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Essays concerning Jesus and
His times

Sam Southey

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ESSAYS

CONCERNING JESUS AND HIS TIMES

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PALESTINE

IN THE
TIME OF CHRIST
BASED ON THE MOST
RECENT SURVEYS.

Scale of English Miles.

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RAND McNALLY & CO.

STUDIES IN PALESTINIAN GEOGRAPHY.

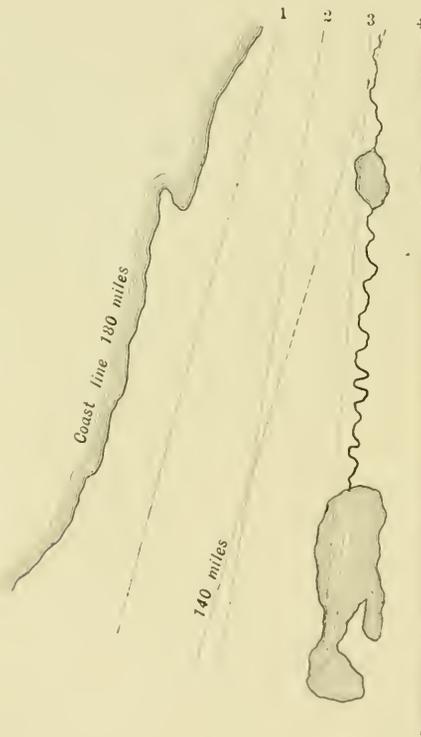
By the REV. PROFESSOR J. S. RIGGS, D.D.,
Auburn Theological Seminary.

I. THE LAND AS A WHOLE.

ONE of the marked characteristics of our Bible is that its contents are, in large part, history and biography. This fact makes its scenery of deep and lasting interest. While the chief purpose of all the record is spiritual, it adds not a little to the vividness of the lesson to be able to realize its material setting and estimate the force of physical as well as political environment upon national or individual life. Paul Veronese's great picture of "Jesus in the House of Levi," with its group of Italian faces and its palatial setting, may honor Christ, but, except in the honor it gives the Master, it is an untruthful representation. Sober study of history and geography serves to check wrong idealizations and puts emphasis upon that which is really worthy and exalted. It will be our aim, then, in these studies, to get before us, as well as we may, the picture of ancient Palestine as it was when our blessed Lord looked upon it. Geography possesses an advantage over history in that all that touches the physical side remains in great measure unchanged. A ride today over the hills of Judea reveals to us the same general outline of hill and valley, lake and stream, plain and desert. Never before could we look more intelligently upon these in the study of that which pertains to historical geography, for its problems have had and are still having careful scientific investigation. That we may include in our picture the results of this work we have divided the studies as follows: (1) The land as a whole; (2) Judea; (3) Jerusalem; (4) Samaria; (5) Galilee; (6) The Jordan valley and the Perea.

It is well to remember that much of the depiction of the land of Palestine given in the Old Testament is heightened by contrast with the land of Egypt. The Nile makes Egypt, and on

either side of the strip of green that marks the reach of the fertilizing waters stretch the solemn, desolate wastes of the desert. Over against the monotony of this level of life bounded on both sides by death stands the striking mountain scenery of Judea and Galilee, the beauties of the Shephelah and the plains, the singular features of the Jordan valley and the highlands beyond. If we should draw a rough outline map of the land like this below, it could be naturally divided into four parts, which are



indicated by the numbered lines drawn down the map. These correspond in order to the following physical characteristics: (1) the maritime plains; (2) the mountain district; (3) the Jordan valley; (4) The highlands on the other side of the Jordan.

In order to get a clear conception of the land as a whole,

let us look at the general character of each of these. The outline of Palestine is that of a truncated triangle—the upper part being cut off. From its northern line to its southern the distance is about 140 miles, and at its widest part in the south it is not more than fifty miles wide; the coast line is about 180 miles long.

Supposing our landing place Joppa, we should find ourselves, as we leave the beautiful orange groves at the back of the city, entering upon a broad plain, undulating in its surface and at such a level above the sea that its gently rolling hills reach a height of 200, sometimes of about 300 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. At the town of Ramleh in the part of this plain called the plain of Sharon there is a high tower standing, the remnant of a crusader church. Ascending this, one has a wide prospect over the whole plain from the slopes of Carmel on the north to the regions of Gaza on the south. This long reach, so significant in the varied history of the land as the highway of armies from the south and from the north, is divided into three parts—that along the front of Carmel extending to the Crocodile River; the plain of Sharon, eight to twelve miles wide and forty-four long, extending to a line just below Ramleh; the plain of the Philistines reaching on south to the river of Egypt. There is no more pleasing view in Palestine, except over the plain of Esdraelon. The greensward in the springtime abounds in flowers and the husbandman is busy preparing its productive soil for the harvest. Lydda is not far away amid its olive groves. Many sites of ancient towns can be pointed out toward the north and east. Toward the distant southern horizon one can discern the region of the Philistine cities Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron, of which the site of Gath is alone uncertain. With the view of the distant mountains of Judah and Ephraim constantly before one, the journey over this plain to Jerusalem makes a delightful introduction to the scenes of the Holy Land. Gradually the plain slopes upward as it reaches inward from the sea till it meets the Shephelah or low hills that stand before the mountains themselves. Sometimes this term is given to the whole region between the high mountains and

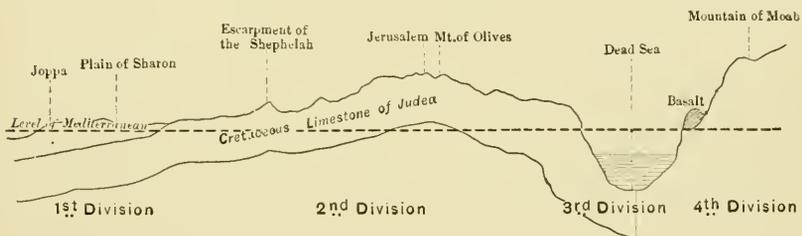
the sea. The word is translated "plain" in the Septuagint. In the restricted use of the term it marks those hills of limestone which present, as Dawson says of them, "low ridges not more than about 500 feet in height, with gentle slopes to the westward and more abrupt escarpments to the east." They are cut with valleys and have played a deeply interesting part in the history of the land. The Rev. Geo. A. Smith calls attention to the fact that above the valley of Ajalon these foothills occupy a different relative position to the mountains near them, and that the name Shephelah did not probably extend above the valley. Below this famous valley the hills are, so to speak, more independent of the mountains. "Altogether it is a rough, happy land, with its glens and moors, its mingled brushwood and barley fields; frequently under cultivation, but for the most part broken and thirsty, with few wells and many hiding places; just the home for strong bordermen like Samson, and just the theater for that guerrilla warfare varied occasionally by pitched battles, which Israel and Philistia, the Maccabees and Syrians, and Saladin and Richard waged with each other."

Right before us now in our journey across the land is that mountain wall which extends with but one break through the whole length of the land. Up and up the road mounts, with turns here and there that give the traveler views over all the maritime plain and far out to sea, till we reach the ridge which at the Mount of Olives is 2600 feet above the sea; on Newby Samwil or Mizpah 2800 feet; on the ridge of Hebron 3000 feet. These limestone mountains, which do not always reveal their own great height since the valleys are also elevated, are cut in every direction by water courses or separated by broader spaces which are utilized for farming or for olive groves. The barren rocks, with their denuded surfaces exposed to the sun and rain, are disappointing indeed. It is hard to realize when one first sees them that they have been the witnesses of some of the most telling events of history. But amid them stood Jerusalem, Bethel, Shechem, Samaria, Nazareth, and it is pleasant to think that they were once more attractive than now, as they certainly were when a respectable government gave both inspiration and protec-

tion to all kinds of thrift. They were the strongholds of the people, and have always been spared much that came to the plains below. With their rugged faces and varying phases Christ was familiar from boyhood. In places now the scenery is wild and forbidding; again it is softened and beautified, as the diligence of the inhabitants has covered the rocks with olive groves or the valleys with grain. When we come to consider more closely the divisions of the country we can stop to mark definitely some of these features.

Standing upon the Mount of Olives, one can see, in the distance, far below him, the blue waters of the Dead Sea. As we go over the brow of the mountain toward Bethany we begin that steep descent which is to bring us to the third natural division of the land—the Jordan valley. The way from Jerusalem to Jericho, in this valley, is certainly “down.” One descends over 3800 feet to the level of the inland sea, and so sharp is the change that in the valley we are in the region of the palm tree and of all tropical fruits. The broad plain of the Jordan must once have been full of beauty, and the river, insignificant in itself but exalted in its associations, yet pours its turbulent waters into the Salt Sea. The cleft (we shall study it later) down which the river comes from its sources at Banias and Dan has its greatest depth and width near the head of the Dead Sea, but all the way up, beyond the Sea of Galilee, it cuts the land into two distinct parts and in itself forms a notable feature of Palestine. The modern name for this lower, broader part of this cleft is “The Ghor.” It is rich in biblical associations and well deserves separate study.

“On the other side of Jordan” the mountains again go up to heights which exceed those in western Palestine and the pla-



teaus of the northern section of eastern Palestine are marked for their fertility. The scheme on the preceding page, taken from a geological study of the land will give some idea of the way over which we have come.

If one looks at this central ridge as it runs north and south through the land, it will have this general outline :



This outline gives the ridge to the beginning of the mountains of upper Galilee.

On this high level took place most of the scenes of the gospels. It is the region of the most eventful facts of our sacred history. This mountain line is broken only by the plain of Esdraelon—a beautiful tract in lower Galilee. We shall notice its position and worth when we study Galilee. Several things are of interest regarding this singular land which is thus divided. Let me briefly call attention to one or two :

I. Its comparative isolation. The long coast line below Carmel has no natural harbor. As has been said, "the land seems to say to the sea, I have no need of thee." What harbors have been attempted have been all destroyed. It is no comfortable matter to land today at Joppa unless the sea is very smooth. On the south stretches the great desert which reaches to the boundary of Egypt. Forced marches across this brought armies to an open door to the land on the south, and this has been one of the chief entrances, but the desert had to be crossed. On the east is the great Syrian desert, which is an effective barrier. While the plain of Esdraelon has opened a highway connecting with the road to Damascus, yet the mountains rising on either side from the plain have been the barriers again. The long range of limestone hills has not always been free from trouble, yet this has oftener come from the people within its borders than from outsiders. Another matter of interest is :

II. The variety of scenery and climate—mountain, plain,

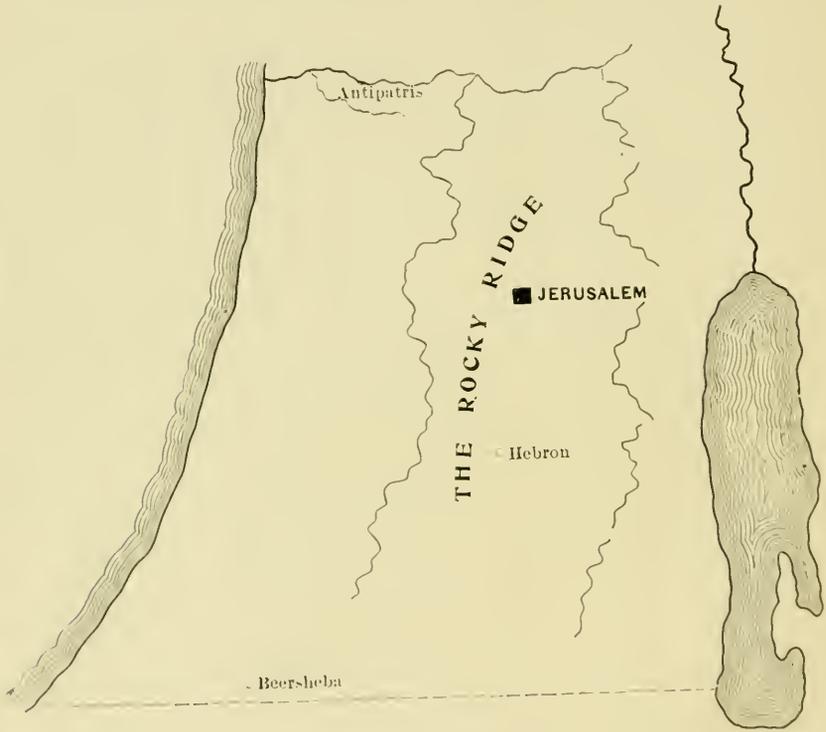
valley, gorge, desert, river, torrent, lake, sea,—every variety of physical configuration is here. From the heights of Judea one can see the snowy summits of Hermon, on whose sides are found the phenomena of an arctic clime. Within sight in another direction is the tropical valley of the Jordan. Jerusalem itself is no stranger to snow storms, and yet gathers from its hill slopes the fig, olive, and pomegranate. Indeed, within the time of a single journey through the land one may have many of the features of a tropical, temperate, or arctic clime. How much this variety has added to the beauty and power of the Scriptures we all know. It has made it, even on the side of its physical environment, a book for the world.

II. JUDEA.

Passing from a view of the land as a whole to the consideration of its parts, no more convenient division of western Palestine offers itself for our purpose than that found in the New Testament, viz., Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. The line of division is, indeed, more than geographical, and for that reason we shall be called to look for a moment at the relation of people and environment—the most interesting of all relationships in geographical study. Let us begin with Judea. This name by which we know the southern portion of the land has not always designated the same extent of territory. It has sometimes been the name of the whole land, including apparently parts beyond the Jordan (see Josephus, *Ant.*, XII, 4:11); or again in a restricted sense it marks the southern portion of the mountain ridge below Samaria; or again it denotes the tract extending from the Mediterranean to the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and from a line on the north passing just above Antipatris and deflecting northward near its western limit, to the mountain ridge below Beersheba. Its general outline in the time of Christ appears in the outline map on the next page.

It had an area of 2000 square miles, if we include the plain; without this and the Shephelah, both of which in the time of the independence of the Jews were often not included, an area of about 1350 square miles. It is upon the central ridge—in the

hill country—that all the great events of both the Old and New Testament history took place. This is really the Judea of our sacred narrative; hence in our study we shall look at that tract nearly sixty miles long from its northern boundary to Beersheba



and from fourteen to seventeen miles wide. This portion can be naturally divided into the hill country, the desert, and the south country. Imagine yourself now upon the tower of the Mosque upon the height of Newby Samwil (Mizpah) a few miles north-west of Jerusalem. As a great picture the land of Judea reaches out in all directions below you. On the right, as you look toward the south, are the jagged gorges and steep passes which lead down to the Shephelah and the plain. Beyond the low hills is the plain with all its fertility reaching to the sea, whose coast line is visible nearly to Carmel. South of you are the barren

monotonous limestone ridges of the land itself rising one behind the other to the highest line near Hebron. Broad valleys lie between these which are as featureless as the mountains themselves. The scenery has little to commend it. One wonders how Judah ever found an adequate habitation among these inhospitable rocks. In these stony valleys, however, some grain was raised, and we have only to go down to Bethlehem to see how the hillsides were utilized. But, at best, compared with the lands we know, it is a weary land. Therein lies part of the secret of the history of its people. Over to our left lies Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives; on beyond in nearly the same direction lie the wastes of the desert, while all along the line of our eastern outlook runs the deep cleft of the Jordan and the mountains on the other side. The country itself is capable of strong defense and calculated to develop the sturdiest character in those who must defend it. Such is the view which may be had, from more than one summit, of the characteristic features of Judea. Its people have been a pastoral rather than an agricultural people except as they have devoted themselves to the culture of the vine. Across the broken tract extending ten miles north from Jerusalem were the fortresses which once protected the northern frontier. These were placed so as to cover the roads leading up from the Jordan, down from the north, and up from the passes on the western side—Michmash, Geba, Ramah, Adasa, and Gibeon. Each name suggests memorable events of the days of Judah, or of the Maccabees. The road from Jerusalem to Hebron keeps well up on the center of the ridge and presents only here and there any variation from that which meets us in the north. Among these "variations here and there" we must include Bethlehem and Hebron. The traveler turns from the main road about six miles from Jerusalem to enter the former city, which lies upon a rocky promontory extending toward the southeast. It is not difficult to imagine the feelings with which one comes to that spot which, traditional though it be, may well be the real place of our Lord's birth. It is not in accord with our purpose to stop for any description of the buildings which cover it, or of the city in which it is. When

one comes to the actual spot, he wishes the trumpery of the priests out of the way that he might see the place in its native simplicity, but there it is before you. Justin Martyr in the middle of the second century bears witness to it, and it is one of the few spots upon which different traditions converge. Once one could step out from it upon the brow of a hill that overlooks a beautiful valley and wide fields beyond. Here one may see what was perhaps evident in many parts of the land. At the bottom of the valley are grain fields and olive trees with their welcome shade. Shepherds are upon the distant hill slopes, while all up the sides of the valley itself are the terraces upon which olive trees are planted. The scene—so peaceful and thrifty—is in striking contrast to the desolate hillsides all around. Bethlehem is an attractive spot, both for its sacred associations and for its picture of thrift.

The approach to Hebron gives the traveler some idea of the manner and value of the ancient vineyards. For a long way before reaching the city itself one rides past these vineyards in the gently sloping valleys or on the terraces of the mountain sides. Here, nearly 3000 feet above the sea, the grapes are brought to perfection by the soft autumn mists. Nature all about is beautiful. Hebron itself, with its dirty, superstitious, fanatical Mohammedan population, is the only blot upon the scene. The question has once and again been asked, Was ancient Judea no more fertile than it appears today? Hebron gives answer for all those regions where the vine could be nurtured and where water and soil would give any chance for tillage. "On the whole plateau the only gleams of water are the pools of Gibeon, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron, and from Bethel to Beersheba there are not even in its springtime more than six or seven tiny rills." It is only where the plateau breaks and a glen is formed that one can look for returns from labor. With the exception of the olive the whole land from Jerusalem to the vicinity of Hebron is treeless, and on beyond where the hills begin to descend toward the desert the same is true. The South Country, with its uplands, has always been famous for grazing, and today thousands of cattle are found in this region. Water is gathered in cisterns, and to these the

shepherds and herdsmen come with their flocks and herds, reproducing the scenes of the days of the patriarchs. Not an inhabited town appears in this whole region, a fact which brings to mind the prophecy of Jeremiah, "The cities of the south shall be shut up and none shall open them" (Jer. 13:19). Beersheba, with its wells and nothing more, illustrates daily the scenes of centuries ago and the truth of this sad prediction. From this description of the gradual descent of the hills from Hebron to Beersheba it will be readily seen that Judea was exposed on her southern frontier, but rarely did an invasion come from this direction. It was easier to go up either by the way of the Dead Sea or westward to the Philistine plain; opposition in the mountains about Hebron was a serious matter. Chedorlaomer took the former route; the hordes of Islam the latter.

The third feature of Judea which merits especial attention is the wilderness along the western shore of the Dead Sea. It is thirty-five miles long by fifteen wide, and it is difficult to convey to one who has not seen it its utter desolation. From the top of the great pyramid near Cairo the sharp line dividing the green fertile land which the river has made and the silent lifeless waste of sand that stretches toward the horizon is traceable for miles. There is a vivid contrast between life and death. Not quite so vivid in its dividing line but more so in the actual picture of desolation is the desert of Judea. The Sahara has the gentle undulation of a great sea bottom; Judea's wilderness is the hideous contortion of rock ridges with gullies between them that blister in the sun and make hiding places in their parched caverns for wild beasts. The violent rents and racking that made the Dead Sea gorge itself are reflected in this broken, barren, blighted region of silence and death. As one well says of it: "It gave the ancient nations of Judea as it gives the mere visitor of today the sense of living next to doom; the sense of how narrow is the border between life and death; the awe of the power of God who can make contiguous regions so opposite in character. 'He turneth rivers into a wilderness and water springs into a thirsty ground.' The desert is always in the face of the prophets, and its howling of beasts in the night watches, and its

dry sand blown mournfully across their gorges, the foreboding of judgment." On its eastern side it ends in cliffs that strike down 2000 feet to the shore of the Salt Sea. A wild, degraded tribe of Arabs inhabits its southern part, who, by their sudden and unfriendly appearings and as sudden disappearings, helps us to understand some of the exploits of David when he wandered here as "a partridge on the mountains." Here, in this desert, John the Baptist prepared himself for his mission, going far enough into its solitudes to be alone with God; meditating under the bright stars of a Syrian sky upon the prophecy which was even then being fulfilled, and gathering into his thoughts some of the sternness of his environment that he might face the multitude with the cry: "Repent! prepare the way of the Lord!" Here the Lord himself met and defeated the prince of desolation—an event which invests this wild haggard region with imperishable interest.

As with a glance we have seen the land of Judea. What did it do for those who dwelt within its borders? The answer is not difficult. Its very isolation would develop a spirit of patriotic zeal in case those who dwelt within it were called to its defense. Once and again this was a necessity. Those mountain passes were formidable, but they could be taken unless protected; those barren rocks and shallow valleys would give nothing except to toil and thrift. Safety and sustenance were the outcome of courage and care. Both alike threw the people back constantly upon the necessity of dependence upon God. On those high hills they were kept with just that intermixture of trial and security which should fit them for his purpose. The glory of the temple, too, was on those hills, and that passionate patriotism which inspired the determined resistance of the Maccabees and the awful struggle at Masada tells us something of the character-material formed amid those heights. The shadow side of all this was that bigotry which reached its climax in the refusal to listen for one moment to the voice of the lowly Messiah.

As far as the life and ministry of our Lord recorded in the gospels are concerned the place of chief interest is, of course, Jerusalem. The picturesque little town of Bethany, just over the

brow of the Mount of Olives; the Jericho road and Jericho itself; the town of Ephraim to which he fled from the Jews, and supposed to be northeast of Jerusalem in the wild hill country; the village of Emmaus, not surely identified, but placed by Conder at Khamasa, seven miles southwest of Jerusalem—these are the places mentioned in connection with his ministry in Judea. Bethlehem's honor we have already noted. That possible fuller record of which John speaks might have told us of journeys to the plain and to Hebron and round about Jerusalem; at any rate we can see the land as he saw it, and estimate its bearings upon those who, under favoring conditions, inhabited it. Its chief glory to our Master was that within its borders he was to accomplish the will of Him who set apart its mountains for the training of a people out of whose midst he, the Messiah, came. That, too, is its glory in our eyes.

III. JERUSALEM.

The interest of the traveler in Palestine climaxes as he goes up to Jerusalem. Eagerly he watches for the first sight of her walls and regretfully he turns away from her streets and the hills and valleys round about her. Whoever goes intelligently need fear no despoiling of his idealizations, but rather may gain that vivid realization of the natural scenery of much of the Bible story that will always give it freshness. We say "whoever goes intelligently," and that means two things, going with some conception of the present condition of the land and city, and some acquaintance with the work that has been done in recent years helping toward an accurate determination of localities connected with the history of both Testaments.

There is perhaps no place on the globe where tradition and superstition have worked so well together. The city and the surrounding hills are full of "sites," and credulous pilgrims with no knowledge of the changes which an eventful history has brought about kneel at impossible shrines and listen to absurd identifications. The supreme interest of the city for a Christian is, of course, in its connection with the life of our Lord, and the purpose of this sketch is, as far as possible, to mark the outline

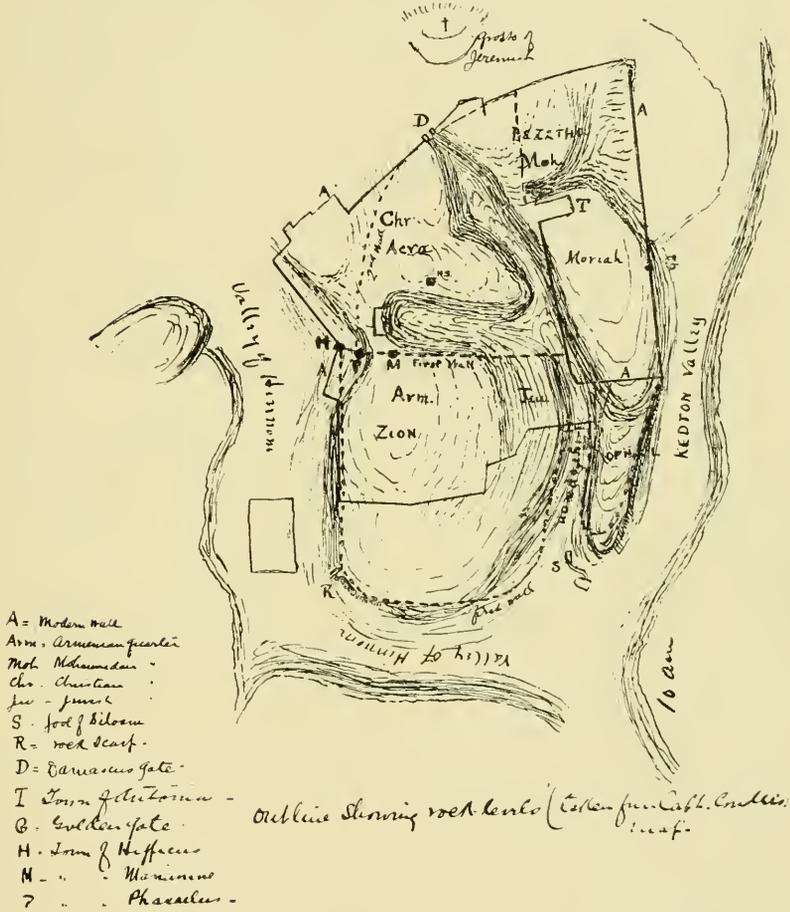
of that which was the city to him, and to show its difference from the Jerusalem of today. To help us we have, as the result of recent excavations and measurements, the establishment of the rock-levels all about the city and the definite settlement of some points of topography which are of great value.

To get some idea of modern Jerusalem, let us imagine ourselves upon the slope of Olivet east of the city. As we look toward the west, we have immediately in front of us the large quadrangle of the mosques of Omar and El Aksa, covering about thirty-five acres; beyond to the north of this quadrangle, and partly on the west of it, is the Mohammedan quarter; on the hill at our right, and west of the Mohammedan quarter, is the Christian section; south of this, and on the highest part of the city, the Armenian quarter, and adjoining this on the east, reaching from it to the western wall of the sacred quadrangle, the Jewish quarter.

Notable buildings appear on all sides amid indistinguishable dwellings. The mixture of minaret and tower, of church, convent, and synagogue makes evident the religious difference of the city, which is comparatively small, and as of old, "compacted together." Her streets are narrow and irregular, and not remarkable for cleanliness. There is yet no good water supply, and the inhabitants are generally poor. Nevertheless, interest deepens as one studies the view and seeks to replace in thought the Jerusalem of other days. Repeated devastations have changed the appearance of the city in some important respects, as have also changes in the line of the walls.

By consulting the map, which exhibits the rocky contours, one can see how the city is placed. It rests on two promontories of rock formed respectively by the Kedron and Tyropæon valleys on one side and this latter and the Hinnom valley on the west. The Kedron starts on the north and sweeps around past Bezetha and Moriah and Ophel. The Tyropæon begins near the present Damascus gate and runs southeast right through the city sending off an arm which reaches nearly to the Jaffa gate. Except in its lower portion, this valley is not distinctly marked, and it is not strange, for nearly fifty feet of débris fill it up. The

present wall dates only from the time of Solyman the Magnificent, 1542; buried beneath the rubbish of centuries lie most of the walls of the old city.



- A = Modern wall
- Arm. = Armenian quarter
- Moh. = Mohammedan
- Chr. = Christian
- Jew = Jewish
- S. = foot of Sion
- R. = rock scarp
- D = Damascus gate
- I = Tower of Antonia
- G. = Golden gate
- H. = Tombs of Heffes
- M. = "Marionens
- P. = Phaselus

Outline showing rock levels (taken from Capt. Conder's map)

But the work of the last twenty-five years under the direction of the Palestine Exploration Society has done very much toward helping us to an accurate restoration of the Herodian city with which our Lord was familiar. The following facts are now beyond dispute: the position of Ophel, south of the present temple inclosure; the direction and depth of the Tyropæon

valley; the name of the southeastern hill of the city—the upper city; the position of the pool of Siloam below the spur of Ophel; the location of the royal towers near the present tower of David, in the first wall; the southwestern angle of the old “first” wall at the rock-scarf in the present Protestant cemetery on the Zion Hill; the position of the Tyropæon bridge leading to the royal cloisters of the temple, the position of the southwestern angle of the temple inclosure. These facts, together with the description of the rock-levels, put us in the way of, at least, more intelligent discussion of the great problems yet in question—of these the greatest are these: (*a*) the extent of the old city in the time of Christ; (*b*) the area of the temple inclosure at the time of Herod’s enlargement; (*c*) the site of Calvary. If we could be sure of (*a*) we would also be a long way toward the determination of (*c*). That ancient Jerusalem was a far nobler city than that which now fronts Mount Olivet can be readily believed when we think of the glory of the temple, of the palaces and public buildings that rose up from the high city, and of the walls with their numerous towers and battlements. In the fifth book of the “Wars” Josephus gives the course of the walls before the destruction of the city in A. D. 70. Let us follow them as far as possible. The first began near the present Jaffa gate and ran directly eastward along the northern edge of the hill of the upper city (see outline) and ended at the wall of the temple. From the Jaffa gate it went southward along the brow of the hill facing the Hinnom valley to the rock-scarf where it turned eastward, and “bending above the fountain Siloam” passed along the eastern brow of the hill near the line of the present wall where it crossed over and came back along the edge of Ophel. It is but right to say that the direction of the wall after leaving the rock-scarf on the southwestern angle is disputed. Conder, with others, makes it cross the Tyropæon just above the pool of Siloam, while Lewin follows what seems the more likely conjecture which we have already indicated. The moment we attempt to draw the line of the second wall we must face the serious question of the place of the crucifixion. A second spot is coming more and more into dispute with the

traditional site under the Holy Sepulchre Church—and that spot is the Grotto of Jeremiah, not far outside the present Damascus gate. Nearly all the data for determining the direction of the second wall are wanting. Josephus says that it began at the gate Gennath, which is conjecturally located near the tower of Hippicus, and ran to the tower of Antonia.

If for no other reason than the painful superstitions which crowd the whole interior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, that were sufficient to make us wish to find some quiet spot like the hill outside the gate as the place where the wondrous sacrifice was made. Herr Schick, who contends for the present site, makes the second wall turn sharply several times on its way to Antonia. The rock-levels again seem to call for a course which would include the Sepulchre Church, for with a sloping hill a wall would be a weak defense in proportion to its distance from the summit—and the position of the church is below the summit of the Akra ridge.

As long as the actual remains of a wall in this region are not clear beyond question one cannot be dogmatic regarding the site of Calvary, but the evidences of an old gateway found near the present Damascus gate and the line of rock-levels would well support the theory that the line of the second wall passed north from near the tower of David along the ridge of Akra to the present Damascus gate and then turned along the ridge of Bezetha to the northwest angle of the temple area, *i. e.*, to Antonia. This would make the present site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre untrue. It must be remembered that a long time had passed after the crucifixion before this site was fixed upon and honored with a memorial, and, as another has remarked, it was as easy to be mistaken about this as about the location of the place of the ascension which has always been pointed out as on the top of Mount Olivet. Furthermore, the grotto of Jeremiah answers to all the conditions of the Bible account; especially so, if the present Damascus gate marks the site of an ancient gateway on the much-traveled road toward the north. It was then without the walls, near the city, near a leading thoroughfare, conspicuous, and formed like a skull. As we stood upon the

clear, quiet spot under the open sky and quite away from the noise and mummery of traditional remembrance, our earnest feelings were only too glad to second the judgment which makes this the most memorable place on earth—the actual scene of the crucifixion. As the three crosses stood upon this height, sixty feet above the road, they must have been visible from the housetops all about Jerusalem. Singularly enough Jewish tombs have been discovered near by, and though it cannot be identified it may be that one of these was the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. If these conjectures are correct we can see from the outline that the general circumference of Jerusalem in Christ's time was different from that of today. Now the southern part of the upper city of Zion is outside the walls, and its area is occupied in great part by a cemetery. Ophel is no longer included within the city and is but a barren rock. On the northeast the wall is curved further out and joins the temple area in a straight line and the area of Akra was not quite as large. Only a broken arch, Robinson's arch, remains to show the place of the bridge which led across to the temple area. Indeed, by the filling up of the Tyropæon all the ancient approaches on the west side of the temple area are obliterated. No wall now divides the city as did the old "first" wall. The brook Kedron was deeper, and all the surroundings of the city must have been more attractive than now. The Xystus stood in the Tyropæon west of the temple wall and the tower of Antonia probably at the northwest angle of the great area. By different levels one ascended to the Holy Place of the temple itself, and the inclosure was enlarged by Herod at the southwest angle. It is the opinion of Sir Charles Warren and Captain Conder that the northeast angle began near the present golden gate and followed the line of the ridge in a northwesterly direction.

Such are the changes that come to light by modern exploration and measurement. They give us some idea of the general contour of the ancient city and that is about all. At least twenty times Jerusalem has been besieged, and the rubbish, some of which existed when Nehemiah rebuilt the walls, has been heaping up so that near the southeastern angle of the present Haram

wall the great stones of the foundation were found nearly eighty feet below the surface. Still the general position of the city is the same as when Christ saw it; Olivet is watching above it as of old; Gethsemane cannot be far away from the traditional site. The deep valleys run yet on both sides of the steep hills, and Scopus is yet seen toward the north. There below Ophel is the Pool of Siloam; in the Kedron valley is the old spring now known as the Virgin's Fountain—connected by a tunnel with Siloam. Underneath all the city are the great caverns whence rock was taken once for its buildings. One can look down into rock cisterns underneath the temple area, and the broken aqueduct exists which brought water from the Pools of Solomon. Roman, Saracen, Crusader, and the different peoples of modern time have built memorials upon these sacred hills.

Estimated according to modern standards, Jerusalem has none of the requisites of a great city. It is glorious only in memory; for its associations its interest will be imperishable. May the good work but go on which has already so greatly helped us to a clearer knowledge of its topography.

IV. SAMARIA.

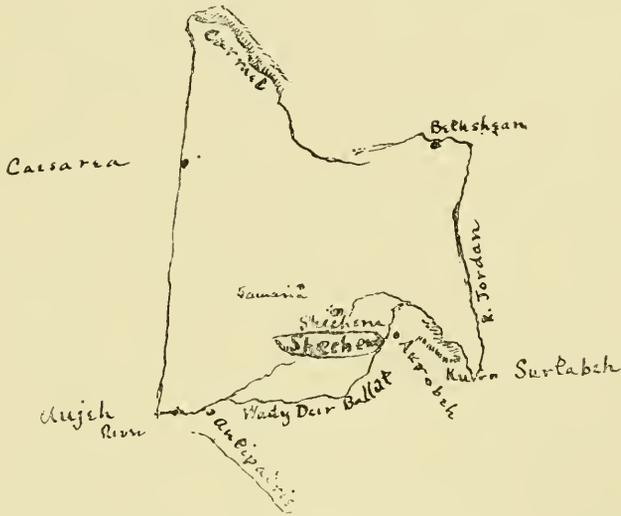
From the fact that the Land has its chief interest in its associations with our Lord, the traveler, as he turns his back upon Jerusalem to go northward, has generally in thought the hills and sea of Galilee. The vivid story of the synoptic gospels makes these the objects of desire after Jerusalem. Samaria, with one possible exception, seems merely so much country to be passed over in order to reach Galilee. Before, however, the journey is finished, there is ample reason to acknowledge that this part of the land has its own imperishable interest on account of its physical configuration and consequent historical associations. If some of the identifications of the Palestine Fund explorers hold, New Testament events add their part to the long, varied record of scenes enacted amid the plains and on the hills of this region. We can do no better in entering the land than to follow the modern itinerary, for it carries us through the heart of the country and brings us face to face with its distinguishing marks

Over roads that are utterly unworthy of the name we travel northward to Bethel, and the scenery is yet the same as that described in our study of Judea. Barren hills with narrow valleys, and here and there some cultivation, mark our way. We are still in the borderland. In a few hours, however, after leaving Bethel the scenery has more variation. The mountains are yet rugged, and the roads are stony enough, but the valleys begin to open. There are more olive groves. What looked from the coast like a solid wall of rock forming one continuous sky line with the mountains of Judah proves to be far less impenetrable and austere. We are coming into the home of the old tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. Josephus does, indeed, describe Samaria as "entirely of the same nature as Judea, since both countries are made up of hills and valleys," but the description is very general. It is the different disposition of hills and valleys which has so much to do with the peculiar history of this central portion. Samaria, Shechem, Bethshan—one must know the spots upon which they stood to appreciate fully their power and glory, their trials and disasters. The natural boundary between Judea and Samaria is the present Wady Deir Ballût—a water course which rising at Akrah (the Accrabi of Josephus) runs westward in a deepening ravine and empties into the Anjeh river.¹ Eastward the boundary passed north of the Kurn Surtâbeh ridge—the northern boundary of the lower Jordan plain—and ended at the Jordan. The northern boundary was the southern edge of the plain of Esdraelon and a line extending to the Jordan close to Bethshan or Scythopolis. The outline on page 25 will give the position of these marks.

Within these boundaries, excluding Carmel, a space of 1405 square miles was included. Professor Smith, in his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, has emphasized the "openness" of Samaria as compared with Judea. As the traveler comes out upon the broad valley leading up toward Shechem or enters the valley of the latter city itself, or rides about the great mound of Samaria, this feature becomes very striking. The road from the southern boundary, of which we have spoken, to the northern

¹ Cf. *Quar. Statement Pal. Explor. Fund.*, 1876, p. 67.

frontier, is nearly all of it through these broad valleys, which are well tilled and very fruitful. With only little climbing one passes from plain to plain up through the whole land. It is an easy road by the way of the plain of Dothan through into the plain of Sharon. No steep defiles render perilous the entrance of an



enemy from the east or the west, and the hills in many places slope gently to these plains. This feature of the land has had much to do with its trouble in history. Take for instance the position of Shechem. It lies in a valley which sweeps up from the plain of Sharon past Samaria, and is thus open on the west. On the east the Wady Fârah opens in like manner a broad way to the Jordan. Beautiful as the position of the ancient city is, it is practically defenseless. Hence the choice of Tirzah and Samaria and Jezreel as places of abode by the kings of Israel. About the strongholds in or near these broad valleys so liable to invasion have been enacted many of the most stirring scenes of the land's history. Samaria, on its mounds some 300 to 500 feet above the broad valley in which it stood, both invited and resisted the attacks of armies from the east and the west.

At least three of these easily ascended valleys run down to the Jordan on the east, while the gentle descent of the hills on

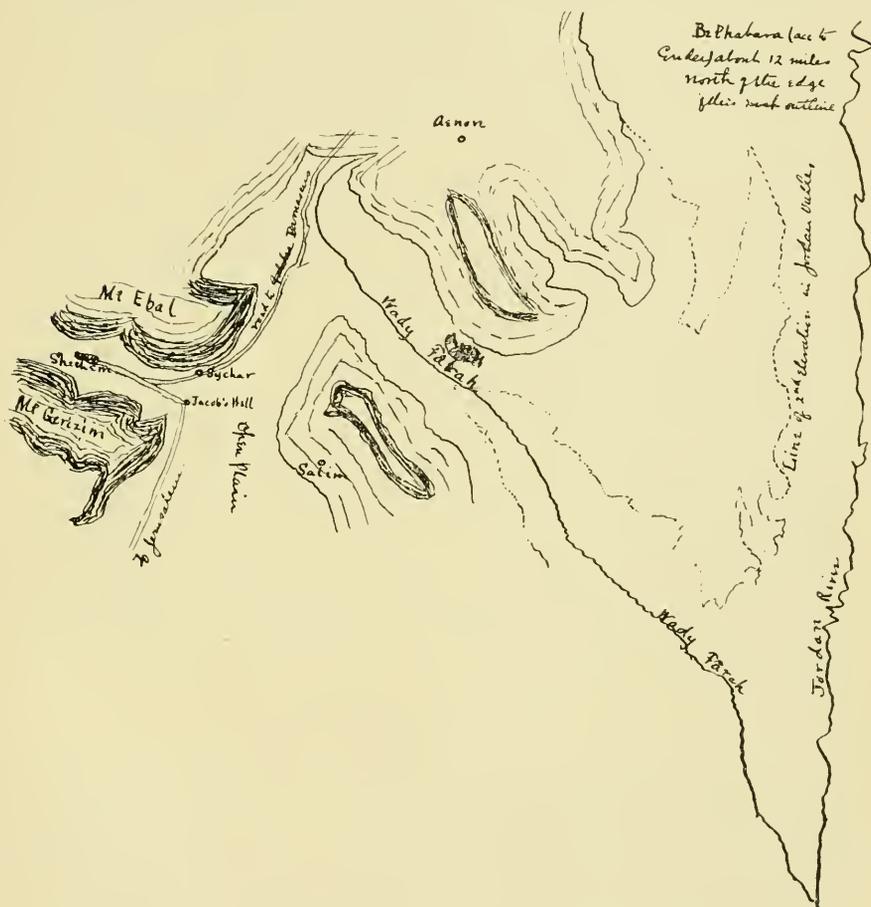
the west makes access to the plains behind them in no way difficult. When war departed from them they quickly responded to the hand of the husbandman, and gave to the land the appearance of great fertility. The picture is now vivid in the writer's memory of the field of grain that covered the plain east of Jacob's well, of the long lines of olive trees up the sides of the valleys, and of the vineyards with their promise of rich fruitage. Samaria is a goodly land. We think of it, perhaps, too often as the home of the hated rival sect of the Jews, or it is linked with the memory of the extreme deeds of the Israelitish kings. Its very physical character made it, as one has said of it, "oftener the temptation than the discipline, the betrayer than the guardian of its own," and so on one side the picture is of fair fields and fine olive groves; on the other of beleaguered cities and desolating struggles. The best point of view for a wide outlook over the land is from the top of Mount Ebal. Its towering summit reaches above the outline of the plateau seen from the coast, and tells one at that distance the position of Shechem, which for beauty and attractiveness is unsurpassed. Mount Ebal is 3077 feet above the sea level and 1200 feet above the valley. What Neby Samwil is for a prospect over Judea, this noble mountain is for Samaria. On the north one can see to the high hills of Galilee on the left beyond the Sea of Galilee, and back of them the snowy height of Hermon; on the east beyond the Jordan gorge stretches the broad plateau of the Hauran; on the south are the mountain heights above Bethel; on the west the maritime plain with the flourishing cities of Ramleh, Ludd, and Jaffa, and beyond the blue sea. Nearly the same prospect can be had from Mount Gerizim, though it is not quite as full, as the mountain is some 200 feet lower. The places of historic interest are too numerous to note in an article of this length, but we must stop long enough to mark a few that have especial interest in connection with our Lord's ministry. Just below us in the valley is the site of Jacob's well — one of the two or three spots in the land where one can feel that he is actually upon a place made sacred by the known presence of our Lord. Dr. Thomson has called our attention to the very few places connected with the

Master's life and work which can be positively identified. Tradition tries to mark the spot of every notable event, but, as if to render impossible, at least to intelligent pilgrims, the temptation to idolatry of places, the exact position of nearly every one is obscured or lost. We must content ourselves with general views and fasten our thought rather upon him. It is therefore with deep interest that one looks down into this deep well of Jacob, sits upon the curb, and recalls that great discourse which fell upon the astonished ears of the Samaritan woman. Jewish, Samaritan, Christian, and Mohammedan tradition agree about the site, and it remarkably answers to all the demands of both the story of the Old Testament and that of the New. The well is now seventy-five feet deep, but was much deeper, since the bottom is filled up for many feet with stones thrown in by passing travelers. We had a drink of its cool, refreshing water, and coming to it about the same time of day, "the sixth hour," after a long, warm ride we were able fully to enter into the description in John. One lifts the eye now upon the fields in the plain of Moreh giving promise of the harvest, and imagination readily pictures the scene of the Samaritan woman, the wondering disciples, and the curious people hurrying over from the near town of Sychar. This lies about half a mile away on the southeast slope of Ebal. It is a simple enough picture, but what wide-reaching truth was declared that day by this humble well! Criticism, in its eagerness to prove that John could not have written the fourth gospel, thinks it finds indisputable proof here in this very scene, for there is "a very significant mistake," we are told, about this town of Sychar. It is not known to us as in Samaria. Ever since the time of the Crusaders there has been confusion about the names Sichem and Sychar. But the early Christians placed Sychar a mile east of Shechem and Conder shows us how the Samaritan chronicle clears up the difficulty regarding the identification of the modern name "Askar" with that of Sychar.¹ Every consideration argues for the present identification, and here, as in other instances, it may turn out that John is accurate to a nicety in all he says concerning topog-

¹See *Quar. Statement Pal. Explor. Fund.*, 1877, p. 149.

raphy. At any rate here in this open valley under the slope of Gerizim with its Samaritan temple Christ declared that high truth about worship which shall yet do away with all exclusive temples and priestly ritual. This one spot has the deepest interest for the modern traveler and well it may. Its natural setting, its clear identity, its high associations give it worthy honor in the thoughts of all who are privileged to visit it. But there are possibly still earlier gospel associations in this region. If one looks up the valley to the northeast, the eye falls upon the upper slope of the Wady Fârah which broadens and deepens as it flows toward the Jordan. There are copious springs in this valley and here has been located the place of John's baptizing mentioned in John 3:23: "And John also was baptizing in Aenon near to Salim, because there was much water there." The last phrase is manifestly a necessary part of the description. It certainly would be superfluous to speak in this way regarding the Jordan. Ainûn (identified with Aenon) is about four miles north of the head springs, and Salim three miles south. The proximity of these two places points to the Wady Fârah with its broad valley and abundance of water as the place where John sounded his trumpet call to repentance and baptized those who came. The common conception of John the Baptist's ministry is that it was near the wilderness and by the Jordan in the plains of Jericho. Thousands of pilgrims go each year to the supposed site of the baptism of Jesus across the plain from Jericho. Tradition has fixed upon this site, and for all that we know it may be the true one, but in John 1:28 we are met with the puzzling statement that "these things," John's testimony and baptizing, were done in Bethabara (A. V.; Bethany, R. V.) beyond Jordan. Where was this Bethabara? Was this also in the plain of Jericho? The difficulty in that case is that since Jesus was in Cana on "the third day" he would be obliged to accomplish a journey of at least sixty miles in one day. Captain Conder argues carefully for the site on the Jordan just above the entrance of the Nahr Jalud into the river. It is somewhat remarkable that the name "Abara" should cling to just this one ford of the Jordan. He suggests that "Bethany," the most

approved reading, may refer to Batanea on the east of the Jordan. The site cannot be accepted without question, but as placed it would well agree with the Scripture statements and show another important move in the active ministry of John the



Baptist. There certainly is as yet no reason to hurry to the conclusion that the author of the fourth gospel is again making a mistake. We subjoin an outline which will give the relative position of these events recorded in John's gospel. They are worthy of study in view of the plausible criticism that tries to use them against John's authorship. These same valleys which

have engaged our attention for a moment saw at their early coming the glad hosts of Israel and they might well rejoice in the land God had given them as they marked its springs and water courses, its fertile valleys and noble hills. Here on these very mountains over Shechem they listened to the reading of the law and echoed their earnest "amens" and then went forth to struggle for the mastery of the land.

Much interesting work has been done in Samaria by the Palestine Exploration Society. It has supplemented the vivid description of intelligent travelers by careful detailed work and settled more than one important question. Were it not that it is more to our purpose to give a general idea of the land and its relations to the New Testament story, it were pleasant to linger about the interesting ruins of Bethshan in the valley of Jezreel; about Samaria with its broken columns and ruined church; about Gerizim with its manifold sites, Samaritan and Christian; about Antipatris, Cæsarea, Megiddo, and other places rich in history. That history, as we have said before, is but a reflection of the conditions of the land itself. In her stern mountains Judea held her own and waited the coming of her Lord; Samaria heard over and over the tramp of foreign armies and was in possession of a "mixed" race when the star rose over Bethlehem, but in her midst was declared the truth which is yet to break down all dividing lines forever.

V. GALILEE.

Fortunate is the traveler who is not compelled to enter Palestine from the north and pass from the glory of Galilee to the rocky barrenness of Judea. Jerusalem is, indeed, before him, and Bethlehem. Every part of the land is full of historic interest, but there is no finer setting of the pictures of the gospels than that which is made by the lake shore and the mountains of this favored region. Nature here has given of all her wealth — springs, brooks, broad, fertile plains, gentle hills, pleasant valleys, protected mountains, and a noble lake. The bracing air upon the hills and the softer climate of the lake basin have made possible the widest variety of products from the

land, and the sea has done well its part in supplying human needs.

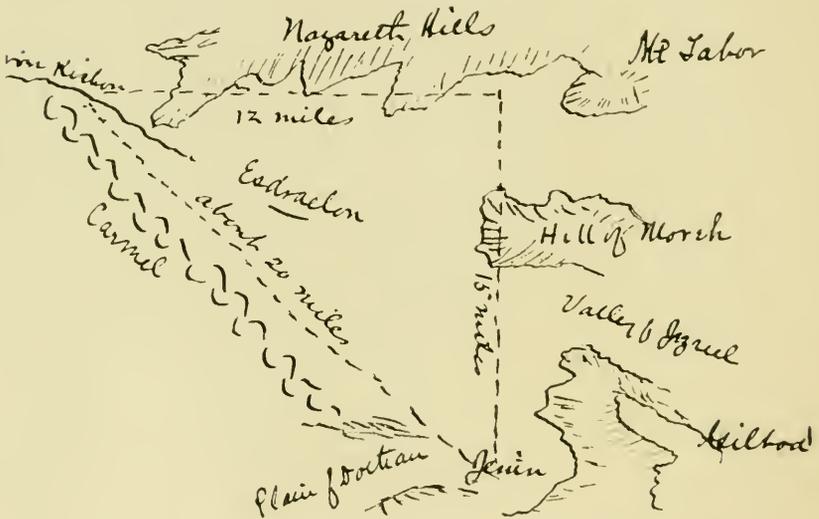
We can best study it all, and from our study gain some conception of the relation of the land to its history, by dividing it into three parts: (1) the great plain of Esdraelon, (2) the mountainous district, and (3) the lake.

Before taking these up separately let us mark the boundaries and extent of the whole. On the north the natural boundary is the river Leontes, or Litany, which ranks next to the Jordan and flows with winding course down a deep gorge to the Mediterranean. On the east the Jordan and the lakes of Merom and of Galilee make the natural limit; on the south a line passing from the Jordan along the southern side of the plain of Esdraelon and running along Carmel to the sea; on the west, Phœnicia. The eastern and southern boundaries changed at times, but when these were as given above all four included a space of about 1600 square miles. From Jenin, on the southern border, to the Leontes is about fifty miles, and it is about one-half that distance across the land from east to west. It was not until the time of the Maccabees that that name which appears in our New Testament—"The Galilee"—came to denote the whole northern region. The real reason why the Greek article is used with this word in nearly every case in the New Testament (it is wanting only twice) is that this beautiful land, widening from the small "circuit" which at first included only a few cities on the eastern side, became at last "*the circuit*," "*the Galilee*" *par excellence*.

Taking up our division into plain, mountains, and lake, let me ask you, in order to gain a clear conception of the first, the plain, to go with me to the western slope of the hill of Moreh, which rises back of Shunem. From our place of outlook we can command the whole plain, and the triangular shape of it is at once discernible. If we make Carmel the base of the triangle we have for one of the sides a line passing north and south through our standing place and for the other one running nearly east and west along the base of the Nazareth hills. In crude outline it may be given as on the next page.

Two prominent openings into it are on the eastern side of the triangle—the plain extending to Mount Tabor and the valley of Jezreel, which, with broad sweep, goes down to the Jordan. Away at the northwestern corner, where the northern hills come close to Carmel, is the narrow pass of the river Kishon. The configuration of it all is the best interpreter of its troubled history.

From the bay of Acre at the northwest, just beyond the pass of the Kishon; from the plain of Dothan, which is separated



from it by only moderate hills on the south, and which itself opens easily into the maritime plain; from the valley of Jezreel with its ascent from the Jordan; from the opening near Tabor into the upland by the lake,—ready access was found to this broad, undulating, fertile plain. It is the highway across Palestine. Here was space for chariots; and armies, either from Egypt, or the west, or the east, made it their pathway to the east or to the sea. Because of its character and position every part of it is rich in historical associations. Over there, nearly opposite us, where the Nazareth hills approach Carmel, was the camp of Sisera by the pass of Kishon; around at our left, as we face the

west, was the scene of Gideon's brilliant rout of the Midianites who were encamped just below the hill of Moreh, while Gideon was on the slope of Gilboa opposite; just beneath us is the old camp of the Philistines at Shunem who gathered against Saul and defeated him on Gilboa; there at Megiddo Josiah attempted the defeat of the Egyptian host and was himself defeated; and south of us near Jenin was the camp of Holofernes. Near Carmel were the camps of the Roman armies. Again, at the foot of the very hill on which we are standing was a stronghold of the Crusaders, and here, too, the French routed the Turks. And even now the Bedouins swarm up the valley of Jezreel and make themselves a terror. As we looked out upon the peaceful scene one bright, sunny day when the laborers were busy in the fields and the charm of the whole landscape with its frame of mountains came completely before us, it was difficult to realize that this peace had so often been broken by the terrible ferocity of war. There is no other spot in the world quite like it. It has been "big with destiny." It has been compared to "a vast theater with its clearly defined stage, with its proper exits and entrances," and the figure is striking, for the drama both of nations and of religion itself has had some of its most significant scenes here—so significant, indeed, as to suggest the symbolism of that greater conflict of the Apocalypse, "the battle of the great day of God Almighty . . . when the kings of the whole world shall be gathered together unto the place which is called in Hebrew Har-Magedon."

In vivid contrast to all this is that quiet yet thrilling scene of the gospels which was enacted here upon the very slope of the hill of Moreh—when the sad procession, just coming out of the gate of the city of Nain, was met by the Saviour, and its mourning turning into unspeakable joy by the restoration of the widow's son to life.

As we turn to go northward into the mountain district, two ways are open to us. Either we can go around Tabor and ascend to the plateau near the lake, passing the ruined fortress on Tabor which guarded this road, or we can take the road leading us directly to Nazareth. We take the latter, and soon find our-

selves climbing all the circuitous way which brings us into the very heart of the hills and to Nazareth itself. One cannot forget, as one looks upon the place, that here Christ spent the greatest part of his life, and as the scene is characteristic of the hill country of Galilee, we may well stay by a while and study it. The present Nazareth is lower down the hill than was the ancient town, but whatever the changes in the place itself the hills are there as Christ looked upon them. We can get our best view from the ridge back of the town, and our climb is rewarded by a prospect that is as varied as it is interesting. Looking south, the whole western portion of the plain of Esdraelon is spread out before us, and on beyond it Mount Gilboa and the high hills of Samaria. As we face toward the south, on our right, beyond the hills, gleam the waters of the Mediterranean. Turning from the sea toward the north, our eyes fall upon one end of the large, fertile plain of Asochis, and yet more directly north on the higher hills of upper Galilee, while over toward the northeast, we can discern the borders of the lake basin and the valley of the Jordan, and far away in the distance snowy Hermon. If wide prospect and noble scenery make their impress upon the mind, what a joy this scene must have been to the opening mind of the Christ child! And that hilltop carries one really away from what is called "the seclusion of Nazareth." To have known anything of Jewish history must have made one feel on that hilltop, back of the city, how close by it all had been.

Then, too, in any geographical study of Galilee one must not forget the place and importance of the great roads that crossed it and their relation to the cities and villages. Galilee was much nearer the life of the world than was Judea. Over her great highways merchants were passing and repassing, soldiers were dispatched, officials journeyed. And some of these important roads were but a little way from Nazareth. One of the great roads from Damascus came up from the Jordan to the plateau on the western side of the lake and crossed to Accho by Cana and Sepphoris; another passed around Tabor, crossed the plain, and then went southwest to Gaza and Egypt. Is it supposable that these came so near Nazareth, and yet it knew nothing of all

that such thoroughfares imply? The more we have come to know of these great roads, the more we feel that the estimates of both Dr. Merrill and Professor Smith regarding Nazareth as being in the very midst of the life of its generation, rather than isolated from it, are worthy of consideration. As the latter has said, "The pressure and problems of the world outside God's people must have been felt by the youth of Nazareth as by few others."

There is a clear line of division in the mountain district itself. If one were to draw a line across the map from the upper end of the lake of Galilee to the coast, and then mark the mountains, he would find that all those north of the line were considerably higher. The average of those below the line is under 2000 feet, while above it there are those as high as 4000. This latter fact makes the scenery of upper Galilee imposing, and yet it does not take the stern, forbidding character of Judea. Everywhere the land was fertile. The region all about Safed, "the city set on a hill," was marked for its fertility, and Josephus speaks of the land as "inviting by its productiveness even those who had the least inclination for agriculture; it is everywhere productive." One must take these, and other statements like them which could be quoted, into account when the matter of the population in the time of Christ is to be considered. For example, it is said that for sixteen miles about Sepphoris (a city not far from Cana) "the region was fertile, flowing with milk and honey." It is not surprising, therefore, that near the beautiful open valleys, and on the gentler slopes of lower Galilee, and on the hilltops in upper Galilee many cities existed. Josephus says that altogether there were 204 of them — the smallest of which numbered above 15,000 inhabitants.¹ This makes, indeed, a large population, but considering the conditions of the land, its trade interests and its lake industry, and the packed way of living in the cities, this is not improbable.² How it all intensifies the picture which the gospel gives when it says that "Jesus went about all the cities and villages teaching in their synagogues and preaching the

¹ *Life*, XLV.

² See for other reasons MERRILL'S *Galilee in the Time of Christ*, pp. 64 ff.

gospel of the kingdom and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness" (Matt. 9: 35). In view of them, with their thousands of needy souls, he could pathetically say, "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few."

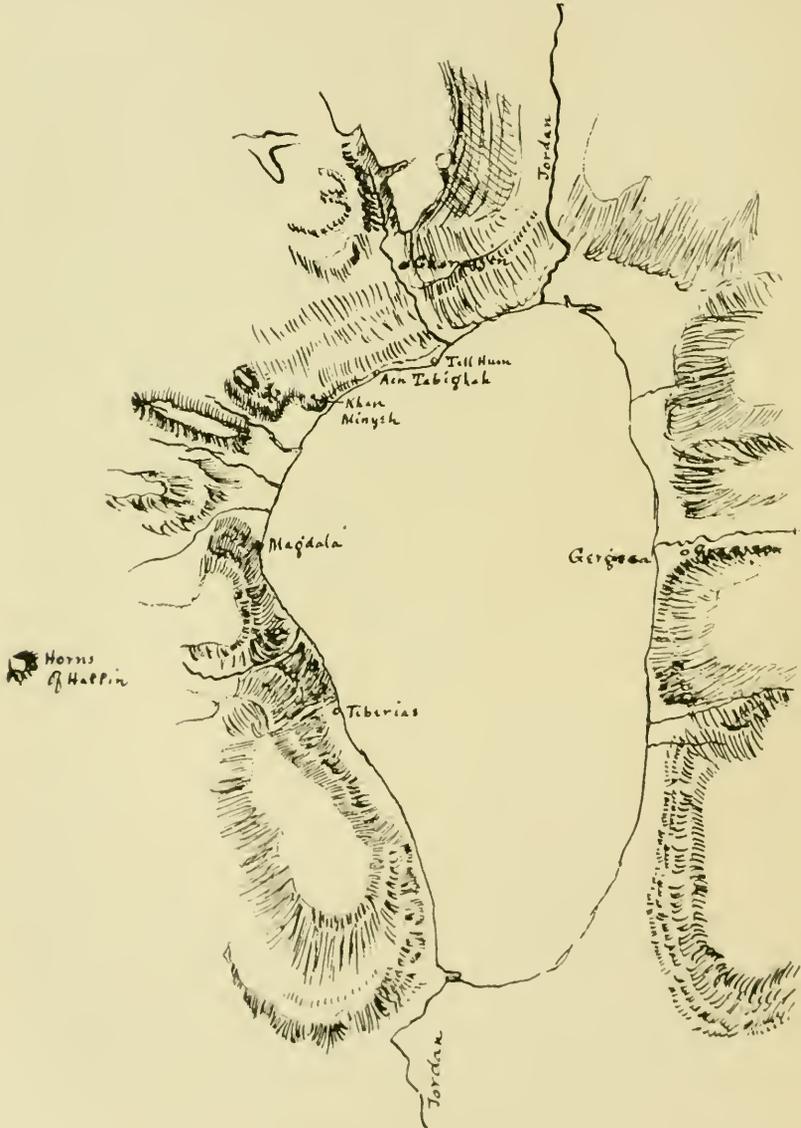
Such, in brief, is the mountain district of Galilee—a land of valleys between beautiful hills; of mountains that are imposing but not barren; of springs and water courses that were the very symbols of life; of vines and fruit trees and grain fields that gave support to a great population; of roads and caravansaries and places of customs that kept its people in close touch with the world beyond; of cities and towns that themselves teemed with activity. In Galilee Christ may have learned far more of the world than we are accustomed to think. His meditations upon his mission and upon himself may have gained increasing definiteness from the very environment of this busy, eager province. Nazareth was only six hours from Ptolemais on the coast—the port for Roman traffic; it was only two hours from Tabor, Nain, and Endor; one and one-half from Cana and Sepphoris, and itself a city. It is not an extravagant supposition that Christ may have been in all of these neighboring cities during those years of which we know so little. There is only one place on this mountain district besides Nazareth that is mentioned in the New Testament, and that is Cana. The modern traveler is taken to the village of Kefr Kenna, and shown the waterpots and the place of the wedding scene. Another site claims the honor of that imperishable incident, but the position of Kefr Kenna on the road from Nazareth to the lake argues for it rather than for the other.

From all that we know of the Sea of Galilee the contrast between its present appearance and that of the days when Peter and John fished in its waters and Christ taught by its shores is sharp and saddening. It was our privilege to look down upon it for the first time from the Horns of Hattin on a lovely day in April, when the hills all about were covered with verdure and the waters were as blue as the sky they reflected. We had prepared ourselves for disappointment, and had we gazed upon the scene a month or so later, when the hot sun had withered the grass and taken

away the glory of the springtime, we should have had no such delightful memories of the whole region as we gained that day. Despite the desolate shores and the deserted lake surface it was charming, and, as the sun, toward evening, cast long shadows from the western hills across the still waters, and the coolness of twilight invited one to walk along the beach, we could understand how a rabbi might say, "Jehovah hath created seven seas, but the Sea of Gennesaret is his delight." What it was in Christ's time we shall see in a moment. The general shape of the lake can be best seen on the accompanying outline (p. 38). It is twelve miles long and about eight broad at its widest part. The hills on the western side close in upon it except in two places, viz. just below Tiberias and just above Magdala. There is quite a recession of the hills at the northeast corner and a narrow space runs nearly all along the eastern shore. From the source of the Jordan to its entrance into the lake the river has made a considerable descent, for the surface of the lake is about 680 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. In this great depression is a climate like that of the tropics. One can see in a moment from the configuration of the shores how the lake is quickly and violently tossed by the winds. Down the gorges through which the streams find their way the cooler winds of the uplands are drawn as through funnels, and almost without warning they lash the lake surface and place anything upon it in peril. These sudden violent squalls but repeat the "storms" which are the setting of some of the vivid events of the gospels.

When we referred to the contrast of the present appearance of the lake to that of Christ's day, we had in mind especially the life and thrift at that time everywhere apparent. Tiberias with its wretched poverty, and the miserable Mejdal (Magdala) are now the only places of human habitation, and one has no desire to linger by either of them. We had difficulty in securing a single boat to carry us over to Capernaum. The blight of the Turk is upon this fair region. What must have been the charm of the scene when, added to all its own attractiveness, there was that of hundreds of boats moving in all directions; of beautiful palaces with fruitful gardens all along the shore:

of large towns full of activity and of highways busy with trade. Nine or more cities stood on or near the shores, and every phase of life was represented in them. The region of Gennesaret which begins at Magdala and extends along the lake, according



to Josephus, thirty furlongs with an average breadth of twenty furlongs was the very "garden of the Lord." In its genial climate and soil flourished the walnut, the palm, the fig tree and the olive, exhibiting, as Josephus says, "an ambitious effort of nature, doing violence to herself in bringing together plants of discordant habits and an amicable rivalry of the seasons, each, as it were, asserting her right to the soil."

With the deepest interest one comes to this part of the land and of the lake, for here the Lord spent, if we count his whole ministry, three and one-half years, *two* of these momentous years making Capernaum "his own city," doing many mighty works both in Bethsaida and Chorazin, and going from this region for his tours in upper and lower Galilee. All three cities, Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Capernaum, are in question. Taking Josephus' description of the extent of Gennesaret, Capernaum may well be placed at Khan Minyeh. It then stood upon an elevation commanding in position, and it was near the point where the roads from the south and the west turned into the road to Damascus. The ruins of the synagogue at the present Tell Hum signify little for the determination of the site, and there is much more to be said for Khan Minyeh than for this. Chorazin is placed about two and one-half miles northwest of Tell Hum on the left bank of a valley which comes down to the lake near Tell Hum. Bethsaida, if there were two Bethsaidas, was probably at Ain Tabighah. There is much to support this, and, if we accept it, the beautiful shore that here skirts the lake is a memorable place. Its gentle sandy slope is admirably adapted for fishing boats. Here upon the beach the multitude stood while Jesus spake to them from a boat just off from shore, and to this the wondering fishermen came back with their miraculous draught of fishes and "then left all and followed him." But Bethsaida and Chorazin and Capernaum, all of them exalted in privilege, have met an earthly judgment which has made even their actual sites doubtful. In the day of their privilege they were busy, thriving towns, in touch with the outside world; apparently "too busy" to care for the teachings of a prophet from Nazareth. On the open space at the northeast

of the lake occurred the feeding of the five thousand, and at some distance back from the shore by the river Jordan stood Bethsaida Julias. The scene of the cure of the demoniac is located near Gergesa on the east side below the Wady Semakh. How much of the story of the gospels plays upon the northern end of this lake! Here were the beginnings of Christianity in the lives of those disciples who slowly learned the meaning of his words and deeds.

Again we must call attention to the position of it all. Why did Christ go to Gennesaret to make his home? Why did he spend so much time about the northern end of this favored lake? Was it not the very character of the people that called him hither? Galilee was loyal in faith, indeed more so to the law than Judea, but it was also more generous and large minded because of its closer contact with other peoples. Here he would find his first disciples; here he himself wished to move, in touch with the broader influences of life, and no place on earth has more hallowed associations, unless it be the slopes of Olivet. The pictures that were made by its fields, its vineyards, its highways, its streets and lanes are all in the gospels. Here by day he went about doing good, and when night came with its "deep, blue sky, spangled with the brilliancy of innumerable stars," he went aside to pray. Mountain, lake, and the heavens above them,—all speak of him.

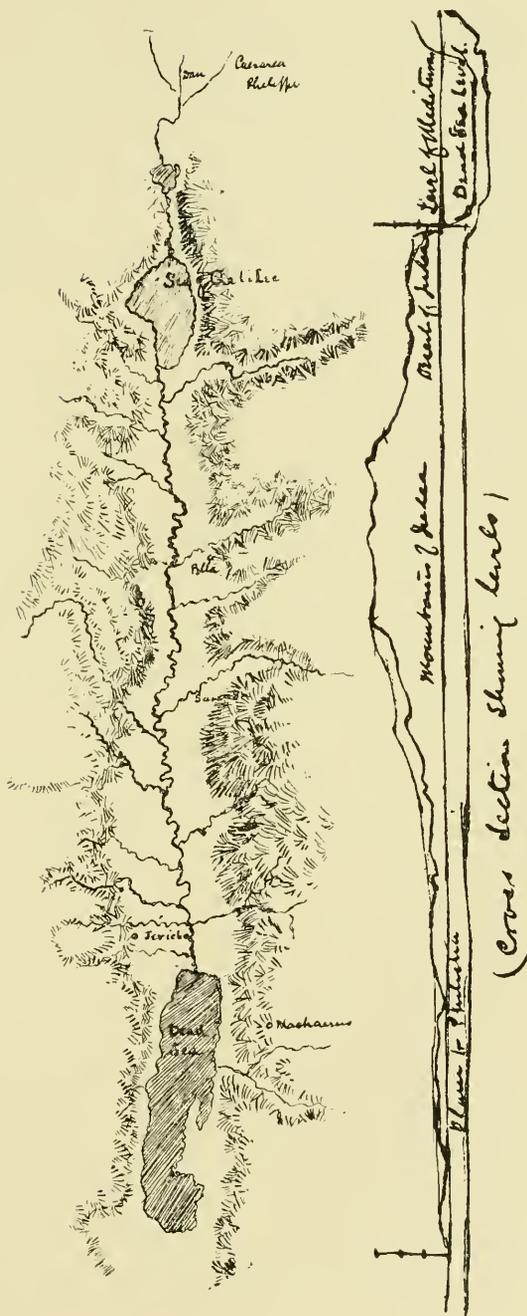
VI. THE JORDAN VALLEY AND THE PEREA.

In order to gain some idea of the formation of the great cleft in which the Jordan flows, imagine the whole space now occupied by the mountains on both sides the river and the valley covered by the waters of the ocean. This, we are told by geologists (see Dawson's *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, Hull's *Mount Scir, Sinai, and Western Palestine*) was the condition in the Cretaceous Age, when the thick limestones of both the Lebanon and Judean hills were formed. Later the Cretaceous beds underneath were "bent into folds," the great limestone formations heaved above the water making the ridges which form the mountains of western Palestine, on one side, and eastern on the other, and leaving between them a great fracture which

extended north and south for over 350 miles. On the western side of this fracture the earth's crust subsided and between the high mountains the deep hollow of Cœle-Syria, of the Dead Sea, and the Gulf of Akaba came into existence. The final form of this cleft was not reached, however, till that change in level which confined the Dead Sea to about its present dimensions and reduced the size of the Gulf of Akaba. Then came the order of sea, river valley, lake and sources such as we now have them going from south to north. Taken all in all, it is not perhaps extravagant to say of it, as Humboldt once did, that "it is the most remarkable depression on the face of the earth." The varied character of its lake, river, and plain scenery, the sharp descent of its rocky floor, the majestic forms of its mountain walls, the peculiarities of its climate, and the singular nature of its salt sea, make it full of interest apart from all historic associations. We can best come to these by a study of the physical features of the valley. Leaving out the Sea of Galilee which we have already briefly examined, we can for the sake of definiteness divide the remainder of the valley into three portions, (1) that from the sources of the Jordan to the Sea of Galilee, (2) that from the Sea of Galilee to the broad plain below Kurn Surtâbeh, (3) that of the broad plain itself and the Dead Sea.

Amid the varied and beautiful scenery of the slope of Mt. Hermon the Jordan begins, and its beginnings are in some respects as singular as its course and ending. It leaps into being from the great fountains of Hasbeya and Banias and Dan, whose waters join in one stream in the plain of el-Huleh, just above the present lake of Merom. These springs are respectively 1700, 1140, 701 feet above the level of the sea, and out of each gushes a great body of cool, sweet water that hurries away to the plain. Just over us is the massive rock front of Mt. Hermon whose summit is covered with snow. We are high enough to have all the products of a northern clime, and both Cæsarea Philippi and the site of ancient Dan are justly noted for their rare natural positions. Of the latter it used to be said, "it had no want of anything that is in the earth" (Judges 18:10),

and the spring that comes out like a river from the western slope of the mound on which the old city stood is said to be the largest single spring in the world. The fountain at Banias, where Greeks, Romans, and Jews alike have left traces of their presence, flows from under a mound which lies in front of a large cavern in the mountain side. This was the grotto of Pan, and Philip the tetrarch, who gave the place the name of Cæsarea Philippi, beautified the temple which Herod the Great placed by this fountain and grotto. What the fountain is to the region can be inferred from the words of another who describes the scene as it now is: "Everywhere around the ruins is a wild medley of cascades, mulberry trees, fig trees, dashing torrents, festoons of vines, bubbling fountains, reeds, and the mingled music of birds and waters." The traveler goes to this favored spot, however, not so much because Herod and Philip built temples there, nor because the river begins there, but because the Lord came to it after the Galilean ministry was virtually over, and there, away from the Pharisees and amid surroundings almost wholly Gentile, received the confession of Peter which fully declared him. For several days the Lord remained here, talking of the sad issue so soon to come at Jerusalem, and once, at least, he climbed some spur of Hermon, where, in the solemn stillness of its exalted retirement, he was transfigured before them. Usually the modern traveler leaves "the Land" behind him, as from this place he mounts the ridge of Hermon on the way to Damascus, and the last prospect over the upper Jordan valley out upon the mountains of upper Galilee and down toward the lake makes a happy conclusion of all his days of deeply interesting sight seeing. Our study leads us to turn the other way, and going down through olive groves and oak glades we come to the plain of the waters of Merom, and keeping to the right we pass the marshes and the lake itself, and come to the rocks that hem in the river after it leaves this first lake. We have already made a considerable descent, for Banias is 1140 feet above the sea, and Merom only 373 feet. The lake of Huleh is about four miles long, and two and three-quarters broad, and the distance from it to the gorge is about two miles. As soon as the river strikes the edge



of the narrow cleft between the precipitous hills which bound it on either side it plunges downward in a foaming, seething torrent over a course of about nine miles and descends nearly 900 feet to the level of the Sea of Galilee. For some distance before it reaches the sea it glides with smooth current through the delta it has formed, and passing the site of Bethsaida Julius and the plain, enters the lake. This part of the river has no special biblical interest. The great Damascus road crosses it about two miles below Lake Huleh.

Three times the perilous journey in a boat down the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea has been undertaken, and the interesting account of Lieutenant Lynch, U. S. N., the last who accomplished the task, in 1848, gives us a vivid picture of the sharp turns, the frequent rapids, the dangerous rocks, and precipitous banks which are found all down "the Ghor," as the Arabs call it. The valley differs in width and general character at different points, being for the first thirteen miles below the lake not more than four miles wide, then expanding to a width of over eight miles, which holds until we come to Tell Sakut (Succoth) when it narrows again to about one mile and so continues to the Wady Fârah when it broadens out considerably again, until south of Kurn Surtâbeh it opens into the "Circle" of the Jordan reaching a width of fourteen miles. The great plains are therefore opposite the valley which leads up to Esdraelon and over against the road which leads past Jericho up to Jerusalem. Why should this fertile valley be called Arabah, or desert, and in the New Testament the "Wilderness" (Mark 1:4, 5)? Partly because of the heat; partly because of wild beasts which infested it, and partly because of the reaches of unhealthy soil in it, and the impossibility of irrigating certain portions of it. Speaking of this impossibility and of the trouble of wild beasts calls to mind the actual bed of the river itself. From the hills back of Jericho one can easily trace the course of the river through the plain by the tamarisks and semi-tropical trees that fringe its shore, and these do not stand up clear from the common level of the plain, but are in a depression which, opposite Jericho, is 200 feet deep and sometimes one mile broad. In such a cut the

river finds its way all down the valley and the banks of it are mostly white marl. This is the space the river floods, and amid these trees and tangles of bush and brake wild beasts made their hiding places. This was "the pride of the Jordan," meaning the "luxuriance" of growth along its immediate banks. Upon this level the receding floods left the wreckage of driftwood and overturned trees, and their deposits of mud. And when you come to the river itself, its turbulent muddy current is anything but inviting. This is particularly true of its lower portion. The bathing place of the pilgrims, as we saw it one bright afternoon in April, was no such quiet inviting spot as pictures have made it, for the reason that pictures can give little idea of the swift muddy current that at the time of harvest overflows the banks and then recedes, leaving behind mud and disorder. Indeed, the whole river compared with the broad, noble streams which we dignify by this appellation is unworthy of the name. In a land, however, which knows only such water courses as find their troubled way down through mountain gorges it ranks among the greatest.

In the valley down which we have come to the opening of the Jericho plains there are several places of interest. On the plateau just south of the Jarmuk, which drains the Hauran, stood Gadara, the chief town of the "country of the Gadarenes." Below, resting on a mound several feet above the level of the river and about opposite the slopes of the valley of Jezreel, was Pella, to which the Christians fled before the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. At the point where the Jabbok enters the valley is placed Succoth, sacred to the memory of Jacob, and on the site of the modern Tell er-Rameh stood the large town of Livias and Julias. "All up the east of the river you come across patches of cultivation, the property of various Bedaween tribes on the highlands to the east."

It is a pleasing view that opens to the traveler who goes "down from Jerusalem to Jericho" as he comes to the edge of the mountains over the plain. A large sweep of valley from the sea to the protruding mountains by Surtâbeh on the north, and across to the hills of Moab on the east, is within the range of vision. What it might be if it were perfectly irrigated and a just govern-

ment gave protection to those who cultivate it! It is not a good place to live in, for the tropical heats are enervating, but it would nobly respond to diligence in cultivation. As it now is the dreariness of it but adds to the weariness in crossing it in order to come to the traditional spot on the Jordon, or to go to the shore of the Dead Sea. Over there, near the northern shore of the sea, may have been the sites of Sodom and Gomorrah; right before us is the stretch of the Jordan that "rolled back," and "away," that the host of Israel might come over. But the point of greatest interest is close to us at the foot of the mountains. Who could recognize in the name of the miserable, filthy village of er-Riha a form of the word Jericho? Such, however, it is, and imagination has something to do to transform the wretched mud village into the stately "City of Palms," that flourished near by in the days of our Lord. Josephus speaks of it as a "divine region," and says that the fountain near by watered a tract "seventy stadia long by twenty broad, covered with beautiful gardens and groves of palms of various species." There seem to have been three distinct sites for the city at different times of her history. Joshua found it near the present fountain of Ain es Sultan; in the time of Christ it was further south toward the Wady Kelt and nearer the direct road to Jerusalem. The modern er-Riha commemorates the Jericho of the Crusaders. One only has to remember that Herod lived much in Jericho to realize what kind of a city came suddenly to view as one neared the sharp descent into the valley. Palaces, baths, and theaters reared their stately forms amid the beautiful gardens and palm groves. It was, as one has called it, "the gateway of a province, the emporium for trade, the mistress of a great palm forest, woods of balsam, and very rich gardens." Now there is not a trace of it. Back of the city, and forming part of the western wall of the plain is Mount Quarantania, whose summit has been fixed upon as the place of the temptation. It is, of course, a purely traditional site. These very heights back of Jericho have been one part of her weakness. The enervating climate has been the other, and over and over again she has become the spoil of the conqueror.

It is a ride of several hours from the site of the ancient city to the Dead Sea, though its blue waters seem very near. As we come to the level of it we are nearly 4000 feet below Jerusalem, and 1290 below the level of the Mediterranean. Add to this the depth of the sea itself at the northeast corner, 1300 feet, and one gets some idea of this stupendous cleft that divides Judea and Moab. The Dead Sea is about fifty-three miles long and has an average width of nine or ten miles. It has no outlet, and that means much. The water escapes only by evaporation, and either shows itself by a haze over the glassy surface, or in mists that at times gather into clouds which break into terrific storms. The streams which pour into it all carry a bit of salt in solution. Down at the southeastern end a ridge of rock salt five miles long and 300 feet high adds its quantum of salt, and springs in the sea itself help to make the sea five times more salty than the ocean and fatal to all life. It is rightly called the Dead Sea. There is no body of water like it. Like the mountains of Judea over against the plains of Jericho; the wilderness over against the fertile valleys of Hebron; snowy Hermon over against the plain of Gennesaret, it stands in vivid contrast to the Sea of Galilee whose waters it constantly receives. The rock walls on either shore go up over 2000 feet, and are pierced at intervals by deep gorges. These mountains stand splendidly against the deep blue of the sea itself, and if one will know their fascinating glory, let him from the tower on Olivet watch the sun cast his light upon them toward the time of his sinking behind the western hills. Another has said that the history of this unique desolate sea "begins with the story of Sodom and Gomorrah and ends with the massacre of Masada." It has almost nothing that is happy to tell us. The one incident of the New Testament which brings us near its coast is the shameless murder of John the Baptist, who, according to Josephus, was beheaded in the gloomy fortress of Machærus on the eastern shore.

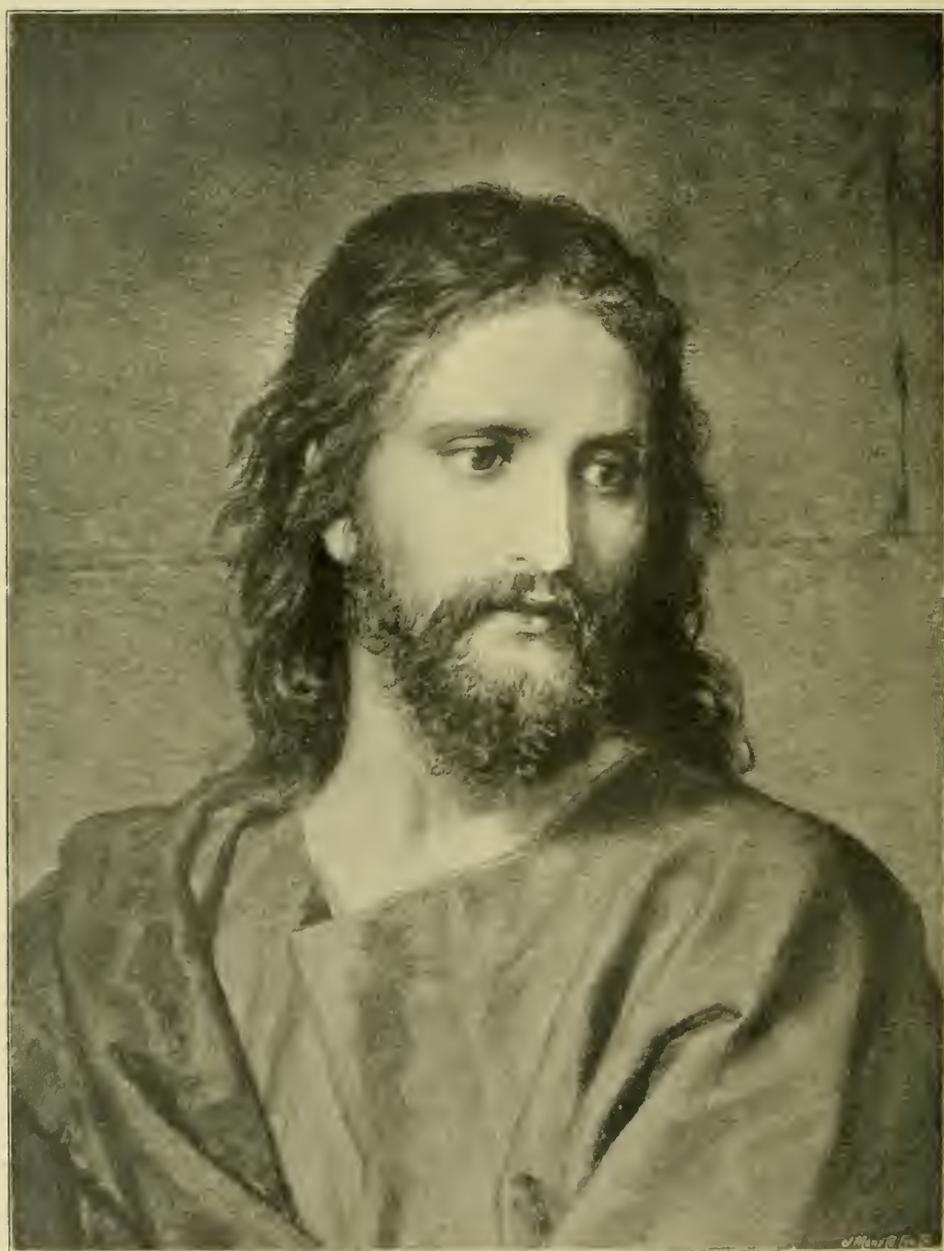
Such is the variety of scene, of level, and of climate from Banias to Jebel Usdum. The Jordan was the great "divider" as well as the swift "descender." That rift was the real boundary of the western land. It is at your right at every view that you

may have toward the east as you go northward from Judea. The high levels on the other side have always been, as it were, "apart." It was more than merely a river crossing to go "over Jordan," and while at times the river has not been the western boundary of the people, yet the sense of the dividing influence of the valley is clear enough in the Scripture.

Inasmuch as our Lord's ministry touched one of these divisions which, though east of the valley, was yet reckoned as one of the divisions of the western side, it will be well for a few moments to look at Perea. As the name signifies, it is the region "beyond" the Jordan, and it could be used of territory of different limits. It probably extended from the Arnon to the Jarmuk. It was given by Herod to Antipas and was reckoned as with Galilee and contained a Jewish population. One could cross over the Jordan just below the Sea of Galilee and then back again to Jericho and so reach Jerusalem without going through Samaria. Into this region Christ came upon his final departure from Galilee (Matt. 19: 2; Mark 10: 1).

Such, in brief outline, is the geography of Palestine. One cannot come from journeying up and down through its valleys, and over its plains, without realizing how great is the variety in the small territory which the whole land embraces.

Not only for its central position, but for its own self, it was chosen in the providence of God. Mountain, valley, river, lake, and sea; heights far enough above the sea to have the glory of a snow crown, depressions far enough below the level of the sea to yield the fruits of the tropics; wildernesses desolate in their barrenness and plains with all variety of products; springs that give a perpetual outflow of life, and fountains that make rivers, and a lake that called about it a varied activity. All these are reflected in the imagery of the Book whose history is inseparably associated with them, and whose pages in their very settings of truth have something for all lands and climes.



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FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

THE Greeks stood alone among the nations of the earth in their appreciation of the beautiful; the Romans in their interest and skill in organization. The Hebrew nation stood alone in its overwhelming sense of the heinousness of sin. This thought controlled all their thoughts. Finding themselves in the midst of sorrow, wretchedness, and death, all of which are the result of sin, they began in the earliest periods to look for *deliverance*. The idea of the character of sin was implanted in the Hebrew heart for a purpose. This purpose, as it developed, revealed the divine plan for man's relief from the consequences of sin. In a study of these thoughts and utterances which look forward to the Christ, one must consider the subject from the point of view not only of the divine plan, but also of the human expectation. Israelitish history, wrought out according to a divine purpose to furnish a basis for the development of the plan, falls into several distinct divisions, each division marked by certain great characteristics.

1. Recalling the history of Abraham, the patriarchs who follow him, the residence in Egypt, the exodus, the giving of the law, the wandering in the wilderness, the death of Moses, and

the conquest, we may ask: How definite at the time of Moses' death had the expectation of this deliverance become? and how definite at this time were the promises which had been made from heaven? The destiny of man as a ruler of the world is fully appreciated, as well as the endowment given him by God through which his destiny may be attained, namely, creation in the image of God.¹ The nature of the conflict between man and the powers of evil has become apparent. The struggle will continue for ages, but in the end the woman's seed shall be victorious over the seed of the serpent, though receiving injury in the conflict.² The necessity of the close indwelling of God in the midst of men is appreciated, and men believe that God will in a special manner take up his dwelling in the tents of Shem.³ It is evident that in the successful prosecution of the plan, one nation from all the nations of the earth must be selected, guided, and educated, and it is believed by the Hebrew nation that their ancestor Abraham was thus selected,⁴ and that to him a promise was made of a country and a great posterity through which the world shall be blessed. A tradition also exists to the effect that this blessing was transmitted from Abraham to Isaac, from Isaac to Jacob,⁵ and that from the sons of Jacob, Judah was selected to be the leader; his supremacy to continue until the conquest of the promised land.⁶ As time passes on and Israel, having left Egypt, becomes a nation, the feeling gains ground that Israel, in order to accomplish her work, shall be a kingdom of priests.⁷ Balaam, hired to preach against Israel, sees the nation, with the insignia of royalty, destroying her enemies round about.⁸ If the Israelitish nation as a nation is to be a mediator to nations, it soon becomes apparent that for this work a special order of men should be set aside,—the priestly order.⁹ In order that the nation may be guided aright, and not be compelled to resort to necromancers and wizards, there shall be raised up from time to time prophets who shall speak to them the law of God.¹⁰ More than

¹ Gen. 1 : 26-30.⁵ Gen. 27 : 27-29.⁹ Num. 25 : 12, 13.² Gen. 3 : 14, 15.⁶ Gen. 49 : 8-12.¹⁰ Deut. 18 : 15-19.³ Gen. 9 : 25-27.⁷ Ex. 19 : 3-6.⁴ Gen. 11 : 26-12 : 3.⁸ Num. 24 : 17-19.

this, Israel, in order to perform properly her mission among the nations of the earth, must, like other nations, have a king, a royal king.¹ The thought of the period, therefore, seems to have connected itself with the line through which the deliverance is to be wrought; the land in which the great drama of deliverance is to be played; the means of deliverance, namely, the chosen people, and the special agencies by which the chosen people shall effect the divine purpose, a priestly order, a prophetic order, and a royal order.

2. In the period of Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon, the idea of royalty is uppermost in the minds of the people. A monarchy is established. The king who shall sit upon the throne represents Jehovah; he is, however, subordinate, not only to Jehovah, but to Jehovah's messenger, the prophet. In this period the temple is erected and Jehovah is understood to take up his dwelling in the temple, a great advance upon the dwelling in the tents of Shem.² The promise is made that David's seed shall be established upon David's throne and that he shall be, indeed, the son of God as beforetime Israel had been called God's son.³ The king with Jehovah at his side shall rule over Zion. His army, made up of countless youth, shall march as volunteers under his banner. Guided by Jehovah he will win the victory upon the blood-drenched, corpse-covered battlefield, and with unrelenting vigor will pursue the conquered and defeated enemy.⁴ His reign will be characterized by peace and mercy; it will be universal and everlasting.⁵ The whole thought of the period turns upon the idea of the king; and what could be more natural, in this early age, and at a time in which the thought which filled the minds of all the people was that of an earthly kingdom. The king described in this ideal manner did not come in the period in which he was expected. When at last he did come, he was not the king that had been described. He was, however, something greater than even Israel's prophetic vision had foretold.

3. In the southern kingdom after the division there is little or no prophetic impulse. Here the monarchy and the priesthood

¹ Deut. 17 : 14-20.

³ 2 Samuel 7 : 11-16; Ps. 138 : 43-50.

² Ps. 24.

⁴ Ps. 110.

⁵ Ps. 72.

were supreme and the visions of the prophets were rare. In the northern kingdom, however, after a century or so, there begins a prophetic activity which is most marked. Elijah, with a sternness and severity almost indescribable, bewails the apostacy of his times.¹ Elisha, beneficent and courteous, endeavors by diplomacy to advance the interests of the kingdom.² The schools of the prophets, founded back in the times of Samuel, are greatly strengthened, and their work certainly assists in promulgating a truer conception of the Jehovah religion.³ At this time, likewise, Jonah makes his trip to Nineveh and by his preaching of the word brings Nineveh to repentance.⁴ But in all this work the sins of the times and the profligacy of the period are dwelt upon, and, seemingly, the prophets have little strength left with which to picture the ideals of the future. Amos preaches sermon after sermon upon the text "Punishment for sin."⁵ He publishes vision after vision, all of which foretell the coming of judgment and destruction upon the people.⁶ His prophetic eye, however, sees beyond the coming of the Assyrian army and the devastation which it shall work, and in the far distant future he beholds the tent of David which has been broken down, again restored;⁷ the holy land full of harvests and consequent prosperity, Israel gathered again from the four corners of the earth and restored to home. Hosea sees as clearly as did Amos the coming destruction;⁸ he sees also what has not been seen so clearly before, the intense love of Jehovah for his people and his readiness to forgive.⁹ Hosea feels that punishment must come on account of the iniquity of the times; but after this punishment has been executed, he beholds, as did Amos, the restoration of Israel to her land.¹⁰ In all this period there has been slight thought of the deliverance from sin, because the minds of the people are filled with the thought and the need of the deliverance from an immediate calamity. This idea is so close as to drive away the magnificent conceptions of earlier days. On the other hand, it must

¹ 1 Kgs. 17, 18, 19.

⁴ Jonah, 1-4.

⁷ Amos 9: 11-15.

² 2 Kgs. 3, 4, 5.

⁵ Amos 1-6.

⁸ Hosea 4: 1-10; 8: 1-14

³ 2 Kgs. 2, 4, 6.

⁶ Amos 7, 8, 9.

⁹ Hosea 2: 14-23; 11: 1-11.

¹⁰ Hosea 1: 10-2: 1; 2: 10-22; 6: 1-3; 14: 1-5.

be noted that restoration of Israel from captivity is in itself a pledge of the fulfilment of Jehovah's promise, and to this extent the foreshadowing of the great future which lies beyond.

4. The Assyrian times have at last arrived. Isaiah predicts the desolation of Israel, and indicates the sins of the people, which are the occasion of the impending destruction. Yet, beyond this destruction, both he and Micah see the exaltation of the mountain of Jehovah's house, the universal acknowledgment of Jehovah as king, and the introduction of an era of universal peace.¹ When Judah is invaded by Pekah and Rezin, Isaiah announces the coming of a child born of a virgin, whose name shall be called Immanuel;² and before this child shall be able to distinguish good and evil, the Assyrian invasion will have taken place. Somewhat later, when Tiglathpileser carries away captive the tribes of Zebulon and Naphtali, and the people of Jerusalem are panic-stricken because of this, the beginning of the fulfilment of the prophecies of destruction, Isaiah preaches³ the coming of light in the midst of darkness; of joy and freedom, instead of grief and captivity; of the abolition of war; and all this because of the child that is yet to be born, whose name is given as the Wonder of a Counselor, God of a Hero, Father of Booty, Prince of Peace. Samaria falls (722 B. C.), in accordance with the prediction of the prophets; but the judgment is not yet finished. Terrible judgments are yet to come, but they will be followed by times of rejoicing, in which those faithful to Jehovah shall no more be ashamed.⁴

Sennacharib now (701 B. C.) appears in Palestine. Though the army is near at hand, the prophet tells of a righteous judge of the line of David who shall rule the nation in peace, and in the knowledge of Jehovah.⁵ Although Hezekiah surrenders to the Assyrian army,⁶ Isaiah repeats his prediction that the enemy will be scattered, and describes the time when the righteous man shall see the king in all his beauty, and shall dwell with him in Zion.⁷ The Assyrian army is smitten with death and Jerusalem

¹ Isa. 2 : 2-4, Mic. 4 : 1-5; Isa. 4 : 2-6.

² Isa. 7 : 1-25.

⁴ Isa. 28.

⁶ 2 Kgs. 18 : 14.

³ Isa. 8 : 16-9 : 7.

⁵ Isa. 10 : 5-12 : 6.

⁷ Isa. 33.

delivered.¹ On the days that follow songs of joy are sung to heaven, celebrating the city of God as a place of safety and peace for the people; a place of beauty and strength; and a wonder to nations.² A cornerstone shall be established in Zion;³ and out of Bethlehem from the line of David shall come a righteous ruler, who shall lead Judah against the Assyrians.⁴

As before, the thought of the nation seems to have exhausted itself in dwelling upon the perplexities of the day, and yet, in contrast with the dark pictures which the prophet presents, he portrays the brightness of the coming future. Isaiah expects to see the coming of deliverance in connection with the Assyrian invasion. The Assyrian army came again and again, and the expectations of the prophet were disappointed. He is continually looking for the birth of a child. At first, in the days of Ahaz, when he predicts the birth of Immanuel, and later the child, whose name shall be called Wonder of a Counselor, and, twenty-five years later, in the days of Hezekiah, when Sennacherib has led his army into Judah. Isaiah's hopes were not destined to be realized in his own days; but centuries later, when the fulness of time had come, the child was born, as different from the picture of Isaiah's child as was the actual character of the king in comparison with the picture of royalty outlined in David's times. The thought, however, was none the less real; and the hope of the coming deliverance lifted up many a follower of Jehovah in his despondency.

5. The next age is that of Jeremiah and the fall of Jerusalem. Zephaniah sees a coming destruction and, beyond it, restoration, prosperity, and honor.⁵ Jeremiah is so occupied with the evils of his times and his own sufferings as to allow little time for the contemplation of the future, and indeed it was difficult even for a prophet of Jehovah to see much that was encouraging in the future. For how could a prophet reconcile himself to the destruction of Jerusalem? And yet Jeremiah is able to do this very thing. In imprisonment he predicts a restoration after the captivity and describes the righteous branch which shall rule in

¹ Isa. 37 : 36, 37.

³ Isa. 28 : 14-18; Ps. 118 : 22, 23.

² Pss. 46, 48.

⁴ Mic. 5 : 1-9.

⁵ Zeph. 3 : 8-20.

righteousness.¹ Under arrest he promises to those about him relief and restoration and a future time of protection, prosperity, and honor.² He preaches of the establishment of a new covenant and the coming of a time when all men shall know Jehovah.³ As truly as Jerusalem shall be destroyed, so surely shall the people of Israel be restored,⁴ and again Jeremiah furnishes promises of Messianic glory.⁵ When Jerusalem is laid waste, there devolves upon the prophet the task of reconciling God's promise of eternal prosperity with the present condition of things. This naturally leads them to the consideration of something higher than the city itself; a dwelling with God more ideal than an actual dwelling in the temple.⁶ The place of the fall of Jerusalem in the history of prophetic thought is most significant.

6. What form does the expectation of deliverance assume when Israel, far from home and native land, finds herself in the Babylonian exile? Ezekiel, on the banks of the Chebar, tells again and again of restoration of the faithful Israel;⁷ the resurrection of dry bones;⁸ the reunion of the northern and southern Israel.⁹ This indeed is the only note of encouragement which a prophet could preach, for how can there be fulfilment of any of the promises of the past unless first Israel is restored to her native land. Can we put ourselves in the position of the faithful Jews in captivity? While living in Jerusalem before its destruction, they were loyal to the worship of Jehovah, having never been guilty of idolatry. Yet, notwithstanding this faithfulness on their part they are now in captivity. Their sufferings are intense since they are driven away from home and deprived of the opportunity to worship their God. Their brethren, on every side, reproach them because of the inability of the God whom they serve to relieve their sufferings. Their anguish is increased because they believe this suffering to have been sent upon them by God. Why has he deserted them? Why has he driven them away and placed them in the power of their enemies? Have they sinned against him? No. Why was

¹ Jer. 23: 1-8.⁴ Jer. 32.⁷ Ezek. 11: 14-20; 17: 22-24.² Jer. 30: 3-22.⁵ Jer. 33.⁸ Ezek. 37: 1-14.³ Jer. 31.⁶ Pss. 80, 132.⁹ Ezek. 37: 15-28.

their property distributed to their enemies? Had they been faithless to Jehovah? No. What then is the occasion of their sufferings? *The sins of the nation as a whole.* It is because Israel abandoned Jehovah that Israel is now in captivity. They are then suffering because of the sins of others and not because of their own sins. The Israelites who were faithless to Jehovah suffer little on account of the captivity. They did not care for the temple worship or Jehovah; they are well situated in Babylon. Their souls are not tried because Jehovah has abandoned them, since they had first abandoned Jehovah. The real sufferers are those who were faithful. But what is to be the outcome? It is necessary that these faithful ones continue to suffer with those who have sinned and because of their sins, in order that the future may bring a fulfilment of the great promises of Jehovah. If in their distress they turn away from Jehovah, there will be no remnant to whom the promise may be fulfilled. They suffer, therefore, in order to secure future blessings to those who shall follow them. This suffering remnant is the servant of Jehovah; the agent through which a new religion is to be introduced into the world. The nation Israel includes the servant and is sometimes represented as the servant. The prophet in the midst of the captivity predicts that this servant shall be exalted very high.¹ He realizes, however, that preceding this exaltation there is and will be a humiliation. The servant sent to carry to the world the message of its deliverance from sin is not recognized, since no one believes the report which has been given of him and no one sees in his coming the indication of the power of Jehovah. Why is he not recognized? Because he has grown up as a sucker, that is, something superfluous; as a root out of dry ground, that is, without juice or sap; with no comeliness or beauty; and consequently he was despised and deserted. This was the estimation in which he was held by those about him who did not understand his mission. The real fact in the case was that he suffered, but only for the sins of others, and indeed, for the sins of those very persons who, in their blindness, regarded him as stricken with leprosy. It was

¹ Isa. 52:11-53:12.

they who had gone astray while on him the iniquity was laid. In all this suffering, though treated rigorously, there was no complaint. Though treated unjustly, his contemporaries did not see that he was suffering for his people. His end was an inglorious one. But in return for the sufferings of the servant, God had proposed to prolong his days and accomplish through him a divine work. He, the servant, will render many righteous; he will receive great reward; he will be treated as a conqueror. Thus the great thought of the exile should be interpreted; but the return and the restoration of spiritual Israel to Jerusalem as a reward of faithfulness, did not exhaust the thought; it is an ideal description, which includes the suffering servant who, centuries later, was to do for all men and all time what the faithful remnant of Israel did for the times of captivity.

The assurance is given that the redemption long ago promised shall surely come.¹ Israel, in spite of her sins, shall be delivered,² Jehovah cannot forget Zion; consequently she shall be restored.³ The whole present situation shall be changed and the future will bring a period of peace.⁴ The time is coming when men everywhere will accept Jehovah;⁵ when the new Jerusalem will be adorned and decorated;⁶ when there will be a new heaven and a new earth.⁷ These representations show conclusively that the prophets have detached the ideal future from the local Jerusalem. The new era which Isaiah expected in his day, which Jeremiah predicted would come at the close of the seventy years of captivity, is not ushered in with the restoration of the faithful remnant to Jerusalem. This may be understood as a token of the deliverance still in the future, but it is by no means the deliverance which the prophets had expected, and so Daniel in the last days of the captivity postpones the coming of this glorious time still later by seventy weeks.⁸

7. When, under Zerubbabel, the Jews return to Jerusalem, work is begun at once upon the temple. But after laying the foundation it stops. Some years later, urged by Haggai they

¹ Isa. 45:21-25.

⁴ Isa. 54:1-17.

⁷ Isa. 65:17-25.

² Isa. 48:17-22.

⁵ Isa. 56:6, 7.

⁸ Dan. 9:24-27; 12:1-3, 10-13.

³ Isa. 49:14-23.

⁶ Isa. 62:1-12.



THE REDEEMER.

From Munkacsy's Christ before Pilate.

take up again the building of the temple and in connection with his exhortations Haggai predicts an impending shaking of the nations, which shall mean great things for Israel.¹ Zechariah, about this time, describes the Jerusalem of the future in contrast with that of the present,² and enlarges upon Jeremiah's prophecies of Israel's king, the Branch.³ It is in these later days that Joel,⁴ filled with apocalyptic vision sees a time in the future when Jehovah will pour out his spirit upon all flesh and all men will become prophets.

In connection with this he predicts the destruction of all the nations who oppose Jehovah,⁵ and even of Israel herself, in so far as she does not conform to the divine law. The Psalms of the later period deal most fondly with the coming of Jehovah in judgment,⁶ the manifestation of his presence and his power;⁷ a coming which will bring prosperity to those who love him, and a judgment day for the nations who are opposed to him.⁸ But Malachi, closing the long list of prophets, announces the coming of a second Elijah who shall foretell the coming of a messenger of the covenant whose coming shall be a day of destruction to the wicked and a day of blessing to the righteous.⁹

When now we consider the history of Israel as a whole, a history especially conducted by Jehovah, (1) in order to build up a people in the knowledge of himself that through them higher and higher truth might be revealed to the world; (2) in which great and significant events take place, furnishing the object lessons for the inculcation of these important teachings, we cannot fail to recall how, again and again, the inspired speakers refer to the conflict of mankind with evil, announcing that in the end mankind shall conquer. In whom did all these representations find their fulfilment? Who, once for all, gained the victory over sin? We recall the utterance after utterance concerning the day that Jehovah shall appear among men. This coming is always in the future and will be attended with blessings to those who love him, with destruction to those who have

¹ Hag. 2: 1-9, 21-23.

⁴ Joel 2: 28, 29.

⁷ Ps. 95.

² Zech. 2: 1-13.

⁵ Joel 2: 30-3: 21.

⁸ Pss. 98, 99, 100, 85.

³ Zech. 3: 6-10.

⁶ Ps. 97.

⁹ Mal. 3.

opposed him. When has he appeared except in the presence of his son, Jesus Christ? We notice also the vivid portrayals of the day of Jehovah, a day of darkness and distress when hostile nations shall be punished and the people of God redeemed. Does this find its fulfilment in anything else than the new régime which Christ inaugurated? We recall the beautiful descriptions of the Holy Land, as it shall be in the future, where there shall be no death, no sorrow; when man shall be at peace with man and man with beast; when harvests shall be plentiful and everything prosperous; when Jerusalem shall be the great city of the world. We recall how these descriptions enter into the pictures presented to us of the kingdom of God, and we may ask ourselves whether the world has yet seen the fulfilment of these predictions, or whether they are still to come as the outgrowth of the New Testament dispensation, a spiritual land and a spiritual kingdom. We have noted, likewise, how in the divine plan the nation was guided and instructed by three orders of men, each of which in its representations from century to century foreshadows a Christ who shall be at the same time priest, and prophet, and king.

When we remember that there is no such thing as Messianic prophecy in any literature of ancient times except the literature of the Old Testament, and when we consider the definiteness and gradual growth of the full presentation of Messianic prophecy which furnishes the connecting link, from generation to generation, for the whole history and literature of Israel, we may not doubt that in all this there has been exerted an influence for the execution of a divine plan.

THE TIMES OF CHRIST.

By REV. PROFESSOR H. M. SCOTT, D.D.,
Chicago Theological Seminary.

The fulness of times—the Holy Land—People—Social State—Background of poverty—Idea of the kingdom—Pharisaic theology—Messianic hope—Religious life in Israel—Jews in the Dispersion—Forerunners of Christianity—Philo's teachings—The Gentile world—Time of Revolution—Social, political, philosophical, religious—The empire preparing the way of the Gospel.

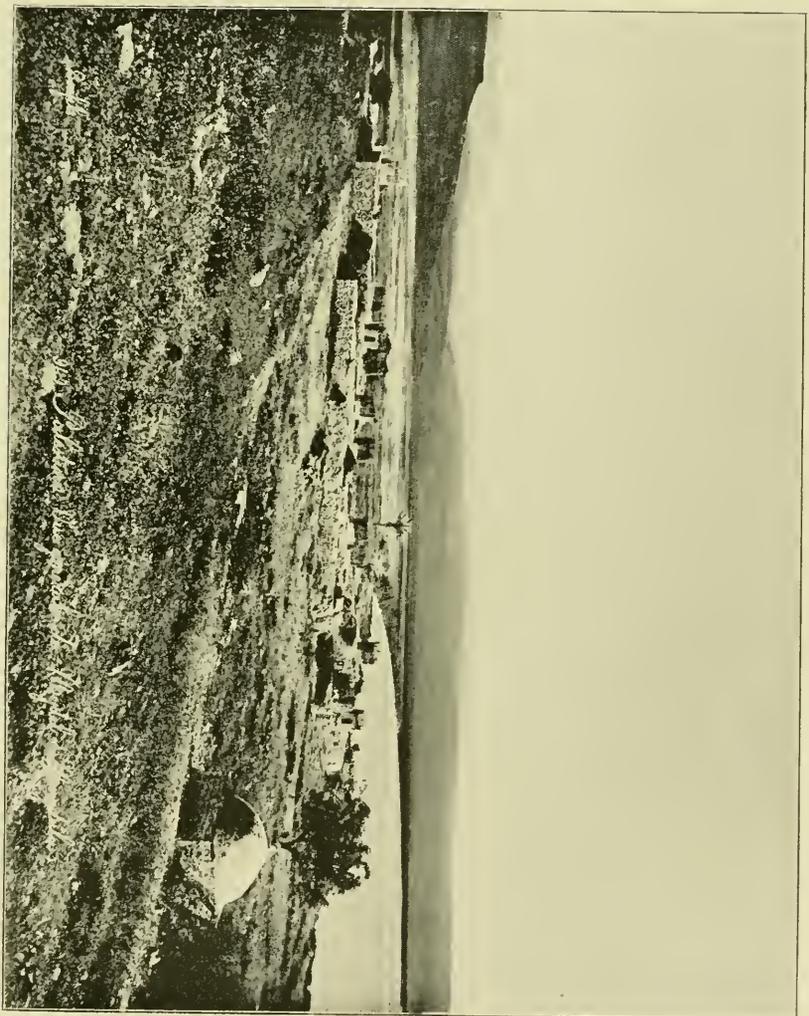
“WHEN the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son” (Gal. 4:4). That does not mean that Christ was a product of religious development in Israel. Neither does it mean that historical circumstances created the Redeemer of men. The fulness of time means the fulness of human need on the one hand, and ripeness of historical preparation on the other. The early church loved to speak of the Jews as the people of salvation through whom God prepared a religion for the world, and the Greeks as the men of philosophy, through whom God prepared the world for the religion. The appointed hour had struck in both Judaism and Hellenism. Had Christ appeared in the Maccabean age of worldly prosperity, or before Macedonian conquests in the East and Roman power in the West had checked Persia and Carthage by humanitarianism and law, we cannot see how he could have fulfilled his mission to Israel, or his gospel found an entrance to the Gentile world. Had he not appeared till after Jerusalem fell and the temple was overthrown, and the confusion of pagan cults, caused by the rise of the Empire and skeptical Greek criticism, had been succeeded by the revived, united paganism and learned orthodoxy of the age of the Antonines, he could not have taken his place as fulfiller of law and sacrifices, neither could the apostles have found Jewish synagogues and Greek lecture halls ready to receive them. His advent coincided with the most stupendous transition in ancient history. The scepter had departed from Judah, to pass first into the hands of Herodians, of the

family of Esau, then into the possession of Rome; while Rome was just moving out of Republican isolation into universal Imperialism. Christ was born under the first emperor. The world-wide Empire and the everlasting Kingdom appeared together. With Herod the Great, the political life of Palestine had become utterly worldly and lost its last theocratic vestige; while in Rome, the most secular of all places, Cæsar claimed to be divine. The Jewish high priest lost his crown and became a tool of Herod. The Roman Emperor made himself also high priest, and as such representative of Jupiter and a god. Between these two contending ideas—the efforts of Israel to defend at all costs the theocracy of Jehovah, and the claim of Rome to stand in her Cæsar for the universal cult—Jesus came to full consciousness of his high calling to found the Kingdom of the Divine Father for all men.

The Jews and their land formed a unique meeting place for the exclusiveness of a people of revelation and redemption with the reason and superstition of the world powers. They were shut in by the sea, the desert, the mountains, and the deep ravines of the Jordan; yet they lay at the juncture of Europe, Asia, and Africa. All peoples came to Israel. And when the time came to offer the revelation through Christ to the world, Apostles from Judea could at once enter every avenue of ancient life. With all his seclusion and conservatism, the Jew was now the most cosmopolitan of men. He met all races in his own land; and through his brethren in the Dispersion he was in vital relations with all parts of the world.

Palestine was an epitome of all countries and zones. Its deep valleys, its plains, its table lands, its mountains, presented the temperature, the fruits, the landscapes of every clime. Hence the Bible, the teachings of Jesus, present universal doctrines in scenery and imagery familiar to all men.

The Jews of the land in Christ's time numbered about five millions; the conservative, aristocratic, traditional part living in Judea about the holy city Jerusalem; and the more free, warm-hearted, patriotic, but less cultured part occupying the rich province of Galilee. Between them lay Samaria, in which dwelt a



RUINS OF MAGDALA A CITY ON THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS.

half Jewish, half Gentile people, who formed a stepping-stone for the gospel from the Jewish to the Roman world (Acts 8 : 5f.). Trade, commerce, dye-works, potteries, glass furnaces, fisheries, agriculture flourished in the fertile fields and numerous towns of Galilee. It was surely not accidental that the chief scene of Christ's preaching, the cities along the Lake of Tiberias, was a hive of industry, in which he met "Fullers' Unions," "Ass Drivers' Associations," "Fishermen's Clubs," and taught the Gospel of the Kingdom in vital contact with the complicated problems of business life. Here, too, he mingled much with the free country life of sowers and tares, reapers and harvest fields, mustard seed and fig trees, hens and chickens, shepherd and flock, which made his words so winsome to the common people. In Judea, on the other hand, he came in contact with Scribe and Pharisee, a highly organized life, the temple and priests, money-changers and questions about tribute to Caesar.

One sad thing, which especially impressed Jesus as running through all the secular existence of his people, was the growing misery and deepening poverty which he met on every hand. It is hardly too much to say that the background of all his preaching was business depression, panic, and poverty. Herod the Great exacted about \$3,000,000 a year from the people. The Roman procurators were equally extortionate. Besides this revenue, there were many local taxes, religious dues, and the irregular levies of procurators, zealots, and the increasing plunder seized by robbers and outlaws. Business became more and more interrupted, and want, with growing frequency, showed its emaciated features. How often Jesus speaks of the debtor going to prison, the creditor discounting bills, the man who could not finish a tower for lack of funds, the poor widow, usury because of scarcity of money, men standing idle in the market, or hiding their little wealth from robbing exactors, and multitudes so living on the edge of starvation that Jesus fed them miraculously. The common cry was: "What shall we eat?" Hence the first petition taught the disciples was: "Give us this day our daily bread;" and the first utterance in the Sermon on the Mount was: "Blessed are the poor."

Largely from this point of view, the practical shaping of the kingdom arose in his mind. He knew of the zealot insurrection of his Galilean fellow countrymen, Judas and Zadok, and saw how they that drew the sword in a religious war perished by the sword. He grew up in an atmosphere of anarchy and theocratic socialism. The vision before his brethren was of a kingdom of David, of glory and riches and victory and power. But he turned away from the zealot conception. He passed by even the Davidic kingdom. He preached a spiritual dominion for the poor in spirit, whose triumphs were in repentance, faith, and being perfect as the King, the Father in heaven is perfect.

The theological thought of the Jews in the time of Christ was molded by the Pharisees. All the people except two or three thousand Sadducees, a few free thinkers called Herodians, and some small groups of mystics, especially the Essenes, were Pharisaic in belief. The center of this theology was the schools of the Scribes, and an outgrowth of these schools was the Fraternity of the Pharisees, an order of about six thousand men, in four degrees, bound together by the special vows of tithes and ceremonial purifications. They were the Jewish Jesuits, the official saints, who both taught the law and showed how it should be kept. Jesus did not object to their teachings; it was rather their practice that he denounced. These men in Moses' seat, as they opposed surrounding idolatry, and set themselves to systematic study of the Scriptures, even advanced beyond the cruder theology of the post-exilic days, and made prominent some doctrines which Jesus approved. There were four ruling ideas in this Pharisaic system which the gospel made fully fruitful. They were those of the transcendence of Jehovah, the individual rather than the national relation of man to God, the Law as the way to please the Lord, and the hope of the Messiah as the rewarder of those who obey the Law. From the point of view that God is our Father and his law is love, Jesus gave this circle of thought a new center, from which it received new illumination and the power of an endless life. The great defect of Pharisaic theology was its legalism, which made all religious life, even sacrifices and prayers, good works, for which man expects

a reward. Such teachings were pessimistic, for all men are conscious that perfection is impossible; the schools of Hillel and Shammai accordingly debated whether or not life were worth living, and the Assembly of the Scribes decided in the negative, but advised men to do the best they can since they are here.

Pharisaic views of the Messiah were not certain. They could not reconcile the two pictures given of him as the Servant of the Lord and a glorious King in the Old Testament. They had no idea of two Advents, and thought they meant either two Messiahs or the Messiah in conflict with enemies and his triumph over them. He was preëxistent, but apparently only in the plan of God. They had no thought of the Messiah as dying for the sins of men. He was not divine. The Pharisees did not put Jesus to death for claiming to be the Messiah; but because he claimed to be the Son of God and equal with God (John 19:7).

In the Golden Age of the Maccabees, hope in the coming Deliverer grew very dim; but the terrible days of civil war, of Herod and Rome, appeared to many as the "birth pangs" of the Messiah. In the time of Jesus, the mass of the people looked for the Messiah. The godly in Israel also, through the study of the prophets, came to have higher conceptions of the coming One. The wider horizon of the Greek and Roman world helped them to think of him as ruler of all nations, and not of the Jews only. They thought of his work as spiritual rather than as that of a warrior king. He was more closely associated with Jehovah. The ethical character of his kingdom was given greater prominence; the sinless Messiah must rule over a holy people. Man's relation to him was made more personal and less national. In general, we may add, that every Israelite saw in the Messiah his ideal, and expected to find in his kingdom just that blessedness which would realize his expectation of heaven.

The religious life in Israel suffered much from the state of chronic insurrection into which the land fell in the time of Jesus. It is true the forms remained. The Jews prayed in private morning and night. They had family worship three times a day. They said grace before and after meat. They kept the Sabbath strictly. They were careful to be ceremonially clean. They

attended synagogue worship on Sabbath and once through the week. They observed the festivals. They offered sacrifices in the temple. They were zealous to make proselytes. But, despite all this, the love of many had waxed cold; legalism and worldliness were benumbing many a soul. Especially did earnest men complain of neglect in the proper education of children. Not a few Pietists, Apocalyptic men, like the Essenes, withdrew from public life. The high priests and other Sadducee leaders of the nation were venal and corrupt. The zealots, who were most earnest, seemed smitten with judicial blindness, and dragged the nation after them into civil strife and utter ruin. The Pharisees vacillated, now for Rome, now trying to be neutral, now favoring the zealots, till blind leaders of the blind they fell into the ditch of common despair and death.

We must now glance at the Jews beyond Palestine. They were found everywhere, and fell into two great divisions, the Babylonian and the Greek Dispersion. They were wealthier, more progressive, more liberal than their brethren in Palestine. In fact the Jew of the Dispersion was very analogous to the Roman. The national life of each centered in a city, but both in a peculiar sense were "citizens of the world" as were no others. Both in their religion became largely denationalized and strove to show a universal cult. But exiled Judaism by losing its body politic became a wandering soul; while Rome in building up a great corporate system lost her soul. But the disembodied Jewish spirit and the inanimate Roman body politic, guarded by Cæsar, could not unite, for Israel had rejected her Messiah, through whom in due time the Empire became an organ of Christian life. This Judaism in the Dispersion was the most important forerunner of Christianity in the heathen world. The foreign Jews had largely the rights of citizenship. They enjoyed religious liberty. They were about as numerous as those in Palestine. In Alexandria they formed one-fifth of the population. In many places they were rich and held important public offices. They were bound together, amid dissolving paganism, by their faith in one God, their union of morality with religion, their Greek Bible, their doctrine of creation, which rejected materialism and pan-

theism, the Sabbath, the synagogue, family devotion, and the hope of the Messiah, who was the embodiment of all that Greek wisdom believed or longed for.

The experience of this Jewish Dispersion anticipated largely that of the Christian church. Josephus in his reply to Apion answers the same pagan attacks which Athenagoras and Justin must meet. The services of the Greek synagogues were essentially repeated in the Gentile churches. But especially in mission work and winning converts from paganism did the Jews of the Dispersion open the way for Christianity. Greek Jews, like Stephen and Apollos, and proselytes to Greek Judaism, "the honorable women," were among the first converts to the gospel. There were many converts in the Greek synagogues, chiefly women. Not a few were of high rank, as the wife of Nero, the eunuch of Candace, and the kings of Azizus and Emesa. The attractions of Greek Judaism were its mission zeal, which blazed out especially in the time of Christ, the fulfilment of prophecy, the exalted teachings of the Old Testament, and the tact and learning with which Jewish teachers set forth the great doctrines of God, virtue, immortality, which heathen sages built upon reason, as resting upon divine revelation. The confidence of Judaism in its faith, and the practical fruits in pure family life, and holy worship also impressed thoughtful heathen.

Especially did the theology of the Greek Jews, as represented by Philo, prepare the way for New Testament thought. The problem of defending Homer, the Bible of the Greeks, from critical attacks was solved by the allegorical theory of exegesis. Philo applied this to the Old Testament and made Moses the source of the philosophy of Greece. He taught an exoteric and an esoteric Judaism, which really landed him in rationalism. The real teachings of Scripture were just the deductions of reason. His most suggestive doctrine was that of the Logos, which he called "high-priest," and "eldest Son of God." This divine reason of the Greeks he made a revealer and mediator of Jehovah, especially of His justice and mercy. There is no doubt that these ideas of Philo influenced the form of early Christian thought; but how far he was from the position of the gospel can be seen in the

fact that his Logos had no connection with the Messiah, was impersonal, was a cosmological principle, and led to natural theology, while the New Testament makes Christ the Logos and is everywhere soteriological and religious.

Let us now turn for a moment to the great heathen world. Here the coming of Christ was marked by revolution—social, political, philosophical, religious—a revolution which shook the foundations of all ancient life and thought. Men felt things were so bad that a change must come. Great Pan was declared to be dead. The Romans were looking for the age of Saturn to come again. The rapid growth of Greek Judaism, and early Christianity shows the unrest of the times.

The social changes which came with the Empire were stupendous. The conquered races were greatly mixed. Of a population of 120,000,000 half had been reduced to slavery. Civil wars and standing armies took the farmers out of the army, out of politics, and made them but tenants on large estates, or drove them into the cities. These slaves away from home, these demoralized farmers, formed a fruitful field for the gospel, which was first preached to the poor in Palestine. On the other hand, the cities were full of wealth, business, and blending of races, equally favoring the reception of new ideas in religion.

The political change from Rome a city to Rome an Empire was also far-reaching. Legislation widened from "municipal law" to the "law of nations" and then to the "law of nature." Rome must make laws for man as man. This transition suggested the idea of human brotherhood, taught toleration, brought in safety under law, and, by robbing men of political liberty, led them to seek a substitute in moral questions and the freedom of the soul. Thus thinking men were forced to dwell upon the very problems which looked towards Christianity.

This appears in the philosophy of the time. It was marked especially by three things. It was eclectic, ethical, and sought certainty in revelation from God. Every man's conscience was the final arbiter; just the position of St. Paul (Rom. 3:14). This later philosophy especially looked towards the gospel, by showing the inability of pagan wisdom to satisfy the soul, by

developing a sense of individualism—as the Pharisees had done—which led towards personal life in God, by teaching monotheism, and the spiritual immanence of God, by holding the unity of mankind—Epicetus said: “We are all God’s children”—and by presenting the life of virtue as a long development, with immortality, the restoration of the “image of God” (Diogenes), as its final reward. But the more practical this philosophy became the more it felt its own weakness as it saw the moral life of the Empire growing worse and worse; and the more it longed, and prayed for a revelation from God. The fulness of times was here also a fulness of need, which looked towards Jesus Christ.

The religious revolution in the Empire was equally striking. It was marked first of all in the generation before Christ by confusion of gods and cults, by skepticism among the educated, and neglect of idolatry by the people. The all-upsetting unification of the Empire sorely demoralized national paganism. But in the time of Christ a revival of religion began. Just in the pause between the two Christianity appeared. But it would be a great mistake to say the gospel spread because paganism was too weak to oppose it. Three elements in this revival of heathenism may be noticed. First, the reforms of Augustus and the introduction of Cæsar worship as a bond of union between contending mythologies and a support to decaying morals. Second, the coming in of Oriental cults from India and Syria. These gave Western religion the priest as active functionary, taught that their followers formed a holy brotherhood, gave women equal rights with men, made rich and poor, bond and free welcome as members, showed the cold Roman the place of emotion in worship, pointed to the mysteries as the heart of devotion, offered bloody sacrifices for sin, taught a new birth, were missionary in character, and loved to tell of a God who came to earth as a man, was slain, rose again, and went about teaching the true religion. It is no wonder early Christians saw in such things a Satanic caricature of the gospel. A third factor in this revival was the philosophical, to which we have already referred.

This unity of the Empire not only prepared for Christianity

itself, but opened up channels for its progress. The chief of these were the peace which prevailed, Roman highways, spread of the Greek language, great facility of intercourse by land and sea, freedom given Jews in the Dispersion and their numerous converts, religious tolerance, and the recognition of benevolent and burial clubs, under guise of which churches could often live and labor.

THE SOURCES OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.

BY ERNEST D. BURTON,
The University of Chicago.

The one ultimate source produced various mediate sources, among which our four gospels now hold the first place.—Tradition concerning the authorship of our gospels, and reasons for questioning it.—The synoptic problem: its elements; proposed solutions; propositions practically established.—The problem of the fourth gospel: its character; various views; present status.

If the four gospels and even all quotations from them in printed books should today absolutely perish from the earth, it would be possible to recover every word of their testimony concerning Jesus. The memories of living men constitute a treasure-house from which a life of Jesus could be drawn as full and complete as that which we possess today. These memories rest, of course, almost wholly upon the written gospels. But there was a time when there existed such a treasure of memories, resting not upon books, but upon the historic facts themselves. Back of all written records of the life of Jesus, and forming the basis and source of all such records lay the knowledge of Jesus which his disciples and friends gained by personal observation. This knowledge found expression in various literary forms. Many of these have perished; yet enough remain so that even without our gospels it would still be possible to give a trustworthy historical account of Jesus. The Acts and epistles of the New Testament would tell us many things, and those too, precisely the most important things. A "life of Jesus" based exclusively on the epistles of Paul, or even exclusively on those which the severest criticism now almost unanimously accepts as genuine writings of the apostle, would be meager indeed compared with the gospel record, yet in the absence of the gospels would be an invaluable gift to the world. The church fathers would give us something not only of that which they derive from the gospels, but something also which is apparently drawn directly from the same stream of living tradition from which the gospels also drew

a little nearer to its source. Even secular writers, Suetonius, Josephus, and Tacitus add a sentence or two of value.

Yet all these witnesses, invaluable in the absence of the gospels, become in their presence secondary sources for the life of Jesus. None of them, nor all of them together—can, except from some special point of view, be compared with the gospels themselves, if only we are assured that in these latter we have trustworthy historical witnesses. Who then were the authors of these books and what opportunity had they for acquiring information? As the books stand today in the New Testament, and as they stand in all manuscripts and versions, even the oldest, they bear respectively the names of two apostles and two companions of apostles. If these four men relate independently what they themselves heard and saw of the life, deeds, teachings, death, resurrection, ascension of Jesus, the question of the sources of the life of Jesus is practically answered: we have in these four books the testimony of four eyewitnesses. Granted only their honesty, one could scarcely ask for more.

But several facts that can be learned with but little observation raise the question, not indeed of the honesty of the writers, but whether these books really profess or undertake to give the direct testimony of these authors to what they themselves witnessed. In the first place, there are related some events which can hardly have been within the scope of observation even of apostles. This is conspicuously true of the narratives of the infancy. And when we come to the two gospels which bear the names not of apostles, but of companions of apostles, we must recognize that we have no knowledge that they were eyewitnesses of any of the events of the life of Jesus. But we do not need to argue wholly from our ignorance. The preface of Luke is quite decisive as respects his book.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed.

These words make it quite clear that the author of the third gospel distinguished himself from those who "from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." Mark has left no such testimony respecting himself, but Papias, the earliest Christian writer, aside from Luke himself, from whom we have any statement about the origin of the gospels, is authority for the statement that John the presbyter said :

Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately the things that were either said or done by the Christ, as far as he remembered them, not, however, in order. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow him ; but afterward, as I said [he followed], Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs [of the occasion], but not as if he were making a systematic arrangement of the words of the Lord. . . .

To these two important statements, that of Luke respecting himself and that of Papias respecting Mark, let there now be added an important fact of internal evidence. An attentive reading of our first three gospels reveals the fact that in certain parts they closely resemble one another, not only in relating the same events or reporting the same sayings of Jesus, but in employing almost identically the same words. Two brief examples will illustrate the fact, the full extent of which can be perceived only by a careful comparison and study of the three gospels throughout. Take one example from discourse material.

Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth therefore fruit worthy of repentance : and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father : for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe laid unto the root of the trees : every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.—*Matt. 3 : 7-10.*

Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father : for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe also laid unto the root of the trees : every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.—*Luke 3 : 7-9.*

Let the other example be from a narrative section.

And walking by the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is

And passing along by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew,

called Peter, and Andrew, his brother, casting a net into the sea; for they were fishers. And he saith unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway left the nets, and followed him. And going on from thence he saw other two brethren, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the boat with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. And they straightway left the boat and their father, and followed him.—*Matt. 4: 18-22.*

the brother of Simon, casting a net in the sea; for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they left the nets, and followed him. And going on a little further, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the boat, mending the nets. And straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and went after him.—*Mark 1: 16-20.*

The significance of the fact illustrated by these examples is still more clear, when we observe that such resemblances as these are very numerous among the first three gospels, but scarcely occur at all between any one of them and the fourth. The latter manifestly treats of the same Jesus who is the subject of the other three, yet, in a literary sense, pursues almost an entirely independent course.

These facts and others that are related to them have made it evident that the problem of the sources and mutual relations of the first three gospels—the Synoptic Problem, as it is often called—is a real one, and one which is in large part distinct from any that pertain to the fourth gospel.

The elements of this synoptic problem have already been stated in part. They include, (1) Resemblances of these gospels to one another in several particulars. Thus all three of the synoptists observe the same general historical boundaries, recording the Galilean and Perea ministries and omitting the early Judean ministry reported by John. They record in considerable part the same events in these periods, a fact the significance of which will be better appreciated if it be remembered how small a fraction of all the events of Jesus' ministry is related, and if it be noticed that for the most part the fourth gospel makes an entirely different selection. In the order of events there are marked resemblances; between Mark and Luke especially there is a close resemblance, which is made all the more

striking by the fact that Matthew and Mark much less constantly agree, and that Matthew and Luke scarcely agree at all except when both agree with Mark. Finally there is close verbal similarity in the record of the events related in common by two or by all three of the synoptists; the examples given above illustrate the nature of this similarity. (2) Differences among the synoptists. For despite the marked resemblances, each gospel still has its own somewhat clearly marked purpose, each records some events not related by the others, and omits some recorded by the others, each adds details not found in the others, and Luke in a number of cases gives a quite independent account in place of that which the other two give in common. (3) The statements of the gospels themselves or of early Christian writers concerning the origin of the several gospels. Two of the most important of these have already been quoted, Luke's preface, and the statement of Papias concerning Mark. Another very important one, also from Papias, may be quoted here.

Matthew accordingly composed the oracles in the Hebrew dialect and each one interpreted them as he was able.

As long ago as Augustine the close resemblance of the gospels was noticed, and the suggestion was put forth by him that Mark had condensed his narrative from Matthew. Jerome discussed the question of the relation between the original Hebrew Matthew spoken of by Papias, and the Greek Matthew then and now current in the church. In the eighteenth century interest in the problem revived, and for the last hundred years it has been recognized as one of the most important problems of New Testament scholarship. So many have been the theories propounded that we must speak of them for the most part in classes.

1. The theory of a common document from which all three of our gospels drew. This theory was advocated by Eichhorn in 1794, and for a time commended itself to many scholars. But when it had been modified by the introduction of the multiplied recensions of this one document that were seen to be necessary in order that the theory might account for the facts, it had become so cumbersome, so loaded with unsustained hypothesis that it broke down under its own weight, and today has practically no advocates.

2. The theory of an oral gospel regards the oral teaching and preaching of the apostles and early missionaries as itself the direct source of our synoptic gospels. This teaching, it is held, naturally assumed, while the apostles were still living, a somewhat fixed and definite form, or rather several such forms, resembling one another, yet having each its own peculiarities. The differences of the synoptic gospels are due to the variable element, the resemblances to the fixed element, of this living tradition. Gieseler, in 1818, gave definite form to this view, and it still has ardent advocates. The theory, like the tradition by which it accounts for our gospels, is very flexible, and has in fact received several quite divergent forms. One of the most recently proposed and most interesting forms is that of Mr. Arthur Wright in his book, *The Composition of the Four Gospels*. The serious question concerning this view is not whether such an oral gospel in fact existed, nor whether it is the source of our gospels—this is generally conceded—but whether it is the direct source. The close resemblances of the gospels to one another in certain parts, as well as the peculiar and uneven distribution of these resemblances, lead many scholars to believe that between the oral gospel and the present gospels there must have been a written medium, and that there must also have been some dependence of our present gospels on one another. From this conviction has arisen another class of theories, which admit the existence and the influence of the oral gospel, but do not find in it a sufficient explanation of the facts. They may be grouped under the head of:

3. The theory of an original document supplemented by that of the interdependence of our present gospels. It is evident that this general theory is capable of many forms according to the order of dependence which is assumed. It must suffice to mention the views of a few well-known scholars.

Meyer regarded the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew, the oracles spoken of by Papias, as the oldest document. This was used by Mark, who had as his other chief source his personal recollection of the preaching of Peter. Our present gospel of Matthew grew out of the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew largely under the influence of Mark, and under this influence was

translated into Greek. Luke used Mark and the Greek Matthew as we still have it.

Bernhard Weiss holds a similar view, differing most conspicuously in holding that Luke used not our present Matthew, but a Greek translation of the original Matthew.

Holtzmann, Bruce, Wendt, and others, while recognizing the use both of Mark and of the original Matthew by the first and third evangelists, regard Mark itself as an independent work. According to this view there lie at the basis of our gospels two original and independent documents, the original Matthew and Mark, the latter identical or nearly so with our present second gospel. This is known as the two-document theory.

Uniformity of opinion has evidently not yet been reached. There is, however, a clearly marked tendency to agree on a few propositions. (1) That back of all our gospels lies what may be called the oral gospel, the main source of all documents. (2) That the apostle Matthew put forth a collection of the sayings or discourses of Jesus, probably including also some narrative portions. Some identify this with our present Matthew, but the general tendency is to regard it rather as a source of the first gospel than as that book itself. (3) That Mark put forth a gospel substantially identical with our second gospel. His chief source was his personal recollection of the preaching of Peter, or if he had two coördinate sources these were the original Matthew and the preaching of Peter. (4) That our present Matthew is based mainly on Mark and the original Matthew. (5) That Luke also employed Mark and the original Matthew as his chief sources.¹ Thus on the one side there is a tendency to distinguish our first gospel from the original apostolic Matthew, and on the other to regard all three of the synoptists as resting in no small part upon genuinely apostolic sources.

¹It is a question which perhaps deserves further consideration than it has yet received whether the matter common to Matthew and Luke but not found in Mark, which is usually assigned to the original Matthew, ought not rather to be recognized as coming from three documents, of which the apostolic Matthew was used by the first evangelist only, the others, however, in common by Luke and the first evangelist, though by each in his own way. Such a view while increasing the number of the sources would explain some facts difficult to account for on the more common view.

When we turn to the problem of the fourth gospel, we find it of a very different character from that which the synoptic gospels present. Here, since we have but one book, the factor of resemblances and differences is at once eliminated. The question of sources is not indeed excluded, but the generally homogeneous character of the book, and the absence of any other work which, containing in part the same material, might serve as a touchstone for the detection of different sources, remand this problem to a secondary place. The great question concerning the fourth gospel is that of its essential authorship. Is it as all tradition affirms, the work of the apostle John, or is it not? Roughly speaking, three views have been maintained: (1) It is in the strictest sense the work of the apostle. This view has been held from the second century down, and is today defended by a large number of sober and able scholars. (2) It is simply a spurious work of the second century, in no sense Johannine, or, at any rate, having a Johannine element so slight as to be almost inappreciable. It was in 1820 that Bretschneider called in question the Johannine authorship, down to that time accepted almost without dissenting voice. He afterwards withdrew his objections, but the question was not dropped, and there are still to be found scholars who find little or no connection between the fourth gospel and the apostle John. (3) The fourth gospel proceeds from John as the chief source of its information, but the actual writer was some disciple of John to us unknown. Substantially this, though with much variation in details, is the view advocated by Sabatier, Weizsäcker, and Wendt in their published writings, and by some other well-known scholars in their class-room lectures.

The truth, we are constrained to believe, lies essentially with the first view, subject perhaps to some modification in the direction of the third. Fifty years of criticism have resulted in carrying the date of the gospel back fifty years earlier than the opponents of its genuineness wished to place it. Whereas, in 1844, F. C. Baur assigned it to about 170 A.D., thus separating it by two whole generations from the latest possible date of John's death, Jülicher, one of the most recent writers

to deny the Johannine authorship, places it between 100 and 125 A.D., with an apparent inclination to the earlier part of this quarter-century. It seems, moreover, impossible to doubt that the clear evidence which the book affords of proceeding from a Jewish Christian familiar with Palestinian affairs in the days of Jesus, and its manifest claim at the very least to rest upon the testimony of an eyewitness from among the apostles of Jesus, will continue to exercise an increasing influence in the decision of the question. At the same time it must be recognized that there are some indications that the book, as we possess it, did not proceed from the very pen of him who was the chief source of its material. It would not be strange if this evidence should at length lead to the conclusion that this gospel is from the apostle John as the second gospel is from the apostle Peter, rather than from his own pen.

Should something approximating to this view come to prevail, and should the views intimated above concerning the synoptic problem stand the test of further examination, we should then have not, indeed, as tradition says, two directly apostolic and two indirectly apostolic books, but four books in varying degrees apostolic. Of the first gospel we should recognize Matthew and Peter as the chief sources; of the second, Peter would be regarded as the chief source, or Matthew and Peter as coördinate sources; of the third, Peter as a main source, Matthew perhaps a second; of the fourth, John would be the source. But, whatever the precise view which shall eventually obtain general acceptance, it cannot be doubted that the total outcome will be in the direction of the results already attained, viz., a more exact, a more impressive, a more surely attested knowledge of the life and teaching of Jesus than previous generations have possessed. If, in the meantime, the historical study of the gospels is made more difficult than it once was, it will also be made more fruitful, and its results will be more surely attested.

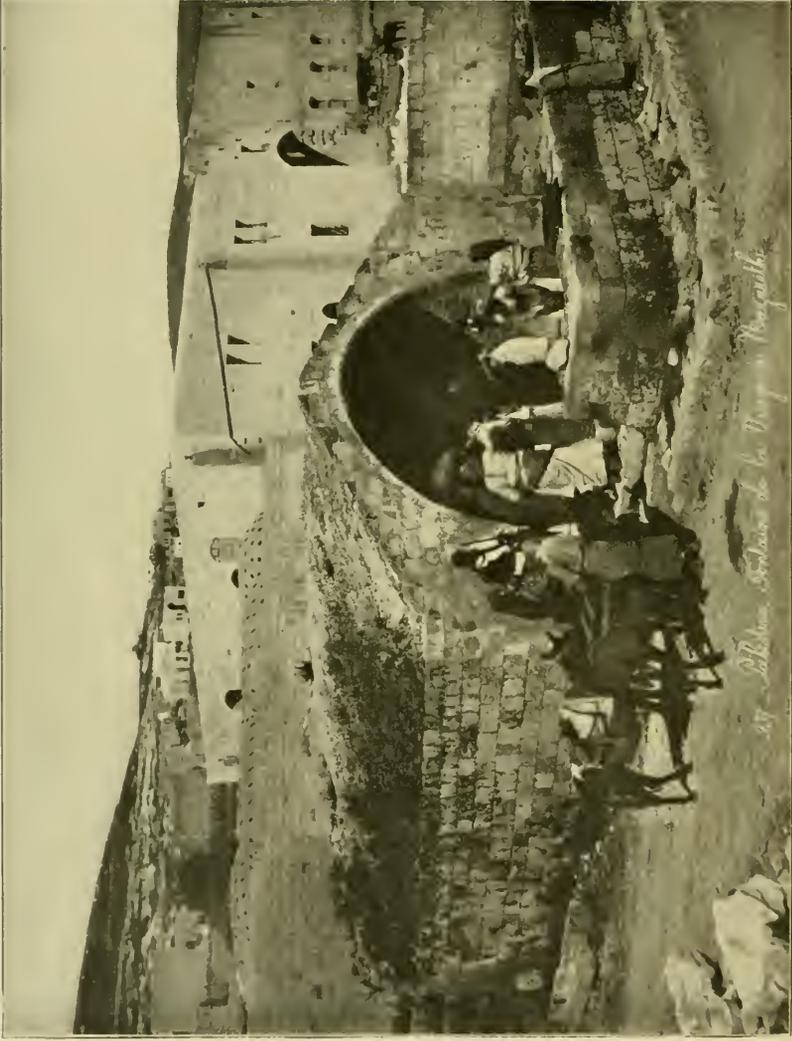
THE BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF JESUS.

By REV. PROFESSOR A. C. ZENOS, D. D.,
McCormick Theological Seminary.

The earliest and the latest scenes in Jesus' life attract the Christian—the earliest especially.—The house in Nazareth—the Annunciation and visit to Elizabeth—the effect on Joseph.—The Birth at Bethlehem—the shepherds' watch—the angels' song—the visit to the cave of the Nativity.—The presentation at the Temple—the testimony of Simeon and Anna—the adoration of the Magi.—The flight to Egypt—the return to Nazareth.

THE Christian Church has instinctively seized on the two ends of the earthly life of Jesus, and made them emphatic by fixing on them as the periods of the festivals and celebrations of its calendar. Christian Art also expressing, no doubt, the same instinctive feeling has expended an apparently disproportionate amount of idealizing energy on the beginning and end of the terrestrial career of the Saviour of men. Almost altogether ignoring the years of the active ministry the great artists have multiplied without number their beautiful representations of the Nativity, the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension. What do these facts mean? It cannot certainly be a mere accident that the hearts and minds of Christians have fondly reverted to these scenes of the Redeemer's life. We reiterate only an old and easily perceptible truth, and yet a profound one when we give answer to the above question by calling attention to the fact that the birth and death of Jesus Christ stand for the great revealed truths of the Incarnation and the Atonement. There is a hunger and thirst in the human spirit which only the revelation of the fact that "the Word was made flesh" can satisfy. There is a craving in human nature which only the knowledge of the fact that Christ "bare our sins in his own body on the tree," can allay.

But of the two periods of the Lord's earthly life above mentioned the earliest is perhaps the one which is more eagerly



FOUNTAIN AT NAZARETH.
The Traditional Place of the Annunciation

scanned. How often the desire has been expressed that the annalists had given us more fully the details concerning that wonderful birth and that unique childhood. Even the year of the Saviour's appearance in human weakness has been the subject of many searching investigations and divergent conclusions; and as to the time of the year the very opposite seasons have been pointed out as the most likely period for the event. And yet, have not the evangelists furnished enough facts to gratify every legitimate need and desire? If the data be taken in the simplicity with which they appear to be given, and if no difficulties be created where difficulties do not naturally exist in the narratives, they will present in a few clear pictures a complete story of the Advent and Infancy of Immanuel.

The first scene carries us into Galilee, and particularly to the town of Nazareth, despised for its lack of historical associations, and perhaps for the plainness and crudity of its inhabitants. Here lived a descendant of David in lowly circumstances—Joseph, the carpenter. Here dwelt also another descendant of David in somewhat better circumstances, perhaps; for a priest found his wife among her kin. This was Mary, the betrothed of Joseph. It was the age of expectation. Even far away among the Magians of Mesopotamia the hope that a great King and Deliverer was to make his appearance was vividly entertained. In Palestine this expectation was at its keenest. As when the sun after the winter season gathers strength and pours his warming rays on different fields and simultaneously sets the forces of life to working in them and causes it to spring forth and blossom in apparently independent centers, so the Spirit of the Almighty was evidently at work both far and near vivifying the hope of a marvelous manifestation of Himself. But God is consistent with himself, and having aroused this hope he also vouchsafed certain signs whereby its fulfilment should be certified to all men, especially those in whom the hope was aroused at the time. Thus a series of what men conveniently call "supernatural" occurrences took place to arrest the attention and attest God's special presence in what was about to be witnessed.

The first in importance of these supernatural manifestations

was given to the Virgin that was to become the mother of the Messiah. The thrill which filled her heart as she heard the message of the angel of the Annunciation was only deepened and changed into a gladsome acceptance of a great honor divinely conferred when she was further informed in detailed representation of the nature of her offspring that was to be and of his birth and name. Nor was she, the angel assured her, the first person to receive a supernatural intimation of the impending advent of the Messiah, even though she should have the honor of standing in the closest natural relation to him. Her cousin Elizabeth had already been charged and enabled by the power of God to take upon herself the welcome task of motherhood to the prophet that should go before the face of God's anointed. Eager for every ray of light on such a vital matter, Mary hastened to Judea and there heard even more than was sufficient to confirm the angel's words.

But though the message, thus supernaturally given and supernaturally confirmed, rendered her willing, yea, glad, to assume a position otherwise full of difficulty—a position that apart from these supernatural assurances she would naturally have shrunk from—it created a crisis in her relations to Joseph; her betrothed. On returning from a visit to her cousin in Judea she evidently made known her God-assigned task to the righteous carpenter of Nazareth; and in his mind the information could, under the circumstances, lead to but one resolution, *i. e.*, that of putting her away. But here again God's plan was different from that of men. Joseph was apprised in a vision of the night that the Child of his Virgin wife was to be the Saviour of Israel. His mind was revolutionized. Instead of carrying out his purpose of putting away his intended wife, he now hastens to consummate that perfect union between himself and her that should give him the legal right to shield and protect both her and her offspring from all evil that might threaten. Thus the months passed.

A census was ordered, and, according to the Jewish law, it must be taken according to the tribes and families of the nation. Joseph, as "of the house of David," must go to Bethlehem, "the city of David," to be registered. Nothing was more natural than

that he should take with him his bride, and thus secure the enrollment also of her son as the true "son of David." The scanty accommodations of the village were soon exhausted under the strain put on them by the extraordinary inflow of men who, like Joseph, had come to be numbered with their "house." The pair from Nazareth were compelled to take their abode in a natural cave outside the village that had been used as a stable



BETHLEHEM FROM THE LATIN CONVENT.

for the lodging of cattle. Thus did the Divine Providence bring it about that the King of Israel, "the King of kings and Lord of lords" should enter the world in the lowliest imaginable surroundings. Artists have idealized the historical situation, but only that they might the better express the devout feelings roused by the contemplation of the marvelous facts. The process of idealizing adds nothing either to the charm or the suggestiveness of the bare historical picture. The simplicity of nature and history is the simplicity of God's way of dealing, and needs no embellishment.

And yet lowly and simple as the scene presented at Bethle-



THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHEPHERDS.
—LE ROLLE.

hem it lacked nothing of appropriate accompaniment of miracle. In the inimitable language of St. Luke, "there were shepherds in the same country abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them:" and to their minds, filled with natural awe, the message must have sounded like the reassuring words of a friend come to the rescue in time of peril: "Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all the people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." And before they could altogether realize the further details of description through which the angelic message should be verified by them in the manger at the cave, the veil between heaven and earth seemed to be lifted, and upon their entranced ears there fell strains of music such as no mortal had heard till then. Yea, and many have been the efforts since to reproduce that celestial harmony. And though none have succeeded in doing this, yet the attempt has proved a source of inspiration and an uplifting force for the whole art of song. Devout Handels and Bachs and Gounods, as well as Mendelssohns and Wagners who would not bow the knee to the Babe of Bethlehem, have soared higher and sung more thrillingly because the heavenly host on that Christmas night, under the clear sky of Syria, praised God and said: "Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

But the heavenly vision having accomplished its object, having rendered the first announcement of Christ's birth, a glad one to the humble herdsmen of Judea, was lost to their bodily eyes. The incident, however, moved them to hasten to Bethlehem, and, guided by the light which hung over the entrance of the village inn, they found the cave used as a stable attachment to the inn, and there, although not perhaps in harmony with their ideas of the fitting dignity and splendor in which the Messiah should come, they found what they had been told. Thus assured that they had not been the victims of a natural illusion they in turn related their own experiences of the heavenly music and the angelic message and went back to their humble tasks with glad-

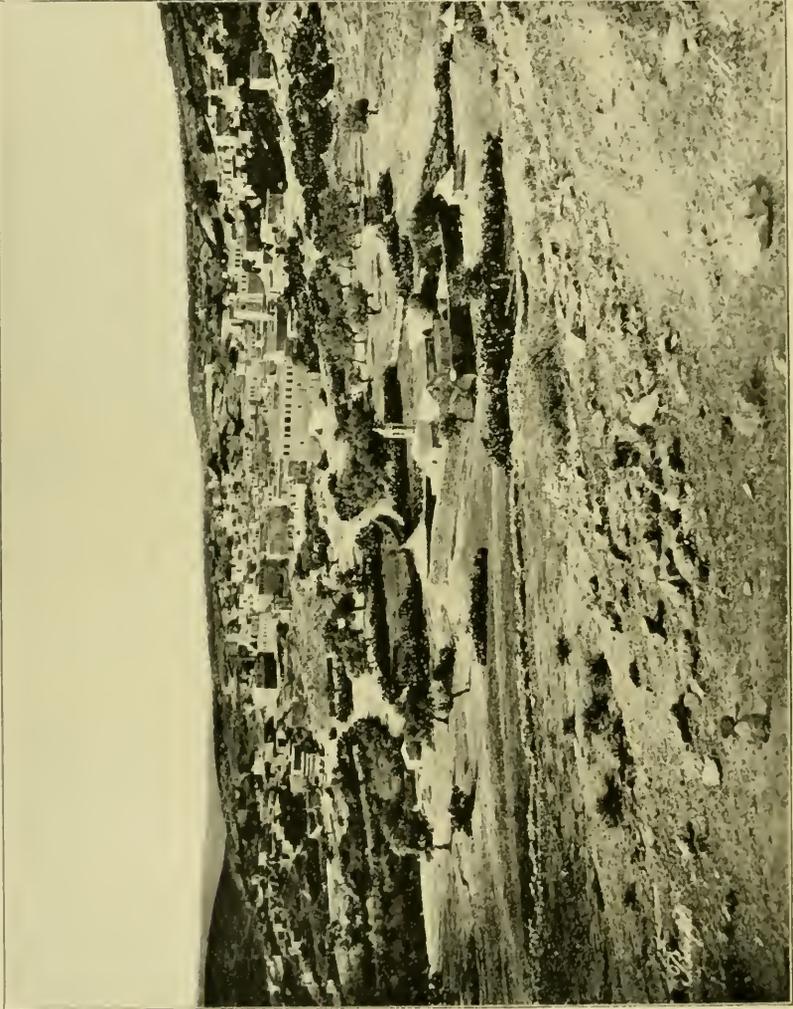
der hearts, leaving those who heard their story in a state of greater wonderment and keener expectation.

The next scene portrayed by the evangelist carries us into the Temple. The law required in the case of a first born male child, first the admission of the child into the body politic by the administration of the rite of circumcision. This was duly performed on the eighth day, and the child received the significant name designated by the angel of the Annunciation to both the parents. The further requirements of the law were the ceremony of the redemption of the first born, and the purification of the mother. Though there might be a possible difference of ten days in the dates of these two events, yet if convenience called for it the ceremony of redemption might be put off and the two services rendered at the same time, *i. e.*, on the forty-first day after the birth of the child. On this day, therefore, Joseph and Mary appeared at the Temple with the offering prescribed for the poor on such occasions, "a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons." But scarcely had this service been performed, signifying once more the human and lowly condition of the Infant Christ, before it was counterbalanced by a new testimony to his divine origin and mission. Simeon, a devout man and just, and "waiting for the consolation of Israel," came by the Spirit into the Temple" as this legal ceremony was being ended, and taking the Infant in his arms, poured forth that noble song of praise and gratitude which has remained a religious classic to all the generations following, that song which was also a prophecy of the Child's world-wide mission and of the mother's heart-wound consequent on his earthly suffering. And as if woman also should not be unheard at this first testimony to the Messiah, Anna, "a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, of a great age, who had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity, and was a widow of fourscore years and four, which departed not from the Temple, but served God with fasting and prayers night and day," steps forth from her otherwise unknown career, and adds her voice to that of Simeon in the recognition of the Messianic character and mission of the Child.

These utterances contributed towards the confirmation if not

indeed towards the formation of the resolve by Joseph that he would not return to despised Nazareth but take his abode at Bethlehem and ply his trade there with a view to associating the "Son of David" with his ancestral history and mission in the "City of David." But this was a resolution which he was not destined to carry out. A danger arose presently from an unexpected quarter. Certain Magi, in whose bosoms the great hope of the age had found lodgment, were led either by a direct supernatural sign in the skies designed especially to inform them that their hope was realized, or by a natural phenomenon interpreted by them under supernatural guidance as the sign of the advent of the Deliverer they expected, made their appearance in the capital of Judea; they went to the very palace of Herod publicly declaring their desire to find the new-born king. But that crafty and unscrupulous usurper, moved to suspicion and dread by the least hint of opposition or rivalry, immediately determined to use these "wise men" in putting out of the way the object of their search. To this end he helped them through the learned scribes to find the approximate place of the new king's birth and depended on their further investigations for the exact details that should lead him to strike the fatal blow at his rival. This then was the danger, and how serious it was no one can fail to realize who has learned of the unnumbered atrocities committed by the bloodthirsty monarch even on his nearest kin. A two-fold warning was given to shield the infant Jesus from the murderous design of the tyrant. The Magi were directed, after their act of homage, to depart without again communicating with Herod. And more effectively still the warning was given to Joseph to flee out of the land altogether.

Thus the holy family, crossing the boundary between Palestine and Egypt, passed out of the jurisdiction of Herod. In vain this bloodthirsty tyrant, true to his nature, ordered the infamous massacre of the innocents; the Holy Child was safe in the arms of a Providence whose purposes are never defeated. Herod's days of blood and hatred were, however, nearing their end at the time. He probably did not survive the murder of the infants of Bethlehem by many weeks. When the news of



NAZARETH.

his death reached the ears of Joseph, he naturally determined to return from his temporary exile. He had not, perhaps, heard, when he started on his homeward journey, of the disposition made by the Roman emperor regarding the government of Palestine. If he had any hopes of again settling down in Judea with Mary and Jesus, he was led to abandon them as he learned that Archelaus was assigned the rule of this division of Palestine. The ruler had signalized his accession to power by deeds of cruelty that portended ill for the land as well as for any Messianic plans in behalf of Jesus. Thus Providence by closing up Judea as a place of residence to him seemed to compel his going back to Nazareth in spite of its proverbially bad reputation.

With the arrival of the holy family at Nazareth the period of the childhood of Jesus closes. In a single verse the inspired narrative gives all that could possibly bear on this portion of the earthly career of the Saviour. "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him." The early generations of Christians, ignoring the distinction between the life of the Saviour of the world and the life of Jesus of Nazareth, vainly sought to fill the apparent gap in the gospels. In the search for the information that was to complete the supernatural life they conjured those fantastic and in many cases absurd and repulsive traditions of the infancy which are woven together into the mythical accounts of the apocryphal gospels. Let it suffice to know that the childhood of Jesus in Nazareth was that of an ideal child in a quiet godly home presided over by an upright man and directed by a tender and pure woman.

THE MINISTRY OF CHRIST.

By PROFESSOR WM. ARNOLD STEVENS, D. D.,
Rochester Theological Seminary.

HISTORY has only begun to translate into terms of its own that brief career of less than four years which it is usual to designate the ministry of Christ. In the few pages that follow I would fain aid the reader in forming an approximately correct conception of the ministry as a whole, in the first place by outlining its external movement, then by interpreting its inner plan and method. The question may be put very simply: What did Christ do, and how did he do it? What course did he take as he proceeded step by step to fulfil his mission and, in the words of Lange, "Lay the foundations of a new world deep in the spiritual life of humanity?"

One remark should be made at the outset. The subject of this paper is substantially coëxtensive with that of the gospel history. The "gospel" in that early apostolic use of the word which Mark adopts—does not attempt to narrate the *life* of Jesus, but his ministry, his life when it emerges into history; the opening chapters of Matthew and Luke, and the prologue of John are preliminary to the consecutive narrative which forms the body of the evangelical record. These four years, taking that broader conception which includes in Christ's ministry the preparatory and coöperative labor of John the Baptist, constitute substantially *the* subject of the gospel history.

ITS EXTERNAL FRAMEWORK.

This phase of the subject must be briefly treated. Our Lord's work was confined to the Holy Land, and that not merely in a territorial sense, but to the Jewish communities. There is no evidence that he ever entered Cæsarea, Sepphoris, Tiberias, or any distinctly Gentile city, though possibly he may have done so during his withdrawal to the districts of Tyre and

Sidon. If on one occasion he turned aside to evangelize a Samaritan community, it was partly exceptional, and partly, it may be, by way of recognizing the fact that the Samaritans were not altogether Gentile, but mixed with Jewish blood. In general, however, he adhered to the principle of his mission: "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

Christ's ministry will be better understood by following the method of the gospels and incorporating the work of the forerunner as practically a part of it. The words of the apostle Peter fitly mark its proper scope, "Beginning from the baptism of John unto the day that he was received up from us" (Acts 1:22); for John's work continued side by side with that of Christ for a year or more after he had baptized him. If, then, we begin with John's appearance and end with the Ascension, we have an entire period of nearly, perhaps fully, four years. The gospels themselves do not furnish calendar dates in the style of modern history. Still they have a chronology of their own, and in its way most instructive. The following divisions are marked off in the combined narrative with a certain degree of distinctness, though the assigned length of several of them is necessarily conjectural.

The Opening Events: from the coming of John until the public appearance in Jerusalem; ten or twelve months.

The Early Judean Ministry: from the public appearance of Jesus in Jerusalem until his return to Galilee; about eight months.

First Period of the Galilean Ministry: from the return to Galilee until the choosing of the Twelve; from four to six months.

Second Period of the Galilean Ministry; from the choosing of the Twelve until the withdrawal into Northern Galilee; nearly one year.

Third Period of the Galilean Ministry: from the withdrawal into Northern Galilee until the final departure for Jerusalem; about seven months.

The Perean Ministry: from the final departure from Galilee until the final arrival in Jerusalem; about five months.

The Passion Week and the Forty Days: from the final arrival in Jerusalem until the Ascension; nearly seven weeks.

It would be unfair to the reader whose studies in New Testament chronology are in a strictly rudimentary stage not to remind him at this point that no chronological scheme of the gospel history can as yet make any claim whatever to scientific certainty or precision. Even the year of our Lord's crucifixion has not been demonstratively ascertained; so also as to the duration of his ministry agreement among scholars has not yet been reached. Not a few distinguished authorities still adhere to the tri-paschal theory, which reduces the above four years to three, and allows, as it is usually held, hardly so much as a year to the entire ministry in Galilee. But no advocate of that theory has seemed to me to explain with any degree of probability how the crowded synoptic narrative from the choosing of the Twelve to the feeding of the five thousand can be provided for in the limited time which the theory requires; that portion of the narrative, it will be remembered, includes two preaching tours (see Luke 8:1-3 and 9:1-6, with its parallels), each of which is evidently described as covering considerable territory and requiring corresponding time.

THE PLAN AND THE METHOD OF ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT.

Let us now consider the more important question what the Scripture narrative shows Christ's mission in its inner purpose to have been, and in what method he proceeded to carry it into effect. Plan and method there must needs have been. In every realm of intelligence the clearly conceived ideal precedes the highest achievement. Could it have been otherwise here? If the gospels are indeed history and not mere memorabilia, fragmentary annals, they will disclose the fundamental lines on which our Lord wrought at this divine task. If I mistake not, there are three stages of Christ's ministry discernible though not sharply separated from one another, in each of which one feature of Christ's plan is especially prominent.

1. *The evangelization of the Holy Land.* Christ's earlier minis-

try was preëminently an evangelizing ministry. He was first of all, as was John, a herald, announcing a coming kingdom of God. Thus Mark opens his account of the Galilean period, "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe in the gospel;" and from the fourth gospel we learn



TELL HUM—A SUPPOSED SITE OF CAPERNAUM.

that he had been similarly employed in Judea; compare John 3:22 and the introductory verses to the discourse with Nicodemus.

Carrying the glad tidings to the people at large,—this is the characteristic feature of the first half, roughly speaking, of the entire ministry, a period of nearly two years, particularly of his own personal labors. From the coming of John the Baptist to the choosing of the Twelve may be properly called the period of *Evangelization*. From that time on that part of his work was

to a greater extent delegated to his disciples. During the third tour among the cities and villages of Galilee, probably lasting several months, the greater part of it was evidently performed by the Twelve. Later on the same method was applied on a much larger scale, when he appointed the Seventy to traverse Perea and Judea. This appears to have been the most systematic and comprehensive evangelizing campaign of his ministry. It seems evident that it lay in our Lord's plan from the beginning to have the gospel message brought into every Jewish community in Palestine. Thus he brought himself into personal touch with the nation at large. "Good tidings to all the people:" this prophetic word of the angels to the shepherds strikes the keynote of the earlier movement, initiated by John and completed by Christ and his disciples.

In accounting for the tide wave of popular enthusiasm that followed Christ's preaching of the kingdom, we are of course not to omit the factor of miracle. He came with the credentials of a prophet—armed with supernatural power of deed in confirmation of his word of winning grace and of more than human wisdom and power. It is to this phase of his ministry that Peter's remarkable description to Cornelius applies: "God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power; who went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him." It is unnecessary for our present purpose to dwell upon the significance of the miraculous factor in his earlier work as distinguished from the later—sufficient to suggest how it accounts in part for the success of his evangelizing ministry, which indeed appears to have been more successful than many readers of the narrative suppose, who think perhaps only of the one hundred and twenty who came together in Jerusalem after the resurrection, or of the five hundred to whom he appeared in Galilee. That the number of professed disciples was far larger than this will perhaps appear later on.

2. *The founding of the church.* The modern word that will perhaps best serve to describe the second phase of Christ's mission is Organization. The familiar title, Ministry of Christ, is to many imperceptibly misleading. His itinerant life of preach-

ing and miracle-working amid flocking multitudes naturally impresses the imagination, and to the average reader is *the* life of Christ. But he was more than the evangelizing prophet—the preacher to the multitude. He not only announced, he proceeded to found, the kingdom. Lord Bacon assigns the supreme place in history to those who have founded empires, the *Funditores imperiorum*. Jesus was the creator of a society, the builder of the new *Civitas Dei*, the founder of a spiritual empire.

During the long period from the choosing of the Twelve on the Mount of Beatitudes to the final arrival at Jerusalem, about a year and a half, organization is evidently the ruling idea; not merely or chiefly organization external, but that training and development of the corporate life to which the apostle Paul applies the word edification. His time is chiefly, though by no means exclusively, occupied with his disciples. He devotes himself continuously to their instruction; his principal discourses are addressed to them. He speaks now with a loftier tone of authority. The teacher becomes the lawgiver. His words are institutes of morals. The law is not to be abrogated, but obeyed and executed. It is interesting to observe how large a part of the record of the Perean as well as of the Galilean ministry is ethical instruction.

The creation of the apostolate marks the beginning of this long second period and is indeed a typical fact in Christ's whole ministry. But let us not fall into the error, wisely avoided by Canon Gore in his book on *The Church and the Ministry*, of regarding it as the founding of the church—as the first step taken by Christ in the organization of the new society. The true beginning of its corporate life, externally as well as internally, is to be carried back to an earlier stage in the history. The first trace of corporate form in the spiritual organism of Christianity was the institution of baptism; the process of organic differentiation began there. Thus the apostolate was not the genetic nucleus of the church. Neander's position on this question is an impugnable one; the Twelve were organs and representatives of a body already in process of formation.

For let us remember what had taken place during the two

years of evangelization. There had been formed two more or less distinctly marked circles of Christ's disciples. First, as the result of the united work of John and Christ, a numerous aggregate of baptized believers in various parts of Judea, besides many Galileans who were waiting in faith for the coming of the kingdom. Second, an inner circle of those who had from time to time heard the word, Follow me—had attached themselves to his person and were his companions during portions of his ministry. It is these who are frequently referred to as "the disciples" or "his disciples," often when the narrative makes it evident that a larger body than the Twelve is implied. Many of the Seventy were doubtless taken from this circle of disciples.

Now, with the choosing of the Twelve, a still closer circle is formed, its number suggesting a theocratic polity; thus more visibly than upon any one previous occasion, the new kingdom was taking form.

Our space limit forbids following the formative process on through the entire history. It is the distinguishing feature of the Galilean, and indeed of the whole middle period of the ministry. The apostle John, in the doxology with which he opens the Apocalypse, has furnished its appropriate motto: "He made us to be a kingdom."

3. *Redemption.* The third period is that of the passion week and the forty days. Christ's public ministry to the Jewish people ended with Tuesday of the passion week, when he left the temple for the last time, but his ministry of self-revelation to his people of the new covenant continued until "the day when he was taken up."

Less than seven weeks, but how eventful! It deserves attention that nearly one-third of the entire gospel narrative is devoted to the passion week alone. Space cannot here be taken even to enumerate the decisive events and utterances, so swiftly does act follow act in the momentous drama.

The scene for the most part is Jerusalem. Christ's evangelizing ministry covered all Palestine; the founding of the church is chiefly associated with Galilee; the final conflict and victory must take place in the Holy City—the City of the Great King.

Three events stand out conspicuous—the crucifixion, the resurrection, the exaltation; a scriptural abridgment, so to speak, of the last days. Indeed, these three events became in apostolic thought almost a summary of the life of Christ—the very essence of historical Christianity.



BETHANY

What now is the master thought of this last period, the key to this part of the plan? The student of the New Testament is not left in doubt as to the true answer—Redemption. He who alone could furnish an authoritative answer spoke it as he was approaching the Holy City. “For the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom (λύτρον) for many.” Apostolic thought grasped this clue firmly from first to last. So Peter: “Ye were redeemed . . . with precious blood . . . even the blood of Christ.” So Paul to the Ephesians: “In whom we have our redemption through his blood.” So the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews: “But Christ . . .

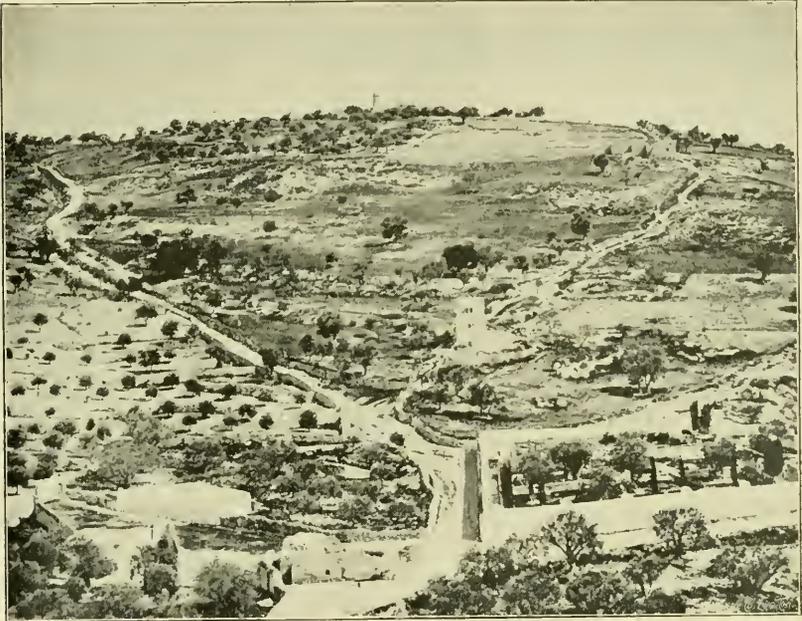
through his own blood entered in once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption." And finally John, from the heights of Patmos, in the words of the doxology cited above: "Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us (*ἔλυσεν*, *set free*, a verb cognate to the noun above) from our sins by his blood, to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever."

These Last Days begin with conflict and end with victory. One of the tasks of Christian thought is to penetrate to the meaning of these varied experiences of conflict, suffering, and death by which redemption was accomplished. "Consider him that hath endured such gainsaying of sinners;" this exhortation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which indeed is a running commentary on the redemptive aspect of the ministry, applies especially to the Last Days. History as well as art helps to set in a vivid light, the moral majesty of the Redeemer-Prince as first in the Temple on the Monday and Tuesday of the Passion week, and then during the trial on Friday, he confronts his adversaries—that compactly organized hagiocracy, priestly and Pharisaic, imposing in its wealth and aristocratic prestige, and in spite of its degeneracy so powerful, morally and intellectually, as to shape at times the whisper of the imperial throne. Upon these scenes history has thrown its light; there are others before which its torch burns dim. Presences from the unseen world take part; moral forces come into play whose measure it cannot take. "What do they mean," said Luther, pausing over the story of Gethsemane, "What kind of words are these, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death'? I hold these for the greatest words in the whole Bible."

But mysteries meet us not in Gethsemane only, but at the cross and the empty tomb, mysteries which the evangelists do not pause in their singularly objective narrative to explain, and which would be utterly insoluble, but for the copious interpretation in the subsequent pages of the New Testament, rendering more than one obscure fact luminously intelligible to Christian faith. And as with the narrative of conflict and suffering, so also is it with that of the victory and triumph—the resurrection, the bodily reappearances, and the ascension from Olivet. The dynamics of

the resurrection life can be made rational only in the light of revelation.

If it be said that the foregoing exposition has gradually shifted its point of view, and professing to be historical has become theological, in a sense it is true. But the events of these Last Days in a preëminent sense lie on the boundary of two worlds, the



GETHSEMANE AND THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

seen and the unseen. The history that does not sit at the feet of revelation can never hope to interpret them, or even the life of Christ at all.

Neander has eloquently and truly said at the close of his *Life of Christ*: "The end of Christ's appearance on the earth corresponds to its beginning. No link in its chain of supernatural facts can be lost without taking away its significance as a whole. Christianity rests upon these facts, stands or falls with them. By faith in them has the divine life been generated from the beginning. By faith in them has that life in all ages

regenerated mankind, raised them above the limits of earthly life, changed them from *glebae adscriptis* to citizens of heaven, and formed the stage of transition from an existence chained to nature to a free celestial life raised far above it. Were this faith gone, there might indeed remain many of the *effects* of what Christianity had been ; but as for Christianity in the true sense, as for a Christian church, there could be none."

THE TEACHING OF CHRIST IN THE GOSPELS OF MATTHEW, MARK, AND LUKE.¹

By PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D.,
Free Church College, Glasgow.

Groups of New Testament books representing distinctive types of Christian thought—The teaching of Jesus as presented in the synoptic gospels:—The Kingdom of God; the Fatherhood of God; the inestimable value of man; righteousness, and the relation of faith and conduct to it; Jesus' view of himself; his teaching concerning his own experience; the necessity and value of suffering.

AMONG the writings that make up the New Testament there are certain books or groups of books that are distinguished from the rest by peculiarities of thought and speech on the great theme of all the books, the good that came to the world through Jesus Christ. They differ in this respect, not only from the other books but from each other. The books, or groups of books, referred to present what we may call distinctive conceptions of Christianity; so many varied types or aspects of the common gospel. The books I mean are the first three gospels, the leading epistles of St. Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the fourth gospel bearing the name of John. No thoughtful reader, even though he be not a theological expert, can fail to notice that these books, as compared with the rest, are full of deep thought on the subject of religion, as distinct from mere historical narrative such as you can find in the Book of Acts, and from practical exhortations to godly living such as form the bulk of the epistles of Peter and James. And it is equally noticeable that the thinking is not all of the same cast, that there is one way of thinking in the words of Jesus as reported in the first three gospels, another in Paul's epistles to the Galatian, Corinthian, and Roman Churches, a third in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and a fourth in the fourth gospel.

¹This is the first of four articles to appear in the BIBLICAL WORLD on Four Types of Christian Thought in the New Testament.

These four types of Christian thought it ought to be worth our while to study. Yet diversity of opinion on this point is not inconceivable. The man who looks at the Scriptures from a purely practical point of view—the pastor, *e. g.*, whose interest is in homiletics, not in biblical theology—may think it his duty to ignore these distinctions, or if that be impossible, to reduce their extent and significance to a minimum. His desire is to find one uniform gospel in the New Testament, not a gospel with four phases or faces, still less four gospels that cannot be reconciled with one another. With this last *pium desiderium* we can all sympathize, as we probably all believe that it finds satisfaction in the writings concerned. Few now accept the dictum of Dr. Baur that in the New Testament is to be found not only variety but contradiction. But short of contradiction there may be very interesting variety which it would repay not only the biblical scholar but the preacher to become acquainted with. Noting such a variety must at the least lend to the books in which it appears, a *picturesque* interest, the attraction that belongs to well defined individuality. It may also turn out that the books so individualized, while not contradicting, supplement each other, so that from all taken together in their unmitigated distinctiveness, we can gather a larger, fuller, more many-sided view of the gospel than it is possible to obtain from any one of them. With this conviction I propose to make in four papers an elementary study on the books I have named. And first on the *Synoptical Gospels*, as the first three gospels are named by scholars because of their resemblance to each other.

In these gospels one expression occurs more frequently than in any other part of the New Testament—*The Kingdom of God*, or as it is usually given in Matthew, *The Kingdom of Heaven*. It occurs so often as to suggest the inference that it was Christ's name for the *highest good*, the great divine boon he came to proclaim and bestow. The good news of God, the gospel he had to preach, the synoptists being witness, was that the kingdom of God was come. What he meant thereby is nowhere formally and precisely explained. Jesus gave no abstract definitions of terms such as we are accustomed to; neither of the kingdom of God,

nor of his name for God, Father, nor of his favorite name for himself, *Son of Man*. He defined simply by discriminating use, introducing his leading words and phrases in suggestive connections of thought which would gradually familiarize hearers at once with word and with meaning. One clue to the sense of Christ's great words is, of course, Old Testament prophecy. With the oracles of Hebrew prophets he was very familiar; with the bright hopes these expressed he was in full sympathy, and by their graphic forcible language his own diction was colored. But these oracles, nevertheless, must be used with caution as a key to the interpretation of his words. For Jesus was in a marked degree original, putting new meanings into old phrases, and so transforming many current conceptions that, while the words were the same, the sense was widely different. In his time and in the land of Israel, all men who professed religion talked about the kingdom of God; John, surnamed the Baptist, the teachers in the Jewish schools called Rabbis, and the very strict people called Pharisees. The dialect was one but the meaning various. The Baptist meant one thing, the Pharisees another, and Jesus meant something very different from either. The expression in itself is vague and elastic and leaves room for differences in sense as wide as between political and ethical or spiritual, national and universal.

Leaving Rabbis and Pharisees out of account, it is not difficult to discriminate between the Baptist's conception and that of Jesus. The difference may be broadly put thus: In John's mouth the announcement that the kingdom was coming was *awful* news, in the mouth of Jesus *good* news. John sought to scare people into repentance by talking to them of an axe that was to be employed by a great coming One to cut down barren fruit trees, and a fan to winnow wheat and chaff, and of fire and judgment that were to sweep away and consume all chaff-like men. Jesus, on the other hand, went about among the synagogues of Galilee speaking about the kingdom in a way that did not terrify but win, awakening trust and hope even among the irreligious and immoral. People marveled at the "words of grace" which proceeded out of his mouth (Luke 4:22). Cor-

responding to this difference in the preaching, was the difference in religious temper prevailing among the disciples of the two Masters. John's disciples were a sad company; they fasted often and made many prayers on an ascetic method. The disciples of Jesus did not fast. They were in no fasting mood; they rather resembled a wedding party, as Jesus himself hinted in the parable of the children of the bride-chamber, spoken in defense of his disciples for neglect of fasts observed both by the disciples of John and by the Pharisees (Matt. 9:15).

Probably the surest guide to Christ's idea of the kingdom, and the most satisfactory explanation of the happy mood of those who accepted his evangel, is to be found in the name he gave to God, "Father." We do not indeed find anywhere in the gospels a saying of Jesus formally connecting the two words "kingdom" and "Father" as mutually interpretative terms. As Jesus did not deal in abstract definitions, so as little did he think in system. He did not say to his disciples: "My gospel is the announcement that the kingdom of heaven is at hand, and what I mean by the kingdom of heaven is: God obtaining sovereign influence over human hearts by paternal love in virtue of which he calls all men, even the basest, his sons, freely pardons their offenses, and invites them to participate in fullest family privilege and fellowship." But when you find an unsystematic religious teacher using constantly two words representing two cardinal religious ideas, you cannot help concluding that a real, radical, if unexpressed, synthesis unites them in his mind, and that kingdom and fatherhood, though formally as distinct as a kingdom and a family, are for him only different names for the same thing. The king rules by paternity and the father by his love becomes king.

The frequency with which the name Father is applied to God is a characteristic of the synoptic gospels as compared with the other books of the New Testament. It occurs no less than fifteen times in the Sermon on the Mount. And the reference of the name, in many instances at least, is to a relation between God and men. The standing phrase in the Sermon on the Mount is *your Father* or *thy Father*. In the fourth gospel it is

otherwise. The prevailing expression there is *the Father*, as if pointing to a unique exclusive divine relation between *God* and *Jesus*, theological rather than human. The humanity of the divine fatherhood in the first three gospels is very wide, embracing not only disciples, though they are sons in the first rank, but men indiscriminately, publicans, sinners, evil as well as good, just as well as unjust (Matt. 5:45), prodigals all, nevertheless sons. This also is changed in the fourth gospel. The sons of God there are believers in Jesus, born of the spirit; all others are simply sons of the evil one.

Along with the synoptic account of Christ's idea of God goes an equally characteristic view of his idea of man. From the former we could have inferred what the latter must have been, even in absence of interpretative texts. If all men even at the lowest be God's sons, recipients of his providential benefits, objects of his gracious paternal solicitude for their highest spiritual well-being, what worth man even at the worst must have for God and ought to have for himself and for fellow-men! The doctrine of the divine Father says to all who have ears to hear: Let it never be forgotten that every man even at the lowest has that in him which has inestimable value for God; therefore let no man despair of himself, and let no man in pride despise his degraded brothers. But Jesus did not leave so important a truth to be a matter of logical inference from another truth. He expressly affirmed man's absolute infinite significance. But he did this in his own inimitable way, quaint, kindly, pathetic and even humorous. Instead of saying in philosophic terms: "Man possesses absolute worth," he quaintly asked: "Is not man (any man) better (of more importance) than flowers, fowls of the air, sparrows, than a sheep or an ox, or even a whole world?" The very inadequacy of most of these comparisons invests them with pathos and power. "Of more value than many sparrows!" Men, in the weakness of their trust, and in the depressing sense of their insignificance, need such humble estimates to help them rise to higher faith and bolder self-respect, and the use of them by Jesus is signal evidence of his deep sympathy and also of his poetic tact and

felicity. I value greatly these simple naïve questions of Jesus preserved for us in the synoptic gospels as a contribution to the doctrine of man. There is nothing like them elsewhere in the New Testament; nothing so good, so expressive and impressive, so suggestive, so humanely sympathetic, so quietly, yet severely condemnatory of all low unloving estimates of human worth. Compare with these questions of Jesus, Paul's "Doth God take care for oxen?" Jesus could not have asked that question with an implied negative in his mind. His doctrine was: "God does care even for oxen, but for men more."

One of the great key-words of the Bible throughout is *righteousness*. Prophets, apostles, Jesus, Paul, all use the word and mean by it *in the main* the same thing; yet not without shades of difference. In the synoptic account of Christ's teaching, the idea of righteousness occupies a very prominent place. The aim of a great part of the Sermon on the Mount is to determine what the true idea of righteousness is. Here again we may assume that in the mind of Jesus the ideas of kingdom, father, righteousness were so closely related, that having once ascertained what he meant by any one of the terms you could determine for yourself the meaning of the other two. We find all three ideas connected together in the text "Seek ye his (the father's) kingdom and righteousness" (Matt. 6: 33). Seeing then, that the kingdom is the kingdom of the Father, therefore, a kingdom of love, it may be inferred that the righteousness of the kingdom, in the conception of Jesus, is, to begin with, a righteousness of trustful surrender to the loving kindness of the Father in heaven. It is not a legal righteousness as between two persons one of whom makes a demand which the other strives to comply with. It is on man's part towards God trust in his benignant grace. God gives, we receive; and receiving is our righteousness towards the divine giver, whereby we give God credit for benignity and cherish toward him the feeling such an attribute inspires. Such trust in our Heavenly Father, we infer, must be a quite fundamental element in the righteousness of the kingdom. Do the evangelic texts bear out this inference? They do. In the synoptic records of our Lord's words, *faith* holds

a prominent place. "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." "Thy faith hath made thee whole." "O woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee as thou wilt," and so on. We may say that faith was Christ's watchword, as repentance was John's. Very significant in connection with Christ's conception of righteousness is the saying,—one of the most remarkable as well as most indubitably authentic in the records—"I came not to call the righteous but sinners." It was spoken in connection with the censured festive meeting with the publicans of Capernaum, and the word "call" must therefore be taken in a kindred sense as denoting an invitation to a feast. That is to say, Jesus conceived of the kingdom of heaven, the *summum bonum*, for the moment, as a *feast*, and from that point of view the one thing required of those who are called is readiness to respond to the invitation. That redeeming virtue even publicans and sinners may possess. In this one point they may leave hopelessly behind far more reputable persons, the "righteous" as judged by current standards. They actually did, Jesus himself being witness. That was why he said: "I came not to call the *righteous* but *sinners*." He found that the "righteous," however good and worthy they might be, did not come to his call, while the "sinners" did. And he counted the coming of the sinners for righteousness. It was the one bit of righteousness still possible to them. However bad they might be otherwise, they could believe in the goodwill of God even to the like of them. They might have been with equal impartiality breakers of the Ten Commandments and of the commandments of the scribes, yet you could not say there was no root of goodness in men who received the tidings of a Father capable of loving such scandalous reprobates. In intrinsic value and in promise for the future, that receptivity of the worthless might outweigh the abounding moral respectabilities of the worthy.

Of course we do not expect to find that this initial righteousness of the sinful is a full inventory of the righteousness of the kingdom as set forth in the teaching of Jesus. Prodigal sons do well in returning to the Father's house, but once there it will be expected of them that they shall live a truly filial life. The

teaching of Jesus, as reported by the synoptists, supplies ample materials for constructing the ideal of that life. The Sermon on the Mount is especially rich in such material. The body of the discourse is really a portrayal in a series of tableaux of filial righteousness. The artist has employed for his purpose the method of contrast, using the righteousness in vogue, that of the scribes and Pharisees, as a foil to show forth the beauty of the true moral ideal. Jesus had never, like the apostle Paul, been a disciple of the scribes, and the fact is of much significance in connection with the difference perceptible between his conception of righteousness and that of the apostle. He had never, I say, been a *disciple* of the scribes, but he had evidently been a faithful *student* of their ways. Witness the vivid delineations of their moral characteristics in the gospels, which, taken together, constitute Christ's negative doctrine of righteousness, setting forth what the righteousness of the kingdom is not. There is much of this negative doctrine in the Sermon on the Mount, for not otherwise than by the method of comparison could the preacher have made his meaning clear to his hearers. But we may disregard the contrast and state in positive terms the drift of the Teaching on the Hill on the subject of righteousness. It may be summed up in two words: be to God all that a son should be to a *father*; treat fellow men as *brethren*. Unfolded, the first word means: seek your Father's honor (Matt. 5:16); imitate his character, even in its most sublime virtues, such as magnanimity (5:45, 48); trust his providence (6:25 f.); cherish towards him as your Father in Heaven sincere reverence, manifesting itself in devout adoration and humble petitions (6:9 f.); value supremely his judgment which looks into the heart of things and not merely at the surface; so shunning vulgar ostentation, religious parade, in almsgiving, fasting, praying, and the like, with insatiable appetite for the good opinion of men (6:1-6). Similarly unfolded, the second word means: be not content with merely not killing a fellow man; cherish toward him as a brother a love which shall make it impossible to hate him or despise him (5:21 f.); be not satisfied with abstaining from acts of impurity towards a woman, regard her as a sister whose honor shall be for

thyself inviolable even in thought, and in reference to others an object of zealous defense (5:27 f.). Be not the slave of legal claims: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. Assert your moral rights by renouncing your legal ones, refusing to be provoked into retaliation by any amount of injustice or unbrotherliness (5:38 f.). Acquiesce in no conventional classification of men as friends and foes, neighbors and enemies; let all be friends and neighbors, or let foes and strangers be distinguished as the objects of a more chivalrous love, so overcoming evil with an absolutely invincible good (5:43 f.).

More might be said on the topic of righteousness. In the synoptical account of our Lord's teaching the righteousness of the kingdom is sometimes presented under the aspect of single-hearted absolute devotion to the interests of the kingdom, or to the will of its king. Contenting myself with simply hinting this, I go on to notice in the last place the account given in the first three gospels of Christ's way of speaking concerning himself.

The synoptical evangelists do not conceal their conviction that the subject of their narrative is a great personage. They hold a creed about him, viz., that he is the person in whom were fulfilled the messianic hopes of the Jews. And they all further represent Jesus himself as holding this view of his own vocation. Yet they are careful to make it plain that Jesus did not parade this claim, but kept it well in the background, as if it were a secret not to be promulgated till its true significance could be understood. The Jesus of the synoptists puts on no grand airs, but is a meek and lowly man. The meek and lowly mind of Jesus found its verbal symbol in the oft-used self-designation *Son of Man*. For there can be little doubt that it is in this direction we must look for the true meaning of the name. Jesus nowhere defines its meaning, any more than he defines the name he gave to God. Here, as always, he defines only by discriminating use. We must listen attentively as he calls himself "Son of Man," and strive to catch the sense of the title from the tone and accent of the speaker. To do this successfully wants a fine, sensitive, sympathetic ear, unfilled with other sounds which blunt its perceptive faculty. For lack of such an ear,

men may get very false impressions and read all sorts of meanings into the simple phrase, meanings laboriously collected from Old Testament texts or suggested by systems of theology. To my ear the title speaks of one who is sympathetic and unpretentious; loves men and advances no ambitious claims. He may be great in spite of himself, by his gifts and graces even *unique*; but these must speak for themselves. He will not take pains to point them out, or advertise his importance as their possessor. The Son of Man is *the Man*, the brother of men, loving humanity with a passionate love which fits him to be the world's Christ, and his attitude is that of one who says: "Discover what is deepest in me and draw your own inference."

The faithful preservation of this name, bearing such an import, by the synoptical evangelists is a service deserving the gratitude of Christendom. It is not to be found elsewhere in the New Testament, *at least in the same sense*. It is entirely absent from the epistles. It occurs frequently in the fourth gospel, but in novel connections of thought, as a foil to the divine nature of the Logos, as the name for the human aspect of Deity incarnate, theological rather than ethical in its connotation. We worship the Son of Man of the fourth gospel as we worship the "Lord" of St. Paul, but we love as our brother the lowly, gracious, winsome, comrade-like Son of Man, of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. We refuse not the worship, but we wish to begin with fellowship on equal terms, as if we belonged to the inner Jesus-circle, to the band of men who were the companions of the Son of Man.

We have to note finally the manner in which, according to the synoptists, Jesus expressed himself concerning his *experience*. Now as to this I remark, in the first place, that Jesus seems to have possessed from the very beginning of his public life intuitive insight into the truth that a genuinely good, godly life could not be lived in the world without trouble. He knew the world he lived in so well, especially the religious world, that tribulation, contradiction, malediction, and worse appeared to him a matter of course for any one who saw, spoke, and acted in accordance with the real truth in religion and

morals. This was plain to him, I believe, before he left Nazareth to enter on his prophetic career. His anticipations were very soon verified. He had not well begun his ministry before the scribes and Pharisees began to watch his movements and wait for his halting. Hence those significant hints in the utterances even of the earlier period at days coming when the disciples would have occasion to mourn and fast (Mark 2:20). Jesus divined that the ill will already manifest would ere long ripen into murderous purpose, and that he would become the victim of scribal conceit and Pharisaic malevolence. But of this, always clear to himself he spoke to his disciples at first only in mystic, veiled language. As the fatal crisis drew near, he began to speak plainly, realistically, unmistakably, of the approaching passion, saying that "The Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected of the elders and of the chief priests and scribes, and be killed." No sooner did he begin to speak thus realistically of the harsh tragic fact, than by way of reconciling distressed disciples to the unwelcome fact he began to instruct them as to its significance. His first lesson on the import of the passion was a statement to the effect that his coming sufferings were no isolated phenomenon in the moral universe, but only a signal instance of the operation of a universal law: cross-bearing inevitable not only for the Master, but for all faithful disciples. This is a distinctive contribution of the gospels (including John's) to the doctrine of the significance of Christ's death. It is the ethical foundation of the doctrine on which all theological constructions must rest. It is not found in Paul's epistles, in which the sufferings of Christ are regarded as *sui generis*, and from an exclusively theological point of view. It is Christ's answer to a question handed down from the prophets: Why do the righteous suffer? His reply to that question, so earnestly and yet unsuccessfully discussed in the Book of Job, is, in the first place: "They suffer just because they are righteous; their tribulations are the inevitable reaction of an unrighteous world against all earnest attempts to make God's will law in all things." But this reply while true, can hardly be the whole truth. It is not much of a comfort to be told that suffering for righteousness' sake is inevitable. One

would like to know whether the inevitable evil can in any way be transmuted into good. According to the synoptical reports Jesus had something to say on that question also. In effect this was what he said: First, it would turn evil into good for your own feeling, if you could once for all cheerfully accept cross-bearing as the law of discipleship, and take suffering not as an unavoidable, unwelcome calamity, but as an exhilarating experience that lifts you into the heroic region of freedom, buoyancy, and irrepressible, perpetual joy. "Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you; rejoice and be exceeding glad" (Matt. 5:11, 12). Jesus so took his own passion, lovingly, generously, shedding his blood as Mary shed her box of precious ointment on his head (Mark 14:8). But, secondly, it would still more turn evil into good if one could be assured that cross-bearing brings not only exaltation of feeling to the sufferer, but benefit even to others, even to those who laid the cross on your shoulders, benefit to the cause for which you suffer. It is even so, said Jesus in effect to his disciples: suffering is redemptive, it is the price one pays for power to benefit the world. He affirmed this truth in reference to his own suffering experience, in two texts, both of which may be confidently accepted as authentic. "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45); "This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins" (Matt. 26:28). These are great, broad utterances, suggesting deep questions which theology has been trying to answer by its various theories of atonement. Pending a final answer securing universal concurrence, this much is clear from our Lord's words: that his death was not a mere fate but a beneficent event serving high ends in the moral order of the world; procuring for man spiritual benefits. It is a legitimate inference that to some extent the same principle applies to the sufferings of the righteous in general, and that no sacrificial life is in vain, that every such life contributes its quota to the redemption of the world. Jesus is the Captain of Salvation who by his unique merit saves all. But the saved are in turn saviours in proportion as they live and die in Christ's spirit.

THE TEACHING OF CHRIST IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

By PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D.
New College, Edinburgh.

The trustworthiness of the fourth gospel—Differences between it and the synoptic gospels—Considerations that modify the significance of these differences—General consistency of all four accounts—Teachings of the fourth gospel as to the divinity of Jesus—Miracles as manifestations and occasions of teaching—The death of Jesus as a teaching—Christ and man's inner life.

THE title of this paper confronts us with the necessity of enquiring whether the discourses and sayings of Jesus reported in the fourth gospel may be accepted as genuine; whether, in short, there are any "teachings of Christ" in the Gospel of John. Many critics of repute have held and hold that the words ascribed to our Lord in this gospel are wholly or almost wholly fictitious. And there is so much plausibility in what they adduce in support of this averment, and so much real difficulty in the way of accepting as genuine all that we find in this gospel ascribed to Christ that it is imperative to come to some understanding in the matter.

What test, then, can we apply to the discourses reported in the fourth gospel; have we any criterion by which they may be judged? The reports in the synoptic gospels at once suggest themselves as the required criterion. Doubts there may be regarding the very words ascribed to our Lord in this or that passage of the synoptists, doubts there must be whether we are to follow Matthew or Luke when these two differ; but practically there is no doubt at all even among extreme critics that we may gather from those gospels a clear idea both of the form and of the substance of our Lord's teaching.

Now it is not to be denied that the comparison of the fourth gospel with the first three is a little disconcerting. For it is obvious that in the fourth gospel the discourses occupy a different position, and differ also both in style and in matter from

those recorded in the synoptical gospels. They occupy a different position, bulking much more largely in proportion to the narrative. Indeed the narrative portion of the Gospel of John may be said to exist for the sake of the verbal teaching. The miracles which in the first three gospels appear as the beneficent acts of our Lord without ulterior motive seem in the fourth gospel to exist for the sake of the teaching they embody and the discussions they give rise to. Similarly, the persons introduced, such as Nicodemus, are viewed chiefly as instrumental in eliciting from Jesus certain sayings and are themselves forgotten in the conversation they have suggested.

In form the teachings recorded in *John* conspicuously differ from those recorded by the other evangelists. They present our Lord as using three forms of teaching, brief, pregnant apothegms, parables, and prolonged ethical addresses. In *John*, it is alleged, the parable has disappeared, the pointed sayings suitable to a popular teacher have also disappeared, and in their place we have prolonged discussions, self-defensive explanations, and stern invectives. As Renan says; "This fashion of preaching and demonstrating without ceasing, this everlasting argumentation, this artificial get-up, these long discussions following each miracle, these discourses stiff and awkward, whose tone is so often false and unequal, are intolerable to a man of taste alongside the delicious sentences of the synoptists."

Even more marked is the difference in the *substance* of the discourses. From the synoptists we receive the impression that Jesus was a genial, ethical teacher who spent his days among the common people exhorting them to unworldliness, to a disregard of wealth, to the humble and patient service of God in love to their fellow-men, exposing the hollowness of much that passed for religion and seeking to inspire all men with firmer trust in God as their Father. In the Gospel of John, His own claims are the prominent subject. He is the subject matter taught as well as the teacher. The kingdom of God no longer holds the place it held in the synoptists; it is the Messiah rather than the Messianic kingdom that is pressed upon the people.

On the other hand it has been urged that the style ascribed



SISTINE MADONNA.

to our Lord in this gospel is so like the style of John himself as to be indistinguishable; so that it is not always possible to say where the words of Jesus end and the words of John begin (see 12:44; 3:18-21). This difficulty may, however, be put aside, and that, for more reasons than one. The words of Jesus are translated from the vernacular Aramaic in which he probably uttered them and it was impossible they should not be colored by the style of the translator. Besides, there are obvious differences between the style of John and that of Jesus. For example, the Epistle of John is singularly abstract and devoid of illustration. James abounds in figure, and so does Paul; but in John's epistles not a single simile or metaphor occurs. Is it credible that this writer was the author of the richly figurative teachings in the 10th and 15th chapters of the gospel (the shepherd and the vine)?

But turning to the real differences which exist between the reports of the first three and the fourth gospel, several thoughts occur which at least take off the edge of the criticism and show us that on a point of this kind it is easy to be hasty and extreme. For, in the first place, it is to be considered that if John had had nothing new to tell, no fresh aspect of Christ or his teaching to present, he would not have written at all. No doubt each of the synoptists goes over ground already traversed by his fellow-synoptist, but it has yet to be proved that they knew one another's work. John did know of their gospels, and the very fact that he added a fourth prepares us to expect that it will be different; not only in omitting scenes from the life of Christ with which already the previous gospels had made men familiar, but by presenting some new aspect of Christ's person and teaching. That there was another aspect essential to the completeness of the figure was, as Dean Chadwick has pointed out, also to be surmised. The synoptists enable us to conceive how Jesus addressed the peasantry and how he dealt with the Scribes of Capernaum; but, after all, was it not also of the utmost importance to know how he was received by the authorities of Jerusalem and how he met their difficulties about his claims? Had there been no record of these defenses of his position, must we

not still have supposed them and supplied them in imagination?

That we have here, then, a *different* aspect of Christ's teaching need not surprise us, but is it not even *inconsistent* with that already given by the synoptists? The universal Christian consciousness has long since answered that question. The faith which has found its resting place in the Christ of the synoptists is not unsettled or perplexed by anything it finds in John. They are not two Christs but one which the four gospels depict: diverse as the profile and front face, but one another's complement rather than contradiction. A critical examination of the gospels reaches the same conclusion. For while the self-assertiveness of Christ is more apparent in the fourth gospel, it is implicit in them all. Can any claim be greater than that which our Lord urges in the Sermon on the ^e Mount, to be the supreme lawgiver and judge of men? Or than that which is implied in his assertion that he only knows the Father, and that only through him can others know Him; or can we conceive any clearer confidence in his mission than that which he implies when he invites all men to come to him, and trust themselves with him, or when he forgives sin, and proclaims himself the Messiah, God's representative on earth?

Can we then claim that all that is reported in this gospel as uttered by our Lord was actually spoken as it stands? This is not claimed. Even the most conservative critics allow that John must necessarily have condensed conversations and discourses. The truth probably is that we have the actual words of the most striking sayings, because these, once heard, could not be forgotten. And this plainly applies especially to the sayings regarding himself which were most likely to astonish or even shock and startle the hearers. These at once and forever fixed themselves in the mind. In the longer discussions and addresses we have the substance but cannot at each point be sure that the very words are given. No doubt in the last resort we must trust John. But whom could we more reasonably trust? He was the person of all others who entered most fully into sympathy with Christ and understood him best, the person to whom our Lord

could most freely open his mind. So that although, as Godet says, we have here "the extracted essence of a savoury fruit" we may be confident that this essence perfectly preserves the flavor and peculiarity of the fruit.

On finding that we may accept this gospel as a trustworthy representation of one aspect of our Lord's teaching, we turn to it and learn that the writer's aim is to reproduce the self-manifestation of Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God. With admirable artistic skill he collects from the life of our Lord those acts and words which most distinctly reveal his Messianic dignity, and he so presents them as to bring out, stage by stage, the growing faith and the ever deepening alienation and hatred which this manifestation elicited. The gospel is essentially an apologetic intended to establish the claim of Jesus to be received as the Christ, the Anointed, in other words, the spiritually equipped representative of God among men. And it accomplishes its object not by an abstract argument, nor like Matthew by showing how Jesus fulfilled prophecy, but by the simple method of gathering from the life of our Lord those words and deeds which most conspicuously and convincingly exhibit his actual revelation of the Father and application of his goodness to men.

The whole teaching of the gospel becomes intelligible when we keep in view that it was the author's purpose to select all that might most distinctly assure men that Jesus was the messenger of God and all that most cordially and pointedly invites men to accept what God sends them. In accordance with this the favorite title by which our Lord designates himself is "He whom the Father hath sent" (5:38; 6:29; 7:29; 17:3, etc.), and a favorite designation of God is "the Father which hath sent me" (5:37; 6:38, 39, 40; 7:16; 8:16, etc.) His great aim is to find acceptance as the Sent of God: "the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me" (5:36). "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me" (6:38). Above all, and in the first place, men must recognize him as the Father's ambassador, empowered to reveal the divine love and to express it to men. Whatever be his nature, and whatever be

his previous history, it is not to these that attention is drawn, but to the fact of his being the qualified representative of God on earth, the Messiah. If reference is from time to time made to his nature or previous history, this is incidental to the main purpose which always is to present Christ as the commissioned representative of God to men. Hence we need not be surprised if he says little directly of his divine nature.

At the present time it is gravely doubted whether in any utterance recorded in this gospel Jesus claims to be divine. Professor Beyschlag especially has spent much ingenuity in so explaining the passages which have usually been construed in this sense, as to leave no such claim apparent. The title "Son of God" is a Messianic designation and carries with it no intimation of eternal divine existence as son. The expressions which seem to involve the affirmation of preëxistence (6:62; 8:58; 17:4, 5, 24) only mean that the ideal man existed from eternity in the mind of God. And although he frequently speaks of himself as sent by God and coming down from heaven, these modes of speech are equally applicable and sometimes applied to other men.

Much service has been done by Professor Beyschlag and his fellow workers in compelling us to a stricter exegesis. There is no doubt that the designation "Son of God" is a Messianic title and is sometimes used in this sense in this gospel. Yet this does not explain why Jesus so constantly speaks of himself as "*the* Son" while speaking of God as "the Father." This constant setting of himself, in distinction from other men, in a relation of sonship to the Father, produced in the mind of the Jews the impression that he made himself equal with God. And, what is more to the purpose, the same impression was produced upon the mind of John, his most intimate and best-instructed disciple. It is manifest from the prologue that John believed Jesus to be the Logos or the Eternal Son of God, and how our Lord could have permitted this impression to be left on his mind, if it were erroneous, is not easy to understand. When Jesus declared that he was before Abraham, those who heard him understood him to mean that he was personally alive before Abraham; and if they had thought otherwise and that Jesus only

meant to affirm that he existed from eternity in the mind of God, might not they themselves have claimed a similar existence? Certainly the writers who entered most fully into the mind of Christ were most influential in the permanent establishment of Christianity. John, Paul, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, believed in his preëxistence.

It was, then, as Messiah that Jesus primarily manifested himself. In the synoptical gospels he is also presented as Messiah, but mainly in the character of the founder of the Messianic kingdom. In John it is rather the more essential nature of the Messiah as the revealer of God and mediator between God and men, which is in view. And John's idea of the actual qualifications which constituted Jesus the Messiah may perhaps most readily be gathered from the miracles recorded. The miracles selected are those which best serve as object lessons, or manifestations in the physical world, of some particular element in the equipment of the Messiah. In these miracles Jesus was the bearer and dispenser of the Father's good-will, and he desired that in and through them he might be recognized as such, and be trusted as the medium through whom men might come into connection with the whole divine fulness.

Accordingly, as the miracles were meant to tell their own story, their teaching is obvious. In the supply of wine which he furnished for the prolongation of the wedding festivities at Cana, there was manifested his glory as the reliever of all poverty and provider of all innocent joy. When he summoned into life and activity the hopelessly impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, it was made apparent that "the Son quickeneth whom he will." In giving sight to the man born blind he revealed himself, more convincingly than by any verbal teaching, as the light of the world; and when he fed the hungry out of his own stores, the intelligent might have seen that he who could thus sustain the body might be trusted as able also to give the bread that endureth to life everlasting. In the crowning miracle of the raising of Lazarus he reveals himself as the resurrection, inviting men to believe that the life he communicates is undying. By these miracles, therefore, he proclaimed himself to men as carrying in his person a divine fulness of life,—the very life of God, as he him-

self says (6:26) and as imparting this life freely to men. "Life" or "life eternal" is the favorite term in this gospel to express the all-comprehending good which Christ brings to men.

That our Lord foresaw that in order to give this "life" its fullest application to men his own death was necessary, is apparent from several passages. Conspicuous among these are his comparison of his own exaltation to the raising of the brazen serpent on the pole (3:14) and the similar language of chapter 12:32, where he intimates that it is by being lifted up he will obtain ascendancy over all men. In the same chapter he utters the memorable words, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit." It is to minimize the significance of these utterances to find in them only another way of saying, "It is expedient for you that I go away," and to suppose that he looked upon death chiefly as "the passage into a state of glory in which he could act effectively and truly live with his own." It was that; but it was that by virtue of its atoning efficacy. The representative and substitutionary character of his death is brought out in the parable of the Good Shepherd and in his acceptance of the designation applied to him by the Baptist, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." The only way in which a lamb can remove sin is by bearing it as a vicarious victim.

Further, in this gospel our Lord throws much light on the means by which men actually become recipients of the life which Christ brings. Evidently there must in the first place be faith in his words and in his person (5:24; 6:29, 68; 1:12, etc.). But the character of this faith and the entireness of the reception which are requisite for making men partakers of the life that is in Christ are most distinctly brought out in the figure of eating and drinking which he uses in the sixth chapter. It is by eating we assimilate to our own life the nutritive properties of our food; so Christ says we must make him as thoroughly our own as eating makes bread our own. We must make his spirit our own, assimilate to ourselves all that is in him to encourage, to guide, to sanctify. We must so use him for all spiritual purposes that we can understand what it means to be one with him. So eating him we possess life eternal.

JESUS AS PREACHER.

By PROFESSOR WILLIAM C. WILKINSON,
The University of Chicago.

Christ's teaching authoritative, based on knowledge, certain.—His attitude towards the Old Testament; and the legitimacy of biblical criticism.—As to the originality of Christ's teaching.—His homiletic method: His use of opportunity, of rhetorical expedients, of parables.—The equipoise in His preaching.—His elocution.—Christ the Preacher subordinate to Christ the Redeemer.

THE purpose of the present paper is to point out the chief traits which characterized Jesus as preacher or teacher. Some of these characteristic traits are unique in him. Let us begin with one such.

Jesus taught with *authority*. Nothing in his preaching is a trait more marked, more pervasive, more indelibly waterlined into the texture of his discourse, than this. It is, perhaps, the one note in which Jesus, as teacher, is different from all other teachers in the world, before him or after him. Other teachers have, indeed, assumed or affected the tone of authority in their teaching. With some such teachers the assumption has the effect, was designed to have the effect, of only a pleasant complacency on their part; perhaps even of a certain complaisance toward their disciples or readers. Ralph Waldo Emerson is an instance. In form, he is not seldom as authoritative as was Jesus. But no one feels that he is so in spirit and intent. On the contrary, he associates his readers with himself and makes them share with their master a kind of illusory sense of possessing final and oracular wisdom. Neither writer nor reader is deceived in the premises. The air of seer with which such a man speaks is frankly put on. It is a manner, no more.

Not so with the authoritative tone in Jesus. That is no manner merely. It is of himself. It is the natural language of the speaker. Instead of being put on, it is such that it could not even be conceived as put off. Buffon's word is completely



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—ZDZISŁAW ŻYMKOWIAK.

realized. In the case of Jesus, the style is he. But we do not have to *infer* what, if it were left to be inferred, is so abundantly implied. Jesus himself, in express terms, insists on his own authority as teacher. He said to his disciples, "Ye call me master [teacher] and lord and ye say well, for so I am." Again, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" It was no mere superficial complaisance that this teacher would accept from his disciples, in being addressed by them with a conventional title of deference and respect. He claimed seriously all that his title of lord implied.

Intimately related to the trait just named in Jesus as preacher, indeed almost identical with that, yet of a nature to invite separate mention, is a quality for which our language does not, in any single word, afford an adequate name. We shall have to throw out tentatives, make approximations, in order to express it. We might say that Jesus spoke like a seer, like a prophet, like an oracle. But that would very imperfectly, indeed it would somewhat misleadingly, express the fact. It would, to be sure, set Jesus apart from the order of those whom by way of distinction and honor we call "thinkers." So far, it would be just and good. For Jesus was conspicuously, remarkably, *not* a thinker among thinkers. He is nowhere in the records that we have of him, exhibited to us as going through any of those intellectual processes by which men in general arrive at their results in conviction, true or false. He was not a *seeker* of truth. So far as appears he did not reason, institute inductions, draw inferences. He saw without effort. He did not explore and discover. He saw and announced. He sometimes argued; but this to convince, or rather to convict, his opponents; never to satisfy himself. In the respects thus indicated, Jesus was a seer instead of a thinker. But he was not a seer in the sense of being filled from without with an inspiration to which he served simply as organ of utterance. He was never as one carried out of himself. He spoke indeed from God, but it was in the character of a person at the same time consciously one with God. Let us say that Jesus spoke with *authority*, because he spoke as one that *κνεε*.

A third note, then, braided inseparably into the tone with which Jesus spoke, was the note of absolute, unshaken, unshakable *certainty*. There is in his utterances no doubt, no faltering, no wavering, no slightest possibility admitted, however remotely, of the speaker's being mistaken. What he teaches has in it the solidity—I was going to say—of the planet itself. But that were a feeble figure of speech. God himself could not be imagined speaking in human words with a more pungent and powerful effect produced of the speaker's *knowing* what he affirmed. The degree of the peculiar effect thus described is such in the case of Jesus that that alone would justify and explain the awe-stricken exclamation of one of his hearers, "Never man spake like this man." Christ's characteristic formula of preface, "Verily, verily," was but a kind of spontaneous, inevitable notice and sign given to hearers, of the ultimate, the absolute, character of certainty inhering in that which was to follow from his lips. How convincing, nay, how overawing, it is, when, for instance, in opposition to traditional doctors of universally accepted authority, Jesus says, "But I say unto you"!

It needs to be said that the traits thus attributed to Jesus as teacher or preacher, traits naturally seeming to involve underived and independent quality in their subject, are strangely, almost paradoxically, reconciled in him with an accompanying trait of subordination and obedience. As a New Testament writer expresses it, "Though he was a Son, yet learned he obedience." The case is one without parallel in respect of this blending and reconciliation of two seeming contraries, supremacy and subjection. The mystery of Christ's person as very God and very man, is involved.

Something like the same mystery and paradox seems also to subsist in the double attitude that Jesus held toward the Old Testament Scriptures. On the one side, he treated them with the utmost reverence. He said, or implied, that their sentence on any point which they touched, was final and irreversible. "For verily I say unto you,"—such is his august and awe-inspiring language—"Till heaven and earth pass one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." Nothing

could go beyond this in the way of declaring the absolute truth and authority of Old Testament Scripture. And illustration of the same tenor is inwrought everywhere into the fabric of Christ's habitual discourse.

It is, however, to be noted that this accent of reverence on Christ's part for the Old Testament Scriptures, very singularly involves also a tacit assumption on his part of authority belonging to himself, coequal with their own, nay, even transcending that. The language used by Jesus, as, for instance, in the foregoing quotation from his great discourse, is peculiar: "Verily I say unto you." Such expression is that of one affixing a sanction. It is not that of one subscribing a loyal personal adhesion and obedience. It is rather that of one calmly assuming to endorse and to ratify. The New Testament student is not surprised, therefore, to find Jesus saying, with unaffected majesty, of his own words what he had before said of the words of the law: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."

It is not to be understood as condemnation from him of what the Old Testament taught, when, in the exercise of his right, Jesus fills out, modifies, or even sets aside, a point of Old Testament teaching. If to say this be paradox, it is no less the truth. The Old Testament had foretold that a Prophet should appear, the antitype of Moses; and Moses himself is represented as bespeaking for that Prophet beforehand obedient heed; "Him shall ye hear," is the bidding. It is as if the Old Testament itself provided for its own amendment. Its letter and its spirit were actually therefore in process of being fulfilled, when its predicted Prophet took upon himself the prerogative of setting it at any point aside; that is, of replacing a provisional arrangement in it with something final and absolute; in Scripture phrase, of removing the things which were shaken that the things which could not be shaken, might remain. The annulment by Jesus of the too lax Mosaic permission of divorce is an instance in point; though this ostensible annulment was, it is true, rather only a carrying out to further strictness of a limitation not stringent enough provisionally appointed by the primitive legislator. It

was completion, not abrogation. The freedom with which Jesus handled the Old Testament Scriptures is thus as marked as his reverence for them. But his freedom in handling them is no derogation from their provisional authority. It is no proof that their just claim was less, while it lasted: but only that *his* just claim was more, who could at points authoritatively define and limit the term of its lasting.

There is one thing further to be remarked on the attitude held by Jesus as public teacher toward the Old Testament Scriptures. Whatever may have been his knowledge in the case, and however different may have been his own individual views on the various points involved, Jesus never disturbed the current popular belief concerning the origin, the date, the authorship, of the various books that in his day composed (as these same books compose in ours) the Old Testament canon. If contemporary belief was mistaken on these points, or on any of them, and if Jesus knew that it was mistaken, he yet did nothing to unsettle it, or to correct it. He left it absolutely as he found it, unchanged, unchallenged.

Such is the fact, the incontestable fact. What does this fact prove? That the contemporary popular belief was right? Hardly. I thus reply, although my own individual opinion is—an opinion long held on grounds of literary criticism alone, and lately confirmed by what seem to be the unquestionable results of archæologic research—that the traditional view on the subject of Old Testament origins and authorships, which view I understand to be substantially the same as that current among the Jews of Christ's time, probably comes much nearer the truth in the case, than any alternative conclusion likely ever to be arrived at and agreed upon by modern higher critics of the ancient sacred canon. Still, Jesus did not, so far as I have been able to see, commit himself, directly or indirectly, on the points involved; and we are left free to infer only that he thought it not worth while to disturb the current belief, even if the current belief were wrong. So Jesus bore himself toward this matter then. Would he so bear himself toward the same matter now? Or, to put our question otherwise, would Jesus still have observed reticence on this topic, if the topic had been in his day a burning one? Our answer

must necessarily be an inferential answer; but to me it seems clear that the whole tone and tenor of his teaching and his life tend in a single direction, and that that direction is to make it probable that Jesus would have put out of his way at once, as things not important enough to engage *his* attention, all questions, though never so burning at the moment, of how, when, by whom, the Old Testament Scriptures were produced. The one thing vital about these Scriptures was that they were from God and were to be revered accordingly.

Does it then follow that men must never inquire and explore as to the genesis and history of the human element in the authorship of the sacred Scriptures? Who would affirm this? But of Christ's purpose in the world, such speculation constituted no part. He came not to gratify intellectual curiosity, but to excite and to satisfy spiritual cravings; in short, to save men. Let those addicted to scientific pursuits make, if they so pleased, scientific quest in the region of Old Testament origins. That, however, was not his own mission; nor was it to be the mission of those whom he would send forth to preach his gospel. Give to science its due, and give to religion its due; render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's.

If this hypothetical conclusion as to the attitude of Jesus toward questions of higher biblical criticism be sound, then the way is now absolutely open to science, free from any interdict to be drawn from the example or authority of Christ, to seek and to find what results she justly may, about Old Testament and New Testament origins. But, if we have rightly inferred from the spirit and example of Jesus, the *religious* teacher, teaching in his name, will not do this. It is a scientific, not a religious aim. The results, whatever they may be worth as science, will have no religious value. I mean, of course, so far as they are speculative and uncertain. Where the results are matters of really verified knowledge, they may undoubtedly sometimes be used to advantage in throwing illustrative light on particular passages, perhaps whole tracts, of Scripture, and so subserve a vital religious purpose. Beyond this, the preacher of the gospel has no warrant from the example of his Master in going. It is a pronounced

negative trait in Christ's teaching that he strongly refrained from intermeddling in the burning questions of his time, unless they were religious, and vitally religious, questions. "My kingdom is not of this world," he seemed always to remember. "Who made me a ruler and divider over you?"—this interrogative refusal on his part of intervention in the matter of a disputed inheritance, expressed also his attitude toward public questions of the day on which good men might honestly differ in opinion. Even a question like that of the difference between Samaritan and Jew, though it involved a vital point of religion, he pronounced his sentence upon, frankly indeed, yet with a certain approach to impatience, with an air of dismissal—because the controversy about it was of only a subordinate and temporary importance. The example and influence of Jesus as preacher are wholly in favor of exclusive devotion on the part of his ministers to what is religious, as distinguished from what is intellectual, in interest, this even where that which is intellectual in interest may border closely on religion. It is not meant thus to be implied that some men may not, in a vitally religious spirit, and with a sincerely religious motive in doing so, devote themselves to scientific exploration of the questions involved in the so-called higher criticism of Scripture. Assuredly, men having a conscientious sense of such vocation may freely do this, animated with the hope of discovering what shall serve the cause of religion in the world. But the work thus described is not included either among the specific activities commanded by Jesus to his *ministers*, or among those recommended to them by their Master's example. "Preach the word"—the word, not higher criticism of the word, is still, as it always was, and always will be, the prime injunction to ministers of the gospel.

In the matter and substance of his preaching, Jesus did not claim to be, and he was not, new and original in any such sense, or in any such degree, as will at all account for his unique influence. His doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood was no novelty. The Old Testament contained it, in such expressions as that of the Psalm, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." Or, if this be deemed not uni-

versal enough to match the doctrine of Jesus, then take this, "His tender mercies are over *all* his works;" or this, "O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, for his wonderful works to the children of men!" No particularism there at least, more than in the teaching of Jesus, "He [your Father] maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good," language addressed, however, be it observed, to his *disciples*, and couched in the *second* person, "*Your* Father." Great pains have been expended by hostile critics of Jesus in the attempt to trace everything that he taught to some source earlier than himself. Such critics do not seem to consider that the more they show Jesus not to have been original, or at least not to have been new, in his teaching, the more they make wonderful the power and the spread of his influence. If there was nothing original and new in his doctrine, then his person, his character, *himself*, must alone be relied upon to furnish the explanation of the history that surrounded him living and that has followed him dead.

The one feature in Christ's preaching that might seem to offer an aspect of originality, consists in this, that the ultimate subject and object of his preaching was himself. No other teacher is in this regard comparable to Jesus. "*I* say unto you;" "These sayings of *mine*;" "If *I* then, your *Lord* and *Master*;" "One is your Master, even *Christ*;" "Come unto *me*, all ye that labor and are heavy laden and *I* will give you rest;" "Ye will not come to *me* that ye might have life;" "*I* am the way, and the truth, and the life;" "No man cometh unto the Father, but by *me*." Extraordinary, unparalleled claims; still, it was only in the article of his identifying himself with the promised Messiah, that Jesus propounded in them anything to be called new. The Christ or Messiah of the Old Testament had for ages been preached or predicted in virtually equivalent terms. "Ye search the Scriptures," said Jesus to the caviling Jews, "for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of *me*." To two of his disciples, so it is told us by Luke, Jesus, after his resurrection, beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, interpreted in all the Scriptures the things concern-

ing *himself*. In its essence, therefore, the doctrine of Jesus was not new doctrine, when he made himself the subject and the object of his own preaching.

We have hitherto considered only traits in Jesus the preacher belonging necessarily to him, because he was such as he was in his person and character, or else because he was exclusively religious in his aim. Let us now turn our attention to traits in him that might be regarded as more incidental, more separable from the person and character of the preacher, more a matter of choice on his part, choice that might conceivably have been different from what it was. We treat now of the *homiletic method* of Jesus.

In the first place, it is very noticeable that Jesus took advantage of the incalculable oratoric reinforcement to be drawn from fit *opportunity*. He hinged and jointed his instructions into particular occasions suggesting them, or at least making them at a given moment especially apposite. The gospel historians are faithful in enabling us to make this useful note as to Christ's method in preaching.

Again, and in the same wise spirit of thrifty self-adjustment to occasion, Jesus, where occasion did not offer itself ready-made to his hand, would say something introductory to serve the purpose of an occasion. For instance, he would rouse attention and expectation, by providing beforehand, over against what he had to say, some antithesis to it, real or apparent. "Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil," is an illustration of this method on the part of Jesus. For we have here, not, of course, abrogation of civil law with replacement of it by lawlessness, by anarchy—which, in the sphere of human government, the absolute *non-resistance* in terms enjoined would be; but simply a rhetorical device for commanding attention and strengthening impression. Indeed the whole series of antitheses from which our example foregoing was drawn, may be said itself to constitute an illustration at large of the point in teaching method here brought to attention. Jesus wished to enforce the high severity of the personal righteousness

required in the kingdom of heaven. He does it most effectively by contrast. He sets his own standard of righteousness over against the imperfect standard maintained by the popular religious teachers of his day: "Except your righteousness shall *exceed* the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." This is the general statement, and then follows the series of instances in which Jesus points out the imperfections, or the faults, of the morality taught, as from the Mosaic institutes, by the best-reputed contemporary doctors of the law. It is the homiletic expedient exemplified of teaching by antithesis.

Paradox was with Jesus another favorite expedient of teaching. Perhaps no other teacher ever made proportionately more use of this expedient than did he. You cannot understand Jesus without often making allowance for paradox in his form of expression.

Jesus was sometimes even more frankly rhetorical than has yet been shown or suggested. Take, for instance, that saying of his, "Whosoever shall break one of the least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven." Here, manifestly, the rhetorical quest of balance and antithesis, of symmetry and epigram, in form of statement, leads Jesus to say what he did not desire to have taken in an absolutely literal sense. Hyperbole is yet another rhetorical expedient freely used by Jesus in his discourse. Consider the following: "If any man . . . *hateth* not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." The vast, the immeasurable, claim on his own behalf which Jesus habitually makes does not itself admit of overstatement; but the just statement of it here made is made by means of overstatement the most extraordinary. It is a case of hyperbole rendered more hyperbolic through accumulation and climax. We must beware, in the case of Jesus, as theologians long ago ought to have done in the case of the apostle Paul, not to make dogma out of mere rhetoric.

The *parable* was one more feature in the preaching method of Jesus; perhaps the most commanding one of all. Certainly no

one else ever approached Jesus in mastery of this teaching instrument. Evidently this teaching instrument is one that may equally well be employed to throw light or to throw darkness on the subject of discourse. That Jesus employed it now for the one and now for the other of these two opposite purposes, seems implied in the narrative of the evangelists. "Opposite," I call these purposes. But even when Jesus employed the parable for darkening truth, we may be sure that the darkness cast was cast for the gracious end of awakening desire for light. Hearers that really wished light would be given light. It is not for a moment to be supposed that Jesus ever darkened men's minds with parable, when a different method of instruction adopted by him would have had on those same men's minds an effect more salutary both for themselves and for the general interests of the kingdom of God in the world.

A further feature belonging to the homiletic method of Jesus was the just balance that he held between the two contrasted moods and tendencies of thought often designated, respectively, the optimistic and the pessimistic. Jesus was neither a pessimist nor an optimist, whether in his temperament or in his preaching. He mingled light and shadow, hope and fear. It cannot truly be said that either one of these two mutual opposites predominated in Jesus, whether we regard him in his person or in his preaching. It is true, indeed, that toward the close of his earthly career, the animating hope, if ever such hope lived in his breast, of great and saving results for his nation and for mankind, to flow from his preaching, seems to have suffered extinction; and the darkness, both of the doom impending over the guilty Jewish state, and of the end awaiting himself in Jerusalem, overshadowed more and more deeply his spirit. The predictions, couched now in parable and now in straightforward statement, that issued from his lips, were gloomy in the extreme. But even these were relieved with gleams of promise and of hope—for a remnant; and the discourse of Jesus, as a whole, if not to be pronounced enlivening rather than depressing, was at least enlivening as well as depressing. To describe his preaching as mainly of a bright and cheering tenor, would be to make a

serious critical mistake of disproportion in judgment. He saw things as they were, and not under any glamour of rose color thrown upon them from a light and happy temperament in himself. Solemnity is the prevailing character impressed upon the teaching of Jesus. If it is once said that Jesus "rejoiced in spirit," that note of mood in him produces on the reader an effect of the exceptional rather than the ordinary; and the joy attributed seems, even in the case of exception, to have been a joy impressively solemn in character. The church has made no mistake, all these Christian centuries, in conceiving her Lord as a Man of Sorrows and Acquainted with Grief.

Accordant with the equipoise in Jesus between the sanguine and the despondent, in his way of regarding the world, is the even-handed justice with which he metes out his awards of praise and of blame. There is, however,—and it could not be otherwise if justice prevailed—a very noticeable predominance of blame over praise in the sentences from his lips. The note of rebuke, nay, even of heavy-shotted denunciation, is very strong (and this note not infrequently recurs) in the discourses of Jesus. Nothing could exceed the unrelieved, the red-hot, the white-hot, indignation and damnation launched by Jesus against certain classes and certain individuals among his hearers. The fierceness indeed is such that it is plainly beyond the mark of what could properly be drawn into precedent for any other preacher. Jesus is hardly in anything else more entirely put outside the possibility of classification with his human brethren, than in the article now spoken of.

Of the physical manner, that which may be called *elocution*, in Jesus as preacher, we have absolutely no notice in the histories extant of him. Once or twice indeed it is noted that he looked round about him with anger at the hardness of heart displayed by certain hearers of his; and once that looking upon a young man he loved him. Such hints, rare as they are, stimulate us to imagine that the features of Jesus were mobile and expressive during his speech. One thing, however, we instinctively feel to be certain, that even in his most terrible invectives there was no violence of tone, of gesture, or of manner. If fidelity would

not permit him to appear relenting, equally, the quality of love in him would not permit him to be vindictive.

In fine, and somewhat abruptly, by way of even doing to the present topic a seeming disparagement required by truth, it must be said that Jesus as preacher was in his own view nothing whatever in importance compared with Jesus the suffering Savior. "I, *if I be lifted up*, will draw all men unto me," he said, near the end, with a depth of meaning and pathos beyond reach of human plummet to sound ; and, at the very last, "This is my *blood* of the covenant, which is *shed for many*." What his preaching, even *his* preaching, had failed to effect, it remained for his obedience unto death, the death of the cross, to accomplish. His preaching itself thus acknowledged that his preaching alone was vain. Jesus as preacher preached Jesus as Redeemer by blood. He set herein an example which every faithful minister of his gospel, to the end of the age, must follow.

CHRIST IN ART.

By PROFESSOR RUSH RHEES,
The Newton Theological Institution.

WHEN Eusebius was asked by the sister of Constantine for a likeness of Christ, he reminded her that she could not expect a likeness of his unchangeable nature, nor yet of his glorified humanity. The only possible likeness would be one of the frail human body, which he carried before his ascension. Even this last was unattainable, since the Christians could tolerate no attempt to portray him who was to them God manifest in the flesh. The scruples that controlled that early Christian feeling have long since vanished, and no divine mystery, whether of the Trinity or of the Eternal "whom no man hath seen nor can see," has been unattempted by an art that has at least not lacked in daring. And as one turns from the attempts to picture the Master of us all, one is often moved to feel that the old reserve had advantages that might commend it to these latter days. We cannot think of Christ apart from the transcendent aspects of his nature, but how can they be portrayed? What men mean for strength and dignity often appears only sternness. What they mean for boundless compassion appears effeminacy. Zeal too often becomes mere fanaticism. Or the effort to combine all his characters results in something neither human nor divine, at best an unnatural symbol.

It is generally conceded that no tradition has come down to us concerning the personal appearance of Jesus. Doubtless in the first days the thought of the glorified Lord who would shortly come again, left little room for interest in the form which he wore in the days of his humiliation. A description purporting to come from a contemporary, Lentulus, and which has greatly influenced modern attempts to portray Jesus, is a palpable forgery from about the twelfth century. The so-called miraculous portraits, said to have been imprinted on cloths by Jesus as he wiped

his face with them, and to have been given one to Veronica, the other to Abgarus, are also apocryphal. In the writings of the first two centuries there is not a trace of any description of the Lord's appearance, excepting hints that relied avowedly on inference drawn from Scriptures such as Isaiah 53:2, 3 and Psalm 45:2-4, or from incidents in the Lord's own life. In fact there were two



SYMBOLS FROM THE CATACOMBS.

diametrically opposed conceptions current in the Church, defended by passages from the Old Testament such as those just cited, the prevailing opinion in the earlier time being that the Lord's personal appearance was at the best without beauty; while another judgment believed that he was "fairer than the children of men."

Though indulging these guesses as to his appearance, it is not strange that the early Christians shrank from the idea of a picture of Christ. Their revolt from idolatry, and a care to give no ground for the charge that they were simply devotees of a new idol would operate to prevent their making pictures of their

Master. Furthermore the second commandment was not unnaturally felt to forbid the making of any image of the "Word made flesh." And had they had the impulse so to use art to honor their Lord and assist their devotion, the associations of the only art they knew with the excesses of idolatrous worship, and with the debauchery of heathen life, would make it seem an unfit handmaid for religion pure and undefiled.

Yet the early years were not without some artistic expression. At first the ventures were most modest. On the grave of some Christian, or the stone of some seal, or the walls of a chamber in the catacombs, symbols began to appear. Commonest among these symbols are the fish and the monogram. The fish had the double advantage of representing in itself various Christian ideas such as baptism, and the gathering of the soul into the church; and of carrying in the Greek form of its name an anagram of many names of Christ.¹

The monogram dates in its developed form at least, from the time of Constantine. It consists of a combination of the first two letters of the Greek word *Χριστός*. A rarer form is a combination of the initial letters of the two names *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*. These doubtless grew out of a use of the simple X with a possible double reference to Christ and the cross.

To these pure symbols were added symbolic scenes from the Old Testament, such as the history of Jonah, typifying the resurrection; that of Daniel in the lion's den, and the three children in the furnace, setting forth the same fact; Moses striking the rock, to suggest Christ the fountain of living water; the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, to suggest the sacrifice of Christ. Heathen mythology also furnished symbols, the most common being Orpheus charming the beasts, to suggest Christ's restoration of harmony to the creation. With these symbols there appear two others drawn from the New Testament, namely the Lamb and the Good Shepherd. This last is perhaps the favorite one of all. It is found on the walls of the catacombs of St. Callistus and of St. Priscilla, as well as in other ancient cemeteries and on early sarcophagi. While the idea comes from the New Testament, the type

¹ ΙΧΘΥΣ = Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ. Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour.

of representation is so like heathen pictures of Apollo feeding the flocks of Admetus, or of Hermes the Ram-bearer, as to suggest that the Christians have merely consecrated a current type. One possible evidence of this indebtedness appears in the fact that in some of the pictures, as in some heathen prototypes, a



goat or kid takes the place of the lamb. This substitution was not, however, unthinking, since in one picture the Shepherd with the kid stands between a sheep and a goat. It is doubtless a confession of faith in the wide mercy of the Saviour, and perhaps a remonstrance against the rigor of the Montanists.¹

In these pictures the Good Shepherd is a young man, beardless, with a classic face. This too was an inheritance from the pre-Christian days. But it seems to have suited the ideas of the Christians, for when we find them venturing on more than a symbolical representation of the Lord, this type of face is the one adopted. Christ is so pictured in several scenes taken from the gospels,—notably the raising of Lazarus, the scene at Jacob's well, the miracle of the loaves and fishes,—as well as in pictures of the Lord on his judgment throne with the books before him. It would seem

¹ See the beautiful sonnet by Matthew Arnold.

*He saves the sheep, the goats he doth not save,
So rang Tertullian's sentence, on the side
Of that unpitying Phrygian sect which cried :
" Him can no fount of fresh forgiveness lave,
Who sins, once washed by the baptismal wave."
So spake the fierce Tertullian. But she sighed,
The infant Church ! of love she felt the tide
Stream on her from the Lord's yet recent grave.
And then she smiled ; and in the Catacombs,
With eye suffused but heart inspired true,
On those walls subterranean, where she hid
Her head 'mid ignominy, death and toms,
She her Good Shepherd's hasty image drew—
And on his shoulders, not a lamb, a kid.*

that by this young and vigorous type of face the Christians wished to express their belief in the victorious immortality of their ascended Lord. There is something of exultation in their conception, which shows that the notion that Jesus was without comeliness, was applicable in their thought to the state of Christ's humiliation only. It is clearly the Lord of life and glory rather than the Man of sorrows that meets us in the Catacombs.

The scruple against portraying the Lord having passed, different types of picture became current according as one or another conception of Jesus was uppermost in the mind. We have seen that the early pictures suggest the glorious Lord, now at the right hand of power. Towards the fourth century the beardless face gave way to one with a beard, and of an older aspect. The idea that the appearance of Jesus was plain or even repellent was one that the growing spirit of asceticism in the church eagerly adopted. And as this spirit laid hold on the church's life, a change came over the representations of Christ. Gradually there became current a type of face haggard, full of grief, marked by suffering, a type emphasizing strongly the sufferings and the humiliation of Christ rather than his present glory. This face is older than the earlier type, and is bearded, the hair also being long and parted in the middle. This conception soon became a tradition in the church, and any departure from it was held to savor of sacrilege. It is known as the Byzantine type and is found in most old mosaics and in many old paintings.

The beard and the long hair naturally fit with the notion that Jesus, like John the Baptist, was a Nazarite. These actually appeared independently before the development of the Byzantine type, and, in fact, are now characteristics of the artistic ideal of the Christ head. Some of the early bearded representations of Jesus retain the beauty and vigor of the smooth-faced youth. In the pictures of Jesus, in fact, different conceptions of him found differing expression; and it is interesting to note that the two so-called miraculous portraits represent the rival types, the uncomely and the beautiful,—that connected with the name

of Veronica giving the thorn-crowned man of sorrows, while the Abgarus picture shows a bearded face, youthful and fair.¹

This diversity of conception was an inevitable result of the loss of all record of Jesus' actual appearance, and also of the transcendence of his nature as it is set forth in the New Testa-



MOSAIC HEAD OF CHRIST IN THE CHURCH OF
ST. APOLLINARE, RAVENNA.

ment. The incarnation, involving as it does the union of the divine and human, is beyond the power of man to comprehend. Much less can he picture it. All that is possible is an apprehension, more or less adequate, of one or more features of that sur-

¹For the early period see especially Bishop Westcott's essay, *The Relation of Christianity to Art*, in his *Commentary on the Epistles of St. John*, Macmillan, and in his *Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West*, Macmillan, 1891. See also Archdeacon Farrar's, *The Life of Christ as Represented in Art*, Macmillan, 1894, and Mrs. Jameson's *The History of Our Lord in Art*, Longmans, 1865.

passing Person. This has been proved by the course of Christian thinking on the person of Christ. It is evident in the course of Christian art.

The types of representation are not confined to the two which early became current. The development of Mariolatry carried with it a practical if not avowed transfer of the characters of gentleness and compassion from Jesus to Mary. From the eleventh century on, the Last Judgment came to be a familiar subject for artistic representation. One readily recalls the frescoes of Orcagna in the Campo Santo at Pisa, many paintings by Fra Angelico, that of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel, that of Tintoretto at Venice, and the lurid pictures of Rubens at Munich. At first Mary was represented only as one of those at the side of the Lord. Later, however, she appears in the attitude of an intercessor, seeking to soften the rigor of the offended Christ who, as Mrs. Jameson says, appears rather as prosecutor than as judge. This last perversion of truth has not escaped criticism even from adorers of Mary. But it shows how the pictures of Christ are the register of the artist's conception of him.

The breaking with tradition that came with the revival of learning led to a general abandoning of the stereotyped conceptions that were ruling sacred art. A note of reality entered into it that was fresh and individual. This appears plainest in the representations of the Madonna, in whom human beauty and tender motherhood assert their rights as over against the unearthly mode of representation that had removed her far from common life. Unfortunately the interest of that day found so much more to its mind in the Virgin than in her Son, that pictures of his face are relatively rare. In such as exist, however, the new individuality of conception appears. Reference to Michael Angelo's Last Judgment has already been made. The commanding figure of the Lord, stern and terrible, visiting vengeance on the sinful world, is at least original. If we repudiate the conception as false in its severity, losing as it does all thought of "the Lamb in the midst of the throne," we must acknowledge its clearness and force. The artist has made it tell his conception unmistakably. The break with tradition, however, did not issue in a gen-

uine realism. The Lord, however his face and form were conceived, was pictured in the midst of ideal or distinctively modern and European surroundings. The Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci, the Miracle at Cana by Veronese, the Blessing of Little Children by Rembrandt, not to mention the earlier and more formal works of Fra Angelico, do not carry us to Palestine and the first century; rather they are altogether ideal compositions, or Jesus is placed in an Italian or German environment,—the general scene, the type of face, and the halo or nimbus with the conventional garb serving to identify the Lord.

In this, sacred art followed the method pursued in all the painting of the time. Doubtless the archæological question hardly occurred to these men. In so far as in painting Christ they were consciously expressing a belief rather than reproducing an ancient scene, the archæological consideration would be indifferent to them.

Not until our own day has sacred art called in archæology to be her handmaid. The modern study of the life of Jesus, in connection with its social and material conditions, has awakened an interest in the Bethlehem stable, and the Nazareth home, the hillsides by the sea of Galilee, and the Holy City with its temple and palaces, as they actually appeared when our Lord knew them. We are interested to know what he wore, what kind of books he read, how schools were conducted in Nazareth, and what sort of service they had from Sabbath to Sabbath in the synagogues. Inquiry into these things has given a whole mass of new material to artists who will attempt to picture Christ.

And artists have not been slow to use the material thus given. We now have a picture of the Visit of the Shepherds to the Bethlehem stable, by Le Rolle,² that gives a new reality to the record of that first Christmas morning. Holman Hunt spent many years of study in Palestine to enable him to tell the story of the "Boy Jesus in the Temple." The more familiar picture represents the moment when Mary has found him and is leading him away as he says: "How is it that ye sought me?"

² See illustration on page 438.

There is another that is known to the public only through an engraving published in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1890, and reproduced in Archdeacon Farrar's recent book, *The Life of Christ in Art*. It represents the boy considering the questions of the Doctors. The engraving is not at first sight attractive, but it repays study because of its minute accuracy of detail. One longs to see the original. When these pictures of Le Rolle and Hunt are called realistic we must not think of them as lacking in ideality. They suggest at once the transcendent nature of the subject they present, and that not only by the use of the halo. They are marked by a reverence and high spiritual insight that makes their realism simply a contribution to our knowledge of the Word made Flesh. There are other realists whose religious feeling is not so true. Undeniably great as is Muncacsy's "Christ Before Pilate,"¹ fine in its details, and most strong in its conception, yet the face and figure have more of the fanatic in them than suits the Friend of publicans and sinners. Even less satisfactory, though immensely suggestive, are the Galilean scenes of Verestchagin. The environment in these pictures is excellent, and so far as it goes the representation of Jesus is instructive, but it fails to go under the surface and discover what Matthew Arnold called the sweet reasonableness of Jesus, not to mention the more transcendent qualities that no painter can depict, but which may give a picture an atmosphere full of "the sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused."

Even more noteworthy than the strict realistic development in religious art is the movement represented at its best in Germany by Von Uhde and Zimmermann, and less attractively in France by Béraud. The aim of these artists seems to be "to represent Christ and the New Testament events as present day actualities." Fritz von Uhde is called the apostle of the movement. Having resigned a commission in the German army, he studied painting in Munich and Paris, and in 1884 exhibited his *Suffer Little Children to Come Unto Me*. He had chosen for the scene a German peasant's house, and the children that were

¹ See illustration on page 410.



THE LAST SUPPER.
—VON UHDE.

crowding about him were German children. All was conceived with great reverence, and executed powerfully. The picture at first aroused severe criticism, but it has made its way into high favor. Mention may be made of a Holy Night, of which a copy was published in the Christmas number of *The Century* for 1891, in which the same peculiarities appear. Especially interesting are the intensely modern cherubs that are introduced into the picture. Prominent among others of Von Uhde's works is a Last Supper.¹ The scene is a German peasant house, the table and its furnishings are very modern, though of humble sort; the group of disciples consists of humble German folk,—plain, poor, but most earnest. The moment chosen is that of Judas' departure, and Jesus seems about to institute the Supper. The grief and consternation of the disciples, together with most loving attentiveness to whatever he will say, are wonderfully set forth. There is much more in the same spirit from this artist. The one unsatisfactory thing in his work is the Lord's face. It lacks the force we demand in it. It is not equal to the rest of Herr von Uhde's conception.

This last criticism does not lie against another artist of the same school,—Ernst Zimmermann. One of the most satisfactory of recent pictures is his Christ and the Fishermen.² The moment depicted seems to be that when Jesus says to Peter, "From henceforth thou shalt catch men." The scene is a lake side. The fishermen have left their boat, and the Lord is speaking with the oldest of them, while all listen with intense interest. The Lord's face is in profile, which may account for its satisfactoriness, leaving, as it does, something for each devout imagination to supply. But the serious earnestness, the consciousness of a high mission, that appear in it, as well as the affection and strength apparent in the way the hands lie on the old man's arm, show that the artist has a deep and clear thought of Christ. Much the same figure and character appear in his Christus Consolator,³ where Christ is seen bringing healing to a dying boy, who lies on a pallet in a chamber pinched by

¹ See the illustration on page 499.

² See the illustration on page 477.

³ See the illustration on page 500.

very modern poverty. Much the same reverence and some of the like power are to be seen in L'Hermitte's *Friend of the Lowly*;¹ or, as it is sometimes called, *The Supper at Emmaus*. It has become familiar to very many through its exhibition in Chicago and in Boston.

The leading French representative of this movement, Jean Béraud, while strong and most original in his work, is not so satisfying. In his choice of scenes and his treatment of them there is an element of criticism of modern life that has been well termed sarcastic. Criticism life clearly needs, but these introductions of Christ, and especially of Christ and his cross, into Parisian surroundings are at first sight repellent. However, it must be remembered that the crucifixion was Jerusalem's condemnation for its blindness and hypocrisy, far more than its execution of a disturbing enthusiast, and that these pictures are a powerful sermon addressed to modern pride and godlessness. The hopeful feature in all this movement is that it is evidently art with a message, and that a most earnest one. It has taken hold on some aspects of truth concerning the Lord, it has felt their universality, and in this way it most forcibly asserts their pertinence to our day, and our day's need alike of Christ's rebuke, and of his tenderness and inspiration.

In idea, though not in method, there should be associated with these last mystical realists, a group of men who in method follow more nearly the older lines of representation and, in picturing Christ, go for details of architecture and dress partly to a knowledge of archæology, but more to a fertile and chaste imagination. They may be called the idealists pure and simple. Of these Hoffmann is the easy leader. His pictures are so well known that it is necessary only to call attention to one that has recently been reproduced in photograph. It is *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*. The face is the same that has become familiar in this artist's work² and the story is sweetly and profoundly told. Plockhorst, whose *Good Shepherd* is familiar, is of the same school with Hoffmann. It is probable that we

¹ See illustration on page 517.

² See, for instance, the cover of this number and the frontispiece.

should class with the work of these idealists also a remarkable picture of the "Temptation" by G. Cornicelius. It is simply a noble Face wrapped in intense thought—note how the left hand grips the wrist—while the suggestion of easy empire which comes from the Devil who seeks to put a crown on Jesus' head, reveals the reason for the intense gaze which tells of battle waging in the heart. The reality of "suffering" in temptation, together with complete freedom from the taint of the least surrender, are marvelously pictured here.

How interesting it would be to consider the work of Rossetti and Millais and Burne-Jones, of the new Russian school led by Nicholas Gay, of Morelli in Italy, and Carl Bloch among the Scandinavians! But the aim of this paper is not a history, only a hint at some of the relations of Christ to art and some of the ways men have chosen to depict him. Such a consideration leaves the conviction that it is well that we have no copy of his earthly features, it is well that different conceptions of him seek expression in pictures. For our lack of an authentic portrait forces a closer study of that other portrait found in the gospels, to which Eusebius commended his Empress. And the diversity of representations forces us to criticise the conceptions that have so found expression, and leads to the discovery that Christ is too large for our full comprehension, and that while our heads are puzzling over the problem his nature has set to our thought, our hearts can largely and freely appropriate him.



THE TEMPTATION.
—CORNICELIUS.

CHRIST IN POETRY.

By the REV. FRANK W. GUNSAULUS, D.D.
Chicago, Illinois.

THE dictum of Plato concerning good poetry has not lacked for impressive testimony to its truth, in the influence of the central fact of history, as it has touched upon that art and in the attitude of the poetic art itself to the fact—the incarnation of God in Christ. Said the Greek philosopher: “All good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems, not as works of art, but because they are inspired or possessed.” Remembering what a feeble apprehension he had of the radical significance of Jesus Christ in the life and hope of man, we are not surprised at the method with which Matthew Arnold dealt with human problems, and the alleviations he offered for them. It is not too much to say that he furnishes an example of how surely even the most poetic fact of all time missed the privilege of enlarging and harmonizing one of the voices of our own time, because his spirit would be neither “inspired or possessed” by it. Mention is made of this fine figure in the history of that poetical literature which refers to Christ, because, at the outset of the study, it is well to reflect that the first thing demanded by Christ, either for salvation or for poetic representation, is the open soul, the child-spirit—something capable of being “inspired or possessed.” This capacity for being “inspired or possessed” Christ himself acknowledged that he must have before he might bless or redeem. “We are saved by faith.” From poet to poet Christ has gone in vain, “because of their little faith.” Matthew Arnold was a musician with fine and exquisite ear for truth and beauty and goodness, with a voice of somewhat thin quality and yet of sure-footed mastery, as he attempted his characteristic treble-tones, preferring minor to major, his whole personality dominated by such high intellectual power and such preconceived theories as to what is indeed “the song with which the morning stars sang

together," that the deep and universal theme and strain which reached its complete expression in Jesus Christ pleaded in vain at the portals of his soul and therefore could not either "inspire or possess him." He was a Greek, questioning, acute, wise, and sad. Plato was Greek, and more,—for he was so human as to be a prophet of the Christ, as were Isaiah and Virgil. The difference between Plato and Arnold may be seen in the comparison of the statement of Plato with that of Arnold, when this more recent thinker tells us that "poetry is the criticism of life." One, in pre-Christian days, touches the essential method of Christ-finding and truth-getting by pleading for that receptive, open-souled hospitality for experiences by which he may be "inspired or possessed;" the other, in Christian days, reverts to a method by which even the highest pre-Christian truth was missed. In those days men possessed themselves in self-contained and imperious calm. The poet is always the organ of a voice and a theme above him.

The place of Jesus Christ in the world's poetry may only be partially intimated here; but a few of the illustrations of how the poetry which has worshipped him has been saved and exalted by him are possible in such a brief excursus; and from them it is clear that Christianity has never been able to undo its essential nature by violating its own spiritual method. On the other hand, it has uttered itself on the lyres of the greatest poets because, not so much by the genius of this world alone, but by the genius which is open to the whispers of the universe, the highest souls have been the humblest. Therefore they have been so "possessed and inspired" that his divine glory has made their song immortal.

The poetry of Christianity may say, "I am apprehended of Christ that I may apprehend" the meaning of the world, the significance of man's life and struggle, the immeasurable hope and destiny, the open secret of Omniscient God. Only as any poetry is the result of the mutual life of mind and heart, as they are "inspired or possessed," by truth revealed to man, as he is influenced by plans higher than man's limping thought, is it a worthy "criticism of life." Only as any poetry records the supreme spiritual events, not unreasonable but above the ken of reason alone, and

visions of being to which men may aspire, is it, or can it be, a true "criticism of life." Jesus of Nazareth, as Saviour and Master, is life's truest, because life's most hopeful and sympathetic critic, flooding life's realm and process by the radiance of himself, at once man's revelation of God and God's revelation of man.

His presence in the plan of God, in the universal movement, leading

"to that divine far-off event
Toward which the whole creation moves,"

his existence and influence in the groaning system of incomplete creation as the Reason which was from the beginning and will be the Reason for it all at the consummation, his progress through the life of man's up-looking and seeking spirit, the hope of him which was the inevitable product of the soul as it was constituted and led by God through the evolution of its life and ideal—these are within, if they have not created that melodious rune which sings in the changing mass called nature. Poetry witnesses that these have made the "mighty riddle of that rhythmic breath" in the world of man's thought and sentiment which "suffers him not to rest." Poetry is the art which taps this central, elemental stream which "flows through all things," and, listening to its harmony, finding that it has discovered and has been made rhythmic with the musical theme, the poet's soul obeys, because it is "inspired and possessed" by this imperative cadence. When it expresses its experience with all possible fitness the result is undying verse.

Therefore the psalmists and prophets were men almost necessarily poetic. Poetry came when a Jacob wrestled until the breaking of the day with what seemed the incarnate Infinite, though it were called only an angel; or when, like Moses, a fine human eye, looking through flame and feeling that truth or goodness may not be burned, had listened to the Eternal in a burning acacia bush; or when, with the hot blast of life's problem bursting from a fiery furnace one saw a form like unto the Son of God; or when out of an abyss of despair a soul, like Job's soul, cries for a daysman that shall stand between God and man; or when a lawgiver, knowing the impotence of Sinai to govern men, looks

ever so vaguely for a lawgiver whose law shall have an authority like that of Calvary, toward whose altar all other altars seem to lean. Whatever opinions one may entertain as to the supernatural element in Hebrew prophecy and psalmody in the sacred writings, it is impossible to suppose that minds willing to be "inspired or possessed," who are therefore poetic in temper and method, should miss the fact that nature and life are persistently enthroning a human manifestation of the divine, and that a Christmas-day is drawing nigh somewhere and somewhen.

Virgil's fourth eclogue is to Christian poetry what Plato's vision of the "God-inspired man" is to Christian prose. It does not at all change the value of that poetry which, in the eloquent lines of Isaiah and other Jewish seers, exalts Christ, that we discover a noble propriety in the poem written on Virgil's tomb by a Christian singer; Dante himself might well acknowledge that the pagan, Virgil, had made him a Christian, as the Florentine sings to the Roman,

"On toward Parnassus thou did'st lead
My faltering steps, and in its grotts I drank;
And thou did'st light my wending way to God."

Beneath all the shadowy dreams of Israel and throughout all the expectant adoration of Messiah which sang its hope in the lines of prophet or bard in Hebrewdom, not less than in that "still sad music of humanity" which rises to the lips of pagan poetry, a true philosopher of literature and religion will see man obedient and hopeful in the presence of great symbolic ideals pointing Christward. These are the crude ore of poetry. Humanity has in all loftiest hours, when higher ideals have hurried men away at the cost of losing lower ideals, "drunk of that spiritual rock which followed them; and that rock was Christ." This minstrelsy has glorified the Redeemer. It was not strange that at the birth of Jesus the seeds of song garnered from the past should sprout and bloom instantly in the sunny day of that first Christmas. The old Hebrew verses melodious on the lips of those who had waited long, the o'erheard wafts of psalmody of God's messengers, were gracious and divine overtures to that vast oratorio of Christmas-song in which saint and martyr, mys-

tic and hero, ecstatic monk and poetic queen, have prolonged the harmony until the days of Kirke White, Keble, and Phillips Brooks. From Christmas-time to Christmas-time new song-movements have entered into this verse. The age of Ignatius is not more different from the era of the Salvation Army than are the resonant lines that tell of the birth of Christ. Human pain has told its character and quality in the new adaptation to human deliverance which poetry has found in the Christ-child. Indeed, this constant changefulness of human circumstance and want has made the pictures of every event in Christ's life completer and truer; and each song, enshrining in its worship any place in his career on earth, in the form of hymn or poem, has made him no less the king of all the ages because in it he has appeared so adorable in a special age.

This fact gives an age its characteristic Christian poem. Dante's "Inferno" is to the poetry what the "Stabat Mater Dolorosa" is to the music of the Middle Ages; what the "Magna Charta" of the Norman Barons is to the politics; what Thomas A' Kempis' "Imitation of Christ" is to the prose; what Angelo's "Moses" is to the sculpture; what the Milan Cathedral is to the architecture; what St. Bernard's "Sermons on the Crusade" are to the eloquence; what Fra Angelico's angels on the walls of St. Mark's, Florence, are to the painting of the same worshipping twilight time. The "Stabat Mater" is both literature and song, and it is not only, as it has been characterized, the most pathetic,—it is the most characteristic hymn of mediæval time. It is an illustration of what fortune befalls a great emotion and experience as they take their memorial form in hymnology. Emilio Castelar speaks of the Middle Ages—that time of mingled light and shadow between the date of the fall of the western end of the old Roman empire and that of the revival of learning—the long thousand years of gloom between the death of the old and the birth of the new civilization—as the Good Friday of human history. This hymn is that dark day's interpretation in melody. Dante himself was the loftiest of the prophets of that larger Christ-portrait which he did so much to give to our modern poets, in order that they may bring it nearer to completion.



CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR.
—ZIMMERMANN.

Toward that complete picture each age's care or sorrow contributes something. The first Christmas was prophetic of that perpetual Christmas morning which is constituted by human history, when Christ's re-coming in divinely "inspired and possessed" humanity shall bring the Kingdom of God, and domesticate here below the City of God "that cometh down out of heaven." He said: "It is expedient for you that I go away." "I will come again and receive you unto myself." Every succeeding age perceives and acknowledges this divine expediency. In a sense deep and significant, throughout his whole career on earth, Christ was trying to get his followers to see how God yearns to possess and inspire men. He regarded himself as the head of humanity. He would not separate himself from the race, even so far as the worship of his disciples suggested. "Worship God," he said, "My Father—he doeth the works." But he bound them to himself in the high privilege of their being recipients of the divine. This they share with him. He even went so far as to say, "The glory which thou gavest unto me, I have given unto them." He gave men power to become the sons of God, and he had revealed the possibilities of sonship. In this he was beginning that process of persuading his disciples to be "inspired and possessed" of the divine life, as he was,—a process which he continued and made more nearly sure of completion when he said: "It is expedient for you that I go away." He wished men to live by the Spirit. He knew that in sending the Spirit he would send into man's life the soul of a divine society which would be slowly formed in the society of men by their obedience to the things of his, which the spirit would show unto them. Thus would he prepare for and accomplish his own second coming "with clouds and great glory." This continuous event—the second coming of our Lord—may, or may not, issue in a single sublime crisis. This is not the place to discuss that problem. It, however, certainly is occurring. The promise he made is actually being fulfilled; and it is in this new coming of Christ, as a power by which men's thoughts and sentiments and purposes are "inspired or possessed," that poetry finds ample themes, its situations of genuine nobility, its utterances of fairest prophecy.

Indeed, the history of the development of the Christ-idea as Redeemer and Lord of humanity, the judge of all the earth, and the express image of God's person in history, may be found only in this form of literature. He has given to poetry its true epic movement, reaching a more heroic dignity in each age; he has invested its labors with the task of uttering fitly the eternal drama of man; in his presence in life and struggle the lyric voices have caught for themselves the purest and clearest tones, and, especially in recent verse, poetry has proven her profound instinct for truth by running far in advance of theological statements and becoming prophetic of a more Christian orthodoxy. The two poets whose dust has recently been entombed in Westminster Abbey have been more vitally effective in enthroning Christ Jesus than all the divines of Westminster; and the singers of that Christianity whose Christ is coming again in every form of righteousness and peace to make the *creature*, man, a *son* of God, are leading more worshipers to Calvary and Olivet than even the framers of the historic confession and catechism. So, confining ourselves to one illustration, we may perceive how the living Christ is greater even than the historic Christ, as he is presented by another age's highest poetry.

If we compare John Milton, "organ-voice of England," with Robert Browning, who has a voice of less volume and richness of tone, we readily find that the Christ of "Paradise Lost" or "Paradise Regained" is as much less influential amidst the sovereignties of time and eternity, as the merely historic Christ is far removed from that perpetual human problem in which the ever-present Christ is creating a continuous and freshly-born Christmas day as King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Taine is quite right in noting that much of the spectacle and movement of the divine in Milton's poetry was conditioned, if not produced, by the times of Charles I. of England. It is not a confession, either of ignorance or irreverence with regard to the great Puritan, to say that lofty as was his genius and rich as was his music, they never touched the deeps of the human problem nor did they reach the moral altitudes in which yearning and buffeted humanity has at length found peace with God. To a soul asking the questions

suggested in "Hamlet" and "Faust," not less than to a spirit perplexed with Lucretius or Æschylus, the splendid coronation of Jesus of Nazareth in Milton's best verse seems external and objective, not to say theatrical. The questions of life and time that pulse in the speech of the heart of man, until it grows a little weary of the trumpet-strains of Milton, are not modern or ancient queries; they belong to the soul of man and are uttered insistently whenever the soul has dared to reflect. Adam and Eve, "imparadised in one another's arms" are less interesting to the mind of man, as he feels for a Christ, than some spiritual Samson,

"Fallen on evil days and evil tongues,
With darkness and with danger compassed round."

But even a Christ for Samson is not sufficient. Doubtless Goethe was right; one of Milton's poems has "more of the antique spirit than any other production of any other modern poet," but it is not antiquity, or modernity, of spirit by which poetry, at length, has been gladly led to crown Jesus of Nazareth; it is the ageless and permanent spirit of man which, by elemental associations and needs, is destined to find a way to God. It would not have been enough if, when in his day Milton had met the queries of Giordano Bruno which still echoed at Oxford, or after the poet's visit to Galileo, he had been less wavering between the Copernican or Ptolemaic systems; the truth is that life has gone deeper and higher; it has grown larger needs, and the Christ answering to its thirst is greater. It is not true to say that our age has little else than

"This vile hungering impulse, this demon within us of craving."

The Christ shining in each age's poetry, in spite of the age's limitations, has made a new and larger portrait of man's Saviour necessary in the next age. He himself has confronted the soul's instincts—

"Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
Are yet the master light of all our seeing—"

and it is He who has said to the greater hopes which are children of greater spiritual struggles: "If it were not so, I would have told you."

The life-hunger which feeds upon the Christ of Robert Browning's poetry is not entirely the product of the two centuries lying between the date of "Paradise Regained" and the date of "Saul;" still less will the excellence of Browning's product account for the fact that it does, while that of Milton's does *not*, woo man's soul to adoration of the Christ. Browning's "Saul" is greater than any figure of Milton's verse, not as a creation by a better writer of rhymes, but only as a discovery of what is in man's heart and life, and of what no intervening centuries may make, namely, the hunger of the soul for redemption. The eye-glance of Browning brings to light the elemental facts in view of which there was "a lamb slain from the foundation of the world." It is the redemption of his poetry—this Christ-thirst—which cries with young David:

"O Saul, it shall be
 A face like my face receives thee: a Man like to me,
 Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever! a hand like this hand
 Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the
 Christ stand!"

This poem illustrates the force of the ageless, preëxistent and post-existent Christ, no more than does one of the poems of Browning which is full of a classical atmosphere. It is more significant than that in which Milton learned of Virgil. In the poem, "Cleon," the modern singer has not so much reproduced the accent as the spiritual experience which speaks out of the weary and unsatisfied heart of ancient life. Its tone is both modern and ancient. The poet's feeling is as old and young as the soul. Cleon cannot avoid uttering his prophetic words that cry for Christ, even though he may despise Paulus and stand pledged to honor the dumb Zeus. The value of such an offering as is this poem to the worship of Jesus lies not less in its swift, bold portraiture of the real Christ than in its perception of the fact that paganism in any soul, ancient or modern, has the agonizing need which was experienced at that hour of the Greek decadence. Mrs. Browning more lyrically sings of the vacant world when Pan was dead; but Robert Browning alone has left a vivid portrait of the soul of man at that hour when, Cleon-like—poet

painter, and artist in method and in thought—the soul looks Christ-ward through mists of death, saying, as if to Him who brought life and immortality to light—

“I dare at times imagine to my need,
Some future state revealed to us by Zeus,
Unlimited in capability
For joy, as this is in *desire* for joy,
To seek which the joy-hunger forces us.”

So does poetry rear her modest rose where Christ answers the thorniest doubt. Milton had no such temptations or doubts to be met by his genius for faith, and therefore he could not offer such a portrait of what is essential in Christ. Browning sings:

“Why come temptations but for man to meet
And master and make crouch beneath his feet?”

and

“I prize the doubt
Low things exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark.”

Each age's Christ creates, by displacement of ideals born of need, a larger area of doubt around the fact of faith. Browning's age has apprehended a reality more nearly as great as is the Christ of God, because of its greater necessities. Every new age is a new Christmas-dawn for the eternal Christ—“the Word which was from the beginning,” who is also the “reason of God” at the end of all things. In this lies the important contribution to Christian theology which, as has been confessed by the most influential devotees of dogma, such poems as “Christmas Eve and Easter Day,” and “A Death in the Desert,” have made in our time. In all these poems, there is a witness to the fact that the new faith in Christ's power and work is an evolution out of the older. Even Milton hinted at a faith that evil

“Shall on its back recoil
And mix no more with goodness.”

Dante himself, at an earlier period, had suggested such a picture of Christ as made Milton's achievement in poetry and faith possible to his hand. And, earlier still, Virgil, the master of the Florentine, in that poetry which, before the historic Christ,

anticipated the presence of the real Christ, had sung so deeply that Dante acknowledged him as master after thirteen centuries had slipped away. He refers to Virgil as he sings:

“The season comes once more,
Once more come Justice and man’s primal time.
And out of heavenly space a new-born race
A poet by thy grace and thus a Christian too.”

It is this intimate acquaintance which he has with the real needs of man, deeper than any utterance of the time of Virgil, Dante, or Milton, that gives Browning such a relationship with the dominant harmony that works through the discords of all times,—a harmony uttered completely only in Christ. In the three last mentioned poems from his muse, nothing is lost because he has in mind a Strauss, a Darwin, or a Renan, or even some staggering superstition, puerile in its second childhood,—each of these is a force in our troubled age. He simply places all these beneath the throne of Christ and makes them bow before the manger-cradle. Life is evermore the “chance o’ the prize of learning love,” and it is our noblest possibility

“To joint
This flexile, finite life once tight
Into the fixed and infinite.”

Where is this infinite, or where is this finite jointed thus? How shall he learn to love? The answer is given in Christ.

Helpful was the light,
And warmth was cherishing and food was choice
To every man’s flesh, thousand years ago,
As now to yours and mine; the body sprang
At once to the height, and stayed: but the soul,—no!
Since sages who, this noontide, meditate
In Rome or Athens, may descry some point
Of the eternal power, hid yestereve;
And, as thereby the power’s whole mass extends,
So much extends the æther floating o’er
The love that tops the might, the Christ in God.

It is this Christ in the song of universal being which makes the poet’s rhyme, in which over all and in all and above all is

revealed God in Christ, so that we see Him even on the unsubstantial glory of nature itself.

Another rainbow rose, a mightier,
Fainter, flushier, and flightier,
Rapture dying along its verge!
Oh, whose foot shall I see emerge,
Whose, from the straining topmost dark,
On to the keystone of that arc?

.
He was there.
He himself with his human air.

The Song of Mary.

My soul doth magnify the Lord
And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour;
For He hath regarded the low estate of His handmaid; —
For, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call
me blessed.
For He that is mighty hath done great things for me
And Holy is His Name.
And His mercy is unto generations and generations
Of them that fear Him.
He hath shown strength with His arm,
He hath scattered the proud by the imagination of
their hearts,
He hath put down princes from their thrones
And hath exalted them of low degree!
He hath filled the hungry with good things
And the rich hath He sent empty away!
He hath holpen His servant Israel
That He might remember mercy
(As He spoke unto our Fathers)
Towards Abraham and his seed forever.



THE FRIEND OF THE LOWLY.
—L'HERMITTE.

CHRIST IN HISTORY.

By PRINCIPAL A. M. FAIRBAIRN,
Mansfield College, Oxford.

General characteristics of Christ's place in history—Supremacy of the man over the Jew—Brotherhood of man his gift—A moralizer and humanizer of religion—The maker of moral men and the elevator of society.

Two things are characteristic of Christ's appearance in history; first, the limited and local conditions under which he lived, secondly, the universal ranges and penetrative energy of his posthumous influence and action. There are founders or reformers of religion whose influence has endured longer than his, for they lived before him; but there is no one who has been in the same quality or degree a permanent factor of historical change. The philosopher that is wise after the event may love to discover the causes or exhibit the process by which he passed from the mean stage on which he lived for three brief and troubled years, to the commanding position from which he has, for nineteen centuries, not only reigned over, but absolutely governed civilized man. But one thing is certain, neither the science which thinks it can explore the future nor the statesmanship which believes it can control the present could have beforehand divined or predicted the result. His life throughout its whole course was void of those circumstances that appeal to the normal imagination, and, without any doubt, his sudden passage from an obscure life amid an obscure people to the supreme place in history, is the most dramatic moment in the experience of collective man. If history be a drama, then he is the hero of the drama, who stamps it with its character, exhibits and unfolds its tragic problem, the person for whom it was written, through whom it moves, in whom it has its end. It is impossible that any philosophy which seeks to explain history can regard him as an accident; it is even more impossible that the science which seeks the reason of events should find the cause of his preëminence

in the hard and narrow racial conditions under which he was formed and within which he lived.

But our special concern is not with the emergence of the most universal person out of the most parochial conditions, it is rather with the modes and results of his historical action. These were retrospective as well as prospective, for his characteristic power of universalizing whatever he touched is illustrated by the respects in which he is distinguished from his own people. He was by blood and inheritance a Jew; all that the past brought to his race it brought to him, all that it brought to him it might have brought to his race. But the two cases are very different. In the hands of the Jew the whole inheritance remained racial, the book, the worship, the religion, the deity. The race with its beliefs and customs and legislation is the most wonderful example in history of distribution without absorption, of separate existence combined with universal diffusion, a people whose racial unity and continuity have been secured and perpetuated by their extinction as a nation. The most broken and scattered, they are yet the most united and exclusive of peoples, with all their historical possessions their own rather than man's. But where they have specialized Jesus generalized; what he retained of the Hebrew inheritance became through him man's, and ceased to be the Jew's. The Old Testament read through the New is not the book of a tribe but of humanity. The idea of a people of God translated by the term church becomes a society coextensive with man. Jehovah, seen through the consciousness of the Son, is changed from the God of the Jews only into the God and Father of mankind. In a word, he transformed his historical inheritance, universalized it, breathed into it a spirit that made it independent of place and time and special people, ambitious only of being comprehended by all that under it all might be comprehended.

This power to universalize what he inherited expresses an intrinsic quality of his personality; it is as it were, in spite of the strongly marked local and temporal conditions under which it was historically realized, without the customary notes of time and place. He became through the reality he was an ideal to

to the world, conceived not according to birth or descent but rather according to nature and kind. He impersonated man, and because of him man appeared to the imagination as at once a unity and an individuality. These are now among our most formal and even conventional ideas, but they can hardly be said to be ideas the ancient world knew. In it nationality was too intensely realized to allow unity to be conceived. Each people was to itself a divine creation, the offspring of its own gods, guarded by them, alone able to worship them, the gods as acutely separated from the gods of other peoples as the peoples from each other. And as there was no unity there could be no affinity; where there was no community of nature there could be no common mind or bond of brotherhood. As the absence of the sense of unity affected the outer relations of peoples, so the want of the idea of individuality affected the inner life of societies. It meant that there was no sufficient notion of the value or worth of man. Hence in the Oriental monarchies the dumb millions were but instruments of the sovereign will, to be sacrificed without scruple, as beings with no rights or hopes, whether in building a royal tomb or buttressing a tyrant's throne. Even in states where the idea of liberty was clearest and most emphasized, it was liberty not of men but of special men, members of a class or a clan, Greeks or Romans. Freedom was their inalienable right, but it was necessarily denied to Helots or to slaves. Thus, without the sense of human individuality, there could be no rational order in society, and without the feeling of unity no orderly progress in the race. But from the conception of Christ's person the true ideas sprang into immediate and potent being, though, as was natural, the lower idea of unity was active and efficient before the harder and higher idea of liberty. The belief in a person who was equally related to all men involved the notion that the men who were so related to him were equally related to each other, and the conception that he had died to redeem all, make all appear of equal value in his sight and of equal worth before God, who indeed as the God of Jesus Christ could know no respect of person. For in Christ there was neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, but only one new man.

And what has been the historical action of these ideas? They have set an ideal before the race which it feels bound to realize, though it may step with slow and labored reluctance along the path of realization. The pity for the suffering which has created all our hospitals and agencies for relief, the love of the poor which seeks to ameliorate their lot and end poverty, the sense of human dignity which hates all that degrades man, the passion for freedom which inspires whole societies and abhors the privileges and prerogatives of special castes, the equality of all men before the law which makes justice copy the impartiality of God—these and similar things are the direct creations of the Christian idea of Christ. Though they have not as yet been fully realized, still they have been conceived; they are ends towards which history in its broken way has moved, and dreams which society feels it can never be happy till it has embodied. And what do these things represent but the most potent factors of all its order and all its progress which history knows?

Connected with this is the degree in which he has at once moralized and humanized religion. It was on the side of morality that the ancient religions were most defective and inefficient. The gods were too self-indulgent to be severe on the frailties of man. Indeed no polytheism can be in the strict sense moral, for where the divine wills are many, how can they form a sovereign unity? And so while there may be worship, there can never be obedience as to a single and absolute and uniform law. As a consequence philosophy rather than religion was in the ancient world the school of morals, and its morality, though exalted in term was impotent in motives, a theme of speculation or discussion rather than a law for life. And we have further this remarkable fact that in the interests of morality philosophers in their ideal state or normal society restricted the area of religion as regards both belief and conduct. Two ancient religions indeed held a place of rare ethical distinction—Hebraism on the one side, Buddhism on the other, but the distinction was attended by characteristic defects. Hebrew morality was the direct creation of the Hebrew Deity. Religion was obedience to his will, and his will was absolute. Men became accept-

able in his sight not by "the blood of bulls and goats" but by doing justly, loving mercy and walking humbly with God. But this morality was too purely transcendental; in it man stood over against the Almighty will as a transient creature, and will as such is too cognate to power to be an elevating or always beneficent moral law. We can see this in the exaggerated echo of Hebraism which we know as Islam. There the divine will that has to be obeyed is but a will of an Almighty Arab chief who delights in battle, who glories in victory, whose rewards are for complete devotion to his service and his commands. Neither religion produces a really humane system of ethics, nor is such a system consistent with a pure transcendental deism. On the other hand Buddhism is strictly human alike in ethical standard and motive. Buddha is the ideal man and right conduct is the behavior that pleases him. He is pitiful and so pity of human misery is the note of the good man. But simply because there is no transcendental source or motive the ethics of Buddhism are pessimistic. They are possessed with the passion of pity, not with the love of salvation or the belief in the good of existence that binds a man to do his utmost to save men and ameliorate their lot. Now Christ represents the transcendental ethics of Hebraism and immanent ethics of Buddhism in potent union and harmonious efficiency. The man he loves is a man made of God, worthy of his love, and capable of his salvation. The God he reveals is one manifested in man, glorified by his obedience and satisfied with nothing less than his holiness; thus while the glory of God is the good of man, the chief end of man is the glory of God. In a word the ethics of Christ have more humanity than Buddha's, more divinity than the Hebrew. They have so combined these as to make of the service of man and the obedience of God a unity. This has made the religion an altogether unique power in history, has turned all its motives into moral forces which have worked for amelioration and progress of the human race.

This last point may be illustrated by the number and the variety of the moral men Christ has created. His church is a society of such men. It is scattered throughout the world, and

wherever it is, there live persons pledged to work for human good. It is hardly possible to overestimate the worth of a good man to an age or a place. He who creates most good men most increases the sum of human weal. And here Christ holds undisputed preëminence. There is to me nothing so marvelous as his power to awaken the enthusiasm of humanity. Organization may have done great things for ecclesiastics, but the supreme things accomplished in the history of Christendom have been performed by souls Christ has kindled and commanded. The church did not strengthen Athanasius to stand against the world; Christ did. What comforted Augustine was not the policy of the Eternal City, but the sublime beauty of the Universal Christ. Francis of Assisi was vanquished by his love, and all our early martyrs and saints, all our mediæval mystics and schoolmen bear witness to it, while the devotional literature of the church, its prayers, its hymns, the books that live because alive with love attest the preëminence and the permanence of personal devotion to Christ. In keeping a continuous stream of holy and beneficent men in the world he has affected the course of history, the movements of thought, all the ideals and all the aims of man. His name is thus a term denotive of the richest moral forces that have acted upon the lives of men. If we cannot love him without loving the race or serve him without being forced to the beneficent service of man, then his place in history is that of the most constant factor of order, the cause of progress and the principle of unity. In all things he has the preëminence; in him has been manifested the manifold wisdom of God. Over hearts and lives he reigns that he may in the ways of infinite grace subdue all things unto himself.

HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

By SHAILER MATHEWS.

The University of Chicago.

THE last few years have witnessed an extraordinary revival in the historical study of the New Testament. Since the days of the fierce attacks upon current religious beliefs by the so-called Tübingen school, there has been a steady advance in both the amount and the character of investigation given to the times during which Jesus lived, and the records that describe his words and deeds. Many of these works have been outgrown or superseded by later studies, but each has contributed something towards a completer knowledge of the times and the country, the social environment, and the course of thought in which Jesus and his biographers lived.

In the list below only such works are mentioned as both embody the results of recent scholarship and are believed to be especially adapted to the use of pastors and unprofessional students of the New Testament. It does not include works of purely historical or technical interest, or those written in a foreign language.

I. The Times of Christ.

The chief literary source of all works under this head is Josephus, whose histories, the *Antiquities of the Jews*, the *Wars of the Jews*, as well as his other writings, contain about all that is to be known of this period within the limits of Palestine, except what may be derived from the study of archaeology. The arrangement of much of his material is, however, not the best, and on many other grounds it is advisable to supplement his account with the work of some modern writer.

FAIRWEATHER, WM., *From the Exile to the Advent*. (In the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. 210. Price, 80 cents.

An admirable little text-book, giving succinctly an account of the Jewish people from the deportation under Nebuchadnezzar till the death of Herod I. Few references are given to other works, but the author has evidently read the most recent authorities.

WADDY-MOSS, R., *From Malachi to Matthew*. London: Charles H. Kelly. Pp. xiv. 256.

This little handbook attempts "to do nothing more than outline the history of Judea in the centuries that elapsed between the prophecy of Malachi and the event that forms the first theme of the New Testament." The author has rigidly kept to this aim, refusing to be led off into details, and, on the whole, has maintained a very good historical perspective. The treatment of the Maccabean period is especially good. It is not thrown into the form of a text-book, and its style is good. It unfortunately is not supplied with a bibliography.

SCHÜRER, E., *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. Division I. The Political History of Palestine, from B. C. 175 to 135 A. D. 2 vols. Division II. The Internal Condition of Palestine and of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. 3 vols. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Price, \$8.00, net.

This monumental work by Schürer has made all other histories almost superfluous. In no other account of the period is there to be found such wealth of learning and such admirable arrangement of material. Its use of sources is exhaustive, and the work everywhere displays astonishing power in grappling with perplexities. Each section is preceded by a full bibliography, and all statements are substantiated by reference to authorities. In the first division of the work the author has given solutions to many geographical and chronological problems, besides compressing into reasonable space the account of the events of the period. The second division is especially concerned with the civil and religious institutions of the Jews, as well as the literature of the two centuries which the work covers. Especial attention is also given to rabbinism in its bearing upon the New Testament. No attempt is made at describing the social life of the times. In certain cases, perhaps, Schürer has a little too readily yielded to certain chronological difficulties of the gospel record, but in general his attitude is remarkably impartial, and at times in effect, if not in purpose, apologetic.

STAPPER, E., *Palestine in the Time of Christ*. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. xii. 527. Price, \$2.50.

This work is a most exasperating combination of fact and fiction. It needs severe revision. Yet, on the whole, it is about the only single volume in English which gives anything like a respectable account of the entire life—political, social, religious—of the Jewish people in the days of Jesus. Many of its errors are those of carelessness, and sometimes are so ludicrous as to be detected by any attentive reader. Its use of the Talmud is considerable, although uncritical.

SEIDEL, M., *In the Time of Jesus*. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Pp. 188. xxv. Price, 75 cents.

Probably the best account in small compass of the heathen and Jewish world in New Testament times. It is especially good in its descriptions of the political and religious institutions of the Jews.

EDERSHEIM, A., *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*. Chicago: F. H. Revell & Co. Price, \$1.25

A popular, though scholarly little work, descriptive of the habits and customs of the Jewish people in New Testament times.

MERRILL, S., *Galilee in the Time of Christ*. New York: Whittaker, 1885. Price, \$1.00.

A helpful little volume of especial value from the personal investigations of the author. The general conclusion is favorable to the statements of Josephus in regard to Galilee in the first century.

DELITZSCH, F., *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Jesus*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Pp. 91. Price, 75 cents.

This little volume contains a great amount of information in regard to the industrial life of the common people in the time of Christ, and is written in an interesting style.

II. The Geography of Palestine.

HENDERSON, A., *Palestine*. (In the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Price, \$1.00.

An admirable handbook, well up to date and generally accurate, both in description and maps.

SMITH, GEORGE A. *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. London: Hoddu & Stoughton. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Second ed., 1895. Pp. xxv. 692. Price, \$4.50.

An exceedingly stimulating volume. Not only is it a thesaurus of the best results of modern exploration in Palestine, but, as in no other volume, is the history of the land interpreted by its physical characteristics. Especial commendation should be given its maps. To read this volume is the next best thing to a visit to Palestine.¹ Its literary style is attractive although somewhat diffuse.

STANLEY, A. P., *Sinai and Palestine*. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. 641. Price, \$2.50.

This classic in scriptural geography is by no means superseded by the work of Smith. In its descriptive and suggestive power it still is among the best modern works that attempt to show the relation between a people's history and their physical environment. In general, also, its identifications are accurate and its maps and colored plates helpful.

III. The Life of Jesus.

STALKER, J., *The Life of Jesus Christ*. Various editions. Pp. 167. Price, 60 cents.

A scholarly, and in every way delightful work. It is especially adapted to use in bible classes.

FARRAR, F. W., *The Life of Christ*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Pp. xv. 472.

Full of fervid rhetoric and deep religious feeling. It is characterized by the author's generous scholarship and liberality. It is of especial value in helping the student to realize keenly the circumstances of his Lord's life.

ANDREWS, S. J., *The Life of Our Lord*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1891. Pp. xxvii. 651. Price, \$2.50.

Altogether the opposite of the preceding in its avoidance of all literary effort. As a result it is not easily readable, but is of the utmost value because of its exhaustive essays upon harmony, chronology, and geography. By all means it is the most scholarly production along these lines of any American scholar. No student of the gospels will neglect it.

¹ A review of this work will be found in the coming January number of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

EDERSHEIM, A., *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 2 vols. Pp. xxvi. 698; xii. 826. Price, \$6.00.

This is the most exhaustive study on the times of Jesus thus far produced by an English scholar. Its chief defects are the absence of any critical examination of the sources, occasionally poor exegesis as well as poor harmony, and an excessive pietism. But the merits of the work outweigh these defects. Viewed as a series of essays upon the customs and habits of thought suggested by the life of Jesus it is masterly and invaluable. If one were to own but one life of Jesus, it should be Edersheim's.

WEISS, B., *The Life of Christ*. Eng. trans. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 3 vols. Pp. xvi. 392, 403, 428. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Price, \$9.00.

Especially valuable for critical examination of the sources and deep spiritual insight. Though not so versed in rabbinical learning as Edersheim, Weiss is one of the greatest critics and exegetes. No one can be in touch with modern methods in the study of the gospels who is unacquainted with his critical position, however one may accept some of its applications and corollaries. There is great need of a life of Christ that shall combine the critical processes of Weiss and the Jewish learning of Edersheim with the literary excellencies of Stalker.

IV. The Teaching of Jesus.

BRUCE, A. B., *The Kingdom of God*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. xv. 343. Price, \$2.00.

As satisfactory a treatment of the central teachings of Jesus as exists. Like all of the author's works it is characterized by critical processes and deep religious reverence and insight.

HORTON, ROBERT F., *The Teaching of Jesus*. London: Isbistu, 1895. Pp. viii. 287. Price, 3s. 6d.

Dr. Horton tells us frankly that his lectures are based on Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, and Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology*, with an effort to supply that which is found lacking in them. . . . And now our recommendation is, that if anyone has set to read these books, he should read Dr. Horton's first.—*Expository Times*.

WENDT, H. H., *The Teaching of Jesus*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 2 vols. Pp. 408, 427. Price, \$4.50.

An admirable translation of the greatest systematic study of the teachings of Jesus thus far produced in Germany. It is marked by all the excellencies of

German scholarship, but is free from most of its faults. It is characterized by conservative exegesis, acute analysis of the gospel records, and reverent regard for truth. It goes far more into details than the work of Bruce, and it exhibits more completely the processes by which its results are gained. Its greatest defects are seen in its treatment of the Johannine account of Christ's teachings.

FAIRBAIRN, A. M., *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*.

"That mine of learning, masterly historical generalization, and rich suggestion has given new strength to the Christian consciousness throughout the English-speaking world; and the longer it is read the more generation of ideas it will be found to be."—George A. Gordon, in *Christ of Today*, p. vi.

BEYSCHLAG, W., *The Theology of the New Testament*.

A review of this great treatise, so far as it is concerned with the teaching of Jesus, is found on another page.

THE HALL OF THE CHRIST AT CHAUTAUQUA.

By BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT.
Chautauqua Office, Buffalo, N. Y.

THE central thought of Christianity in this age is Christ—his person, his life, his teaching, the spiritual dispensation which he founded. It has not always been so. Men have exalted doctrine, philosophy, sacraments, ceremonies, priesthoods, ecclesiastical constitutions—everything but Christ himself. Men who study manhood look now to the man of Galilee. Men who study theology seek now “sound words, even the words of the Lord Jesus.”

The critical study of the New Testament tends to exalt its one all-dominating character. And this is well. Men who cannot understand philosophy can understand biography. When they are not able to accept the systematic creed-forms, dogmatically taught by doctors and councils, they are able to hear the wise sayings of the One who walked with his own disciples over the hills and through the valleys of Palestine. They see him on the human side. They study him in the light of ancient life. He is a man again—a teacher, a friend. Approaching him from the human side they are prepared for the deeper, the loftier revelations of the spiritual kingdom for the manifestation of which he became flesh and dwelt among us. More than ever do the scholars turn with delight and enthusiasm to the study of this “great phenomenon.” More than ever the specialists of the biblical schools turn to the study of the Christ as foreshadowed in prophecy, as revealed in history, as reported in literature and glorified in art.

At Chautauqua, Christ and his gospel have constituted the center of all teaching from the first day until the present, and it is now proposed to plant in the center of the Chautauqua grounds, in the midst of all other buildings at this rural university, a temple especially consecrated to the study of his life and

teachings, his relations to the age in which he lived, his influence on the race as developed in successive civilizations and the great schools of thought which have been created or inspired by his presence in the world.

This building is to be called the Hall of the Christ. It is to be a class room for the study of Christ by various grades of pupils, from the little children for whom while on earth he showed such delicate fondness, to the profoundest scholars who may meet to investigate the problems in philosophy, in philology, in literature, in art, in social and political life which are created or illuminated by his marvelous personality and ministry. The building is to be used for no other purpose whatever but to set forth the one idea—the germ and fruition of all great religious ideas—The Christ. Children will be encouraged to take a simple course of reading and study on which they must be examined before their admission as students in the Hall of the Christ, and this to create a greater interest on their part and to emphasize the value of the opportunity to which they are admitted.

A generous philanthropist who is famous for noble gifts and whose name will in due time be announced has made the first contribution of ten thousand dollars toward this project. The Hall of the Christ will occupy one of the most central, eligible and beautiful sites on the Chautauqua grounds. The building will be constructed of substantial material, and will be the most permanent and impressive in appearance of any building in that city by the lake, so solidly constructed that it may last for centuries, and capacious enough to accommodate on special occasions an audience of at least five hundred students.

A room will be set apart for a library of the lives of Jesus and for a selection from the most able discussions which literature furnishes relating to his person, office, work and influence.

Another room will be devoted to a collection of the best engravings and photographs of the great pictures and statues representing Christ—the contributions of the great artists of the ages to the interpretation of his personal character. It is hoped that before long a copy of Thorwaldsen's famous statue of Christ may be placed within the building.

An occasional reverent and beautiful service of worship to the Christ will be held, with all that music and devotional literature and the spontaneity of personal piety may contribute to this end.

The instruction to be given in the Hall of the Christ will be of the most thorough character, prosecuted in the spirit of reverent love, employing the latest results of the most critical study, that students looking eagerly and discriminately into the letter of the four gospels may come more fully and more heartily to appreciate him who spake as never man spake and whose name to this day is above every name.

The Hall standing in the center of the Chautauqua grounds will continually represent the central idea of Christianity and exalt him who was in his earthly life the Friend of the friendless, the Saviour of the sinful and whose gospel and spirit are today the most effective promoters of true social and political reform, and which are daily building up a civilization founded upon the broad doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

It is the aim of the projectors to make the building plain but impressive, Grecian rather than Gothic in style, suggesting as little as possible the "ecclesiastical" and emphasizing the true relation between Nazareth, Jerusalem, Rome and Athens, the alliance between the highest attainable human culture and the holiest personal character that ever shone upon earth, in pursuance of the thought that all culture, all material activity, all science, all philosophy, all literature, all art, all reform, all hope for humanity must center in him.

Another feature of the Hall of the Christ will be the provision of memorial windows and tablets devoted to the memory of departed friends—the Chautauquans of all the years since its founding. These windows designed by a skillful artist will commemorate the various events in the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Ascension.

In front of the Hall it is expected that there will be a portico, and from it two arms or semi-circular porches will extend enclosing a space in which now and then a large audience may

be convened to listen to addresses or sermons. These architectural "arms" will represent in cenotaphs and statues the great characters of the Old Testament by which the Hebrew people were prepared for the coming of the Christ, while on the opposite side shall be represented in similar fashion the great characters of profane history who were in their times a light unto the world and a preparation for the coming of the Man of Nazareth.

This dream of a building will certainly become a substantial reality. Shall we have a word of suggestion concerning details from Chautauquans and others interested in the plan?



THE CHRIST CHILD.

—MURILLO.

Synopses of Important Articles.

JESUS' TEACHINGS ABOUT HIMSELF. By REV. JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., in his recent book, *Our Lord's Teaching*, pp. 31-40.

Jesus presented himself as a problem to his countrymen, and after he had been manifested to them for a sufficient time, the testing questions he put to his disciples were these: "Whom do men say that I am?" and "Whom say ye that I am?" On the answer to this latter question it depended whether Jesus would find material for the foundation of a church; and when Peter answered well, his Master accorded him solemn praise (Matt. 16:16, 17). In one respect there was great reserve in his teaching about himself. Not till near the end of his ministry (Matt. 16:16, 17; 26:63, 64) did he openly avow himself, or allow himself to be declared the Messiah, the Christ. Often before, indeed, the consciousness of such a greatness showed itself in incidental sayings (Matt. 7:22, 23; 12:42; Luke 14:26; John 6:35; 8:12; 11:25; 14:6). But he long withheld from the Jews the plain announcement that he was the Christ. Obviously he did so because this title had been so tarnished and carnalized in their thoughts that he would have been quite misunderstood, and his death would have come before he had had time to win true disciples by his life and teaching.

Two names he used, the one with equal freedom in Judea and Galilee, *The Son of Man*; the other, mostly in his debates with the Jewish leaders at Jerusalem, *The Son of God*. Both of these were—so far as meeting the expectation of the Jews went—*incognito* titles. Jesus took neither of these names from the Old Testament for use, because it was an understood equivalent for the Messiah; they were not recognized by the people as distinct Messianic titles. They came from his own heart, the expression of his own consciousness of himself. The first title, the Son of Man, conveys two chief truths, the reality of the humanity of Jesus, and the uniqueness of it. He expresses by it the possession of true human nature, his community of feeling with men, his sharing in human affections and interests, his true experience of human life, his liability to temptation, his exposure like other men to hunger and thirst, suffering and death. And at the same time he thus described himself as the unique and ideal man, the man in whom humanity is summed up, and the "fulness of the race made visible," the Head and Representative of all men. The second title, the Son of God, implies the reality of his sonship, and the uniqueness of it. These truths Jesus most frequently pressed upon his Jewish opponents in Jerusalem, as recorded in the fourth gospel, with a view of proving himself the Son by laying open to them his actual and constant filial intercourse with God, in the beauty and perfect naturalness of

it which could not be feigned. There is, indeed, in much that Jesus says about his intercourse with his Father, nothing different in *kind* from that sonship with God which is possible for us, and is familiar in the experience of all true children of God. But there is a manifest difference in *degree*. His intercourse with the Father is perfect, complete, and unmarred by sin. All that Jesus says or does he knows to be of God. He is the Son as no one else is, from the perfection of his communion with God, and from the completeness with which his sonship is realized and constantly lived out. The terms in which this communion is described seem to require the doctrinal faith in which we have been brought up, that Jesus is of one essence with the Father, and one in eternal being with him. In many passages he speaks so that nothing short of this seems implied (John 16:28; 17:5; 8:58; perhaps 10:30; 20:28). Our faith in Jesus as the Eternal Son of God may stay itself not only on the unique communion with God which we see him enjoying, but on his own belief and claim and testimony. It is not meant that there are no other grounds for this great faith. There is also the apostolic teaching thereto. And perhaps if the faith of most Christian people were closely inquired into it would be found to rest largely on their own experience. They have felt the change and blessing which have reached them through communion with Jesus to be nothing short of divine. He has to them, as it has been expressed, "the value of God," and they cannot give him any lower name than that of the Eternal Son.

C. W. V.

THE INCARNATION AND THE UNITY OF CHRIST'S PERSON. By the REV. PRINCIPAL T. C. EDWARDS, D.D., in the *Expositor*, October 1895, pp. 241-261.

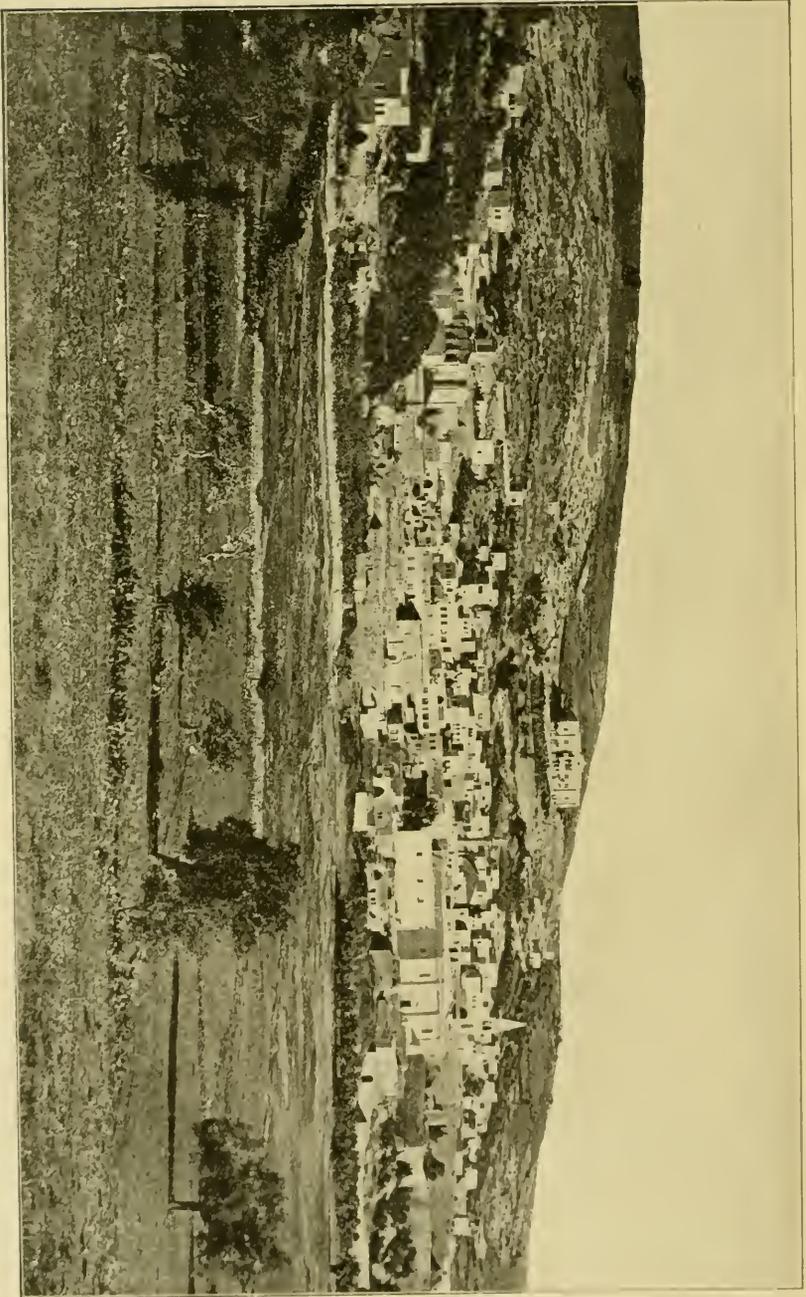
As the fulness and the glory of the incarnation lies in the true, divine personality of the Logos, so also the self-sacrifice which the incarnation implies is the act of the same Logos. The initiative in the incarnation must be ascribed to the Logos; that initiative is an ethical act, a "becoming poor" (2 Cor. 8:9), based upon a change of metaphysical condition. The apostle calls it a self-emptying (Phil. 2:6), which is a word so extreme and emphatic that we must beware of making the fact that it is unique a reason for refining it away. It was not in dying on the cross that the Son of God began to sacrifice himself, but in assuming human nature into union with his Divine Person; not as if the assumption of itself involved humiliation, for then the humiliation of our Lord would continue forever. But his incarnation involved his divesting himself for a time of the form of God and taking upon himself, instead of the form of God, the form of a servant. It is true that he had already obeyed his Father's command by incarnating himself; and, even previously to the act of incarnation, he was already from eternity ideally, though not actually, a servant, when he was king. But now he took the form and position of a servant, in which form it was not competent for him to assume the kingship without dying to regain it.

The doctrine of the self-emptying of the Logos is found in Origen (*Hom. in Jer.*, I., 7), among the Fathers. But it was not favored in the early church, owing to the influence of Athanasius, and to the extreme and confessedly heretical form in which it was thought to be presented by Apollinarius. But the words, "in the likeness of men," refer to the humiliation of the Logos incarnate. In the Trinity the Second Person is, in idea, human; but through incarnation he assumed actually the *humanlike* condition, though he continued to be God. In this century we are indebted to Thomasius (*Christi Person und Werk*, 1886) for the first elucidation of the kenotic theory. Dr. Bruce has subjected it (*Humiliation of Christ*, Lect. IV.) to very clear and most powerful, but, to my mind, not convincing, criticism. In the first place, he says that, according to the Thomasian doctrine, the incarnation involves at once an act of assumption and an act of self-limitation, the former an exercise of omnipotence, the latter the loss of omnipotence, and asks, Are such contrary effects of one act of will compatible? But there is no contradiction here. In the creation of the world God passes from a state of quiescence to a state of activity; the incarnation is a Divine Person, withdrawing himself from activity that he might be subject to infirmity. In the second place, Dr. Bruce acutely observes that the depotentiated Logos seems superfluous, because it implies that he has been reduced to a state of helpless passivity or impotence. But the kenosis consists of two successive steps. The first step was the laying aside the form of God, and this act the apostle dates back in the pre-incarnate state of the Logos. It was an infinite act of self-denial, than which a lesser would have been impossible to him, as well as incapable of being revealed as an ethical example to men. Then, when he had divested himself of his metaphysical omnipotence as Son of God, and was "found in fashion as a man," he humbled himself—an expression properly applicable only to a man or the Logos as man—and he humbled himself more than would have been possible to any mere man or angel, however perfect, and however much aided by the Spirit of God. For our Lord's moral omnipotence still remained to him, and the help of the Spirit was added, which enabled him to become obedient unto death, yea the death of the cross, and constituted his obedience redemptive—priestly and sacrificial. In the third place, Dr. Bruce objects that the kenotic theory introduces a break in the consciousness of the Logos as God. This holds good only against certain forms of the doctrine. Quiescence does not mean annihilation. All that is essential is that the Logos did not in any way or measure hamper the free activity of the humanity. An omniscient or omnipotent man, not in need of the unction and power of the spirit, is inconceivable, but a perfectly just and loving man, having the Spirit, is not. If the divine side of the complex personality of Christ is the initiatory and productive element, the human side is the regulative.

Among English theologians who accept the doctrine of the kenosis are Canon Gore (*Bampton Lectures*, 1891, Lect. VI.) and Principal Fairbairn (*Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 476).

C. W. V.

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THE CHILD PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

The child Immanuel.—The child Maher-shalal-hash-baz.—The Prince of Peace.—The shoot of Jesse.

IT is in Isaiah, after all, that we find the pictures of the coming Messiah most vividly portrayed. However it may be explained, we must recognize our dependence upon this prince of the prophetic order for many of those wonderful artistic delineations which bind together indissolubly the Old and the New Testament, the foreshadowing and the reality. At this time we are to think only of those conceptions of the great deliverance, yearned after so earnestly by the prophet and described by him so pathetically, which have as their central figure a *child*. We may not forget that a true appreciation of these pictures is only to be gained by a careful study of the other pictures painted by Isaiah, which have other figures in the center and of which the background is something very different. But at the risk of inadequate, or even wrong, interpretation, we shall confine ourselves to the *child-pictures*. These are well known: The child, Immanuel, Isa. 7: 7-10; the child, Maher-shalal-hash-baz, Isa. 8: 1-4; the Prince of Peace, 9: 1-6; the shoot of Jesse, 11: 1-9.

1. *The child Immanuel.*—Isa. 7:7-10. It is 735 B. C. Assyria, whose powerful influence has already been felt again and again by the nations on the Palestinian seaboard, is threatening Syria, Israel, and Judah. Remember the geographical location of these three nations, and, as well, the route which Assyria must follow in order to reach Jerusalem. In an invasion, Syria will suffer the first attack; and Syria and Israel, now closely connected, will be in sore straits if Assyria should attack them in front while Judah is an enemy in the rear. Since Assyria's coming is certain, Syria and Israel unite to force Judah into triple confederacy. But Judah's king, Ahaz, thinks it a better policy to make terms directly with Assyria and thus avoid the danger of invasion. To force the alliance of Judah, Syria and Israel lay siege to Jerusalem. The city is panic-stricken. The royal court is in terror. The king, while engaged in an inspection of the water supply of the city, is confronted by Jehovah's prophet Isaiah, who brings with him the boy Shear-Jashub, a name of good omen (a remnant will return) to those who believe in Jehovah; of ill omen (only a remnant will return) to those who are faithless. "Ahaz," says Isaiah, "be calm and quiet, have faith in Jehovah, and the two kings who threaten us shall not accomplish their purpose. If you will believe and trust Jehovah, all will be well." Trust in Jehovah at this time meant independence of Assyria. Could one trust in Jehovah and at the same time make an alliance with a foreign power and in making that alliance accept as all-powerful the gods of that foreign power? How Ahaz received this first message we learn indirectly from the record. He was deaf to the words of the prophet. The next day comes or the next week, and again Isaiah approaches the king in order to persuade him of the truth of the message sent from God. This time it would seem that the message is delivered inside of the palace, in the very presence of the royal family. "Ahaz," says Isaiah, "you would not believe my former message from Jehovah; I come again. Let me give you a sign which shall be evidence of this truth; a sign to be wrought in heaven or in hell according to your command." But Ahaz, the hypocrite, already in alliance with Tiglathpileser, will not ask a sign. He

will not, so he says, put Jehovah to the test. The prophet, freed from all restraint, burning with righteous indignation, utters words which are intended to strike terror to the heart of the royal family: "Hear now, O House of David, is it too little for you to weary men that ye weary my God also? You will not accept my proposition to give you a sign of the truth of Jehovah's message, therefore Jehovah himself shall appoint you a sign. Behold, *a young woman shall conceive and bear a son and she shall call his name Immanuel.*¹ For before the boy shall know how to refuse the evil and choose the good (that is, before he is, let us say, four or five years of age) the land of whose two kings (that is Assyria and Israel) thou art in terror shall be deserted. If thou, O Ahaz, will trust in God, he will give evidence of his presence and your enemies shall not harm you. But if you will not believe, ruin shall come upon Judah as well as upon Syria and Israel at the hand of Assyria." It was a promise of a new régime, a new political situation, dependent, however, upon the steadfastness of Ahaz's faith. The picture may be briefly summarized: In the distance Assyria, laying waste the territory of Syria and Israel; in Judah a child, the manifestation of Jehovah's presence, guarding as ruler and protector the interests of Jehovah's kingdom; Judah herself in peace and contentment because of Jehovah's presence. Was the picture realized? Not in the time of Ahaz, for Ahaz was always faithless.

2. *The child Maher-shalal-hash-baz.* — 8: 1-4. It is 733 B. C. No change has yet come in the political situation. *The people*, to whom the prophet's words addressed to the king, have in all probability become known, need further assurance of the message. There is still time for repentance and a turning toward Jehovah. The message came from Jehovah to the

¹The prophet does not have in mind (1) the wife of Ahaz, the child being Hezekiah, who was to be provisionally an evidence of God's presence (*cf.* C. R. BROWN, in *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, Vol. IX, 1890, pp. 118-127), nor (2) the unmarried daughter of Ahaz (*cf.* NAGELSBACH in *Lange's Isaiah*) whose disgraceful condition is thus revealed by the prophet, or (3) the prophet's own wife, Immanuel being the son of Isaiah as well as Shear-jashub (so many), nor (4) any young woman who in the near future may conceive and bear a son (*cf.* CHEYNE, *Introduction to Isaiah*).

prophet. "Take a large tablet and write on it in plain characters 'Swift-spoil, speedy-prey.' Secure reliable witnesses in order that in future times the writing may be attested." The prophet we understand, obeyed the order given. About this time the prophet's own wife conceives and bears a son. By the command of Jehovah he is given for his name the inscription of the tablet. "For before the boy shall know how to cry 'my father' and 'my mother' (that is, before he is fifteen or eighteen months of age) they shall carry the riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria (that is, the two kings of whom Ahaz was afraid) before the king of Assyria." It was in 732, a year or so later, that Tiglathpileser destroyed Damascus and carried two of the northern tribes into captivity.

3. *The Prince of Peace.*—9:1-7. The time of Tiglathpileser's invasion is one of darkness and sorrow, captivity and bloodshed. It is easy to conceive the feelings of Judah and Jerusalem when the news comes that Damascus has fallen and a portion of Israel has been carried away into captivity. In this time of gloom and deep shadow the prophet preaches of the great light which shall shine. In this time of grief and dismay he preaches of exultation and joy, the joy of harvest and the joy of dividing the spoil. In this day when Israel has first come to feel the yoke of Assyria, he speaks of the time when this burdensome yoke shall be broken. In this day of destruction and warfare he tells of a time when all warlike instruments shall be destroyed. But the people whom he addressed must regard him as a visionary. How can these things be? It is true that the destruction of warlike instruments will make it possible for the yoke just now placed on Israel's shoulder to be removed. The removal of this yoke will undoubtedly bring the greatest possible joy, and because of this joy there will everywhere be light instead of gloom. But how shall this great change be brought about? The prophet tells us: "A child shall be born unto us; a son shall be given unto us and the government shall be upon his shoulders; and his name shall be called Wonder-Counsellor, God-hero, Father of booty, Prince of Peace; who shall sit upon the throne of David and establish it and support it by righteous-

ness forever." The picture is the same as before; that of a child seated upon the Davidic throne, with war banished from the earth and peace established everywhere; the world at liberty and the universe enjoying this liberty.

4. *The shoot of Jesse.*—II : 1-9. Fifteen or twenty years have elapsed and the prophet who had begun his work twenty-five years before is now a man of middle age. Another picture is presented, that of a shoot coming forth from the stock of Jesse, a branch from his roots bearing fruit, upon whom rests the spirit of Jehovah, a spirit of wisdom and discernment, of counsel and might, of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah. Judgment is rendered in accordance with fundamental principles of equity. Peace exists everywhere, not only between man and man, but also between man and beast. "They do not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth is full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." And all the nations are seeking the root of Jesse which stands for an ensign to the peoples.

Isaiah's vision was clear; but, as history shows it lacked perspective. Knowing God as he did, and God's laws, he *knew* that there would come a manifestation of God's love and mercy to the people of promise. He sees, ahead, an ideal nation, an ideal King, an ideal society. These are involved in the very nature of God himself. They are as sure as that God exists. His soul is so illumined by the divine Spirit that the picture of these things has painted itself upon his heart and brain. There was no prophet more confident than was Isaiah. But Isaiah was only a prophet; he was therefore a man. He was speaking for those about him, and must speak in their language. His thought is expressed in figures colored by his surroundings. His vision of the future is clothed in the imagery of the present; just as the prophet in speaking of the past used this imagery in his descriptions of the past. This new dispensation, represented by the *child*, and in which the *child* will play so important a rôle, Isaiah fondly imagines will come with the Assyrian invasion. He expects it within *five*, then *two* years. The invasion comes, but the time is not yet fulfilled. Is Isaiah disappointed and discouraged? Per-

haps for a moment, but only for a moment; and then again he preaches, as before, of the coming *child*. He, without question, expected this child in his own day. He declared his coming while he was still young; as the years pass he continues to look for him; and now when he is old and his work is almost finished he still looks forward, as earnestly, as courageously, as confidently as before. It was not God's will that Isaiah's day should witness the introduction of the new dispensation. Jeremiah, realizing the work to be accomplished by the captivity, assured the people of his time that the new régime would come in seventy years, but at the end of seventy years Daniel, down in Babylon, postponed it seventy weeks (not literal weeks). *In time* the child came, and in coming fulfilled the prayers and the prophecies of all the saints and all the prophets,—the child of David's family, the Messiah, the Christ.



RAPHAEL. — HEADS OF THE INFANT JESUS

See page 463

THE STORY OF THE BIRTH.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE T. PURVES, D.D.,
Princeton Theological Seminary.

The account of the birth in Matthew given to prove Jesus to be the Christ.— In Luke, to show the fulfilment of the promise of salvation.— The mutual relation of the two accounts.— Objections to the infancy narratives not strong enough to warrant disbelief.

THE story of the birth of Jesus is recounted in but two of the gospels. The objects with which Mark and John composed their narratives led them to begin with the public appearance of the Baptist, which immediately preceded the public ministry of Christ, without prefixing any account of the latter's earlier life. John, moreover, assumed familiarity with the other gospels. None of the gospels were written with what we would consider a biographical interest. The religious significance of the Lord's public work and teaching was so supreme to the earliest Christians, as is shown by Acts 1 : 21, 22, that it did not occur to the evangelists to treat his life as a whole from a merely historical point of view. But it did come within the purpose of Matthew and Luke to prefix to their gospels—which like the others dealt mainly with the public ministry of Christ—brief accounts concerning his birth and infancy; not, however, because these evangelists were, unlike the others, biographers, but because the earlier incidents which they have preserved contributed to the particular point of view from which they intended to set the public ministry forth. Luke indeed possessed no little historical insight, and in the Acts shows himself a real historical artist. It may be, therefore, that in beginning his gospel where he did, he was partly governed by the desire to present a complete narrative. This we may infer, also, from the language of his preface (1 : 3). But Matthew's gospel is proof that Luke's did not include all the facts, and his preface does not claim that it did.

We must still suppose that in the narrative of Christ's birth and infancy he was chiefly governed by that religious point of view from which he desired to exhibit the story of the Son of Man as a whole. The objects with which Matthew and Luke wrote were thus the occasion of their preserving the story of the birth, and to their narratives, with their noteworthy agreements and differences, must we go to learn it.

In Matthew's account the story of the birth and infancy of Jesus is obviously related for the purpose of showing that he was indeed the royal Messiah of Israel and the promised Son of David. This is the aspect in which he is predominantly represented in that gospel. So, in the first place, the legal genealogy of "Jesus who is called Christ" is traced through Joseph to David and Abraham, to whom the special promises had been made that from their seed Messiah should be born. This genealogical register is artificially arranged in three sections of fourteen generations each—from Abraham to David, from David to the captivity, and from the captivity to Christ—an arrangement intended partly as an aid to memory but also to emphasize the greatness of the epoch which began with the birth of Jesus. Christ's pedigree is here traced through Joseph because he was in fact Joseph's legal heir and therefore would naturally be understood to claim his Davidic rights through him. An examination of the genealogy shows that in other cases the inheritance did not descend by direct paternity, so that the phrase "begat" is used in a legal rather than in a physical sense.¹ The

¹ Thus Matthew, like Ezra 5:2, Neh. 12:1, Hag. 1:1, states "Salathiel begat Zorobabel;" though from 1 Chron. 3:19 we learn that the actual relation was that of uncle and nephew. Also, by a comparison with Matt. of Luke 3:27 and 1 Chron. 3:17, 18, it becomes quite certain that the phrase, "Jechonias begat Salathiel," means simply that Salathiel was the legal heir of Jechonias. This phraseology is in accordance with the largeness of meaning given by the Hebrews to the word "son." In v. 8 Matthew omits three kings, yet says "Joram begat Ozias (Uzziah)." A similar omission occurs in v. 11.

May not this suggest the explanation of the reading of the Lewis Syriac gospels which has recently excited discussion? Matt. 1:16 there reads "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus who is called the Christ." This reading clearly did not imply unbelief in the miraculous birth, for the latter is immediately stated in the following verses. There is no probability that the Syriac reveals the existence of two original, divergent traditions, imperfectly amalgamated; for the evi-

whole point was to establish legal heirship. Therefore it did not in the least conflict with this representation, that Matthew immediately proceeds to narrate that Jesus was miraculously conceived by Mary before her marriage with her intended husband. But while stating the fact of the miraculous conception, Matthew's interest in the Davidic heirship of Jesus led him not merely to mention Mary's experience, but to relate at length Joseph's conduct when her condition became known. This "son of David" was warned by an angel not to fear to take Mary for his wife. He was told that the mystery of her conception was the work of the Holy Spirit and he was directed to call the child "Jesus," inasmuch as he would save his people from their sins. It was further pointed out to him by the angel¹ that the whole mysterious transaction was in fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (7 : 14). The words of the prophet, whether originally intended to refer to a virgin or simply to any young woman, were certainly most emphatically realized when a virgin was made the instrument of ushering into the world the promised Messiah; and in such an event, where God so obviously operated, special propriety lay in the name Emmanuel—God with us—which Isaiah had applied to the expected child. Thus Matthew's purpose was not to relate all the story. He rather assumed in his readers a knowledge of Christ's miraculous origin. His motive was to exhibit the legal royalty of Jesus and to adjust this, by explaining the

dence for our Greek text goes much further back than the Syriac and is abundantly attested. Neither can the variation have been due to heretical (Ebionite) intent; for v. 16 itself implies the orthodox view; no such intent can be shown elsewhere in the codex; and the omission from v. 25 of "he knew her not until," etc., evinces rather a disposition to protect the virginity of Mary. Neither can the reading of v. 16 be assigned to mere scribal error, for v. 21 also reads "she shall bear *to thee* a son" and 25, "she bore *to him* a son." The Syriac reading of v. 16 probably is to be traced, together with that of the Old Latin MS. (*ℓ*) ("Joseph, cui desponsata virgo Maria genuit, Jesum Christum") to a Greek text slightly different from ours (*cf.* ZAHN, *Theolog. Literaturblatt* 18 Jan. 1895), which (*ℓ*) translates perhaps literally. But that text, as well as the Syriac reading derived from it, appears to proceed on the idea that "begat" describes legal paternity and could be used where physical paternity was never thought of.

¹The γέγονεν of v. 22 implies that we are to understand the language as that of the angel, not of the evangelist; though the latter adds the interpretation of the name Emmanuel. *Cf.* WEISS: *Matthäus Evangelium*.

fidelity and conduct of Joseph, to the fact of the Lord's supernatural generation. Then, to complete the account, it is added that Joseph took Mary to be his wife and reverently awaited with her the birth of the child. He indicated also his devout belief in the angel's message and in the high destiny of his heir, by giving him the significant name which the angel had directed. By the first evangelist, therefore, the story of Christ's birth was shown to agree fittingly with the Messianic claims which the subsequent narrative presents and illustrates. The events of the infancy also, as given by Matthew,—the visit of the Magi, the flight into Egypt, the slaughter of the children, the final settlement in Nazareth,—are all introduced for the purpose of exhibiting in them the fulfilments of prophecy pertaining to Messiah. His object was thus not to give a complete history of the birth of Jesus but to bring out the cogent proofs which it provided of the royal, Messianic dignity of Joseph's and Mary's child.

In Luke's gospel the story of the birth is given under the control, for the most part, of quite a different purpose. We have observed that Matthew refers briefly to the miraculous conception and is at no special pains to prove it, as if it were a fact well known among his readers. The longer narrative of Luke provides the information to which Matthew thus alludes. It may reasonably be inferred that the third evangelist derived his material in this instance from the family circle in which the events occurred, with one member of which we know that he was acquainted (Acts 21:18). From that family it may be supposed to have circulated among the Hebrew Christians. The strongly Hebraistic coloring of this section seems also to imply that Luke found it already in written form.¹ At the same time the evangelist appears to have added some explanatory clauses to fit the narrative for Gentile readers (*e. g.*, 1:5, 9; 2:1, 2, perhaps 23). The beautiful story, however, bears on its face the evidence that it issued from just some such circle of pious Jews as that which Matthew depicts in the characters of Joseph and Mary. In it we feel ourselves far from the worldly priestcraft,

¹ See FEINE, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas*, 1891.

formal ceremonialism, and political ambitions which ruled in Jerusalem, and which arrayed themselves in fierce opposition to Jesus when his public ministry began; far removed, also, from the fanatical patriotism of the common people, which was so devoid of spiritual motives that it could not understand Jesus even while it admired him. We find ourselves in an atmosphere of devoted piety, of intense longing for the promised Saviour of Israel; in a circle where Old Testament words and ideas nourished the spiritual life. The language of Zacharias and Elizabeth, of Mary, Simeon, and Anna, does not indeed transcend the point of view from which devout Hebrews would be expected to conceive of the Messiah. But they reveal such scriptural piety, formed after the Old Testament pattern, as became the household from which the Christ and his forerunner were to spring. The narrative thus bears striking marks of historicity. Its fine religious realism is itself strong assurance of its historical truthfulness.

In this narrative, then, the birth of Jesus appears as the event in which the promise of salvation, long deferred to Israel, began to be fulfilled. The goodness and grace of God in at last providing redemption seems to be the leading motive of the recital. We notice the stress laid on the gladness of the tidings brought by the angel to Zacharias. They emphasize the joy which John the Baptist's appearance would cause; his spiritual character; the revival of piety of which he would be the instrument; his position as forerunner of the Lord himself. Then in Gabriel's annunciation to the Virgin the message of salvation is still more strongly stated. The maiden's natural fear at the appearance of the angel is met by the assurance of God's favor to her. The same significant name "Jesus" was revealed to her also as that which should be given to her child, while his dignity ("Son of the Highest") and his everlasting reign were predicted in terms fitted to no mere worldly monarch, but only applicable to one who would possess primarily a religious and spiritual dominion. The religious import of the event is also emphasized in the explicit statement by which the angel explained to Mary the holy nature of the mystery that should

take place. It was to be the work of the Holy Spirit, of whom the Old Testament had spoken as the powerful agent of God's grace in the theocracy, and of whose special bestowment on Messiah Isaiah had repeatedly testified (Isa. 11:1, etc.; 42:1, etc.; 61:1, etc.); so that the promised child would be in a unique sense "holy, the Son of God." We should carefully observe that Mary was not told that her child was to be incarnate God. The phrase "Son of God" is undoubtedly used in a theocratic sense. There is not a suggestion in the narrative of later theological statement. The story remains strictly in the bounds of such religious ideas as were possible to a devout Hebrew. The main thought of the narration is the gracious fulfilment of the promised salvation. Apart from the question of the miraculous character of the events described,—a question which has no right to intrude into our study,—the annunciation to the Virgin is described in a way exactly harmonious with the intense spiritual aspirations and actual religious ideas which Mary may most naturally be supposed to have had.

And Mary is described as accepting her lot in the same exalted fervor of devotion. When her natural modesty and need of sympathy led her to visit her kinswoman Elizabeth, of whose expected motherhood the angel had also informed her, their salutations evince the lofty and pure thoughts which filled their souls. Where was it more natural for the long silent voice of inspiration to break forth again than from the lips of these holy women, who had been chosen for the two highest honors of their race? In particular, the outburst of Mary's praise in the *Magnificat*, by its close reproduction of Old Testament psalmody, and especially by its echoes of Hannah's song (1 Sam. 2:1-10), testifies to the direction in which her mind was turning, and ought to confirm our confidence in the historical character of the record. A like remark may be made concerning the song of Zacharias at the birth of John, which moves wholly in the sphere of Israelitish ideas and repeats the thought that the promised salvation was at hand.

We are thus brought to Luke's account of the actual birth of Jesus (2:1-20). It is characteristic of the evangelist that he

relates the events to secular dates (see 1:5; 3:1). He thus explains that, through the decree of Augustus that all the world should be enrolled, the birth occurred in Bethlehem, and adds, again quite after his manner, "this was the first enrolment made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." As is well known, Luke's accuracy in this statement has been vigorously attacked, most exhaustively perhaps by Schürer.¹ It would take us far beyond the limits and purpose of this article to discuss the question in detail. We believe, however, that every objection made by Schürer may be successfully met, and it is gratifying to note that so high an authority as Professor W. M. Ramsay is of the same opinion.² Apart from that question, however, Luke's narrative calls for further remark. He, too, like Matthew, represents Joseph as of Davidic lineage, though it is probable, from 1:32, that Mary also was of like descent. He describes briefly the circumstances of the birth, mentioning the fact that it occurred in a stable because there was no room for them in the lodging-house. But, true to the prevailing motive of the entire section, he hastens to narrate at greater length the annunciation to the shepherds, since in it the message of the fulfilment of the promised salvation was again repeated. This, therefore, was evidently the governing thought under the influence of which the whole narrative was written. It corresponds with the leading thought of the following gospel. The latter makes conspicuous the grace of God which was brought unto men through Jesus Christ³ and the keynote of this evangel of grace is struck in its opening recital of the birth of Jesus.

These two gospels therefore recite the story of the birth of Christ, not for the purpose of giving complete accounts, but with the aim of selecting those events which contributed to their recital of his public life. Yet, when their narratives are compared, no contradiction exists between them. It is sometimes alleged, indeed, that Matthew makes Joseph a resident of Bethlehem and

¹ *Hist. of Jewish People*, etc., Eng. Tr. Div. I, Vol. II, 105-143.

² *Expositor*, September 1896, p. 198. Cf. also ZAHN, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1893, 8.

³ See Bishop ALEXANDER'S *Leading Ideas of the Gospels*, IV.

his later settlement in Nazareth only the result of his fear of Archelaus. But this is a needless interpretation. Matthew simply does not state where Joseph was when the annunciation was made to him. After Jesus was born, it would be most natural for the parents to assume that their child should be raised in the city of his father David whose throne he was to inherit. Hence their intention of returning from Egypt to Judea is easily understood. But when it was made evident that God wished them not to return thither, they naturally sought the Galilean town where, as Luke informs us, they had previously resided. Neither is Luke 2 : 39 exclusive of the sojourn in Egypt, although it is probable that the visit of the Magi and the flight which followed should be located after the presentation in the temple. Still less should objection be raised to the double annunciation of the birth or to the statements that both to Joseph and Mary the name "Jesus" was given by the angels to the Child. Both Joseph and Mary equally needed a revelation on the subject. The two gospels therefore harmonize in their details and agree in the larger facts of the Davidic heirship of Jesus, his miraculous conception, and his birth in Bethlehem. Their differences are fully explicable by the purposes of the writers, which led to the selection of different incidents with a view of presenting special aspects of the events.

At the same time these narratives are obviously independent. Their agreement, therefore, proves that the facts, as gleaned from them both, were the common belief of the apostolic Christians. We have already observed that neither evangelist is at pains to prove or to elaborate the facts but only to exhibit their religious significance. This indicates that the facts themselves were accepted in the apostolic age without dispute. The entire absence from both narratives of such fanciful details as appear even so early as in the epistles of Ignatius¹ (A. D. 110), and still more in the apocryphal gospels, further assures us that we are not dealing with the products of pious imagination but with the sober testimony of the earliest period. Moreover, the Jewish Christian origin of both accounts is evident. The story, there-

¹ *Ep. to the Ephesians*, 19.

fore, cannot be regarded as a legend due to the influence of Gentile ideas upon Christian tradition. It must be accepted as part of the original apostolic testimony: and since the notion of a God-begotten man was utterly foreign to Jewish thought,¹ the Jewish Christian origin of the narratives becomes a cogent evidence of their historical value. The suggestion, *e. g.*, of Holtzmann,² that the legend arose out of an Essenic antipathy to marriage, is utterly incredible, first, because these very gospel narratives conspicuously honor marriage, and, secondly, because in the Old Testament, whose influence appears so strong throughout the story, marriage and offspring were regarded as an honor to Hebrew women. Finally, the incorporation of the story in Luke's gospel attests that it was also the common belief of Gentile Christians too. The preface to that gospel assures us that the evangelist believed himself to be introducing no novelties. He desired to give Theophilus a full and orderly account of the things in which the latter had already been instructed. Hence there should be no hesitation in admitting that among the apostolic Christians, both Jewish and Gentile, the belief in the facts concerning the birth of Jesus, as these are given in our gospels, was general.

With that class of objections to the gospel story of Christ's birth which arises from disbelief in the miraculous, we are not here concerned. Such criticism is to be met on philosophical, rather than historical, grounds. But objections to the story are often drawn from the silence elsewhere upon this subject of the New Testament itself. We are reminded, for instance, that Christ never alluded to his miraculous birth or to his birth in Bethlehem, though both would have been reasons for believing in him as Messiah. He was known as the Nazarene, and the Carpenter's Son (Matt. 13:55; Luke 4:22; John 1:45). The earliest disciples betray no knowledge of the story of his birth (John 1:45); neither do the people of Nazareth (Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3; Luke 4:22) nor of Galilee in general (John 6:42),

¹ See STANTON'S *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 377. DRUMMOND'S *Jew. Mess.*, p. 294.

² *Hand Kommentar*.

nor the people at Jerusalem (John 7:27), nor their rulers (John 7:42-52). In explaining his power he never appealed to his miraculous birth, but to the spirit with which he was filled (*e. g.* Matt. 12:28), or to the Father who was with and in him (John 5:36; 14:10). Still farther, the language and conduct of his mother and family have been deemed inconsistent with the story of his birth. Mary's surprise when she found him in the temple (Luke 2:48); still more her apparent interruption of his work (Mark 12:46); the belief of his friends that he was beside himself (Mark 3:21), and the unbelief of his brethren in his Messiahship (John 7:5) appear to some incompatible with knowledge of his miraculous birth or of the angelic annunciations with which it is said to have been attended. But it may be said in reply that any public appeal by Jesus for faith on the ground of his birth would have been useless as well as injurious to the chief purpose of his ministry; useless, because none would have believed it, and it would only have aroused the tongue of slander to impeach his mother as well as himself; injurious, because his determined purpose was to evoke a faith based on sympathy with his ethical and religious teaching, not on mere wonder at his miraculous deeds. The latter, indeed, were credentials, but not because of their miraculous character alone, but because of their ethical character also (*see, e. g.*, Matt. 12:24-32; John 10:24-26). It would therefore have been wholly out of keeping with his method to have appealed to a fact which not only was not a public one but was one whose religious significance only appears in the light of a complete knowledge of his person and work. As to his mother, we are expressly told that she "kept all these things and pondered them in her heart" (Luke 2:19). The child's life of quiet obedience fully accounts for her surprise at finding him in the temple, and her very awe over his origin, combined with the evident mystery that attended his mission as well as with the dangers that had threatened him in his infancy, would lead her and Joseph to preserve their secret in silence, not speaking of it at first even in the family circle itself. There is nothing whatever to show that Mary ever doubted his Messiahship. Her language at the wedding at Cana (John 2:3, 5) distinctly implies

the contrary. On the other hand, the claim of Davidic sonship appears universally known; since this rested, as Matthew shows, on his being known as Joseph's son and heir.

But we are further reminded that according to the Acts and the epistles, the apostles, when the time for the preaching of Jesus came, do not appear ever to have alluded to his miraculous birth or to his birth in Bethlehem; still less do they appeal to it; while the rise of the legend can be explained, it is said, on dogmatic grounds. It may be questioned, indeed, whether the language of Paul, "born of a woman" (Gal. 4:4), especially when taken in connection with the following phrase, "made under the law," does not imply familiarity with the narrative given in Luke of Christ's birth and infancy; but we are not anxious to press the point.¹ It is sufficient to observe that neither in their preaching, any more than in that of Christ himself, was the story of his birth fitted to serve the purpose of proof of his Messiahship. That needed a public fact, attested by witnesses, and this was found in his resurrection. Neither was it the purpose of the epistles to relate the story of his life. The allusions in them to his deeds on earth and even to his teaching are comparatively few. It implies, therefore, an entire misapprehension of the purposes and needs of apostolic testimony, and is an unwarrantable use of the argument from silence, to discredit the narratives of the evangelists by the absence of reference elsewhere to their story of Christ's birth.

Nor can the rise of the story be fairly attributed to dogmatic tendencies. We have already observed that its Jewish Christian origin precludes the explanation of it as a myth. Its rise out of dogmatical influences likewise cannot be shown. Here the silence of the epistles does become significant. The only known dogmatic tendencies which could have produced the story, were desire to establish the divinity of Christ, or his sinlessness, or Paul's doctrine of the second Adam. But these doctrines are maintained and defended in the epistles without any reference to the miraculous birth and wholly on other grounds. There is, therefore, absence of proof, just where proof

¹ See also Rev. 13:1, etc.

might be expected, that belief in these doctrines led to the construction of the evangelic story. That story, as we glean it from the first and third evangelists, carries us back historically to the heart of the apostolic age, and has no reasonable explanation except that it records the general belief of the apostolic Christians. It would seem to be only the fair conclusion that, in this matter as in regard to other incidents of Christ's life, their belief rested, as Luke expressly says his did, on the testimony of those who "from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word."

But must we not admire the delicacy of touch with which the outlines and principal features of the story are recorded? There is no coarse attempt to satisfy vulgar curiosity. There is no effort to portray the miracle in glaring colors or with fantastic detail. The permanent, religious value of the facts is kept in the foreground. Yet how appropriate is the setting of the story! If the lowly surroundings of the Child of Bethlehem befitted his mission as the Son of Man and Man of Sorrows, so the royalty of his inheritance and the homage of angels and wise men befitted his kingship, and the glowing piety of the circle amid which he was ushered into the world befitted his holy character and position as the promised Redeemer of Israel. Where was it appropriate for Messiah to be born except in the bosom of a household where the old revelation maintained its power? And yet he was not the product of that household nor of Israel. He was not merely the perfect fruit of Hebrew faith and culture. He was more. He was incarnate God, who himself assumed a human nature. What then was more appropriate than that his entrance into flesh should be supernatural; that even the piety of Israel should be made to appear insufficient to produce him; that he who was afterwards to be known as the God-man should combine in the very manner of his birth the indications of his heavenly as well as of his earthly origin?

THE HOME OF OUR LORD'S CHILDHOOD.

By REV. PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D.,
Free Church College, Glasgow.

The village in Israel's history.—The situation of Nazareth:—lower Galilee; the basin in which the town lies.—The view from the hill.—The great roads.—The memory of revolutions.

It is remarkable how many of the greatest lives in Israel were drawn from her villages or from the still more obscure and lonely edges of the desert. Apparently the one great career which sprang from the capital was Isaiah's. He, wherever born, was Isaiah of Jerusalem; rooted and grounded, pervasive and supreme, within those walls whose security he maintained to the end to be the one indispensable basis of God's kingdom upon earth. But in this identification with the city Isaiah was alone. Jonah came from Gath-hepher, Amos from Tekoa, Hosea from some part of Galilee or Gilead, Micah from Moresheth in the Shephelah, Nahum from Elkosh (perhaps another village of the Shephelah or possibly of Galilee), Jeremiah from Anathoth, John the Baptist from *the deserts*, and Jesus Christ from Nazareth—a village so unimportant that it is never mentioned in the Old Testament, even among the crowded lists of the tribal borders, very close to one of which it must have lain, and so destitute of the natural conditions of a great city that, with all the religious distinction which came to it nineteen centuries ago, Nazareth has never grown beyond a few thousand inhabitants.

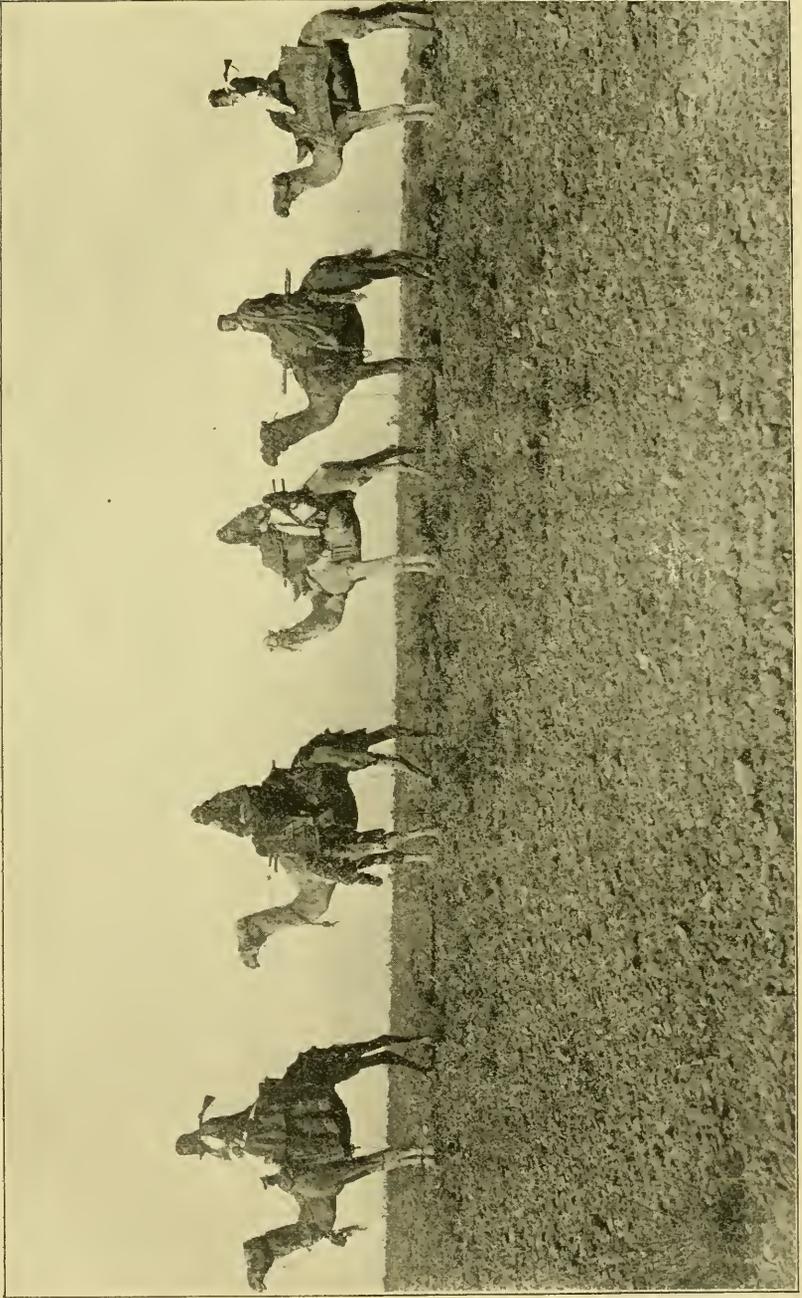
The site and surroundings of Nazareth have been so often described that it is impossible to add another account which shall not be for the most part a repetition. I shall perhaps best fulfil the task assigned me if I first give the impressions, shared by so many travelers, of the secluded basin in which the village lies, and of the broad views opening from the edge of it, and if I

then add the particular features of the district which two visits have emphasized on my own mind.

Between the plain of Esdraclon and the sudden range that lifts upper Galilee to a high tableland, lower Galilee consists of three or four parallel valleys running eastward from the Levant to Gennesaret and the Jordan. It is a limestone country, too porous for large streams, but with a soil and a rainfall sufficient for considerable fertility. It is full of thriving villages, but without the occasions of a large city, except at the seacoast or beside the lake. The long valleys, however, and their position between the Phœnician seaports and the busy Greek life across Jordan, gathered in our Lord's day a large volume of traffic, to guard which fortresses and other military posts were easily raised on the crags and ridges that are scattered across the whole region. Lower Galilee was thus an intensified miniature of all Palestine. Scores of villages, too humble and aloof to attract the armies or caravans which crossed that central land in almost constant procession, nevertheless afforded to their restless inhabitants a view of the great world from the Mediterranean to Arabia, with all the tokens which the former offers of a still greater world beyond, and granted them an almost immediate issue upon the courses of some of the main currents of history. Nazareth occupied one of these withdrawn, yet wonderfully open, positions; rather more hidden from the outer land than most of her sister villages, but within an hour of the world's highways that ran across the land.

Nazareth lies upon the most southerly of the ranges of lower Galilee, just above the plain of Esdraclon and over against the Samaritan hills. It is almost the first Galilean village which the traveler reaches coming north through the country.

On this edge of Esdraclon, which is here some 350 feet above the sea, the hills rise abruptly for 900 or 1000 feet more. You pierce them by a narrow and winding pass, which, on the other side of their first summits, suddenly breaks upon the lower end of a valley, a shallow, tilted basin among the hills. At the upper, the western, end of this valley, which is about a mile



TRAVELERS CROSSING THE DESERT

long and half a mile broad, the town of En Nâsara spreads up a steep slope crowned by the highest summit of the district, the Neby Sa'in, with a small chapel to the Moslem saint after whom it is named. The ancient Nazareth probably hung a little higher up the hill, but still within touch of the one well of the neighborhood, that springs in the center of the modern town. The white houses of En Nâsara are partly visible from one or two points across the plain on the slopes of Little Hermon,¹ but from nowhere else outside the basin. The trunk road crosses Esdraclon near the mouth of the winding gorge that leads up to the village, but the caravans swing sleepily past unaware of its existence. From the north it is wholly shut off by the ridge of Neby Sa'in. So also, if I remember aright, the view from the village itself is, except for a glimpse or two, limited to the basin.

The basin in which Nazareth lies is dry and gray. There are a few gardens below the town and some trees around, and especially above it. All the rest is limestone rock and chalky soil, with the glare of summer dulled by the sparse grass and thistle, very cheerless in wet or dark weather, but in spring flushing into great patches of wild flowers. It is a quiet hollow under an open heaven, a home with all its fields in sight, keeping the music of its life to itself. To the shepherd watching from the hill each of the few village houses must have been marked: the teacher's, those of the various elders, the synagogue, the inn, the baker's shop, and the carpenter's; here the noisy groups about the well, there the children playing on the street; there would hardly be a market place. Outside there were the village graves, the threshing floors, the rubbish heaps, the rocky paths with their very occasional travelers; flowers, trees, and birds, the sheep and goats, perhaps a bird of prey sailing lazily over, or a fox stealing in the noonday stillness across the gray hillside.

But climb to the edge of the basin, climb especially to the ridge of Neby Sa'in above the village, and this quiet, self-contained valley, that from its center sees heaven covering nothing

¹SUTHERLAND: *Palestine: the Glory of all Lands*, 146 f.

but its own fields, shrinks to a furrow in a vast and crowded world; vast, because besides mere widths of horizon there are in view almost every zone of nature, from the great sea and the shores where palms grow to the everlasting snows of Hermon; and crowded because history has seldom brought together



GENERAL VIEW FROM NAZARETH

within such a compass so many famous homes, altars, and battlefields, nor opened more promises (such as only open across the Mediterranean) of magic isles and coasts beyond. Hermon fills the northeast, and the hills of Galilee are piled against him. You see the hills of Bashan on the other side of the gulf, where the hidden lake lies; the long range of Gilead above the Jordan valley; nearer to you Tabor, where Barak camped, and Little Hermon, with Endor and Shunem on opposite slopes; Gilboa, with Jezreel and Gideon's fountain; Naboth's vineyard, and the scene of Jezebel's murder; Elisha's lodging, and the course of Elijah's race with Ahab's chariot; Esdraelon, with its twenty

battlefields; the Samaritan hills and their passes southward; the place of Elijah's sacrifice on Carmel, and the high green promontory running thence out upon the radiance of the sea; or, if you turn northwards, there are the hills above Acre, and, drawing home again, the plain of Buttauf, with the road from Acre to the lake; and on this side of the plain Sepphoris, the ancient capital of Galilee, with its ruined castle on a hilltop. It is a map of Jewish history, spread within sight of half a dozen points that the boys of Nazareth might have visited daily.

All this is familiar to us through the impressions of many travelers; but across the landscape there are certain lines which I failed to realize till I saw them, with my own eyes and trod them with my feet. There are the roads, whose direction in the East is so changeless that upon their faint or less frequented tracks today you can still tread reaches of Roman causeway, and call up again the noise and splendor of the days when Greece and Rome poured along them to the East full tides of commerce and of war. There is a list of them within sight of the hill above Nazareth.

Immediately across Esdraelon, there open through the Samaritan mountains the mouths, a dozen miles apart, of two great passes from the south: that by Jenin, or 'En gannim, and that by Lejjun or Legion, which was Megiddo. The former is the beginning of the "Anabaseis to the hill-country"¹ of Samaria and Judæa, the road to Shechem and Jerusalem. The latter is the pass from Sharon to Esdraelon, by which the high road comes over from Philistia and Egypt. Issuing on the plain, these roads meet about six miles from Nazareth and passing below her hills swing off between them and Tabor towards the north end of the lake for Damascus and Mesopotamia. Twenty minutes' walk from Nazareth will bring you immediately above this road. A more distant branch of it, miles of which run within sight of the same point, swerves from Jezreel to the other side of Little Hermon and Tabor; while a third branch from Jenin crosses Gilboa to Bethshan and the Jordan. All these roads carried caravans between Egypt and Mesopotamia,

¹ B. R. of Judith III.

between the coast and Arabia, and Roman armies marched by them from Cæsarea to the Decapolis, or the military posts on the Lake of Galilee; it was by the opening of Jenin that pilgrims returned to Galilee from the feasts at Jerusalem. Those



JENIN

citizens of Nazareth who had remained at home would come out to the edge of the hills and watch their friends crossing from En-gannim. And this way Jesus himself must often have traveled after he was twelve years old. The pilgrim bands, when they left Jenin, would anxiously scan the plain for caravans crossing it from Lejjun, and pause awhile if they saw the lances of a troop of Roman soldiers making for the same angle as themselves. They might also encounter caravans of Egyptian merchants and camel trains from eastern Palestine. Esdraelon (it cannot be too often repeated) was one of the great highways of the ancient world.

All this lay in sight of the Nazareth hills to the south, but from the summit behind the village an equally important road was in view to the north. Four and a half miles away, beyond Sepphoris, a city set on a hill, ran the highroad from Ptolemais, or Acre, to Tiberias, the Decapolis and the Roman frontier towards Arabia. Nearer still ran parallel to this a less frequented road through Sepphoris itself from which a branch cut down past Nazareth upon the Esdraelon roads. Realize that Ptolemais, only twenty-one miles from Nazareth, was one of the two great ports through which passed out and in nearly all the commerce between northern Palestine and Greece and Italy; and that at the other end of these roads was already flourishing the Greek culture which produced so many philosophers, poets, and wits in Gadara and other trans-Jordanic cities. Realize, too, the constant effort which these cities made to hold communication with Athens and Rome, and how the capital of the empire kept in lively touch with its eastern frontier. Remember Pliny's and Strabo's accounts of the herbs, the balsam, the dates and the flax from the Jordan valley, the pickled fish from the lake, and the wheat from Hauran, which found their way to Ptolemais for shipment all round the Mediterranean. "The Roman ranks, the Roman eagles, the wealth of noblemen's litters and equipages cannot have been strange to the eyes of the boys of Nazareth, especially after their twelfth year, when they went up to Jerusalem, or visited with their fathers famous rabbis, who came down from Jerusalem, peripatetic among the provinces. Nor can it have been the eye only which was stirred. For all the rumor of the empire entered Palestine close to Nazareth—the news from Rome about the emperor's health, about the changing influence of the great statesmen, about the prospects at court of Herod or of the Jews; about Cæsar's last order concerning the tribute, or whether the policy of the procurator would be sustained. Many Galilean families must have had relatives in Rome; Jews would come back to this countryside to tell of the life of the world's capital. Moreover, the scandals of the Herods buzzed up and down these roads; peddlers carried them, and the peripatetic rabbis would moralize upon them. The customs,

too, of the neighboring Gentiles — their loose living, their sensuous worship, their absorption in business, the hopelessness of the inscriptions on their tombs, multitudes of which were readable (as some are still) on the roads around Galilee—all this would furnish endless talk in Nazareth both among men and boys.”

But wilder things than these happened in the neighborhood of Nazareth when our Lord was spending his childhood there. Just before the time when according to the gospels the parents of Jesus brought him to the village, there had been a rebellion near Sepphoris. Judas, son of that rebel, Hezekiah, whom Herod hardly overcame, gathered a number of Galileans (among whom there may easily have been a man or two of Nazareth) and stripped the castle of Sepphoris of arms. Josephus adds that this Judas was very ambitious of being made king.¹ Varus gathered an army at Ptolemais, burned Sepphoris, making many of its people slaves, and then marched on Samaria;² his nearest road was past Nazareth. Sepphoris was rebuilt by Herod Antipas, who also, during the years Jesus spent in obscurity at Nazareth, built Tiberias, and by all the roads of Galilee swept foreigners, tramps, and rascals to a site which as yet no Jew would tread. The flames of rebellion had not been quenched by Varus. Judas still lived,³ and “Galilean” himself kept fretting the spirit of all his province. About the tenth year of our Lord the revolt broke out afresh. There must then have been much coming and going between Jerusalem and Galilee; Nazareth, one of the most southerly of Galilean villages and so near Sepphoris, was doubtless aware of some of it. In the great war fifty years later the first blow for independence was struck close by, at Dabaritta, and you understand why when you see the strategic position of the district, round the corner of the plain, with gorges running up through the Nazareth hills. These earlier rebels, therefore, of our Lord’s youth, can hardly have kept the neighborhood of Nazareth out of their restless plans against the

¹ JOSEPHUS *Ant.* XVII: 10: 5: *cf.* *Wars* II: 4: 1. ² JOSEPHUS *Ant.* XVII: 10: 9, 10.

³ On the identity of Judas, son of Hezekiah, with Judas the Galilean, see SCHÜRER, *Hist.* I, ii: 80.

Roman forces. The movement, too, was mixed with feelings which must have drawn into it not only the rough bandits of the province, with no ambition save that of license disguised as freedom, but many of the purest and most patriotic villagers of Galilee. Judas rose against the Gentiles in the name of religion. But this again turned him more readily on the moderate men of his own people. The pitiless party of the Zealots was formed. There were many robberies, and assassinations of prominent and respected Jews.¹ Nor were the motives of the leaders above suspicion. Josephus says they fought for gain, and Judas probably still dreamed of a crown. The revolt, therefore, collapsed. Before the nation was kindled, the Romans scattered the sparks and they fell out of sight, to smoulder on in many places till they fired the great conflagration half a century later. One wonders if any of these sparks were thrown into Nazareth. Certainly the selfish sectarian and tyrannical spirit of the movement, ending in so abject a failure, cannot have missed judgment in her quiet homes. In Judas and his fellows the righteous must have seen how it was possible for a man to aim at the whole world and lose his own soul.

¹ *Ant.* XVIII: 1:1.

JEWISH FAMILY LIFE.

By ERNEST D. BURTON,
The University of Chicago.

Marriage.—The house.—Furniture.—Monogamy and divorce.—Superiority of Jewish to heathen morals.—The coming of the child.—The instruction of children.—Household duties.—Hospitality.—Feasts.

Family life begins with marriage, but marriage is usually preceded by betrothal, and betrothal was at least among the Jews of the later time a matter of as much seriousness and solemnity as marriage itself. In earlier days it was apparently accomplished merely by oral promises confirmed perhaps by gifts (Gen. 24:50, 51; 29:19); there is no mention in the Old Testament of a written contract of betrothal. But in later times betrothal became a formal ceremony. According to the Mishna, and quite likely as early as the first century, it took place in the presence of witnesses; the young man gave to his prospective bride some token or written promise that he would marry her, and a legal document fixing the terms of the marriage, dowry, etc., was drawn up. The man and woman were then as sacredly bound to each other as if married. Even the property of the bride belonged from that time to the husband. They could be separated only by death or divorce. It is in entire conformity with this conception of the nature of betrothal that the evangelist speaking of Joseph's intention to dissolve the bond between himself and his betrothed wife uses the word regularly employed for divorcing a wife (Matt. 1:19).

Marriage itself took place, according to the Mishna, a year after betrothal, or in the case of a widow a month after. But it can hardly be assumed that this was at any time a rule uniformly observed. A festal procession led the bride from her father's house to that of her husband (1 Macc. 9:37), her own future home. Yet sometimes, it would seem from Matt. 25:1, 10, the

bridegroom came to the bride's house and the festivities were held there. The marriage of Tobias also took place at the house of the bride's father (Tob. chaps. 7, 8).

The wedding procession was wont to take place at night (Matt. 25:1-6). The entrance of the bride into the house of her husband, or the moment when bride and groom met, was regarded as the moment of special interest. In the house a formal legal instrument was drawn up or signed. Mention of such a contract is made in Tob. 7:14, though in this instance betrothal and marriage are scarcely distinguishable. Then followed the marriage feast. All in all a wedding was an occasion of the greatest rejoicing and festivity, celebrated with music and feasting (Gen. 31:27; 1 Macc. 19:39; John 2:3 ff.; *cf.* Luke 15:25). In his answer to the question of the Pharisees about fasting, Jesus refers to the incongruity of anything suggestive of sorrow at a marriage. The festivities sometimes continued for days (Judges 14:12; Tob. 8:19). There was no definitely appointed religious service in connection with a wedding, the nearest approach to it being the blessing pronounced by the father of one or of each of the young people (Tob. 7:13).

The house to which the groom took his bride would depend of course on his station in life and the means at his command. The simplest form of house consisted of a single square room. The walls would be built of clay or of sun-dried brick; stone was used only in the neighborhood of mountains or for the more expensive city houses. The roof would be of straw and mud, or mortar, ashes, etc., laid upon timbers or boughs, and rolled flat and hard. Surrounded by a parapet (Deut. 22:8), it could be used for hanging linen or drying fruits, or as a place of retirement. It was on the housetop that Peter sought quiet for prayer (Acts 10:9). Such a house would have but one door, and the windows would be latticed, not glazed, and small so as to exclude the summer heat as far as possible. Inside, if the husband included in his possession a few sheep or goats, there would be two parts of the room on different levels. The lower part would be used for the animals at night, and the upper part—not an upper story, but merely one side of the room with a higher floor

than the other — for the family. If there were no animals, as would often be the case in the towns, or there were so many that separate provision was made for them in sheepfolds outside, the whole room would be given up to the family. But in this one room they would all live by night and by day. Separate bedchambers (2 Sam. 4:7) were to be found only in the houses of the well-to-do. The first step from this simplest possible form of a house would be taken when there was erected upon the flat roof a booth of boughs for use in summer; and the next when by means of a more or less substantial and permanent roof placed over the whole of the main flat roof of the house, or by the erection of a walled chamber over a portion of the roof (2 Kings 4:2), a permanent upper room was obtained.



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Such probably were the upper rooms mentioned in Acts 1:13 and 9:37, 39. The house of Simon the Tanner apparently did not have this addition (Acts 10:9). When such a room existed it often had two exits, one through the house, the other by a flight of stairs leading directly to the street. Hence one fleeing in haste need not go down into the house (Matt. 24:17).

Of course there were houses of the wealthy and of royal personages that differed greatly from these simpler houses of the common people. Limestone was to be had in Palestine, and from it those who had the means built palaces of stone. These were constructed around a court or even had a series of courts, and might be built two or even three stories in height. For these houses foreign woods were imported, though probably used almost exclusively for interior finish (1 Kings, chaps. 6, 7). But the common people dwelt in simple and detached houses. In Rome there were in ancient times, as in modern, great tenement houses many stories in height. But these were probably not to be seen in Palestine at all.

The furniture in the house of a peasant or artisan Jew was of the simplest kind. The table might be high or low according to the posture which the family were wont to take at meals. In ancient times it was the custom to sit at table, either on the floor in oriental fashion, or on a seat or chair (Gen. 27:19; 1 Sam. 20:24, 25; 2 Kings 4:10). Reclining at meals was evidently at first associated with the luxurious living brought in from foreign countries (Am. 6:4; Sir. 41:19). But in the New Testament time it was, if not the invariable custom, at least a very common habit. The words used for the position in eating are all such as denote a reclining posture (Matt. 9:10; Mark 6:22; Luke 7:36; 9:14, etc.). In addition to the table and the chairs or the couches (Mark 7:4, R. V. marg.), there would be the lamp stand, the broom, the mill for grinding grain, the bushel, and the ordinary implements of cooking. The poorer houses probably had nothing that we should call a bedstead. The very poor simply wrapped themselves in their cloaks, and lay on the clay floor, or on a mat woven of palm leaves. In some cases there was a seat or ledge around the room or at one

side, on which at night mattresses or rugs were laid. Even in the elegant houses of Pompeii there is along one side of the tiny sleeping rooms a ledge of masonry which evidently served as a bedstead or the basis of one. We read, indeed, in the Old Testament of couches of ivory (Am. 6:4), probably a species of couch or divan supported by ivory legs, and intended primarily for use at meals. On such a couch there would be spread rugs of various colors and textures (Prov. 7:16; Ezek. 13:18, 20; Am. 3:12). In this matter there was opportunity for luxury and elegance according to the means of the individual. But all these things are expressly mentioned with disapproval as articles of elegance. It is probable that none of them were to be found in ordinary homes and that even in the houses of the wealthy the furnishings were, except perhaps in the matter of drapings and rugs, such as would seem to our modern taste simple and even plain. The rooms were warmed, if at all, only, as is still common in southern climates, with a charcoal fire in a brazier set in the midst of the room (Jer. 36:22 f.; John 18:18; R. V. marg.). Pictures and statuary, as forbidden by the law (Ex. 20:4), would not be seen in the house of a loyal Jew at all. Books, though by no means forbidden, were rare, and confined, except perhaps in the case of the more cultivated Jews of the later time who had come under Greek influence, almost wholly to copies of a portion of the Scriptures. The reference in 1 Macc. 1:56, 57 to the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to destroy all copies of the Jewish Scriptures, "wheresoever was found with any a book of the covenant," indicates that even in that time copies of portions of the Scriptures were to be found in private hands. Yet how common this was is difficult to say. Whether there was in the Nazareth home of Jesus a copy of the Old Testament, or whether he had access only to the synagogue copy, we cannot say with certainty. Certain it is that he was a diligent reader and profound student of the Old Testament.

The position of the wife in a Jewish home was on the whole a high and honorable one. Monogamy was probably always the general rule among the Israelites. The patriarchs, indeed, and some of the kings had more than one wife; some of the latter

had many. But though the law assumed the possibility of polygamy, both the law and the prophetic teaching tended to check it and to mitigate its evils. (See Ex. 21:8; Deut. 21:15 ff., 17:17; Mal. 2:14). The capital passage in Gen. 2:24 is essentially monogamous in spirit, and is made still more so in the form it assumes in the Septuagint, "they *two* shall become one flesh," which is also the form in which Jesus quotes it. And though neither in the New Testament period nor for a long time after did polygamy wholly cease among the Jews (see Jos., *Ant.* 17:1; 2, 3; cf. Ginsburg, art. on Marriage in Kitto's *Cyclop.*; Schürer, *Jewish People*, I, 1, 455), it does not seem to have been common. Neither Jesus nor Paul found occasion to deal directly with it. In a Jewish home of the first century there was usually but one wife, who, though her marriage may have been arranged more by her father's judgment than by her own preference, was yet the object of her husband's undivided love. In one respect, indeed, her position was far from ideal. The law gave to the husband the right of putting away his wife if he found "some unseemly thing" in her. The interpretation of this vague phrase was, as is well known, a living question in the first century. The famous Rabbi Hillel had adopted the laxer view, which permitted the husband to divorce his wife for any reason that seemed to him sufficient, even for such trifling matters as "preparing a dish badly, making a blunder, or burning the meat." Shammai, on the other hand, maintained that the phrase "some unseemly thing" must be interpreted in practice as referring exclusively to adultery. The gospels record (Mark 10:3; Matt. 19:3) that the Pharisees put to Jesus this question on which their great scribes had disagreed, and that he unequivocally took the position already favored by Shammai. How generally the people had taken advantage of Hillel's lax view and how much hardship had been suffered by Jewish women because of it we have no definite means of knowing; but even in the days of Malachi the prophet forcibly denounced the husbands who divorced their wives (Mal. 2:14-16) and the language of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:31 f.) suggests that easy divorce was one of the evils of his time also. The Mishna makes provision for

the wife's obtaining divorce from her husband (Yebamoth 65, a, b; Kettubboth 77, a), and Paul also treats the question of the separation of husband and wife reciprocally (1 Cor. 7: 10 ff.); but the language of Jesus in the gospels (if we except Mark 10: 12) con-



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tains no reference to the possibility of a wife's putting away her husband. Perhaps the question of a wife's right to put away her husband had in Jesus' day not been much agitated among the Jews.

But whatever evils may have existed in Jewish society by reason of a tendency to easy dissolution of the marriage tie, Jewish homes were in this respect still vastly better protected than the Greek and Roman homes of the time. In Athens divorce could be had by mutual consent, or, subject to restrictions, on the application of either party. Though divorce is said to have been unknown among the early Romans, a very different state of affairs prevailed in the latter days of the Republic and the early days of the Empire. Marriage customs, and with them divorce usages, had gradually but greatly changed. A marriage

might be dissolved by mutual consent, or either party might repudiate the other without the consent of that other. As the *affectio maritalis* was conceived to be necessary to constitute a marriage, so its continuance was regarded as necessary to the maintenance of the marriage. Cato the younger divorced his wife Marcia, that his friend Hortensius might marry her and she bear him children. Cicero divorced the wife with whom he had lived thirty years, and married a young woman whom he in turn put away. Of course solitary instances prove nothing, but, making due allowance for exceptional cases and the exaggerations of satirists, it is only too evident that in the cultivated heathenism of the first century the foundations of family morality were sadly undermined. Jewish family life presented a marked and favorable contrast to that which was to be seen in Athens or Corinth or Rome.

But if in the matter of divorce Judaism appears at an advantage as compared with the heathenism around it, this is still more true in respect to those personal vices which are the most deadly enemies of pure family life. Law and prophet alike had always denounced adultery and prostitution in sternest language, and though both vices had always existed and called for denunciation (and what nation can here plead innocence?), yet the Jews had never sunk into those awful depths of vileness to which the cultivated heathenism of the first century had descended. Lust had never been sanctified by religion and enshrined in the place of worship, as at Corinth; moralists had never been reduced to the extremity of praising the young man who betook himself to the harlot because he would thus be saved from worse iniquity, as at Rome. Paul indeed laid it to the charge of the Jews who condemned the wickedness of the Gentiles and boasted of their own goodness that they did the same things that they condemned, and in particular accused them of adultery (Rom. 2:1, 22); yet it is noticeable that his detailed accusation against them contains no mention of those awful and unnatural vices which he charges against the Gentiles, and which we know from other sources to have been terribly common; and we must understand his charge as meaning not

that the Jews went to the same extent of iniquity as the Gentiles, but that they were guilty of the same generic sins.

The love of children was always strong in the heart of the Jew, alike of father and mother. Law and narrative and poetry of the Old Testament all bear witness to this fact (Lev. 26:9; 1 Sam. 1; Ps. 127:3; 128, etc.). Destruction of children unborn or exposure of them after birth, both too terribly common among the Gentiles, were almost or wholly unknown among the Jews. Only in Ezek. 16:5 is there reference to the latter custom, and then only in a figurative sense. As among ancient oriental nations in general, a boy was more highly esteemed (1 Sam. 1:11; Jer. 20:15) than a girl; yet daughters were depreciated only relatively. In the great majority of cases sons and daughters are spoken of together in the Bible without intimation of discrimination. In ancient times the boy was named at his birth, and sometimes, at least, by his mother (Gen. 29:32 and chap. 30), but in later times on the occasion of his circumcision (Luke 1:59; 2:21). The ceremonies connected with the redemption of the first-born son and with the purification of the mother are familiar to every reader of the New Testament from their mention in connection with the birth of Jesus. Attention has often been called to the fact that the offering made on this occasion (Luke 2:24) was that which the law permits to her whose "means suffice not for a lamb" (Lev. 12:8) and to the incidental proof thus given that the mother of Jesus belonged among the poor of the land.

The law enjoined upon the parents the duty of instructing their children both in the history and in the religion of their nation—two things which were to the Jew almost inseparable (Deut. 4:9; 6:7, 20; 11:19). To the injunction of Deut. 6:6-9,¹ and the similar words in Ex. 13:9, 16 and 11:18, he gave a very literal interpretation. In obedience to the law as he

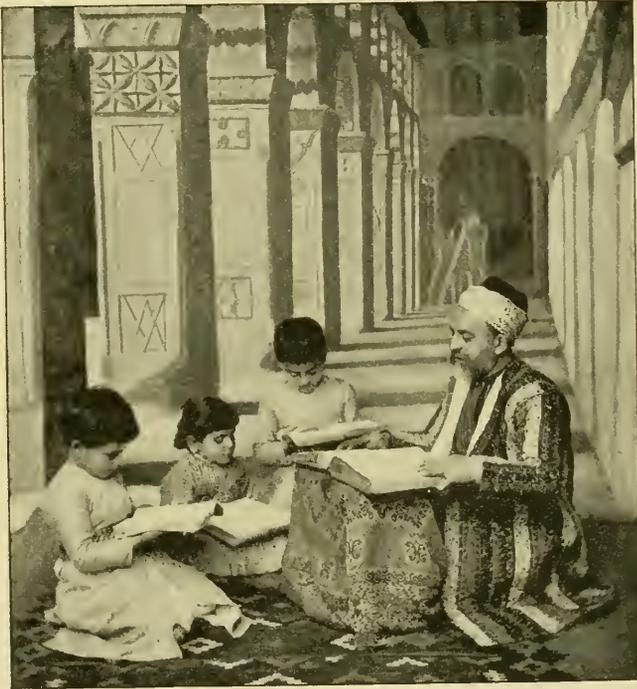
¹ And these words which I command thee this day shall be upon thy heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.

understood it, he wrote the two passages Deut. 6:4-9 and 11:13-21 on parchment and enclosing it in an oblong box fixed the box to house and room doors above the right-hand doorpost; the four passages, Ex. 13:2-10, 11-17; Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21, written on strips of parchment, and enclosed in little leather boxes, he bound as phylacteries on his arm and as frontlets between his eyes when he engaged in prayer. The obligation to wear these Tephillin rested only on the male members of the family, and on them from the thirteenth year. But though the Jews thus externalized the latter part of the command, there is no reason to doubt that they obeyed the other portion concerning the teaching of their children with equal punctiliousness. It was probably not an idle boast, though of course there was something of oriental hyperbole in it, when Josephus claimed that his people were so well acquainted with the law that if one should ask any of them concerning its statutes he could tell them more readily than his own name, because having begun to learn them from earliest infancy they were as it were engraved on their hearts. Reciprocal to the duty of the parent to teach his children was the duty of the child to obey and honor his parents, father and mother alike (Ex. 20:12, Prov. 1:8; 6:20 ff. Sir. 3:3 ff.), a duty flagrantly evaded, so far as we know, only in the case of grown-up children who under shelter of a vow escaped the burden of supporting their parents (Mark 7:11, 12; *cf.* Schürer, II, II, 123; *cf.* also Sir. 3:12 ff.).

In general it must be said that the law and its requirements filled so large a place in the thought and life of the Jew that it is hardly an exaggeration when Jost says that "the entire life of Judaism was religion."

Yet thoroughly as a Jewish life was impregnated with the thought of religion, and heavy as was the burden which the law and the casuistry of the scribes had laid on the shoulders of the people (Acts 15:10; Matt. 23:4), yet a Jewish home had its round of everyday occupations such as are necessary everywhere among civilized peoples to make life comfortable or even possible. Children were cared for usually by their own mothers. Nurses are mentioned only in connection with the more wealthy

families (2 Sam. 4:4; 2 Kings 11:2). The preparation of the food seems also to have been done by, or under the immediate direction of, the women of the house, even in families that were well-to-do. In patriarchal times Abraham calls on Sarah to pro-



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vide cakes for his unexpected guests (Gen. 18:6). In later Old Testament times the ideal wife rose early in the morning and gave meat to her household (Prov. 31:15). And in the New Testament time Martha, evidently by no means of the poorest class, "served" when Jesus was a guest at her house (Luke 10:40; John 12:2). Even Hillel's inclusion of a burned dinner in the justifiable causes for divorce testifies that the wife was the cook of the family. The weaving of linen and of wool fell also to the lot of the women of the house, as well as the preparation

and care of the clothing for the household. This, however, was a somewhat simpler matter than it would be in modern times and in occidental lands.

In the houses of the wealthy there were of course slaves or hired servants (Luke 15:17) to perform all these tasks or to assist in them. But slaves at least were far less numerous than among the Romans, and their condition far superior in every way. Manual labor was never despised by a true Hebrew. The rabbis taught that he who failed to teach his son a trade in effect taught him to steal. Even the boy who was destined to be a scribe first learned a trade, as did Paul. It was no reproach to Jesus that he was a carpenter (Mark 6:3).

The entertainment of guests was among the Jews at once one of the pleasures of life and a sacred duty. The Old Testament abounds in references to acts of hospitality, and the New Testament gives instances both of guests invited to a meal (Mark 2:15; Luke 11:37; 14:1; John 12:2) and of friends or strangers entertained over night. Christ's illustration of the man who found himself with nothing to set before his friend who had come to him on his journey (Luke 11:5, 6) indicates that it was not the great or the wealthy only that were wont to show hospitality. Khans there were, to be sure, where a traveler might find shelter for himself and his beasts, but probably in most cases had to provide not only his own bedding but food for himself and provender for his animals. In such a khan it was that Joseph and Mary lodged and Jesus was born (Luke 2:7). Sometimes there was a keeper of the inn, from whom necessary food, etc., might be purchased (Luke 10:36). But these did not, by any means, displace the exercise of private hospitality. The instructions given by Jesus to his disciples when he sent them out to preach (Mark 6:7, 8; Luke 10:4-8) show that a traveler going from town to town might expect entertainment not only among his personal friends, but among comparative strangers, and that, too, without pay. In 1838 Edward Robinson traveled through certain regions where the ancient customs still prevailed, and was received everywhere as a guest without expense; an offer of pay was regarded as insulting (*Bib. Res.*, II, 19).

Among the elements of Jewish family life the feasts require at least brief mention. Though the three great feasts were observed at Jerusalem and the obligation to attend them was laid only on the male members of the family (Deut. 16:16), yet the women often went voluntarily, as did Mary the mother of Jesus (Luke 2:41), and the passover meal itself was observed as a family feast. Then the father explained to his children the origin and significance of the feast in accordance with the command of Ex. 12:26, 27. Even those who remained at home were reminded of the feast by the seven days' exclusion of leaven from the house (Ex. 12:19, 20). Among the influences that were at the same time intellectually educative, and quickening to patriotism and religion, and which tended to connect family life with both, the feasts were of the highest importance.

It was into a Jewish home of the humbler sort that Jesus was born. There was none of the elegance or the enervation that come with wealth. Industry must have excluded bitter poverty, which was in any case rare among the Jews, but Joseph, the village carpenter, probably never gave to his family of sons and daughters (Mark 6:3) more than the ordinary comforts of life. The glimpses we are afforded of the life in that home, elevated by love and permeated with religion, lead us to think of it as a noble example of the noblest type of family life the ancient world knew. Further than this only a reverent imagination guided by knowledge of him who came forth from that home to be the world's Teacher and the world's Saviour can carry us.

THE CHILD JESUS IN PAINTING.

By WILLIAM C. WILKINSON,
The University of Chicago.

Pictures of Jesus are wholly imaginary.—Artists attempt to represent the ideal Christ.—Preëminence of Raphael in this field.—The Sistine Madonna.—Perugino's painting of the Christ-child.—Fra Angelico's conception.—The infant Jesus by Leonardo da Vinci.—Hoffman's picture of the boy Jesus at twelve.—Hunt's Finding of Jesus in the Temple.—Müller's representation of Joseph and Jesus.—Comparison of the earlier and the later pictures of the child Jesus.—Have these pictures benefited true religion?

It has been said lamentingly by lovers of art that the influence of Christianity, or rather of Roman Catholicism, has tended to the injury of painting by replacing the subjects and ideals that ancient classic paganism presented with subjects and ideals less fit and less lovely than those. The gods and goddesses of Greek mythology, the forms and faces of men and women exultant in strength or radiant in the bloom of youth and beauty, have given way, it is complained, to emaciated saints and lacerated martyrs, as springs of inspiration to the painter's brush and to the sculptor's chisel. Nobody that has made the tour of the great art galleries of Europe will deny that there is a measure of truth in this criticism. But, on the other hand, no such person can fail to feel that there has been, to say the least, a large compensation from the same source for the loss and damage that the cause of art has thus suffered. Christian history has supplied to artists some motives and subjects for their use surpassing in true value any that Greek or Roman paganism at its best had to offer. Among these, supreme in their power of appeal to the universal human heart, are the mother Mary and her son. Childhood may be said to have had hardly any place in the consideration of art—infancy, perhaps, to have had no place at all—until Christianity supplied it in the

story of the divine incarnation in Jesus of Nazareth. The purpose of the present paper is to set before readers, in reproductive



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illustration, accompanied by brief elucidating comment, a few select specimens of what the art of painting has done in the way of imagining and embodying ideals of the child Jesus.

In the first place it needs to be said, and to be said strongly, that there exists, and can exist, no representation of the person

of Jesus Christ, the infant, the youth, or the man, that is not purely and absolutely the product of imagination, and of imagination working without historic hint of any sort whatsoever to guide or to check it. We not only do not know how Jesus looked, but we do not know whether he was fair to see or the reverse; or whether, indeed, he may not have been of a quite undistinguished and indifferent personal appearance. There are texts of Scripture that favor each one of these different conceptions. In fact, they have each one of them at different times or in different places been entertained. Happily for art, happily for humanity, the conception that makes Jesus fair among the children of men has prevailed; and artists have vied with each other in seeking to glorify the Son of Man, sometimes, indeed, with pathetic, but always with superhuman, personal charm. This has been especially true of Jesus as infant and as child.

The problem presented to the artist undertaking to treat this theme, was one peculiarly, indeed uniquely, interesting. It stimulated and inspired alike by its nobleness and by its difficulty. It appealed to everything pure and high and arduously aspiring in the soul of the artist. The problem, in short, was nothing less than the reconciling, in a face that should be felt to be natural, of true infantile simplicity, innocence, unconsciousness, gaiety even, with a suggestion of depth, of thoughtfulness, of prescience, of pathos, rather divine than human. In the attempting of such a problem, not only genius, skill, and study would be brought into play, but equally the sentiment of worship, if that sentiment existed in the artist's soul. That sentiment certainly did sometimes exist, and a proper effect was then registered in the picture produced. In many other cases the poetic imagination of the artist had to do what it could to perform the part of the missing authentic sentiment of worship, and then the contrasted appropriate result would appear on the canvas. For Ruskin is probably right in maintaining that art is the truest language ever spoken to reflect the intimate spirit of the man that speaks it. As to his own real interior self, the artist cannot dissemble in his work. Whatever else he leaves out, he perforce puts himself into his picture.

One artist, of all the Christian ages down to the actual moment, enjoys an undisputed preëminence, and, thanks to a gracious personality in him commending his genius, a quite unenvied preëminence, among the painters that have treated the subject of the child Jesus. This could be no other than Raphael. Some fifty different pictures from his hand, or, if not wholly from his hand, at least in great part from his creative imagination, survive to attest the truly amazing fecundity of this great artist's genius displayed in depicting the mother Mary and her infant son. Of these pictures some, it is likely, were the fruit of collaboration with their master on the part of Raphael's pupils. Grace, celestial grace, is the circumfluous ether in which all these pictures seem, to the eye of the beholder, to float as if upborne by their own inherent buoyancy. Everybody knows the so-called Sistine Madonna (see page 459). That is, indeed, probably the best-known picture in the world. It makes the fame of the Dresden gallery, where it hangs with every advantage of artistic display to enhance the luminous, almost apocalyptic, effect it instantaneously produces on the sympathetic spectator. The picture is so familiar in reproductions that we might almost dispense with exhibiting it here; but that very familiarity is proof of its being too dear to the popular heart to be passed by in a paper like this.

The just interpretation of this familiar picture requires some little attention to details. The proportion of parts is so perfect that the central figures inevitably attract at first, as they ought to do, the almost exclusive notice of the observer. The Madonna is treated as Queen of Heaven. This is, of course, a distinctly Roman Catholic element in the artist's conception, which the Protestant student, intent on æsthetic appreciation, can afford to overlook. The thought of it is, however, necessary in order to the understanding of the extraordinary pose and situation of the mother. She appears supported on a radiant cloud; or, indeed, rather as needing no support, but self-buoyant like the cloud itself. About her is a nimbus of angels beholding and wondering. These forms and faces are almost lost to view, effaced in the cloud of which they seem to form a part. On either side are

the kneeling figures of Pope Sixtus and Saint Barbara. The anachronisms thus involved are obvious, but they need not disturb our enjoyment. They are, considered in themselves alone, without reference to historic propriety, very noble adjuncts to the picture, helping to balance it and to set off, by contrast of pose and expression, the transcendent majesty intended by the artist to be attributed to the mother and the son. That the mother appears comparatively too commanding a figure, is due to the overweening homage paid to her in the Roman Catholic cult. It would be unreasonable to expect Raphael to transcend his age and environment sufficiently to avoid this error. The rapt expression of the Madonna's face is a wonderfully composite expression, made up of a certain timid wonder at her own exaltation—a sentiment which is overcome by an exquisite humility of acquiescence in her heavenly calling—maiden modesty reconciled with angelic motherhood, and radiant over all, and, as it were, translucent through all, a purity for which there is no fit parallel to express it by comparison. When you can withdraw your eye from studying and admiring the expression of the face, you may spend a long leisure in dwelling with satisfaction and delight on the incomparable dignity and grace of the whole figure, with its flowing folds of vestment, from the simply parted hair down to the unconscious loveliness of the feet.

But it is the infant son in the mother's arms that it really belongs to us here to study. How ineffably fair in infantile beauty, while how miraculously transfigured from human to divine in the noble depth of expression imprinted on the face, or rather shining through it! And then the "starlike sorrows of immortal eyes," with a gaze in them as if betokening "thoughts that wander through eternity"! It is very probably conjectured that the infant angels that rest on the bar at the bottom of the canvas and look up with wonder and worship, were an after-thought of the artist, painted in subsequently to the completing of the rest of the picture. There is a fine fitness of congruity between the two types of infancy, the divine-human and the angelic, thus brought together in mutually illuminating comparison and contrast.

We shall be obliged to limit ourselves here to not more than eight illustrations of our subject. If we should select these on the ground of artistic value merely, or on the ground of this together with the fame of the artist producing them, we should hardly have occasion to go away from Raphael for our purpose. Probably no other artist could offer us a single picture of the child Jesus on the whole superior in interest to any one of six or eight that we could find from Raphael's hand (see p. 422). But, for the sake of variety, we shall, after one delay further with Raphael, go to other artists for the rest of our illustrations. An assemblage has been made of the heads of the infant Jesus, taken from various pieces of Raphael. This we here reproduce. It will be seen that the topmost head is from the picture just shown, which goes generally by the name of the Sistine Madonna. This head is worthy of the præeminence which, by the present arrangement, it enjoys. The head next it, seeking to nestle against it, is almost equally familiar, being that belonging to the picture known as the Madonna della Seggiola or della Sedia [Madonna of the Chair]. A little more pure softness of expression, a little less wistful prescience in the eye, a tenderer infantile age, seem to difference this head from that against which it leans as if supporting itself on an elder brother's shoulder. The head directly under the one last noticed is from the Madonna della Casa Tempi. This loses more than the other two do by separation from the picture to which it belongs; it suffers, too, in comparison by not showing us so much frank front aspect. The head to the left of this last, having the upward-looking face, is lovelier again. It is taken from *La Belle Jardinière* [The Beautiful (female) Gardener], so-called from the surrounding of landscape given the mother in the painting. It is truly wonderful what divine loveliness of expression the genius, the art, and the gracious personality of the painter have combined to impart to the eye shown us in this picture, which, the pose of the head being such, is almost alone depended upon to secure the desired effect. The soft, moulded fullness of the cheek and chin, the lips opening like the opening bud of a flower, contribute something; and then the sweet, affectionate, appealing, upward turn

of the head — altogether it is rather the picture of a very lovely human child than the suggestion of a theanthropic infant such as appears to have been attempted by eminence in the canvas of the Sistine Madonna. The sleeping child in the center of the picture needs no descriptive comment ; but the longer one dwells with the eye upon the pure beatified peace of the face, the more one feels the artist's power in repose. The head to the Sistine's right is from a picture called the Bridgewater Madonna and owned in England. It is perhaps the least interesting member of the group of infant Christs here displayed. The two heads opposite each other on the extreme right and left of the picture are heads of the infant John Baptist. The one on the right will be recognized as that seen in the Madonna della Sedia. The other seems to be that of the La Belle Jardinière, but it is shown reversed. It ought to be added that these identifications though submitted by the present writer with some confidence, are subject to correction.

It will be interesting to run back from Raphael to Perugino, his master, that we may get a hint of the example and culture through which the genius of the more famous pupil was nourished and guided. Art does not, more than Nature, make her progress by leaps ; Raphael owes much to his predecessors. The original of the picture by Perugino which we present hangs in the Pitti Palace in Florence. The canvas has suffered somewhat, and the reproduction of course sympathizes. But it is easy to see that on such a pupil as Raphael such a master as Perugino must have had an influence no less fine in quality than it was great in quantity. The transition is not abrupt from the tranquil sweetness and purity of Perugino's atmosphere and handling to the serene seraphic beauty of Raphael's work. The mother stands in flowing vestment with head declined and eyes downcast toward the babe, whom, with her hands pressed together before her breast, she seems less to love and admire than to worship. The nursemaid holds the child and regards the mother as if to catch from her the sentiment proper for herself ; one is reminded of that saying of the psalm, "As the eyes of a maiden [look] unto the hand of her mistress." Retired half

behind the mother Mary, little John Baptist, quite by himself, clasps his hands in a gesture of adoration well befitting his pensive, precocious, prophetic face. Jesus, doubling his fist against his chin in true infantile sort, raises his eyes toward his mother with



PERUGINO—MADONNA AND CHILD

an expression of ruth in them, as if he felt by prescient sympathy the sword that was to pierce through her own soul also, in the future passion of her son. It is a noble treatment, not unworthy to have forerun the greater pupil's handling of the same subject.

Let us recede once more, going back the space of one generation behind Perugino to Fra Angelico, surnamed The Blessed. As the prefix Fra [Brother] imports, this painter was a friar. His character and life, if all tradition can be trusted, confirmed as it is by the testimony of the work surviving from his hand, were everything that could tend to fit a man for producing pic-

tures seven times purified in quality. He painted in a spirit of religious devotion. It is related of him that whenever he took up his brush he prepared himself for using it by an exercise of prayer. The result is that an air of sanctity consecrates his



FRA ANGELICO - MADONNA
DELLA STELLA

canvases, beyond even the purity that Raphael drew from the depths of his gracious nature and his poetic imagination. The hallowed peace that saint and angel express in Fra Angelico's pictures is like a glimpse of heaven. He was a charming colorist, but of course our present reproductions necessarily lose the effect due to the soft delicious blending of those harmonious hues which, against the golden background characteristic of him, heighten so the charm of his pictures. But there is grace enough in face and form and pose and vesture to leave the lack of color hardly missed, except to those who have grown familiar with the originals. The piece we show bears the name of the

Madonna della Stella, a name derived from the star pictured on the forehead of the Mother. The crown unobtrusively suspended over her head suggests the idea of the coronation of the Virgin. Her face might at first seem too miniature-like to express the strength and character we should wish to find in an ideal representation of the mother of our Lord. But it is not strength that we should look for in Fra Angelico's work; it is the beauty of holiness. The divine babe nestles to his mother, a fondling finger pressed to her chin; but the regard of his eyes is outward as if gazing far away and piercing into futurity. One can imagine that the infant Saviour already foresees his cross. It belonged to the maiden-like modesty, the cloistered

chastity, perhaps even the severe moral sense, of Fra Angelico's taste and imagination, that, as will be observed, he clothes his infant Jesus; not depending at all for his effect on exhibition of nude flesh, even in the case of infancy, where nearly if not all



LEONARDO DA VINCI—MADONNA AND CHILD

other artists feel quite released from any necessity to use drapery. The colors employed by Fra Angelico in the present picture (which is part of an altar-piece done in panels) are a softly brilliant blue for the outer robe of the Virgin, with pale yellow for the lining slightly displayed in narrow edges where it chances to turn back, and a sober red for the under dress. The babe is enveloped in a vesture of this latter color. All is set off against a background of gold, according to Fra Angelico's habit, already mentioned, in painting.

Returning to the time of Raphael's master Perugino, we

encounter the stately figure of Leonardo da Vinci, whose fame, like that of Raphael (and that of Michael Angelo still more) is the fame of a various, not to say universal, genius, and not of a painter merely. We are able to present an infant Jesus from his hand that is impressed with a distinction and an elevated character recognizably the artist's own sign manual. The mother and the son have just the likeness to each other that seems fit. It is a grave and noble beauty that moulds and informs the face of Mary, while the son, standing beside her, condescends as from a conscious majesty divine to show his blended infantile human nature by toying with a slender lily stem held in the hand of his mother. The two do not look at one another; but the air of both is as if, without exchange of looks, the sympathy and understanding between them were perfect. There is perhaps a trace of something like what we might be tempted to call precocity in the child's face; but this, if it is really present, is of course to be interpreted as an attempt, not quite absolutely successful, on the artist's part, to produce an effect of divinity in the expression. The fine severity of taste reigning in the picture, the serene dignity of it, are admirable beyond praise. It is an exquisite work of art. But we need in this picture, as in all the others shown, to overlook a disregard, on the painter's part, of certain obvious historic probabilities. For instance, here there is far too much costly elegance of costume, and too much suggestion of drawing-room propriety, to fit the circumstances of a child born, as Jesus was, son to a carpenter and cradled in a manger. But this is only saying in effect that the great Italian masters of the brush were not realists in art. They idealized freely and they were willing to produce their impressions on the observer by some sacrifice of mere raw fidelity in the matter of fact to noble fictions of the imagination.

Let us make an abrupt transition from the classic art of the Renaissance period to the art of our own times. Heinrich Hoffmann is a German painter who has treated Bible themes with much popular acceptance. We give a picture of his representing Jesus no longer a babe, but now a boy of twelve (see p. 451). The subject is the Disputation in the Temple. The light, as it should

do, centers upon the face and figure of the child, standing in the midst of doctors of the law, who listen with various expressions of countenance to the wonderful utterances issuing from those youthful lips; or, more accurately, who regard the boy in silent perplexity caused by something he has just said—for his lips are now closed. The attitudes and the looks of the different personages are very carefully studied, to indicate their imagined different characters and different present dispositions toward what is here unexpectedly confronting them. The somewhat severe face of the man sitting in the foreground to the right, who holds the book on his knees and who perhaps feels responsible for not being unduly moved, expresses, in the firm, almost hard, closure of the lips, determined impenetrability to truth proceeding from such a source as the boy before him. The younger man next him bends toward Jesus with much more benignity, if not even with some openness to impression, betrayed in his half-yearning mien. The venerable figure beyond this one, who stands leaning, like Jacob, upon the top of his staff, has a somewhat crass worldly look of some curiosity, but more incredulity. The man to the right of Jesus grasps his beard and rests his chin in his hand, with an air of sincere, though perplexed, inquiry, betokening some accessibleness on his part to divine communication coming even from the mouth of such a child. But these various figures are of course but accessories and foils to the figure of Jesus himself. A suggestion of supernatural light in aureole beams from the head of the boy, whose illumined countenance is self-luminous as well and seems to diffuse light. It has evidently been the effort of the artist to blend in the boy's attitude and expression a beautiful modesty of childhood with a half-unconscious, half-conscious direct vision of truth. There may be suspected in the picture a verging toward manneristic sentimentalism weakening somewhat the impression of nobility and strength which a treatment of this subject ought to produce. But it is a piece of work well adapted to give general satisfaction.

Our next picture is of the Finding of Jesus in the Temple. The painter is an Englishman, Holman Hunt, an artist perhaps

entitled to be considered the head of the so-called Pre-Raphaelite school. The figures here are somewhat numerous, and they are portrayed with all that painstakingly minute fidelity to fact and to nature which is the characteristic of this group of artists.



HOLMAN HUNT—THE FINDING OF JESUS IN THE TEMPLE

But the interest of course belongs to the boy Jesus himself, with his mother and Joseph. The mother has already succeeded in detaching her son from his engagement with the Jewish doctors, and—one of her arms thrown lovingly about him to a rest on his shoulder, while on the other, upraised, is responsively laid a hand of the boy—she is whispering in his attentive ear. The parted lips indicate this action on her part as still in progress. The concern, the affectionate reproach, expressed in her countenance suggests that she is saying: "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I sought thee sorrowing." The son has not yet made his immortally memorable reply: "How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?"—but the wide-open eyes, looking out with such far speculation into space, indicate sufficiently what the nature of the reply will be. Joseph, with noble reserve,

stands retired behind the mother, adding fit foil of contrast to the two principal figures in front. The son appears to listen loyally to his mother, while yet his expression suggests a sense in him of paramount loyalty and obedience owed to his Father in heaven. Some scrutinizing students of his face may suspect in themselves a feeling that the artist has overstrained the intensity of the look and produced an effect as if the boy were not an example of perfectly normal, wholesome boyhood, but had become precocious through an experience of some sort of suffering. The execution of the picture, it will be observed, is singularly elaborate and finished in every detail. There is nothing of the indistinctness of "impressionism."

We present finally another German picture (see p. 447). It would seem as if perhaps the painter, Karl Müller, had sought, in one instance at least, to do something towards redressing the balance between Mary and Joseph in the representations of art, by substituting for the mother her husband in his treatment. The motive has certainly the interest and the merit of difference and novelty. The father, who bears a face much resembling the conventional face of Christ in art, stands patiently instructing his wonderful boy. Such, at any rate, is the apparent intention of the picture. But the boy seems, in his wise docility, his docile wisdom, to have surprised Joseph into the attitude rather of one instructed than of one instructing. The father has involuntarily placed his open palm against his breast, as if in an awe before the boy like the awe of worship. The boy, who is made almost feminine in the extreme delicacy of his beauty, looks up with revelation, almost more than inquiry, into his father's face. "Hyacinthine locks," like those of Milton's Adam, curl clustering down his neck. On the whole, one needs to see the fine circlet of halo around the head to be sure that this figure is really that of the boy Jesus. Without that, the careless observer might have quite mistaken the meaning of the picture, and, misled by the Christlikeness of Joseph's head, have understood the artist's purpose to be to represent the Saviour instructing an ideal boy. It was no doubt a mistake in judgment and in taste on the artist's part to introduce such a resemblance into his portrait of

Joseph. It might even raise the suspicion of an ulterior purpose in his mind, to suggest an idea repugnant to the just sense of those who accept for literally true the evangelist's story of the birth of Jesus. The leaf and flower that frame the two figures are quite in the somewhat sentimental taste that characterizes the whole treatment.

If the pictures here shown may fairly be taken, and probably they may, as representative of the two types of treatment, the older ideal portraits of Jesus in art will by most be felt to have more depth of tone, not only in respect of technique, but in feeling, than the newer ones; more faith, more sincerity, more of the sentiment of awe and of worship. The spirit of the earlier age was more favorable to such treatment of such a subject.

I have left myself no room to discuss a question very naturally raised by the subject here treated, viz., Has religion been on the whole a gainer from the fictile representations by painters of the face and form of the Madonna and of Jesus? If religion be largely understood to include such interests as culture and humanity, there can be no doubt of the true reply to our question; religion so understood has certainly been a gainer. If, on the other hand, religion be confined to the central idea of obedience to God, there is more chance for divergence of opinion. There is always danger that the æsthetic and the sentimental interest will usurp what belongs properly to the authentic religious interest alone. To dwell in thought on the Christ of the gospels and the epistles, to seek to become ourselves living copies of the divine portrait therein shown, would certainly be better than any amount, or any degree, of joy in appreciation of art, even of art employed in ideal representations of the incarnate Lord. What may seem less like a homiletic lesson, it would probably be also in result a better cultivation of both the taste and the sentiments.

CHRISTIANITY AND CHILDREN.

By CHARLES R. HENDERSON,
The University of Chicago.

Christianity from a cradle.— Religion sanctifies natural affection.— The teaching of Jesus as to the holiness of childhood.— Children have a value.— Historic service of the church.— Evils of pagan custom.— Renaissance and Reformation.— Free schools.— Patience of teacher.— Education of daughters.— Debt and duty owed to children.— Regenerative energies latent in the church.— Hope of mankind in the life of youth.

HISTORIC Christianity begins with the Holy Night, represented by Correggio as a scene of commonplace reality and coarseness glorified by a radiance which streamed from the Divine Infant. The Son of Man began as a babe, passed through the typical phases of human life, and sanctified all. When the Logos gave himself in revelation to humanity he entered its life by the lowly gate of humble birth. Milton's "Hymn on Christ's Nativity" sings of the peaceful hour which ushered in a reign of peace and good will. Enchanted shepherds listened to the heavenly song of hope :

“ Time will run back and fetch the age of gold ;
And speckled vanity
Will sicken soon and die,
And leprous sin will melt from earthly mould.
Yea, Truth and Justice then
Will down return to men.
Orb'd in a rainbow ; and, like glories wearing,
Mercy will sit between,
Throned in celestial sheen.”

For thus the classic poet of Puritanism has interpreted the angelic praises : “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men.”

Childhood and love of children were not new elements. The necessities of prolonged infancy had made the family. It

was not the love of man and woman for each other so much as the appeal of wailing and helpless infancy which led the first steps of human progress and, at the dawn of recorded time, cemented and ennobled the family. Jesus came not to create the family but to regenerate it. He found it existing as a providential fact, but full of evil, because man was evil. He saw in it the possibilities of the divine ideal which shaped it.

Among those ancient Aryan peoples from whom we have sprung the House Spirit, the ancestor, was an object of affectionate and loyal worship, of confidence and love. Offerings were made to the powerful shades, and for thousands of years a real flame was kindled on the hearth where the meal was shared with living and dead. The safety and happiness of the household seemed to them to depend on the favor of these invisible and deified members of the family. The oldest son was selected to succeed his father as priest, and it was his duty to propitiate the favor of the familiar spirit. It was regarded as a great calamity if there was no son to offer the funereal honors. A similar feeling prevails in China and other countries to this day. Under the influence of this belief, which seems so strange to us, a son was greatly desired, and parental instincts were fostered by the belief. But a daughter was of less value. A deformed or superfluous son might be refused by his father and left to perish. The child was valued primarily for the sake of the household, not for its own intrinsic worth. When the ancient city states grew up this sentiment was persistent and children were regarded in the light of political interests. Natural affection always influenced conduct, and this was particularly true of mothers. But even natural affection became blunted by the extremes of luxury and misery in the Roman Empire before Christ appeared.

Christianity changed the point of view. The object of worship could no longer be a household god or national deity, but must be the Universal Father. There is no selection of the oldest son to represent the family, for all are priests unto God. Utility to the state is no longer the standard of judgment, for even the weakest son of Adam has in him the possibilities of full citizenship in the kingdom of God. These teachings were

revolutionary and made childhood central in the new Christian society. The early chapters of Matthew and Luke made an impression on the church which could never be erased. There was sketched in outline a model for childhood, instructive to parents, attractive to the young. The few fragmentary hints in the evangel have supplied poets, musicians, sculptors, painters, and orators with pathetic and inspiring motives. Poverty there felt fellowship, and moral beauty asked for adequate artistic expression. The very gaps in the story leave room for the innocent recreations of imagination, for apocryphal tales, poetic fancies, and mystical symbols of a divine presence.

The teachings of Jesus in his public ministry gave articulate voice to the meaning of his child life. We read of his tender yet dignified treatment of mothers and children, in painful contrast with the narrow and harsh protest of his disciples, and the disposition of the Divine Father shines about the sacred page. A simple hymn of our childhood tells the instinctive response to the story :

“I wish that his hands had been placed on my head,
That his arms had been thrown around me ;
And that I might have seen his kind looks when he said,
‘ Let the little ones come unto me.’ ”

These teachings of Jesus reveal the estimate of childhood there in heaven where all stands clear in its true character. “Of such is the kingdom of heaven.” “Their angels do always behold the face of my Father.” He who knew best of all the fearful possibilities of hereditary evil dared to utter such encomiums, dared to set forth a child as, in some sense, a type of the character he had come to create. Obedience, filial trust, innocence, promise fair of every good quality, absence of prejudice, an open heart “fit for the seeds of virtue strewed,” were elements which won his praise and showed his intention.

The teaching of Jesus has always awakened in sympathetic minds a feeling that children are desirable to complete life, to awaken in parents a sense of responsibility, to steady and moderate lower impulses, to make the family a fruitful branch of the vine of life eternal. That holy doctrine of childhood, based on the authority of the incomparable Teacher, tends to

make a corrupting example seem hideous and revolting to conscience and heart; to make sacrifices for offspring a part of devotion to God; to awaken aspiration to live so purely, nobly, wisely, and unselfishly that tiny feet may safely follow the paths we choose for ourselves; to make marriage more than a legal contract for personal gratification, to make it indissoluble even under the tests of trial and friction, for the sake of the little ones to whom divorce would mean shame, misery, and ruin.

The historic services of the church on behalf of youth are illuminations of the sacred text, an embodiment of the holy ambitions of the young Christ:

“When I was yet a child no childish play
To me was pleasing; all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end.”

Jesus is still about his Father's business, in his Father's house, which is this world where work may be the best worship. He is still with his people, erasing the scribbled legends from the palimpsest of his gospel and interpreting in social philanthropies the heart of his message.

Out of the life and teachings of Christ and his apostles have grown the historic forces and institutions of organized Christianity in the world's life. No man understands the New Testament unless he has read the commentary which the holy charity of the church has written on the pages of history. It is useless to attempt to dissect the service rendered by the church from other elements. The task is as impossible as to distinguish the waters of rivers in the Gulf of Mexico. All good is Christian. Moonlight is reflected sunlight. If more exact historical investigation some day shows that sanctifying power touched the ancient family other than that ministered by priest or presbyter, we shall not admit that this purifying energy was not due to the immanent Christ “by whom he made the worlds.” Why should we take gems from Christ's crown by refusing to credit to the Logos the moral grandeur of stoicism? Unquestionably stoicism did much to mitigate the evils which degraded

children at Rome, although it fell far short of the teaching which Jesus brought. The church itself is "not that light," but only a lamp stand, and not always even a trusty torchbearer.

Making all concessions to the merit of stoicism, and confessing all just charges of ecclesiastical defect, we are still justified in asserting that the church never quite forgot the manger of Bethlehem. Even the ascetic monk, in his vision of innocence, might take the Christ Child in his arms while his cell seemed flooded with golden rays, "rich and like a lily in bloom." We must leave to another article in this number the theme of artistic treatment of this subject. Yet there is a vital bond between art and social service, for both are aspects and expressions of the same beliefs, aspirations, hopes. The same Spirit of Jesus which raised Raphael to the height of the Sistine Madonna also moved Savonarola, Luther, St. Francis, Fliedner, Wichern, C. L. Brace, Pestalozzi, Froebel and a host of teachers to their social ministry for childhood. Spurgeon challenged the skeptical world with his ringing words: "The God that answers by orphanages, let him be God."

Christianity, in the church of the heroic ages, contended against inveterate evils of pagan custom. The conduct of that decadent empire in respect to children is revolting beyond description. Many of the rich, luxurious, and voluptuous hated the very thought of having the care of the young. The responsibilities of motherhood were avoided in every possible way and women of noble rank freed themselves of unwelcome burdens by infanticide and without rebuke. Even the ancient dread of the House Spirit did not restrain these evils, while both premiums and penalties of the state failed to correct the fatal corruption of faith and manners. The rearing of offspring was only too frequently left to ignorant and debased slaves. From ancient times the father had possessed and used the right to expose son or daughter to vultures, frost, or slave-hunters.

From the first the church diffused in the Roman empire the Hebrew yearning for children, made more tender by sweet memories of the Divine Babe, made universal by the doctrine of human brotherhood. Therefore bishops went about to gather

up waifs and foundlings and gave to holy women the care of deformed and abandoned infants. The penitential discipline did not fail to censure and punish members of the church for acts which among their heathen neighbors were regarded as venial faults.

There is a darker side. Asceticism, deepening poverty, invasions of rude barbarians, darkening clouds of ignorance, rank superstition, misleading heresies of dualism, ecclesiastical ambition and chiliasm continued to corrupt the fair doctrine of Jesus and dilute his influence. But even then Christianity grafted its benign teaching upon the rude stock of Germanic life. Faith blossomed not only in altar pieces but in hospitals and asylums, in schools and in watchful care of tempted and imperiled youth.

The Renaissance, turbid with defiling elements, was yet a reassertion of the worth, beauty, and joy of healthy life and natural affection. On its darker side it was sensual but on the better side it affirmed the goodness of the Creator and of his works. In the Puritan revolt under Savonarola we see glimpses of white-robed boys moving in procession to protest against the pagan excesses of the period.

The Reformation gave to the modern world the pastor's family. This type of family is not without its pathetic and even ridiculous side. Much cheap sarcasm, not altogether without shrewd reason, has assailed it. Society is only too prone to make the parson extremely poor and then to scold him because his numerous children suffer. The parson has sometimes been in fault. But impartial judgment shows another side. The pastor's house in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England and New England has been the home of simple culture, of "plain living and high thinking." Take out of the literature and social life of those nations the products, direct and indirect, of manse and parsonage, and the world's spiritual riches would suffer incalculably.

The free common schools, secular and "godless" as some assert, are clearly a product of Christian influences. They are in direct and historic line with the church schools of the bishops of early days, of the monastic schools of the Middle Ages, of

the institutions patronized by Charlemagne, of those created by Luther and of the prophetic establishments of our New England fathers. If our American secular schools have little direct religious teaching, they are at least conducted by persons who embody, in the main, Christian ideals of character and conduct. Another institution, the Sunday school, has been developed in America as nowhere else, just because the church could not depend on the state for religious teaching. Never before was seen such a magnificent army of unpaid voluntary instructors, giving their lives to the holiest task of humanity. State-supported schools, ruled by political parties, might give better intellectual instruction, but could never supply the moral enthusiasm and inventive spirit of these most free schools of piety and patriotism. Nothing but united effort of all Christians is wanted to bring Christian teaching within the reach of every child.

Christian faith and hope sustain the patience which is required for the rearing of children. There must be a high estimate of the possibilities of the young immortals, new to earth and sky. Such faith inspired the words of Ascham: "Some men, friendly enough of nature, but of small judgment in learninge, do thinke, I take to moch paines, and spend to moch time, in settinge forth these childrens affaires. But those good men were never brought up in Socrates Schole, who saith plainlie, that no man goeth about a more godlie purpose, than he that is mindfull of the good bringing up, both of hys owne, and other mens children. . . . In writing this booke, I have had earnest respecte to three speciall pointes, trothe of Religion, honestie in living, right order in learninge. In which three waies, I prairie God, my poore children may diligently waulke; for whose sake, as nature would, and reason required, or necessitie also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these paines." And what ill-paid teacher has not enjoyed the revenge of this noble resentment: "And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had to finde out a cunninge man for their horse, than a cunninge man for their children. . . . God that sitteth in heaven laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it

should: for he suffereth them to have tame and well ordered horse, but wilde and unfortunate children: and therefore in the ende they finde more pleasure in their horse than comforte in their children."

The expansion of Christian ideas must lead to care for the superior education of girls. The stage of culture reached by a people is measured by their treatment of women and girls. We may admit that the particular methods of co-education are under trial, and that the experiment is not yet wide enough for confident generalizations. But co-education does at least signify that every girl shall have an equal opportunity with her brother to find out her powers. The path to the sunny heights of university life shall be opened to her and she shall have sufficient discipline and knowledge to enable her to make a choice among all good ways, and not be held to a narrow field of selection.

There is a sense in which the church owes a debt to children. How could we attach any meaning to the Lord's prayer to "Our Father" if we had not had a race training in filial piety? The hour of regeneration often comes to a selfish and worldly man with the birth of his first child. It was so with Pestalozzi. In his wife's diary he wrote: "Send me thy spirit from on high. Give me now new strength, create in me a new heart, fresh zeal. Oh, my son, my son! Horrible thought! If I were to fail in my duty to thee, if I were to lead thee astray from thy proper path, thou mightest some day before the Judge be the accuser of thy father, of him whose duty it was to lead thee aright." A little child, walking in meditation by her father on a starry evening after a beautiful Sabbath, released him from life weariness and brought his mind to God by saying: "Papa, don't you think the angels were in the world today?" Wordsworth tells us how the boy, keeping company with the shepherd father, led him upward:

"From the boy there came
Feelings and emanations — things which were
Light to the sun and music to the wind;
And that the old man's heart seemed born again."

And Mrs. Browning notes the same influence of children hanging on the mother's neck and making her a better woman :

“ Ah me, the vines
That bear such fruit are proud to stoop with it ;
The palm stands upright in a realm of sand.”

And if we owe children a debt we owe them a duty. The work of the church for neglected childhood is not yet done ; and as the great factory system invades our agricultural West one state after another will be required to protect infancy from greed and ignorance and forgetfulness. Even now we may, if we have sensitive spirits, hear the “ cry of the children ” of the huge shops. Read the reports of factory inspectors in almost any state, but especially where public attention has not been aroused, and listen to the cry :

“ Grief has made us unbelieving, —
We look up for God, but tears have made us blind.
Do you hear the children weeping and disproving,
O my brothers, what ye preach ?
For God's possible is taught by his world's loving —
And the children doubt of each.”

“ How long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart ? ”

We are coming to recognize the voice of Christ in this appeal. We are coming to what noble Oscar McCulloch loved to call the “ Church of the Divine Fragments,” whose duty it is to gather up all the fragments that nothing be lost. Pedagogical science and art are now engaged in developing special methods for bringing backward and feeble-minded children to the full stature of which they are capable. When we have provided adequately for the imbecile we have reached the last stratum of human need, but we are far from attaining that goal.

If our task is not yet done, neither is the power latent in Christianity exhausted. There is the power of the endless life. The church is constantly creating higher ideals of duty, ever judging itself by worthier standards, ever more remorseful for neglect, ever more deeply moved by the story of the Divine

Child. If the church grows cold the Scripture reading in public worship or family devotions kindles afresh the sacred flame. And if the church had never done anything but give Christmas, with its associations, to the world, it would have deserved well of philanthropy. The genius of Dickens has illustrated the power of that holiday to awaken affection and renew life with even a selfish man. By reason of Christian motives kindergartens are multiplied, not merely to reform the hardened offender, but rather to anticipate the inroads of evil and start the youth aright at the parting of the ways. The church is realizing the truth of biology, and is assimilating the revelations of exact science with the spiritual impulses of charity and faith. The frequent use of the words heredity and environment in religious appeals is witness to this process. Tennyson, the great Christian poet, has taught us how children, stolen in infancy by a she-wolf,

"Housed

In her foul den, there at their meat would growl,
And mock their foster mother on four feet,
Till, straightened, they grew up wolf-like men,
Worse than wolves."

A long space stretches between the Nazareth Boy and the social revolutions of the twentieth century. But at the heart of all the fermenting energy of goodness is the truth of the holy childhood of Jesus. The reverent study of the advent, accompanied by carols and anthems, starts millions of generous youth in an upward direction, and wings their ambitions with hope, and faith, and love. The deathless Book is a fountain of eternal life. The study of the life of Christ is the well of noblest social forces. The sciences which deal with explanation could not exist in their present form if creative Christianity had not furnished the material.

"The best is yet to be,

The last of life, for which the first was made.
Our times are in His hand—
Who saith, 'A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God, see all, nor be afraid.'"

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