son whom he did not see—and his receiving the gunshot wound.

In view of such cases the conviction seems to be forced upon us that prediction is a fact. The theory that these have all been lucky guesses will be found to labour under heavy—I believe crushing—difficulties. There seems to be only one other hypothesis possible—that some mind or minds possess a power, limited or otherwise, of beholding events set forth upon the stage of the future. How events can be so set forth, before they happen, is a question which no man can answer. But that they have been so set forth in the instances already mentioned is highly probable; and I think that the instances which I am now to produce will show that true foresight and genuine prediction are facts which cannot be successfully assailed.

It seems to me that the predictions of the Scriptures have never yet had their due acknowledgment even as psychical phenomena. Pascal has said that in the Christian religion he found genuine prophecy, and that he found it in no other. That is one of those sayings which has ensured to Pascal the admira-

tion and gratitude of his own and after times; but the study of religions has shown that this line of demarcation runs still deeper. Christianity (including Judaism) is a predictive, and the only predictive, religion. Every other religion clings to the past: Christianity alone is an announcement of, and a preparation for, the future.

In any attempt at a satisfactory discussion of a matter of this kind some things are essential pre-requisites. It would be an impertinence to ask us to consider vague aspirations and events which might be regarded as more or less fulfilments of them. A presumed prediction must be definite. It must also be presented in a form to which no suspicion can be attached of manipulation by which the prediction was altered to suit the asserted fulfilment.

These requirements are fully met in the present instance. The Old Testament was closed centuries—even the most extreme views as to the date of the Old Testament Books grant us nearly two centuries—before the beginning of the Christian era. The contents of that pre-Christian Bible have been fixed by a Greek translation—the Septuagint—begun in the third century B.C.; by the Targums—Jewish translations from the Hebrew into Eastern Aramaean; and by two other Greek translations—by Aquila and Theodotion—belonging to the first or the second century of the Christian era. These afford us a degree of certainty as to the contents of the Old Testament Books most unusual in an inquiry of this kind. But, in addition, we have a confirmation of the utmost value. The Books themselves have been in the care of Jewish scholars, the last men in the world to alter their Scriptures in any fashion whatever, and least of all to fashion them into more formidable weapons for the Christian controversialist. It is from that Hebrew Bible, so faithfully guarded, that our English Bible (Authorized and Revised) has been translated.

We encounter first of all one broad fact. In the early historical books we have promises of the appearing of one outstanding Individual by whom the needs of Israel and of all the nations will be met. The prophetic books supply many details, indicating His nationality, lineage, character, work, and history. This Messiah becomes the hope of Israel. It is a hope that dominates every other. It fills the future as the midday sun the heavens. There are blessings in His coming for the Gentiles also. Now, it is undeniable that one Personality rose upon the world's view as the sun climbs the heaven; that His coming has ploughed a long and broad dividing line between

past and after times. It began the one and only revolution in the world's history that has been for God and for the better and nobler life of man. There has been no other movement to set by the side of it—I believe that few will name or think of Mohammedanism as comparable with Christianity. If they did, Mohammedanism is excluded from the comparison by its Koran, its methods, and its results. The personality of the Lord Jesus Christ is absolutely unique. He is utterly above and apart from all besides of this earth's best and greatest. His character and abiding influence make, on the face of them, a startling answer to the Scripture announcement of the coming of the Messiah. He was to be a Jew and He was to bless Jew and Gentile. The man of Nazareth fulfils undeniably and broadly that strange but confident prediction. Is that a chance? Or does it show that prediction is a fact?

The following points are worthy of close consideration:—

1. The earliest announcement of his future appearing is very striking (Genesis, iii, 15: "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. It (or He) shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel"). Plainly it is One from among the woman's offspring, who is specially described as *her* seed, who is thus to deal directly with the Deceiver who by his wiles has driven man from the presence of God. He will crush the Deceiver's power: "He shall bruise thy head." But the Deliverer of humanity will not escape unscathed: "Thou shalt bruise his heel." I suppose this means that the progress of the Deliverer's work would be suspended or delayed for a time—an astonishing commentary upon the nearly nineteen centuries of delay since Christ's uncompleted work began. Thus three things should be noted here:—

- (1) *The wide scope of the predicted Redeemer's work—He comes for man.*
- (2) *The Redeemer's objective—to slay the Deceiver.*
- (3) *The retardation of the Redeemer's work.*

2. *The Redeemer was to be an Israelite* (Genesis xxii, 18: "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed"). The words were spoken to Abraham. It adds to their significance that they were spoken at the altar upon which Isaac had been laid in sacrifice. It is a striking fact that here again—in a Jewish book—the Redeemer promised is to be for "all nations." It is surely more than a marvellous coincidence that, in a Redeemer sprung from Israel, men of every nationality have already found blessing.

3. *He is to be of lowly, though of royal origin.* The Davidic glory had been for centuries a mere tradition before our Lord's birth. In the following words of Isaiah that royal house is represented as having fallen, although David's descendants were in the time of the prophet still reigning in Jerusalem:—"And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse"—the tree has been felled—"and a branch shall grow out of his roots" (xi, 1). The remainder of the chapter shows that this "sprout" or "branch" is no other than He in whom "all nations" are to be blessed; for in verse 10, for example, we read: "And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign to the peoples; to it shall the Gentiles seek, and His rest shall be glory."

4. *There will be nothing in His person, in His position in society, or in the aims which He pursues to insure for Him an enthusiastic reception by the people.* "Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of Jehovah revealed? For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; there is no beauty that we should desire him" (Isaiah liii, 1, 2). There we surely see the Man of Nazareth!

5. I now come to a circumstance among the most wonderful that has ever occurred in a nation's history. Let it be remembered that Israel was selected and specially trained to recognize the Messiah when He should appear, to rally round Him, and to become His ministers and messengers; and yet, notwithstanding, *Israel*, in its leaders and in the great body of the people, *is to reject the Messiah!* The prophet (already quoted) continues: "He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief: and we hid as it were our faces from him. He was despised and we esteemed him not" (verse 3).

In a preceding part of this prophecy the Messiah is represented as anticipating failure in His attempt to influence Israel; and coupled with that is an intimation that His success will be found among the Gentiles! "Though Israel be not gathered, yet will I be glorious in the eyes of the Lord, and my God shall be my strength. And he (God) said 'It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.'" This is supported by an indication of the kind of glory the Messiah will win among the Gentile peoples: "Thus saith the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel and his

Holy One, to him whom man despiseth, to him whom the nation abhorreth, to a servant of rulers. Kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship, because of the Lord that is faithful, and the Holy One of Israel, and he shall choose thee" (Isaiah xlix, 5-7). Here are three outstanding facts of history distinctly predicted centuries beforehand—(1) the rejection of the Messiah by the Jews; (2) His reception by the Gentiles; and (3) the kind of reception accorded to Him.

6. Details are given of the intermediate tragedy. *The Messiah is to suffer a felon's death*: "He was taken from prison" (He had been apprehended), "and from judgment" (He had been tried and condemned); "and who shall declare his generation? for he was cut off out of the land of the living" (He was to die in His early manhood) (Isaiah liii, 8).

7. *He is to rise from the dead*. The description (Isaiah liii), which begins in deepest sadness, ends jubilantly: "He shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied . . . Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong" (verses 11, 12). The twenty-second psalm indicates that the death assigned will be that of crucifixion—"They pierced my hands and my feet. I may tell all my bones: they look and stare upon me. They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture" (verses 16-18). This prediction, which opens with an exceeding bitter cry, ends in the unexpectedly joyous fashion of Isaiah liii. "My praise shall be of thee in the great Congregation: I will pay my vows before them that fear him . . . All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee" (verses 25, 27). What is here implied finds a distinct statement in Psalm xvi, 10: "For thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol (Hades); neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." It might be hard to prove that the resurrection of Christ was an actual fact; but that the work revived and went on as the predictions declare it should do are facts. It is remarkable, too, that the transition from overwhelming sorrow to abounding joy was vividly reflected in the experience of the disciples who laid the foundation of the Christian Church.

8. It undoubtedly blunts the edge of the preceding that a host of the predictions regarding the Messiah have found no fulfilment. We look in vain for anything which can be regarded as an accomplishment of what is foretold, for example, in Psalms xlv and lxxii. But that difficulty vanishes when it is noted that there is to be a break in the earthly presence and

earthly work of the Messiah. That break is the subject of a distinct prophecy. In Psalm cx, the speaker (said in the title to be David) describes a scene in heaven. Jehovah is seated upon His throne. Before Him stands One whom the Psalmist names "My Lord." And this is what the Psalmist hears: "Jehovah said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." Plainly this Personage so addressed has had a history. He presents Himself after having done a work upon the earth which has aroused against Him a hostility which has triumphed for the moment. Let it be observed also, as bearing upon the question as to Who this Personage is and what He has done, that heaven's highest award is conferred upon Him. He is to sit upon heaven's throne and at God's right hand. We have to mark also that this rest is temporary—"until I make thine enemies thy footstool." This interruption entirely corresponds with the ordinary representation that there is to be a return of the ascended Messiah, and that the predictions yet unfulfilled describe the events which will mark the Return—the coming "a second time."

The rest of the Psalm seems to confirm that view of the matter. It consists of a twofold address by the Psalmist. The first (verses 2-4) seems to be spoken to Him whom he has named "My Lord" (*Adonai*, master). This invites a close scrutiny. It seems to be a promise that the interests of—let us say the Messiah, will not be neglected while He is seated at the right hand of Jehovah. If this reading of the words is correct, it is of immense importance; for these verses will then present themselves as a description of what is to happen between the Ascension and the Return. In other words, they will contain a prophetic history of Christianity.

(1) The earthly interests of the Messiah will not suffer by His absence. His dominion will be extended by fresh conquests. "Jehovah sends the rod of thy strength," the sceptre of thy power, "out of—from—Zion." Jerusalem will be the centre from which the new faith will spread north, west, east, and south—a fact in the early history of Christianity which is historically established.

(2) The new conquest will have limitations. "Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies." There will be those by whom the new sovereignty will be contested and repudiated. The dominion promised is one in the midst of long enduring hostility. It seems to me that this is a striking forecast of that condition which has called for unceasing vigilance and activity

on the part of the Christian Church. For almost nineteen centuries it has been the Church militant nearly everywhere ; the Church triumphant nowhere.

(3) Those touched by the sceptre of power will be separated. They are described (verse 3) as "thy people." The Psalmist's "Lord" becomes their King. The converts are gathered around Him. The Church will be an *imperium in imperio*, acknowledging a Law to which every other must be subordinated. How that finds its fulfilment in Christianity I need not say.

(4) But the subjects of the Kingdom will be marked by intense devotion: "Thy people shall be willing in the day of Thy power" (verse 3)—literally, "Thy people shall be free-will offerings," etc. The phrase is peculiar and, indeed, unparalleled in the Old Testament. We read (Exodus xxxv, 29, etc.) of the Israelites bringing a free-will offering (the same word); but here the people themselves are to be free-will offerings.

(5) They will be marked by uprightness and purity. It seems preferable to take these words—"in the beauties of holiness"—as an additional characterization. The people of the Messiah will be distinguished by character. They will be apparelled in "the beauties of holiness." It does not seem to me to be possible to furnish more distinguishing marks of the genuine Christian than this and the preceding. Christianity has been advanced and been served by limitless devotion, while its life and thought have been a revelation and an astonishment to humanity.

(6) The new people will form a countless multitude: "More than the womb of the morning thou hast the dew of thy youth." Those pregnant words invite larger comment; but it is enough to indicate the leading thought. This people will be more numerous than the dewdrops.

The fact which we have to consider here is that, since the disappearance of "the Lord" from the earth, a work in just such circumstances and with just such results has been carried on. It spread from Jerusalem. Everywhere it has been surrounded by hostility. Those brought under subjection have been separated. They have been marked by deep devotion to their unseen Lord, and by purity, uprightness and moral beauty; and the hosts which have been drawn from among the nations during these nineteen centuries may be fairly said to be innumerable. The genuineness of that prediction (guarded to the present hour as a sacred deposit by a race determinedly hostile to Christianity) cannot be questioned. Its fulfilment by

phenomena utterly new to history seems to be equally unquestionable.

The above are a few of what I may call the central prophecies of the Old Testament. There are many others at which the limits of the present paper forbid us even to glance. I shall mention, however, three others which will show the wide range and astonishing accuracy of Scripture prophecy, and which intensify the demand for a calm and philosophic discussion of these surprising phenomena. Egypt, Israel's ancient oppressor, is frequently the subject of prophetic messages. Reginald Stuart Poole in his article on Egypt in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (First Edition) says: "It would not be within the province of this article to enter upon a general consideration of the prophecies relating to Egypt: we must, however, draw the reader's attention to their remarkable fulfilment. The visitor to the country needs not to be reminded of them: everywhere he is struck with the precision with which they have come to pass. We have already spoken of the physical changes which have verified to the letter the words of Isaiah. In like manner we recognize, for instance, in the singular disappearance of the City of Memphis and its temples, in a country where several primeval towns yet stand, and scarce any ancient site is unmarked by temples, the fulfilment of the words of Jeremiah: 'Noph shall be waste and desolate without an inhabitant' (xlvi, 19), and those of Ezekiel: 'Thus saith the Lord God: I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause [their] images to cease out of Noph' (xxx, 13). Not less signally are the words immediately following the last quotation—'And there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt' (*l.c.*)—fulfilled in the history of the country, for from the second Persian conquest, more than 2,000 years ago, until our own days, not one native ruler has occupied the throne."*

One point in these manifold predictions concerning Egypt may be taken as a sample. After describing a 40 years' captivity of the people and their return at the end of that time the prophecy continues: "And they shall be there a base kingdom. It shall be the basest of the kingdoms; neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations" (Ezekiel xxix, 14, 15).

The boldness of this prediction will be remarked. It is not a venture at a description of a more or less probable event, but

* Vol. i, p. 512.

a clear and broad account of conditions that will endure to all after time. No test of the possession of genuine predictive power could well be more absolute than is afforded by this prophecy. The probabilities were against its fulfilment. It declares that Egypt will never rise again to her old pre-eminence, but will decline more and more till it occupies the lowest place among the nations. But for centuries afterwards the fruitfulness of Egypt was proverbial. Her natural position and her long, broad waterway enabled her to tap the productions and the industries of Central Africa. The Red Sea and her canals enabled her also to benefit by the commerce of East and West. The high and varied abilities and the vast industries of her own people may be said to have assured her revival even from the deepest prostration to which she could be subjected. Nevertheless, the prediction is the accurate summation of her after history. Never once since has she ruled over the nations. She has fallen lower and lower until she is now the basest of the kingdoms.

It will be observed also that the continuity of Egypt is assumed, and it is to continue to exist as a kingdom. These particulars are remarkable enough. With a foreknowledge of Egypt's perpetual decline we should infallibly have foretold its eventual extinction, or, at least, the loss of its separate existence as a people. But does the description "a base kingdom, yea . . . the basest of the kingdoms" present any true account of Egypt's present condition? The description is exact. She has no place in the Council of the nations. No other nationality seeks her friendship or dreads her enmity. Beyond a rude species of cultivation she has no industries. There is nothing in the character of her people or in the ability and uprightness of her rulers to excite expectation of revived greatness or power. She is a hopeless wreck, and is held together only by the strong hand of a distant nation which her fathers never knew.

The closer inspection of the condition of Egypt confirms more fully the aptness of the phrases in the prophetic description. Financial control is no longer in the hands of the Khedive—the king—of Egypt. He cannot impose a tax or receive the proceeds of it. The British Government officials levy the taxes; and out of the income these yield they pay the interest on the Khedive's debts. They pay the wages of his officials and his own salary! It is, indeed, "a base kingdom," and if there is a baser I cannot say where that is to be found.

There is a prediction in the much abused Book of Daniel which seems worthy of notice. The second chapter contains

what plainly purports to be a revelation of the world's after-history. King Nebuchadnezzar, the real founder of the great later Babylonian empire, beholds in a dream a colossal image with a head of gold, the two arms and breast of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs and feet of iron, the toes partly iron and partly brittle earthenware. The head of gold is explained to the king by the prophet as representing the Babylonian empire. That is to be succeeded by a silver empire, represented by the two arms and the breast. This is to have two successors—an empire of brass and an empire of iron. The toes of the image represent a tenfold division of the last, part of which retains the iron nature, another part having only a delusive semblance to that metal. The whole is crushed and ground to powder by a stone severed from the mountain side "without hands." The prophet explains that from that time there will be (including Nebuchadnezzar's) four empires of man. The fifth will be the kingdom of God.

Exegetes and would-be exegetes have wrestled over this prediction till the air is somewhat foul and the mud beneath is offensive and slippery. A safe and comfortable position can be found, however, without entering that arena, and one from which we can determine broad and unquestionable facts. Four great empires are mapped out in the prophecy. There are four in history with which Palestine and the Jews have had to do. These are the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, whose founder was Cyrus, the Grecian, founded by Alexander, and the Roman. The last was, by-and-by, divided into the Eastern and Western Empires and is now represented by kingdoms, not yet exactly ten, but which seem for some time to have been approaching that definite number.

The eighth chapter of the book settles one point which has been keenly debated—whether the Median and the Persian formed two empires or one only. Verse 20 shows the inadmissibility of the hypothesis that the prophecy contemplates them as two. The ram (which in the vision was overcome by the he-goat) is definitely described: "The ram which thou sawest, having the two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia." These two powers are represented by one emblem, and are therefore the united kingdom under Cyrus and his successors. A like attempt has been made to make *two* kingdoms out of the third—(1) that of Alexander, and (2) that of his successors. This supposition is set aside by verses 21 and 22: "And the rough goat is the king of Grecia; and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king. Now, that being broken,

whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nations, but not in his power." The third kingdom, therefore, is that of Alexander and his successors. The fourth must then be the Roman.

Even at the lowest date which has been assigned to Daniel, the marvel remains. There was to be a fourth dominion, and that was to be the last of the great human empires. It should have no successor; and it has had none. It was represented by the two lower limbs; and it became twofold—the Empires of the East and of the West. That fourth dominion was to continue till it should be represented by a more numerous division—by the ten toes of the image. Apart from that number ten (not yet reached), the vision of Nebuchadnezzar has been verified in every detail.

In these brief notices of Scripture predictions some mention has to be made of those concerning the Israelitish people. (1) In case of their persisting in their rebellion against Jehovah, notwithstanding previous chastisements, it was written: "Jehovah shall scatter thee among all the peoples, from the one end of the earth unto the other" (Deuteronomy xxviii, 64). Here it is indicated that the thoroughness of the dispersion will be phenomenal. They will be found among all the peoples from the one end of the earth to the other. That is a feature in this prediction which should not be overlooked. (2) They will in this dispersion be subjected to persistent persecution: "And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest. But Jehovah shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind" (verse 65). (3) Yet, notwithstanding the loss of country, security, and rest, they will not disappear as a people: "And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them to destroy them utterly" (Leviticus xxvi, 44).

Hosea iii, 4, 5, fills up the foregoing pictures. Israel is to be separated from Jehovah, and her condition during that period is described. (1) It will cover a long period: "For the children of Israel shall abide MANY DAYS." (2) Their political condition is described: they will "abide many days without a king and without a prince." They will have no central government. (3) Their religious condition is in like manner portrayed: "and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim." They will be without a sacrifice, and without a priest, that is, one who has the Divinely given right to approach Jehovah on Israel's

behalf. Since the destruction of the Temple, Israel has been deprived of both sacrifice and priest. At the same time they will refuse the delusive help and consolation offered by idolatry. If the altar is taken away, they will not put an image in its place. If they have no longer an ephod-clad priest to inquire of God, they will not seek counsel of the teraphim.

Strange to say it was predicted in the sacred book which the Jews themselves have handed down that they were to reject the Messiah! This has already been before us (see page 63); but we have also a prediction—this time in the New Testament—dealing with the question as to how long this attitude of rejection and loathing is to continue. The Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans is correcting a possible misconception on the part of the Christians at Rome. "For I would not, brethren," he writes, "that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, lest ye should be wise in your own conceits, that blindness (hardness) in part is happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles is come in" (Romans xi, 25). There are various interpretations of this "fullness of the Gentiles"; but all agree that this is not even now complete. Until our own times, then, and after there was to be no reversal of the judgment passed by the fathers of Israel in the first century. The "hardness" was to continue. That it has continued notwithstanding all the sufferings of the Jewish people and all the efforts of the Christian Church is one of the facts of history. What eye read the then unwritten record in the middle of the first century?

There is a "hardness" frequently exhibited in our own day, and which is wise exceedingly in its own conceit. If it consent to listen—and that is an unwonted condescension—it never even dreams of investigating the alleged facts, or of weighing their significance. The whole are haughtily waived aside. The facts are treated as if they were non-existent. Such an attitude is unphilosophical and unscientific. It is childish and contemptible.

Before stating what seem to me to be necessary deductions from the foregoing, I may be suffered to say a word upon a somewhat common misconception. There is no necessary connection between foreknowledge and predestination. Knowledge of things past does not affect the facts in any way. The things are not there because we know them: we know them because they are there. And so with things future. Reading of things to come fixes no destiny. The destiny may be self-determined or otherwise; but foreknowledge is in itself no more responsible for the destiny than my knowledge of the contents of to-day's

newspaper makes me responsible for what was placed upon the printed page.

Let me now conclude by indicating some corollaries from our study.

1. Foreknowledge is not a power possessed by any merely human mind. That is the testimony of every human consciousness. It is the consciousness of our own utter incapacity to read the future which explains our astonishment and awe when we are convinced that this has nevertheless been done.

2. Since prediction is an act of intelligence, the fact of prediction must be accepted as proof of the existence and of the activity of mind that is superhuman.

3. The vast variety of the predictions of Scripture, and the ease with which they sweep through centuries, while dealing with special, and fully described, details, show that here we are in contact with a vast intelligence that is unlimited in this power of foresight.

4. The study of these predictions would have saved us the lamentable misdirection of recent discussions upon the limits of inspiration and the Divine and human elements in the Scripture. The suggestion of two-foldness in a prediction, every word of which has revealed the then future, is presumptuous trifling. The message in its entirety is supernatural; and a Book that has such seals leaves no doubt in any candid mind as to its origin and claims.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Urquhart's paper deals with non-moral and non-spiritual instances of Prediction as well as with Prediction contained in spiritual Prophecy. As regards the former, which is somewhat akin to second sight, it is difficult in many cases to distinguish between truth and imposture; but there seems to be undoubted evidence of some true cases. A clergyman now working in London has more than once told in my hearing the story of a dream which he had one year some weeks before a University match at Lord's, of a trifling but most improbable circumstance which was happening to him there, he knew not how or why, and of its exact fulfilment when the match took place. Personally, I feel unable to agree with all the details of the paper: I regard the prophecies in the Bible as foretelling the coming and growth of the Kingdom of God, but not as predicting modern

political events. Prophecy was *not*, what one old divine once called it, "history written beforehand." And it generally, if not always, had, primarily, a bearing on the time and place of its delivery. The prophecy from Isaiah xlix, 6, quoted in the paper, was, as clearly appears from the context, spoken originally of Israel or a portion of Israel, and though we recognize it as chiefly fulfilled in Christ, St. Paul adopted it as applicable to Himself (Acts xiii, 47), and so justifies us in applying it to the Church. But the main conclusion of the paper is that prediction is the action of a superhuman mind. As Baron Von Hügel, I believe, points out in his recent work on *Eternal Life*, all the past, present and future in time are, eternally and always, completely and simultaneously open before God. From Him, therefore, emanates the element of Prediction in spiritual prophecy. From Him, too, must emanate, though we cannot understand how or why, any other true cases of prediction which have come within human experience.

The Rev. E. SEELEY drew attention to the value of prophetic prediction as an argument for the Divine Authority of the Bible, and to the tendency of some modern critics to question the dates of the prophecies when they were inconveniently exact, rather than accept the predictions made.

Referring to the Author's remarks on Egypt, p. 67, he thought he overlooked the predictions in Isaiah xix, 12, 20-25, of a latter-day restoration of Egypt, and of a similar restoration of Assyria, and also Isaiah's very remarkable words linking both of these predicted restorations with the latter-day prosperity of Israel (also left unnoticed by Mr. Urquhart).

During own own lifetime it has been increasingly evident that the unique British Empire has been receiving and possessing the blessings promised to Israel; so that we may perhaps be justified in considering it to be (at least, for the present) the political Kingdom of God,—the political aspect of "the Stone Kingdom."

We, living more than 2,000 years after Isaiah and Daniel, know that Britain is *now* assisting effectively in restoration in Egypt and, in a less degree, in Assyria. And throughout the world this strange Empire is growing and working as no other Empire ever has in the past; but, as some "kingdom" must do, in the days of "the toes," to fulfil these predictions and many others. How could Nebuchadnezzar or Daniel or Isaiah know of things so strange and

so remote in time? Were those statements merely "pious opinions"?

Mr. HOWARD said we had only to look at an almanack to see that if knowledge is adequate, foretelling is possible. Rising and setting of planets, eclipses, tides, etc., are predicted with perfect accuracy. Prognosis is possible, and is the highest result of medical knowledge. Too often men could not get beyond diagnosis. There is a paper in the *Revue des deux Mondes* by Lavoisier, foretelling the later researches of Ramsay and Dewar as to the effect of very low temperatures. It is clear that the all-wise God, having perfect knowing, is able to predict the future, and is it too much to expect that there may be good men who walk so closely with God that they learn His mind and so in their measure are able to prophesy too. Plato, one could scarcely doubt, had this gift in measure, especially when he foretold the fate of the perfectly just man, much more the writers of the sacred literature of the Bible.

Professor HECHLER begged that the greatest care should be taken in correctly interpreting prophecy.

"*The Stone*," in Daniel ii, 34, 35, 45, which "*was cut out without hands*," that is, without human instrumentality, "*and brake them*," the heathen kingdoms, "*into pieces*," is the "King Messiah," as the old Jewish Rabbis taught, and as we Christian students of Prophecy believe. See *Pirkê Rabbi Eliezer, Chapter II*, a Midrash compiled between 700-800 A.D., containing the opinions of Jewish teachers as far back as the days of our Lord. See also *Tanchuma, fol. 31, 4*, a Midrash compiled between A.D. 1100 and 1200. Compare also *Josephus, Antiq. X, 10, 4*.

Notice that in Daniel ii, 34, "*the stone . . . smote the image . . . and brake them to pieces*." Therefore, this seems to refer to the Second Coming of the Messiah in power and judgment, and in Daniel ii, 28, we are expressly informed that King Nebuchadnezzar's dream refers to "*the latter days*," that is, to Christ's Second Coming as the glorified Messiah to execute righteous judgment against all unbelievers, as predicted in Revelation xix, 11.

Surely, the events taking place all around us in our own days, the breaking up of the Turkish Empire, and in Palestine the good agricultural work being done by about 100,000 Jewish Zionist colonists, so that the Holy Land of Promise is again blossoming as a rose, which

the Professor saw himself in 1898 and 1904, all these events prove that we are living in very solemn times, when God's prophecies are fulfilling literally all around us. We may, therefore, soon expect the Master's Return in Glory and Majesty.

Dr. HEYWOOD SMITH said: I wish to draw attention to what has been said concerning Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the image in Daniel ii (p. 69), wherein the author says, "The fifth will be the Kingdom of God." That is so. But we have no right to interpret the fifth kingdom as applying to the Church, as is so often done by various commentators, thereby mixing the metaphors. The image is a vision of kingdoms, as is explained by Daniel under the inspiration of God, and therefore we must interpret the fifth, the Stone Kingdom, as also a great empire, and the greatest of all the five, which was to become the dominant empire of the world. Now the British Empire is this great empire, the greatest the world has seen. And whereas Israel was indicated by dying Israel as the Stone Kingdom (Genesis xlix, 24), it follows that the British Empire is in the place of Israel. And, inasmuch as the promises and plans of Jehovah are sure and unchangeable, it naturally follows that the British Empire is the representative of Israel—nay, more, that we are actually the literal descendants of the so-called lost tribes of Israel.

The arguments for this position are so overwhelming, and the interest in this inquiry so widely spreading through our vast empire, and among our brethren in the United States, that it behoves us reverently to study and see whether God is not revealing to this generation the truth that we are Israel and that his promises stand for ever sure.

Mr. MAUNDER said: We have had a very important and suggestive paper read to us this afternoon, but I should like to say how thoroughly I agree with the criticism of our Chairman, that two entirely different subjects have been dealt with in it. For my part, I should have been glad if the whole of the introductory portion, from line 10 on page 57 to line 6 on page 61, had been omitted. The anecdotes which Mr. Urquhart has given us in this introductory section have nothing to do with prediction in its highest sense, or, as I should prefer to call it, prophecy, but simply with fortune-telling, and the distinction between the two is immense. Foreknowledge is the attribute of God alone, and the prophecies of Holy Scripture, which form Mr. Urquhart's main

theme, are, as we have been told by St. Peter, "not of any private interpretation." They are concerned with God's great purposes for mankind in general, with the person and work of Our Lord, and with the scheme of redemption. They stand therefore on an altogether different plane from the prediction of happenings to individual men. As a scientific man, I am inclined to think that such cases of successful fortune-telling require far more cogent evidence to support them than is usually forthcoming; as a rule, when critically inquired into, they resolve themselves into mist; and where they seem well authenticated, I am disposed to think that in many cases they can be explained by some slight confusion of consciousness in the person experiencing them.

Mr. GRAHAM, on the question of what degree of knowledge the prophets had of the extent or reach of their predictions, called attention to the apostolic statement on the subject (1 Peter i, 12), and quoted the prophecy of Isaiah, "Behold, a Virgin shall conceive," etc., given and fulfilled as a sign to Ahaz; applied by St. Matthew to the birth of the Saviour; and thus proving an important prophetic testimony to the truth of the Incarnation. This and other instances given in the Gospels indicated the infinite mind that inspired the prophecies. It was what Bacon called the "germinative quality" of prophecy, by which must be understood successive fulfilments of the same word in the development of the purpose of God. If this suggestion were taken up and followed out, it would dispose of attempts to fix a limit of time for the application of the inspired word.

Mr. C. S. CAMPBELL said: In continuation of the point raised by the last speaker, I may be allowed perhaps to say a few words. He alluded to the double fulfilment of prophecy. And I do not suppose we should find it hard to exemplify such from the Bible or experience. A mere physical fulfilment, to the eye, may be followed by a more distant fulfilment, appealing to the spirit; or we might say, more esoteric. In this connection I had already noted, in passing, the allusion of the writer of the paper to "twofoldness in prediction" (5 lines from the end). If I am at all right in the connection, the writer might perhaps see fit to reconsider his wording; or make his position clearer.

The CHAIRMAN, in closing the discussion, said: I am sure we shall all unite in a hearty vote of thanks to the writer of the paper.

It has given rise to a discussion which, if the limits of our time had permitted, could easily have been prolonged to a late hour of the night. We shall, no doubt, have the benefit later on of seeing his remarks on that discussion when it is published in the volume of our transactions.

Professor H. LANGHORNE ORCHARD wrote :

It is with *very great* regret that I find myself prevented from being present at the reading of Mr. Urquhart's masterly paper on "The Fact of Prediction,"—a paper full of interest. Our thanks are due to the learned Author for the clearness and precision with which he treats a subject which has at all times had extraordinary fascination for the human mind. In the desire for prediction may be recognized man's intuitive belief in a future, in a future which concerns himself, in immortality.

Absolute knowledge of a future event is not the attribute of any creature; it is the attribute of GOD alone. This seems affirmed in Isaiah xlii, where HE tells us that HE declares "new things" "before they spring forth." In the Bible prophecies GOD communicates this knowledge. Perhaps instances of prediction, such as those cited in the early part of the paper, may be partly explained in this way, and partly by coincidence and guess. There are some things which man can foretell, provided always that the natures and relations of things and the laws of nature remain unchanged:—*e.g.*, the heights of the tides on given days, eclipses, returns of comets, etc., etc. These conditional predictions are really calculations. Similarly, we have logical conclusions from premises supplied by experience. The difference between this sort of foretelling and the Bible prophecies is obvious.

I think the remarks, in the last paragraph of p. 71, on foreknowledge and predestination are especially valuable. A surprising amount of haze in connection with these subjects confuses many minds. In the Bible prophecies predestination is combined with foreknowledge of *free-will actions*, and we shall concur with the able Author that "a Book which has such seals leaves no doubt in any candid mind as to its origin and claims."

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

The LECTURER in reply writes :

The interesting discussion which followed the reading of the paper

has largely answered my purpose in writing it. The study of Scripture prophecy has been strangely neglected in recent times, with deplorable results.

May I be permitted to say that I dissent very definitely from the view of the nature of Scripture prophecy expressed by the respected Chairman, Chancellor P. Vernon Smith. I think it was well defined by the old divine whom he quotes as "history written beforehand." Samuel's prediction to Saul (1 Samuel x, 2-6) was of exactly that order, and its exact literal fulfilment impressed Saul accordingly. As to its having had "primarily a bearing upon the time or place of its delivery," although the Chairman is here in accord with a modern principle of prophetic (mis)interpretation, I am quite at a loss to understand the statement. When Daniel pictured the final partition of the Roman Empire into ten kingdoms, what bearing had that prediction "on the time and place of its delivery"? The belief that the Messianic Psalms, for example, had a primary fulfilment in David is most distinctly repudiated by Holy Scripture. In Acts ii, 29, the first part of the proof, that a certain prediction referred to our Lord, is that it had no fulfilment whatever in David. Is not the Chairman under a misapprehension when he alleges that Paul (Acts xiii, 47) "adopted" "as applicable to himself" a prophecy "chiefly fulfilled in Christ"? Is it not the evident meaning of the Apostle, not that they (Paul and Barnabas) were the light of the Gentiles, but that, Christ having been appointed the light of the Gentiles, they (His servants) must carry the Gospel to them? In view of the enormous importance of testing current modes of interpretation, the Chancellor, I know, will excuse my traversing another statement of his. "The prophecy from Isaiah xlix, 6," he said, was "spoken originally of Israel or a portion of Israel." The words are these: "And he said 'It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel, I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation to the ends of the earth.'" Against these words this Jewish rationalistic device is dashed to pieces. Was Israel or any portion of it ever described as God's "salvation"? Were even the Apostles ever so addressed? The words are applied to ONE who, seeing that His mission is to "raise up" the Jew, and "to restore" in the latter day that part of Israel "preserved" throughout "the day of Jacob's

trouble," cannot, by any expositor, who retains his sanity, be identified with Israel or with any portion of it.

Mr. Seeley will see on reflection that, seeing I was dealing only with fulfilled prediction, any reference on my part to those as yet unfulfilled would have been out of place. The importance, however, of these I, in common with him, hold to be inestimable. As to the Anglo-Israelite theory I have to confess that I am utterly unable to accept it, or to understand how it has commended itself to so many good men. I am thankful to note Professor Hechler's excellent words in commending the more careful interpretation of prophecy.

Mr. Maunder thinks that the earlier part of the paper might with advantage have been omitted. That is possible; but, dealing with the fact of prediction, it seemed to me that some notice of those phenomena was called for. I think they are also interesting. The cases cited seemed to me to be well authenticated. Colonel Meadows Taylor had personal knowledge of the facts which he recorded, and Madame de Boigne's testimony seems almost equally strong. The cases recorded in Scripture seem still more incapable of explanation on the supposition of either delusion or imposture (see page 58). That contact is possible with the spirit-world seems scientifically proved; and the plain import of the passage in Acts referred to is that the damsel was possessed by a demon who had to a limited extent the power of prediction. There are other well-known facts which might have been mentioned. Whence came the singular assurance of the Romans as to the duration of their city? It has so far proved itself to be "the Eternal City," and it is clearly indicated that in "the time of the end" Rome has her part to play.

Mr. C. S. Campbell suggests that I should reconsider the wording of the phrase "the suggestion of twofoldness in a prediction every word of which has revealed the then future, is presumptuous trifling." I admit that the wording is strong; but, if Mr. Campbell saw the matter from my point of view, I think he would admit that it is by no means too strong. That suggestion, roundly condemned by Dean Lyall in his *Propædia Prophetica*, if I remember rightly, has worked untold mischief. It has drawn a veil over the eyes of tens of thousands of Scripture students, and is largely responsible for the annihilation of a force to which was due in no small measure the triumphs of the Apostolic Church. With those proofs of the certainty of God's Word constantly under their eyes, how could

they fail to commend it to the heathen, and to impress upon them the offered mercy and the certainty of the coming judgment ?

I may be permitted to cite one instance of the disastrous results of this twofold sense, or double-application, theory. It is that Daniel xi refers largely to Antiochus Epiphanes primarily, and secondarily to the Antichrist. What has been the effect ? The utter nullification of that part of Scripture for almost everyone ! The application to Antiochus Epiphanes, suggested by Josephus and used by Porphyry, was accepted by Christian scholars owing to the twofold reference theory, with the result that so orthodox an authority as *The Speaker's Commentary* sees Antiochus Epiphanes and nothing of the Antichrist, although the Scripture says definitely that the chapter reveals the events of the last days. To the careful Bible student it is absolutely clear that the prediction has no reference whatever to the Syrian king. Daniel xi, 6, takes us to a point much later than his time. We are told that "in the end of years" an Egyptian queen, *who is the last ruler of independent Egypt*, will make a league with the then ruler of Syria. Cleopatra was the last of the Ptolemies, and the prediction suits her and Marc Antony exactly—even to his overthrow and death, her own overthrow and death, the assassination of her son (see the Hebrew "her offspring"—Luther, *mit dem kinde*), plainly Cæsarion, a lad of about 20, who was done to death by order of Augustus.

If that is so, then verse 6 brings us down to 30 B.C.—134 years after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, to whom therefore, the description from verse 21 to verse 45 can have no application at all.

I have read with pleasure the words of my old friend and valiant fellow-soldier, Professor Langhorne Orchard. I must also thank the Chairman and the other speakers for their kind appreciation of the paper.

539TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 3RD, 1913, AT 4.30 P.M.

MR. DAVID HOWARD, V.P., TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and signed.

The SECRETARY announced that Miss Cruddas had been elected a Member, and the Rev. W. Laporte Payne an Associate of the Institute.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Rev. Dr. Skrine to read his paper.

VISION, IN SACRED AND OTHER HISTORY.

By the Rev. JOHN HUNTLEY SKRINE, D.D.

MY title may suggest a scope too great to be modestly proposed for a brief paper, and I must begin by defining the limits of the inquiry. "Vision" is a name, in its higher use, for the contact through the senses of finite human nature with the infinite, and to ask what Vision is might be asking to "know what God and man is." To ask that question, however, is what man is for; and to gain some morsel of that truth shall be the purpose of this inquiry, which will place side by side two stories, recorded one in sacred, the other in secular literature, of visions of the supernatural world, and endeavour to extract from the comparison some element of fact as to the relations of divine and human.

The story I take from the Scriptures is the record either of an illusion or of the most cardinal event in man's history. It is the vision seen by Mary of Nazareth, when the angel Gabriel was sent from heaven to a virgin espoused to Joseph, a carpenter of Nazareth, and announced to her the birth from her womb of the Messiah.

Beside this story I will place the tale of another woman who, through the impulsion of a vision, having some features in common with that of Mary, entered on a fate which had issues incommensurate indeed with those which sprang from the

Syrian maiden's, yet within their range also great and wonderful. Joan of Domremy, in France, bears to the history of her own people a relation similar and proportionate to that which Mary of Nazareth, in Galilee, bears to the race of man. Each became mother of a deliverance. And if there seem no measure of their respective deeds, if Joan's battles and Mary's childbirth seem at first glance so disparate in character, and so incommensurable in scale, as to make their juxtaposition an irreverence, a closer look will disclose a spiritual affinity which makes the comparative study not only reverent but religiously fruitful.

It is only the French maiden's story which needs recalling, and that only in an outline in which we can trace the features of the Nazarene. A European nation lies in the extreme of political helplessness. The kingdom is occupied by invaders whom its cowed soldiery can no longer face in battle rank, the king bankrupt, at refuge in a corner of his dominions, and despairing of rescue from his abject plight. A peasant girl (she, too, presently to be known as "The Maid") has a vision of an archangel, who announces to her the destiny of redeeming the realm and setting the king on his throne. At first she cannot believe it. "How can this thing be, seeing I am only Jeanne, daughter of Jacques d'Arc, a yeoman of Domremy, and know nothing about soldiering, nor have even learned to ride a horse?" The Visitant assures her that the powers of heaven will have it so, and at last, after many reluctances, she is able to speak her "Be it unto me," sets forth on the enterprise, converts to her belief the king's broken spirit by a feat of thought-reading which that age thought a miraculous sign, leads her countrymen in battle, turns to flight the armies of the aliens, and redeems the nation's life as a nation. It has been unto her according to that angel's word.

There will arise at once the criticism that Joan's story, wonderful as in itself it is, throws no light on Mary's. So far as the French tale resembles the Syrian it is a mere consequence of it, an unconscious copy. Joan's age believed that the Holy Ones could present themselves in vision, and every peasant knew that an angel Gabriel had appeared to Mary. Accordingly, the French girl, on whose nature a patriotic and religious impulse had fallen, visualizes that impulse as another angel, Michael, more suggestible to her than Gabriel, because under the patronage of St. Michael French soldiers had of late successfully repulsed the English from the Mount he guarded. And then, after all, who is St. Michael or what, that he should

appear to any one? Or who and what, for that matter, is Gabriel? There is no authority for the existence of either except the Rabbinic angelology. The angel who visited the house in Nazareth may, indeed, be the reflection in human senses of some reality and even a personal reality, but all that we can verify is that reflection in the human senses of Mary. The angel who appeared at Domremy is something greatly less: he is but the reflection of a reflection, twice removed from reality.

I imagine that even convinced believers in the doctrine of the Incarnation find this consideration a difficulty for faith. The Lucan story of the Annunciation has round it airs of fancy and folklore which cause a modern Christian to turn faith's attention in other directions, and to rest it not on the scene in a chamber of Nazareth but on that in the Bethlehem stable. To do this is to turn away from the essential to the accidental, from ultimate fact to consequential, from the divine-human to the merely human. The true moment of the Incarnation in history is not the Nativity but the Annunciation. The mystery of God become Man will, indeed, never yield itself up to an intelligence limited by human conditions, but we shall approach it only so far as we grasp the significance of that event which is reported in the form of a parley between the Virgin and an Angel.

That significance, I have thought, can be brought out by an application of the comparative method which to all other subjects we have applied with most fruitful results. If I can see what the significance is of Joan's parleyings with her "Council," what the event was in her personal history and that of her people which had vital association with her visions, it is likely there will be suggested to me the bearing of Mary's vision on the fortune of her soul and of the human race.

This at once I feel sure of; it is vain to hope to discover the nature of Joan's visions and "voices" (for the communications through the ear alone were the more numerous, I believe) if we only study these phenomena in separation from the other facts of her career. Had nothing more happened than that the girl saw forms and faces in an empty space and heard words spoken in what to other ears was a silence, the phenomenon might remain inscrutable or might prove explicable by natural laws, but it would be without value spiritually. What actually happened was a train of vast and surprising consequence. A rustic girl, as a result of her visions, undertook an enterprise which in every judgment was impossible for any capacity whatever, but for the womanly capacity something more than

impossible. She achieved this task, and that not solely by a moral inspiration of the soldiery, who were the practical instruments of the achievement, but by actual guidance in strategic council and leadership in battle and an astonishing aptitude for details of the military science, in especial the management of artillery, to which emphatic testimony was given by high authorities on war. The whole fact which we have to contemplate and analyse is not an apparition of Michael and a summons to redeem France, but that vision in all its repetitions *and* this solid mass of practical consequence from which the vision cannot be dissevered.

Contemplating then as a whole this fact of Joan's deed, the visions and the activities together, I say that we can only judge the former to be either the cause of the latter or else a joint effect of something which was cause of both. The full truth, one does not doubt, is this last: vision and action are but the two sides of one fact, the inward and the outward, the subjective and the objective of that fact. Neither one nor other is intelligible until we discern the nature of the underlying fact. What then do we discern as the fact for which Joan the Maid has become the name? Unmistakably to my mind we are contemplating an act of faith; the most signal act of faith recorded in human history with one only exception, the act of Mary of Nazareth. By an act of faith I understand an act of concurrence between a human will and the divine. And this concurrence I would analyse more closely, and describe it by the figure of an interchange of the two selves, a mutual self giving between the divine and the human term in the relation of Creator and Creature.

Here, no doubt, I am taking the fact of the Frenchwoman's career out of the category of human history, as history is commonly understood, and am placing it in the category of spiritual history. In this I shall not be followed except by those who agree that the cause of sensible phenomena is to be found ultimately only in supra-sensible fact. But these will, I think, go on with me and seek for an interpretation of the vision in sacred story where they have found that of the vision in the secular record.

We have then interpreted Joan's vision of Michael and the Saints as a part of the whole occurrence of her career from her call to her death: it is the first moment in her act of faith, that sacrifice of herself to the Divine Will, which I have ventured to call by a more abstract terminology the Self-Interchange of divine and human. I make no attempt to

explain the phenomena of the vision and audition in terms of the sciences of things seen and heard ; and I do not myself imagine that anything was really present to eye or ear ; the sights and sounds I accept as creations of her mental consciousness, and so far "subjective." But there is no subject without an object, neither word has any meaning unless the other word is involved in it, just as neither thing has existence till both are there to create it. And the object to which the consciousness of Joan was subjective was no less than the Power by whom all things are made. Her soul was in communion with that Power by her self-sacrifice, and this was the mode in which it communicated itself and she received it, her human consciousness made its response to divine fact according to the laws of human consciousness, under which laws we men can only know things by seeing and hearing or by an activity of the mind which is a reflection upon the brain of such impressions as have fallen on the nerve of eye or ear. The mind of Joan communed with the mind of God by an activity of her brain which reflected impressions furnished to her senses by her experience, such as pictures or images of Michael, Margaret, and Catherine in a village church and the current news of France's need of deliverance. By what laws of man's body and spirit the impact on her soul of the touch of heaven was translated into a sight and a sound which yet were, in our understanding of them, no actual vibration of light or air upon the physical organs of eye and ear, is a question for the psychologists but not here for us. We are equipped with an instrument of our present research if we are satisfied that the vision of Joan was a communication, conveyed by whatever channel, from the Divine Reality to a human soul, and that this communication was made possible by an act of faith or a self-interchange between the soul of this woman and Him by whom all souls are made.

So I come to put the tale of Joan the Maid beside that of Mary the Virgin, and to ask if the act of that person who was the human instrument of the supreme fact for man, the Incarnation of Jesus Christ which began to be in the vision of an angel, Gabriel, is not more interpretable by the light of that other act, incomparably less but not unlike in kind, which was wrought by this other woman and began in a vision of an archangel, Michael.

I am led then to say that the cause of the Incarnation, meaning by "cause" the first antecedent in the train of human circumstance set in motion by that divine event, was the vision

of Mary known as the Annunciation. And I analyse that vision as the movement of her mental consciousness, which was an inseparable part of the movement of her soul or total consciousness, that which I have called her act of faith. Further, I define this act of faith as an Interchange of Self, or, in less abstract and more consecrated language, an entry by sacrifice into a divine communion. The self-sacrifice of Mary, taking form in the recorded parley with Gabriel, is the fact among things human by which the word was made flesh and dwelt among us in Jesus Christ, the Son of Mary.

[At this point the question will suggest itself of the relation of this theory to the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. If the theory is a sound speculation its bearing upon that doctrine should be momentous. In this paper the matter cannot be treated, but in leaving it thus aside I cannot refrain from recording my own experience of the result of inquiry: I have found in my own thinkings that to study the Incarnation fact in the light of the above speculation is to add to the scale of the traditional doctrine a great increment of conviction.]

To resume. What will now ask for proof is the position that the act of the Annunciation was an act of sacrifice. It has not been much regarded in that light. I should suppose that believers have let their minds dwell rather on the exaltation and glory, the incredibly high fortune of the actor in the scene; their appreciation of the event has been tuned to the pitch of the Magnificat. And if they are now asked to discern a self-sacrifice as the essential reality of the event, they will feel that it is not at once evident. What did it cost the Virgin to assent to Gabriel's message with her "Behold, the handmaid . . . be it unto me"? What suffering or risk of suffering was dared? How does this seemingly slight effort of soul bear the weight of that infinite event—the coming of the Word into the flesh? Nay, is there effort at all in this, that a Jewish maiden at the age of marriage should think she could be mother of Messiah (and no more than this could be before the mind of Mary at this time), seeing that when Messiah shall come He must needs be born of some woman, and therefore any wife in Israel might be that mother?

When one asks, "was Mary's act a sacrifice, if it was without suffering?" it is well to remind oneself that, though pain and loss are in our minds not separable from the idea of sacrifice, they are not the essence of sacrifice, as I am here employing that idea to express the mystery of life. The sacrifice which makes us to live is the giving of *self*, not

the giving of a toll of pain. In sacrifice, as we know it, there is indeed the moment, inseparable in human fact, of pain; but since pleasure and vitality are one, pain, which is the negation of both, cannot belong to the nature of sacrifice which makes life. Nor are we without human experiences—the soldier's or the lover's delight in danger for a passion's sake, the martyr's or even the fanatic's pang transmuted into something akin to rapture—which teach us that not pain but joy is the real substance of self-sacrifice. Above all, in the sacrifice which Mary offers, the "sorrow because her hour will come" is to be forgotten in the "joy because the Man shall be born into the world." And yet I seem to discern even in the tale itself some hint of actual pain confronting the handmaid of the Lord when she chooses the sacrifice. Does not the record of old Symeon's presage, "Yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own bosom also," suggest to us, familiar with telepathic fact, a consciousness in the Virgin herself of perils in her moral adventure and a reflection of this upon the mind of him who talked with her. It is Symeon who gives utterance to the thought, but I shall guess that Mary thought it first, that this was one of the things she pondered in her heart; that she had seen that sword before she said, "Be it unto me."

However this be, I am sure I must look elsewhere than toward the pains, whether physical or mental, involved in Mary's act of faith, if I am to understand its character. I shall resort again to our parable of Domremy. In the France of that day there were, I believe, among the people, anticipations of a deliverance, and they even took voice in whispers of a maid who should save the realm. Indeed we should, even in the absence of positive testimony to it, expect the rise of a genius to be not an isolated occurrence, but the culmination of a movement in the general mind, whatever the gap between the hero and the foremost of the multitude. It is to be thought that there were many girls in France in whom patriotic fervours woke, and dreams (though they died on air) of playing the inspired woman's part and saving France. But while these others said to their own heart, "Might it be I?" Joan said to hers, "It is I." So at Domremy the fire of heaven fell; the Lord answered the sacrifice of man.

Now in Israel the conditions of mind which we gather from the French story were more demonstrably present. A movement of faith in a section of the nation which has been called "the seed-plot of the Gospel," the class which held Zacharias, Elisabeth, Symeon, and Anna, and in the next generation, the

Joannas, Marthas, and Maries who "ministered to Jesus in His work," is made very visible in the records. To be "waiting for the consolation of Israel" was to be going on the path on which the Virgin went all the way. In the timid aspirations which stirred in these bosoms there was already sacrifice, for there was the rendering up of imaginations, affections, interest in life, to a purpose of Jehovah; there was a giving of self in this cherishing of the great hope, which "the things that are seen," the political facts of the time, so obstinately denied. The selfish, the worldly, did not "wait for the consolation"; either they bartered it for the practical politics of Herodianism or instead of "waiting" sought "to take it by force" of revolution with a Judas or a Theudas. It was a true unselfishness and spiritual affinity in these "humble and meek" folk "of low degree" that carried them thus far on the way of making ready for Messiah; and sacrifice it was, though the cost in pain or deprivation cannot in the nature of things be made very visible to us by the records. Here, then, was the seed-plot in which could be let fall from heaven the seed of the life of man. It must fall in that seed-plot upon some one point; the soil of some one woman's faith must be that point, that there may be a mother of the Christ. We deem that Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, because here was she whose faith was able to achieve a sacrifice which the rest could only begin. And I find my parable of a maiden in Domremy, whose name was Joan, helps me to understand the uniqueness of Mary of Nazareth. The world-width that lies between the wistful day-dreams of French girls, of whom no more was heard, and the waking vision of the girl who dreamed, and also did, aids my own mind, and may aid another, to measure the interval between the faith of many women in Israel who could have said, "The mother of Messiah, could it be I?" and this faith of the one who said, "The mother of Messiah—it is I." Theirs was sacrifice, if without pain, for they gave of self something; Mary gave self and gave it all. Their waiting and hope was a faith; Mary's faith was a victory that overcame. So of her could be born Messiah.

Yet I think one may look more narrowly into the sacrifice of the Annunciation hour and still get light from Domremy. An act of self-determination, such as was Joan's acceptance of her call, is always an act of self-surrender. For it is the abandonment of all the alternative courses and self-interests. But in that decision of the French girl there was also pain positive: there were the natural homely fears, "How

can I go who never rode a horse? How can I, a villager, face a king's court." Was there no deeper pain than these? I will dare to speculate that, as we credit an artist with all the riches of beauty and significance in a masterpiece, though they were not all present in the creative moment, so we ought to think that the unforeseen travail and agony of her martyrdom were *implicitly* accepted by the girl who chose to venture. And to speculate so of Joan is to ask whether Mary did not bow herself both, in a conscious acceptance, to the perils and pains which it behoved the Messiah, as every prophet affronting the world, to suffer in His own Person and to reflect from it upon her who bare Him, and also, in an unconscious acceptance, to her doom of an agony under the cross. In Symeon's prophecy, "A sword shall pierce through thy own bosom," I have ventured to see an act of thought in which he read the thought of the woman before him, her dumb presentiment waking in him prediction.

But I will try to get closer home to the more human of the two incidents which is my parable of the more mystic. Joan spoke with an archangel, Michael. A symbol only, one says. But a symbol of what fact? Of a contact through a visual and aural sensation with the spiritual reality. In her flesh this girl had communion with the ghostly world and was called to have her portion in that world of the ghostly. What fear and what pain lies in the self-surrender by which flesh consents to have to do with spirit! But that same fear and pain lay in Mary's parley with an angel, Gabriel sent from God.

Must one take on trust from the universal human tradition the terror of an intercourse with the Ghostly; or does one find in oneself an attesting echo of the pang there is when our warm humanity feels bending over it the shadow of that Presence?

I suppose that to believe, really to believe in the Incarnation, to accept with seeing eye and with willing will the fact that the word is made flesh in this mortal, in me, my very self, is to accept an intercourse with a world of things and persons spiritual and to have to do, flesh and blood as we are, with that Unseen Order, to know ourselves to be of that Order first and last and most. If our belief as Christian has not been to us such an experience, it will be because the force of the mystical experience has been only in proportion to the force of the belief. But in that measure in which we have submitted ourself to the presence and touch of the Eternal—has it been a sacrifice that cost us nothing, has it been a passion in which there was no pang?

But this is common to every soul alike which truly yields self to the Incarnate. There are experiences that come indeed

some time (who can know ?) to all, but to no one many times, which throw a penetrating beam of light upon the experience of her in whom that Incarnate first was born.

One speaks of these with the reserve which reverence and mere instinct dictate ; but has it not happened to us, upon some peril or stroke of bereavement or sight of death even in no kin of ours, that the unseen reality has laid a dread hand upon our mortal nature and our "immortality" has become "a presence that is not to be put by." There fell an hour—how name it else ?—of ghostliness. Suddenly the man was "in the spirit," but by no rapture, rather by a chilling seizure. The Hand plucked him from the kindly human brotherhood : he walked among the living crowd an alien and incommunicable, a ghost that cast no shadow, become to himself a shadow ; his conversation was now in the company of heaven : and flesh and blood shivered to enter this.

Let who ever has known such an experience take away from it all elements merely natural, as the terror or the desolation, and there will be left the sense that the Spiritual had touched him, the great hand of the Eternal had drawn him out of the temporal world to have his portion in that other. Remembering that summons to take up his lot in the Unseen, he may judge how it was with Mary at the same summoning. If he ever thought of the Virgin as heroine of a wonder-tale receiving a miraculous fortune, he will rethink that shallow fancy and know her now as one like himself, constrained as he was once to attempt an intercourse with the Eternal Order. "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee." If there were not for the Virgin the pain of desolation or fear of death, yet she was as that man was in the awareness of communion and fellowship with the Spiritual Ones.

She had to endure, as it were, a Passing, to make the shuddering venture across from world to world, to brook in her veins of mortal the ghostly fire, to bear on her shrinking flesh the burden of the Power of the Highest. Was not this Sacrifice ? This Passion, had it not the Pang ?

This then, as I try to understand, is what happened when the Maiden of Nazareth in Galilee saw a Vision of the angel Gabriel, sent from God, and, in seeing it, "by the operation of the Holy Ghost," began to be mother of the Christ.

It will be said that in this attempt to analyse the event of the Vision I am seeking to explain an historic incident by a cause which is wholly mystical. That is so. But no other manner of explanation can render the cause of this effect in history. Mystical and historic fact are not facts of two orders, any more

than soul and body are entities that can exist in separation, though for the ordinary and lower purposes of life we do make an abstraction, and isolate bodily facts for study and practice. It is soul that makes body and only where the spirit is there is the flesh. But here again our earthlier tale is a lucid parable of the heavenlier. The career of Joan, redeemer of France, which has been our similitude for the service which Mary rendered to the whole race, is a train of events in the physical order—counsellings, musterings, battles, victories, the crowning of a king; but these events are not explicable, as it has seemed to me, by causes belonging to the same order as their effects, and the attempts so to account for them do not persuade me that

“These are their reasons,—they are natural.”

The Maid's own account of it stands. “Joan,” said one of the examiners into her mission and its authority, “if God will save France, why do you want soldiers?” “The soldiers will fight,” she answered, “and God will give them the victory.” The mystical must be there: then it will take to itself a body of the historical.

And I would say that what Joan's battles were to the Vision of the warrior angel, that was Mary's travail and deliverance of her first-born to the Vision of Gabriel, whom she saw and spoke with under her roof in Nazareth. Joan's sacrifice “in the spirit” was the generator of the victory of French arms, and from the sacrifice of Mary came after the flesh the Christ.

It will be said to me, perhaps, that this imagining of the Virgin's act will not bear looking at under the light of common day. This Maiden of the mystic trance yet became happy mother of a goodly babe, proud mother of a son of genius; the sword that should pierce the bosom did not find her till after thirty years of blessing; and nowhere does she give on the page of history proof of a character or even an intelligence unique.

No, nor was there need that she should. Her task in the world-process was to have in her the faith through which Messiah might be conceived in her; to bear and rear and teach, and then leave her child, as mothers must, to “make his own soul.” In all this it behoved the Christ's mother to be full-human and like all mothers of a man. One of us who may have had the experience which I have named an “hour of ghostliness,” came back from it to be again the shadow-casting mortal, like the rest, in a full-human fellowship: yet that fellowship with the Divine Ones had verily been. If for a moment he hung “wandering between

two worlds," it was for the moment: and then the company of heaven did receive him not unto terror but unto love; the ghostly fire consumed not, it had become like the martyrs' furnace, "a soft whistling wind," the very breath of very life. And from it he came back to the kindly human brotherhood, a man as they and yet a man not as they, because now and henceforth his conversation is in heaven too. Why should it be otherwise even for Mary of Nazareth? She must henceforward do all a mother's offices, homely, industrious, glad, to a child who was Son of *Man*: yet that once she had been the mystic virgin, the intermediary of heaven, the handmaid of the Lord; it had been unto her according to His word, and the Christ was conceived in her by the Holy Ghost.

Shall we have the courage of our convictions and dare, as unnumbered pencils have dared, to paint *Madonna* according to our thought of her? For his own eyes at least any Christian lawfully may so picture her, indeed must picture so, if his belief of her is belief. Let us then, as others have ventured, look in through an open Syrian doorway, and see within—not the submissive girl-figure bowed before the lily-wanded angel, but a peasant maiden, young and fair, of simple grace, of purest health in limb and mind, new risen from her knees. We discern by the clasped, straining hands, wide eyes and parted lips that there has fallen on her in a rapture the hour for which God sent her among men. There is none other in that chamber to our sight; but One there surely is to hers. All is silent, yet a converse thrills the air; and from the rapt figure a virtue goes out to us, till we know that a nameless passion has risen and is working in the maiden's soul. And we make surmise that this passion is none other than the vast hope of Israel, that has been secret fire in the blood of her race a thousand years, and now in the veins of this one daughter of Israel breaks, at a spark that falls from heaven, into the flame of faith, that can do all things through love that has cast out the fear.

Ah! this is no portrayal of the mystic intermediary of Heaven. But then—is it perhaps a portrait not all unlike a Syrian woman in life's crowning moment, who by the operation of the Holy Ghost shall be made the mother of Jesus, a carpenter of Nazareth, whose brethren, our fellow men, we know, and His sisters are they not with us in our own?

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN said: We are all grateful to the lecturer for his interesting paper. The argument from analogy is often useful. Newton in his observation on the fall of the apple, and his thought about it, has enabled the paths of comets to be traced in the heavens; and who can describe the consequences arising from Watt's thoughts on the steam in a kettle raising its lid? The History of Joan should warn us that things really happen though we can't explain them, and we should be cautious in refusing belief in Scripture stories simply because they are inexplicable by natural laws. In considering her story we should remember that Francia was not modern France, nor the English king an Englishman, that it was the Burgundians, not the English, who condemned and burnt Joan, and as a layman I may say this was due to the clerics amongst them. Many don't believe the story at all, but at any rate it was a fact that at that time England was saved from a great national danger in being delivered from a disastrous union with a portion of France. Here was a girl who did a great work. Don't let us quarrel with the greater mystery involved in it. Can we afford to disbelieve the Spiritual? "Absolute certainties" have given way under our feet. Radium has upset the very foundations of many physical theories which used to be considered established. Personally my scepticism is of so-called science, and not of the spiritual element in history.

The idea of sacrifice here explained, that it does not necessarily involve pain, is fully confirmed in the Levitical sacrifices, in some of which there was death; but even in them in almost all cases the sacrifices ended in a feast, sorrow was turned into joy. Sacrifice involved the giving up of self to God, and the reception from Him of spiritual grace. We are naturally selfish, and giving up of ourselves to Him is a wrench. The popular idea of sacrifice that it is only giving up the wrong is inadequate, and based upon an untrue meaning of the word "self," which is only English; foreign renderings of the word would save us from the error. The good of our nature has to be surrendered to God, it must be the whole self, the consecration of the whole being to God. Evil must, of course, go, and be consumed by the fire on the altar.

The Rev. Dr. IRVING said he had perused Dr. Skrine's paper with much pleasure and mental refreshment, and the more so

on account of the very reverent spirit in which he had dealt with the central mystery of all revelation in approaching it on literary and ethical lines. He thought, however, that it was necessary to remind those present that there was another side of the subject, which Dr. Skrine's scholarly speculations failed to touch. The analogy between the recorded experiences of Jeanne d'Arc and Mary of Nazareth, so far as it was a sound analogy, was only partial and "incommensurate." It left out the most important factor of all those concerned in the conception of the GOD-MAN, namely, the physical effect of what we try to understand by the Church's phrase, "the operation of the Holy Ghost,"* the *Dominus et Vivificans* of the Nicene Creed. This belonged *in toto* to a different order of events from anything whatever contained in the experience of *La Pucelle*. It was the first term in a sequence of vital changes, which (under the special guidance of Creative and Directive Power) produced (in accordance with the normal course of things) the Holy Child, which was "born of a pure Virgin." Here was the *crux* of the mystery; but he thought we should do well to recollect that it was but the first element of that complex mystery which was contained in "the New Testament revelation of the Ineffable Personality of the GOD-MAN—incarnate, crucified, risen and glorified—as the outstanding miracle of the universe of Being." Recent advances in biological science "suggested ideas of far-reaching significance in their bearing upon great questions concerning the fundamental Christian verities." He felt sure that if light from science was to be thrown upon this central mystery of Faith, it was in the direction of "Creative Evolution" on the lines suggested by Professor Henslow's Paper last year to this Institute, and more fully expounded by Bergson.

In conclusion, he thought the value of the paper from the ethical and mystical point of view would have been enhanced if the learned author of it had taken some notice of the efforts of the greatest artists to reproduce for our visual contemplation the deep thoughts and feelings (beyond the expression of words), which moved in their

* See "proper preface" in the Communion Office for Christmas Day. The Latin is very explicit: *Qui, operante Spiritu Sancto, verus Homo factus est, ex substantia Virginis Mariæ, matris sue.* Cf. the words: ἐξ ἀπεστείλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός (Gal. iv, 4)—a definite *creative* act, as distinct from "procreation."

own souls in connection with that transcendent event, at a given point of time, in the home of Nazareth ; and he did not hesitate to quote his own experience of former years, as he had sat and gazed upon the "Sistine Madonna" of Raphael in the Dresden Gallery, until the holy figures seemed to grow into life upon the canvas, and those beautiful lips appeared to move spontaneously with the *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*, and "inspiration" seemed to be a very real thing.

Lieut.-Colonel M. A. ALVES said : I cannot agree with the reader of the paper in considering the vision of Joan of Arc as being parallel to that of the Virgin Mary ; nor, even from a Roman Catholic point of view, in the statement that the Rabbinic is the only authority for the existence of angels. Allusions to them are made in all of the three great divisions of the Old Testament, and also in the New.

Of angels, two are mentioned by name ; Gabriel was sent with personal messages to Daniel, Zacharias, and Mary. To each of these there was at least one objective vision.

Michael is called in Jude "the archangel" ; no other of that title is mentioned in Scripture. In the Old Testament he is called the "Prince" of Daniel's people.

That people at present is shelved ; and "The Church of God" has taken its place. A hint at this is given in 1 Thess. iv, 16, "the voice of the archangel."

But neither to Daniel, the man greatly beloved, does Michael come with messages, nor to the highly favoured Mary.

Seeing then that, both in England and in France, the holders of the pure faith had to hide their heads, it is pretty certain that Joan could not have had a visit from Gabriel, still less from Michael. Her vision, like those of Timour the Lame, must have been purely subjective ; and although I have no doubt that God's hand was in the matter to separate England from France, and to shame both countries by making a woman the deliverer of the latter, I cannot compare Joan with Mary.

What was Mary's sacrifice and the sword that should pierce her soul ? I do not think that it was either the pangs of childbirth or her Divine Son's sufferings on the Cross. We must put ourselves in her place, and, I may add, Joseph's also.

Mary's innocent and matter-of-fact question to the Angel shows that she had no idea of a heavenly visitant and miraculous

conception; and she probably voiced popular opinion. Moreover, motherhood is the general lot of womankind.

When, however, Gabriel explained the matter, Mary showed her faith, (1) in the miraculous conception, (2) that God would make it right for her with Joseph, and (3) that He would make them both strong to bear the incredulity, which must have been very hard to bear, on our Lord's part, as well as on that of Joseph and Mary.

Mr. ROUSE praised the tender eloquence with which the paper closed, and added: In making this comparison, the author has been able to show a sort of analogy between Joan of Arc, in delivering her countrymen (already distracted by civil broils) from the scourge of the English invasion, and the Virgin Mary, in becoming a willing instrument for bringing into the world the Great Deliverer of mankind; and he has shown in each a striking self-surrender for the purpose. But as regards the visions that Joan alleged herself to have had of Michael the Archangel, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine, she could at her trial say nothing as to their forms nor whether they wore crowns or jewels nor whether Michael had long or short hair. She knew him from them simply by their voices and because they told her. She could only say that she saw the glorious faces of all and that they were always the same, and that the voice that came from each was beautiful, gentle, and humble. We may well conclude, therefore, that what happened was that she, a God-fearing and pure maiden, deeply grieving over the distresses of her country, did actually hear a voice from time to time urging her to go to the deliverance of her country, and in her reveries associated this with the faces of the archangel and of the saints which she had seen portrayed in her village church.

Now we know that Christians have from time to time declared that, in a season of great perplexity, they have distinctly heard a voice of guidance, which they have followed to lasting profit. And why should not God, through one of His angels, thus speak to cheer and strengthen those whose hearts are perfect towards Him, however little or much they may know of Bible truth? But far oftener no voice is actually heard, yet a strong conviction springs up in the mind touching the right course to pursue, and is proved by its results to be God-given.

While Joan the Maid was delivering her country, France, from the English, the famous Ziska was rescuing his country, Bohemia,

from vaster hosts of relentless enemies, who were bent on slaying the Bohemians at large as "a sacrilegious and accursed nation." When those faithful servants of God, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, had been imprisoned by the Council of Constance, and, in spite of the German Emperor's promise of a safe return home, had been burnt alive for the truths that they taught, Ziska, who was then chamberlain to King Wenceslaus of Bohemia, was found by his master brooding over the cruelty done to these noble men and the affront to his nation, when the king said to him in jest, "If you are able to call the Emperor to account, you have my permission." In earnest, Ziska replied, "Give me, Sire, that permission in writing"; and it was done. Then within a few weeks came the news that the fresh Pope who had been elected by the Council, had proclaimed a crusade against the Bohemians in the terms above given; and Ziska, to the indignant citizens of Prague, produced the royal permission. On the Michaelmas following, from numbers of the towns and villages round about, many thousands gathered to a plain near Prague, and partook of the Lord's supper in both kinds, as a protest against the Papal withholding of the cup from the laity; and they agreed to reassemble on the Martinmas following. But on the way to the second meeting they heard that the Emperor's cavalry were lying in wait for them; so they sent back for soldiers to protect them: and a battle ensued in which the imperial troops were routed. Ziska then, signing himself "Ziska of the Chalice," issued a manifesto in which he urged his countrymen to oppose the Anti-Christ with arms, relying upon God, who had already encouraged them with a victory he drove from the walls of Prague an army of persecutors 100,000 strong, and in sixteen pitched battles against the imperial forces and crusaders won the victory every time. I believe that Ziska heard God's voice encouraging him to deliver his country, just as much as Joan of Arc did.

Mr. SIDNEY COLLETT said that the line of thought running through the whole paper, *viz.*: that in becoming the mother of our Lord, Mary was performing a great act of sacrifice, is both fanciful and highly imaginative, and is quite contrary to everything we read in the inspired account, and indeed is opposed to Mary's own expressed views on the subject as recorded in Luke i, 46 to 55, which shows that she regarded it, not in any sense as a sacrifice, but as the highest possible honour, bringing with it the greatest possible joy.

Indeed we know it was the coveted hope of practically every woman in Israel.

After referring to other points touched on by previous speakers, he continued :—

Then, on page 83, the Author tells us that “the Lucan story of the Annunciation has round it airs of fancy and folklore”! I should like to ask on what authority he makes such a statement ?

A hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer for his paper was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously. Dr. SKRINE acknowledged the vote and replied to the discussion.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

In his reply (as revised) Dr. SKRINE said he had no desire to leave the meeting under any misapprehension of the position he took as to the interpretation of Scripture. While unable to take his stand, as some of the speakers seemed to do, upon a theory of inspiration at one time generally accepted, he claimed to stand where the best authorities of the Church stood, as his own Archbishop and Bishop. He wished also to urge on some present, who seemed to him to express a somewhat external theory of what constitutes belief in the Creeds of the Church, that in a right view of the function, belief, the merely mental apprehension of a truth is one factor, but rather a minor factor, in the act of faith. The act of faith consists essentially in a movement of the total consciousness—mind, heart, and will together, a movement in which the man makes surrender of his whole self to the Divine will as expressed in the particular truth for which belief is asked—such was the nature of the act of faith in the Virgin Mary, and such was the faith of Joan the Maid.

540TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,

HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 17TH, 1913, AT 4.30 P.M.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and signed.

METHODS OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM. By the Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM SINCLAIR, D.D., some time Archdeacon of London, and Canon of St. Paul's, Rector of Shermanbury, and Hon. Chaplain to the King.

Present Position of Higher Criticism.

THE present attitude of Higher Criticism is summarized by Professor Peake as follows:—

“There are four main documents in the Pentateuch. None of these go back to Moses, and it is dubious whether any of them incorporates any writing from his hand. The two earliest, which are commonly known by the symbols J. and E. (from their use of the names Jehovah and Elohim for God), belong to the golden age of Hebrew literature, probably to the period of the Monarchy. These contain the fascinating stories which we find in the narrative sections.

“As an outcome of the work done by the great prophets of the eighth century—Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah—the *Deuteronomic Law* was written. This aimed at purifying the worship of God by abolishing all the local sanctuaries of high places, and centralizing worship at Jerusalem. It was this law which formed the basis of Josiah's Reformation in 621. *The latest portion of the Pentateuch* is the Priestly Document containing some sections in Genesis, and large parts of the legal sections in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. This document carried out the ideas involved in the centralization of the

worship to their logical conclusion, and in doing so rested largely upon Ezekiel. The Pentateuch was for the most part complete by the year 444, in which it was accepted as law by the Jews under Ezra and Nehemiah.

"It is also agreed by the Higher Critics that the prophetic literature is largely composite in character. This is especially true of the Book of Isaiah. It has long been recognized that the last twenty-seven chapters were not written by Isaiah of Jerusalem. They are not even themselves, however, a unity, and the probability is that chapters 40-55 were written in exile, and chapters 56-66 a good while after the return.

"The popular phrase 'Two Isaiahs' again rests on the mistaken idea that the first thirty-nine chapters of Isaiah were written by the prophet of that name, and the last twenty-seven by a prophet in the Exile. It is clear, however, that the first thirty-nine chapters are the result of a very complicated literary process, and that very large sections must be attributed to a much later date. In the case of many other prophets, elements of a later date than the main portion of the book are detected by most critics."

The dominant school of criticism regards the *majority of the Psalms* as written after the Exile. It places in the same period the Books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes. The Book of Daniel is assigned to the Maccabean period.

Effect on the Public Mind.

These views have been so widely promulgated in England, especially at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, that an uncomfortable feeling has grown up in the minds of many, who have not time to examine into these abstruse subjects for themselves, that the Old Testament has been undermined, and rendered generally unworthy of the supreme place which it has held as the record of God's revelation to man, and the preparation for the divine mission of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

Two Kinds of Arguments.

These critics have two kinds of arguments: (1) those which are derived from the language of the books themselves; (2) those which they consider the necessary results of antecedent probabilities, or principles set up by their own hypotheses.

Two Schools of Critics.

There are, again, two schools of the Higher Critics: (1) some who are reverent and devout who do not speak of possibilities

as certainties, who are modest as to their own achievements, and who have no preconceived hostility to the possibility of Miracles, Prophecy, and Revelation. The others give up Miracles, Prophecy, and Revelation, treat the Old Testament as a dead collection, assign dates to its books in order to suit their own theories of history, and proceed in some cases to the natural and inevitable conclusion that the New Testament is of the same unhistorical character.

They speak of the Christian myth or fable, and in one of the most important articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* it is asserted that there are not more than nine passages in the four gospels which contain credible elements: of which it is said that these prove that in the Person of Jesus we have to do with an exclusively human being, and that the divine is to be sought in Him only in the form in which it is capable of being found in a man; they allow that these nine passages do prove that He really did exist, and that the Gospels contain at least some trustworthy facts concerning Him. That is the state of mind attained by the more unreasonable members of the second school of the Higher Critics.

The Meaning of Higher Criticism.

And let me here say that the term Higher Criticism is used by inexperienced persons in England in quite a distinct sense from that with which it originated in Germany. It was never intended to mean Superior Criticism: yet that is how it is employed by unthinking persons here. What was suggested was simply a distinction from Textual Criticism. Textual Criticism received the designation of the Lower, and Historical Criticism that of the Higher. The Higher is not in the least superior to the Lower: it is merely that it aims at going deeper into historical surroundings and origins.

The Warning of Dean Alford.

Do not let me be supposed to mean that all the critics who do not belong to the more reverent class have gone as far in fantasy and arrogance as the view just now mentioned; there are many shades of opinion between different writers. But that is the general tone of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, which is the manifesto of the school; and it is time that Christian people were reminded of its existence, its growth and its significance, and also of the real trustworthiness and reasonableness of the more reverent and cautious school. The words

of Dean Alford, written many years ago, are just as true now as when they first appeared. When the advanced critics say that they have made great progress since such a date, and that circumstances are entirely altered, they mean that somebody has made a hypothesis, which has been adopted by others; that these others have gone one better, and that in the end an imposing structure has arisen without any foundation at all.

“It is important to observe in these days,” says Dean Alford, “how the Lord (in the Sermon on the Mount) includes the Old Testament and all its unfolding of the Divine purposes regarding Himself in His teaching of the citizens of the Kingdom of Heaven. I say this, because it is always in contempt and setting aside of the Old Testament that rationalism has begun. First, its historical truth—then its theocratic dispensation, and the types and prophecies connected with it, are swept away; so that Christ came to fulfil nothing, and becomes only a teacher or a martyr; and thus the way is paved for a similar reflection of the New Testament—beginning with the narratives of the Birth and Infancy as theocratic myths—advancing to the denial of His miracles—then attacking the truthfulness of His own sayings, which are grounded on the Old Testament as a revelation from God—and so finally leaving us nothing in the Scriptures, but, as a German writer of this school has expressed it, ‘a mythology not so attractive as that of Greece.’ That this is the course which unbelief has run in Germany should be a pregnant warning to the decriers of the Old Testament among ourselves.”

Dean Alford could hardly have foreseen what mischief this German craze for the building of critical castles in the air would achieve.

Professor Peake's tribute to Professor Orr.

Professor Peake (Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester) states that the most important attack on the advanced school is Professor Orr's (Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow) *Problems of the Old Testament*. It may be useful to give an outline of his argument. He says that the problem is twofold; religious and literary. To eliminate the religious element is uncritical. We have to make up our mind, how are we to conceive of the religion, whether it is natural or supernatural? Then comes the second question, how are we to conceive of the literature, as to its age, authorship and trustworthiness? The second question depends in part on the first. In many cases the decisions arrived at on

purely literary questions are largely controlled by the view taken of the origin and course of development of the religion: on a different theory, the judgment passed on the age, relations, and historical value of particular writings would be different also. This dependence of many of the conclusions of criticism on the religious and historical standpoint is practically admitted by Wellhausen when he declares that it is only within the region of religious antiquities and dominant religious ideas that the controversy can be fully brought to a definite issue. The question is not simply one between those who accept and those who reject Higher Criticism: it is in reality a much deeper issue: the existence at all of the supernatural element in the religion of Israel.

Our Attitude to the Supernatural.

The fundamental issue, therefore, is the attitude of ourselves and the critics to the supernatural. Now the Religion of Israel has a unique place amongst historical religions: there is nothing to be compared with it. The illimitable influence of a small and obscure people on the history of the world, the unity and coherent development of their teachings, and their obvious culmination in the transcendent personality of Christ, justify its steady unhesitating claim to a divine origin. It is here that Kuenen and the "modern" school of critics part company with us. They insist that Israel's religion is nothing less, but also nothing more than other religions. They deny the supernatural in history and prophecy, and recognize alone "natural development." This is, of course, an instance of the fallacy of begging the question. The critics take a whole series of phenomena, the most important and characteristic of which is the persistent claim to the supernatural, and rule the special part of the phenomena out of court. We insist that the facts offered by religion and history must be impartially examined, and that the rejected phenomena are so integral a part of the whole that it is in the highest degree uncritical to begin by saying that they are impossible. The case is one of competing interpretations of the Old Testament: and the ultimate test of the validity of criticism must be its fitness to meet the facts. The purely natural interpretation has to leave out the greater part of the facts asserted, to rearrange them, and to treat them with the highest degree of arbitrary licence.

The interest of Christian faith in these literary questions is fundamental.

“Christian scholars are no doubt entirely serious in their acceptance of the conclusions of the ‘natural’ theory of the Old Testament, but there must grow up, indeed, there has grown up, a perception of the incompatibility of their belief as Christians in an historical revelation, culminating in the Incarnation, with a set of results wrought out on the basis of a purely naturalistic view of Israel’s history and religion—which, in fact, as will be discovered, reduces the bulk of that history to ruins! . . .”

The late date of the documents composing the Pentateuch is employed to support the contention that the narrative of those books is wholly or in great part legendary; the post-Exilian date of the Leviticus laws is used to destroy the connection of the laws with Moses; the low date assigned to the Psalms is really a corollary from a particular theory of Israel’s development, and used in turn to buttress that theory. In other ways the literary criticism is really and effectively put at the service of the theory. Books are divided up, or texts manipulated and struck out, till the writing is made to speak the language which the critic desires. The hyper-analysis of documents results in the dissipation of everything of grandeur, consistency and truthfulness in the narrative.

Unique Place of the Old Testament in the History of Theology.

The tendency of purely critical study is to obscure the view of the unique place of the Old Testament in the economy of Revelation. First there is the Organic Unity of the various parts composing the whole: there are many books, but structurally they are one. There is no such unity in the Pagan Scriptures, the Koran, the Buddhist Canon, the Zendavesta, the Vedas. The Bible has an organic character, marked by plan, purpose and progress; and the unity grows out of history and religion. Then there is the fulfilment of the Old Testament in the New. The Bible is in two divisions, of which the second is in the simplest and most natural manner the counterpart and completion of the first. The Ideal Servant of Isaiah liii has its only fulfilment in Christ. The Religion of Israel is one of hope, looking forward to the future, and to a happier day; the Messiah is the supreme figure which the teachers of Israel anticipate; and the New Testament realizes the hopes and promises of the Old. This relation is by no means casual or mechanical; it is inward and vital. Again the history of Israel is animated by a purpose; not a purpose consciously imputed to it by the writer, but

an advancing and comprehending aim in the events themselves ; a development which cannot fail to be traced in every stage of the history, primitive, patriarchal, Mosaic, and in later days.

“There is then displayed throughout the whole of these Old Testament Scriptures an historical continuity, a firmness and coherence of texture, a steadily-evolving, and victorious, self-fulfilling purpose, which has nowhere, even in the remotest degree, its parallel in the history of religions.”

The Truth about the Names Jehovah and Elohim.

With regard to the use of the names Jehovah and Elohim in the Pentateuch, of which so much has been made, until the text becomes a literary patchwork which is absolutely unique in the history of writing, Orr quotes Klostermann, who illustrates the phenomenon from the Psalms. There are groups of Psalms using the name Jehovah, and there are groups using Elohim. Some of the Psalms obviously are recensions of others, or contain quotations. The obvious conclusion is that there was a period when the compilers and makers of recensions shrank from using the name Jehovah, and substituted that of Elohim ; and then that later compilers again employed both recensions. So it evidently was in the Pentateuch. There was a recension of old documents by two sets of compilers, one preferring Jehovah, the other Elohim.

“When the final editing of the Pentateuch took place texts of both recensions were employed, and sections taken from one or the other as was thought most suitable. In other words, for the Jehovah and Elohim *documents* of the critics Klostermann substitutes Jehovah and Elohim *recensions* of one and the same old work. To him, as to us, the piecing together of independent documents, in the manner which the critical theory supposes, appears incredible. If hypothesis is to be employed, this of Klostermann's, in its general idea, seems to us as good as any.”*

Professor Orr on Deuteronomy.

With regard to Deuteronomy, Professor Orr adduces solid and well considered arguments for the following propositions :—

1. The discovery of the Book of the Law in Josiah's day was a genuine discovery, and the book then found was already old.
2. The age of Manasseh was unsuitable for the composition of Deuteronomy, and there is no evidence of its composition in

* Orr, 228.

that age. The ideas of Deuteronomy no doubt lay behind Hezekiah's reformation, but there is no evidence of the presence of the book, or of its composition, at or about that time. Had it been newly composed, or then appeared for the first time, we should have expected it to make a sensation, as it did afterwards in the time of Josiah. The question also would again arise as to its Mosaic claim, and the acknowledgment of his by Hezekiah and his circle.

3. From Hezekiah upwards till at least the time of the Judges, or the immediately post-Mosaic age, there is no period to which the composition of the book can suitably be referred, nor is there any evidence of its composition in that interval.

4. The Book definitely gives itself out as a reproduction of the speeches which Moses delivered in the *Arabah* of Moab before his death, and expressly declares that Moses wrote his addresses ("this law"), and gave the book into custody of the priests.

5. The internal character of the book, in its Mosaic standpoint, in its absence of reference to the division of the kingdom, and the archaic and obsolete character of many of its laws, supports the claim to a high antiquity and to a Mosaic origin.

6. The supposition that Deuteronomy is a "free reproduction," or elaboration, of written addresses left by Moses, by one who has fully entered into his spirit, and continues his work, while not inadmissible, if the facts are shown to require it, is unnecessary, and in view of the actual character of the book, not probable. The literary gifts of Moses were amply adequate to the writing of his own discourses in their present form. This is not to deny editorial revision and annotation.

7. There are no conclusive reasons in the character of the laws or of the historical retrospects for denying the authorship of the discourses, in this sense, to Moses.

8. It seems implied in Deuteronomy xxxi, 9, 24-26, that Deuteronomy originally subsisted as a separate book. It may have done so for a longer or a shorter period, and separate copies may have continued to circulate even after its union with other parts of the Pentateuch. It was probably a separate authentic copy which was deposited in the temple, and was found there by Hilkiah.

9-10 The historical laws and narratives which Deuteronomy presupposes must, in some form, have existed earlier than the present book, if not earlier than the delivery of the discourses. These also, therefore, are pushed back, in essentials, into the Mosaic age. They need not, however, have been then completed, or

put together in their present shape ; or may only have furnished the basis for our present narratives.

Professor Orr on the Priestly Code.

Professor Orr deals in a like reasonable and candid manner with the Priestly Code and the Priestly Writing, to which however, I can only refer you very briefly :

“We have sought,” he says, “to show on both moral and historical grounds, and, by positive proof to the contrary, that the theory of a post-Exilian origin of the Levitical Code cannot be upheld. Its main stronghold is the argument from silence ; but that silence is neither so complete as is alleged, nor are the inferences drawn from it warranted. By a similar argument, if Deuteronomy were left out of account, it might be proved that the Book of the Covenant also, as a written Code, was not known before the Exile. Yet Deuteronomy shows how erroneous would be such an inference. . . . The theory that the Priestly Code took its shape in the hands of the priests about the ninth century B.C., or between that and the time of Deuteronomy, but only as a quasi-private document, a programme struggling for recognition, and very imperfectly attaining it, and receiving changes and additions as far down as the Exile, is wholly unsatisfactory. It encounters all the difficulties of the older theory, arising from the supposed silence of the history and alleged conflict with Deuteronomy, and has none of its compensating advantages. For the law presents in no sense the aspect of a private priestly programme, struggling, without success, for recognition and acceptance. It rests on very definite principles and ideas, gives itself out in all seriousness as a Code of wilderness legislation (why, it may be asked, should ninth-century priests throw their ‘programme’ into this form ?) and presents not the slightest trace of hesitation or doubt in its demands . . . It is involved in what has been said that we come back to the older position of a substantially Mosaic origin of the laws. It is not necessarily implied in this that Moses wrote all these laws, or any one of them with his own pen ; or that they were all written down at one time ; or that they underwent no subsequent changes in drafting or development ; or that the collection of them was not a more or less gradual process ; or that there may not have been smaller collections, such as that lying at the base of the Law of Holiness (Leviticus xvii-xvii), in circulation and use prior to the final collection, or codification, as we now have it . . . However this may be, there appears no good ground for assuming that the general codification was not completed at a very early date, possibly before the relapse in the time of the Judges, and probably not later than the early days of the monarchy. There is nothing we can discover

which points to a later date ; though it does not follow that there may not have been minor modifications and adjustments after."

Professor Orr on the Priestly Writing.

With regard to the Priestly Writing, it is recognized that there is a writing, partly historical and partly legislative, running through the Pentateuch and Joshua, which, from its linguistic and other traits, has been variously described in the course of opinion as the Primary Document, the First Elohist, the Priestly Writing, the Priests' Code, or simply P. At first the whole of the Elohim matter was ascribed to the Priestly Writing; but when it was seen that the greater part of this matter had a closer affinity to the Jehovah transcriber, it was removed from P. and attributed to J. Professor Orr gives good reasons for believing that in the Genesis and other narratives the work of the Priestly Writer is not independent, complete and separate, but rather a framework to the Jehovah and Elohim matter. His arguments are strongly and clearly conclusive (1) that Genesis, as we have it, is a unity; (2) that the unity is destroyed by breaking it up into separately existing Jehovah, Elohim and Priestly Documents; (3) that the unity is too close to be the work of a redactor piecing together such separate documents; (4) that to secure the unity, we do not need to go beyond the book we have; *i.e.*, what the Priestly Writer lacks, the Jehovah matter supplies, and *vice versa*. In brief, whatever the number of pens employed, the phenomena would seem to point, not to late irresponsible redaction, but to singleness of plan, and co-operation of effort in the original production.

The Mosaic Character of the Pentateuch.

On the whole Pentateuch, Professor Orr inclines to the view of essential Mosaic character in origin, though there may have been repeated editions and redactions.

"In the collation and preparation of the materials for this work—some of them perhaps reaching back into pre-Mosaic times—and the laying of the foundations of the existing narratives, to which Moses by his own compositions, according to constant tradition, lent the initial impulse, many hands and minds may have co-operated, and may have continued to co-operate, after the master-mind was removed, but unity of purpose and will gave a corresponding unity to the product of their labours. So far from such a view being obsolete, or disproved by modern criticism, we hold that internal indications, external evidence, and the circum-

stances of the Mosaic age itself, unite in lending their support to its probability."

It is in favour of the view we defend that it is in line with the Bible's own constant tradition of the Mosaicity of the Pentateuchal books, which the modern hypothesis contradicts at every point. The Biblical evidence on this subject of Mosaic origin is often unduly minimized, but it is really very strong and persuasive. Apart from the assumption of the existence of a "Book of the Law of Moses" in passages of the historical books and the implication of its existence in passages where it is not expressly mentioned, apart also from the firm belief of the Jews in the days of our Lord and His apostles—a belief which our Lord Himself shared—there can be no question:

1. That all the *three Codes*—the Book of the Covenant, the Deuteronomic discourses, and the Levitical Code—profess to come from Moses, and the first and second profess to have been written by him.

2. That the Deuteronomic discourses imply the existence, in substance, and in part in written form, of the Jehovah and Elohim history, and that the Priestly Writing also presupposes that history, with which, in its narrative part, it is parallel.

3. That King Josiah and the Jewish people of his day received Deuteronomy as a genuine work of Moses, and that the nation ever after regarded it as his.

4. That the Jewish people of Ezra's time similarly accepted the whole Pentateuch—including the Levitical legislation—as genuinely Mosaic.

5. That the Samaritans received the Pentateuch at the hands of the Jews as an undoubtedly Mosaic book.

To these firm strands of tradition we may with much confidence attach ourselves, without feeling that "traditionalist" in such a connection is any term of reproach. As has happened in the case of the New Testament, so it may be predicted it will prove also in the case of the Old, that greater respect will yet come to be paid to consentient tradition than it is now the fashion to accord to it.

*The Literature of Egypt, Babylonia, and Palestine,
1,000 years before Moses.*

I have a few words to say as to the literary culture in the age of Moses.

The chief argument with regard to these five books is that they show too high a literary experience and ability for the age

of Moses. When German Rationalism first found favour in England, it was vitiated by an extraordinary blunder, the results of which have since rendered its conclusions unsound. It was assumed that history began with the Greeks, and that what were then considered prehistoric times were barbarous. It was therefore held to be incredible that such a marvellous literature as the Mosaic books could have originated 1,000 years before Herodotus. To-day, however, history dates back to ages far remote, especially in Egypt and Babylonia, and it is known that a thousand years before Moses literature flourished. We are told on high authority that in the century before the Exodus, Palestine was a land of books and schools.

Early Egyptian Civilization : Tel el-Amarna.

On a Sunday afternoon in April, 1904, I was standing in the great National Museum at Cairo, surrounded by the magnificent relics of the early civilization of the Egyptians in its many different stages. And I was assured by Professor Sayce, who makes his home in Egypt during the winter, and devotes himself to the discovery and explanation of Egyptian antiquities, that the farther you go back the more marvellous does the civilization both of Egypt and of Babylonia appear. The farther you go back, the less trace does there emerge of the beginning. Only in the last few years a buried and forgotten stage of Egyptian civilization of the remotest antiquity has been unearthed; and it seems as completely organized as its distant successors. Another discovery, made in 1887, was that of the Tel el-Amarna tablets—Tel el-Amarna is a city on the banks of the Nile, which was the capital of a reforming and monotheistic King of Egypt. His reforms were disliked, and his city razed to the ground after his death. This preserved the correspondence of his foreign office with the governors of the subject provinces of Canaan and Syria, and the Kings of Babylon, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor. This correspondence is in the writing of Babylonia, and for the most part in the Babylonian language, which was evidently the language of diplomacy in those early days even in Egypt. The variety of the places from which the tablets come show that there must have been schools and libraries like those of Babylonia itself, in which the literature of Babylonia was studied, and its language and system of writing taught and learned. The legal code of Amraphel, or Khammurabi, King of Shinar, the contemporary of Abraham, recently discovered, makes it clear that Babylonian law was also known in the west.

“The Mosaic age, therefore,” says Professor Sayce, “instead of being an illiterate one, was an age of high literary activity and education throughout the civilized East. Not only was there a widespread literary culture in both Egypt and Babylonia which had its roots in a remote past, but this culture was shared by Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, and more especially by Syria and Palestine.”

Literary and Documental Evidence from Crete.

Not only that. Thanks to recent wonderful discoveries in Crete we now know that long before the age of Moses there was an advanced literary culture in what was to be in after days the great world, and that the Egyptian and Babylonian characters were not the only writings there—Crete had three, if not four, wholly different systems of writing. From one end of the civilized world to the other, in those remote ages, hundreds of years before the time of Moses, men and women were reading and writing and corresponding with one another: schools abounded and great libraries were formed in an age which the “Higher Critics” only a few years ago dogmatically declared was almost wholly illiterate.

Egyptian Scribes: Moses.

This assumption, then, that the Pentateuch was too advanced for Moses is wholly dispersed by recent archæological discovery. Not only could Moses have written the Pentateuch, but it would have been little short of a miracle if he had not been a scribe. The scribe in Egypt was the most honoured personage next to the king. In every room of the great museum at Cairo, and from every Egyptian dynasty, beautiful life-like statues of scribes stare you in the face. Moses had been brought up in all the learning of Pharaoh’s Court: he was a law giver, and the elders and overseers of his brother Israelites in the land of Goshen would themselves have been required to know how to read and write. Egypt, where the Israelites dwelt so long, and from which they fled, was a land of writing and literature; more so still was the Canaan which they invaded. In Palestine these literary cultures met together: the culture and writing of Egypt, the culture and writing of Babylonia, the culture and writing of the Philistines from Crete. The assumption on which more than half the attack on the Five Books of the Pentateuch rests is absolutely arbitrary and unhistorical.

Dean Wace on the Tessellated Pavement Theory.

No one will ever be able to tell us exactly who wrote the whole of the first five books in the Old Testament: there is no claim in

the books themselves to be written by Moses. But the Jewish tradition pointing that way is so persistent and so universal, that it is extremely probable that it rests on some foundation of fact. Nobody would deny that the books of the Bible have been edited and re-edited in different ages. Nobody would deny that all the historical books of the Bible profess to be compilations. But to insist that the greater part of those five books is a late and fabricated compilation is contrary to all probability. Perhaps the ablest and truest verdict on this subject has been pronounced by the present Dean of Canterbury :

“The origin and composition of the Pentateuch, according to these theories, is of so unexampled and extraordinary a character that the most positive historical evidence would be required to justify our acceptance of the results of it. There is no instance of an ancient book of history being composed like a tessellated pavement; in which several unknown sources are dovetailed into one another, sometimes in the most minute pieces. Still less is there any instance of an elaborate historical and legislative work being composed with the object of confusing, if not preventing, a nation's traditions of its own history and its ancient laws; still less of such a work succeeding in the attempt. If such a scheme were difficult with any nation, it would be tenfold more difficult in the case of the Jews, one of whose chief characteristics, at once their strength and their danger, is their intense tenacity, and who were always, for good or for harm, ‘a stiff-necked people.’ But it is impossible not to add that most improbable, if not most monstrous of all, is the supposition that such a pious fraud was committed at the instigation of the God of truth, and that the books which are its record and its instrument can be regarded as inspired by Him.”

True Points in Reverent Criticism.

There are, of course, many important points on which we can agree with the reverent and Christian school of critics. We can insist that Holy Scripture was intended to teach morality and religion, not science; we insist in fact with St. Paul that all Scripture given by inspiration of God is profitable also for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness and not for scientific purposes. We can maintain a fact which ought never to have been overlooked, that it is a library of books covering a period of 2,000 years, not one single book. We are bound to remind critics as well as ordinary readers that, as I have already stated, every historical book expresses its obligations to existing records;

the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, the Chronicles of Gad, Nathan, and the different prophets, seers and scribes: the Book of the Heroes, the Book of the Wars of the Lord, and the like. We may point out that so vast a variety of subjects—History, Biography, Poetry, Philosophy, Morals and Prophecy, however distinct their essential unity, would naturally be treated in very different ways by different writers. We had better at once agree that many parts are less important; the pedigrees, the minute social laws, the misfortunes of the Kings of the Ten Tribes, and the like. We had better at once agree that the theory of literal verbal inspiration which once prevailed is absolutely untenable, and has created more unbelievers than any attacks of outside opponents. We are quite willing to consider the question of the authorship of the books, about which very little is told us, and to listen to serious and reasonable suggestions on the subject; provided always that these investigators do not approach their very solemn and responsible task with minds full of preconceived prejudices, armed against any admission of the miraculous, or of divine intervention and guidance, or attempting to raise their own arbitrary guesses into axiomatic laws.

The German Emperor's Account of Revelation.

On the question of Divine guidance, some persons are perplexed because they see a similar kind of illumination in the teaching of some of the great heathen sages, such as Socrates, Plato, Cicero and the other Roman philosophers, Confucius and Buddha. I do not know that the question of special Hebrew inspiration has been better put than by the present German Emperor:

“I distinguish,” he says, “between two different kinds of revelation—one continuous, and to some extent historical, and one purely religious, a preparation for the later appearance of the Messiah.

“With regard to the first kind of revelation I have to say that there is, to my mind, not the slightest doubt that God constantly and continuously reveals himself to the human race, which is His own, and which He has created. He has ‘breathed His breath’ into man, that is to say, He has given man a part of Himself, a soul. He follows with fatherly love and interest the development of the human race: in order to lead it, and to advance it further, ‘He reveals’ Himself now in this, now in that great sage, whether it be priest or king, whether it be among heathens, Jews, or

Christians . . . The works of great spirits have been bestowed by God upon the peoples, in order that they may model their development upon them, and may continue to feel their way through the confused labyrinth and the unexplored pathways of their earthly lot. God has certainly 'revealed' Himself to divers persons in divers ways corresponding to the position of a nation and the standard of civilization it has attained; and He still does so in our day. For just as we are most overwhelmed by the grandeur and might of the glorious character of the creation when we contemplate it, and as we contemplate, marvel at the greatness of God which it reveals, so surely may we recognize with gratitude and admiration, in everything really great and glorious which an individual or a nation does, the glory of the revelation of God. He thus acts directly upon us and among us.

"The second kind of revelation, the more strictly religious, is that which leads up to the appearance of our Lord. From Abraham onwards it is introduced slowly but with prescient vision, infinite wisdom, and infinite knowledge, or else mankind would have been lost. And now begins that most marvellous operation, the revelation of God Himself. The seed of Abraham and the nation developed therefrom, regarded with iron consistency the belief in one God as their holiest possession. They were obliged to cherish and form it. They were disintegrated during the captivity in Egypt; Moses welded together the separate fragments for the second time, and they always persisted in their endeavour to preserve their 'monotheism.' It is the direct intervention of God which makes it possible for this people to emerge once more. And so the process continues through the centuries until the Messiah, foretold by prophets and psalmists, at last appears. This was the greatest revelation of God in the world, for he appeared in the Son Himself: Christ is God: God in human form: He delivered us: He inspires us: He attracts us to follow Him: we feel his fire burn in us, His compassion strengthens us, His displeasure destroys us: though at the same time we feel that His intercession rescues us. Assured of victory, relying on His Word alone, we endure labour, scorn, wretchedness, distress and death: for we have in Him the revealed Word of God, and God never lies."

You have then absolutely nothing to fear from the more rash and destructive school of the Higher Critics. From the devout, serious, and reasonable school you have everything to learn. You will be able to study the Old Testament more intelligently, to teach it to your children more usefully, to obtain its comfort and teaching more effectually for your own souls. Remember always that it was to the Old Testament that Christ and the early Church appealed in proof of His Divinity. "Search the

Scriptures," said our Lord, "for they are they which testify of Me." It was in them that the life and death, the resurrection and the work of Christ were foreshadowed and predicted, and upon this fact He laid His claim to be believed.

Was Christ mistaken?

Well may we ask with the Egyptian scholar, Was our Lord right? or must we hearken to the modern critic when he tells us that the endeavour to find Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, in the sense in which Christ and His Church understood the phrase, is an illusion of the past? We cannot serve two masters; either we must believe that in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah we have a real far-off portraiture of Christ, or else that Christ was mistaken, and that the portraiture was only read into the chapter in later days. The words of our great lamented teacher Canon Liddon, in reference to the destructive theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, still hold good:

"How is such a supposition reconcilable with the authority of Him Who has so solemnly commended to us the Books of Moses, and whom Christians believe to be too wise to be Himself deceived, and too good to deceive His creatures?"

DISCUSSION.

Mr. SIDNEY COLLETT criticized the acceptance of the view that there were two Isaiahs, calling attention to John xii, 37-41, where quotations are made from Isaiah vi and liii, both of which are attributed to one and the same Isaiah. He also disagreed with the words "less important," on p. 113, l. 9, and also with the lecturer's giving up the theory of verbal inspiration (see ll. 11 and 12). He pointed out that St. Paul (Galatians iii, 16) based an important argument on a single letter, "seed," not "seeds," and our Lord in Matthew xxii, 32, proved the doctrine of the resurrection from a single tense, "am" not "was."

Chancellor P. V. SMITH said: Every one is at liberty to hold his own views as to the doctrine of verbal inspiration, but I cannot myself believe in it. The suggestion that the contradictions on immaterial points, which undoubtedly exist in the Scriptures, as we have them, are due to errors which have crept in since they were first written, and would not be found in the original documents, can obviously neither be proved nor disproved, but it has no probability in

its favour. Of the two instances quoted by the last speaker, one is irrelevant and the other is rather adverse to the doctrine. He urged, in favour of it, the stress to be laid on the present tense in the declaration "I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," but I believe that the original Hebrew has no verb at all, neither "am" nor "was." With regard to the quotation from Galatians iii, 16, "He saith not, and to seeds, as of many," as indicating the inspiration of a single letter, it is observable that, though St. Paul, in that passage, bases his argument on the singular "seed," as referring to one, Christ, yet in Romans iv, 16, 18, and ix, 7, 8, he most distinctly treats the singular "seed" as referring to a multitude, and the singular unquestionably does so in Genesis xiii, 16, which is the original passage. His remark in Galatians iii, 16, can scarcely, therefore, be called an inspired argument or proof. It was merely an illustration or analogy such as is acceptable to the Eastern mind, but does not harmonize with Western modes of thought.

Mr. HOWARD said the difficulty which had arisen was due to the absence of a definition of "verbal inspiration." The fact is, human words are inadequate to express even human thought and infinitely more Divine thought, and these discussions on minutiae of language are not profitable. The minds of the East and the West though meaning the same things will probably express them quite differently.

Lieut.-Colonel ALVES thought that none of the Higher Critics, indeed no Englishman, and probably very few Jews, possessed that mastery of Hebrew necessary for a literary critic. Such a critic needed not only a knowledge of words and grammar rules, but also of the idiom and genius of the Hebrew mind and language.

Mr. MARTIN L. ROUSE disputed the claim of the Higher Critics that the Book of Deuteronomy resulted from the labours of the Prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, by showing that a passage from this Book was quoted a whole generation before the earliest of these prophets, see II Chronicles xxv, 4.

The CHAIRMAN said: We have wandered in our discussion too much into details, and I wish to revert to the broad arguments of the paper. But in passing I would say that the real transgressors in the direction of verbal inspiration are the Higher Critics themselves, who build up their arguments on the verbal accuracy of the Massoretic text. This recoils on the critics themselves, for these

texts, though most valuable, are not perfect nor so old as the LXX, which is older than any of the Hebrew MSS. Mr. H. Wiener urges that the J. and E. passages in the Massoretic text are different in the LXX. He, with great acumen, has discussed these points so effectively that his influence is felt in Germany to-day, and a German pastor, Dahse, in an elaborate examination of all the critical material on the Pentateuch, shows that the original foundations of the J. and E. theory can no longer be depended on. A whole generation has been discussing this question without a proper examination of the text on which it is all founded, and which is now proved to be unreliable. Again, even in 1870, Bishop Harold Browne, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, had to defend the fact that Moses could *write*. Now everyone knows that Khammurabi, a contemporary of Abraham, wrote a whole code of laws; but at that time all the scholars in Europe were in the dark about the age when writing was first in force. That all the details of Genesis should have been dictated to Moses would be an incredible miracle, but now that we know that writing was common long before his day it is clear that he had written documents to go upon, and therefore his work is brought within the range of the usual methods of inspiration. In the same way, St. Luke under the Spirit of God may have selected documents and put them together in writing his books. Prof. Liddon referred to "the inspiration of selection," and this appears to me the greatest wonder of all.

What was the influence which selected the books of the Bible? They all coalesce to produce a perfect unity. The solution is to be found in the influence of the Divine Spirit. Think of the time of Abraham: why should he have been selected from so many to have his life handed down in such detail for all time? Clearly it was under the inspiration of the Spirit. And so was it in selecting incidents recorded in the Gospels. When we have evidence of inspiration on this vast scale, it is not worth troubling about verbal inspiration. We have not got, for example, the exact words that Jeremiah spoke. But of course in special grand expressions, burning words, embodying divine thoughts, you get verbal inspiration there, and these abound throughout Scripture, but it is unwise to assume that every detail was superintended by the same authority. The Spirit of God himself guards us against this, *e.g.*, we do not know the exact words used by our Lord in instituting the Holy

Communion: we know the substance but not the minute details of the words.

I am grateful to Dr. Sinclair for asserting the value of open criticism. The Bible must stand criticism, it is only reasonable, and we don't object to it at all. What we object to is *bad* criticism. It is a thoroughly erroneous basis to begin by rejecting all tradition; there is an immense amount of truth in the substance of tradition, and it cannot be discarded. That Ezra imposed on the Jews a false account of their history is perfectly preposterous. Stubbs always held that it was wrong to go against the main lines of tradition, though it might need correction in details.

He concluded with proposing and putting to the meeting a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Sinclair for his most useful paper.

Archdeacon SINCLAIR, in acknowledging the vote of thanks, thanked also the speakers who had taken part in the discussion, and especially Dean Wace, whose remarks he welcomed as a valuable addition to his paper.

SUBSEQUENT COMMUNICATION.

Dr. IRVING writes: It is to be hoped that the Kaiser's incisive and logical statement of his personal convictions will carry weight with many a serious and open-minded German, as well as among the English-speaking races of the world; and we welcome his earnest emphasis of the great "Messianic hope," which runs as a golden thread right through all that is essentially contained in the moral and religious teaching of the progressive library (*τὰ βιβλία*) from the call of Abraham to Christ. The very relapses and regenerations of the inspired race (each time with a larger and higher field of vision) seem to many of us to testify to Providential spiritual leading, in fact to *directive evolution* in the direction of the realization of a purpose with which is bound up the ultimate destiny of mankind: and on this we base a rational faith in the future, without presumptuously forecasting the form of future development, of that fuller "manifestation of the sons of God" for which "the whole creation painfully waits" (Romans viii).

541ST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON MONDAY
MARCH 3RD, 1913.

DR. THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES OCCUPIED THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and signed.

The SECRETARY announced the election of Mr. J. T. Burton and Miss J. E. Williams as Associates, and the Rev. D. H. D. Wilkinson as a Missionary Associate.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. E. J. Sewell, Member of Council, to read his Paper.

POMPEII. Life in the First Century A.D. By E. J. SEWELL, Esq.

TO most travellers in Southern Italy the uncovered remains of the town of Pompeii are an object of great and striking interest. As one stands in the streets of the town, and sees the ruts worn in the stone pavement by passing vehicles, the last of which travelled there more than 1,800 years ago, or spells out the inscriptions painted on the walls, such, *e.g.*, as one calling on the citizens to vote for Herennius Celsus for ædile at the coming election (an equally long time ago), one realizes with great vividness the busy and varied life that once throbbed in these streets now empty and deserted.

And when one finds in a wine-shop a notice that goods can only be had on cash-payment, or on examining some ivory dice found in a house discovers that they are loaded so as always to throw double-sixes,* it is brought home to one that human nature, in many of its manifestations, was exactly the same in A.D. 70 as it is to-day.

It is true that none of these things are absolutely new discoveries. They might possibly, by diligent students of ancient literature, be found mentioned or be inferred with practical certainty from what we can learn from Roman authors. But Horace has told us—

* I have been unable after a good deal of search to find any clear allusion in Latin literature to loaded dice. They are clearly alluded to in Aristotle's *Problematica*, xvi, 12, and as Pompeii was, historically, so closely connected with Greek writers and Greek customs, this might have enabled us to infer with great probability that loaded dice *would* be known there. But the finding of the actual dice themselves turns this probability into certainty.

“Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quae sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus”*

and it is one of the characteristics of archaeological discovery that, even where it does not furnish us with absolutely fresh knowledge, it adds so much force and vividness to what was known before, but known only in a dry and lifeless way, as to make it almost new knowledge so far as its practical effect is concerned.

Pompeii has only been partially dug out, and Herculaneum very little, so that no one can tell what new facts they may yet yield. Dr. Deissmann has drawn attention to one which may almost rank as new, viz., the use in “graffiti” of methods of indicating names by numerals exactly like that used in the Apocalypse by St. John for indicating “the Beast.” He mentions (*Light from the Ancient East*, p. 276) some words scribbled on a wall in Greek—*φιλω ἧς ἀριθμὸς φμῆ*. “I love her whose number is 545.” In this case any lady of the writer’s acquaintance could easily discover whether her name fitted the conditions or did not, while strangers would have nothing to guide them as to the person meant. So in the case of the author of the Apocalypse, he must have known when he said (Revelation xiii, 18), “Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred three score and six,” that circumstances familiar to his Christian readers would make it easy for *them* to fit the number to a name, but that without the guidance they had, strangers would not be able to do so with any certainty.

The point however is that in the Pompeian “graffiti” it is Greek letters that are used, whereas most modern “exegetists” have assumed that ‘gematria’ was a specifically Jewish form of the numerical riddle, and therefore attempts have often been made” to find the name corresponding to the number 666 (or 616 another reading) by means of the Hebrew alphabet. It seems doubtful whether the Christian readers of the Apocalypse in the end of the first century would include a sufficient number of persons acquainted with the Hebrew letters and their numerical value to allow the allusion to be at all generally comprehensible if it were based on Hebrew letters. On the other

* Or as Francis translates it—

“ . . . what we hear,
With weaker passion will affect the heart,
Than when the faithful eye beholds the part.

hand, the two Pompeian "graffiti" show that Greek letters were quite commonly used in this way, and, the Apocalypse being written in Greek, all its readers would be able to understand the person meant, if the numerical values of the Greek letters supplied the means of discovery.

To return to Pompeii:—The period illustrated by its remains, and the conditions in which those remains are found, make its case one of special interest. Pompeii was buried in A.D. 79, some fifty years or so after the death of our Lord, and at a time when a great part of the New Testament writings were still quite recent literature, while some had not yet been written, or at all events published.

The Christian Church was struggling into existence and notice, and its power in transforming men's thoughts and lives had already brought upon it severe persecution. The conditions of life and the circumstances in which all this was taking place are of very special interest to us.

In the second place, the remains preserved to us in Pompeii are preserved in a different manner and under different conditions to those which have prevailed in the case of all other places of similar age. Covered up more than 1800 years ago by showers of soft dry volcanic ash, they have been uninjured by any violent treatment, or by the long wasting process of atmospheric change, so that even the colours of wall-paintings uncovered now are as fresh and vivid as they were in A.D. 79, while the rapidity with which these colours now fade when exposed to the air shows how much we have lost in other places in the case of other similar remains where this fading has taken place centuries ago.

A third point in which Pompeii is of exceptional value to students of the past is to be found in the fact that it was a small provincial town and watering-place: the population did not in all probability exceed 20,000, and the town, though now two miles from the seashore, was in ancient times a prosperous seaport town situated close to the beach. Then, too, its position, raised above the fogs of the plain, gave it a clear air, and its situation sloping gently towards the east and south made it a dry and sunny residence in which the heat of a southern sun was tempered by the sea breezes. It resulted from this, that the place became, before the close of the Republic, a resort of Romans of wealth and position, many of whom built or bought villas in the neighbourhood. Among these was Cicero, whose letters contain many allusions to his Pompeian villa.

That Pompeii was a favourite place of residence is a fact of

considerable importance, because it furnishes the reason why the decorations and artistic remains of many of the houses in Pompeii are of more than usual interest.

It is one of the most interesting results of recent investigations (based largely upon inscriptions and archæological discovery) into the conditions of life in the Roman Empire, to discover that our reliance upon the writers of ancient Rome has led us to think too exclusively of the conditions which prevailed in Rome itself, though these differed in many respects from the conditions of life in the cities of Syria, Egypt, or Asia, and even from those in a provincial town of Italy. The intrigues and infamies of the Imperial Court, which bulk so largely in the writings of authors resident in Rome, fade into unimportance at a distance from the "cloaca gentium," while the solid achievements of the Roman Empire, its administrative triumphs, were sometimes greatest under the emperors whose personal character was the worst.

Pompeii, as has already been mentioned, was not a large place. It was a walled town about three-quarters of a mile long and less than half-a-mile wide. The 20,000 inhabitants therefore lived at close quarters: the forum and market-place with all their busy life, the gladiatorial shows and all the other amusements of the amphitheatre, the shops, the baths, and the various temples, were within a few minutes' walk from any man's house.

The limits of time and space permissible for this paper only allow the most general outline of the history of the place. Yet some notion of that history is absolutely necessary to the understanding of the features of its life.

Pompeii was, in origin, an Oscan town, and the Oscan inscriptions found in it furnish us with a great part of our materials for the study of that interesting dialect.*

The place in the Forum still exists where the standards of the measures in use, both dry and liquid, were to be found. The names were originally in Oscan but have now been erased, and the cavities supplying the standard measures of capacity

* The best etymology of the name derives it from the Oscan word "pompe," five. The letter "p" in Oscan took the place of "qu" in ordinary Latin—thus "pod" was the Oscan form of "quod." The letter "o" was often used in Oscan where other vowels appear in Latin. These two facts show that "quinque" in Latin corresponded to "pompe" in Oscan, so that "Pompeii" means "the fives." What particular combination of five led to this name has not yet been discovered.

have been altered from the Oscan to the Roman size.* So also many of the measurements of the older buildings are only intelligible when referred to the Oscan foot, which was shorter than the Roman foot.†

The Oscans were brought by conquest under the rule of the Samnites in the fifth century B.C., but under both Oscan and Samnite rule the influence of Greek art and civilization was predominant in Pompeii, as in other parts of Campania, a fact clearly illustrated by the character of the paintings and bronzes which remain from this period.

Roman rule succeeded in the third century B.C., but it was only in 80 B.C. that the town became completely Roman, a colony of Roman veterans being settled there under the leadership of a nephew of the Dictator Sulla.‡

Analogy with modern instances is a very useful method of making our notions vivid and definite. As a place combining business interests with being a centre of pleasure and recreation, we may compare Pompeii with Brighton (though, of course, Pompeii was much smaller than Brighton), while from the social and ethnological point of view, we may think of a coast-town near the Welsh border where the substratum of Welsh-speaking people was overcome by the Saxons but eventually both Welsh and Saxons passed under the rule of the Normans, the art and literature of the place being almost entirely French or Italian.

Such a town as this was in 79 B.C. sealed up, as it were, by the huge quantities of volcanic ash and dust poured out by Vesuvius in the memorable eruption of that year. It is, of course, a mere popular mistake to suppose that the town was overflowed by *lava* from the volcano. Had that been the case, not only would the heat from the molten lava have destroyed all perishable objects, but the resulting rock would have been so

* An inscription tells us that Aulus Clodius Flaccus, son of Aulus, and Numerius Arcaeus Arellianus Caledus, son of Numerius, *duoviri juridicundo* (i.e., officers combining judicial with administrative functions), in accordance with a decree of the *decuriones* (i.e., the city council), had these measures made equal (i.e., to the Roman measures). This inscription dates from the time of Augustus, about 20 B.C.; it testifies to one of the means used by Augustus towards the unification of the Roman Empire to have a uniform standard of weights and measures adopted throughout the Empire.

† The Roman foot was 11·64 inches, the Oscan 10·82 inches.

‡ The Roman name of the place was *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum*. Needless to say, so cumbrous a name never really replaced Pompeii in general use.

hard and glassy as to make the excavation of the remains nearly impracticable. As it is, the conditions are of the most favourable character. They may be contrasted with those existing in the case of the neighbouring town of Herculaneum. That town was also overwhelmed by volcanic ash from this eruption of Vesuvius, but it was covered to a depth in many places of 65 feet: in the case of Herculaneum, too, the fallen cinders and ashes became drenched with water, and this, under the pressure of the atmosphere, has hardened into a volcanic rock which renders excavations in Herculaneum very costly and difficult. But, in the case of Pompeii, there was apparently no such great amount of steam or water vapour as to bring about the same results. The depth of the covering, too, is only about 18 or 20 feet, and it seems to have been accompanied by only so moderate an amount of rain or other moisture as to form a mass of a soft tufaceous character, easily dug away, but at the same time, hardened by atmospheric pressure to a sufficient extent to make perfect moulds of human bodies and of many other perishable articles, such as eggs, fruit, etc., buried in it. Soft plaster of Paris poured into these moulds has produced casts giving a most accurate reproduction of the original articles, and so furnishing objects of very great interest.

I have spoken of the town as having been sealed up, and the expression seems an appropriate one: the fall of the volcanic ash, while it covered over the wall decorations of the houses and buildings and protected them from the air, did not in any way injure them; and mere ephemeral inscriptions made on the walls with paint, or even with charcoal, were quite fresh and legible when uncovered, though the charcoal inscriptions rapidly disappear when now exposed to the air.

These remains furnish us with a mine of information as to the life, the business, and the amusements of an Italian provincial watering-place in A.D. 79. For instance, while Vitruvius and other ancient Roman writers have described to us all the apartments and arrangements of private houses of different kinds, as well as of public buildings, the actual houses unearthed at Pompeii have in many cases made it possible, for the first time, to understand the technical terms and the details of construction described in their writings.

But the time and space at my disposal are strictly limited, and in such a wealth of detail it is necessary to select a few salient points.

The centre of life and business in Pompeii was the Forum. We are rather apt to connect the Forum in a Roman town too

exclusively with legal business, so that our adjective "forensic" is almost synonymous with "from a legal point of view." But this is a mistake, as the character of some of the principal buildings adjacent to the Forum at Pompeii will at once show.

The Forum of Pompeii was first of all a market-place; here, all day long, tradespeople exhibited their wares, so that the Forum always remained the business centre of the place.

It served, too, as the favourite promenade and lounging-place where men met to discuss matters of mutual interest or to gossip. We can best form an idea of the bustle and activity of the Forum by thinking of what the piazza stands for in the life of a modern Italian city, and bearing in mind how much has been taken from the piazza itself by the cafés, and by the institution of newspapers. All that men now learn from their newspaper and from the constant and animated conversation of the café was in Pompeii centred in the Forum.

The life of the Forum seemed so interesting to one of the citizens of Pompeii that he devoted to the portrayal of it a series of paintings on the walls of a room. These pictures, though not much elaborated, give a vivid representation of the features of the daily life of a small Roman town.

First, in front of the equestrian statues near the colonnade, are represented dealers of every description, shoe-makers, one supplying and fitting women, another men, cloth-dealers and a man selling copper vessels and iron utensils, who sits so lost in thought that a friend is calling his attention to a possible purchaser who is just coming up. Another man is selling portions of food warm from a kettle; then comes a woman selling fruit and vegetables, and a man selling bread.

In another place, a man sitting with a writing tablet and stylus listens closely to what is being said by another man standing close by, just as to-day, more than 1,800 years later, the street letter-writers in Naples write letters for those who are unable to write for themselves.

Other men are very obviously loungers taking a walk, a woman is giving money to a beggar, and two children play hide-and-seek round a column, while, in another place, four men are reading a notice posted on a long board fastened to the pedestals of three equestrian statues.

Although the Forum was practically the open air, the colonnades and adjacent buildings furnished a ready shelter from rain, or from the heat of the mid-day sun; accordingly, it is interesting to observe that in all these scenes all the men are shown with their heads uncovered. The women, on the other hand, are

commonly shown, at all events in public scenes and places, with some sort of covering on their heads.

We are at once reminded of St. Paul's advice to the members of the Christian community at Corinth (1 Corinthians xi, 4-16), and can realize that St. Paul was there urging Christian converts not to add to the unpopularity of their new faith and mode of life by any needless departure from the usual customs of the society in which they lived.

The last scene depicted is one which will arouse mixed memories in the minds of some of the men present here. It is a scene from school life. The schoolboy is to get a flogging. He is "horsed" on the back of another schoolboy while a third holds his legs. A slave is about to lay on the lash. The schoolmaster stands by with an air of severe and dignified composure.

It would appear that Horace's description of his schoolmaster, Orbilius, as "plagosus Orbilius"* is thoroughly borne out by these pictures.

The Comitium at the south-east corner of the Forum, and the Basilica just opposite it, carry our minds to the subject of elections.

The public notices painted on the walls referring to elections and public offices are some 1,600 in number, a fact which shows very clearly the interest excited by these elections and the importance which was attached to them. The ordinary form of an election poster in the earlier Pompeian days was, to take one example—Publium Furium duumvirum, virum bonum, oro vos facite. "Pray make Publius Furius duumvir; he is a good man." Another usual form is to describe a man as *d. r. p.*, which stands for *dignum re publicâ*—"worthy of public office." In regard to one aspirant for office we are informed—"hic aerarium conservabit . . ."—he will guard the public treasury. *Mutatis mutandis*, this is a notice that might adorn our walls at this time in connection with the coming elections for the London County Council.

In later notices the recommendations to the electors are authenticated by the addition of the names of those making the recommendation. In the case of one, Claudius Verus, there is an election-poster—Ti. Claudium Verum ii vir. vicini rogant: "His neighbours request the election of Tiberius Claudius Verus as duumvir."

It was an easy extension of this to put forward a candidate

* Ep. ii, 1, 70.

as recommended by a trade-guild, as in an inscription in red paint on a wall—G. Cuspium Pansam aed. aurifices universi rog[ant]. “The goldsmiths unanimously recommend Gaius Cuspius Pansa for the ædileship.”

This method of advocating a man's candidature easily led to sarcastic recommendations by his enemies. There is a painted notice on a wall in Augustales Street—Vatiam aed. furunculi rog[ant]: “The sneak-thieves beg the election of Vatia as ædile”; and according to another notice near by: All the late drinkers (*seribibi universi*) and all the people who are asleep (*dormientes universi*) recommended the election of the same unlucky Vatia.

Another amusing poster runs: Claudium ii vir. animula facit—“Claudius's sweetheart is making him duumvir.”

Modern as some of these methods seem, it does not appear that anyone in the first century had hit upon the idea of a picture-poster.

Other notices deal with ordinary business affairs; one is the notice of the finding of a mare which had strayed; another offers a reward for the recovery of a stolen copper pot and an additional reward for the capture of the thief; there are also advertisements of particular brands of wine, of olives, fish-sauce, pickle and other edibles.

These things should not, I think, be dismissed as mere trivialities. We are apt to think and say that the greater concerns and realities of life, such as Death, Sorrow, Sin, and Heaven, cannot get attention in modern times because of the rush and bustle of modern life, and the extent to which men's minds are taken up with their business, their amusements, and the details of everyday life. It is just as well to be reminded that in every town and city of the Roman Empire the pioneers of Christianity in its first century found the very same difficulties to contend with, that life was then quite as busy and full and interesting to those who lived it as it is now, and that Christianity, a new and unfamiliar mode of thought, advocated to a great extent by poor men, connected in most men's minds with the hated and despised race of the Jews, and without the eighteen centuries of history that lie behind it for us, nevertheless overcame all these obstacles, and is now the greatest and most lasting moral and spiritual influence which the world can show.

But, to pass on. The plan of the Forum shows it surrounded by temples, and the differing characters of these temples in a small town like Pompeii are a thorough object-lesson as to the state, from a religious point of view, of the Roman world in the first Christian century.

The first temple I shall mention is that which is probably the oldest, the temple of Apollo, on the west side. This temple is one about which our information is most complete and satisfactory. The Oscan inscriptions in the temple, together with much other evidence, show that, in very early times, the Oscans of Pompeii received from the Greeks who settled on this coast of Italy the cult of Apollo. The fine large temple dedicated to that god is in alignment with the older streets of the town, but out of alignment with the colonnades of the Forum; and the devices used to prevent this fact from offending the eye show pretty clearly that the temple was built before these colonnades were put up.

Then, again, the building was in excellent order when it was covered up by volcanic ash, and buried out of sight. The eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 was preceded in A.D. 63 by an earthquake which did great damage to the buildings in the town, many of which were rebuilt between A.D. 63 and A.D. 79, while others were in process of being rebuilt when they were covered up by volcanic ash in A.D. 79. The statues which stood in the court still exist, though they have been removed to the museum at Naples; they form a very interesting series, while the beautiful mosaic flooring has let into it an inscription in the Oscan language, evidently, therefore, a remnant of the temple as it was long before the earthquake. The colonnade about the court was built of tufa and coated with white stucco. It presents an odd mixture of styles, a Doric entablature with triglyphs placed upon Ionic columns, having the four-sided capital known as Roman Ionic.

When, after the earthquake, the restoration of the temple and its colonnade was undertaken, the feeling for the pure and simple forms of Greek architecture was no longer present; the prevailing taste demanded gay and fantastic designs, and the Pompeians improved the opportunity afforded by the rebuilding of the temple to make it and its colonnade conform to the taste of the times. The shafts and capitals of the pillars were alike covered with a thick layer of stucco, and were painted in red, yellow, and blue. We may infer that the Greek element in the city life, which had long before led to the selection for worship of Apollo, the sun-god, the god of the lyre, the embodiment of all that was most artistic in the Greek conception of a deity, had become less influential, and had given place to religious ideas of a grosser, less artistic, and less imaginative character.

This is exemplified by the fact that the most prominent object in the Forum represents another phase of Pompeian

religious thought. It is the temple of Jupiter which towers above the north end of the area of the Forum. This temple dates from some centuries after the temple of Apollo, and enthrones the deities of the Roman Capitol, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The temple itself was left in ruins by the earthquake of A.D. 63, and had not been rebuilt at the time of the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. There exists, however, in one of the Pompeian houses a relief representing the north side of the Forum, and showing this temple so that we can restore the building with great confidence.

In the cella of this temple there was found a head of Jupiter, and also an inscription of the year A.D. 37, containing a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the ruling deity of the Capitol at Rome. As the Roman colonies strove to be, in all things, Rome in miniature, each colony thought it necessary to have a Capitolium—a temple for the worship of the gods of the Roman Capitol, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and this naturally became the most important temple in the city, and exemplifies one important phase of religious worship in a Roman town.

It has been mentioned that a head of Jupiter was found in the cella of this temple. The conception embodied in it is very characteristic. The profusion of hair and beard symbolizes power, and the face shows great force of will, but it is well dominated by alert and all-embracing mind. The forehead expands in a broad arch, the eyes, wide open, look out under sharply cut brows. This deity is not represented as lost in any mystical self-contemplation; but rather as following, with the closest attention, the course of events in some distant place. The ideal of this artist was the wise and powerful king, whose watchful and protective eye sees to the furthest limits of his kingdom.

There could be no self-evolved conception of a deity more appropriate to the practical Roman mind, the mind of a race of soldiers, administrators, and rulers of men.

On the eastern side of the Forum is the temple of Vespasian; this temple was built for the first time after the earthquake of A.D. 63, and was in process of erection at the time of the eruption in A.D. 79.

The subject of Emperor-worship, of which we are led to think by the presence in the Forum of this temple, is one which might itself form the subject of a separate paper for the Victoria Institute. Only three things may be briefly mentioned about it. This temple was of quite recent construction. It was built after the earthquake in A.D. 63, and, since Vespasian's tenure of the

dignity of Emperor was from A.D. 68 to 79, its dedication to him must have been later than A.D. 68. The religious ideal of which it supplies a picture was the latest development of thought in the Roman world. Men were weary of the barren disputes of the different philosophic sects; they saw little reason to prefer one system of words over another. The basis of fact and certainty which the human soul so anxiously seeks for when really and deeply stirred by religious feeling, seemed equally absent from all the systems.

On the other hand, the Roman Emperor stood out as the incarnation of Power. It was no doubt *this*, the possession of despotic uncontrolled power stretching its field of exercise to the limits of civilization, as then known, which drove Emperor after Emperor mad. To the ordinary dwellers in Provincial Italy, and still more to those in the more distant provinces, to whom the Emperor was not a man familiarly known but a name of unbounded power which made itself felt and known at every turn, it must have seemed that this Emperor was the only real and certain Ruler of the World, and therefore the only worthy object of worship.

But to the new-born Christian Church, this was a religion with which there could not be the least compromise. Her pagan persecutors soon discovered this, and the fact furnished them with one of their two tests whether men suspected of belonging to the Christian body did or did not really do so. Would they offer incense to the Emperor and take part in a sacrifice to him as to a deity? and, in the second place, would they curse Christ?

These were the simple tests applied, and they were, of course, conclusive. Their application compelled either a recantation of belief in Christ, or an open and undisguised confession of allegiance to our Lord and to Him only.

I must not dwell further on this point, but these considerations indicate the important part played in the first century A.D. by the system of religious thought of which this temple of Vespasian gives us a concrete example.

The last of the four chief temples, the temple of Isis, is some distance away from the Forum, but it exemplifies a feature of Roman life, the importance of which is receiving increasing recognition. The worship of this Egyptian goddess was closely associated with "Mysteries," and it is now recognized that these "Mysteries" were the vehicle through which all that was spiritual in the religions of the ancient world found expression. The myth of Isis and Osiris embodied the loftiest and purest

conceptions of the ancient Egyptians. These conceptions approached the monotheistic idea of an omnipresent God, and with them was associated a belief in a blessed immortality. The worship of Isis proved the most successful of the pagan cults in maintaining itself against Christianity, with which it had not a little in common, both in doctrine and in emblems. The subject is much too large to be dealt with in this paper, but the point of chief interest to us is that this Pompeian temple of Isis is the only temple dedicated to the Egyptian goddess which has come down to us in a good state of preservation. It must have been built soon after 105 B.C., more than 60 years before the erection of any such temple in Rome was permitted. In addition to this we have also at Herculaneum a wall-painting representing a scene in the worship of Isis—the adoration of the holy water.

There are, of course, other temples in the town, but these four: the temple of Apollo, the temple of Jupiter, the temple of Vespasian, and the temple of Isis, standing side by side, give us, as it were, a visual abstract of the various developments of the religious side of human nature with which Christianity in its origin had to contend. We may find a modern analogy in China, where three or four very different forms of religion, each fitting itself to one side of human nature, exist side by side, so that a man may choose that form of religion that suits his particular idiosyncrasy. In such a state of affairs, Christianity, with its claim to absolute truth and demand for acceptance by the whole world, seems to be either an embodiment of mere superstitious feeling or to make ridiculous claims which can never be substantiated.

For all that, Christianity completely conquered its powerful rivals in the Roman Empire, and no Christian believer can doubt that it will repeat its victory in China and elsewhere all over the world.

We turn now to another side of Roman life in the first century—its amusements, and again in this department of our subject there is only time to mention the principal kinds of such amusement, the theatres and the gladiatorial displays in the amphitheatre.

There were in Pompeii two theatres, of which the larger was calculated to hold 5,000 people. It was excavated in the side of a hill and was a building of considerable magnificence. It was, in great part, cased with marble and furnished with marble seats.

It is a noticeable fact that the first regular play represented

in Rome had as its author Livius Andronicus, a Greek of Tarentum, and that the next dramatist in Rome, Gnaeus Nævius, was also from Campania, the province of which Pompeii formed part. Further, we know that there were farces (*fabulæ atellanæ*) acted at Rome, the scene of which was always laid at Atella (whence their name), the Gotham of Campania. Though these farces were acted at Rome, they were always acted in the Oscan language. It is not, therefore, surprising that the theatre in Pompeii can be dated back to the second century B.C., when Pompeii was an Oscan town.

The theatre was open to the air but its southern aspect and the hot brilliant sunshine rendered an awning necessary over the seats of the spectators. The sockets for fixing the great masts which held up this awning are still to be seen.

There is also just outside the theatre a deep reservoir for water, which was used for sprinkling over the theatre to cool the heated building. These sprinklings were called "sparsiones"; and there are still to be seen painted on the walls advertisements of performances in which it is mentioned as an attraction that there would be awnings and water sprinklings (*sparsiones, vela erunt*).

The theatre in Roman as in Greek cities was by no means reserved for dramatic performances only. It was used for public gatherings of the most varied character. We shall at once recall the riot got up by the silversmiths of Ephesus when they "rushed with one accord into the *theatre*" (Acts xix, 29 ff.) and all the proceedings that followed in that building. The smaller theatre only held some 1,500 people. It was permanently covered in, and was probably used for musical entertainments.

I pass on to the gladiatorial displays. These were held in the amphitheatre in the south-east corner of the city. Their extreme popularity with the dwellers in Pompeii is clearly indicated by the number of notices having to do with the gladiatorial games which we see painted in red on walls along the sides of the streets, or even on tombs standing by the roadside, and also by the almost countless "graffiti" both in private houses and public places having reference to combats and to favourite gladiators.

These inscriptions bring so near to us the scenes and excitements of those days that it seems worth while to give several of them.

On a tombstone near the Nucernian gate is the following notice painted in red letters: Glad[iatorum] par[ia] xx Q. Monni Rufi pug[nabunt] Nola K[alendis] Mais, vi. v. Nonas

Maias, et venatio erit. That is to say:—"Twenty pairs of gladiators, furnished by Quintus Monnius Rufus, will fight at Nola, on May 1st, 2nd and 3rd, and there will be a hunt." The hunt mentioned was an exhibition of wild beasts, which sometimes fought with one another; sometimes with men, as the familiar Roman cry "Christianos ad leones" reminds us.

Another similar notice ends with the words: Ven[atio] erit. Maio quin[quennali] feliciter. Paris va[le]. That is: "There will be a hunt. Hurrah for Maius the quinquennial.* Bravo Paris." Paris was no doubt a popular gladiator.

Another notice ends with the words: Venatio et vela erunt: "There will be a hunt, and awnings will be provided."

Beside the general announcement of a gladiatorial display, a detailed programme (*libellus*) was prepared in advance, and copies were sold. Unfortunately, no such copy has come down to us, but we have what is nearly as good, the memorandum which a Pompeian, evidently with plenty of time to spare, has scratched on a wall. There were two such programmes. The second contains details as to nine pairs of gladiators who fought together. It will be worth while to give part of the programme relating to three of these pairs, together with some explanations.

MUNUS · N · IV. iii	Munus N IV iii
PRID · IDUS · IDI[BUS] MAI[S]	pridie Idus, Idibus Mais.
T · M ·	Threx. Mirmillo
v. PUGNAX · NER iii	vicit. Pugnax, Neronianus iii
p. MURRANUS · NER iii	perit. Murranus, Neronianus iii
O · T ·	Holomachus. Threx.
v. CYCNUS · IUL · VIII	vicit. Cynus, Julianus VIII.
m. ATTICUS · IUL · XIV	missus est. Atticus, Julianus XIV
ESS.	Essedarii
m. P · OSTORIUS · LI	missus est. Publius Ostorius LI
v. SCYLAX · IUL · XXVI	vicit. Seylax. Julianus XXVI.

In the first row only the first letter N. of the name of the official who furnished the exhibition (*munus*) is left unobliterated. The fights extended over the four days (May 12th to 15th).

In the first event the two gladiators, Pugnax and Murranus, were both "Neroniani," *i.e.*, they came from the training-school for gladiators founded by Nero. They had both fought three times before.†

* The *duoviri* of every fifth year were called *quinquennial duumviri* and exercised greatly extended powers.

† When a gladiator had never fought before, his name had appended to it the letter T, standing for Tiro, *i.e.*, novice.

The combat was to be between Pugnax equipped with Thracian weapons and armour, *i.e.*, a small round shield and short curved sword or dagger, against Murranus, a Mirmillo, a man who fought with Gallic arms, and had as a crest to his helmet a fish. On the left we see the letters *v. p. m.* added by the writer as showing the result of the fight. *v.* stands for "vicit"—"he was the winner"; *p.* means "periit"—"he was killed," *i.e.*, he was either killed by his opponent in the contest, or else, being beaten and not having so acquitted himself as to please the spectators, was by them condemned to death by the gesture, which has been made familiar to us, of turning the thumbs down. *m.* stands for "missus est," *i.e.*, the gladiator, though beaten, had his life spared by the spectators, who in that case turned their thumbs up.*

In the second pair, Cynus, in heavy armour, was pitted against Atticus, who carried Thracian arms, already described. They are described as "Juliani," which means that they were from the training school founded by Julius Cæsar. Cynus won, but the spectators spared the life of the defeated Atticus, possibly on account of his fourteen previous contests, in most of which he had probably been the victor.

The last fight is particularly interesting to us. Both combatants were "essedarii," *i.e.*, they fought in two-wheeled war-chariots in British (or Gallic) costume. Scylax was, from his name, no doubt a slave. But the name of his defeated opponent, Publius Ostorius, shows that he was a freedman. He had fought no fewer than fifty-one times before, so he was clearly a veteran gladiator, and this may have been the reason why the spectators did not give the death signal in his case.

To my mind this is a very speaking relic of antiquity. It represents such a card as many men to-day take with them to athletic sports for the purpose of marking the winners' names and entering the time in which a race was run, or the height or length of a jump, etc. Only the matter in Pompeii was a series of fights for life by living human beings in the prime of health and strength, and the letters *p* or *m* stood, in one case, for a new lease of life, and in the other for the death on the spot of a man with an immortal soul.

And our holy religion put down this frightful crime. In spite of its wide prevalence, in spite of the great popularity these displays enjoyed, and the cruel lust for blood and excitement

* The same term—"missus"—was used for a soldier who was allowed, after completing an honourable service, to leave the army.

which they fostered, the religion of Love has put an end to them for ever. *Vicisti Galilæe!*

My subject is so full of interest that I have left myself but little time to illustrate [by means of lantern slides] one great and very important part of it, viz., the character and examples of ancient art which we find in Pompeii, in the wall-paintings and mosaics, the statuary, and particularly in the bronzes which have been preserved to us.

And now my time is at an end but not, emphatically *not*, my material. Whole departments of facts illustrating the life of Pompeii have been left absolutely untouched and those dealt with have only been sketched. But perhaps enough has been done to attain the purpose of this paper, viz., to outline the background of a picture of that state of things in which Christianity won its earliest triumph. The conditions of the modern world are in some respects changed, but in others there is a remarkable likeness. It is the boast of Christianity that it is a religion for all the world, not only for all the different races of mankind, that it meets the deepest needs of every class and description of men and women in any one race and in every place. Its message is to that human nature which is fundamentally the same everywhere and at every time under the most different outward conditions; and this being so, we need not have the least doubt that the triumphs of the first century in the ancient world will be repeated in the twentieth and all succeeding centuries and among all the diversified nations of the globe.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that we have listened with interest to Mr. Sewell's valuable paper. Though sharing the general interest which these important discoveries have excited, I cannot say that I am able to throw much light upon the subject, as my specialty, though closely akin, deals with a very different part of the world. A few comparisons, from an Assyrian point of view, may, nevertheless, not be altogether unwelcome.

The great advantage which students of the daily life of the Romans have reaped from the discoveries at Pompeii lies in the fact that the city had a sudden overwhelming, which, though disastrous for its inhabitants, has been of inestimable value to the modern

student. As far as I know, no parallel to this exists; the nearest approach thereto being the case of Nineveh, which, however, was not overwhelmed by ashes from a volcano, but destroyed by fire. The ruin caused thereby had, nevertheless, a similar effect, for the debris from above covered, and in many cases preserved, the objects of art, etc., upon which it fell. Fire, the destroyer, like Vesuvius, became, indirectly, the preserver of what it had spared.

The following are some of the points which struck me whilst Mr. Sewell was reading his paper:—Like the Pompeians, the Babylonians preferred cash-payments, but their contracts are often on a long-credit basis, with the advantage of high interest; indeed, Babylonia was possibly the school in which the Hebrews acquired their commercial knowledge. Dice have, I believe, been found in the ruins of Babylonia and Assyria, but they probably belong to the Græco-Roman period, and, to the best of my recollection, are not loaded. If, however, the Babylonians had dice at an earlier period, they would certainly have gambled with them, as they had a great veneration for numbers. Indeed, it was with them that the great Platonian “number of better and worse births” originated. The names of the Babylonian deities, it may be noted, could be indicated by numerals as well as in the usual ideographic way. Referring to “the number of the Beast” in the Book of Revelation, it is noteworthy that this numeral, “six hundred three score and six,” is composed of the Babylonian *ner* (600), *sos* (60) *iš* (6)—the first 10 times more and the last 10 times less than the sexagesimal unit (*šušu*, *sos*, 60) which enabled the Babylonians to attain such proficiency in problems of arithmetic.

Emperor-worship recalls to the mind of the Babylonian student the fact, that most of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings were regarded as divine. How old the custom of deifying their rulers was, may be judged from the fact that their earliest ruler, Merodach (the Nimrod of Genesis), was also their chief deity in later times. It is doubtful whether the Babylonian and Assyrian kings stood out as the incarnation of power—they were rather the representatives of the gods upon earth. It is interesting to know that the myth of Osiris and Isis embodied the loftiest and purest conceptions of the ancient Egyptians, approaching the monotheistic idea of an omnipresent god, and associating therewith belief in a blessed immortality. In all probability there were at least some in Babylonia who were

monotheists, as I showed in my paper "The Religious Ideas of the Babylonians," read before this Institute; and it seems not improbable, that the Babylonians were more advanced than the Romans in that belief, which consisted in regarding all the deities of their extensive pantheon as aspects of the heavenly king Merodach.

But that which attracts us in Pompeii more, perhaps, than anything else, is the art of the place. This consists mainly of wall-paintings, which, though not masterpieces, show a considerable amount of technical skill. Mr. Sewell has well described many of them, and thrown reproductions of them on the screen. As you know, the art in which the Babylonians and Assyrians excelled was sculpture, which, however, does not by any means show merit equal to that of the Romans. No Babylonian paintings have as yet been found, but the coloured enamelled work seems to have been excellent, and was generally in relief. The Assyrians, on the other hand, went in for wall-paintings generally, battle-scenes and (in all probability) pictures of the chase. It is doubtful whether, like the Pompeians, they ever had pictures illustrating the legends of the gods, but this is not by any means impossible.

Lieut.-Colonel MACKINLAY: I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks. Mr. Sewell has portrayed in graphic style the life of a Roman town more than eighteen centuries ago, and his paper has excited profound interest. From a photograph of the excavated city I notice that the buildings are very close together, and the streets narrow, though straight. I am told that the ancient Babylonian towns were by no means good in sanitation. Perhaps Mr. Sewell can tell us how Pompeii stood in this respect.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

As to the sanitary condition of the city, I have not come across any particular evidence one way or the other. It was a favourite place with Romans of the upper class, situate on the banks of a river; and care was exercised in regard to drainage.

As to Christian influence in the city (a point that must occur to some minds) there is difference of judgment on the part of authorities. Some declare that there "is no trace whatever of

Christianity" in the remains ; and it is significant that Deissmann is silent regarding an inscription pointing the other way, which certain popular writers have described. At the most, the evidence can only show that Christianity was known in Pompeii before the date of the destruction of the city ; and this is not at all improbable, nor does it add materially to our knowledge.

542ND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS,
ON MONDAY, MARCH 17TH, 1913, AT 4.30 P.M.

J. W. THIRTLE, ESQ., LL.D., OCCUPIED THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and signed. The Secretary announced the election of the Rev. George Denyer as an Associate.

The CHAIRMAN explained that owing to advancing years, distance, and many occupations, Dr. Flournoy was not able to read his paper himself, and called upon the Secretary to read it for him.

(Dr. Thirtle's further remarks will be found at the end of the paper.)

*THE BEARING OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND
HISTORICAL RESEARCH UPON THE NEW
TESTAMENT.* By the Rev. PARKE P. FLOURNOY,
D.D.

IT should be remembered, in discussing this subject, that history and archæology cannot *directly* establish the truth of the statements of the New Testament, except in a few cases. Research in these two spheres may, however, remove such obstacles in the way of belief as have been placed there by assertions to the effect that the book could not have been written in the first century, alleging that parts of it bear marks of second century production.

Thus, it will be seen that the advocate of the historical truth of the New Testament is at a distinct disadvantage, since historical and archæological research can only yield probable results for him, while, for the objector, it may seem to furnish absolute proof of the inaccuracy of historical statements in the New Testament. If it can be shown that one of these writings contains accounts of events which are known to have taken place in the second century, or unmistakably implies the existence of conditions which are known to have existed in the second century, and not to have existed in the first century, this can be pointed to as positive proof that the book of the New Testament containing such

statements was not written in the first century (unless, indeed, the convenient "redactor" could be brought in and charged with tampering with the text).

On the other hand, if archæology and history should be found to show that these writings, indicating such familiarity with places, persons, opinions, religious conditions, governmental intricacies and changes, characters of prominent individuals and peoples, and, in short, the whole atmosphere of New Testament times, are invariably correct in their references to these things, as only writings of contemporaries could be, it will be hard to believe that they did not originate in those times.

Again, if the *progress* of such research should not diminish, but, as it proceeded, should reveal ever-increasing agreement with all these conditions as seen in the New Testament, we should find ourselves observing a continual approach to moral certainty of the genuineness and authenticity of all the writings of which this should prove to be true.

If, under the searching eyes of criticism, it should appear to be ascertained that the New Testament writings are spurious, there must arise from the Christian world the cry of anguish, "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?" But if, on the other hand, archæological discoveries and closer scrutiny should be found, more and more clearly, to establish their genuineness, it will be seen that Christian faith rests, not on myths and theories, but on the basis of well-attested facts.

Archæological discoveries bearing on the New Testament in various ways have been very numerous during the last half century. The question is, do these discoveries, as well as earlier ones, tend to strengthen or to weaken confidence in the New Testament?

I. DOCUMENTS.

Among the great number of such discoveries, not the least important are documents containing words of the New Testament. The fact that there are more than three thousand Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, and a large number of versions in various languages, besides voluminous quotations from it in the works of ancient authors, is of no small interest and importance. No other book is attested so fully from such sources.

As to their age, Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, D.Litt., Ph.D., Director and Principal Librarian of the British Museum, tells us:

“We owe our knowledge of most of the great works of Greek and Latin literature—Æschylus, Sophocles, Thucydides, Horace, Lucretius, Tacitus, and many more—to manuscripts written from 900 to 1,500 years after their authors’ deaths; while of the New Testament we have two excellent and approximately complete copies at an interval of 250 years.”

The *number* of manuscripts of the Latin and Greek classics bears no comparison with that of manuscripts of the New Testament. He adds:

“Of the New Testament we have more than 3,000 copies (besides the very large number of versions).”

(For fuller account see his articles in *Harper’s Magazine*, numbers for August and November, 1902.)

In beginning the investigation, we will briefly trace the history of some of the documents containing the whole or parts of the book itself, in the language in which it was originally written, or in translations of it, or of parts of it.

The discovery by Tischendorf, in the St. Katharine Convent, on Mount Sinai, of a codex containing a large part of the Old and New Testaments in Greek, need only be mentioned, as (together with the Vatican manuscript) confirming the general accuracy of the Greek text of the New Testament, and as stimulating that spirit of research which has been so fruitful in results from the time of that remarkable discovery to the present. When we turn to the discovery of documents which have additional evidential value concerning the New Testament, we will do well to look, first, at one which was made generally known by Ciasca, a “Lector” of the Vatican Library.

i. THE “DIATESSARON.”

To appreciate fully the importance of the discovery and publication of the *Diatessaron*, a harmony of the Four Gospels, composed by Tatian, the Greek philosopher, born in Assyria, and converted to Christianity under Justin Martyr in Rome, about fifty years after the death of the Apostle John, it is well for readers to recall the fact that, up to a little more than a quarter of a century ago, the Gospel bearing that Apostle’s name was almost universally discredited by Higher Critics. The chief mover of this antagonism to the Fourth Gospel was Ferdinand Christian Baur, Professor in the University of

Tübingen, and founder of the so-called Tübingen school of criticism.

Assuming the impossibility of miracles and of the supernatural in general, and then adopting the Hegelian theory of every set of opinions as passing through three stages—affirmation, contradiction, and reconciliation (thesis, antithesis, synthesis), Baur endeavoured to account for the origin of the New Testament writings by supposing that they developed in a purely natural way by this rule. He acknowledged the four “greater” epistles of Paul—Romans, 1st and 2nd Corinthians, and Galatians—as productions of that Apostle, as the evidence forced him to do, and placed them in the first period, that of “affirmation.” But, according to his theory, the Four Gospels must have originated in the second century, the first three in the period of “contradiction” or controversy, and the Fourth Gospel in the period of “reconciliation.” This last period, according to him, extended from 160 to 170 A.D.

The Tübingen theory thus made all the Gospels spurious productions, written by unknown persons instead of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. According to Baur and his followers, the case of the Fourth Gospel was the most desperate of all. But something like the Titanic’s distressful fate was to occur to this very popular theory in its rapid course through the cold waves of scepticism. In spite of warnings, it kept on its way and impinged on a very stubborn fact—the existence of the supposedly non-existent *Diatessaron*—on the *Diatessaron* itself, indeed. The wreck was complete, and the shattered theory now lies buried as in unfathomable depths.

This was the way of it:

The author of *Supernatural Religion*, some time before the publication of the *Diatessaron*, with what was intended to be biting sarcasm, said “No one seems to have seen Tatian’s *Harmony*, probably for the reason that *there was no such book*.”

Lightfoot’s reply showed from quotations from the *Diatessaron* by Syriac authors at several periods that this was untrue. Yet, as the book seemed to have been irretrievably lost, it was impossible to say what its contents were, and what was its value as a witness for the Gospels, from which it was said to have been composed.

The mystery was soon to be solved. Many passages of Syriac literature showed that Ephraem Syrus, who died in 373 A.D., wrote a commentary on it. In 1876, the year following the sarcastic reference to the work by Mr. Walter Cassells, the author (as is now well known) of *Supernatural*

Religion, Dr. Georgius Moesinger, of Salzburg University, published this commentary of Ephraem Syrus at the request of the Mechitarist fathers of S. Lazaro monastery. Forty years before this, the Armenian Mechitarist fathers had published, in their language, the works of Ephraem Syrus, in which his commentary was included. But, up to that time, this fact had not been generally known. Moesinger put it into Latin, following and correcting Aucher, who had previously translated it, and published it separately from the other works of Ephraem Syrus; yet it was comparatively unknown until Dr. Ezra Abbott called attention to it in his work on the *Fourth Gospel* in 1880.

The author of *Supernatural Religion* came to know of it, but boldly asserted that "it is obvious that there is no evidence of any value connecting Tatian's Gospel with those of our canon." A crucial test of the truth of this assertion almost immediately appeared. Professor Zahn, with the help of Moesinger's work, and the homilies of Aphraates, which contained much of the *Diatessaron*, published a reconstruction of the *Diatessaron* in 1881, and it was clearly seen that it was made up from the four Gospels. This was not all. There was an Arabic manuscript in the Vatican library, marked XIV, which was a translation of the *Diatessaron* itself. It had been there for a long time. Joseph S. Assemani had brought it to Rome from the East about 162 years before. Ciasca had known of it a few years before the publication of Zahn's work. He was urged to translate and publish it; but did not do so immediately.

The delay was an advantage; for Ciasca showed it to the Visitor Apostolic of the Catholic Copts in Egypt, the Most Rev. Antonius Marcos. On examining it, this ecclesiastic informed Ciasca that a gentleman in Egypt had such a translation of the *Diatessaron*. This was, subsequently, sent to Rome, with the inscription: "*A present from Halim Dos Chali, the Copt, the Catholic, to the Apostolic See, in the year of Christ 1886.*" This Arabic translation, though it differed from that in the Vatican in some respects, was of great value in supplying the place of two leaves lacking in the first, as well as some passages in it which had become illegible.

Ciasca, using the two, finished his translation into Latin in time to present it to the Pope on the occasion of the celebration of his Jubilee in 1888. Now we have translations in English, one, with notes, by Professor Hope W. Hogg, from the Arabic, and an earlier one by B. Hamlyn Hill from Ciasca's Latin, which he named *The Earliest Life of Christ*.

The importance of the discovery and publication of the *Diatessaron* can hardly be over-estimated. In it we have all that is told us in the Four Gospels.* With all its peculiarities of expression, due to mistakes of translators and transcribers, there is nothing which can be traced to any of the many Apocryphal Gospels. It was composed from our four Gospels. The Gospels are skilfully interwovent† to give a continuous account of our Saviour's works and teachings, and its first words are from that Gospel which has been most disputed—the Gospel of John—while a much larger portion of this Gospel than of any other is incorporated in it.‡ Its author is a well-known character, the philosopher Tatian, the companion of Justin Martyr. This fact dates the *Diatessaron* within narrow limits. Tatian carried it in Syriac to the people of that tongue as early as 172 A.D., and Dr. Sanday thinks it not improbable that a rough draft of it had been made during Justin's lifetime, and used by both Justin and Tatian in Rome.

Justin suffered martyrdom in 163, and both he and Tatian were born during the generation following the death of the Apostle John, and probably in the earlier half of it, as Justin had become an eminent man before the half century following the Apostle's death expired. Tatian is supposed by some to have been older than Justin, his teacher in Christian truth. Both could have known, and in all probability did know, many who knew the last Apostle. It is certain that they knew a large number of Christians who were younger contemporaries of the Apostle. The fact, then, that Tatian prepared a harmony of the Four Gospels, using the very words of these Gospels, with no Apocryphal ingredients (as Ebed Jesu, the Syrian author, expressed it, "and of his own he did not add a single saying"), surely points to the Four Gospels as univerrally recognized as the sacred records of the life and teachings of our Lord, just as they were in the time when Irenæus wrote his *Against Heresies* (183 A.D.); and that no other so-called Gospels were thus recognized and generally used.

* The genealogies were probably omitted in the Syriac, though they are found in the two Arabic MSS.

† Glancing down a page of the *Diatessaron*, I find all four Gospels drawn on to make four lines.

‡ According to a careful estimate of Professor G. F. Moore the *Diatessaron* contains 50 per cent. of St. Mark, 66 per cent. of St. Luke, 76·5 per cent. of St. Matthew, and 96 per cent. of St. John. (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Allan Menzies, D.D. The Christian Literature Co., N.Y., vol. ix, p. 29.)

There is another respect in which the *Diatessaron* has practically settled much-discussed questions about the Gospels. It is the bearing which it has upon quotations from, and references to, the Four Gospels in the *Apologies* and *Dialogue* of Justin Martyr. The *Diatessaron* shows plainly that what Justin called "the *Memoirs of the Apostles*" (or "Apostles and their Companions," as he puts it in one place, and adding in reference to them "which are also called Gospels") were none other than our Four Gospels. These he speaks of as being read in the public worship of the Christians of his day (*Apology* I, 67) along with the writings of the prophets, showing that the Gospels were regarded as Sacred Scriptures just as the writings of the prophets were.

Professor M. Maher (*The Month*, London, November, 1892) sums up the evidence thus:—

"If Tatian, knowing the whole church as he did [he travelled to various countries in his diligent search for philosophical and religious information], devoted himself to the construction of an elaborate harmonized Gospel narrative, in which the paragraphs, texts, and fragments are interwoven with the utmost pains and ingenuity, and the very greatest care directed to the preservation of even the smallest word of our Four Gospels, it can only be because these Four Gospels, or at least part of their contents, had before this time been received by the Church as a sacred deposit of divine truth."

As to the text of the Gospels as interwoven in the *Diatessaron*, Harnack remarks (*Encyc. Brit.*, Article "Tatian"):

"As regards the text of the Gospels we can conclude from the *Diatessaron* that the text of our Gospels about the year 160 already ran essentially as we now read them."

Thus the *Diatessaron* shows us that there was no process of Gospel evolution at that period at least; the Gospels were then a finished product.

As Professor Rendel Harris finds that "Justin quoted, at least at times, not from our separate Gospels, but from a harmony of the Gospels" (*Diatessaron of Tatian*, p. 54), and Dr. Sanday says (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 301, note) "It would not be improbable that some sort of rough draft might have been used by both master and scholar before its publication," it seems quite natural to suppose that the *Diatessaron*, in its first form, was composed from Greek Gospels, as Harnack supposes from its Greek name, even as both Justin and Tatian were Greeks,

though born, the one in Sychar in Samaria, and the other in "the land of the Assyrians." If this was so, it was done during the thirteen years while the two were in Rome, that is, between 150 A.D., when Tatian became a Christian under Justin's guidance, and 163 A.D., when Justin suffered a martyr's death under Marcus Aurelius. Some time after Justin's death, Tatian carried it to the Syriac-speaking people in their own language.

This Gospel harmony in Syriac was composed, Professor Harris feels sure, from the Gospels which had already been translated from the Greek into Syriac. The question, then, is, are there traces of the existence of the Gospels in Syriac from which this could have been done?

ii. SINAI SYRIAC "PALIMPSEST."

Another remarkable archæological discovery comes to our aid in endeavouring to answer this question. Two Scotch ladies, residing at Cambridge, who have received high degrees from universities in Great Britain and on the Continent, and have been called by a high authority "the most learned ladies in the world," made a remarkable journey in 1892, and one of them made a remarkable discovery in the St. Katharine Convent on Mount Sinai. These twin sisters, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, went on camels to this "Mount of God," and there Mrs. Lewis found the Sinai Syriac *Palimpsest* with which her name will always be associated.

With the assistance of Mrs. Gibson, photographs of these Gospels were taken and conveyed to Cambridge, where, after a partial examination, they were pronounced to be a second copy of the Curetonian Syriac Gospels. Further examination proved this to be a mistake; but the *Palimpsest* was found to be older than the Cureton MS., and this, of course, added to the value of the discovery. On a subsequent visit the sisters, with the assistance of three professors of Cambridge University, deciphered and copied the Gospels as far as possible; and subsequently Mrs. Lewis translated them into English.* Later visits were made in order to settle some readings about which there was uncertainty, and to decipher, if possible, some passages which had been considered illegible.

This was a notable discovery, and its value for the history of

* *A Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, by Agnes Smith Lewis. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane, 1896.

the text of the Gospels has impressed the foremost New Testament scholars of the day. This is by no means strange. The *Palimpsest* contains all Four Gospels, with the names Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John at the top of almost every page. Its age is a point of prime importance. One indication of this is its relation to the *Diatessaron* composed from the Four Gospels in the period 150-172. It is said by Syriac scholars to contain a number of readings, or turns of expression, which are peculiar to this *Palimpsest*, and the natural inference is that Tatian, who was of Greek parentage but born in Assyria, composed the *Diatessaron* in its final form in Syriac from these Syriac Gospels found in the *Palimpsest*. Professor Adolf Harnack, in a notable article published in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, May, 1898, after speaking of the discovery of the *Apology of Aristides* by Professor Rendel Harris, and of the *Diatessaron of Tatian*, says:—

“But of still greater value was the find which we owe to a learned Scotch Lady, Mrs. Lewis. . . . As the text is almost completely preserved,* this *Syrus Sinaiticus* is one of the most important witnesses; nay, it is extremely probable that it is the most important witness for our Gospels.”

A very elaborate and learned article in the *Church Quarterly Review* (London) for April, 1903, after considering the discussions of Hjelt, Gwilliam, Zahn, and Burkitt on the dates of the four oldest Syriac versions of the Gospels, places them in the following order as to age:—

1. The Lewis *Sinaitic Palimpsest*; 2. *Diatessaron*; 3. *Curetonian*; 4. *Peshitta*. If the Lewis *Palimpsest* is older than the *Diatessaron*, Harnack is certainly right in his estimate of the value of this discovery; for it shows us all Four Gospels already translated into a different language from that in which they were written.

One of the scholars named above, Professor Arthur Hjelt, of Helsingfors University, has made a recent visit to the St. Katharine Convent to clear up remaining doubts about

* Seventeen pages of what seems to have been a total of 301 pages of this manuscript were missing, and have never been recovered. The Lewis Sinaitic Syriac manuscript is thus found to contain all the four Gospels except these seventeen pages, and such passages as Mark xvi, 9-20; John v, 4, and vii, 53 to viii, 11, omissions found in the oldest Greek MSS. These omissions are regarded as among the evidences of the very early origin of this version.

readings of the *Sinaitic Palimpsest*, and he is confirmed in his opinion that it is the oldest of the Syriac versions.

Mrs. Lewis, in an article in *The Expositor* for July, 1911, says—

“Scholars are generally agreed, I believe, in thinking that the *Curetonian* text is a revision of the *Sinai* one, and the *Peshitta* a further revision, made probably by Bishop Rabbula, in the beginning of the fifth century” and that “it was done to bring the Old Syriac into harmony with the Greek MSS.”

She goes on to say that—

“Dr. Friederich Blass and Dr. Adalbert Merx, amongst those who have left us, and amongst the living, Drs. Hjelt and Heer, all of whom have studied it closely, think that the *Diatessaron* came between the *Sinai* MS. and the *Cureton* MS., and that, therefore, the Old Syriac represents the earliest translation of the Gospels into any language.”*

As to the character of the text of the *Sinaitic Palimpsest*, Professor Rendel Harris remarks, in his brilliant article in *The Contemporary* for November, 1894, that it is—

“A text that often agrees with the most ancient in Greek MSS., a text which the most advanced critic will at once acknowledge to be, after allowance is made for a few serious blemishes [these are in the first chapter of Matthew], superior in quality to all extant copies, with a very few exceptions.”

This shows that the theory of a gradual evolution of the Gospels is untenable. We should remember, too, that the *Palimpsest* is a copy of a *translation* from the Greek, and that the Greek original was earlier than any translation of it could be. Yet Professor Harris concludes that this Syriac version “must have been made far back in the second century.” The Greek must have been farther back still.

Such a translation for the use of the Syriac-speaking Church surely would not have been made, unless these Four Gospels had been fully accepted as the records of our Saviour’s life and teachings, and it is unreasonable to suppose that they would have been thus accepted by the Church without Apostolic approval.

* “Let us take for granted, provisionally, that the *Sinai* form of the Old Syriac is anterior to the *Diatessaron*, and is, therefore, the oldest of the versions. We then understand why Mark xvi, 9-20, is absent from it, though present in the Arabic translation of the *Diatessaron*, and in the *Cureton* MS.”—Mrs. Lewis in *The Expositor*, July, 1911.

iii. THE APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES.

During the year following the publication of the *Diatessaron* by Ciasca, another remarkable discovery occurred at the St. Katharine Monastery, where Tischendorf had found the *Sinaitic Codex* in 1849, and where Mrs. Lewis, accompanied by her sister, Mrs. Gibson, was to discover the *Sinai Syriac Palimpsest* of the Four Gospels on February 8th, 1892. In the spring of 1889, Professor Rendel Harris found among the Syriac manuscripts there the *Apology of Aristides*, a document which was well known and widely distributed in the time of Eusebius, who tells us that "This work is also preserved by a great number even to the present day." He had just spoken of the *Apology of Quadratus*, which was presented to Hadrian, according to Eusebius, in the eighth year of his reign. Eusebius (*Eccles. History*, Book IV, Chapter iii), tells us—

"To him Quadratus addressed a discourse, as an apology for the religion we profess, because certain malicious persons attempted to harass the brethren. The work is still in the hands of some of the brethren, as also in our own, from which any one may see evident proof, both of the understanding of the man and of his apostolic faith."

In another place (*Ibid.*, Book III, Chapter xxxvii) he speaks of him as "of the first rank of the Apostolic succession," shows that he was a devoted missionary, and, what is of more special interest in our present inquiry, that when he went abroad to preach "to those who had not yet heard the faith," he and his companions "delivered unto them the *books of the holy Gospels*." In speaking of his defence of the Christians, he says—

"Aristides, also, a man faithfully devoted to the religion we profess, has left to posterity a defence of the faith addressed to Hadrian. This work is also preserved by a great number, even to the present day."

What a flood of light the *Apology* of Quadratus would pour upon this time of triumphant progress and intense suffering, if it should be discovered, as that of his fellow apologist has been! We can only hope for this, and turn to the consideration of that of Aristides, the converted Greek philosopher, who is thus spoken of in a mediæval martyrology, which gives his Saint's Day as August 31st—

"The blessed Aristides, most renowned for faith and wisdom, who presented books on the Christian religion to the Prince Hadrian,

and most brilliantly proclaimed in the presence of the Emperor himself how Christ Jesus is the only God."

When we come to examine the *Apology* we find it, in large part, an argument against heathenism in various forms among different races, and a proclamation of the Triune God. Let us hear Aristides on this subject, speaking, as he did, so long before Athanasius—

"Now, the Christians trace their origin from the Lord Jesus Christ: and He is acknowledged by the Holy Spirit to be the Son of the Most High God, who came down from heaven for the salvation of men; being born of a pure virgin, unbegotten and immaculate, He assumed flesh and revealed Himself among men that He might recall them to Himself from wandering after many gods, and having accomplished His wonderful dispensation, by a voluntary choice, He tasted death on the cross.

"And after three days He came to life again, and ascended into heaven. And, if you would read, O King, you may judge the glory of His presence from the *Holy Gospel Writing*, as it is called among themselves."

In speaking of the Apostles, Aristides tells of one of them who "traversed the countries about us." When we remember that Paul preached in these countries, and then look at the short sketch (only ten verses) of what he said to the Stoics and Epicureans on Mars Hill, and then turn to this *Apology* and see what this philosopher, now become a Christian, says about the Christians in whose behalf he was now appealing to the Emperor, it looks very much as if he referred to Paul.

Paul told the philosophers of seeing an altar to "the unknown God," and says, "What, therefore, ye worship in ignorance that set I forth unto you." Likewise Aristides, in his *Apology*, earnestly sets forth the doctrine of the true God, in opposition to the prevailing polytheism, and that in the language of Pauline Trinitarianism, speaking of the three Persons, of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. His words, speaking of the Christians, are—

"For they know God, the Creator and Fashioner of all things through the only-begotten Son and Holy Spirit, and beside Him, they worship no other God."

Paul argued against idolatry; and so does Aristides. Paul spoke of God as the Creator "of the world and all things therein." Aristides begins with the greatest of subjects, the true

God, and speaks of Him as "the God of all, who made all things."

Paul asserted to his unbelieving audience the reality of the resurrection; and so does Aristides.

Paul spoke of the judgment and of Christ as the Judge; and we find Aristides saying—

"So shall they appear before the awful judgment, which through Jesus Christ, the Messiah, is to come upon the whole human race."

Paul tells the Athenians of their failure to worship the true God who, he tells them, "is Lord of heaven and earth," and that he "dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as if He needed anything, seeing that He giveth to all life and breath and all things." Paul was speaking to philosophers at Athens, and the Athenian philosopher Aristides, speaking of these philosophers, says—

"Herein, too, they err in asserting of Deity that any such thing as deficiency can be present to it, as when they say He receives sacrifice and requires burnt offering and libation and immolations of men and temples. But God is not in need, and none of these things is necessary to Him."

It appears quite probable that this sketch of Paul's address, recorded in Acts xvii, was in the mind of Aristides as he wrote this *Apology*.

That Aristides was familiar with the book of Acts is indicated in another way by the form of two quotations from ch. xv, 20, 29. One is the negative form of the golden rule. In the Harris Syriac, section xv, we find the expression: "and whatsoever they would not that others should do unto them they do not to others." This is noted by Seeberg of Berlin as an instance of "Western corruption of the text of Acts xv, 20." Connected with this, we find the statement that "of the food which is consecrated to idols they do not eat." Seeberg concluded that this was in the copy of the Acts used by Aristides, and that it indicates that the Acts was in "ecclesiastical use," and that by the time of Aristides it was "an ancient book, handed down from the Apostolic age." (See Professor Rendel Harris' *Four Lectures on the Western Text*.)

But, without the textual criticism of specialists, the ordinary reader can see, in almost every sentence of the part of the *Apology* in which the character of the Christian community is set forth, especially, indubitable indications of the writer's acquaintance with books of the New Testament.

For instance, in Col. i, 17, we have, "By Him all things consist." Aristides says, "Through Him all things consist."

In Romans i, 25, we find the expression, "served the creature rather than the Creator." Aristides says the heathen "began to worship created things instead of their Creator."

James iii, 17, describes Christian "wisdom" as "gentle and easy to be entreated." Aristides says, Christians "are gentle and easy to be entreated."

In Romans ix, 3, we find, "My brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh," and in viii, 5, "not after the flesh but after the Spirit." Aristides has, "Brethren not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."

Peter, speaking of the Epistles of Paul (II Peter iii, 16), says, "As also in all his Epistles . . . in which are some things hard to be understood." Aristides, having told the Emperor of "the Holy Gospel Writing," says, "There are found in their *other writings* things which are hard to utter and difficult for one to narrate."

In Hebrews ii, 5; vi, 5, we have the words "the world to come." Aristides speaks of those who seek "the world to come."

John in Rev. i, 1, speaks of "the things which must come to pass hereafter," and (i, 19) received the command from the Lord, "Write . . . the things which shall come to pass hereafter." Aristides tells the Emperor, "Since I read in their writings, I was fully assured of these things, as also of things which are to come."

Paul repeats God's promise (Heb. x, 16): "I will put my laws in their heart, and in their mind will I write them." Aristides says of the Christians that they "have the commands of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself graven upon their hearts."

Paul exhorts Christians (II Cor. ix, 7) to give "not grudgingly." Aristides says, the Christians give "ungrudgingly."

In I Pet. i, 23, we find the regenerate described as "born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God which liveth and abideth for ever." Aristides says, "Let all that are without the knowledge of God, draw near thereto [*i.e.*, 'to their doctrine'—'the gateway of light'] and they will receive incorruptible words."

John, the beloved disciple, says, "Let us love one another." Aristides says of the Christians, "And they love one another."

When we find these expressions, all, or nearly all, of them occurring in a small part of the *Apology*, the far larger part being occupied with descriptions of opposing religious systems, we are impressed with the fact that the thought of Aristides

is saturated with ideas and expressions found in the different books of the New Testament from the Gospels to the Revelation. Hence we cannot but assent to Harnack's view that the discovery of the *Apology* "is a find of the first importance."

It must be plain to all that what Aristides calls "The Gospel," "the Holy Gospel Writing," "their Writings," "their Other Writings," contain what we read in our New Testament to-day.

As to the date of the presentation of the *Apology* to Hadrian, there can be little doubt that it was, as Eusebius states in his *Chronicon*, in the eighth year of this Emperor's reign, *i.e.*, in 124 or 125 A.D.

Aristides' frequent mention of what he calls "the Holy Gospel Writing," which the Emperor is again and again entreated to read, is significant just here. As it is not improbable that the Four Gospels had already been translated into that Syriac version of which we have a copy in the *Sinai Syriac Palimpsest* discovered by Mrs. Lewis, this "Holy Gospel Writing," the "Books of the Holy Gospel," distributed by Quadratus and other evangelists, were, in all probability, the Four Gospels, quoted by Justin Martyr and interwoven to make the *Diatessaron* by Tatian.

The contention of the German rationalistic Tübingen school that the Gospels were not all written before 170 A.D., has been thoroughly refuted, not by arguments, but by archæological discoveries. Even Harnack, once a follower of Baur, has said (*Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, Introd., p. 8 f.), "The presuppositions of the Baur school can now be fairly said to have been entirely discarded," and adds—

"Yet there is left in Biblical criticism, as an inheritance from that age, an undefined captiousness of a kind practised by a trickster lawyer, a petty fault-finding method [pettifogging] which still clings to all manner of minor details, and from these, argues against the clear and decisive facts of the case."

iv. THE GOSPEL OF PETER.

In a grave at Akhmin in Egypt was found in 1886 a part of the so-called *Gospel according to Peter*.

In the fifth edition of a book which may be called the American echo of *Supernatural Religion*, the theory is advanced that this was an original Gospel, written before any of our four, but suppressed by ecclesiastical authority, the canonical

Gospel according to Mark taking its place. The author refers to the order of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, forbidding its use at Rhossus, because of its Docetic character. Facts, however, are more reliable than theories with no facts to sustain them. This fragment is found, even by the (by no means conservative) writer of the introduction to it in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. ix, to be dependent on all four of our Gospels; and Dr. Sanday, of Oxford University, says of it (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 301, note), "The Apocryphal Gospel of Peter is based on our Gospels." Of the author of it, he says, when he leaves our Gospels, "It is very plain when he begins to walk by himself."

Referring to some quite eccentric features of the production, he remarks—

"In all these ways, the contrast between the apocryphal Gospel and the canonical Gospels is marked. The latter are really 'a garden enclosed.'"

I think that few who examine this "Gospel" will think differently. Thus this early apocryphal Gospel is seen to be a witness for the canonical Gospels, though the author seems to have written it with the design of leading his followers away from them by giving a different view of the Person of our Lord from that which these Gospels had presented.

V. OTHER DOCUMENTS FROM EGYPT.

Other documents have been discovered in Egypt. The two young Oxford scholars, Grenfell and Hunt, in 1897, in excavating in the rubbish heaps of Oxyrhynchus, created a sensation in the learned world by the finding of a papyrus leaf, apparently from a book, containing *Logia* (or sayings) of Jesus.

In it, and in others subsequently found, there are echoes of the sayings of Christ recorded in the Gospels, though much distorted; yet one, on the first leaf discovered, is identical with a saying in the Gospel of Luke. This papyrus has been declared by some experts to have been written "not later than the year 200 A.D." Other "sayings" suggest Matthew's and John's Gospels.

These obscure and faint echoes of the teaching of our blessed Lord impress us with the value of the "Sayings" in the Gospels, *recorded*, and not left to the chance of distortion by oral transmission.

But along with these *Logia* there were discovered verses from the Epistle to the Romans, and two pages of the Gospel

of John, besides remains of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, fragments from Thucydides, and other classical writers.

The most interesting, probably, of all these finds was a leaf of the Gospel of St. Matthew. This page of the Gospel according to St. Matthew is so nearly identical with the corresponding passage in the Greek of Westcott and Hort that it took the keen eyes of Professor Rendel Harris to discover the difference between them. He thinks that he can make out an apostrophe on this page which is not found in the Westcott and Hort text! A copyist might try his hand on the Greek of either of these texts, and he would prove himself skilful if he succeeded in producing a copy as exact as one of these is of the other.

Dr. Winslow, Secretary of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, says of this fragment—

“Its date is fixed by some experts at 150 A.D., and by the editors of the Society's publications at fifty or sixty years later.”

This fragment of the Gospel, a century and a half older than our two oldest Greek MSS., the Tischendorf Sinaitic and the Vatican, and evidently copied from the same older exemplar, is of no small value, not only as a witness of the practically correct Greek text as now presented by the latest criticism, but as showing that the Gospel was not undergoing an evolutionary process at that early date.

Of the two pages of the Gospel of John, discovered at the same place, Dr. Winslow says—

“The fragment of St. John's Gospel forms an important portion, small though it be, of a book of about fifty pages containing that Gospel, dating about 200. We have St. John i, 23–41, except that verse thirty-two is wanting: also St. John xxi, 11–25, except that verse eighteen is missing. . . . The papyrus belongs to the same class with the Vatican and Sinaitic codices.”

vi. THE REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

The last document to which attention will be directed was discovered long before those which have been mentioned, but as it gives in some ways a more comprehensive view of the early history of the whole New Testament than any of them, it may well take its place at the conclusion of our survey of documents which archæology has caused to shed light on this wonderful Book.

In 1842, M. Villemain, Minister of Public Instruction under Louis Philippe, sent Minoides Mynas, a Greek scholar, to search

libraries in the East for yet undiscovered ancient manuscripts which might be concealed among the heaps of useless material. The result was that he came back with a rare treasure in his hands. It was the *Philosophoumena* (or *Refutation of all Heresies*) of Hippolytus. The book was found of great interest as throwing an unexpected and truly astounding light on the Church in Rome in his time. Bunsen (*Hippolytus and His Age*, vol. ii, page 139) finds Hippolytus quoting or referring to every book of the New Testament except the Second Epistle of Peter. This exception is evidently an oversight, for we find Hippolytus using the expression, "returning to wallow in the same mire," which is evidently from II Peter ii, 22: "The dog is turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire."

Bunsen says (*Ibid.*, p. 144), "The expressions of Hippolytus on the paramount authority of Scripture on all matters of faith and doctrine are as strong as those of the Reformers." Looking into the writings of Hippolytus we find that this is no exaggeration.

Now we are to remember that Irenæus, the teacher of Hippolytus, has exactly the same view of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments alike, and that Irenæus sat at the feet of Polycarp, who was a contemporary of the Apostle John for more than thirty years, and was his devoted pupil. Thus, the testimony of Hippolytus comes through Irenæus and Polycarp from the last of the Apostles. This clearly indicates that the New Testament writings came down with Apostolic Authority.

Here we may pertinently ask the question, Why do we believe that books written a century before our times were written by those whose names they bear? We have no depositions, with a notary's seal on them, of witnesses who saw the writers at their work. We believe because contemporaries of these writers received them as their productions, and the readers who succeeded them down to our own time have suggested no doubt as to their authorship. This is so with the ordinary book which may be of no vital importance to those who received and passed it on.

The case of the writings which form the New Testament is much stronger. They present facts and teachings which those receiving them *did* consider of vital interest to themselves and others—so vital that thousands were willing to lay down their lives as a testimony of their faith in the truth of them. Such writings surely would not have been received by them and

laboriously circulated, amid untold dangers, as they were by such as Quadratus (in whom we see one of a multitude of devoted messengers), if there had been the slightest doubt of their authorship and authority.

But archæology shows us these writings coming down, not only with this general stream of blood-sealed testimony, but in a distinct and direct current in it.

Another document, the Muratorian Fragment, discovered by Muratori in 1740, containing a list of the New Testament books, has in its proper place the Gospel of John. This is in keeping with the abundant evidence we have already examined of the existence and universal acceptance of the Fourth Gospel as a part of Holy Scripture.

II. THE NEW TESTAMENT IN ITS ENVIRONMENT; OR THE SETTING OF THE JEWEL.

We will now turn to a class of archæological discoveries more closely linked with history than the documents we have been considering. It is true that in the case of some of the documents, archæology and history unite in bearing witness. Tatian, Aristides, Justin, and Hippolytus are historical personages, so that their testimony is that of witnesses that are known, speaking at a definite period. Thus, the *Diatessaron*, the *Palimpsest*, the *Apology*, and the *Refutation* are writings of periods that are known, and their testimony is dated. But the dates of the New Testament writings are indicated by other discoveries.

(1) GEOGRAPHICAL.—For lack of space the geography of the Holy Land can only be referred to, with the remark that the progress of archæological research has tended constantly to make clearer the fact that the writers of the New Testament were intimately acquainted with its localities, its political divisions and peculiarities of soil, climate and productions. The more it is searched and scientifically examined, the fuller grows the evidence that this is the setting—the only possible setting in all the world for this record of the mission of Him who was born in Bethlehem, was reared in Nazareth, was crucified at Jerusalem and ascended from Olivet. History and archæology combine in confirming the Gospels, which show Him to us in that Holy Land (as said the dying king), “Over whose acres walked those blessed feet, which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed, for our advantage, on the bitter cross.”

Without any attempt at classification, we may well look at some of the occurrences recorded in the Gospels and the Acts,

and referred to in the other books, just as a reader opening the New Testament at the beginning and reading through it would come to them, and see whether there is consistency, or inconsistency, with other historical records, and archæological finds.

(2) ENROLMENT.—The first case to meet us is one which has given rise to much discussion. The time of the birth of Christ is stated (Luke ii, 1) as being “in those days” when “there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled.” Then the statement is added, “This was the first enrolment made when Quirinus was governor of Syria.” No small difficulty has been experienced in reconciling this statement with the historical fact that Quirinus was governor of Syria from 6 to 9 A.D. Abbot Sanclemente and Zumpt made discoveries which led some scholars to think they had made it clear that Quirinus was *twice* governor, and that the first enrolment took place during his earlier occupancy of this position. But Tertullian had stated that Sentius Saturninus was governor at that time (*Ag. Marcion*, bk. IV, ch. xix.)

Now the matter is made plain. Saturninus was the *civil* governor but Quirinus was commander of the forces in Syria and Cilicia before the birth of Christ; and Sir Wm. M. Ramsay has proved that it was “the Roman custom for a general engaged in a frontier war, as the direct representative of the Emperor, to rank superior to the ordinary governor, who carried on his civil duties as usual.”* (*Was Christ born in Bethlehem?* p. 241.)

The fact is now thoroughly established that Augustus ordered a periodic census, or enrolment, to be taken all over the empire every fourteen years, and here we find an instance of such census—taking in Luke’s account of the nativity. History shows us plainly that this was no invention of Luke’s to get Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem, but rather a fully-established fact.

It has been denied that there was any requirement to go to one’s “own city” to be enrolled. But, when we remember the tribal organization of the Jewish nation, and the policy of the Roman administration to allow races to adhere to their age-long customs as far as possible, the probability of Joseph and Mary’s going to Bethlehem to be enrolled is clear. Moreover, it is

* It should be noted here that it is not stated (in the Greek) that Quirinus was “governor”—ἡγεμων. The words are ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου. The verb means primarily “to lead, especially an army, hence to rule, command.” See Liddell and Scott’s Greek Lexicon. Naturally, it came also to mean to command or rule in a city, so that this is a secondary, while the former is more in accordance with the primary, signification of the verb “to lead.”

stated, on the authority of Sir Wm. M. Ramsay, that "an old order from the Prefect in Egypt, dated 104 A.D. has been recently found, commanding all persons living at a distance to return to their nomes* for the then approaching census."

(3) **ARCHELAUS.**—The plan of Herod to slay the infant Christ, and his cruelty in commanding the slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem, are in full accordance with his character as seen in the pages of Josephus. The account which Matthew gives of Joseph's fearing to return to Bethlehem because he was informed that Archelaus reigned in Judea after Herod's death, has a clear explanation in the fact that Archelaus had shown that he had inherited Herod's cruelty as well as the throne vacated by his death. His slaughter of more than three thousand Jews in Jerusalem† shows that Joseph's fears were very natural.

The fact that Joseph went with Mary and the babe to Galilee was due to the fact that Archelaus did not inherit the dominion of his father there, Galilee and Perea having been assigned to Herod Antipas, another son of Herod.

(4) **JOHN THE BAPTIST.**—There is a remarkable agreement in the account given of the preaching of John the Baptist and his execution by Herod, in Josephus (*Antiquities of the Jews*, XVIII, v, 2), and that given in the Gospels. Josephus speaks of him as "John called the Baptist," and says, "For Herod slew him, who was a good man and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism, etc." Josephus also tells of Herod's agreement to divorce his wife and marry Herodias.

(5) **RULERS.**—Luke introduces his account of the preaching of John the Baptist in the manner of a very accurate historian, dating it in a year which he marks with exactness by introducing the names of seven persons then in authority in various capacities, the Emperor Tiberius being the first mentioned with the year of his reign designated. Is it found that any mistake has been made?

These seven persons are spoken of as contemporaries, and occupying certain offices at a designated time, and among them, Annas and Caiaphas are spoken of as the "high priests." There was only one high priest at a time. Is it not a mistake to speak of two at the same time? History shows us that there is no mistake here. When we find that Annas had been appointed high

* Provinces, or minor divisions.

† *Antiquities of Jews*, XVII, ix, 1-3; *Bell. Jud.* II, i 3.

priest by Quirinus and afterwards deposed by Gratus, that his son, and later, his son-in-law, Joseph Caiaphas, were placed in this position, so that, for this period, the high-priesthood was a sort of family inheritance, and then find from the Gospel of John that Christ was brought first before Annas and then before Caiaphas, the explanation is clear.

The way in which the whole political situation is presented in the Gospels and the Acts indicates that the writers were perfectly familiar with it. This familiarity is shown, not by laboured descriptions or historical disquisitions but in the perfectly natural allusions which show the historical setting of the events of the great mission of Christ and those He sent forth to proclaim it.

(6) DIVISIONS.—We find in Luke iii, 1–3, that the former dominions of Herod (the Great) were divided in certain ways, and ruled by different persons in different capacities—Judea being under the Roman procurator, Pontius Pilate, Galilee under Herod Antipas, Iturea and Trachonitis under Philip, his brother, and Abilene under Lysanias. Tacitus (*Hist.* V, 9) and Josephus (*Ant.* XVII, xi, 4, and *Ant.* XVIII, vi, 10) furnish a parallel account.

The relations of the Jews to the Samaritans, with whom John tells us they “had no dealings,” are dwelt on at length by Josephus, who shows us some very strong reasons for the mutual antipathy. (*Ant.* XI; IV, 6; II, 1; XII, v, 5.)

The accurate knowledge of the political conditions, which were remarkably complicated, together with the hints as to the characters of different persons in authority, their relations to Rome, to the Jewish people and to one another, shown by the writers of the Gospels, as of persons living among these conditions, is a very clear indication that these are truthful and contemporary records.

(7) JEWISH SECTS.—The picture presented in them of the Jewish sects, such as Pharisees and Sadducees, of temple usages, of religious opinions and discussions as to ceremonial observances, baptisms before meals, uncleanness contracted by entering the house of a Gentile or in the markets, and above all, about the expected Messiah and his kingdom, all impress us with the fact that these things so artlessly and naturally presented were matters of common observation and experience with the writers.

When we read on, we find in “their other writings,” as Aristides calls them, marks of a larger contact with the world outside the Holy Land, and have many more opportunities to

test the accuracy of them in their accounts of the beginning of the great work of giving the Gospel to the heathen world. Only a few of these tests can be examined in the remainder of this short essay.

(8) DISPERSIONS.—In the second chapter of the Acts we read a familiar passage telling us of the Jews and proselytes who had come to the first Pentecostal feast after the crucifixion, which had taken place at the preceding Passover. Parthians, Medes, Elamites, dwellers in Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, Lybia, Rome, Crete, and Arabia are mentioned.

A letter of Agrippa I. to Caligula (Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 248) reads as follows—

“The holy city, the place of my nativity, is the metropolis, not of Judea only but of well-nigh every other country, by means of the colonies which have been sent out from it from time to time—some to the neighbouring countries of Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria, Cœle-Syria—some to most distant regions, as Pamphylia, Cilicia, Asia, as far as Bithynia, and the recesses of Pontus, etc.”

(9) HEROD AGRIPPA I.—This same Herod Agrippa, who, Josephus shows us, reigned over the whole of the dominions of his grandfather, Herod the Great, figures largely as an enemy of the Church in the twelfth chapter of the Acts.

“Now, about that time, Herod, the King, put forth his hand to vex certain of the Church. And he killed James, the brother of John, with the sword, and, when he saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded to seize Peter also.”

In the latter part of the same chapter the brilliant scene in Cæsarea is described, in which the sentence of death in a terrible form came to him in the midst of his glory, when he was hailed as a god by the great assembly.

When we turn from this account to that which Josephus gives (*Ant.* XIX, viii, 2) we have a very similar account of Herod's sin and his dreadful death. Few accounts of an historical event given from standpoints so different agree better than these two of a notable event which occurred in the year 44 A.D.

As in studying the Gospels and the earlier chapters of the Acts we find the writers familiar with all the conditions of the times, localities, modes of life, religious parties and opinions, changing forms of government and rulers, whether Herodian, Roman, or strictly Jewish, so we will find just as perfect a

familiarity exhibited when we come to follow Paul and his companions to regions outside the Holy Land.* Only a few examples can be noticed.

(10) SERGIUS PAULUS, PROCONSUL.†—When Paul leaves Antioch on his first missionary journey, he is found speaking of the truths of the Gospel to Sergius Paulus, the governor of Cyprus, whom Luke speaks of as the proconsul (*ἀνθύπατος*). Dion Cassius at one time spoke of Cyprus as an imperial province, the governor of which would be a proprætor. But afterwards he mentions the fact that Augustus restored Cyprus to the senate in exchange for Dalmatia, so that, at this time, it was ruled by a proconsul. A Cyprian coin of the reign of Claudius is found to bear this title used by Luke. Besides, an inscription has been discovered giving the names of two other governors of Cyprus called proconsuls. We find Luke giving the appropriate titles to those in authority in each city which is visited.

(11) PRÆTORS AND LICTORS.—At Philippi, for instance, which was a “colony,” we find the magistrates who condemned Paul and Silas to prison called *στρατηγοί* (Prætors) (Acts xvi, 20, 22, etc.) We find, too, that the missionaries were beaten with rods of lictors, officers who were employed in a “colony,” which was a sort of miniature Rome.

(12) POLITARCHS.—When Paul and his companions go on to Thessalonica, which was a “free city,” we find the “demos,” a popular assembly, in power, and their officers are not called by any of the titles mentioned. They are “politarchs.”

“An inscription still legible on an archway in Thessalonica gives this very title ‘politarchs’ to the magistrates of the place, and mentions the names of some who bore the office not long before the day of Paul.” (Maclear’s *Illustrations*, sec. V.)‡

(13) ASIARCHS.—Ephesus, another free city, has its demos, its town clerk and its asiarchs, the last corresponding somewhat with the Ædiles of Rome. (*Ibid.*) Wood’s explorations at Ephesus have brought to light the marble seats of its theatre in

* “The study of the life of the Græco-Roman world is now fully recognized to be absolutely necessary, if we do not wish our notions about early Christianity to be a mere caricature of the truth.”—Professor Kirsopp Lake, in *Expository Times*, December, 1911, pp. 99, 100.

† A Greek inscription of Soloi on the north coast of Cyprus is dated in the consulship of Paulus . . . found and made known by General di Cesnola; but more accurately and completely published in Mr. D. G. Hogarth’s *Devia Cypria*, p. 114. (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 74.)

‡ Now in the British Museum.

which the great mob cried so enthusiastically and madly, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," and where the town clerk at last calmed the tumult, calling Ephesus the *νεωκόρος* of the Goddess Diana. Inscriptions found in Wood's explorations at Ephesus contain this very title as applied to the city.

Thus again archæology confirms the accuracy of the narrative of the Acts, and history does the same.

(14) THE EGYPTIAN ASSASSINS.—When Paul was falsely accused of desecrating the temple at Jerusalem, and was rescued by the commander in the castle of Antonia, Lysias asked him, "Art not thou that Egyptian who, before these days, stirred up to sedition and led out into the wilderness the four thousand men of the assassins?" (Acts xxi, 38.) We turn to *Antiquities*, XX, viii, 6, and find that an Egyptian proclaimed himself a prophet and headed a sedition about five years before this time.

(15) FELIX.—Lysias sent Paul to the procurator Felix at Cæsarea, and we find that Felix was the procurator at that time. The low and covetous character of Felix is shown by his keeping Paul in prison for two years, hoping to gain a bribe for his liberation. Felix was the freedman of the Emperor Claudius, and we are by this act reminded of the epigrammatic characterization of him by Tacitus.*

(16) FESTUS.—We find in the Acts that Festus succeeded Felix as Procurator. Josephus (*Antiquities*, XX, viii, 9) tells us the same. Josephus represents him as a much better man than Felix, and the account in the Acts indicates this, though no explicit statement to that effect is made.

(17) AGRIPPA II.—At the very beginning of his administration, he receives a visit from King Agrippa II., and Paul's case is referred to him for his advice. In his *Wars* and *Antiquities* Josephus tells much about this Herod Agrippa, the great grandson of Herod the Great—and in this presentation of the case to him we have a glimpse of the complicated system of government in Judea at the time. But Luke never makes a mistake in his narrative where it touches upon it. The presence of the notorious Bernice and the pomp and show of the occasion are in keeping with what we know from other sources. Paul's appeal, too, is in strict accord with Roman usage in the case of those having Roman citizenship.†

* Antonius Felix, per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. Tacitus, *Histories*, V, 9.

† "There were others brought before me possessed with the same

Similar correspondence with conditions revealed by archæological and historical research may also be found in the Epistles and Revelation* ; but without going into particulars, we must content ourselves with turning to the conclusions of one who has very thoroughly examined these details, and is recognized as a very high authority—probably the very highest authority, on the geographical and historical setting of the writings of the New Testament—the archæologist and historian, Sir Wm. M. Ramsay.

(18) LYSTRA.—

He says of the Acts—

“The book could not have been written in the second century, as the later nineteenth century scholars declared . . . because it is inconsistent with the situation of Asia Minor in the second century . . . It is stamped as a document of the first century on the ordinary canons of criticism, and marked as originating from contemporary records by its vividness and individuality.”

In this connection, Professor Ramsay tells us how, beginning as a Higher Critic, under the guidance, as a student, of Professor Robertson Smith (who led out *more* than four thousand men into a wilderness, which the most of them, alas, never found their way out of), a comparatively unimportant fact arrested his attention and caused a complete change of view—

“The detail that first caught my attention was a slight matter in itself, but just the sort of small incidental, unimportant circumstance by which date and knowledge or ignorance are tested. In Acts xiv, 6, Paul and Barnabas are said to have fled to the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra, and Derbe. No one could speak thus who did not know that the boundary of Lycaonia was so drawn that, in going from Iconium to Lystra, Paul crossed the frontier and entered the district of Lycaonia.”

A change was made, however, early in the second century, he tells us—

“And Lystra became separated from Lycaonia and closely connected with Iconium, and it formed a part of the division to

infatuation ; but being citizens of Rome, I directed them to be carried thither.”—Pliny's *Letters (to Trajan)*, vol. ii, pp. 249, 280. EDITOR.—“It was one of the privileges of the Roman citizen, secured by the Sempronian law, that he could not be capitally convicted but by the suffrage of the people, which seems to have been still so far in force as to make it necessary to send the persons here mentioned to Rome.”

* See Professor Sir Wm. M. Ramsay's “Letters to the Seven Churches.”

which Iconium belonged. There ceased, then, to be a frontier between Iconium and Lystra; and Acts xiv, 6, could not have been written later." (Lecture before the Victoria Inst., vol. xxxix.)

This is but one example to which many others might be added. Professor Ramsay has spent years in investigations in Asia Minor, and his conclusion is that—

"It is the same with everything in the travel narrative of Acts. The narrative is direct from experience of the localities and districts and boundaries as they were when the journeys were made."

What is true of the Acts he also finds true, in this respect, of the Synoptic Gospels.

(19) BETHESDA.—It can hardly be said that indications are lacking that the Apostle John also composed his Gospel from notes taken at the time of conversations and events recorded. The long discussion between the Jews and our blessed Lord, recorded in the seventh and eighth chapters of his Gospel, especially make this impression. And then we find written in the fifth chapter, v. 2, the statement, "Now there is (ἔστιν) in Jerusalem by the sheep gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew, Bethesda, having five porches." The sheep gate (or market) and the five porches could not have been there after the destruction of Jerusalem.*

But, however this may be, the fact that the writer was an eye-witness, as he claims to be, is clearly shown by his familiarity with the whole environment of this marvellous Gospel.

We should keep constantly in mind the fact that the testimonies cited in this discussion are independent of each other. They are not like links in a chain which parts if one link be broken. They are rather to be compared with the strands of a great hawser, the weakest of which, instead of weakening the rest, adds a little to their combined strength.

(20) ROMAN HISTORIANS SPEAK OF CHRIST.—We may fitly conclude this necessarily imperfect survey by recalling the fact that, while such men as Professor Drews† insinuate that there

* See the writer's article "The Real Date of the Gospels," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1908.

† Several destructive critics have made bold attempts to invalidate the evidence of even the existence of the Christ of the New Testament. The most prominent at the present time is Professor Arthur Drews, of the Karlsruhe Technical High School. He succeeded in drawing attention to himself, and creating a sensation in German theological circles, by his book, *Christusmythe*, 1909, and a notable discussion in Berlin.

Others had preceded him, or are still presenting similar views, such as

was no such person as Christ, Roman historians who had no leaning toward Christianity wrote of him.

Tacitus,* a contemporary of the Apostle John, though he speaks of the Christians in a tone of patrician scorn, yet mentions clearly that they were the followers of Christ, that Christ was crucified by Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea, and gives a harrowing account of the persecutions inflicted upon them by Nero. Tacitus evidently had no more doubt about the existence of Christ than he had of that of Julius Cæsar or of his own contemporary, Nero, whose dreadful deeds he records.

The intimate friend of Tacitus, Pliny the younger,† tells more about the Christians, and speaks of Christ as worshipped by them; while his intimate friend, the historian Suetonius,‡ mentions Christians as suffering persecution.

These three Romans were younger contemporaries of "that disciple whom Jesus loved"; and show no more doubt about the existence of Christ than did the Apostle himself.

So, as the veil is lifted by research and discovery, it plainly appears that, instead of revealing weaknesses in the foundations of the Christian faith, the progress is from strength to strength. With each new discovery the wonderful story is seen more clearly to be based on facts and not on fancies.

Kalthoff, of Bremen; Robertson with his *Christianity and Mythology* (London, 1900); Jansen, of the Gilgamesh-Epos theory; Niemojewski with his Astral theory; Bolland, of Leyden, with his Joshua Redivivus theory, and others. On the whole subject see especially the excellent refutation of this impious and foolish contention, by Shirley J. Case, of the Department of New Testament Literature, Chicago University, *The Historicity of Jesus*.

* Tacitus, *Annals*, XV, 44. "To put an end to this rumour (*i.e.*, that Nero had caused the burning of Rome) he shifted the charge upon others, and inflicted the most cruel tortures upon a body of men detested for their abominations, and popularly known by the name of Christians. The name came from one Christus, who was put to death in the reign of Tiberius by the Procurator, Pontius Pilate; but, though checked for the time, the detestable superstition broke out again, not in Judea only, where the mischief began, but even in Rome, where every horrible and shameful iniquity, from every quarter of the world, pours in and finds a welcome." . . . "Their death was turned into a diversion. They were clothed in the skins of wild beasts and torn by dogs; they were fastened to crosses, or set up to be burned, so as to serve the purpose of lamps when daylight failed. Nero gave up his own gardens for this spectacle, etc."

† Pliny's *Letter to Trajan*, X, 97.

‡ Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, 16.

Thus, more and more, research has revealed the verity of the things "believed among us," by showing the absolute truthfulness of the many allusions, incidentally made, to laws, customs, officers of government, phases of governmental administration of great variety and unusual complexity, to a vast variety of characters of individuals acting under varied conditions, and with various ends in view, characteristics of various races in different countries, and other particulars.

In excavations made some years ago on the Acropolis of Athens there was found, built into a long-buried wall, a fragment of stone which proved to have on one of its sides in bas-relief a female head, with the fingers of a hand, from which they had evidently been broken, holding a twist of hair on the back of the head. M. Kavadias, the archæologist in charge, pronounced it a fragment of the frieze of Phidias on the Parthenon near by. Other archæologists expressed doubt. After a good deal of discussion, it was recollected that among parts of the Parthenon frieze among the Elgin marbles in the British Museum there was a figure of Iris, the goddess of the rainbow, lacking the head. A cast was taken of the head discovered on the Acropolis, and sent to England. This was placed on the part of the frieze from which a head had been broken away. It fitted in the cavity, the figure was symmetrical, and a lifted arm and hand on the frieze just met the fingers on the back of the head. No argument was needed. The demonstration was perfect that it was the head of Iris.

The priceless jewel, the New Testament, has been shown by history and archæology to fit its setting as perfectly as the head of Iris its place on the frieze.

We have seen that archæology and history combine to show us, through documents brought to light, the text of the New Testament fully certified, and through discoveries of other kinds, together with historical statements, its agreement with the conditions of the period to which it belongs.

But, here, an objector may say, "Well, what does all this amount to? These archæological discoveries, and all these historical references which are so correct, do not, after all, tend to prove the truth of the main claims and doctrines of the Christian religion."

It may be replied that, if not directly, yet indirectly, they do indicate the truth of the claims and doctrines, which are founded on the facts narrated. We all know that indirect evidence is often the most convincing, since to it there does not attach the suspicion of deception which we may

have in the case of the direct testimony of a witness. A foot-print or finger-print may decide a question with more certainty than the testimony of the most voluble witness. The Gospels, especially, do not deal so much with doctrines as with facts; and when we see the evidence of care and truthfulness of the narrators of these facts in their references to the surrounding conditions in which those facts are said to have occurred, we naturally infer that the same care has been used and the same adherence to strict truth has been followed in the narration of the facts themselves.

Then, the writers' intimate knowledge of these conditions, as exhibited by archæology and history, shows us intimate knowledge of the facts narrated as having occurred in the midst of this environment.

In such particulars as can be tested by the light of history and archæology, we find in the narrators the truthfulness, intelligence, and correct information of the best witnesses. It can hardly be demanded that we should consider them untruthful, unintelligent, and ill-informed as to those particulars to which this test cannot be applied. If we find them the best of witnesses in those cases where we have tests of their correctness, shall we not naturally conclude that they are reliable witnesses in cases where we have no such tests to apply? Finding them thoroughly reliable in the one case, shall we doubt their reliability in the other?

When we find these great facts related by men who, by incidental references, and the vividness of their descriptions, indicate that they were eye-witnesses of them,* and then find their accounts true to the facts of the whole surrounding situation as seen in the light which history and archæology have shed upon them, we cannot think of them as either deceivers or deceived in regard to the things declared by them to have taken place in the midst of these surroundings, especially when no possible motive for deception can be suggested, and when, further, we see them declaring them true when confronted with loss, danger, and death for doing so.

* In the case of Luke, we have a most accurate observer and historian, who tells the "most excellent" Theophilus that "it seemed good unto me, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order." He tells us of his sources—"As many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative . . . who, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." He was, himself, doubtless among these witnesses and the scenes of the wonderful story during Paul's two years' imprisonment in Cæsarea.

We think of the Incarnation, the Miracles, the Divine Teaching, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, as central truths of Christianity; but the central truth of all these is that JESUS IS "THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD." He could say "I am the truth," and "I am the Light of the World." The rays of all the great truths of Redemption shine out from the Sun of Righteousness. He is the centre of all. Our faith is not built on abstract doctrines but on Him who is the Truth. Without Him they would be non-existent. It is "the Christ, the Son of the Living God," who became flesh, who Divinely and humanly lived "among us," taught and worked with Divine wisdom and power, was crucified and offered Himself a ransom for us—a ransom of infinite price, because Divine, and for us, because human—rose again, because possessed of Divine power over death, and ascended on high to reign over and rule principalities and powers as only God can, and as "Head over all things for the Church, which is His body," as only God the Son of man can.*

When we have before us the testimony of those who were with Him, who "beheld His glory," who were "eye-witnesses of His Majesty," and who offered their lives as pledges of the truth of the facts which they related about Him, shall we disbelieve them?

We will not, we cannot. We will worship and bow down, and with Thomas cry "MY LORD AND MY GOD."

EX FLORE FRUCTUS.

Before the paper was read Dr. Thirtle said:

By way of preliminary, some words may be spoken in explanation, for it is quite likely that Members and Associates who have joined the Institute in recent years may be asking "What is the Gunning Prize Competition?"

The scheme owes its origin to His Excellency Robert Halliday Gunning, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., who died in 1898. Dr. Gunning became a Life Member of the Institute in 1871, but his financial support of the work did not stop with one payment. In fact, during a period of upwards of a quarter of a century, he was a warm and generous benefactor; and one of his benefactions took the form of

* Hebrews iv, 15.

a capital sum of £500, the interest of which was to be applied from time to time in furtherance of special work in connection with the Institute. The interest is now allowed to accumulate with a view to a triennial prize, according to the will of the benefactor. On the death of Dr. Gunning, in 1898, the bond for £500 was paid over to the trustees of the Institute, and the scheme drawn up under which three prizes (each of £40) have now been awarded. The first of these was awarded to the Rev. John Urquhart, now of Melbourne, for an essay on "The Bearing of Recent Oriental Discoveries on Old Testament History"; the second was awarded to Professor H. Langhorne Orchard, M.A., B.Sc., for an essay on "The Attitude of Science towards Miracles"; and the third to the Author of the paper now to be read by the Secretary.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Author of the Paper, and the discussion thereon postponed until the next Meeting.

THE 543RD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING
WAS HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON
MONDAY, 7TH APRIL, 1913, AT 4.30 P.M.

THE REV. CANON GIRDLESTONE, M.A., OCCUPIED THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and confirmed, and the Secretary announced the election of the Rev. C. G. Monro, M.A., M.B., as a Member, and Messrs. R. Gladstone, R. Macgregor, and E. A. Benjamin, as Associates.

Referring to the GUNNING PRIZE ESSAY read at the last Meeting,

The CHAIRMAN said: The paper we are here to-day to consider is one of very general interest: we are all keen to discuss the historical aspect of the New Testament. It may be with animus on one side and prejudice on the other. I confess I have some prejudice in favour of the old conservative position. It is essential that we discuss these questions; they cannot be ignored. The case of Christianity may be argued philosophically, as Bishop Butler did; experimentally, as D. L. Moody did; historically, as Dr. Lardner did; or archæologically. In Dr. Lardner's time little was known of the last subject, but since then it has grown in interest and importance owing to modern discoveries, which bear testimony to the firm position of the books of the New Testament. Bishop Lightfoot, for example, shows in his examination of Rom. xvi how the names given there among the Salutations are confirmed again and again by the names recorded in the catacombs near Rome. Dr. Orr again in his *Neglected Factors in the Study of Early Christianity* throws considerable light upon the position of things there; and Sir William Ramsay has of recent years done much to confirm the accuracy of the Book of the Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul.

The Bible as a whole presents a large field for criticism, it exposes a wide front to the bullets of the enemy, but it stands fire well.

Dr. THIRTLE, in opening the discussion, said: The "bearing" of archæological and historical research on the New Testament may be twofold—(1) as to the integrity and truthfulness of the writings; (2) as to the meaning or interpretation of the constituent books. Dr. Flournoy has confined himself to the former aspect of the subject. In view of modern tendencies of thought, he acted wisely in

presenting the case for the New Testament Scriptures as they are COMMENDED AND CONFIRMED by research; and as we heard the Essay we could not but be deeply impressed with the manner in which the facts were presented, and their meaning and bearing made obvious to all. Taken as a whole, the Essay may be said to answer most effectively the ends for which the Gunning Prize was founded.

But there are more witnesses that may be called. If the "bearing" which commends by *confirmation* is important, so also is that which commends by *explanation*. Those witnesses stand behind the simple labels of Inscriptions, Papyri, and Ostraca, the outcome of modern discoveries that have much to tell us respecting the New Testament Scriptures. True, these will not, in every case and directly, speak as to the integrity of the Books; but assuredly, in the first place, they imply the antiquity of the writings, and in the second place they invest them with a realism that should specially appeal to the modern mind. Here we are on the track of the civilization of Imperial Rome, as interpreted to us in remains that have been found in Egypt and the Levant; and the results of such investigations as concern us are given in the publications of well-known societies devoted to exploration, also in works by Sir William Ramsay, Professor George Milligan, Professor Deissmann, and others. Whatsoever these results may contribute in the way of confirming Scripture is of great value; but the same may also be said of the explanatory light which they throw, not only upon the sacred text, but also upon the confirming material itself. These witnesses exist, not in the form of literary documents of standard order; they are simply commonplace writings—letters, deeds, and wills; contracts invoices, and receipts; tax-papers, judicial forms, diaries, and so forth. Dr. Flourney has left these witnesses for such examination as may now be applied to them. For myself, I must be content with some general remarks.

(1) In the first place, I recall the controversy of centuries gone by in reference to the language in which the New Testament has come to us. Out of this there emerged a theory which, on the surface, was fanciful, but which none the less won influential adherents, namely, that the New Testament was written in a Greek of its own kind, a sacred form of speech, as it were, prepared by the Spirit of God for a certain purpose, and consecrated to serve in a special manner as a vehicle for the expression of Divine Truth.

At length, the various theories have become discredited ; and the confusion that has overtaken them was foreseen by Joseph Barber Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, who, in 1863—fifty years ago exactly—went so far as to say that “if we could only recover letters that ordinary people wrote to each other without any thought of being literary, we should have the greatest possible help for the understanding of the language of the New Testament generally.”* The judgment thus expressed has in the interval of years been supported by thousands of documents, written in common or unstudied Greek, such as was used in ordinary conversation throughout the Near East ; and these throw a flood of light upon the form and terminology of the New Testament books.

Hence, in one of its “bearings” the research of modern times places the New Testament in a fresh and remarkable light. The Gospel gives us not a dialect but a Book. The speech was common even as the writers were of the common people ; but the Message was extraordinary, and in certain respects so were the men who delivered it. We have, indeed, to recognize that, to natural intelligence on their part, there was added a calling of God which qualified for a great work even with the use of the most simple instrument. The might, however, was not in the dialect but in the Revelation, of which it was the spoken medium. Thus, while “decay’s effacing fingers” have blotted out great works of antiquity, the New Testament lives on.

(2) In the second place, I would remark upon the commanding importance of recent discoveries as they bear upon certain of the great words of the New Testament. I limit myself to one class and the principal words therein. I refer to those words of majesty that are employed with reference to the Person of our Lord and the words of grace that describe His work “for us men and for our salvation.” Are we surprised that the former—the words of majesty—were quite familiar by reason of their application to the mighty ones of earth ? We should not be surprised. We understand the Gospel itself in the measure that we understand, and rightly appreciate, the words in which it comes to us.

* Notes by the Rev. J. Pullibank of lectures by the Bishop. Quoted from Dr. J. Hope Moulton’s *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, vol. 1, p. 242.

As we know, monuments of stone and more simple documents speak of kings and emperors in terms which represent them as embodying Divine characteristics. What those rulers did not possess in actuality was nevertheless claimed for them in pride of heart; and there were ever courtiers and others who ascribed to such dignitaries virtues which were unreal and fantastic. Hence we find among the appellatives employed with reference to emperors, not only such words as King and Ruler, but also Saviour and Son of God. Indeed, in connection with the Imperial cult of Rome there were other conceptions, such as Justification, Redemption, and Adoption, which we have come to apply almost exclusively to the work of the Lord Jesus Christ. Moreover, the word *Parousia*, implying the presence, and the word *Epiphaneia*, implying the manifested splendour of the Lord, were in use at the same time, for the description of the movements and manifestations, real or supposed, of gods and heroes of the heathen!

These forms of speech, as I need hardly say, go to the roots of Messianic dignity and glory; and we find them in these researches, not merely in some strange equivalent, but in the very words that are familiar to the student of New Testament Greek. Does it give us a shock to find (say) the Emperor Augustus spoken of as a Son of God? We should also remember that this custom has prevailed in other lands and ages; the Assyrian kings made similar claims, and the latest Emperor of Japan is spoken of as a Son of Heaven. In view of the facts now mentioned, we cannot but see how startling, how severe, was the impact made by Christianity when it touched the Imperial cult; and it is not difficult, in the circumstances, to understand the determination with which the Christian challenge was met. The issue, moreover, furnishes a new argument for the irresistible character of the claims made by and on behalf of our Lord. In face of the most fierce antagonism, the words of dignity and grace, which had been employed with reference to the emperors and the gods, were all claimed as the proper and unique right of Him whom the Christians worshipped as "the Prince of the kings of the earth"; and, of course, the acknowledgment of Christ involved a denial of principalities and powers which, by reason of their claims to divinity, were of the spirit of Anti-Christ.

"Christ and the Emperor were worshipped under synonymous titles, which established identical claims upon the adoration and devotion of

the worshippers. This identity must, in turn, have opened up avenues in the Hellenistic mind for the entrance of the highest Christian conceptions."*

These things teach us, plainly, that the Christian position, to which victory came, was not one of words but of facts, not one of claims only but of irresistible power. True, the Lord of All was described in terms which had already been applied to Roman emperors and divinities, but the Messianic dignity and glory of Jesus soon demanded appellatives that no king of earth had arrogated; for His followers passed from the titles of Saviour and Lord to those that were required to describe One who died and rose again, who was the First-begotten from the dead, destined in due time to put all His enemies under His feet, and to take unto Himself all rule and authority on earth—even as in Heaven. The claims of earthly potentates are thus left far behind when we contemplate the Son of God gathering unto Himself all the fullness of power, and in due time realizing the eternal purpose that IN ALL THINGS HE IS TO HAVE THE PRE-EMINENCE.

The Rev. JOHN TUCKWELL, M.R.A.S., said: Those of us who can remember the anxiety which was felt thirty years ago concerning the criticism of the Old Testament will remember also that it was clearly foreseen that similar criticism of the New Testament would inevitably follow. But it was felt that the criticism of the New Testament would involve the authority of our Lord, whose treatment of the Old Testament was not in agreement with the views of the critics. That apprehension has been verified and the criticisms have taken similar lines of theorizing.

First of all, new theories of composition have been adopted. We are told that the Synoptic Gospels and certain of the Epistles are composite. I have here a facsimile of one of the pieces of papyri supposed to belong to the "Logia." Let me read some of the sentences written about A.D. 300 " . . . and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye." That clearly is copied from the Gospels. Again "Jesus saith, except ye fast to the world ye shall in no wise find the Kingdom of God; and except ye keep the sabbath ye shall not see the Father." That looks as though it had been made up, and its genuineness may

* Professor H. A. A. Kennedy, D.Sc., in *The Expositor* for April, 1909 (p. 306), in article entitled "Apostolic Preaching and Emperor Worship."

reasonably be suspected. Here is another, "Jesus saith, there are . . . and there is one . . . alone I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find Me, cleave the wood and there am I"—whatever that may mean. Again "Jesus saith, a prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him." That is a saying borrowed from the Gospels with an addition hardly likely to be true. So also is "Jesus saith, a city built upon the top of a high hill and established can neither fall nor be hid." Thus certain "Logia" are supposed to be the basis of the Synoptic Gospels. The following theoretical scheme of composition is taken from the utterances of a theological tutor in the North of England.

For Mark—

- i. "Q" or the "Logia."
- ii. An Aramaic Mark.
- iii. A Greek or else a second Aramaic Mark.
- iv. The present form of Mark.

For Luke—

- i. Mark in one of the stages of its development.
- ii. Luke's additions to Mark.
- iii. Chapters I and II from some "distinct source" (including, you will notice, the Virgin Birth).
- iv. Luke in its present form.

For Matthew—

- i. An Aramaic Matthew or the "Logia."
- ii. Some form of Mark.
- iii. The writing of a disciple of Matthew.
- iv. Matthew in its present form.

I must confess I can see no necessity for all this complication. The peculiarities of language and construction, I think, may all be accounted for when we remember that our Lord probably used a Hebrew Bible, but He usually spoke in Aramaic, and hence must have translated its texts into Aramaic. But the Gospels are written in Greek and the writers must therefore have made their translations of His Aramaic utterances into that language. This I think may account also for many of the supposed variations from the LXX of which we are often told.

Another sphere of criticism is the dates of the New Testament books. We are asked to believe that for thirty or forty years no authoritative Gospels existed, but the writings of the Apostle Paul assume that his readers are fully acquainted with the Life and Ministry of our Lord.

There is the third question of authorship. But though there are difficulties, yet the difficulties do not appear to be greater in supposing that Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were the real authors than those which beset the new critical theories.

For my own part, although I have followed with considerable attention the course of modern criticism for many years, I see no reason to doubt that the Gospels and Epistles were actually written by the authors whose names they bear, and that in spite of all appearances to the contrary they do present evidences even of a verbal inspiration.

Lieut.-Colonel MACKINLAY said : Dr. Flournoy has touched on many parts of this important subject with very great skill ; but limitations of space have probably prevented him from alluding to others.

A beautiful touch of linguistic accuracy in the New Testament, not hitherto noticed so much as it deserves, has been discovered during comparatively recent years, chiefly demonstrated by Dr. Hobart ; he noticed that Luke is described as a physician (Colossians iv, 14), so he made careful search in the Gospel of Luke and in the Acts for medical terms, having previously made himself familiar with a large number of the medical words in the works of Galen, Hippocrates, and others. He discovered many examples of their use ; for instance, in Luke xviii, 25, the word is used for a *surgical* needle in the well-known simile of the camel and the eye of a needle, while Matthew and Mark both employ the word for an ordinary needle in their parallel passages (Matthew xix, 24 ; Mark x, 25). In Acts x, 11, the Greek word which is used for the sheet let down from Heaven in Peter's vision means a surgical bandage, and several of the terms describing the tossings of the tempest in Acts xxvii are medical words used to indicate the tremors of fevers. Hence we have attestations of the statements that the same author wrote both the Gospel of Luke (Luke i, 3), and the book of Acts (Acts i, 3), and that he was a physician (Colossians iv, 4).

Our author only mentions one definite New Testament date, that of the death of Herod, A.D. 44, p. 161 (Acts xii, 161). During recent

years another has been fixed by an inscription found at Delphi, which records that Gallio (Acts xviii, 12) was proconsul of Achaia from summer A.D. 51 to summer A.D. 52, according to the recent interpretation by Prof. Deissmann.

Only on January 6th last Canon Knowling in his paper on "Present-Day Factors in New Testament Study," read before this Institute, mentioned the date B.C. 8 (about) for the Nativity, as now indisputable. This date was first definitely propounded in 1907, but it was accepted at once by several.* Last year (1912) Sir W. M. Ramsay† discovered an inscription at Antioch bearing the name of Quirinus, which renders it certain that he was in supreme command in Syria during a period which included B.C. 8—the time of the first enrolment (Luke ii, 1), and thus this date for the Nativity is further established by very recent archæological discovery.

A majority of scholars have long thought that A.D. 29 is the most probable date for the Crucifixion. The acceptance of B.C. 8 for the Nativity greatly strengthens this supposition. If both these dates are accepted, and also a Ministry of three years and a-half, it is easily seen that our Lord must have been just thirty-two years old when He began His public career; this age is well covered, according to Dean Alford, by the expression "about thirty years of age" (Luke iii, 23).

I have attempted to confirm this date (A.D. 29) by indirect references in the Gospels to the periods of shining of the morning star‡ (these periods are known from astronomical calculations); and also from direct and indirect references in the Gospels to the striking events of the Sabbath year.§

It is generally assumed that the Crucifixion was on a Friday and also on the fourteenth day of Nisan, the spring lunation (Exodus xii, 6). This being accepted, the question arises: Could these conditions have been satisfied in A.D. 29, for it is very evident that the 14th Nisan was not a Friday in most years. The answer to this question depends upon the arrangement of the Jewish calendar, in which

* "The Date of the Nativity was B.C. 8," *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, vol. xli, 1909.

† "Luke's Narrative of the Birth of Christ," *The Expositor*, Nov. 1912, pp. 385 ff.

‡ *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, vol. xxxviii, 1906, pp. 242 ff.

§ "The Magi: How They Recognised Christ's Star," 1907, pp. 87 ff. "The Sabbath Year," *The Friends' Witness*, Oct. 1911, p. 125.

the first day of each lunar month began on that evening when the new moon was first visible to the naked eye (this rule was doubtless subject to modification on cloudy evenings). Interesting and very full discussions of this subject have lately taken place in the pages of the *Journal of the British Astronomical Association*,* and of the *Churchman*,† which give authentic instances of the earliest recorded new moons seen in recent years, and also the dates of some of the astronomical new moons in the first century. The result is the opinion expressed by Mr. Walter Maunder, of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, that it is quite possible that the new moon of March 4th, A.D. 29, could have been seen at Jerusalem; from which it follows that the 14th Nisan, the day of the Crucifixion, was a Friday (March 18th according to our calendar). Thus A.D. 29 fulfils the calendar and astronomical conditions.

It therefore appears that the time has at last come when the most important dates in our Lord's Ministry can be accepted as historically settled.

Recently certain extreme writers both in Germany and also in England have attempted to demonstrate that the life of our blessed Lord on earth was quite mythical. We must, therefore, welcome all testimony to the historicity of the Scriptures, although the spiritual truths which they contain are of intensely greater importance. Our author pertinently asks—"finding them (the Scriptures) thoroughly reliable in the one case (the historical), shall we doubt their reliability in the other (the spiritual)?"

Mr. T. B. BISHOP suggested that as the recent papyri discoveries show the prevalence of writing in the times of our Lord even amongst the humbler classes, it was natural to suppose that the first converts wrote down details of our Lord's life and sayings for their own use and for their friends; that the converts at Pentecost would take away such writings to their distant homes, and that they would be treasured in the new churches thus springing up; and that before leaving Jerusalem they would endeavour to get such writings confirmed by an Apostle. He also suggested that when the Apostles in

* "On the Smallest Visible Phase of the Moon," May, 1911, pp. 343, 355 ff., E. Walter Maunder, F.R.A.S., followed by a discussion.

† See articles and discussions on "The Date of the Crucifixion," by various writers, April, June, July, 1911, and April, July, September, and November, 1912.

their journeyings visited such churches, they would be asked to verify the writings, and that this might account for slight variations in the different records.

The Rev. Dr. IRVING said that he desired to express his high appreciation of Dr. Flourney's masterly essay, and to congratulate both the author of it and the Victoria Institute. He thought he might lay special stress upon the importance and value of the results arrived at in the matter of the *Diatessaron*, as bearing upon the genuineness and date of the Four Gospels. He had come up to the meeting hoping to hear what some of the Higher Critics might have to say in their own defence; but they appeared to prefer to "let judgment go by default." He thanked the last speaker for the line of thought suggested as to the methods and work of St. Luke as an author; since it tended to show that the phrase,—“the brother, whose praise (*ἔπαινος*, fame) is in the Gospel,” was not unhistorical. He had himself contended that it was highly probable that considerable portions of St. Luke's *evangelium* were in existence and known in the Pauline Churches (and, perhaps, copies deposited) some years before the third Gospel was cast in its present form. That, he submitted, might have been done during the two years of the detention of St. Paul at Cæsarea, and under the Apostle's own supervision; while the Evangelist made use of the opportunity afforded him for visiting *places and persons of first-hand authority*, as he himself hints in the Introduction to his Gospel.

The Rev. E. SEELEY said: St. Luke (Chap. i, 1-4) distinctly tells us that many others had arranged Gospel narratives before he wrote his.

When in later times persecutors endeavoured to destroy the Christian Books, those early narratives were probably among the writings that were given up to save the more precious Gospels that we now have as well as to save life.

The complete disappearance of those earlier narratives (except so far as they may have been incorporated in our Gospels) is for us a loss, but, on the other hand, it seems to indicate the general acceptance by the various Christian Churches of our Four Gospels as superseding other narratives of inferior authority.

Mr. JOSEPH GRAHAM wrote supporting what Mr. Bishop and Mr. Seeley had said, and adding: “If there is truth in this theory, then we gain the important point that the Gospels, more or less in the

form we have them now, bear the stamp of the Apostles of the Lord, which, from a spiritual point of view, is a matter of no little consequence. Moreover, St. Paul preached the same Gospel, though he had no association with the Lord or with the Twelve, and was wont to speak of doctrines received by revelation as 'according to my Gospel,' and so on. See Rom. ii, 16, and xvi, 25, II Tim. ii, 8, I Thess. i, 5, and other passages. What force, then, there is in the words, 'If any man think himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord' (I Cor. xiv, 37). May we not apply them also to the things written by commandment of the Apostles for the establishment of the Church in all true doctrine and knowledge?"

Mr. SCHWARTZ, Jun., said: I would strongly emphasize our author's statement on page 139, that "historical and archæological research can only yield probable results" as to historical statements in the New Testament, and I infer that he is willing to give careful consideration to views that differ from some of the orthodox conclusions at the end of his paper. Surely there is a middle course between the extreme views stated on p. 140, "that . . . the whole atmosphere of New Testament times are invariably correct in their reference to these things (persons, places, opinions, etc.) as only writings of contemporaries could be," and "that the New Testament writings are spurious." Broad Churchmen heartily endorse the central truth of all, printed in large type by our author on p. 169, Jesus is "the Christ, the Son of the living God," but many of the so-called central truths previously enumerated appear to them to be relatively unimportant and in some cases to be accretions, the result of uncritical enthusiasm. Protestants and Anglicans admit such accretions in later times, without any aspersion on the *bona fides* of the holders of such views, and I fail to see that they can fix any reasonable line of demarcation. Our author's appeal to quantity of manuscripts as against the historical quality of them I consider a false criticism. Historians are practically unanimous about most of the accepted works of Sophocles, Horace, etc., and there is not the same unanimity about our Gospels, which bore no superscription at all. "According to," was apparently added at a later date to differentiate various accounts, and a mistake would not imply falsification by the actual authors, but error on the part of Church fathers.

On June 25th, 1913, after the discussion had been seen by the LECTURER, he wrote to the Secretary, as follows:—"I wish to thank you for sending me the supplementary discussion and to convey through you my thanks to all who have joined in the discussion, for their appreciation of my humble effort to serve in a great cause—I think I may say *the* great cause—in this our 'age of doubt.' Shortcomings and omissions, inevitable in so brief a treatment of so great a subject, have been dealt with in the kindest and most courteous way."

544TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE, ON MONDAY,
APRIL 21st, 1913, AT 4.30 P.M.

E. J. SEWELL, ESQ. (MEMBER OF COUNCIL), PRESIDED.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and signed, and the SECRETARY announced the election of Mr. Williamson Lamplough as a Member.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Rev. J. Iverach Munro, M.A., to read his paper.

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH AND PHILOLOGICAL QUESTIONS CONNECTED THEREWITH.
By the Rev. J. IVERACH MUNRO, M.A.

A VERY valuable paper on "The Samaritan Pentateuch" was read before the members of the Victoria Institute by the Rev. Canon Garratt, M.A., on Monday, March 21st, 1904, which I shall presume to be known to the members here present.

My task is thus much simplified, as I am set at liberty to use the time at my disposal in showing from facts embedded in the Samaritan Pentateuch itself and in its Samaritan translation, which are not denied by scholars, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was received by the Samaritan Colonists in or about the time of Hezekiah. In short, the historical situation depicted in II Kings xvii, 24-41, gives the key to almost all the peculiarities of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its Samaritan translation, fitting into these peculiarities so minutely as to leave no shadow of a doubt in my mind that it was then received; and by a process of inductive and deductive reasoning from facts in it and in the Hebrew Pentateuch in the Massoretic text, along with those in the Septuagint translation, that they lead us right back to the time of Moses for the first reception of the Pentateuch, practically, making due allowance for marginal glosses, etc., as we now have it.

The evidence is cumulative. First comes the character in

which the Samaritan Pentateuch was written, which is the ancient Hebrew. There is no doubt of that whatever. Nor is it exactly like that of the Moabite stone and the Siloam inscription; but what is far better from an evidential point of view, the variations are just those that arise through the copying of many years. Then the insertion of a point between each word, just as is done on the Moabite stone and the Siloam inscription, quite coincides with Hezekiah's time.

Another striking coincidence between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Hebrew of Hezekiah's time is that the suffix *ô* of the third singular masculine, which is often in the Pentateuch represented by ם, as it is still on the Moabite stone, is throughout the Samaritan Pentateuch changed to ן, as it is written on the Siloam inscription.

This latter point in the evidence, however, brings us to a much larger and most important part of our subject, viz., the fact that the Samaritan Pentateuch as compared with the Masoretic Pentateuch has undergone a most drastic revision.

We are greatly indebted to Gesenius for the enormous labour by which he proved this. He gathered out and sorted under various headings the changes that appeared to be intentional in the Samaritan Pentateuch. These he grouped under eight heads. His classification may not be quite logical, and he may include doubtful examples, but his first seven classes of variation are, in the main, clearly established.

His eighth and last class, however, as I have endeavoured to show in my little book on the *Samaritan Pentateuch and Modern Criticism*, has almost no foundation in fact; but is presented in such a peculiar way that every scholar who has read the essay has been misled by it into thinking that the Samaritans made wholesale changes in their Pentateuch in the interests of their peculiar theology, hermeneutics and worship.

This is entirely erroneous, as no such change has been made either in their Pentateuch or in their translation of it into the Samaritan dialect.

Yet this error, baseless as it is, has had the result of discrediting for nearly a hundred years the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch as a witness for the truth of the Bible record, and as a reliable means of reaching the original text.

If one may be permitted a reference to one's self: had it not been for the training and encouragement of the late Professor A. B. Davidson, D.D., etc., Professor of Hebrew in the New College, Edinburgh, in thoroughness in investigation and especially in the verification of sources in critical work, I

should never have dreamed of testing Gesenius's eighth class : so that my presence in this honoured company is entirely owing to the influence of that great and good man, the most accurate scholar, the most absolutely truthful man I have ever known. You will, I am sure, allow me here to make this acknowledgment of my debt to him.

In spite of the grave defect of this unfounded charge, the debt we owe to Gesenius for his proof of the fact of revision is a great one, for he has made it possible for us to question the revision itself, as to its nature and extent, as to why and when it was made. Not only so, but we have a translation which follows most faithfully the Samaritan Pentateuch as we have it, and further, we have an invaluable asset in the Samaritan dialect itself embodied in that translation, and the evidence derived from this, all which combine to form a threefold cord not easily broken.

We have the fact of a great revision. When, why, and by whom this revision was made form legitimate subjects of inquiry.

The Samaritan Pentateuch when duly examined should answer these questions. For example, our Revised Version of the English Bible bears in itself indisputable marks of its date and origin. Stamped upon it is the fact that it is the product of an age of criticism. This has so affected the revision that it has not been popularly accepted even in the age of its production, if it can ever be so accepted. But whatever be the main motive for revising any religious work, that motive is bound to appear in the revision itself. Further, it is bound approximately to be in the language of its day, making due allowance for religious conservatism.

Now Gesenius has proved beyond dispute that the Samaritan Pentateuch was thoroughly revised grammatically. When we examine the data we find that the Hebrew to which it is brought is that of Hezekiah's time with the tincture of the Northern Kingdom, which we know from the Elijah and Elisha narratives existed in that kingdom.

These facts of revision agree with the reception by the Samaritan colonists of this copy of the Law when the priest was sent from the exiles to Samaria to teach them "the manner of the God of the land." They do not agree with any other period, as we see when we reflect on the possibility of this having been done at a later time. Not only would we have to account for its being done at all at a later period, the Hebrew of Hezekiah's time must also be explained.

Why would the Samaritans revise their Pentateuch at all if they received it after the return of the Jews from the exile? There is no assignable reason for such a course known to me. When we ask, further, why they would have revised it to the Hebrew of Hezekiah's time, and understand what such an undertaking involved, we see not only that there was no reason for their undertaking such a task, but we also see that they would have found it impossible. Consider that there would have been involved a most careful study of Hebrew literature, so that the deviation from the Hebrew of Hezekiah's time would be no more than was required by that variation in the Northern Kingdom which the reception of it in the circumstances recorded in II Kings xvii involved, and this by men who certainly received not one piece of writing of that time as sacred, and if not as sacred, then as certainly they would not receive it at all. The hypothesis then that they received the Pentateuch after the time of the exile is shattered on this rock that, the careful study of the Hebrew of Hezekiah and the nice adjustment to that, with the exception mentioned, and the avoidance of the snares and pitfalls of Ezra and Nehemiah and the writer of the Chronicles are all involved, a task the attempt at which would have involved herculean labour without one reason for it, in fact in the circumstances a pure impossibility utterly beyond the powers of those whom Gesenius styled "criticasteri."

The other features of the revision, in so far as they hold good, and prove to be intentional, all point to a very powerful influence at work, with the result that in certain directions it is so thorough that Gesenius himself bears witness to it. For example, commenting on the fourth class of changes—"Readings either supplemented or corrected from parallel places"—he says, "On this class, as will easily appear, the Samaritan critics bestowed remarkable labour, as the sacred text bears out from its every part; nothing that appears to be required for the full expression of the text is ever left out."

The rigorous and thorough aspect of the revision on these points again demands an explanation. What influence could have been strong enough to carry the revisers through so remarkable an achievement? What motive would the Samaritans have had to change a sacred text? Whence could they have got the necessary familiarity with that text to fit them for doing so thoroughly such a delicate task, especially when they had to keep in view what has already been shown—that these changes had to be expressed in the Hebrew of Hezekiah's time? We know of neither motive nor power adequate.

Will it be said that those from whom they obtained their copy of the Pentateuch made these changes on their own initiative? Again we ask for an adequate reason for them to have carried it through so successfully and with such unanimity that the translation into the Samaritan dialect follows it closely throughout. We are shut up to Hezekiah's time for the revision. We are no less shut up to the Northern Kingdom for the recension of the Pentateuch which was received. The Samaritan colonists required to know the manner of the God of Northern Israel, not of Judah. That being so, can we believe that those from whom they obtained their Pentateuch gratuitously made these changes? What could be their motive for such work? There could be none arising from their own initiative. Why then was it done? No one can dispute the fact: as men of science we ask the reason.

Every other reason failing, the real reason and an altogether adequate one was found by me to lie embedded in the appeal of the Samaritan colonists to the Assyrian monarch. They were not likely to have troubled him unnecessarily. Every effort to secure the appeasement of the God of the land, we may be quite sure, was made before the appeal to Cæsar.

From the evidence already mentioned of the revision we know that the Pentateuch existed in the Northern Kingdom. If so, the Samaritans must have been able to procure a copy of some kind. But evidently that copy had not served their purpose. To their mind something must have been omitted or not done rightly, hence the lions were as bad as ever.

In these circumstances it is certain that if they induced the Assyrian monarch to move at all in their behalf, he would take care that everything would be done to secure authentic teaching, while the after-disappearance of the lions, consequent on the re-occupation of the deserted parts of the devastated country, would set the revised recension of the Pentateuch far above the ancient and authentic one in the estimation of the Samaritans, according to the well-known fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. But had the Assyrian monarch power to effect these changes? He had Assyrian-Hebrew scholars like Rabshakeh. He could, as we know, get men flayed alive. A twentieth-century critic is quite safe in scoffing at such possibilities. The grim possibility stared the scribes of the Northern Kingdom in the face. We know the gratuitous cruelty of the Assyrian. We know their power to deal with texts. The appointment of Assyrian-Hebrew scholars, then, with full powers to make the unhappy exile scribes of the Northern Kingdom do their utmost in the

matter of producing an authentic and intelligible copy of the Law, cleared of every ambiguity and apparent contradiction, is in the circumstances a certainty: and so far from, as was said by one critic of my work, being "a theory only, unsupported as yet by solid facts," it is a conclusion to which I have been shut up by "the solid facts" of the Samaritan Pentateuch itself, the historical situation revealed in II Kings xvii, and the facts of the translation in the Samaritan dialect. My placing of it in the forefront in my work on the Samaritan Pentateuch was intended to save the reader the drudgery of following the investigation while it afforded the light upon the subject, which was needful.

We now come to the evidence of the translation. The first thing that strikes me about that translation is that it has the name Jehovah everywhere throughout when it is in the Hebrew-Samaritan. There has been no attempt whatever to make any change or substitution for it, from any reason whatever. This I especially emphasize because of the error of Gesenius on this important point. I may mention here, though not stopping now to give the grounds of my conviction, that I am convinced that Jehovah is the original pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton after all. We shall revert to the subject.

Here we note that the occurrence of this name throughout is a very strong proof, taken in conjunction with the rest, of the early date of the translation. Since it occurs throughout, in a translation which must have been made for popular use, then it must also have been read. Therefore it appears to me that the translation must have been not only earlier, but much earlier than the Targum of Onqelos or that of Jonathan Ben Uzziel or the Jerusalem Targum, and also much earlier than the Septuagint translation. The citation of any modern Hebrew work in proof of the contrary is beside the mark. The condition of mind which prevented the translators of these Targums and of the Septuagint from writing and reading the name is quite absent from that of modern Jew or Gentile. We can write and read anything so far as reverence is concerned.

The simple directness and force of the translation and the absence of any attempt at circumlocutions in connection with the names of God also bear out the evidence of the name Jehovah. They mutually support each other. But in turn they form part of a series of evidences which is overwhelmingly in favour of the early translation.

This brings us to examine the kind of dialect which is used by the Samaritans in the translation of their Pentateuch.

Let us here observe that the facts of philology are as real as those of any other science. They cannot be brushed aside. They stand in all the majesty of truth, and must be respected even as the facts of physical science are in their sphere.

When we analyze the language of the Samaritan translators of their Pentateuch into their own dialect, we find that there are three different Semitic elements present and these are very imperfectly fused. Sometimes one element is used, sometimes another.

Now philological science shows us that such a state of language marks a recent formation: that is to say, unless something has happened to stereotype this state of things and make it permanent, the elements will get welded together and a certain uniformity will take the place of the heterogeneous.

Here, then, we have philological facts which prove the Samaritan dialect to be a recent formation, composed of elements which we can quite easily identify, viz., Aramaic, Assyrian Aramaic, and Hebrew. For the particulars I must refer you to any of the Samaritan grammars, and for a general outline and discussion of the elements I may refer you to what I have tried to show in Chapter V of *Samaritan Pentateuch and Modern Criticism*. Suffice it here to say that these philological facts shut us up to the conclusion that a population composed of elements speaking Aramaic or common Syriac, Assyrian Aramaic or Biblical Aramaic, and Hebrew, more or less in equal proportions, have in the use of these languages reached the stage of lingual development represented in the Samaritan translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch; that this union is quite recent, unless some important literary work read and studied by the whole population had previously stereotyped the language.

Now, there is no such work other than this translation itself which could have thus affected the language and arrested its further development. Therefore this translation stands at the source of the Samaritan dialect, and must have been made shortly after the Samaritan colonists and the remainder of the old Hebrew with the Syriac or Aramaic part of the population had come together.

The historical inquiry which this problem in philology raises is this: when did these three elements exist together in Samaria? If we can answer that question, we have solved the problem of the date of the translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch into the Samaritan dialect.

We are in the happy position of being able to answer that historical question. There was one period and one alone, when

these three elements met and mixed for the short time necessary to produce the exact precipitate of language which we find in the Samaritan dialect.

That period was the one which we can identify by the historic account preserved in II Kings xvii, where we have the introduction of the Samaritan colonists among the Hebrew remnant in Samaria. The inrush of the surrounding Aramaic inhabitants into the depopulated country is also certain. At no other time do we have these elements meeting in the living intercourse which could have produced this dialect.

Another most remarkable circumstance is that any book at all should have been written or translated into a language which was in such a crude state. So heterogeneous a population would naturally have other work than the production of literature.

Here again we have the reason given us in the recorded urgency of the fear excited by the lions making these Samaritans translate the newly-received revised Pentateuch into the common speech that everyone might know how to avoid the anger of the God of the land.

Now a critic may laugh at the fear of these Samaritans, as to that I say nothing; though I have my own thoughts as to what he would do in the presence of a few lions, perhaps even of one. But if he ignores that fear as a factor in explaining the phenomena of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its Samaritan translation, then I have this to say, that a man who can so regard the realities in life would be much better employed in a calling more suited to his capacities than in sitting in the chair of the critic, for he shows that he is simply blind to what moved men in that far-off time, and is therefore sure to err.

From the Samaritans themselves we have no evidence that is of any weight as to the date of the translation, therefore the philological and other evidence which we find embedded in their works is the more valuable.

The assertion that it was composed in the century before Christ by a priest named Nathanael is simply absurd in face of the testimony of the language itself.

Here a reference may be made to the general value of this translation to Biblical science.

An example of the light which this translation throws on the use and non-use of one word in Ezekiel will better indicate its great general value to Biblical science than any mere expression of opinion.

Take the word פָּקַד to "visit," often used in the sense of to visit with punishment.

In Jeremiah this word frequently occurs in the latter sense. In the whole of Ezekiel it is only twice used, and even then not in the sense of punishing, although the prophet has often to express that idea.

Here, then, are two contemporary Hebrew prophets, one of whom never uses the usual word for "punishing," the other constantly. When we ask the reason, the Samaritan translation of the Pentateuch comes to our help. For פָּקַד is the word always used in it to translate the Hebrew word צִוָּה, to "command." When we see this the problem is solved. For Ezekiel is writing to those exiles who are using the same language as the Samaritan colonists had before they entered Palestine. Therefore פָּקַד would be liable to be misunderstood and taken in the sense of "command" or some kindred meaning. If with this in mind we examine the late Professor A. B. Davidson's *Commentary on Ezekiel*, Cambridge Bible Series, Chapter xxiii, 21, and xxxviii, 8, the only passages in which Ezekiel uses the word, we find that what Dr. Davidson says, "can hardly be supported from usage" in Hebrew, is exactly what is supplied by the Samaritan translation and proves to be Ezekiel's meaning, at the same time affording us the reason for his avoiding its use in the sense of punishing. This is just an instance of the light we may expect on the exegesis of the Word when we use aright the Samaritan dialect.

Among other grammatical changes in the Samaritan Pentateuch is that of הִיא, when used for the feminine, to that of הִיא, the usual third singular feminine pronoun. The wonder is that this has not been done in the Massoretic text also where the only change that is made in the case of the feminine is in the pointed text to give the vowel points of הִיא. The presence of the archaism strongly testifies to the antiquity and Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and to the fidelity with which the ancient sacred writings were kept.

With respect to the Mosaic authorship I have ventured to say, and I repeat to this audience, because it is strictly true: "The evidential value of this pronoun הִיא epicene in the Pentateuch is greater than if Moses had signed every page of the Pentateuch, infinitely greater, because a forger might have done that. But no forger that ever lived could have devised anything so simple yet as efficacious as this הִיא."

One critic supposes this to be a glaring *non sequitur* and triumphantly asks: "Does an epicene pronoun prove J E D P to have been all written by one man and that man Moses?" I

venture to think the critic's logic is at fault, not mine. What have the materials which Moses used in his writing of the Pentateuch got to do with his authorship? The pronoun proves the date. No other name but that of Moses is ever given within the covers of the Bible as the human author of the book of the Law. If the date then is proved to have been not later than the time of Moses, that is better evidential value than if he had signed every page.

I do not detain you further on the point except to say that the literary analysis has become bankrupt and the work founded on it must be thoroughly re-examined.

Let me now indicate to you in connection with this ancient pronoun what I cannot help regarding as some of the farthest-reaching factors in philology which have yet come to light. For part of the proof of what I say those especially interested may be referred to my essay on the third personal pronoun published by the Oxford University Press.*

The investigation of that pronoun has convinced me that Semitic-Indo-European languages were originally one, that the great division of our race at the confusion of tongues, recorded in the Bible, receives remarkable confirmation from the fact that while the original materials are the same, the main differences of these languages are due to mental and other characteristics which come to light in the study of their construction. Everything in Indo-European is subordinated to the Time-Spirit, intense activity and inquisitiveness are its main characteristics. In the verb the pronominal element is always last. In Semitic, on the other hand, everything is made to hinge on the kind of action and its connection with the agent, whether it is complete or incomplete, whether the agent acts directly or acts, or is made to act, by another, with a multitude of ramifications all turning on the relation of the agent to the action; and the element of time may be said never to be expressed by the verb. The pronominal element in the verb may precede or follow the verbal noun. These characteristics indicate an original difference of thought and action, and agree with the great philological cataclysm indicated in the Bible among those who used the original language. Deeper investigation into the causes will probably make plain that the great cause of difference in language was essentially religious. The worldly-minded of that day would be carried one way, the God-fearing another. The

* *A Research into the Origin of the Third Personal Pronoun* 𐤀𐤓𐤓. London: Henry Frowde. Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, E.C. (1s. 6d. net.)

weighing of actions and their relation to the doer is worlds away from the restless activity which, desiring to crowd the canvas, views everything in relation to time.

As is well known, the third singular personal pronoun in the Pentateuch is written the same for masculine and feminine.

It had been assumed that the pronunciation was the same also. But it occurred to me to question and investigate this assumption with the result that the whole original construction of Semitic-Indo-European language has become like an open book.

The labours of Indo-European scholars have made this possible. In particular the investigation of what are called Ablauts paved the way for me to extend my investigations in Semitic to Indo-European. I found that there were innumerable traces of there having existed at one time a means of expressing active and passive in the widest sense of these grammatical terms, that this was originally done by two diphthongal sounds, *au* to express the active, *ai* to express the passive, these being inserted between two consonants.* On investigation, what are called middle-vowel verbs in Semitic yielded practically the same variation of vowels as philologists had already found in Indo-European to have belonged to the original parent language.

Take one or two illustrations of the practical value of this discovery. Let us take the word Shiloh, the understanding of which is of great importance in the interpretation of Messianic prophecy. This word now appears to be an old passive verbal noun with the third singular masculine suffix. The key to its meaning lies in the old verbal noun שׂוּל, active, and always occurring in the plural, expressing the parts of a garment which encircled or went round the wearer—the skirt or train. In Isaiah vi, 1, we have “His train or vesture” שׂוּלָיו, “filled the temple.” Now שׂוּלָה is the old passive form, as I have said, with the suffix, and it gives us the, in every respect, suitable and highly poetical meaning “His Investured One.” This glorious prophecy then runs: “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until His Investured One shall come,” viz.: שׂוּלָה, Shiloh, whose שׂוּלָים vesture filled the temple in Isaiah’s vision.

Again take the name קֵן, “gotten.” This proves to be the old passive form of the original verbal noun of the biliteral

* Cf. “Essays,” 6 S., 6 S.I.E., *Research, etc.*, p. 2.

stage of קָנָה,* “to get,” so that the assumption of scholars of the last century that the philology of Biblical writers must be wrong, savouring if not of the assumption that philological wisdom would die with them, at least, that it began very near their time, turns out to be as far as possible from reality.

יְהוָה JEHOVAH, יָה JAH.

Let us now, in this connection, revert to the name Jehovah, which, as we saw, was written in full in the Samaritan translation of their Pentateuch. It is an old form of the imperfect active Qal with the old accusative ending āh, as in Jehudah and the rare form Jaakobah in Chronicles. The form Jah was not derived from Jehovah, but was from the same original root, רוּ, hauv, which became yau or yauv in Babylonian, and dropping the vav became Yah, יָה in Hebrew, in which the original ה was represented by י and the ה was marked with mappiq through confounding it with the root הַ of יְהוָה, with which it had no connection, being merely the representation of the vowel â. The true pronunciation, therefore, I am now persuaded, was the one indicated by the Massorettes when the name occurs without a prefix. The vowel pointing is not that of אֲרָנִי, as there is a simple sheva vocal instead of the composite sheva. The word אֲרָנִי, Lord, seems to have been substituted for Jehovah, not because of its vowel points but because it expressed something of the majesty of the original. The substitution had taken place long before the time of the Massorettes. It is a pure coincidence that two of the vowels are the same, although the coincidence enabled the Massorettes to use, in the case of prefixes, the actual vowel points of אֲרָנִי. The original form of the name in the imperfect would be Jahauv, but proper names of the imperfect form had a tendency to take an accusative ending, hence Jahaúvah, when the accent was shifted to the last syllable, would become Jēhauvâh, and on the modification of the old diphthong *au*, which expressed the active to *ô*, it became Jehovah, יְהוָה.

It would appear, then, that there were two forms of the name, one the form which came from the same root as that of the verbal-noun behind דָּוָא; the second must have been much later as it is compounded from the former and the sign of third

* Cf. אֲרָנִי, *Research*, etc., p. 29 f.

singular masculine of the imperfect active Qal of the ancient Semitic verb with the accusative ending added as we have seen.

By the comparison of the two forms we arrive at, I think, the certainty that the original name was common to the pre-Semitic-Indo-European. The happy conjecture of Gesenius, which Tregelles tells us he afterwards "THOROUGHLY retracted," turns out to be perfectly correct, our race possessed this revelation of God before the confusion of tongues, and we can now, it seems to me, spell out something of God's marvellous dealing with and training of our lost race, by the history of this name.

A comparison of the philological phenomena connected with Zeus and Jove with the kindred forms of Semitic convinces me that they have the same root as their origin, the v is proved by Indo-European philologists to have been consonantal and the J or Y is shown from Semitic to have proceeded from ה but pronounced with a good deal of breath and tending towards sh, ש.

But this is exactly what we have in the root of the third personal pronoun in Semitic.* If then we can find the original meaning of the verbal-noun from which that pronoun was derived we shall, it may be, reach the original meaning of the name Jehovah, and, it may be, discover why the revelation of our God as Jehovah, אֲנִי הוֹיָהּ אֲנִי הוֹיָהּ, I Am that I Am, had to be delayed until the time, the *set time* of Moses. We shall see that there was nothing arbitrary about this. There was a fullness and a fitness of time and language about it which fills one with wonder, love, and praise.†

The philologist knows that words which express pure being are the very last to be hammered out in the workshop of human life. To bring even one word into being how many hearts must be filled with emotion, how many minds illumined, how many lips and tongues moulded into particular shapes. To bring this supreme triumph of intellect and heart into being, so that the Eternal and Almighty God might use it and fit *one man* to receive it in trust for his whole race, required all the training of the human race, up to that day when on that lonely hillside the heart-broken shepherd, at length trained to be the meekest of men, saw the wondrous "bush" burning but not consumed, heard a voice reaching not the ear only, but the whole inward being, filling with meaning undreamed of the word which had been hammered out, the word "to be."

* See list of "Essays," 7 S.I.E., *Research, etc.*, p. 2.

† Cf. "Essays," 7 S.I.E., *Research, etc.*, p. 2.

The Creator, the Upholder, the Redeemer, takes hold of this word, יהוה brought into being by His creature man, and claims it as a fit expression through all time, yea, through all eternity, of Him Who Is and Was and Is to Come, minting anew the well-known sound Jehovah, which expressed a past and forgotten revelation, the Maker, or He Who will Make (which appears to be the original meaning of the word),* which in the meanwhile had been superseded by אל שדי , God Almighty or All Sufficient, and אל עליון , the Most High God, into יהוה , Jehovah, אהיה אשר אהיה , I Am that I Am, The Being in Whom all other beings have their being, the name expressing an inexhaustible fullness which He shall be revealing in promise and fulfilment to His people and through His people to all ages.

It has been by comparison of the philological development of $\sqrt{\text{הר}}$,† as a pronominal root, by the help of ancient Egyptian, which forms a sort of halfway house, with the Indo-European pronouns that I think I have been able to trace and identify the origin and meaning of that ancient pronoun and many of the verbs “to be” in the different languages: “function” in the pronoun taking the place of “sematology” or meaning in the verb. It would take too long to tell the different steps of the investigation, but many philological derelicts have been picked up by the way, reasons for the variations of many irregular verbs have come to light, while the absolutely convincing proof of the whole lies in this, that the deeper and more thorough the research the more thorough the interpenetration of pronouns and roots is seen to be. Just to mention one far-reaching example:‡ The old feminine ending, that of the parent language, was in the Indo-European separated for use as a neuter, but the Semitic usage of the construct state which brought back the th or t made this impossible in Semitic, hence there was arrested development in this direction and Semitic languages have no neuter. This very fact, however, has preserved for us a proof of their original identity with Indo-European. Thus these discoveries in philology widen our basis of comparison much as in astronomy the base-line of measurement was lengthened by discoveries in that science.

What I should like to do in the remaining time at my disposal would be to plead for a new term for the criticism which follows.

* Cf. “Essays,” 7 S.I.E., *Research, etc.*, p. 2.

† Cf. “Essays,” 7 S.I.E., *Research, etc.*, p. 2.

‡ Cf. “Essays,” 6 S.I.E., *Research, etc.*, p. 2.

textual criticism. The term I would advocate is "Further" criticism. And as a specimen of the absolutely necessary "Further" criticism I would venture to call your attention to a passage in the Pentateuch, Deuteronomy xx, 19. Not one point, letter, or accent in this passage requires to be changed in order to give a thoroughly satisfactory rendering. Indeed the meaning is so obvious when the right key is applied that one is amazed that it has not hitherto been observed. Yet commentators have been so far from seeing this meaning that Canon Driver has almost a whole page in his commentary on Deuteronomy devoted to its elucidation, and even then the result is not satisfactory. The change which he finally adopts of the pointing from הָאֲדָרִים to הָאֲדָרִים is as far as ever from the true meaning.

We are the more amazed at its not having been seen because of the delicacy of the scientific instruments which have been fashioned, largely by Dr. Driver's own work and by others, such as the late Professor A. B. Davidson.

Two causes have operated towards obscuring the passage. One is the prejudice created by a misapplied humanitarianism expressed very forcibly by Dr. Kitto, for instance, in his *Daily Bible Illustrations*, volume on "Isaiah and the Prophets," p. 253: "In all ancient sieges, even in those conducted by the Jews themselves, as early as the time of Moses, trees in the neighbourhood of the besieged cities were unsparingly cut down by the besiegers to aid in filling up ditches, and in the construction of mounds and embankments, and of towers and military engines. It is, however, a beautiful incident in the law of Moses that the destruction of fruit-trees for any such purpose is absolutely interdicted." Then the passage from Deuteronomy xx, 19, 20, is given in a footnote as in the Authorized Version.

The other cause is the prejudice which criticism has built upon this other. It has taken advantage of the prejudice of misapplied humanitarianism to build up a very showy proof of the ignorance of Elisha the prophet of this law, and therefore of the non-existence of the Pentateuch in his time. The clue to the meaning of the passage does not lie in its humanitarianism but in its utilitarianism. It is one of the finest examples of sanctified common sense to be found. Elisha presumably knew Hebrew and knew the correct meaning of the passage before us if it was in his hands. There is no want of harmony between his prophetic utterance in II Kings and this passage.

The words רַבִּים יָמִים , "many days," give us the clue to the meaning. There is no ambiguity about them. They mean a

“long time.” Applying then the principles of Hebrew grammar to the first part of this verse, you have the translation “when by a *protracted* siege of a city thou art engaged in capturing it in war, thou shalt not destroy the trees thereof by forcing an axe against them, when (עץ) thou canst eat of them, then (ל) thou shalt not cut them down.” The position of ואתו is very emphatic here. If we take עץ as collective we must take the suffixes in the plural when translating. Then comes the crux of the whole passage, which is, after all, so absurdly simple. “For the (fruit) tree of the field (supply in that case, viz., of a *protracted* siege) is the man” (the article is generic)—What man?—the well-known man “who goes before you in siege-work.” I never yet heard of an army that could do without a commissariat department. In the case of a *protracted* siege the fruit trees were sure to be useful and should not be cut down.

The whole passage confirms one's faith in the remarkable fidelity of the Massoretes in the preservation of the old pronunciation even when they did not understand it. Needless to say, the whole edifice of inference from the supposed ignorance on Elisha's part of this law vanishes. We require to re-examine in this manner much of the hasty prejudiced work done in the name of Higher Criticism.

In pleading for a new name for such work—for the scientific investigation that follows textual criticism or the scientific settlement of the text of God's Word, I do not disparage the work which former generations of scholars have done. Above all, I would not for a moment disparage the work done by such a scholar as the late Professor W. Robertson Smith and the splendid stand which he made for freedom of investigation. That freedom is to be emphasized and must be held fast at all hazards, for truth has nothing to fear. The tragedy of Robertson Smith's life, however, was that freedom to investigate was confused with power to win truth. In the arrogance of apparently encyclopædic knowledge he identified truth with his own defective views, which are now proved untrue. The outcome of this has been that the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, has been by the acceptance of his defective views torn out of the hands of the Church. The millions of our land and all Christian lands who have severed connection with every branch of the Christian Church, and the comparative dearth of conversion within her borders, proclaim in our ears that without the foundation of the truth of the Old Testament, which our

Lord declared He came to fulfil, the living faith in Himself which He requires from us can neither be attained nor maintained, for the exceeding need of a sinner must be seen ere the Saviour can be welcomed. The natural man cannot see the Kingdom of God. All the great revivals have had their foundation on the truth of God's Word in both Old Testament and New.

"Further Criticism" will take her place as a handmaid in the service of the Spirit of Truth, which the world cannot receive, and in the ministry of the Word of which our Lord Jesus Christ said, in His great intercessory prayer, "Thy word is truth."

Having mentioned the name of the late Professor Robertson Smith, I cannot refrain from mentioning one whom I count quite as worthy of the regard of the Church and who was the first to recognize the importance of the work on account of which I have the honour to be addressing this distinguished audience, I mean Professor George G. Cameron, D.D., who succeeded Professor Robertson Smith in the Hebrew Chair of the Free Church College, Aberdeen, and who, writing to me of my work, said:—

"Most thoroughly do I agree with you that criticism should be true to history. What has prevented me from the first and to this hour from accepting the advanced views is the fact that they leave to us practically no reliable history."

Here is a man who, during his whole Professorship since 1882, while keeping himself informed of all the views that were sweeping others away like a flood, quietly and tenaciously held on to his faith and to its foundations, who now, instead of finding his views antiquated and consigned to the dust-heap as he lays aside the duties of his chair, finds to his intense satisfaction that his views are in harmony with the results of the most recent investigations of scholarship, while the views which were so ostentatiously brought forward now form but a "castle in the air"; and it seems to me must soon cease even to be thought of except among antiquarians.

The "inverted history" of the Higher Criticism is proved by the Samaritan Pentateuch and its connected data to be the greatest mistake in criticism yet made, the "Rainbow Bible" to be but an iridescent cloud.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN, before the paper was read, described it as revolutionary, original and fresh, and at the close remarked that

the applause that had been given was a proof of what he had said. He added that the paper should now be discussed by competent men, and he hoped the Higher Critics would take due note of it.

Dr. THIRTLE said: The paper just read brings before us a subject of profound importance, in its bearing upon the antiquity and authenticity of the books which compose the Pentateuch. We have listened to strong and cogent reasons for maintaining that the Samaritan Pentateuch goes back to pre-exilic times. The book is demanded for use several centuries before the days of Ezra, when some would suggest its possible origination. Our attention has been directed to circumstances which indicate that, while Hezekiah was still reigning in Judah, the constituent books of the Pentateuch had been adapted to the special prejudices and practices of the people of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. If at that time there was a garbled recension of the Pentateuch, then assuredly there was also the authentic Pentateuch lying at the back of the version. The existence of counterfeit coin implies the antecedent existence of coin that is standard and true.

I may be allowed to call attention in this connection to a point which strongly confirms the view presented. In the February issue of the *Expository Times*, Dr. M. Gaster, Chief Rabbi of Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Congregations, had an article entitled "The Feast of Jeroboam and the Samaritan Calendar." Therein he made a clear deduction from a careful examination of copies of the Samaritan Calendar, now in his possession. It seems that, as in the case of the Jews, there is a double calendar, the one based on lunar months and the other on solar months; and that in the one case, as in the other, it is the custom, at intervals, to adjust the difference between the two cycles by intercalating a month. While, however, the Jewish practice has been to intercalate a month after Tebet, making that which is ordinarily the twelfth month to become the thirteenth, the Samaritan Calendar discloses a system of intercalating a month after the sixth, called by the Jews Elul, and thus constituting a second Tishri, the month which is ordinarily the seventh becoming the eighth for the year so affected. In this latter month they then hold the Feast of Tabernacles, which among the Jews is uniformly a fixture of the seventh month. Whence comes this practice? Dr. Gaster traces it to the time of Jeroboam, to whose account it is definitely placed in 1 Kings xii, 31-33, where we read

that the king "ordained a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like unto the feast that is in Judah . . . he went up to the altar that he had made in Bethel, on the fifteenth day of the month, even in *the month which he had devised in his own heart.*" Thus in religion as well as politics the North was cut off from the South, revolt and schism went together.

Hence we see that, not only was there a version of the Pentateuch in existence centuries before Modern Criticism has been disposed to allow the Pentateuch to have existed in any form, but also that the Samaritans, who use that version to-day, periodically follow a practice that is explained as to its origin in the First Book of Kings, and shown to have originated little short of a thousand years before Christ!

In conclusion, I would call attention to the fact that, in the second edition of his book on *The Canon of the Old Testament*, Bishop Herbert Edward Ryle speaks of the Samaritan Pentateuch as having been "loudly proclaimed to be the rock upon which the modern criticism of the Pentateuch must inevitably make shipwreck." I cannot say that, in discussing the subject, he does much to divest the rock of its destructive influence or power. About the time the Bishop was writing on the subject, the late Mr. Gladstone gave to the world a series of articles, which were afterwards published in book form, with the title *The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*. Writing from the non-expert's practical point of view, Mr. Gladstone said: "The Samaritan Pentateuch forms, in itself, a remarkable indication, nay even a proof that, at the date from which we know it to have been received, the Pentateuch was no novelty among the Jews. . . . Surely the reverence of the Samaritans for the Torah could not have begun at this period; hardly could have had its first beginning at any period posterior to the schism. . . . Nor can we easily suppose that, when the Ten Tribes separated from the Two, they did not carry with them the law on which their competing worship was to be founded. In effect, is there any rational supposition except that the kingdom of Israel had possessed at the time of Rehoboam some code, corresponding in substance, in all except pure detail, with that which was subsequently written out in the famous manuscripts we now possess?"

Mr. Gladstone, as we see, appreciated the critical importance of the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is indeed unthinkable that the

natives or their successors in the cities of Samaria should have received the Book from their avowed enemies the Jews ; neither can we conceive it possible that they should hold as sacred a volume that came into being among the Jews after the national revolt and schism. Everything tends to show that their religious life radiated round a book which was the property of ALL ISRAEL in antecedent times. So it was taken away into Assyria, and so it was received back at the hands of the priests of whom we have heard this afternoon.

Mr. ROUSE said: A striking evidence brought before us in this full and lucid paper, that the Hebrew Pentateuch preserved by the Samaritans was written before the age of all Rabbinical traditions, is the fact that in the early translation which they use along with it the Samaritan people have the name *Jehovah* every time that its four consonants occur in the original. It is clear that they did not obey a tradition which is as old as the Septuagint (280 B.C.), by reading the title *Adonai* (Lord) instead of the sacred name in their Hebrew text ; for, had they done so, they would in their translation certainly have written *Adonai* itself, or a word of like import in the corresponding passages, even as the Grecian Jews in their Septuagint everywhere wrote *Kyrios* (Lord) instead of *Jehovah*.

That the northern kingdom of Israel (as stated by a previous speaker) reckoned their year from a month other than that with which the Jewish Kingdom began it, I was strongly convinced some years ago when comparing the notes of contemporaneity made in the Books of Kings between the two royal lines ; and I found that in several cases I solved a great difficulty by making the northern year begin with the eighth Jewish month.

Pastor Munro will be glad to hear that one of his audience has already advanced a little way on a special research that he has indicated—to prove that Hebrew in its early form was the original language of mankind. The late Pastor R. Govett of Norwich wrote a book entitled *English Derived from Hebrew* in which a mass of evidence was gathered in favour of the view ; and having perused the same, I mentioned it to the late Professor Skeat, who, however, objected that the author had made his evidence inconclusive by contenting himself in nearly all cases with giving only the consonants of the Hebrew words. The following instances of three

kinds of changes in words culled from this book will, however, serve to show its startling and convincing character: transference of a name—*akrab*, Hebrew for *scorpion*, has become in English *crab*; transference of letters—*nakhash*, Hebrew for *serpent*, is in Latin *anguis*, in English *snake*; metonymy—*ōsen*, Hebrew for *ear*, has become the Swedish *āsna*, the Latin *asinus*, and the English *ass*, all names for the beast with the long ears. To this I may add a few of my own observations (some of which possibly may be found in Govett's work, though I do not remember them there):—

of retentions—the Hebrew *hem* (they, them) became the Anglo-Saxon *hem*;

the Hebrew *zeh* (this, that) became the Anglo-Saxon *se* and by inversion the Latin *is*,

while its plural *elleh* became the Latin *illi*,

of changes—*attah* or *atta'* (thou) became the Latin *tu*, etc., while the suffix *k*, *ka* and *k'* (thy) became the Red Indian *kit*; the Hebrew *arets* (earth or land) became in English *earth*, but was inverted in Latin to *terra*; the Hebrew *shekhen*, a dwelling, became the Greek *skēnē*, a tent, doubtless because a tent was the first kind of dwelling used by all Noah's descendants.

Chancellor LIAS writes:

I was intending to come up in order to congratulate the author of this most valuable paper on his work, but I did not feel quite equal to the effort. One sees all too little of such work. So far as I know, the Victoria Institute in England and the *Bibliotheca Sacra* in America are the only outlets for the not only legitimate but necessary "criticism of the critics" at the present moment. I wish that the advocates of what Professor Robertson, of Glasgow, once called the "saner criticism" would endeavour to call into existence in this country a periodical for the defence of the authority and genuineness of the Holy Scriptures.

I have not made a special study of the Samaritan Pentateuch, nor have I read the dissertation of Gesenius on the subject. But I have long and closely studied German criticism of the Old Testament, and, as Canon Garratt told the Institute in 1904, I have expressed my opinion on the importance of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the critical question, and the obvious inadequacy of recent utterances of the critics on this point. The present paper contains the only adequate

treatment of the question which, so far as I know, it has ever received. It brings out the two important facts that the language of the Samaritan Pentateuch was carefully revised, and that the revision was carried on in Hezekiah's time; as well as that the Northern dialect, with which we meet in the Elijah and Elisha section of the Historical Scriptures, characterizes its contents. The paper brings out very clearly the bearing of these facts on its having been revised under the circumstances recorded in II Kings xvii, 24-41. The allusion of the writer to the "pitfalls" presented by the contents of Ezra, Nehemiah or Chronicles will, I fear, escape those of his readers who are unacquainted with Hebrew. I lately wrote a paper in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* to show that neither did Ezra and Nehemiah display the peculiarities attributed by recent critics to the supposed post-exilic "P," nor did "P" in any single instance fall into the mistakes made by Ezra and Nehemiah in their undoubtedly post-exilic Hebrew, especially in their abnormal use of prepositions. So serious are some of these mistakes that it is clear that the revisers sometimes cannot translate the impossible Hebrew of those writers. In the seventy years of the captivity the art of writing Hebrew had been largely lost.

On page 188 I note that an argument based on a fact ascertained by so competent a Hebrew scholar as Gesenius, can hardly be described as "a theory only, unsupported by facts." The argument, again, in p. 187, is not one which the modern critic can pass over, as he is so fond of doing, *sub silentio*. The argument based on Ezekiel's unusual use of *pakad* is very weighty indeed. The argument from the well-known fact that the third person singular of the pronoun is the same in masculine and feminine in the Pentateuch only is stated more forcibly than I have ever seen it stated before. It might have been added that the word for *youth* and *maiden* is the same throughout the Pentateuch. The feminine termination of the word appears first in the later Scriptures. In Gen. xxxiv the modern critic, in sublime unconsciousness of the important fact, assigns some portions of the chapter to the pre-exilic and some to the post-exilic writer. The fact is that the Hebrew of the whole chapter is characteristic of the Mosaic age. I am further glad to find that the paper confirms a conclusion to which I have independently come, expressed in a work which I have not yet published, that Jah is not a mere abbreviation of Jehovah.

I will conclude by saying that I have never come across a Hebrew scholar more capable of meeting—and *beating*—the critics on their own ground, than the writer of this paper. He has laid the Institute and all who are interested in the “saner criticism” of the Hebrew Scriptures under a very heavy obligation indeed.

The Rev. Dr. IRVING writes :—

It was refreshing to find the empirical methods of the Higher Critics confronted by such an able piece of work from such a thorough student of the subject, in which the methods of inductive science stood out in marked contrast with the tissue of conjecture and negative reasoning, which scholars of a certain Teutonic cast of mind are so fond of weaving; such arguments as they adduce being too often resolvable in the last resort to the “conceits” of the critic himself. The more the methods of inductive science are used, the less we have to fear for the cause of Truth.

LECTURER'S REPLY.

The LECTURER, after considering the above, replied as follows :—

I am thankful for the highly appreciative reception of a paper which is necessarily of a dry and technical character. It was a pleasure to come from the utmost corner of the land to share with you knowledge concerning the Word of God, and proofs of its truth and authenticity which are, to my mind, unanswerable.

We are under great obligation to Mr. Bishop for having invited so many scholars with other views to hear the paper and take part in the discussion. We may say that they have had the courage of their convictions and have remained at home.

To Professor Wm. H. Bennett we owe special thanks, however, because although he did not come, he wrote, referring the Institute to Mr. Chapman's excellent (from its own point of view) book *An Introduction to the Pentateuch*. But this book is quite oblivious to the new facts and arguments brought forward in my *Samaritan Pentateuch and Modern Criticism*, published by James Nisbet and Co., London, 1911, so that it can hardly be said to answer them. Mr. Herbert Loewe, in a signed article in the *Cambridge Review*, recommends the impartial reader to read my work along with Mr. Chapman's.

Professor Bennett also gives references to the *Church Quarterly Review*,

April, 1912, January, 1913, which I am glad to have, because it gives me the opportunity of saying that the critical hero of the hilarity at the lions was the writer of the April article. You seemed to share my suspicion as to what he would do in the presence of even one lion. But I further welcome the opportunity the reference gives me of saying that the Editor, then Principal Headlam, withdrew "unreservedly" the objectionable words which the reviewer had used. The article does not discuss a single argument in the book. The January number contains an apology for the language used in the former number, but repeats in substance part of the offence without any attempt to face the arguments. His criticism on my essay on **אֵרָא** makes one expect that the epicene use of it has disappeared from the Pentateuch. One is reassured to find it still there.

I am somewhat surprised that any self-respecting Briton should have given the reference to the article on my essay on **אֵרָא** in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1912, No. 23, as it is simply a silly supercilious skit, utterly unworthy of such a great nation of scholars as Germany is. The writer is so absurd as to represent me as claiming to have made the discovery that **אֵרָא** is epicene in the Pentateuch!!! If the misrepresentation was intentional, it is highly discreditable as well as silly. Professor Bennett may have desired that I should have the opportunity of showing the folly of the article, and I thank him on that account. I need scarcely say that my discovery was not what has been perfectly well known for two thousand years—at least to everyone conversant with the subject that **אֵרָא** is epicene in the Pentateuch—but was the result of an investigation into the reason for that anomaly, viz., that there was a double pronunciation of it, and the following up of this clue has thrown such light upon the grammatical structure of Semitic and Indo-European languages as to leave no doubt whatever in my mind of their original identity.

This brings me to that part of Mr. Rouse's remarks which deals with strictly philological matters. Though comparative philology has now reached a stage which forbids us thinking of Hebrew or of any Semitic language as the original language of mankind, and the same remark applies to Indo-European language, what is now perfectly certain is that they all sprang from a common source. And I take this opportunity of calling the attention of the Institute to the valuable papers of Colonel Conder and Mr. Isaac Taylor, the former

“On the Comparison of Asiatic Languages,” on account of the materials gathered and systematized, the latter “On the Etruscan Language,” as a model of philological investigation.

If any one will take up the study of the pronouns with their variations in Semitic and Indo-European, he will find that the materials are the same but put to different pronominal uses. But the identity can be proved in every department: Mr. Rouse has given valuable examples.

In this connection I may say that the question of Mr. Coles, regarding the date of the name Jehovah and its use among the Hebrews, leads me to point out that the form of the name shows it to have belonged to the early period when the Hebrews had the active form of הָיָה hayah, “to be,” in use, whatever its meaning may then have been. Therefore the name must have been in use before the Hebrew and Aramaic Semites parted. The former took the passive form of the verb to express “to be,” though there are a few instances of the old active; the latter kept the old active form in developing the same meaning. The cause of the difference is one which we see every day. One man says, “I was able to do so and so,” another says, “I was enabled to do so and so.” This distinction the original Semitic-Indo-European could express by the change of the internal vowel sounds. This is the reason why Semitic languages have their *stative* verbs in *i* or *e*, the old passive form. Then, to take an instance in Indo-European, after all remembrance of their origin had vanished, the genius of the Greeks used these old sounds of their verb “to be” to express their optative mood in its different tenses, attaching them to the end of the verbal stem. This is only an instance. I do not prophesy, but only say what I know will be in a few years, these facts of comparative philology will be taught in all the secondary schools and colleges in the world.

Dr. Thirtle has done good service in bringing Dr. M. Gaster’s important paper to our notice. That one proved fact of the difference in the calendars of Jews and Samaritans, without the slightest attempt of the latter to accommodate themselves to the former, makes as clear as noon that they would have attached as little authority to the Pentateuch itself had it not already been in their possession.

The contribution by Chancellor Lias is of great weight, as he shows the importance of many points which I could only mention.

Those who hold the views of what we may call the old Higher Criticism must adjust themselves to facts. If they do not, they will be left behind. Biblical Science will go on without them to take possession of the Truth which is the inheritance of the Church granted to her by her Lord, with the promised power to enter in and take possession. What she needs now is young minds freed from bias, trained in Semitic languages, with some grasp of comparative philology, to work out the problems her Lord has given her ; so that to all ranks and classes His Word shall come with its old authority, truth, and power, and the imprimatur as of old—Thus saith the Lord.

SUBSEQUENT COMMUNICATIONS.

The Rev. Professor SAYCE writes :—

As I am not a Samaritan scholar I do not feel qualified to say anything about the Samaritan Pentateuch on the philological side. On the historical side, however, it is difficult to understand how the Pentateuch could have been received and translated by the Samaritan colony, much less regarded by them as of Divine authority, after their quarrel with the Jews in the time of Zerubbabel. People do not voluntarily accept the theological claims of their enemies. The ignoring of this fact is an instance of that want of the historical sense which is characteristic of the Higher Criticism. It obliges us to conclude that the Pentateuch in its present form was known at Samaria and believed there to be the inspired production of Moses before the close of the Exilic period.

The Rev. Dr. M. GASTER writes :—

I take advantage of your kind invitation to write a few words concerning the paper read by the Rev. Iverach Munro before your Institution. Owing to official duties I was unfortunately prevented from being present, and I will now put in writing as briefly as I can my appreciation of that paper. I will confine myself especially to that part referring to the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The great value—and if I may venture to say so the greatest value—of the paper lies in the successful attempt to fix the time for the introduction of the changes which characterize the Samaritan Pentateuch. From a long study of the Samaritan Pentateuch

in special and Samaritan literature in general, of which I possess possibly the largest collection outside of Nablus, I have come to the definite conclusion that we have in the Samaritan Pentateuch the Pentateuch of the Ten Tribes. Leaving graphical differences aside and changes due to mistakes of the copyists and writers, there remains a solid mass of deliberate interpolations and dogmatic changes behind which must lie the work of authors and scholars. The Hebrew differs somewhat dialectically and synthetically from that of the rest of the Pentateuch.

Although some people have been led astray by incompetent writers who decried the Joshua discovered by me as a modern compilation, it is none the less a fact that the language of the Book of Joshua agrees in its main characteristic features with these very insertions and interpolations found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and differs on the other hand very considerably from the language used by the Samaritans in their own later compilations.

There can be no doubt that these deliberate changes and interpolations, as well as the compilation of a national history, must go hand in hand if the Samaritans were to maintain their claim that they were the true representatives of ancient Israel, and the "faithful preservers" (Shamerim), as they claim, of the old law of Moses. It seems plausible now in the light of Mr. Munro's investigations that the process of interpolation which may have been going on for centuries had been practically concluded at the time of Hezekiah, and on the occasion mentioned in II Kings, to which Mr. Munro refers.

It is of the utmost importance that the internal evidence of the Samaritan and Hebrew Pentateuchs and the intimate relation which exists between these two versions of the Word of God should be more fully investigated *sine irâ et studio*, with less prejudice, less bias, less intolerance, than is displayed by those who claim to be the holders of the only Truth: the ever-shifting, changing Higher Critics, who attempt to tear the Bible to shreds, and are lost in the masses of fragments into which they have dissolved the Bible. The Rock of Scripture remains impregnable. If only more workers would come forward of the character, and with the equipment, shown by the lecturer!

545TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD (BY KIND PERMISSION) IN THE HALL OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS ON TUESDAY, MAY 6TH,
AT 4.40 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT, THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF HALSBURY,
TOOK THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and signed, and the Secretary announced the election of Professor Theodore Flournoy, of Geneva, as a Life Associate.

THE ORIGIN OF LIFE—WHAT DO WE KNOW OF IT?

BY PROFESSOR G. SIMS WOODHEAD, M.A., M.D., LL.D.,
Fellow of Trinity Hall.

FROM the time of the first records of the human race, one subject more than any other appears to have aroused the thought and piqued the curiosity of man—the origin of life. Speculations thereon have ever occupied a prominent place and aroused the keenest interest in the human mind, which has busied itself with theories, crude or profound, according to the age, as to the beginnings of the powers which are associated with living matter, and which collectively are spoken of as LIFE.

Professor Schäfer, in his interesting and stimulating address delivered before the British Association in September of last year, before giving his definition of life, said, "Everybody knows, or thinks he knows, what life is; at least we are all acquainted with its ordinary manifestations"; but he went on to point out that the most profound and acute thinkers, after devoting themselves to the framing of a definition of life, have been constrained to admit, in the words of Herbert Spencer, that no definition has yet been found "which would embrace all the known manifestations of animate, and at the same time exclude those of inanimate, bodies."

It is not my intention to traverse much of the ground covered by Professor Schäfer, as to the non-identity of life with soul, the phenomena indicative of life—movement, assimilation, dis-assimilation—the chemical phenomena accompanying life, the possibility of its synthetic production, and the chemical constitution of living matter; though these, amongst other

points, must all be discussed where the question of the origin of life is under consideration.

It is evident from a study of the history of this question that, just as the alchemist, in his search for the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life, made observations and came upon facts that constituted much of the foundation of our modern chemistry, so the search for the meaning and origin of life, begun in darkness and continued in shadow, has stimulated most powerfully the development of science and philosophy, and has led men along paths now much more broadly and solidly laid than those "sheep-tracks" on the mountain-side of thought in which they began.

The earliest literature with which all are familiar—the Pentateuch—puts forward the hypothesis that life, in the first instance, was of supernatural origin, and then transmitted in perpetuity.

In contrast to this, the earlier Greek philosophers had a distinct conception of life as having spontaneous origin, accompanied, however, by the idea expressed by Thales in the words:* "All things are full of gods." This idea was more fully developed by Plato and Aristotle as a belief in a "World-soul sustaining and moving all that is." Aristotle makes clear his belief that living organisms may arise spontaneously. It must be realised, moreover, that, following the earlier Ionic philosophers, he looked on the universe and the elements from which it was constructed, as being endowed with energy and life, which might be imparted to the organisms developed from and in them. This view was adopted by the poet Lucretius: "The earth has rightly received the name of Mother, since all things are begotten of it, and many living creatures arise out of it, having been generated by the mists and by the warm sun."†

During the Middle Ages, the influence of Christianity secured the universal acceptance of the Hebrew view of the creation of life in the first place by supernatural action. But along with

* Adam, *Religious Teachers of Greece*, p. 185.

† Given by Macallum from:

"Linquttur ut merito maternum nomen adepta
Terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata.
Multaque nunc etiam exsistant animalia terris,
Imbribus et calido solis concreta vapore."

De Rerum Natura, Lib. V, pp. 793 *sqq.*

NOTE.—I wish here to express my great indebtedness for many valuable suggestions to a paper—"The Origin of Life on the Globe"—contributed to the *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, vol. viii, pp. 423-441, by A. B. Macallum, Sc.D., F.R.S., Professor of Biological Chemistry in the University of Toronto.

this, there was current the notion that some of the lower forms of life could arise spontaneously. Accurate observation was at a discount in an age that was far from critical. Before the time of Malpighi and Leeuwenhoek, with their lenses and magnifiers, it was impossible to follow the development of those minute organisms in which we can study life in its simplest form; but even had such instruments already existed, they would have been of little use, apart from the more accurate observation and sounder reasoning that followed the Renaissance in Europe.

It is exceedingly interesting to follow this question of spontaneous generation, and the various steps by which the arguments advanced in favour of it have been overthrown.

Professor Schäfer pointed out that, in the present state of knowledge of the "man in the street," it seems scarcely credible that spontaneous generation, abiogenesis, or the development of living organisms from dead matter, should have assumed such large proportions in the minds of some of the most able of the early scientific investigators. Nothing appears to have been too outrageous to be believed by those who wrote on spontaneous generation. Even as late as the sixteenth century, one able and usually reliable observer, Van Helmont,* stated that it was possible to "create" mice by placing some dirty linen in a receptacle along with a few grains of wheat or a bit of cheese. Later, an Italian, Buonanni, gave a no less startling example of alleged spontaneous generation with elaboration and embellishments of even more fantastic character. Timber rotting in the sea, he said, gave rise to worms, these in turn changed to butterflies, the butterflies ultimately becoming birds.

Those who believed in spontaneous generation, however, had not matters all their own way. Francesco Redi,† an Italian poet and physician, was able by a simple experiment, made in 1668, to demonstrate that the worms found in putrefying meat are not, as was generally supposed, the product of spontaneous generation. He simply placed the meat in a wide-mouthed vessel and covered the opening with a piece of gauze. Flies, attracted by the meat, deposited their eggs on the gauze and from the eggs in this position were hatched the worms which, until this experiment was carried out, had been supposed to become organized spontaneously and to receive life in the meat itself.

These experiments appeared to settle the point under

* *Ortus medicinae . . . ed. ab authoris filio*, Amst., 1648.

† *Experimenta circa generationem insectorum*, Amstelodami, 1671.

dispute; but in 1683 and subsequent years, Leeuwenhoek* described minute organisms, which we now recognize as bacteria, the origin of which soon became a matter of keen contention. He says: "I saw with very great astonishment, especially in the material mentioned" (from the teeth of an old man who had never used a tooth brush) "that there were many extremely small animals which moved about in a most amusing fashion; the largest of these" (represented by him in an admirable figure) "showed the liveliest and most active motion, moving through rain-water or saliva like a fish of prey darts through the water: this form, though few in actual numbers, was met with everywhere. A second form moved round, often in a circle, or in a kind of curve; these were present in greater numbers. The form of a third kind, I could not distinguish clearly; sometimes it appeared oblong, sometimes quite round. They were very tiny, in addition to which they moved forward so rapidly that they tore through one another; they presented an appearance like a swarm of midges and flies buzzing in and out between one another. I had the impression that I saw several thousands in a single drop of water or saliva which was mixed with a small part of the above-named material not larger than a grain of sand, even when nine parts of water or saliva were added to one part of the material taken from the incisor or molar teeth. Further examination of the material showed that out of a large number which were very different in length, all were of the same thickness. Some were curved, some straight, lying irregularly and interlaced." Since, he says, "I had seen minute living *animaleulæ* of the same shape in water, I endeavoured most carefully to observe whether these also were living or not, but I was unable to recognize even the slightest movement as a sign of life." Erasmus Darwin, † speaking of these organisms in 1794, says, perhaps they may be creatures of stagnation or putridity or perhaps no creatures at all. Leeuwenhoek's demonstration of the presence of minute organisms in various kinds of putrefying organic matter and even in rainwater was to others an occasion for again calling in spontaneous generation as affording an explanation of the presence of these simple living forms. But he stuck to his views of their function, and to his opposition to the theory of spontaneous generation, which had to wait almost until our time before it was

* *Omnia Opera, seu Arcana Naturæ ope microscopiorum exactissimorum detecta*, Lugd. Bat., 1722.

† *Zoonomia; or the Laws of Organic Life*, London, 1794-1798.

finally crushed by Tyndall and Pasteur. Indeed Leeuwenhoek, "fought steadily against the view that living things are bred from corruption, and showed that weevils (supposed to be bred from wheat as well as in it) are grubs hatched from eggs deposited by insects; and also that the sea mussel was not generated from sand and mud, as Aristotle thought, but from spawn, and he maintained that the same was true of the fresh-water mussel . . . He showed that eels were not produced from dew, as was then supposed by respectable and learned men . . . And many with good reason judge that Nature keeps the same method in invisible creatures that it does in all the sizes of visible, and that even the least as well as the greatest, can be no more made out of corruption than one of the greatest, as a horse."* A fellow countryman of our own, Needham,† took up the cudgels on the other side. With Buffon, he maintained, against his own preconceived notions, however—that spontaneous generation took place continually and universally after death, and sometimes during life, that intestinal worms were formed from the dead matter in the contents of the intestine, certain molecules of the organic matter being set free, becoming re-arranged and entering into a combination that became vitalized. "The eels in flour paste, those of vinegar, all those so-called microscopic animals, are but different shapes taken spontaneously, according to circumstances, by that ever-active matter which only tends to organization." Needham said that dead matter might be heated over a fire, and protected from the air, but that organisms would still be generated in it. An Italian Abbé—Spallanzani‡—insisted, however, that there were two weak points in Needham's work. In the first place, he had not exposed the vessels to a sufficient degree of heat to kill the seeds that were inside, and, secondly, as Needham had only closed his vessels with porous cork stoppers, the seeds of living germs could easily have entered the vessels by the pores and so have given birth to animalculæ. Repeating the experiments, Spallanzani used hermetically sealed vases. "I kept them," he says, "for an hour in boiling water, and, after having opened them and examined their contents within a reasonable time, I found not the slightest trace of animalculæ, though I had examined with

* H. G. Plimmer, F.R.S., *Jl. Roy. Mic. Soc.*, 1913, p. 133.

† *Observations upon the Generation, Composition and Decomposition of Animal and Vegetable Substances*, London, 1749; *Notes s. les Nouvelles Découvertes de Spallanzani*, Paris, 1768.

‡ *Phys. u. Math. Abhandl.*, Leipzig, 1769; *Opuscules de Physique, par Senebier* (1776), 1777.

the microscope the infusions from 19 different vases." F. Schulze* then demonstrated that the sterility of the contents of these vessels was not dependent upon any alteration of the air within the flask, or the small quantity of air contained in it, and that it was not due to any alteration brought about in the liquid by the heating process. Any quantity of air, if properly purified, might be sent through the flask, and no growth would follow, whilst on the other hand the fluid that had been boiled, but which was left exposed to the air, rapidly underwent decomposition, a process accompanied by the development of micro-organisms in very large numbers. Finally, Hoffmann and Pasteur,† independently of each other, demonstrated that it was not even necessary to close the mouth of the heated vessel with cotton-wool, as had been done by Schroeder and von Dusch.‡ It was quite sufficient to draw out and bend backwards the neck of a flask in which the germ-free infusion was contained, in order to ensure the continuance of a non-putrefactive condition and the perfect freedom from germs of the fluid contained within the flask. Germs, he said, like all other solid particles, when not blown about by currents, obey the law of gravitation and must settle down upon an upper surface, so that, when the tube was bent downwards, the organisms could not fall into the mouth. Pasteur was able to keep his broth sterile in hermetically sealed glass bulbs. This broth was then exposed to the air in crowded rooms and on mountain heights by breaking the points of the bulbs and sealing them up rapidly after the exposure had been made. Of thirteen vessels of broth exposed in a sleeping hut, nearly all gave evidence of the growth of organisms, whilst of twenty exposed on the Mer de Glace, all but one remained sterile. He found that different kinds of change took place. Various vessels, exposed in different places, contained different organisms, and he concluded that the particles suspended in atmospheric air, with the germs or seeds attached to them, are the exclusive origin, the necessary condition, of life in infusions.

Charles Darwin at this time failed to see how it was possible to bridge the gap between the living and the non-living. His closing argument in *The Origin of Species* brings this out very forcibly: "There is a [simple] grandeur in this" (the evolu-

* Gilbert's *Annalen de Phys. u. Chemie*, Bd. xxxix, 1836, p. 836.

† Hoffmann, *Botan. Zeitung*, 1860; Pasteur, *Compt. rend. Acad. Sci.*, Paris, t. 50 (1860), p. 306.

‡ *Ann. der Chemie u. Pharm.*, Bd. lxxxix, 1854; *Journ. f. Pract. Chemie*, Bd. lxi, 1854.

tionary) "view of life, with its several powers of growth, reproduction, and of sensation, having been originally breathed into matter under a few forms, perhaps into only one, and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling onwards according to the fixed laws of gravity, and whilst land and water have gone on replacing each other—from so simple an origin, through the selection of infinitesimal varieties, endless forms, most beautiful and most wonderful, have been evolved."* His theory of evolution never led him beyond this.

In this, naturally enough, he was not followed by some of the great scientists and philosophers of his time. One school, in answer to the question, "Where did life come in?" refers us to the time when the earth's crust was cooling, when conditions not now present prevailed, when chemical combinations now unobtainable were taking place; and it suggested that matter, at that time in a condition of exceedingly unstable equilibrium, was moulded by these great cosmic forces into the most elementary forms of life, capable of deriving nutrition from substances not nutrient to the living matter of to-day, of existing at temperatures not nearly approached by those which the heat-resisting organisms now met with could sustain. It is suggested that this exceedingly simple living matter gradually acquired features and properties similar to those now possessed by animals and plants, but that this could have been compassed only in a period infinitely longer even than that allowed by the geologists for the development of our earth. "Such a form," says Macallum, *op. cit.*, "once brought into being, would start on its long career; out of it would develop the protoplasmic mass just visible under the highest powers of the microscope, and gradually and eventually from that again the living cell, the parent form of all structures such as we ordinarily recognize as animal and vegetable forms."

The possibility of this generation of life under special conditions was seized upon by Charlton Bastian (for whose industry and pertinacity I have the greatest respect, though I cannot follow him in his hypothesis), who maintains that: "If a genesis of living matter occurred in some one place in far remote ages, and if such a process can be shown still to occur, it would be only natural to conclude that the same chemico-physical changes have in all probability been operative in

* "The Foundations of the Origin of Species." Two essays written in 1842 and 1844 by Charles Darwin, edited by his son, Francis Darwin Cambridge, 1909.

innumerable regions over the surface of the earth, not only from primeval, but in all succeeding ages up to the present day.* Although both Weissmann and Haeckel agree with him as to the possibility of the process, they are unconvinced that we have ever been, or shall ever be, able to solve so great a mystery. As Weissmann, quoted by Bastian, puts it: "Up till now, all attempts to discover these conditions have been futile, and I do not believe that they will ever be successful; not because the conditions must be so peculiar in nature that we cannot produce them, but, above all, because we should not be able to perceive the results of a successful experiment." Haeckel's contention that when organic life first appeared on the cool surface of the earth, at the beginning of the Laurentian age, the conditions of existence were totally different from what they are now, is to my mind the great stumbling-block in regard to our acceptance of the results of Bastian's experiments. The development of any living form that we can recognize under the microscope must have involved time almost illimitable as we reckon it, and our puny and ephemeral experiments, even were we to obtain the other necessary conditions, must fail: first, because we know of no method of determining in what period the complex of living material could be formed; and, secondly, because we have evidence that even should the generation of life under cosmic conditions be possible, the modifications of the conditions must have been so gradual and must have extended over such a prolonged period, that time, as we count it, is absolutely insufficient for the completion of our experiments.

Huxley, in his address to the British Association in 1870, put the matter very tersely in his statement that, although he was unable to hold any belief as to the primal origin of life, he held that "expectation is permissible where belief is not; and if it were given me to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions which it can no more see again than a man can recall his infancy, I should expect to see it appear under forms of great simplicity, endowed like existing fungi with power of determining the formation of new protoplasm from such matters as ammonium carbonates, oxalates and tartrates, alkaline and earthy phosphates, and water, without the aid of life." We are still far from the solution of this great question, however

* *The Origin of Life* by H. Charlton Bastian, F.R.S., 1911, p. 22.

crude these last few lines have been made to sound by recent discoveries of the physicist, chemist and biologist.

It is sometimes stated that Sir William Thomson—Lord Kelvin—offered to the British Association his hypothesis of the transference of living matter from other planets to our own, through the agency of meteorites, as a jest; but (in view of his announced conviction that the impossibility of converting lifeless matter into matter endowed with life was as definitely established as the law of gravitation) we must assume that his sense of humour in this case was subordinated to his reason. For this suggestion, sneered at and almost laughed out of court by lesser scientific and philosophical lights, had a surer and more reasonable foundation, and has since been supported by more credible evidence than at that time appeared to be conceivable. Thomson's instincts were truer than other men's reasoned convictions. "Look," they said, "at the nearest of the fixed stars; they are some 22,000,000,000,000 miles away. Meteors containing living matter despatched from those stars and travelling at the rate of an express train—sixty miles an hour—would take nearly 42 million years to reach our planet." The thing seemed to be absurd; living matter capable of germinating at the end of such a journey was inconceivable. "Yes," says Arrhenius, the great physicist, "but my researches on radiant energy enable me to say that living organisms may be transported over that 22 billion miles in a trifle of 9,000 years and from Mars to Earth in twenty days!" But only to come into an atmosphere, between which and a falling meteor the friction is so great and prolonged that the great majority of these meteors are dispersed in luminous vapour. How would germinal living matter fare, were it to reach the earth's atmosphere unaccompanied by the meteor? It was maintained that the intense light and cold to which this living matter would be subjected must exert upon it a profound devitalising effect. But new observations, rendered possible by the use of liquid air in the lowering of temperature, enabled A. McFadyen* to demonstrate that spores of bacteria maintained at a temperature of -200° C. remain capable of development at the end of a couple of months. Indeed, it is now recognized that whilst on the one hand a rise in temperature accelerates the chemical changes that are associated with the gradual loss of

* *Proc. Roy. Soc. Lond.*, 1900, vol. lxvi, pp. 180, 489; *ibid.*, 1902, vol. lxxi, p. 76.

vitality by living matter, conversely the rate of change is checked as the temperature is lowered. As Macallum has put it: "Thus in the case of vital processes which have been investigated, a fall of 10° C. reduces the speed of reaction to $2/5$, and, therefore, the rate of reaction responsible for the ultimate loss of vitality would proceed at -220° C. (the temperature of intra-stellar space) at one-thousand-millionth of the rate which obtains at 10° C.; so that a journey of three thousand million years in space would be no more injurious in effect than one day's exposure to a spring temperature and sunlight on this planet." In the passage of living protoplasm through space, in which the temperature is known to be so low, the amount of drying which it would undergo would be comparatively slight—a most important matter, as extreme desiccation is incompatible with continued vitality. Roux's* observations on the action of light on the anthrax bacillus make it clear that sunlight, which in the presence of oxygen exerts such a profound influence on the vitality of this micro-organism, is apparently harmless when acting in a vacuum such as that met with beyond the atmosphere that surrounds our globe.

It is evident that the Panspermic theory of the origin of life explains nothing, even if life was first met with in some other planet than our own. Even there life must have had its origin, and in all probability must have developed progressively from lower and less specific forms to those endowed with much higher attributes; and as it is impossible for us to prove that life did not originate primarily either here or in another world than ours, the enormous difficulties by which this hypothesis is surrounded are only too obvious. Even the difficulties concerning the origin of matter, of its passage through its various phases, afford us little help in our consideration of the origin of life, beyond this, that the same power that moulded the universe must necessarily have endowed some of that matter with the power of housing "life." With all this, is it not well that constant controversy should go on between the chemico-physicist and the biologist? that the physicist should claim that some comparatively highly developed matter endowed with life must have passed from some planet to our own, though it would be difficult to maintain that both animal and plant life can have been developed from such comparatively highly specialized organisms? the biologist maintaining that

* *Ann. de l'Inst. Pasteur*, Paris, 1887, t. I, p. 445.

the conditions of life vary so greatly in different planets that only extremely simple forms could have been transferred from one planet to another with any real chance of survival, and only such simple forms could act as a stem from which the two branches leading up to the higher plants on the one hand, and the animals on the other, could develop.

Whether life was generated in this globe of ours, or whether it arose in some other planet, is, after all, a matter of comparatively little import as regards the main question at issue. Should we be able to prove that living matter has come to us from the nearest star on which life existed previously, it carries us but one step further back, and helps us little towards the solution of the main question. As Professor Schäfer pointed out in his address before the British Association at Dundee, Fischer and his school are gradually proving by synthetic methods that even the constitution of the proteins is no longer an altogether unsolved secret to the chemist. Our knowledge of protoplasm and its chemical constitution is gradually expanding, and at the same time evidence is being obtained, mostly from pathological investigations, that there are forms of living matter so minute that they do not come within the direct range of our most powerful microscopes, and that though they are not kept back by our finest filters, they have the power of multiplying and of inducing diseases during which the most profound changes take place in the animal body. These organisms are highly specialized in their functions, and probably require special surroundings and conditions for their existence; nevertheless, they are beyond our ken, we can see nothing but their shadows, they are imponderable, and we have no means of measuring them in any way except by the results they produce. Minute as they are—much smaller than the ordinary cells of plants and animals—we know that they must be complex bodies, constructed out of many molecules, and pervaded by many ions and electrons, and can have developed but with time and opportunity.

The pathologist engaged in the study of the changes that take place in function and structure during the course of what we speak of as "disease," especially those in connection with the method of attack and defence of the organism, is invariably first attracted by the chemico-physical explanation of the course of events. One of the first results of Pasteur's demonstrations of the continuity and specificity of living matter was the increased importance that was attached to the chemical side of vital processes. Living organisms came to be looked

upon more and more as machines, carefully built up, and delicately adjusted, capable when supplied with proper material of doing such and such work, and of turning out so much finished product, much of it useful, but much of it not only of the nature of waste, but in part actually deleterious. Following the lead of the physiologist, it was insisted that each organism had its exact structure and function defined and regulated to one pattern, and that, although in accordance with the doctrine of evolution slight variations may take place in the individual which may become more accentuated in its progeny, such variations, to become marked and permanent, must be present through a long succession of generations. When we come to consider certain of the changes produced during the course of disease, however, something far more striking and apparently infinitely more important, from our point of view, emerges. The animal body, endowed with life, may, under the influence of certain substances often classified as proteids or albuminoids, and especially those of a poisonous nature, become greatly modified in respect to its reactions to these substances.

Everyone has heard of antitoxins, but how many of us realize that in their production in the animal body we have probably one of the strongest of our proofs of the existence of something more than any mere chemical or chemico-physical process, especially since Ehrlich and Weigert were able to demonstrate that these antitoxins are the result of some specific reaction between proteid toxins and the tissues of the body? Let us take a definite example. If a horse which is extremely sensitive to the poisonous effects of the diphtheria toxin, a poison proved by Sidney Martin and others to be of a proteid or albuminoid nature, be treated with very minute, but gradually increasing doses of this toxin, its tissues may become so modified that, although at first they would have been unable to withstand the action of some arbitrary quantity determined by experiment and called the "Minimal Lethal Dose," coming out, say, at fifteen drops, they will, after carefully graduated injection with this same toxin, withstand the action of 15,000 drops of it. The blood of an animal so treated is found to contain a substance which, even when mixed with the toxin in a test tube, neutralises the activity of the toxin and renders it harmless; and the same thing occurs when the blood is injected into a patient suffering from diphtheria. We thus see that the toxin injected into the horse has caused some reaction in the tissues of that animal, as a result of which they give off a

substance, antitoxin, in sufficient quantities to neutralize the large doses of toxin injected in the later stages of treatment. But more than this (and this is proved by the amount of antitoxin that is found circulating in the blood), not only is the antitoxin formed in sufficient quantities to meet the immediate demands of the organism,—*i.e.*, to neutralize the toxin present—but the process of antitoxin formation goes on long after the need for its protection or neutralizing influence has ceased.

Chemical analogies of all kinds have been put forward to explain certain of the processes above described, but where apart from living matter do we find this profound modification of function taking place within a very short period, and continuing long after the exciting cause has been removed? Here we have something that differs in almost every essential feature from the most complicated chemical reactions of which we have any knowledge; and although one can imagine that the chemist in his enthusiasm may be tempted in contemplation of his greatest triumphs to say "This is a process but little removed from those involved in the generation of life," I know of nothing in the chemical or physico-chemical realm that corresponds in nature to the marvellous process of modified reaction to the special stimulation mentioned above. Similar specific reactions with the production of antitoxins all point to the presence of what we must still look upon as a purely biological phenomenon—adaptation—a phenomenon far more clearly illustrated in these specific processes than in connection with any physiological process as ordinarily studied.

Driesch, in his Gifford Lectures ("The Science and Philosophy of the Organism," delivered in Aberdeen in 1907), puts the matter very clearly and concisely, on page 209. Whilst admitting that the considerations already mentioned afford no actual proof of the autonomy of life, he holds that we "have gained many indicia for the statement that the organism is not of the type of a machine, in which every single regulation is to be regarded as properly prepared and outlined." "It is precisely," he says, "in the field of immunity that such a machine-like preparation of the adaptive effects seems almost impossible to be imagined. How indeed could there be a machine the chemical constituents of which were such as to correspond adaptively to every requirement? to say nothing of the fact that the production of more

* "Report on the Bacteriological Diagnosis and Antitoxic Treatment of Cases admitted to the Hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board during the years 1895-96," by G. Sims Woodhead.

of the protecting substance than is actually necessary can hardly be said to be 'chemical.'

"In fact, we are well entitled to say that we have reached here the very heart of life and of biology. If nevertheless we do not call the sum of our facts a real proof of vitalism, it is only because we feel unable to formulate the analysis of what happens in such a manner as to make a machine as the basis of all reactions absolutely unimaginable and unthinkable."

For my part I am convinced that the study of the Origin of Life must in future be very closely connected and concerned with these adaptive processes that can only be carried on with any promise of success in organisms whose tissues react to the various nutritive, fermentative, and toxic proteids, and in reacting produce antibodies in great variety, but of high specificity.

In these days of great specialisation, necessary owing to the enormous development of the various branches of scientific work and investigation, few men have time to give, or training, to enable them to carry on experiments involving investigations of the most delicate and complicated nature in many branches of science. Where men have attempted this almost impossible task, their expertness and wide knowledge of their own special subject have rendered them impatient of their own ignorance—though they will not always admit this—in other branches of research. Not many years ago a physicist of some standing and experience applied to me for a place in our laboratory, where he wished to carry out a series of experiments with radium. He was convinced that in radium he had a substance the emanations from which had the power of vitalising matter. After a chat with him, I advised him to study the elements of bacteriology, and suggested that he should attend the class of elementary bacteriology, in order to familiarize himself with the necessary details of work and to be able to take the necessary precautions against contamination. He attended one or two lectures and a similar number of meetings of the practical class. What was my surprise and amusement to find, a month later, that this was the extent of his condescension. He had commenced his work, and had been observed removing the cotton-wool from the test-tubes in which was the material supposed to be protected from contamination from without, and picking out, with his stylographic pen, threads of cotton-wool that appeared to be interfering with his observations! This, of course, is an extreme case.

Some time there will arise amongst us a great philosopher

whose outlook is wide, and who can found his philosophy on a broad scientific basis. Until then we are scarcely likely to make any great advance in our knowledge of the Origin of Life.

The Biologist will continue to study protoplasm, to place unfertilised eggs in artificial sea-water, and he will find evidence of departure from the ordinary processes of development in that these unfertile eggs may become fertile even under these conditions. He will bisect embryos that under ordinary conditions would develop into a single organism, and will find that each half will develop into a complete organism, differing from the other only in size. The Pathologist will find that amongst bacteria, certain changes in function and sometimes even in structure may be demonstrated, and will note that as the result of their activity profound variations of function may be set up in the organs and tissues of the animal body. The Chemist will, by synthetic methods, go on building up substances indistinguishable from proteins and peptoids, substances that hitherto have been turned out from Nature's crucibles only. The Physicist will bombard us with electrons and ions, the Chemico-physicist will point out how the colloids manufactured in the body have many of the properties of living matter, and also what part surface tension plays in living organisms in determining their chemical activities, and he will demonstrate the accumulation of potassium salts in certain positions, in multiplying cells, and the like. The Astronomer and the Geologist will each contribute his mite to the treasury of knowledge, and it is well; for truth is always truth, though we do not always recognize it. Let us accept any isolated fact that is fully demonstrated, and where possible let us fit it into the great scheme of Nature, by the magnitude of which we are overwhelmed, and, therefore, but little astonished at the comparatively small part of it that has hitherto been filled in, but of which even the most sceptical must admit the wonderful order and law that rule throughout. So marvellous and complete are they that, when I am informed that there is no personal God, I answer to myself that of this great scheme I have but one experience, and that is that all the will, the ruling power, the intellect, the soul and spirit of which I have cognizance are personal; and that if I am to argue from the less to the greater, I must accept it that there is a great Power above all, ruling, guiding, and regulating. Personal, but all pervading, to Whom, in however small a degree, we are allowed to liken ourselves; rebelling against Whose laws, we are bound to suffer directly or indirectly; but obeying with

the freedom of sons, we become more like that from which we come.

“Lo, these are parts of his ways : but how small a whisper do we hear of him ? but the thunder of his power who can withstand ?” Job xxvi, 14.

DISCUSSION.

The Rev. A. IRVING, D.Sc., B.A., said that as no one else seemed ready to start the discussion, he would venture to express his gratitude to Professor Sims Woodhead, and his warmest appreciation of the most useful and telling paper, to which they had just listened. He thought the Victoria Institute was to be congratulated on receiving such an able and thorough-going treatment of perhaps the most difficult of all questions that confront the serious student of science. No one could doubt that the Professor was speaking as a master in his own field, and with authority second to none in his own department of work and research. One great value of the paper was perhaps the additional light thrown upon questions raised by Professor Schäfer's Dundee address to the British Association, while it seemed to serve as a wholesome check upon some hasty and rash deductions that had been drawn from that in some journalistic quarters. He ventured to say that Professor Sims Woodhead had in his short paper done much to restore mental equilibrium in many quarters, where people's minds had been rendered unsteady from the public utterances of his distinguished confrère at Dundee ; and the more so since he had sternly resisted the temptation, which ever besets the specialist in original work, to predict what we shall know before we do know it, thus making *scientific faith* do the duty of actual knowledge. To those who had been straining towards the attainment of such an intellectual standpoint as should enable them to see the teachings of theology and science in one philosophical perspective, the concluding paragraphs of the Professor's paper gave perhaps the most illuminating summing up of the essential factors of this great problem, which the twentieth century had yet seen. And so, thank God ! there comes to us out of a Cambridge laboratory of European fame, and from the heart of Cambridge academical life, a voice teaching the student of science the lesson of “sincerity and truth” in his studies, reminding us of those depths of human experience and

consciousness which carry us beyond the necessary limitations of science (as such) in our relation to the great creative and directive Power of the universe of Being.

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD: It gives me pleasure to second the vote of thanks. Not I only, but all of us present, thank the able author for the clear, succinct, and interesting account he has given us of one of the most important controversies which have agitated the scientific world.

After the investigation which, under his guidance, we have been making, our conclusion will (I think) be that (1) Abiogenesis is not proven, (2) Abiogenesis is disproven.

In this investigation the author gives a salutary caution against supposing that powerful microscopes are of much use apart from accurate observation and sound reasoning. The advocates of spontaneous generation can certainly not plume themselves upon accuracy of observation. If we turn to a later page in the paper we learn something as to the soundness of their reasoning. It is suggested that "matter, at that time in a condition of exceedingly unstable equilibrium, was moulded by the great cosmic forces into the most elementary forms of life, capable of deriving nutrition from substances not nutrient to the living matter of to-day, of existing at temperatures not nearly approached by those which the heat-resisting organisms now met with could sustain." It is further suggested that from this matter developed all that magical succession of living organisms which, like it, finds origin and home in the fancy of the evolutionist.

With regard to the reasoning just quoted, the most diligent search would not be successful in discovering anywhere a more flagrant example of the logical fallacy known as "Begging the question." There is no attempt to *prove* the point at issue. It is unscrupulously *assumed* in the interests of a hypothesis. Admittedly those conditions which science affirms necessary for the production and maintenance of "living matter" are absent at the hypothetical period postulated. To you and me this fact may appear to settle the question. Not so to the abiogenesisist. "Perish conditions!" he says, "the living matter must have somehow managed without them." But talk of this sort is not science.

Science admits of hypothesis, but not of every kind of hypothesis. A scientific hypothesis is one which is in accordance with facts, and

should be suggested by them. It is never contradictory to facts. Huxley well says that, if a hypothesis be in contradiction to a single known fact, that hypothesis must "go." The hypothesis of "spontaneous generation" is in contradiction to a known fact of science, namely, that when all air is excluded, and no germs permitted to enter, the living organisms do not appear. Therefore, the hypothesis of "spontaneous generation" should "go"; science demands that it be abandoned. Life can make use of and direct physical and chemical forces, but it is distinct from them. They can be measured and transmuted, Life cannot. Its unique character evidences itself also in the direction and regulation of the movements of bioplasm, and in the processes of assimilation and dissimilation, nutrition and growth, development and reproduction; in its action with regard to enantiomorphs (as pointed out by Professor Japp), and in the formation of an excess of antitoxin substances against proteid poisons.

The author seems in doubt as to whether Lord Kelvin's meteoric hypothesis was, or was not, a jest. I had it, however, on the authority of Sir George Stokes, at that time our honoured President and a close personal friend of Lord Kelvin, that the supposition was really put forward as a joke. Sir George's own view was that all life is originated by the action of Spirit. I think this view will hold the field. Does not the Christian religion throw light on the origin of life when it tells us that "the Spirit gives life," and that eternal life is heart-knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ whom He has sent to us?

Mr. M. L. ROUSE, B.A., M.R.A.C., said: The following conclusion and illustration found in a very recent scientific work will show how inscrutable a force is life, and how it exists before the tissue is formed by means of which it afterwards works throughout the career of the living creature. Mr. G. P. Mudge (F.Z.S., etc.), in his text-book of zoology, at p. 14 (ed. 1901), writes:—

"It is rather the nature of the forces at play that determine the structure of an organ than the structure of an organ that prescribes its activity. The beating heart of a three-day chick is actively contractile; but it contains not a trace of muscle fibre; the structure is absent, but the activity is present."

I remember well about thirty years ago reading the report of a lecture by Huxley upon crystallization, in which he used such

words as these: "We are here face to face with a great mystery. Does this process differ from life?" Yet not long afterwards, in commenting upon most careful experiments that had been made to ascertain whether spontaneous generation were possible, he declared with Tyndall that there was "an unbridgeable chasm between living matter and dead" (including, of course, mineral substances in every form). And there are at least two deep distinctions between crystals and all living organisms:—namely, that a crystal thickens by laying matter on from without, whereas a cell thickens by depositing matter within; and that a set of crystals cannot split up a chemical compound to take out thence any required ingredient, whereas a set of cells making up a living animal or plant can do so, and, building up thereby one or more tiny facsimiles of itself, can impart to them the same power, so that in the end they commonly grow to the full size of their parent. Endosmose and reproduction of species are properties of living creatures and not of mineral combinations.

To the instances given by Professor Woodhead of old pagan belief in spontaneous generation, one may add Virgil's description, in his Fourth Georgic, of the way in which to renew a stock of bees discovered by the first great bee-master, Aristaeus of Arcadia. A two-year old bullock is brought into a small tiled shed, with a window open to each of the four winds; and, while his mouth and nostrils are held close he is slain by blows that crush and mash his body without cutting his skin. His carcass is then left for some days in the shed surrounded by sweet-scented boughs and herbs; and gradually "through the fermenting of its inward moisture, strange forms of life arise, at first short of feet, then with good feet and buzzing wings, then swarming together, and thicker and thicker stemming the fleeting air, until at length, as a shower shed from the summer clouds, they all at once burst forth" in search of their flowery food.

The cruelty and credulity of paganism are here combined. Men shook both vices largely off at the establishment of Christianity and again at the Reformation, which while it freed men's souls from fatal error freed their understandings for deep and fearless searching into nature. And this has led us to find it everywhere filled with the tokens of design, and to prove that no being can spring into life without the Creator's agency.

Mr. MARCHANT asked whether, supposing the origin of life were discovered, it would necessarily destroy belief in the existence of God.

Mr. A. W. SUTTON asked the lecturer if he was convinced that new life could only be produced from pre-existing life.

At this stage the President had to leave, but took the opportunity of saying that when he came into the room he knew very little about the subject, and if the lecturer would pardon him for saying it, he felt that after hearing the paper, and the discussion, he knew very little more.

Mr. A. W. SUTTON then took the chair and proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was carried unanimously. The lecturer replied and the meeting adjourned.

WRITTEN CONTRIBUTIONS.

Archdeacon POTTER writes:—

I feel that the unravelling of the secret of the mystery of the origin of life is, as this paper well puts it, to be found in the belief in the existence and personality of God.

God is everywhere and eternal; so is the principle of life—it only needs certain conditions to bring it into action. Life is God and God is life. He is constantly imparting His life to forms in which it develops upward to higher things. Without belief in a personal God the mystery of life is a greater mystery than ever; with that belief, it is easier to understand.

Mr. F. S. BISHOP writes:—

Were it possible to build up life synthetically, or to accomplish the further problem set to chemico-physicists, to produce a reaction which at present seems outside the range of chemistry and to be purely biological, would it not be but a further proof of the immanence of God in nature? In the early verses of St. John's Gospel we have the plain statement that the Logos made all things and that "that which was made was life in Him." Life is not God, for it was made; but it comes from God. Science traces everything to ether and energy, but can get no farther back than these. St. John gives the origin of all things as Life, the agent of the Logos, a quietly persistent universal power accomplishing the Will of God in the universe. When a portion of that universe becomes in the "due" time suitable for the action of this life, there it is to be

found, ready to show itself, it may be ultramicroscopically, but none the less really, and then and there begin on matter its directive energies. Is not this also a case covered by the words of an ancient collect "the tranquil operation of Thy perpetual Providence?"

THE LECTURER'S REPLY.

The LECTURER subsequently received the whole of the discussion in writing, and has been kind enough to amplify the reply which he made at the time, as follows:—

In replying to the various suggestions and criticisms advanced this afternoon, it may be well that I should attempt to answer individual questions rather than to make a general statement. To begin with, however, I should like to insist on the necessity of drawing a sharp line between the somewhat rash deductions of those expounding Professor Schäfer's views and what Professor Schäfer really advanced. In adopting any scientific method of research or criticism, it is essential that we should be honest with ourselves, and, at the same time, acknowledge the honesty of others. We have to bear in mind the danger that, having once commenced to work along a certain line, we are apt to expect that it will lead us in a certain direction and to a certain point; and I agree most cordially with the Rev. Dr. Irving that it is impossible for us "to predict what we shall know before we know it." Intelligent anticipation may be permissible in helping to form a working hypothesis, but it is ever dangerous and unjustifiable when we use it to raise a hypothesis to the level and dignity of a theory. It is impossible to make good the claim for any hypothesis that it can be of the value of a theory. We may test experience by further observation; but in making observations our judgment must remain unbiassed and our mind open to all but credulity, whilst our records of these observations must be clear and honest. How long does it take us to realize that method and apparatus are of little value apart from accurate observation and sound reasoning, and that all scientific hypotheses should be in accord with ascertained facts.

It is exceedingly interesting to learn from Professor Orchard that Sir Gabriel Stokes was convinced that Lord Kelvin was entirely "jocular" in his suggestion that living matter may have been conveyed—on a meteorite—to this sphere from another world.

can only repeat that some people's jokes may have more in them than other people's solemn statements ; but, jocular or solemn, we are not very much helped by it in our quest.

I should like to point out in connection with Mr. Rouse's quotation from G. P. Mudge, that contractility is to be looked upon as a function of practically all protoplasm, and that although it is highly developed in muscular tissue, we should not be astonished that it early becomes a prominent feature in the developing heart tissue, for it is a function even of the protoplasm of the embryonic cell from which that muscle has developed. This active contractility forms part of Huxley's "unbridgeable chasm between living matter and dead."

I agree with Mr. Marchant that the tracing of the origin of life to any one of the many suggested sources should not curtail, in the slightest, our belief in the existence of an Omniscient and Omnipotent God. Would it not tend rather, and has it not tended as knowledge grew, to arouse our wonder at the law and unity pervading the world as we know it ? It is ever borne in on most of us more and more that our added experience and expanding knowledge have given us proof of no power greater than that which we attribute to God.

With full conviction that we never need fear the truth, let us face the problems of the origin of life confidently and cheerfully, not neglecting our higher and spiritual needs, needs as real as are our physical wants, at all times reading one in the light of our knowledge of the other. Above all, let us from time to time review our knowledge and our position, and apply the results of our revision to the difficult problems with which we are constantly faced. Which of us would study man merely as regards his "dead" physical basis—mere matter without soul or intellect ; or which of us would study intellect in terms merely of what we now know of the physical and chemical constitution of brain-matter ? As to dead matter, have we not to realize that corruption is only part of an endless chain in the transformation of matter ? Matter is often endowed with life, but it may lose its endowment. As the world keeps on, living matter is always coming to the aid of living matter, lowly developed living forms helping the higher, and ultimately helping to develop the highest.

I realize, of course, that some of you will be at one with our

President. I can now but ask you to give some little further thought to this subject; many of us may be long in becoming much wiser, but I cannot help thinking that if we work and study steadily and perseveringly, neither knowledge nor wisdom will linger indefinitely and that coming they will help us to advance a step or two in spiritual development, a step or two that we might otherwise be unable to take.

546TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD IN THE ROOMS OF THE INSTITUTE ON THURSDAY,
JUNE 5TH, 1913, AT 4.30 P.M.

THE HON. TREASURER, MR. ARTHUR W. SUTTON, PRESIDED.

The Minutes of the preceding Meeting were read and signed.

The SECRETARY announced the election of three Associates :—

ASSOCIATE : The Rev. W. H. Saulez, M.A., B.D. ; Professor J. Logan Loblely, F.G.S. ; Mrs. Agnes H. Pelly.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Dean of Canterbury to read his paper.

*THE POSITION AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CRITICISM
OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.* By H. WACE, D.D.,
DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE criticism of the old Testament is at this moment in a very interesting situation, both in England and in Germany. As usual, the movement of German thought on the subject is ahead of that of England. The leading English scholars appear perfectly contented with what they have for some time designated the "assured results" of the criticism of the last half of the nineteenth century, and have created a new conservatism in the recognition, as a final achievement, of the documents into which the Pentateuch has been dissected out. At Oxford and Cambridge, manuals are published, like those of the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, which treat the Jehovist, the Elohist, the Deuteronomist and the Priestly Code as settled realities, as much as the books of the Pentateuch themselves were to our fathers ; and Dr. McNeile in defending the critical theory of Deuteronomy against the able essay of Mr. Griffiths, lately published by the S.P.C.K., expresses a condescending regret that so "great and useful a Society" should have been betrayed into countenancing such a critical heresy. There are indeed some important exceptions among us to this attitude. Canon

Girdlestone continues to exhibit as quiet a confidence in the substantial truth of the traditional belief respecting the Old Testament as the critics do in their own hypotheses, and like them he for the most part reserves his fire. A Jewish barrister, Mr. Wiener, has, however, for some years been directing a vehement assault on the whole critical position, and has certainly made some important breaches in its defences. But until the last month or two the leaders of the critical school have maintained a self-satisfied silence, as though the question were finally settled. In Germany the case has been very different. A steady resistance has been maintained by some leading scholars to various parts of the critical theory. Klostermann, in particular, rejects the whole theory of the four sources, and regards the Pentateuch as having, as it were, crystallized by gradual accretion round an original Mosaic and Sinaitic law; and Koenig, while accepting the four sources in the main, assigns to parts of them a far more ancient and historic character than is allowed by the Wellhausen school. But still more radical attacks have been initiated during the last few years. Eerdmans has started an entirely new, and, it must be said, still more improbable, theory of an original polytheistic book; which was subsequently revised in a monotheistic sense. But more serious attacks have been directed by other scholars, especially by Johannes Dahse, against the groundwork of the documentary theory, and at length a leading English critic has thought it necessary to reply to him. In the last two numbers of the *Expositor*, for April and May, Dr. Skinner of Cambridge has replied fully to Dahse, and perhaps successfully, so far as the efficiency of Dahse's alternative theory is concerned; but he has to make admissions which appear seriously damaging to his own position. Well may it be said by Dr. Sellin, of Rostock, one of the leading members of the moderate critical school, in his recent *Introduction*: "It will be seen that we are passing through a period of ferment and transition, and in what follows we present our own view as only the hypothesis which appears to us as the best founded."

It must be added that a still more strenuous opposition to the current theory is being maintained by able American scholars. Dr. Green, of Princeton, who was Chairman of the American Company of Revisers of the Old Testament, was to the last a resolute opponent of the whole "divisive hypothesis"; and his example is being followed by Dr. G. F. Wright and his co-editors in the valuable American Quarterly, the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. This journal has given Mr. Wiener a constant welcome,

and his attacks on the current theory have been appearing quarter after quarter in its pages. Dr. Skinner complains of Mr. Wiener's vehemence, of his "superheated invective"; and it must be owned that his tone has been sometimes unfortunate. But one consideration must be borne in mind in this respect, which Dr. Skinner and his colleagues do not seem adequately to appreciate. Mr. Wiener is not solely, nor perhaps primarily, concerned with a mere critical controversy. It is no wonder if he feels and writes with the vehemence of one who is contending *pro aris et focis*. It is surprising that the modern critics should not realize that the theory they are asserting is absolutely destructive of the whole Jewish religion. I believe myself that it is also incompatible with the logical defence of the Christian religion, though this consequence is denied by its adherents. But the Jewish religion is absolutely dependent on the belief that the Torah was given by God to Moses; and if it could be established by criticism that the great mass of it, at all events, was not given to Moses at all, the very basis of Jewish worship, Jewish law, and Jewish life would be destroyed. I have always wondered that Jewish authorities have not been more prominent in resisting theories so destructive of their position. The late Chief Rabbi, indeed, Dr. Adler, was good enough to send me a work by Dr. Hoffmann of Berlin, entitled *Instanzen*, against the Wellhausen hypothesis, and it contains arguments of the greatest weight, which I have never seen adequately answered. But it would be natural that Jews alone could adequately apprehend the force or weakness of criticisms of their laws and institutions, and Mr. Wiener's observations have certainly exposed grave mistakes on the part of critics in their discussion of the laws in the Pentateuch. Some vehemence on this subject is neither unnatural nor altogether unbecoming in an earnest Jew, and Dr. Skinner and his friends would show good feeling if they treated Mr. Wiener with more consideration.

Another powerful opposition to the critical hypothesis has lately been opened in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* by two articles in the January and April numbers entitled "A Layman's View of the Critical Theory," in which it is urged that the whole theory is inconsistent with Oriental methods of thought and literature. I will refer to this argument at a later point. But I would first draw attention to the arguments which have at length elicited some reply in England on behalf of the critical theories. Their most recent and fullest statement is to be found in the work just published by Dahse, a German Pastor, entitled *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage*. Ten

years previously Dahse published an article entitled "Textual and Critical Objections in Reference to the Starting Point of the Present Pentateuchal Criticism," and since then he has pursued the same line of inquiry with a thoroughness and a masterly scholarship which are acknowledged by Dr. Skinner, as well as by his German critics. The cardinal point of his criticism had been indicated already by Klostermann and Lepsius, and by the much lamented English scholar Redpath, and it has been recently acknowledged by Wellhausen to constitute "a sore point" in his theory. It consists in the simple, and it must be added, astonishing, fact that the theory has been worked out on the basis of a Hebrew text which had not been critically examined. It starts from Astruc's observation that varying designations of God—Elohim, Jehovah or Jahve, and the two combined, are used in the Pentateuch; and the inference was drawn that two documents had been combined, one by a writer who preferred the term Jehovah, the other by one who preferred the name Elohim, and this usage was deemed so characteristic that the one writer has always been called by the critics the Jehovist and the other the Elohist. Sometimes the two divine names were combined, and sometimes there appeared exceptions to the general usage in each document; and to meet these exceptions it was assumed that there must have been a third person concerned in the process, who combined the documents and edited them, and who is generally styled the Redactor. It is also alleged that the documents thus generally distinguished from each other by the use of the divine names are marked by other uniform characteristics, in matters of style and vocabulary. But the primary criterion for the division was at first, and has continued to be, the use of the divine names; and Dr. Wildeboer, one of the most eminent critics, is quoted by Dr. Troelstra—in his valuable tract on *The Name of God in the Pentateuch*, lately published by the S.P.C.K.—as saying that the employment of distinct words or expressions furnishes an altogether insufficient ground for the theory of sources, and "that one has then only a firm foundation when, in the history of the period before the revelation to Moses, the author uses for the name of God, Jahve or Elohim."

Now the surprising fact brought to light by the present situation is that the critics have to confess that the Massoretic Hebrew text, on the basis of which these observations and deductions were made, had been assumed to be trustworthy for the purpose, although the text of the Septuagint offers so many variations from the Massoretic text in the use of the

divine names, as to render its value questionable for the purpose of distinguishing the Jehovistic and Elohistie sources. Even Dr. Skinner admits (*Expositor* for April, p. 291) that "there are obvious reasons why an attitude of defensive silence cannot be indefinitely prolonged. We must frankly acknowledge that the trustworthiness of the Hebrew text in its transmission of the divine names calls for more thorough investigation than it has yet received at the hand of scholars." He adds that "whether the impulse to that investigation comes from one side of the controversy or the other is, or ought to be, a matter of indifference; provided the question is raised in a judicial and scholarly manner, it is right and proper that it should be examined. It may be a regrettable circumstance that the initiative has been left to opponents of the critical position; but they at least need not complain if the advantage of the attack has fallen to them." It ought, indeed, to be regarded by the critics as a matter for regret that this initiative has been left to their opponents. They have been building theories on the basis of the now questioned text for a generation, and it was surely their own first business to be sure that their foundation was a solid one. We now have the confession that the critical theories of a century past have been built up on a basis which, in a vital point, has never been critically examined. The whole construction started from the use of the divine names in the Hebrew text, and it never occurred to the leading critics to inquire whether that text, as we now have it, represented the original correctly in this point. It was perfectly well known that other parts of the Old Testament, especially the Psalms, afford instances of an Elohistie revision of Jehovistic texts; or in other words that for some reason, not now clear, the name of Elohim was substituted for Jehovah in transcription, if not in redaction. Yet no member of the dominant critical school thought of asking whether the Elohistie and Jehovistic variations in the Pentateuch might not be due to some similar cause, instead of to the existence of distinct documents or authors. I cannot but say it seems to me an omission which goes very far to discredit the method and spirit of the whole critical process. It looks like an eminent example of the formation of a hasty hypothesis on an incomplete observation of the facts, and a tardy and reluctant attention to the new facts when it could no longer be avoided. It would seem that the critics have been as sure of their theories as the Ptolemaic astronomers were of their "Cycles and Epicycles," and did not think it worth while to look more closely into any circumstances alleged to be inconsistent with them.

But the importance of the textual facts now forced on our attention can be no longer disguised. Dr. Dahse's own theory, indeed, for accounting for the varying use of the divine names, will evidently require much further discussion. His suggestion is that in the portions, or as we should say, the lessons, into which the whole law was divided for the purpose of public reading, one of the divine names was given a predominance, so that the names Elohim and Jehovah would mark, not different documents, but different lessons. Those lessons differed in the Septuagint and in the Hebrew, and it is suggested that the variation of names in the Septuagint was determined by the older division into the so-called Sedarim, and the variations in the Massoretic text by the later division into Paraschahs. This theory is powerfully criticised by Dr. Skinner, and as it is not thought tenable even by Mr. Wiener, who devotes a friendly article to Dahse's work in the January number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, it would seem that in this respect Dahse has not yet made out his special view. But his theory to account for the facts is one thing, and the facts themselves, which he has brought to light, are another; and that these remain of great importance is illustrated by another important contribution to the discussion which must now be mentioned.

I have already referred to Dr. Sellin, Professor at Rostock, who holds an important position among the moderate critics of Germany. I have mentioned his very useful *Introduction to the Old Testament*, published in 1910, and he has now undertaken the editorship of an important Commentary on the Old Testament, of which the first volume, on Genesis, by Dr. Procksch, has just appeared. Dr. Sellin is an adherent of the hypothesis of the four sources, but with much modification in detail. There is consequently much interest in a long review by him of Dahse's new book, which appears in the February number of the valuable German monthly review, the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*. He, too, after a careful discussion of Dahse's special hypothesis, does not consider it tenable; and he also maintains that, even if it were, it would not involve the overthrow of the dominant hypothesis of the four sources. His arguments on these points are similar to those of Dr. Skinner in the *Expositor*, and seem forcible. He considers that the positive result of Dahse's two first discussions, except for some weighty observations on particular points, is simply that, for the future, the criticism of the Pentateuch must exert greater caution in the use of the criterion afforded for the division of documents by the use of the divine names, or of the names of Jacob and Israel. But he

goes on to say that in his opinion Dahse has laid the germs of a very important development of criticism in reference to the so-called P. source. Dr. Sellin says the suggestion "is as novel as it is striking, and may lead to a transformation of the prevalent conception of the Priestly document; it points in the direction of our finding in P. not a single independent document, but a glossing, and, indeed, liturgical, modification of the old documents." This glossing or liturgical editing may be ascribed to Ezra, and he may, in his revision, have introduced into the old text other ancient records which seemed to him of importance, such, for instance, as the opening account of the creation. P. would thus be revealed as Ezra, to whom tradition has always attributed a final revision of the law, and its arrangement for liturgical use.

But though Dr. Sellin thus rejects the suggestion that the new criticism represented by Dahse involves the shattering of the "four-source theory," he goes on to make admissions on the subject which seem to go far in that direction. "I do not mean," he adds, "to say that no such overthrow of the theory can follow. I should be the last who would venture to maintain that the results now dominant in Pentateuchal criticism are assured. Is it possible, in fact, to speak of assured results in reference to the time when the Jahvist or Elohist arose, so long as one group of able investigators hold the Jahvist to be the earliest, and another hold the Elohist? or, in reference to the place of their origin, so long as one independent inquirer like Smend, in his recent book on the Hexateuch, holds the Elohist to be of Judaic origin, in opposition to the majority who hold him to be of North Israelitish origin? or again when it is in dispute whether J.E. and the rest are to be regarded as individuals, or as whole schools, so that the four great sources have to be again broken up into several strata; and again whether they are independent literary personalities or mere compilers? As long as such questions, and many similar ones, are answered by one man in one way and by another in another, it is obviously mere nonsense to speak of assured results." That is the judgment, be it observed, not of an English conservative critic, but of a leading German Professor, who himself still upholds, in the main, the dominant hypothesis. "The one thing," he adds, "which for me personally remains settled is, that a fourfold main course of tradition extends from Genesis i to Joshua xxiv, and further . . . through the historic and legislative literature, and that its historical order and development finds its best expression in the scale J.E.D.P." Yet after this personal declaration of his adherence to the

hypothesis thus stated, he immediately proceeds to the following significant observations: "But nearly all that we have further to say about the substance, the origin and the date of these entities is in perpetual flux. The naïve confidence with which the School of Wellhausen"—in England, let us say, as well as in Germany—"assigned them to definite historical periods of Israel, and then regarded them as new products of those periods, has no doubt received a heavy blow through the literary and historical mode of treatment of Gunkel and others. And men such as Kittel, Merx, König, Eerdmans, Gressman, and so on, have, like ourselves, successfully maintained of late, that the materials of all these sources are for the most part indefinitely older than the conceptions of the sources themselves, and that consequently even a younger document may, in some circumstances, have preserved historical and legislative traditions better than an older one."

These are the words of an eminent German Professor, published in an important German journal in February of this year, while the Professors and Scholars of Oxford and Cambridge, especially the younger ones, are still talking of the "assured results" of Old Testament criticism.

After puzzling over such an exhibition of "incessant flux," it is refreshing to turn to the articles already referred to in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January and April, by "A Layman," in which the whole theory is challenged on the broad ground of its total inconsistency with Oriental habits. He describes with much learning the examples afforded by other sacred literatures in the East, and then proceeds (p. 214)—

"It must now be clear that twentieth-century methods of procedure, such as are in use among the scholars of the West, are no criterion whatever by which to test those employed in another era by scholars of the East, and that the first thing to be done is to get an Oriental view point. This is simply imperative if any reliable results are to be obtained in the study of ancient documents, especially of such documents as those embodied in the Pentateuch. To assume that this work can be the outcome of the parasitical methods now in vogue in many quarters, is to be guilty of a most remarkable lack of historical, not to say literary, perspective. To do so ignores, in a manner that has long excited my own wonder, the plain characteristics of all Oriental peoples, including even those of the modern Jews. Excitable and capricious they may be, and in some things unstable or fickle, but when it comes to the fundamentals of their national life, they are as

adamant. The same thing holds good of their attitude to their sacred writings. The text is fixed and inflexible. Whatever is done in the way of destroying it, must be done by methods of interpretation that undermine its force. In this, Talmudic methods still prevail as they have for centuries. But what bearing do all these things have on the critical theory, which is the real object aimed at in this series of papers? A very important one, for all Orientals, without exception, appear to preserve every particle of their religious writings with the most painstaking care and devotion. Were the Hebrews an exception to this rule? Were they less careful to preserve the exact form of the original documents? Do their descendants indicate in any way that they were? Do they not, on the contrary, show the same persistent conservatism with regard to their religious rites, and especially with regard to the written 'Word'?"

These observations seem to me to go to the heart of the matter, and the further papers of this Layman must be awaited with great interest. I am persuaded that his observations on the tenacity with which Oriental people, and particularly the Jews, adhere to their traditions, point to one principle which is alone decisive in its condemnation of the critical hypothesis as it at present stands. It is of its very essence that it asserts that the account of the development of the Jewish religion, which the Old Testament naturally conveys, and was obviously meant to convey, is a false one. It assumes that the Jewish national consciousness was deliberately and successfully falsified, and that what the Jews have always believed to be the beginning of their religious life was really the end of it. I believe that this is both incredible and impossible, and I am, therefore, confident that no critical "results" which involve it can be "assured," even if they were a hundred times more "assured" than Dr. Sellin shows them to be. The course of current German criticism, as illustrated in the publications I have been considering, shows, I think, that in both Germany and America a revolution of thought on this subject is in progress. We may safely, meanwhile, possess our souls in patience.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN before the lecture said: The Dean of Canterbury needs no introduction to a Victoria Institute audience, or indeed to any other audience in the country. He reads widely, keeping abreast of the times and examining both sides in these critical

controversies ; hence we shall have an impartial statement of the case, which cannot but be edifying and helpful to the scholars of our day.

After the paper had been read, the CHAIRMAN said :—

The lecturer has, in spite of the fact that he holds his own views very firmly, put before us both sides fully and fairly. One thing in the paper has appealed very strongly to me, the passage (p. 235) which shows that if the Higher Critical position were maintained it would be absolutely destructive of the whole position of the Jewish religion.

Although we can never be afraid to follow in whatever direction Truth may lead us, yet we are bound for our own sake and for the sake of others to be perfectly satisfied that it is the Truth we are following ; and it will, I think, help us if we keep our eyes and ears open, so as to be conscious of the goal towards which modern theories may lead us, as by so doing we may be the better able to judge of the correctness of these views.

The Victoria Institute can never be otherwise than grateful to those who, in dependence upon the Holy Spirit, devote time, intelligence, and skill to the critical examination of the Word of God, for that Word, and that Word only, gives us any assured and certain hope of the life to come.

Dr. THIRTLE said : When concluding his paper with the remark that, having regard to the turn of affairs in Germany and America, we may well “possess our souls in patience,” the Dean speaks a word of timely encouragement, but he does more : by implication, he justifies the course pursued by those who—himself among them, we are glad to know—refused to follow the lead of scholars who were in a hurry to adopt theories which, at length, have been “found wanting.” To-day, assuredly, we may find comfort in the fact that, though Germany did much to advance the destructive views, yet, with a praiseworthy devotion to scientific inquiry, some of her scholars are now to the fore with suggestions that may be distinctly constructive in their results.

If, on the one hand, the radical thought of the Fatherland leads to the acceptance of hurried conclusions, such as tell against the credibility of the Bible, so also, on the other hand, that same radical thought yields a ready criticism in demolition of theories that turn out to be faulty. Adapting the familiar line of Juvenal we may

ask: "Who will criticise the critics themselves?" and we may confidently reply that in Germany the Germans will do so.

We do well, with the Dean, to recognize the valuable work of Mr. Harold Wiener in our own country, and of other contributors to the *Bibliotheca Sacra* in America. The general thesis worked out by Mr. Wiener was, to my knowledge, discussed in private twenty-five years ago, by individual scholars; but Mr. Wiener has had the honour and distinction of carrying the work through with an enthusiasm which should command Christian satisfaction as well as Jewish admiration. But so far that work has not received the recognition that is its due. As for the positions taken up by "A. Layman," to which the Dean has also called attention, though not quite new, they are of profound importance, and will doubtless lead to far-reaching results when they come to their own.

To the excellent work done by these scholars may be added that of Dr. Melvin Grove Kyle, of Philadelphia, whose volume published last year, with the title *The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism* (issued in this country by the S.P.C.K.), deserves high commendation. The title of the book is a proposition which some of us think will abundantly vindicate itself in due time. Dr. Kyle shows that, while investigations among the dust of bygone ages have accredited the Scriptures, so also such investigations have, in important particulars, discredited the method of criticism to which the Scriptures have been subjected in recent times. His work, moreover, justifies the expectation of still greater results in the same direction as the outcome of continued exploration in the lands of the unchanging East.

The late Dr. Emil Reich spoke of "the Bankruptcy of Criticism." That bankruptcy, as Dr. Kyle shows, only waits on the further product of archæological research. For this we may well be thankful; and at the moment, moreover, we must be thankful to the Dean for the very helpful way in which he has drawn attention to the actual progress of constructive thought in its bearing upon the Old Testament Scriptures.

The Rev. Canon GIRDLESTONE said: I feel more and more that in reading the Bible we ought to do so with Jewish eyes, not only the Old Testament but also the New. We should try to imagine ourselves Jews, with their history behind us: the Gospels, the Acts, and the Letters would then speak to us with much greater power. In relation to to-day's subject I should like to draw attention to one of

the Jewish characteristics, viz. : their stubbornness, or, as the Bible puts it, their stiff-neckedness. This may be a great blessing if the cause is right, and certainly is so when applied to their respect for and guardianship of the sacred writings. The Jews went all over the great Roman empire carrying their Bible with them and showing great strength of character and deep conviction as to the sacred books. No doubt, they travelled primarily for commercial purposes, but everywhere they went they took their religious traditions and set up their synagogues. This was one of the great Providential preparations for Christianity. The Bible was to Israel the Book of Authority, not to be altered at will. It is too much regarded as "literature" by the critics to-day; they ignore the authoritative character with which it is stamped all through. Think of Stephen's speech, or St. Paul's at Antioch, and notice the Divine purpose running through. The full force of this we often miss because we are not Jews.

Let me add a word about the various characters in which the Hebrew Scriptures were written. Since the discovery of the stone containing Khammurabi's laws, we have a specimen of the oldest character known in the time of Abraham; this was followed by the cuneiform in Moses' time, as illustrated by the Tell el-Amarna tablets. See on this subject the late Colonel Conder's *First Bible*. This was followed by the old Hebrew or Phœnician, and subsequently by the later or square Hebrew. The Sacred Writings, in the course of these long and changing periods, would have to be transliterated, leaving much room for variations, modern words being sometimes substituted for ancient, and so on. You can test this by comparing the books of the Chronicles with the earlier books of Samuel and Kings. Several newer words take the place of older, and, of course, there are changes in spelling.

Much has been made by the critics of the variations in the Divine names. But they have been recently collated with more regard to such changes of language and spelling as are here referred to, with the result that the theories based on them are largely undermined. "As you were" is the call of to-day. We must go back and begin again. Exploration and fuller investigation have brought us to a truer position than we occupied thirty or forty years ago.

The Rev. A. IRVING, D.Sc., B.A., remarked that the paper dealt with the position and principles of the High Criticism, and was

a serious caution against the assumed security of the position of the Higher Critics. In dealing with the *position* of the Higher Criticism the paper left little more to be said in the present state of our knowledge, but the speaker desired to offer a few critical remarks on the *principles* from the point of view of a student of Science. The "assured results" of the critics were often assured only by a certain consensus of opinion among a certain set of scholars. But scholarship can be, and often is, unscientific. In the last resort it turns often upon negative evidence, and involves the fallacy of measuring what may be by what the learned know or think that they know. The method is unscientific, because it proceeds merely by deductive reasoning from certain accepted conclusions. Geometry is a deductive science (as John Stuart Mill pointed out years ago), but its deductions are based on *axioms* which are truths attested by universal experience. The logical vice of the Higher Criticism consists in assuming that certain generalizations have the value of truths *universal*; and, what is worse, the critics often fail to perceive that, while their "assured results are based on such assumptions, derived to a large extent from negative reasoning, the advance of knowledge, from the sidelights of such sciences as archæology and anthropology, is constantly smashing such empirically constructed theories by the solid logic of facts newly brought to light.

In science, real workers have learned to be cautious in basing conclusions on such empirical generalizations, for example, as Lyell's Uniformitarian dogma in geology. Increased light thrown upon the infinitely complex operation of natural law, with the advance of scientific discovery, leads to the result that old working-hypotheses are frequently breaking down, as inadequate to the enlarged intellectual perspective of the serious student. The pity is that the lack of such a spirit of *willingness to unlearn* in the light of fuller knowledge, and the lack too often of a spirit of reverence in the intellectual attitude towards those things which, in the spiritual sphere, have come to us attested by the traditional experience of a hundred generations of mankind, as they cluster round the feet of the God-Man, can so warp the judgment as to bring the critic sometimes perilously near sinning against intellectual veracity, when in the face of new evidence, he refuses to see the necessity for reconsidering his "assured results" in the light of the bare logic of facts. How some of these "assured results" fare when a more scientific spirit

and method of inquiry are brought to bear upon them, was very well illustrated in the paper on the Samaritan Pentateuch read by Dr. Munro a few weeks ago before the Victoria Institute.

Mr. T. B. BISHOP expressed the hope that the Council could see their way to send a copy of this paper to the students of the country.

Mr. LESLIE asked what was the lecturer's own opinion in regard to the attack on the Massoretic text; and the Rev. J. J. B. COLES asked his opinion on Dr. Ginsburg's views as to the text of the Old Testament.

Professor LANGHORNE ORCHARD, M.A., B.Sc., said: This age in which we live has good points—every age has its good points—but it may go down to history as an age of degradation—degradation in politics, degradation in science, degradation in Scripture-criticism. The present paper has directed our attention to this last. Our hearty thanks are tendered to the able author, the eminent divine, the competent and careful scholar, for bringing before us this interesting review, succinct yet comprehensive, of the present position and principles of the criticism of the Old Testament.

The position is (I think) clearly indicated in pages 237 and 241. The neo-criticism of to-day is on the horns of a dilemma. We are reminded of the fact (well-known to scholars) that the Hebrews, like other Orientals, were most conservative of their Scripture text and its account of the development of their religion. The critics must either accept the fact of this conservatism or they must deny it. If they accept it, their assault upon the Old Testament collapses—*cadit questio*. If they deny it, they are convicted of most unscholarly carelessness, as is shown in p. 237, in building theories upon the basis of a Massoretic Hebrew text without first critically investigating the trustworthiness of that text. They are thus in either case impaled by the dilemma.

The learned author has pointed out that among the critics themselves exist discrepancies quite as pronounced as any which they profess to discover in Holy Writ. This is a hopeful sign, for when those who appear to aim at depriving us of our inheritance fall out among themselves, probability is strengthened that we shall continue to hold our own. That this is a matter of vital importance to us is evident, for the Scriptures by the Spirit of Truth supply us with our spiritual food. Scripture criticism is not necessarily bad.

There are critics and critics. We shall agree with the author when, referring to the neglect to examine into the correctness of the Hebrew text, shown by one class of critics, he says :—"I cannot but say it seems to me an omission which goes very far to discredit the method and spirit of the whole critical process. It looks like an eminent example of the formation of a hasty hypothesis on an incomplete observation of the facts, and a tardy and reluctant attention to the new facts when it could no longer be avoided. It would seem that the critics have been as sure of their theories as the Ptolemaic astronomers were of their 'cycles and epicycles,' and did not think it worth while to look more closely into any circumstances alleged to be inconsistent with them."

In a house built upon such foundations we refuse to make our intellectual home.

The Rev. H. J. R. MARSTON wrote :—

I am sorry indeed that I cannot be at the Victoria Institute meeting to-morrow to hear the Dean.

I have just read the uncorrected proof of his paper.

I beg you to read my thanks as a tribute to the erudition and lucidity of his treatment of a very interesting and rather difficult matter.

My own reading of the Septuagint has more than once suggested to me that arguments based on the names of God in the Greek text must lead to different conclusions from the use in the Authorized Version, which I take to follow the Hebrew.

The most potent fact of all alleged by the Dean is no doubt that at the end of his paper, namely, that we cannot believe that the Israelite nation has been altogether duped by literary forgers, who long before the theory of religious evolution was known, reconstructed the Old Testament in a sense favourable to that theory.

Mr. JOHN SCHWARTZ, Jun., wrote :—

Our author's rebuke of the naive confidence with which matters not capable of definite proof, and therefore only pious opinions, are held, is well merited by the scholars to whom he refers. It is a weakness of human nature which they share with the strictly orthodox who are still more dogmatic on more doubtful matters.

AUTHOR'S REPLY.

The DEAN said in substance : As to the Masoretic text, enough has been established to show that the critics have been rash in their use of it. The matter requires much further investigation, and this, happily, is being vigorously carried forward in Germany. I hope I shall not be regarded as an opponent of criticism, only of wrong criticism. Much criticism is faulty in head, not in heart.

I am obliged to Dr. Thirtle for his very kind remarks. Our best friends to-day are the Germans themselves. The old Tübingen theory, originally opposed by Lightfoot and Westcott, was long ago demolished in Germany itself, and a sound and conservative criticism of the New Testament has been established by Zahn and his colleagues. I have a great admiration of German scholars, but I think they are rather rash. They are most honest and bold and they will ultimately get right. Theories will often "work" for a time, but often new facts arise showing their inapplicability ; the theory has then to be given up, and some more successful one put in its place. This was the case with the Ptolemaic system for years ; it prevailed until the Reformation, even Lord Bacon was misled by it ; but it worked, eclipses were predicted by it, though it was wrong all the time. So German critical theories work for a time, perhaps 50 years, until further inquiry produces facts throwing new light on the problem.

A good example of this was the change of view as to the early use of writing in Old Testament times. When Bishop Harold Browne wrote his Introduction to the Pentateuch in the *Speaker's Commentary*, he had to argue the question whether writing was in use in the time of Moses. But every scholar has now in his possession an elaborate code of laws, comparable in some respects to those of the Pentateuch, which was formulated and inscribed on stone by a contemporary of Abraham.

In conclusion, the Dean thanked the meeting for their attention and the kind vote of thanks which they had passed.

47TH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING,
HELD (BY KIND PERMISSION) IN THE ROOMS OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS, ON MONDAY,
JUNE 16TH, 1913, AT 4.30 P.M.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF HALSBURY, F.R.S., PRESIDENT
OF THE INSTITUTE, OCCUPIED THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the preceding meeting were read and signed and the Secretary announced the elections of Captain M. McNeile, R.N., Mr. Harry G. Munt, and Mr. T. Isaac Tambyah as Associates.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. Arthur W. Sutton to deliver a lecture on his journey from Suez to Sinai.

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

*FROM SUEZ TO SINAI.**

(WITH 100 LANTERN ILLUSTRATIONS.)

By ARTHUR W. SUTTON, ESQ., J.P., F.L.S.,

Honorary Treasurer of the Institute.

MY camel ride from Suez to Mount Sinai came within the dates March 7th to 23rd, 1912. I was accompanied by my friend Dr. Mackinnon, of Damascus, who was also with me when visiting Petra in Arabia in 1907. As this latter tour had thrown so much light upon the later wanderings of the Israelites, I had a particular desire to make the desert journey to Sinai itself, and thus follow the earlier journeying of the people as they left Egypt under the leadership of Moses.

In the month of February, through my friend Mr. Bolland of the Sudan Agency War Office, Cairo, I met in that city Naum

* The address was based upon a *Journal of Travel*, which has been issued in book form, sumptuously illustrated, by Messrs. J. and J. Bennett, Ltd., The Century Press, 8, Henrietta Street, W.C., with the title "My Camel Ride from Suez to Mount Sinai." From that volume a number of illustrations are here reproduced, by permission of the publishers.

Bey Shoucair, who has charge over the Sinai Peninsula, and knows the country intimately. His description made me wish more than ever to accomplish the journey. Finding our former dragoman, Andrew Iesa, I resolved, at short notice, upon making a start on Thursday, March 7th, providing Cook's would guarantee camp being ready in time. There were difficulties and disappointments, but at length the permit for Sinai was secured from Naum Bey, and arrangements for the necessary camels and Bedouins were made (according to custom) with the Archbishop of Sinai in Cairo.

We left Mena House at 9.15 on the day named; we had fifty minutes to wait at Ismailia—time wherein to admire the place, with its modern residences and lovely gardens; and at 4.25 we reached Suez-town, where Iesa was awaiting us. All was not in order, however: after the manner of his kind, Iesa had neglected matters that required urgent attention. Hence, though in other circumstances we might have been in camp by 6.30 or 7 o'clock, we were detained several hours at Suez docks.

Our way was clear shortly after 10 o'clock, when the moon rose superbly grand, as it only can do in the East; and though only half-full, it appeared of immense size, and of a rich orange-golden colour. Embarking on a steam launch, we made a long detour into the open channel of the Gulf, and shortly before midnight we reached the shore. Through our being late, things had become dislocated; and the camels which were to have taken us to Ayûn Mûsa ("Wells of Moses") had left. There was nothing for it but, taking a guide, we should tramp over the sand for some three miles. The moonlight was glorious, and we reached our camp at Ayûn Mûsa a little after 1 o'clock. On arriving at this spot in the spring of 1853, Dean Stanley wrote—

"The wind drove us to shore: and on the shore—the shore of Arabia and Asia—we landed in a driving sand-storm, and reached this place, Ayûn Mûsa, 'the Wells of Moses.' It is a strange spot—this plot of tamarisks with its seventeen wells—literally an island in the Desert. It is not mentioned in the Bible, but coming so close as it does upon any probable scene of the Passage, one may fairly connect it with the song of Miriam.

"From the beach, the shore commands a view across the Gulf into the wide opening of the two ranges of mountains, the opening of the valley through which the traditional Exodus took place, and consequently the broad blue sea of the traditional passage. This, therefore, is the traditional spot of the landing, and this, with the whole view of the sea as far as Suez, I saw to-night; both at



ALONE ON THE DESERT
SKELETON OF CAMEL IN THE FOREGROUND

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sunset, as the stars came out ; and later still by the full moon—the white sandy desert on which I stood, the deep black river-like sea, and the dim silvery mountains of Atâka on the other side."

The next day (March 8th) we mounted our camels—not without some apprehension, but happily all went well. Nothing could well exceed the monotony of the ride for the first day and a-half, except that on our left was the magnificent tableland of the Tih desert, and on our right—to the west—were the mountains of Egypt (Atâka) across the Gulf of Suez. The "road" was simply a series of about a dozen parallel camel tracks stretching away into apparent infinity on an absolutely flat desert of firm sand, quite smooth except for stones strewn everywhere, more or less. Occasionally we passed the skeleton of a camel by the wayside, and sometimes a heap of stones indicating the spot where a Bedouin had died and been buried. But for occasionally meeting Bedouins going to Suez, there was no sign of life, either human, animal, or plant life.

A delightful breeze from the north followed us in our march. If, on the other hand, as Dean Stanley and many other travellers have found, there had been a Khamseen, blowing with oven-like heat and a dust-storm of blinding fury, then words would fail to describe the situation. All day long Stanley tramped on against a dust-storm, and he wrote—

"The clearing up of the sand the next morning revealed a low range of hills on the eastern horizon, the first step to the vast plain of Northern Arabia. The day after leaving Ayûn Mûsa was at first within sight of the blue channel of the Red Sea. But soon Red Sea and all were lost in a sand-storm, which lasted the whole day. Imagine all distant objects entirely lost to view—the sheets of sand fleeting along the surface of the Desert like streams of water ; the whole air filled, though invisibly, with a tempest of sand, driving in your face like sleet. Imagine the caravan toiling against this—the Bedouins each with his shawl thrown completely over his head, half of the riders sitting backwards—the camels, meantime, thus virtually left without guidance, though, from time to time, throwing their long necks sideways to avoid the blast, yet moving straight onwards with a painful sense of duty truly edifying to behold. I had thought that with the Nile our troubles of wind were over ; but (another analogy for the *ships* of the Desert) the great saddlebags act like sails to the camels, and therefore, with a contrary wind, are serious impediments to their progress. And accordingly Mohammed opened our tents this morning just as he used to open our cabin doors, with the joyful intelligence that the wind was changed—'good wind, master.' Through the tempest, this roaring and

driving tempest, which sometimes made me think that this must be the real meaning of a 'howling wilderness,' we rode on the whole day."

From time to time on subsequent days we came across evidences of sand-storms—the sand being piled up like snow-drifts as we know them. We were glad, however, not to have any actual experience of such storms, except for two or three hours the first Sunday afternoon, when every object was obliterated in a dense cloud of yellow sand. Thus far in our journey we had been continually crossing wâdis, or riding through them—generally the latter. A wâdi is a hollow between hills; all valleys are wâdis, but all wâdis are not valleys; for instance, Wâdi Sudûr (which we reached on the second day) is a shallow, dry bed of a watercourse, perhaps three feet deep, and always dry, except during occasional floods caused by very rare storms. At other times, wâdis are the valleys between the mountains, but never by any chance is there water except at an oasis, or during one of the very rare storms.

It was on the precipices of the slopes of the Tih range opposite our camp at Wâdi Sudûr that Professor Palmer, the eminent Arabic scholar, Captain Gill, R.E., and Lieutenant Charrington, R.A., were murdered by Arabs in August, 1882. They had gone into the Desert with the object of buying camels for the British expedition, and of getting the Bedouins of the Desert to join the English against Arabi Pasha. They were taken prisoners at Wâdi Sudûr on August 10th, and murdered on the following day. Colonel Warren subsequently obtained full particulars of the murder, and the money stolen from Professor Palmer was returned by the Arabs, about £9,000; and five of the ringleaders were hanged on March 1st, 1883, at Zagazig, and others at Suez and elsewhere. At the present time, the country is so quiet that probably a defenceless woman might travel safely alone from Suez to Sinai and Tor! One of the results of English rule in Egypt, as is universally and gratefully admitted.

On the third day we passed Ayûn Hawara, generally considered to be the site of Marah. It is a small spring on a sandy hill with a few wild palms; but the only evidence of water (which, like nearly all desert waters, is bitter) is the damp sand around. Later in the day we reached Hajar or-Rekkâb ("the Stone of the Rider"), a heap of stone in a vast sloping basin, enclosed by limestone hills and sand hills. We were still impressed by the monotony of our march; but we were following the wanderings of the Israelites, and our faces were toward Sinai.



PROBABLE SITE OF "MARAH"

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THE PROBABLE SITE OF ELIM. WĀDI USĒT

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The greater part of Sunday (March 10th) was spent quietly in camp in the Wâdi Gharandel, and here our Bedouin servants refilled the water barrels. Although there were signs that a powerful river sometimes ran through the wâdi, the only means we found of obtaining water was by digging small wells, and then the water was very brackish.

On the next day we reached Wâdi Usêt, one of the three traditional sites of Elim. The other two sites that have been claimed are Ayûn Mûsa and Wâdi Gharandel. As to the last-named place, the absence of tall palm trees (though it abounds in stunted palms and tamarisks) makes it unlike anything we had pictured in our minds for Elim; and Ayûn Mûsa may be dismissed as too near the passage of the Red Sea. The other spot, Wâdi Usêt, though smaller, has several fine tall palms, and is altogether more what we expected, and is truly a lovely spot.

Passing Wâdi et-Tal, we turn south-west down the Wâdi Tayyibeh ("Pleasant Valley"—or "Fruitful"), between limestone cliffs which throw out a terrible glare of heat. Here we came upon an oasis of palms with water running for a short distance and then disappearing in the sand, but brackish and unpleasant. It was to us a grateful change from the glare of our desert marches. Green caper bushes cling to the face of the vertical cliffs, and the scenery is very wild and grand.

We see on our left a fine bluff of lava and conglomerate, interspersed with bright bands of black, red, and brown, and in four miles come to the mouth of Wâdi Tayyibeh, where it opens on the seashore, on the plain Er-Markha. Here, somewhere on this plain, was the "Encampment by the Sea" of the Israelites. We walked down to the sea, which looked so near but, as a fact, was one and a-half miles off. It was perhaps necessary that the Israelites should thus be brought down to the sea again after many days' wandering on the desert plains with only bitter and brackish water, to be reminded of the mighty works which God had so lately done for them in delivering them from the hosts of Pharaoh.

The absence of all signs of animal life was very striking. We had thus far seen only about six black "ravens" or hawks, and a very few, perhaps six, small birds, in three and a-half days' journey. And the only plant life, except in the Oasis Gharandel consisted of stunted, scrubby, greyish-white plants which camels eat for want of anything better.

As our journey proceeded, so the landscape became more interesting. Thus, on Tuesday, March 12th, in the early morning,

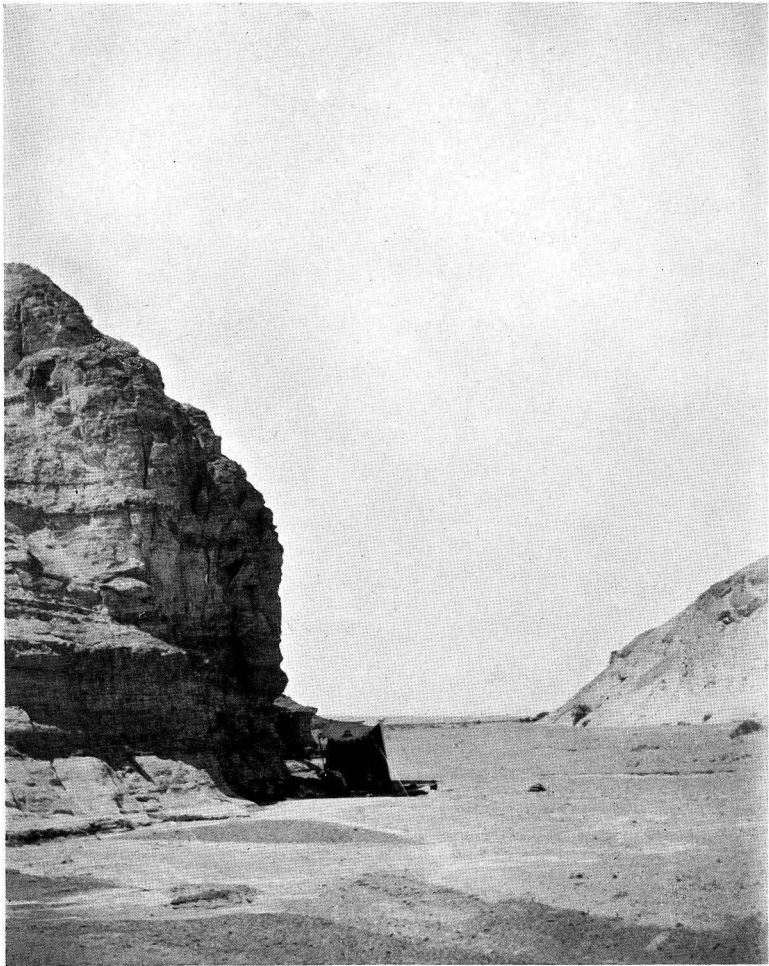
the mountains across the Gulf of Suez took on a lovely tint, indistinct pale pink, while the sky above the mountains was of a slaty blue; and then came an exquisite deep broad band of rich salmon pink, while above that yellowish green fading into blue. Our route lay along the desert by the sea for several hours, passing two or three points where the mountains run into the sea at high tide. The camels are very surefooted; they never stumble on level ground as the Syrian horses constantly do, but on muddy ground or slippery rocks they slide about terribly. We had some experience of this. After passing the last promontory, the desert plain of Er-Markha opened out before us, taking two and a-quarter hours to cross. Murray's description of this plain is well worth quoting, as to this writer it appeared a veritable Inferno of scorching heat—

“For about two hours the road traverses this plain in a south-easterly direction, and a weary trudge it is. The sun is scorchingly hot, and blazes down upon the traveller from a sky whose blue expanse is unchequered by a single cloud. On the right the waters of the gulf, of an even deeper azure, seem to shimmer in a mirror-like motionless expanse, that is hardly broken by a ripple even where they reach the shore. The soil around is dry, baked and glowing. Fortunate is he who does not have to encounter a Khamseen to add to the exhausting heat, but meets rather with the fresh sea-breeze, which generally rises in the afternoon, and changes the character of the scene.”

This plain of Er-Markha must undoubtedly be identified as the “Wilderness of Sin” where the Israelites murmured for food, and quails and manna were first given. Although we covered the distance from Suez to this place in five days, it was not until the fifteenth day of the second month after leaving Egypt that the Israelites reached this spot; and more than ever before we felt able to appreciate the privations which they had to endure.

Here it was that we saw the first signs of population, even though of a wandering character, there being a Bedouin encampment in the distance and several flocks of goats wandering in search of scanty herbage, tended by Bedouin girls. The flocks are *always* tended by girls and not by men or boys; and so it was when Moses fled from Egypt and came to Jethro, whose seven daughters he found watering their father's flock near Horeb, *i.e.*, Mount Horeb in Wâdi Feiran.

Before us to the east a wâdi opened, and the mountains, to the east, south-east and south, were marvellously beautiful, and the colours extraordinary. On the left, yellow limestone brilliant in the sunshine, and then a *black* mountain (Jebel



OUR LUNCHEON TENT
UNDER "THE SHADOW OF A GREAT ROCK IN A WEARY LAND"
WĀDI HANAK EL LAKAM

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er-Markha), and then another yellow mountain, and behind all a magnificent range of dull crimson or red sandstone mountains and a broad band of crimson where the first yellow joined the black mountains; but no attempt at description can give any adequate idea of the mountain scenery and colours. Already our luncheon hour was long past, but we could not pitch our tent on the plain. So we pushed on, hoping to find shade somewhere up the Wâdi Hanak el-Lakam. Half-a-mile from the mouth of the wâdi we saw the first shade we had been conscious of all day, and there, under "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," we gratefully pitched our luncheon tent.

Now, as a fact, we were at the entrance to the mountains of Sinai proper, and limestone and sandstone soon gave place to granite. The ground rose gradually amidst increasingly fine scenery, and at length we came to the top of the pass Nakb el-Budera ("Pass of the Sword's Point"). A very steep and difficult pathway brought us over the crest, and looking back we had a glorious panorama of granite mountains, which reminded me of pictures I had seen somewhere in childhood, marvellous peaks and ranges of red granite, and here and there *black* mountains again.

On the way up the wâdi in the afternoon we met an old Bedouin whose two donkeys were grazing, also a few goats in charge of a woman, but no other signs of life. The Bedouin's name was Aaron, and I photographed him and one of our men "saluting by the way," first shaking hands, then gracefully bowing and leaning forward three times until forehead touched forehead, and then they generally kiss on both cheeks.

Up till this point it would almost have been possible to drive a motor car all the way from Ayûn Mûsa (except where our way was cut off by the sea) as the wâdis are broad, and there is always some smooth sandy surface to be found. From the summit of the pass we had a lovely view down various broad wâdis with the sea away to the west. The formation of the mountains is extraordinary, sometimes all red granite, at other times limestone of various colours (often brilliant whitish yellow) and sometimes absolutely black; probably limestone calcined till it looks like the refuse from a coal mine, also heaps of black volcanic slag, like refuse from iron-smelting works, indeed almost every shade of colour, though nowhere of the same brilliancy as Petra, unless we except the marvellous range of red granite seen from the Nakb el-Budera to the north and east when turned to a brilliant crimson by the setting sun.

Every wâdi since we left the plain and entered the mountain

region of Sinai is bounded on both sides by an indescribable scene of desolation. For unknown ages earthquakes and the action of the scorching sun have been splitting the limestone and granite mountain slopes, and then huge blocks of stone have been poured down towards the wâdi, and the wâdi sides consist of nothing but these heaps of refuse; some blocks of stone being hundreds of tons in weight.

At the end of Wâdi Q'ena (on Wednesday, March 13th) we passed the Wâdi Maghara on the left, down which at a short distance lie the ancient mines quarried for turquoises, from the earliest Egyptian dynasties. From here we follow the Wâdi Sidr, until we enter the Wâdi Mukatteb ("Wâdi of the Inscriptions"). The inscriptions in question long baffled all attempts to decipher, but are now known to be Nabathean and to have been executed by the inhabitants of Petra and other passers-by, including Greeks, one of whom, a Greek soldier, wrote, "A bad set of people these. I, the soldier, have written this with my own hand."

At the summit of the Wâdi Mukatteb we reach another narrow rocky pass, and obtain a magnificent view of Mount Serbal right before us. At length, we strike the apparently interminable Wâdi Feiran at its northern bend as it comes up from the sea and here turns south-east. As guide books are full of the beauties of the Oasis of Feiran, we expected almost every turn to reveal, not only Serbal in all its grandeur, but also the oasis itself. On and on, however, we went for at least six hours, and the sun set before we touched the first oasis or any water.

The most impressive fact of the day's ride, apart from the almost oppressive silence, was the absence of any human or other form of life; scarcely even a lizard was seen moving. At last we touch damp sand in the dry river-bed, and soon come to running water. About a mile before touching the water we pass a huge rock with piles of stones before it, also stones on the top. Professor Palmer was told by Bedouins that this was the rock that Moses struck and water came forth, when the Israelites were cut off from the waters of the oasis by the Amalekites, who were about to fight against Israel in order to prevent their access to these waters.

A truly wonderful feature of the wâdis we passed on our journey was that every one of them was a dry watercourse, many showing signs of tremendously powerful rivers in stormy weather; and on either side we passed immense widely-spread-out heaps of rubble and stones which had been swept down the smaller lateral wâdis, and these again cut through as by a knife by the central torrent



SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS. WĀDI MURKATEB

see page 256



IN THE WĀDI FEIRAN
THE ROCK WHICH MOSES STRUCK, ACCORDING
TO ARAB TRADITION

of the main wâdi. One traveller speaks of an irresistible river he met in this wâdi, eight feet deep, carrying all before it: and though our track lay up these dry watercourses or over the banks of former river beds, *nowhere was a drop of water to be found!* Yet the waters of Feiran, which disappear suddenly in the sand at this end of the oasis, are amply sufficient, if carefully stored and conveyed in aqueducts, to irrigate the whole wâdi as far as the sea, and to turn it into a fertile valley.

From here onwards we could hear the occasional chirp of a bird, a very strange sound in this wilderness. At length we came upon a running brook, where the camels drank and the men too, and then patches of wheat and palms. After refreshment we wandered through the oasis of palms and tamarisks, and as it was already dark we were constantly in the water crossing and recrossing the stream. From time to time Iesa lighted up the wâdi with magnesium wire, revealing the palm trees and silvery feathery tamarisks in wonderful relief against the rocks and sky. After an hour, or perhaps less, we saw the welcome sight of Bedouins from camp coming to meet us with two Chinese lanterns, and the last half mile we were escorted to camp by them. We arrived at a quarter past seven—thirteen and a-half hours from our start in the morning.

I spent the following day (Thursday, March 14th) in camp, writing up my diary, while Mackinnon made the ascent of Mount Horeb (Serbal). From any point of view the ascent seems impossible, but to mountain climbers it is possible. Mackinnon enjoyed his day immensely, and made perhaps a record in reaching the summit in four and a-half hours, including two or three rests, whereas Baedeker allows six hours for the task.

In the course of the day I had a visit from the sheikh of the district. He had two sons with him, about ten years of age, of whom he was very proud. Iesa had discovered that the sheikh had some turquoises, from the ancient mines of the Pbarahs, and these he was willing for me to have at what he said was a very low price, "out of consideration for me and for Naum Bey Shoucair," of the War Office, Cairo, for whom he had a great admiration. I was very glad to have these stones, and found later the price was very reasonable.

Towards the evening I came across another camp, with a party making the journey northward. There were two ladies, three divinity professors, and a doctor, all of them French. We accepted an invitation to their camp in the evening, and spent a pleasant time with them comparing experiences.

In this region, quite naturally, we endeavoured to recall the

sacred events connected with Mount Horeb, but it is only by very carefully comparing the several passages of Scripture relating to Mount Horeb and Mount Sinai that any very clear idea can be formed as to the events which occurred at each place. The name Horeb is undoubtedly used sometimes in the Bible to denote the whole district, rather than Mount Serbal alone.

Mount Horeb is known to have been a sacred spot before the Exodus, and Josephus speaks of the Divine Presence dwelling in these awful cliffs, "unapproachable by man." Moreover, the mount was associated by the early Church with events recorded in Scripture as having taken place at Sinai; and it was only after the founding of the Monastery of St. Catherine under Jebel Mûsa and Jebel Sufsâfa that the monks and anchorites of Horeb migrated to the monastery and its vicinity.

Assuming that Jebel Sufsâfa may be accepted as Sinai, with the vast plain of Er-Raha before it for the encampment of the Israelites, we can be satisfied that here in the Wâdi Feiran, under Mount Horeb (Jebel Serbal) Moses was feeding the flock of Jethro, his father-in-law; that here God spokè to Moses out of the Burning Bush and commissioned him to return to Egypt, and lead the children of Israel out of captivity. Here also Elijah came after his long journey from Jezreel and Beersheba, and heard God speaking to him after the earthquake in the "still small voice;" and some also think that St. Paul may have come here when, as he tells us, he "went into Arabia."

Our course on Friday, March 15th, lay up the valley toward the Upper Oasis. This extended about four miles, and beside palm trees there was a dense jungle of papyrus and other reeds, twelve to fourteen feet high. Through this we had to force our way, of course, on the camels; but how the baggage camels got through I do not know. At length we made our way up the Wâdi Feiran, passing the "Mountain of Conversation," which, by Arab tradition, is the mountain where God conversed with Moses. The Arabs still sacrifice here to Moses, singing: "O Mountain of the Conversation of Moses, we seek thy favour! preserve thy good people, and we will visit thee every year."

Passing El-Baweb, or "Little Gate," we reach the immense Wâdi es-Sheikh; for three miles or thereabouts most extraordinary cliffs of light yellow sandy mud bounded the wâdi on each side, to a height of about sixty feet, and above these were granite slopes and mountains. The explanation seems to be that these "basins" in pre-historic times were lakes; and as the lower ends were opened up by earthquake the water coursed through the sedimentary deposit, leaving the wonderful walls, with their



LOOKING BACK AT MOUNT HOREB

(see page 258)



MOUNT SINAI (JEBEL SUFSÂFA)
FROM THE PLAIN ER RAHA
(OUR CAMELS IN THE DISTANCE)

level horizontal strata as now seen. In due time we struck Wâdi Sahah, which is by far the best route from Feiran to Nakb el-Howa (“Gap of the Wind”) and the monastery. Our route now presented an entirely new aspect of Sinaitic scenery, for instead of traversing never-ending wâdis, often very hot indeed, we were on a vast open plateau, always rising to a higher level, and often with scarcely the sign of any track.

About three hours after lunch we reached the highest point in a hollow opening in the ridge before us, and then, in full view, lay the finest panorama of the Sinai mountains to be seen from any point in the peninsula, except from a mountain top, and yet apparently unknown to Baedeker, and probably to Murray also. If we had taken the route which both guide books recommend, the Wâdi Salaf, we should have reached our camp below Nakb el-Howa without one glimpse of Jebel Sufsâfa or Jebel Mûsa, whereas here we see Sufsâfa right before us, and behind this lies the other peak of the same mountain range, Jebel Mûsa, the traditional Sinai of the Greek Orthodox Church.

After dinner we read together in Exodus xx of the Giving of the Law, also in Exodus xxxii of the idolatry of the Children of Israel in the worship of the golden calf, likewise of the breaking of the tables of the Law as Moses came down and saw the wickedness of the people. We were now within four and a-half hours of the monastery of Sinai; and the following day would bring us to the place where these great scenes were witnessed.

On the morning of Saturday (March 16th) we got off in good time, and in about two hours and a-half we were at the top of Nakb el-Howa. From the summit we had the finest view of Mount Sinai (Jebel Sufsâfa) itself to be obtained from any spot. Below us was a rather deep hollow, beyond which lay open before us the great plain of Er-Raha, “the Wilderness of Sinai,” and this reached right up to the foot of the mountain. At first the plain rose gradually for two miles, and then sloped gently down for three miles or so to the mountain, being about a mile wide where it touched the mountain. A more perfect spot for the encampment of the Israelites could not be conceived. Many times their number could encamp here, and all in full view of the summit of the mountain.

In addition to Jebel Sufsâfa, now the dominating feature of the landscape, with Jebel Mûsa lying behind it to the south, we see on our right the western peak of the group, Jebel Catarina. Why Jebel Mûsa should have been chosen as the traditional Sinai rather than Sufsâfa one cannot

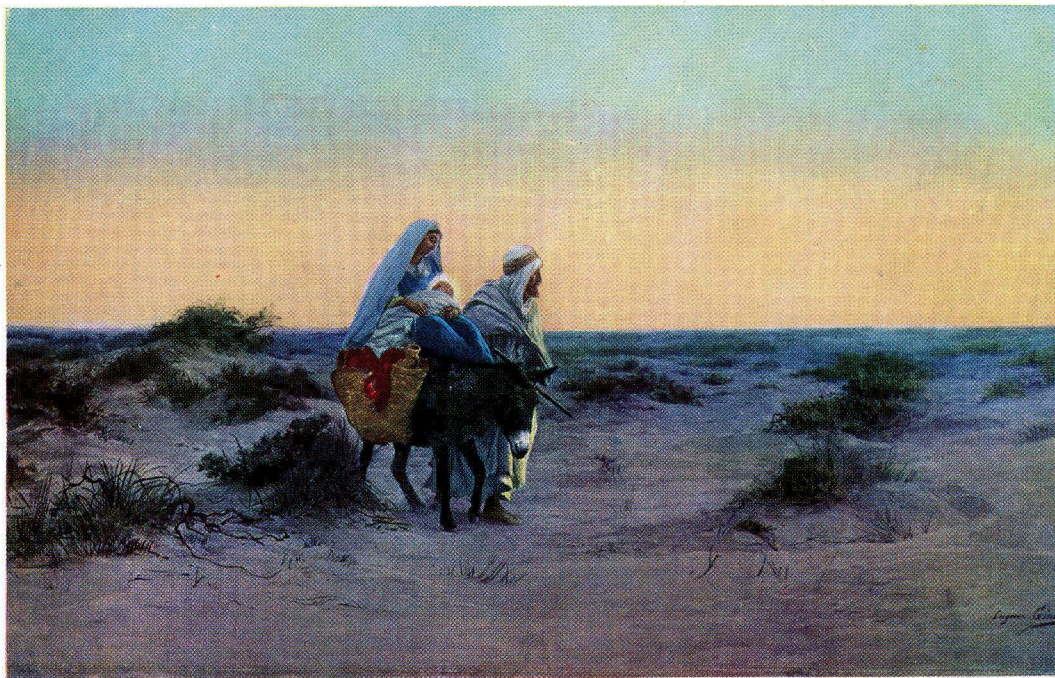
conceive, as the latter has this wonderful plain before it for the encampment of the Israelites, but Jebel Mûsa has nothing of the kind at all comparable. So close does the plain Er-Raha come to Mount Sufsâfa that one can at once understand the need of "setting bounds about the mountain" to prevent the people from touching it.

To be at last, after nearly nine days' weary (though very enjoyable) travelling, on such historic and sacred ground was an experience we can never forget nor give any adequate idea of. We dismounted and lingered for some time on the plain, trying to grasp the great facts upon which Christianity is based: such as the impossibility of severing the Old Testament from the New; the certainty that Jesus Christ himself accepted what Moses wrote; and that all the details of the Old Covenant given on Mount Sinai were but types of the New Covenant given by God in Christ. After taking many photographs we walked on to the foot of the mountain where the plain joins the Wâdi es-Sheikhî; and then we mounted our camels for the last two miles up the wâdi, on the eastern side of the mountain, and so came to the monastery. Here one of the monks met us, and very courteously led us into the convent and up to the guest chamber, where two other monks joined us. After some time spent in conversation, during which coffee and the liqueur of the monastery was served, we returned to the courtyard, and pitched our luncheon tent in a spot as sheltered from the wind as we could find.

After lunch we went back to the convent, and were shown the chapel, when we had time to take photographs, also to see the "Chapel of the Burning Bush" (where we had to take off our boots because Moses was told to do so), before the afternoon service began. We chose a delightful spot for our camp in the convent olive-yard, and then started for a walk up the "road" which we were afterwards to take for Tor, to a ridge near the "Mountain of Conversation" of Catholic tradition, passing on the way the path leading up to Jebel Mûsa. The view from the ridge was very fine.

As at Jerusalem, the Greek monks want to have all the sacred sites in one place, and hence the Chapel of the Burning Bush and the Mountain of Conversation, and other traditional sites, are located by them here, though the Arabs locate them at Feiran by Mount Serbal (or Horeb).

On the Sunday we reviewed the library at the monastery, spending some time over the manuscripts. Among these we were shown the now famous Syriac text of the Gospels, found in



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT
(THE NEW COVENANT)

(see page 260)



APPROACH TO THE MONASTERY

(see page 260)

1892 by Mrs. Lewis and her sister, Mrs. Gibson, and called the Codex Syrsin, or Codex Suræ Veteris Palimpsestus Sinaiticus, the most valuable manuscript the library now contains. This is the oldest Syriac translation of the Gospels, but unfortunately it is far from complete. The parchment is a palimpsest, *i.e.*, it has been twice used for writing. This is easily explained. As we know, the material employed for ancient manuscripts had a commercial value which led to its repeated use: the vellum was rubbed down and cleaned, and then used again. Beneath writing that was comparatively modern, relating stories about some "holy" women, Mrs. Lewis detected traces of ancient characters. By the application of chemicals the original writing was brought out, with the happy result that she had found a Gospel text of profound interest and great value. Then each page was photographed by Mrs. Lewis and the fruits of the discovery given to the world.

The chief treasure the monastery library contained in former days was the Bible manuscript found there by Tischendorf, the Codex Sinaiticus. This dates from the fourth century A.D., and is regarded as the oldest and most authoritative text next to the Codex Vaticanus at Rome. Several leaves of this codex are now preserved at the University of Leipzig, but the greater part was purchased by the Emperor Alexander II. in 1869, for the absurdly small sum of eight thousand francs. The library now contains only a copy of this codex.

In the afternoon we "assisted" at the convent service: most of the monks were present, the Archimandrite occupying an important stall near the Archbishop's throne. The number of monks is now only twenty-five, but formerly there were as many as four hundred. The service (in Modern Greek) seemed an interminable repetition of prayers, interspersed with excessive censuring of everybody and everything. I have never witnessed in any Latin church a service which seemed so degrading and debased.

The monks as they entered passed by a long series of pictures of saints; they crossed themselves before favourites and kissed the faces on the pictures. At certain points in the service the cantor would repeat *Kyrie Eleison* (pronounced "guerison") as fast as he could, and until he was breathless, once about forty times, and often twelve or twenty times. At the close, the monks bowed to the ground, as a Moslem does at prayer, some for a score of times, and one of the priests approached the Archimandrite, bowed three times to the ground and retired. We were told that this form of service has continued unchanged

since the fifth century, and if so we cannot wonder that the thirty-three bishoprics which formerly existed in Arabia are now extinct.

The monks showed us the Charnel House. As the monks die they are buried in a garden, and after some time the bones are dug up and placed in this charnel house, the skulls by themselves and the other bones apart. Here lie, carefully piled up, the bones of the monks from the sixth century!!! The bishops' bones are in boxes apart. The whole place savours of "death unto death."

When standing before *Jebel Sufsâfa*, we could understand how Moses, coming down the eastern side of the mount, and before he reached the hill on which, according to tradition, Aaron watched the idolatrous worship of the golden calf, would hear the shouts of the people before the scene itself came into view. As Moses came round the north-east shoulder of the mount, everything would be clearly visible, and then it was that the tables of the law were broken in pieces "beneath the mountain," and the fragments of the idol strewn on the surface of the brook which descends from a spring on the western slopes of the *Sufsâfa*. Upon that mountain, and before it, everything recorded in Holy Scripture could take place, as the physical features show; but the same could not be said of any other spot in all the world.

From the Scripture records we find that the Israelites arrived on the plain of *Er-Raha*—"the Wilderness of Sinai"—in the third month of the first year of their wanderings: that the Tabernacle was set up before the Holy Mount on the first day of the first month in the second year, and that the numbering of the host took place on the first day of the second month of the second year, the number being recorded as 603,550, besides women and children.* Also that the Israelites removed from Sinai, when the cloud was first taken up from off the Tabernacle, on the twentieth day of the second month of the second year—so that they were encamped eleven months before the mount.

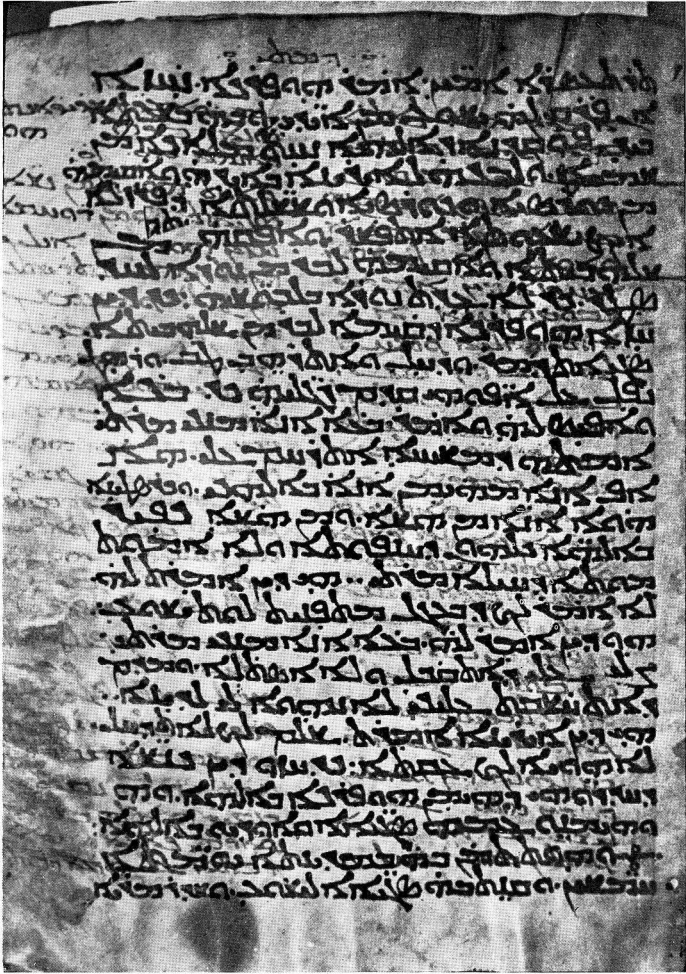
I had not fully realized before the merciful providence of God in so ordering events that the giving of the Law—the First or Old Covenant—should at once be followed, and in the same place, by the institution of sacrifices for the pardon of transgressions against that Law which no human being has ever yet been known to keep perfectly. The institution of the Passover,

* See "Notes on the Census Numbers," pp. 265-8.



IN THE MONASTERY CHAPEL, SINAI

see page 261



A SHEET OF THE "CODEx SYRSIN,"
BY KIND PERMISSION OF MRS. LEWIS, LL.D.

see page 261

and the sprinkling of the blood of the lamb upon their doorposts, before they left Egypt, may have prepared the Israelites for the fuller revelation of God's remedy for sin; and if, as may have been the case, it was the Second Person in the Trinity who spoke with Moses on the mount, then we have our Saviour Himself instituting the sacrifices which were the types and shadows of the New Covenant, of His own great sacrifice on Calvary. The memories of our stay in this region can never be effaced, and we can only hope that the lessons of Sinai may never grow dim.

Having said good-bye to the monks, we started on our way to Tor on Tuesday (March 19th). We had a new set of Bedouins and fresh camels. The beast provided for myself was an immense *white* camel, very easy in its movements. My first camel from Suez made, or caused me to make, 5,000 movements to and fro each hour. The next one I changed to, after the first fell with me, made 4,700 each hour; and this last camel, being still larger, made only 4,120. All depends on the height of the animal. This white animal was so big that it was quite impossible to get into the saddle, while it was lying down, without much assistance.

We had a magnificent view of Jebel Mûsa from the Wâdi Sabaiyeh. If this mountain had a plain in front of it like the Wâdi er-Raha before Jebel Sufsâfa, it would be difficult to decide which eminence most corresponded to the Sinai of the Bible, but this wâdi or plain below Jebel Mûsa does *not* compare for a moment with Er-Raha as a camping-place for the Israelites—nor is there any sign of water here.

On the following day (Wednesday) the scenery was marvelously grand, the climax being reached at the point where the granite mountains closed in and formed a gorge or cañon very much like those seen in parts of the Sik at Petra. The mountains are either red, brown, or grey granite, each colour beginning and ending suddenly, with frequent veins of black, or dark green, porphyry or diorite. These veins generally run vertically or nearly so, sometimes six feet wide, sometimes twenty or thirty feet wide, or even more, but the line of division between the porphyry and granite is clean-cut and generally absolutely straight. The effect is most wonderful, and the fact that the mountains are granite, and that the colours begin and end suddenly, differentiates these rocks from those of Petra, where all is sandstone and where the colours are so marvellously intermingled.

On our way we often met travelling Bedouins. There seems,

in fact, to be a continuous passage of Bedouins who make Tor their market up and down the wâdi to the convent and other resorts of the Arabs on the mountains. We had a splendid view of Jebel es-Shomar, the highest mountain of the Sinai range, towards the west. Tamarisks abound in this wâdi, and we often came to palms and dense thickets of reeds fifteen to twenty feet high, and frequently to a running stream of water a few inches wide, which disappeared again in the sand almost immediately. Towards evening we suddenly emerged from the mountain gorge and found our camp pitched on the desert plain. The next morning I made the six hours' ride across the desert of Tor in five hours and three-quarters. The plain descends gradually all the way, and as we proceeded we could make out with increasing plainness the Gulf of Suez, then Tor itself, and then the harbour.

A little after noon on Thursday I reached the Greek monastery at Tor, where a monk courteously received me, and I had lunch in the guest chamber. Mackinnon spent some hours on a shooting expedition in search of gazelles and ibex. On Friday afternoon (March 22nd) the steamer for Suez arrived, and as we made our way north we greatly enjoyed the lovely sunset effects on the Sinai mountains. On Saturday morning we anchored off the port, and while Mackinnon stayed the night at Suez in order to go straight to Beyrout, I took train to Cairo, and fulfilled an engagement to lecture at the Y.W.C.A., on my travels in Palestine.

At the close of the lecture the PRESIDENT proposed, and Professor HULL seconded, a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer, who replied.

General HALLIDAY proposed, and Mr. SUTTON seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chair, and the meeting separated.

THE EXODUS OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL.

NOTES ON THE CENSUS NUMBERS.

The numbers mentioned in the census which was taken before Mount Sinai have presented a difficulty to many students of the history of the Exodus and the Wanderings of the Children of Israel, as described in the early Books of the Bible. The total seems to be out of harmony with certain well-known incidents in the narrative as a whole; and, moreover, it is a serious question with many reverent inquirers how so large a number as that given could have been led, in the orderly and disciplined manner described, through such a barren, wild, inhospitable, and mountainous region as the Sinai Peninsula, where, except in a few localities, lack of pasturage for flocks and herds is (and probably was at that time) so conspicuous a feature.

According to the Sacred Record there were two censuses—the first before Sinai (Num. i, ii), where the total is given as 603,550; and the second, after an interval of from thirty to forty years, in the Plains of Moab (Num. xxvi), where the total is given as 601,730. In each case the census was concerned with those who were "able to go forth to war," that is, males of twenty years old and upward. This means that if, as is generally agreed, FIVE may be taken as the average of a family—in other words, that for every male of twenty years old "able to go forth to war," there were five others, women, children, and old men—the community as a whole reached a total of at least THREE MILLION SOULS. If, therefore, we find difficulty in the thought of 600,000 people being conducted through the Wilderness with their flocks and herds, and maintained there for a period of forty years, how much greater is the difficulty when, as a fact, the multitude is represented as numbering three million souls!

To those who have gone over the ground with eyes wide open, the question now before us is of more than academic interest and importance. Among recent investigators who have followed up their travels with a suggested solution of the problem. I may name (1) Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c., the eminent Egyptologist and author of numerous works on archaeological research; and (2) the Rev. F. E. Hoskins, D.D., of the American Mission, Beyrout, widely known for his writings on Oriental travel and antiquities.

Professor Petrie's views have been given to the world with a confident reiteration which divests them of novelty—first in a paper read before the Church Congress in 1906; then, in greater detail, in a volume, *Researches in Sinai*, in 1906; and again, in a smaller work,

Egypt and Israel, in 1911. The *Expository Times*, a monthly organ which takes account of all such matters, has from time to time made explicit reference to the views propounded, and so far no serious or considered answer seems to have been published. Dr. Hoskins, again, has written a singularly instructive work, entitled *From the Nile to Nebo*, wherein he describes a journey, taken in 1909, with the express design of following the route of the Exodus from Egypt into the Promised Land. His large acquaintance with Eastern life and thought invests his volume with profound interest.

In brief, it is suggested that the Hebrew word ALF or ALAF had, in ancient times, the meaning of "clan" or "family," though later (as in the Massoretic text, *eleph*) it more generally signifies "thousand." There are, indeed, traces of the former sense of the word in the Old Testament as we have it. For instance, in the first census chapter (Num. i), where we read of the "thousands of Israel" (*v.* 16), the Revised Version gives the marginal rendering "FAMILIES." Again, in Judges vi, 15, we find Gideon speaking of his "thousand" or "FAMILY"; the possessive pronoun makes it clear that a mere number cannot have been meant. Further, observe that in I Sam. x the words "tribes and THOUSANDS" in *v.* 19, find explanatory response in "tribes and FAMILIES" in *v.* 21. In like manner, in I Sam. xxiii, 23, and Micah v. 2, where we read of the "thousands of Judah," the Revised Version in the margin gives "FAMILIES of Judah" as the alternative. From these passages the observant English reader sees how one word may be used to represent two ideas. It is suggested by Professor Petrie and Dr. Hoskins that in other places also the word ALF was intended to convey the meaning of "clan" or "family," and among these the census chapters which now concern us. Possibly at one time the two meanings were distinguished by difference of pronunciation; but no clue to this has come down to us. The so-called "pointed" Hebrew text, as we have it, gives one word for both senses.

In a word, it is argued that, in each census, there was more than a numbering of heads: the reckonings gave totals of tents, families, or clans as well. The two-fold calculation shows—at the first census, 598 families or clans, consisting of 5,550 men of twenty years of age and upward; and at the second census, 596 families or clans, consisting of 5,730 able-bodied men. These totals are presented INSTEAD OF the large single numbers with which we are familiar—603,550 and 601,730 respectively. See the Tables on p. 268 for details in full.

Professor Petrie, in his statement of the case, presents the reduced figures, 5,550 and 5,730, as the probable numbers of the Hebrews at the beginning and end of their wanderings. He seems to have overlooked the fact that the censuses were confined to the males of twenty years old and upward. Dr. Hoskins, however, makes a point of the fact that the numberings were designed to show how

many of the people were "ABLE TO GO FORTH TO WAR." Then, accepting the modern average of one man in every fourteen of the total population being liable to military service, he makes a calculation which yields a total of 77,000 people. To this number we must add the Levites, "from one month old and upward," as given in Num. iii, 39, some 22,000—where the details are expressed in a way that makes it impossible to find "clan" beneath the ALAF. Hence a grand total of a hundred thousand souls. Dr. Hoskins adds: "This number, I am convinced, from a large number of subsidiary lines of argument, will be found substantially correct." In case, however, as some would prefer, one in ten of the population should be accepted as the proportion of those who were "able to go forth to war," then the total would be 77,500 instead of 100,000.

The theory so recently propounded having been thus outlined, it remains for me to remark that, so far, Oriental scholars in general have not given adhesion thereto. In his Commentary on "Exodus" (*Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*), issued in 1911, Dr. Driver declares the view "improbable"; and I have reason to believe that his mature judgment is against the theory. Moreover, Dr. McNeile, in his Commentary on "Numbers" (same series), also issued in 1911, holds that the theory raises new difficulties, both in relation to the text of Scripture and Israelitish history. For myself, though in some senses the view seems very attractive, I note one passage in the Pentateuch which seems impossible of reconciliation with the suggestion. In Exodus xxxviii, details are given (on the basis of the first census) of the tax of a *bekah* (half a shekel) a head levied upon the people for gold and silver work in connection with the Tabernacle. Whereas we find (in *vv.* 25, 26) the product of 1,775 shekels, in respect of 3,550 men, there is also, in the same passage, mention of a hundred talents, the application of which is described with equal plainness (*vv.* 25, 27). In case a talent represents 3,000 shekels, which I find to be the case, this means an additional body of 600,000 men contributing the *bekah*—in other words, a total of 603,550 men, thus (apparently) excluding the rendering of "family" or "clan" in regard to the census total, when the same is viewed in the light of its yield in taxes.

Notwithstanding this bar to the theory, as I conceive it, having regard to the wide-ranging importance of the subject, I have deemed a summary of the most recent suggestions worthy of presentation in this connection. The proposal is, at least, ingenious; and the issue may prove to be of profound significance. While unwilling to tamper with the text of Scripture, or in any degree to call in question its Divine inspiration, I am deeply concerned to *understand* it—to understand it, on the one hand in the light of the language in which it has come down to us, and on the other hand in the light of the conditions and circumstances of the region in which the events took place, as described in the Sacred Records.

ANALYSIS OF CENSUS NUMBERS.

I.

The First Census taken before Mount Sinai. Numbers i, ii.

Reuben	46,500	Manasseh	32,200
Simeon	59,300	Benjamin	35,400
Gad	45,650	Dan	62,700
Judah	74,600	Asher	41,500
Issachar	54,400	Naphtali	53,400
Zebulun	57,400		
Ephraim	40,500	Total	603,560

II.

The same Census when the Hebrew word ALAF is translated "Clans" instead of "Thousands."

	Number of Clans.	Number of Men in Clans.	Number of Men per Clan.		Number of Clans.	Number of Men in Clans.	Number of Men per Clan.
Reuben ...	46	500	9	Manasseh ...	32	200	6
Simeon ...	59	300	5	Benjamin ...	35	400	11
Gad ...	45	650	14	Dan ...	62	700	11
Judah ...	74	600	8	Asher ...	41	500	12
Issachar ...	54	400	7	Naphtali ...	53	400	8
Zebulun ...	57	400	7				
Ephraim ...	40	500	12	Total ...	598	5,500	9.3

III.

Second Census taken near Jericho. Numbers xxvi.

Reuben	43,730	Manasseh	52,700
Simeon	22,200	Benjamin	45,600
Gad	40,500	Dan	64,400
Judah	76,500	Asher	53,400
Issachar	64,300	Naphtali	45,400
Zebulun	60,500		
Ephraim	32,500	Total	601,730

IV.

The same Census when the Hebrew word ALAF is translated "Clans" instead of "Thousands."

	Number of Clans.	Number of Men in Clans.	Number of Men per Clan.		Number of Clans.	Number of Men in Clans.	Number of Men per Clan.
Reuben ...	43	730	17	Manasseh ...	52	700	13
Simeon ...	22	200	7	Benjamin ...	45	600	13
Gad ...	40	500	12	Dan ...	64	400	6
Judah ...	76	500	7	Asher ...	53	400	8
Issachar ...	64	300	5	Naphtali ...	45	400	9
Zebulun ...	60	500	8				
Ephraim ...	32	500	16	Total ...	596	5,730	9.6

DEATH OF MR. F. S. BISHOP,
SECRETARY OF THE INSTITUTE.

THE Victoria Institute has sustained a severe loss in the unexpected death, on the 17th July last, of its Secretary, Mr. Frederic Sillery Bishop, M.A., J.P. Joining the Institute as a Member as long ago as 1879, he lived at a distance, and for many years was unable to attend the meetings. When at length he came to reside near London, in 1906, he became a constant attendant; five years ago he joined the Council, and two years later he was unanimously elected Secretary.

Mr. Bishop's period of office has been marked by the steady progress of the Institute; the papers read have been full of interest, and the numbers attending the meetings have increased so much of late, that at times no room could be found for late arrivals. Mr. Bishop brought to bear upon his important work great enthusiasm, steady business-like habits, a bright courteous manner, and a charming winning personality. His organising power was great, the accounts were simplified, and kept with scrupulous precision. He compiled a most useful double Index of all the papers read before the Institute from its foundation; on the one hand, according to subjects, and on the other hand, according to authors. He bravely continued his secretarial work almost up to the very end, though often in great pain.

Born in 1848, Mr. Bishop was educated at Cheltenham and at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as twenty-first Wrangler. He afterwards obtained a fellowship at St. John's College, Oxford. Entering upon a business career, he accepted an appointment as manager of the Copper Works of Pascoe, Grenfell, and Sons, at Swansea, and he lived in that neighbourhood for twenty-five years. During that time, as an earnest

Churchman, he engaged in Sunday School work; and for twenty years he was President of the Y.M.C.A., in connection with which he conducted Bible classes.

Being a life-long abstainer, he helped forward the work of the C.E.T.S. and Gospel Temperance Mission. Later on he resided for short periods in Reigate and in Chester. All his life long he was engaged in Christian work; and while he had brilliant gifts he shrank from no drudgery in service, but was painstaking and thorough in all he undertook. As an active member of the Committees of the Bible Society and of the Church Missionary Society, he was known and esteemed by a large circle.

He married a daughter of the late Captain Trotter, 2nd Life Guards; and by her he is survived, also by two sons and three daughters. His life was a many-sided one, well employed, happy, and useful; and those of us who had the privilege of knowing him personally cherish most happy memories of him.

APPOINTMENT OF MR. E. WALTER MAUNDER,
F.R.A.S.

At a well-attended meeting of the Council, held on the 7th October, Mr. E. Walter Maunder, F.R.A.S., was elected Secretary of the Institute.

The Council gladly avail themselves of his services, and heartily welcome him to his responsible post.

G. MACKINLAY, Lt.-Col.,
Chairman of Council.